

ORINO RAYZI

The following phonetic symbols have been used for
Fulbe, Hausa and other words in the text.

THE ROLE OF THE FULBE IN THE URBAN LIFE AND ECONOMY OF
LUNSAR, SIERRA LEONE; BEING A STUDY OF THE ADAPTATION
OF AN IMMIGRANT GROUP

by

D. A. P. Butcher



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Plate 1. Head of a Cattle Camp.

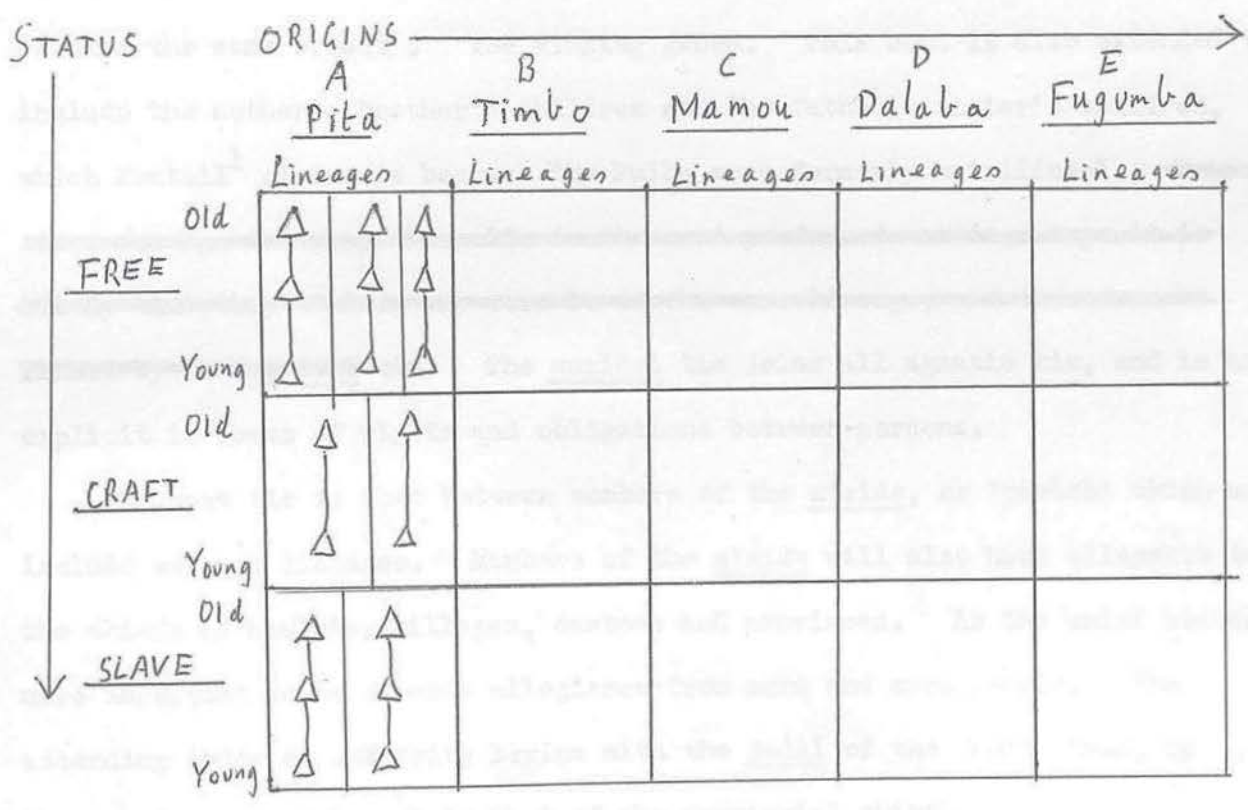
Occupations (contd.)

40. Table trader reading from a holy book
41. A woman who lives in Lunsar but travels to cattle camps to buy Kosan.
42. Kosan seller from one of the cattle camps.
43. The same woman at work in the cattle camp.
44. A kola trader counting bly.
45. A leatherworker at work.
46. Two of the weavers at work.
47. The wife of a weaver winding thread
48. A Fulbe weaver.
49. Showing how the shuttle is thrown through the warp.
50. Tailor at work.
51. Embroiderer working on a gown.
52. Half-Fulbe driver.
53. Ralli gal.
54. Guitar player.
55. A young 'urbanised' Fullo.
56. Fulbe mother.
57. A Fullo's wife, cooking.
58. Temne girl having her gums blackened by a Fullo.
59. A mad Temne.
60. Temne Koranko balanji players at the election of the Fulbe chief at Feredugu.
61. The victorious contestant.
62. Auluŋe
63. Gaulo praising carno Wuri Jalo and his forefathers.

lineages up to a maximum of four generations are important.

Since the Fulbe are patrilineal and patrilocal, there is no case in which a person can have allegiance to an area which is not also that of his lineage. Therefore in Lunsar, where fragments of lineages exist they always fall into one or other of the 'origin segments'. Lineages cannot cross them. Affinal ties may link the segments, but in a different and less important manner. At this stage it is possible to say that there are two types of vertical segmentation, that of origin and that of lineage. Also that lineages fit into the segments of origin. Furthermore, within an 'origin segment' lineages are hierarchically arranged in terms of status. Lineages of freeborn are at the top, and those of slaveborn are at the bottom.

This is represented diagrammatically below:



The columns labelled A - E are the major segments determined by origin, and within each of these are placed the lineages. Those in the diagram do not represent the actuality found in Lunsar but are a schematic representation. Detailed lineages are provided in the next chapter. The rows labelled 1 - 3 are the main unalterable status divisions. The gradations within the craft caste group e.g. Blacksmiths, leatherworkers, wood carvers, etc. have not been indicated as they would add little to illustrate the model.

The above type of matrix model has as its basic components the lineage in the vertical plane, and status in the horizontal. The model may be extended to include the whole of Fulbe society. To do so one has only to extend the number of columns.

To qualify the model we must return briefly to the various bonds or ties between Fulbe. The closest and strongest link is between those who have 'sucked the same breast': the sibling group. This bond is also extended to include the mother's brother's children and the father's sister's children, which Monteil¹ claims is because the Fulbe were formerly matrilineal. ~~However, since for Fulbe to marry these kin is the most preferred marriage type it is likely that they will in any case be of the same lineage, and therefore be linked by the musidal tie.~~ The musidal tie joins all agnatic kin, and is made explicit in terms of rights and obligations between persons.

The next tie is that between members of the miside, or 'parish' which may include several lineages. Members of the miside will also have allegiance to the chiefs of hamlets, villages, cantons and provinces. As the chief becomes more important so he demands allegiance from more and more people. The ascending order of authority begins with the jedal of the family head, up through degrees of baugal to that of the provincial chief.

Beyond the province the ties between Fulbe go outside those of political

¹ Monteil, loc. cit. p. 391

authority and become those of religion and sentiment. All muslims are 'brothers in religion', musibbe dina although other Fulbe who are muslims besides respecting God, (holaare Allah) are bound by the intrinsically Fulbe bond of speaking the same language and sharing a similar culture.

Fulaphones are called halpullaaren in the Fulbe language. Fulbe such as the Wodaabe,¹ many of whom are pagan, are only linked to Futa Jallon Fulbe by the link of common language, and of course recognition that the other group have pulaaku. There is evidence that the musibbe dina tie is very strong, as the Fulbe on being converted to Islam are supposed to have become fanatics and fought and overthrown pagan and less devout muslim Fulbe, in order to establish 'true' muslim states.²

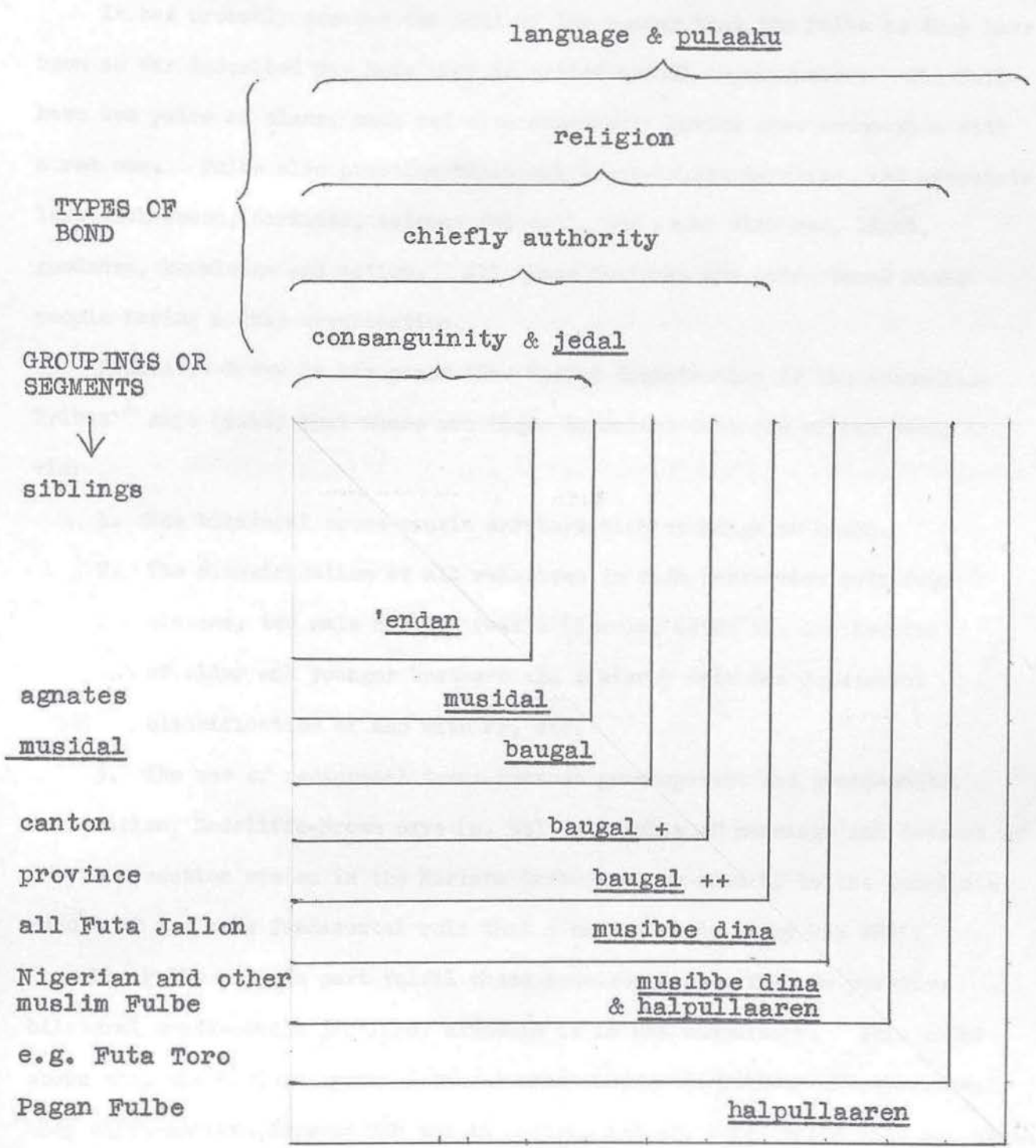
The diagram below shows Fulbe segmental groupings and the bonds linking the segments of different orders.³



1 Stenning, loc. cit.

2 Stenning, loc. cit.

3. This type of model demonstrating segments of increasing magnitude was brilliantly developed by Evans-Pritchard in his book, The Nuer, Oxford, 1940



It has probably crossed the mind of the reader that the Fulbe as they have been so far described may have what is called a dual organisation. The Fulbe have two pairs of clans, each red clan supposedly having some connection with a red one. Fulbe also practice bilateral cross-cousin marriage, and associate left with women, darkness, science and evil, and right with men, light, goodness, knowledge and action. All these features are often found among people having a dual organisation.

Radcliffe-Brown in his paper 'The Social Organisation of the Australian Tribes'¹ says (p.48) that there are three important features of the norm, viz:

1. The bilateral cross-cousin marriage with exchange of women.
2. The classification of all relatives in each generation into four classes, two male and two female (leaving aside the distinction of older and younger brothers and sisters) with the consequent classification of MMB with FF, etc.
3. The use of reciprocal terms between grand-parent and grand-child.

In addition, Radcliffe-Brown says (p. 55) 'The rules of marriage and descent of the four section system in the Kariera tribe are now seen to be the immediate result of the more fundamental rule that a man may only marry his MBD'.

The Fulbe only in part fulfil these requirements. They do practise bilateral cross-cousin marriage, although it is not compulsory. This alone shows that the Kariera system does not exist among the Fulbe. Furthermore, they differentiate between MMB who is hesirau and FF, soro, which does not agree with Radcliffe-Brown's second norm above. Also, Ego's FF, FFB, MMF, MMFB are called soro, and his FM, FMZ, MMM, and MMZ are called patti. In turn these kin call Ego, hesirau. The relationship is not entirely reciprocal and is asymmetrical since grandparents on Ego's father's side are soro and patti, but are great grandparents on his mother's side. Also his MZH is called soro.

1. Radcliffe-Brown, 'The Social Organisation of the Australian Tribes' Oceania, No. 1. Vol. 1. 1930. p. 48

Although marriage with MED and FZS (both dandan) is the 'best' choice it is not obligatory. Marriage with MZD according to my informants is also allowed, but not according to Monteil¹ who says that marriage with FBD is permitted. My informants were quite adamant that this was not permitted as they are 'brothers' and 'sisters'.² Ego can also marry his deceased younger brother's wife and any BWZ. Ego may also marry his wife's younger sister but not her elder sister. Ego may also marry any woman who is not related to him and who is not a slave. The levirate and sororate are both practised.

The Fulbe do not have a straightforward Kariëra system, although it is possible with their marriage rules that there could be two lineages fulfilling the roles of wife giving and wife taking in respect of each other. The difficulty with the data collected by me is that my fieldwork was not directed towards this problem, and secondly, the Fulbe lineages existing in Lunsar are not only very short, but the taking of Temne wives would have confused the system had it ever operated.

Clearly, the conflicting reports on which marriages are prohibited and the presence of two pairs of clans, as well as strict adherence to left and right would be good grounds for carrying out anthropological fieldwork among the Fulbe in order to clarify the systems of lineality, descent kinship and marriage. It is unfortunate that the signs of possible dualism struck me during analysis and not in the field.

The ^{values} ~~values~~ of Fulbe society in general ^{are} ~~are~~ the same as ^{those of} ~~those of~~ the Lunsar Fulbe or the Fulbe living in Futa Jallon. The strongest bonds between persons are those of kinship and religion. The Fulbe have always been very mobile and it is easy to see that the corporate kin group of small size can move about without destroying the structure. Similarly the belief in God and the idea of

¹ Monteil, ibid. p 343

² Stenning, loc. cit. says that marriage between the children of two brothers is the rule among the Wo aa e of Northern Nigeria.

a Muslim brotherhood, are not only portable but facilitate mobility. To maintain political authority over a highly mobile population, who put God first anyway, is no easy task. Anyone who has tried to control a group of Boy Scouts or soldiers on the march over wooded country will fully realise the difficulty of maintaining control even with the help of radio communication.

The large Fulbe states which have existed in the past, such as those centred on Sokoto in Nigeria, Macina in Mali, Futa Toro in Senegal and Futa Jallon in Guinée appear to have at least two features in common. They were formed by conquest, and were governed from cities and towns. They became areas of consolidation of Fulbe power and authority and to a great extent held sway over the indigeneous non-Fulbe who were not mobile. Within these areas of control urban Fulbe ruled from towns which attracted scholars and artisans, while in the bush the pastoral Fulbe continued their nomadic way of life. In return for the protection of the central organisation the pastoral Fulbe paid an annual tax in cattle, jangaal used largely for charitable purposes, a land tax, zakka, and a number of tithes.¹ In addition to protection, pastoral Fulbe had a right to take the non-Fulbe as slaves.

Futa Jallon was never fully co-ordinated under one leader or government, the nine provinces being bound together by common interest, 'Muslim brotherhood', and a common language and culture. No doubt poor communications and an inadequate bureaucratic organisation made the government of such a mobile people scattered over a large area very difficult.

The Lunsar Fulbe before the appointment of Alfa Bakr Bah as headman in 1950 had no particular leader. Each individual went to the most respected person with whom he had the closest ties for assistance. To-day Alfa Bakr is the head of the Lunsar Fulbe, and is recognised as such by the Fulbe and by the Temne Native Authority who appointed him.² Significantly, the Fulbe are the

¹ Stenning, loc. cit.

Note: 2. Although the Temne N.A. appointed the Fulbe headman, thus legalising his office, he would have no power over the Fulbe on this basis alone. All the Lunsar Fulbe had acknowledged him to be the man for the job. Even in Guinea the administration 'appoints' headmen and chiefs.

only immigrant group with an official Headman. Although there are enclaves of related kin, and ties between non-kin from the same origins, it is the Headman's baugal(power) which unites the Lunsar Fulbe. The Headman is assisted by the maube who themselves have unofficial recognition by the Temne Native Authority, and have authority over the Fulbe by virtue of their age, sense, and in many cases as senior kinsmen.

It is put forward that the Lunsar Fulbe are structured in the same manner as Futa Jallon Fulbe, and perhaps even like Fulbe in other places. Also they are organised internally according to the chiefdoms which exist in Futa Jallon, but unlike Futa Jallon where these groupings are not encompassed by the power of one chief or court, the Lunsar Fulbe are united under their Headman. The status gradations intrinsic to Futa Jallon society also exist in Lunsar Fulbe society. These points are illustrated by the ease with which Fulbe move from Lunsar to Futa Jallon and back, without having to take up new roles, or drop old ones.

The analysis of Fulbe social structure so far has been in abstract terms and has led to the construction of a model. We will for the moment change our approach and describe the organisation of the Lunsar Fulbe in terms of actual behaviour.

The Community

So far the political units, within the Fulbe group, have been described, and it appears that they are traditional units to be found in Futa Jallon, and are not peculiar to Lunsar. In fact the Lunsar Fulbe are a minute edition of Futa Jallon in terms of political organisation; they have brought Fulbe society with them to Lunsar, and have not adopted a new one to meet their needs.

The Fulbe form a community in Lunsar which contains all those Fulbe and half-Fulbe who fall into the various categories outlined above, and who

recognise the traditional status differences and myths, and who think of themselves as being Fulbe. The community tends to exclude those half-Fulbe who are not good Muslims, and who drink palm wine and belong to societies associated with balɛbe, e.g. Oje¹, those persons who are sufficiently established in Temne society, or in Delco, not to be in a position to need assistance from Fulbe, or who do not think of themselves as being Fulbe.

The Fulbe community is ordered internally along the same lines as Fulbe society in Futa Jallon, and to the balɛbe, and other non-Fulbe outside the community, they present a united front. The outsiders are not made aware of minute divisions within the community, they are all 'Fula men', under a headman who associates with some other older men, but not all of them. The rest of the Fulbe appear to be merely a rather quiet, reticent group, who engage mainly in trading. To most other Africans the Fulbe are inscrutable, full of secrets and intrigues, but quick to kill an enemy with a knife when angered.²

The Fulbe headman, as was mentioned previously, is responsible for all people of his tribe in the Lunsar Marampa chiefdom. Himself appointed on the Administration's orders, the Headman is allowed to govern the Fulbe community as best he can according to Fulbe tribal law and custom. On arrival in Lunsar, any Fullo who wishes to remain for more than a few days, must report his presence to the Headman and give him a 'present' of at least one shilling as a 'greeting'. After this the man is protected by the Headman and the other Fulbe, and at the same time must obey the Headman.

The Elders

In cases or disputes, the Headman does not make decisions of importance on

¹ A secret society popular among Temnes, and supposed to originate in Nigeria.

² For full details of the Temne stereotypes of Fulbe see section on Fulbe-Temne relations.

his own. As a rule he consults with the other elders in the community. The Fulbe term for an elder is maudo (pl. maube), who, although not possessed of any formal political power or installation, is consulted and his advice taken, on the basis that he is old and perhaps scholarly and a person whose opinion commands respect. Not all old men are maube, and a clever man in his forties may be a maudo; whether a man is an elder or not depends on his commonsense, experience and prosperity.

The Lunsar Fulbe were not always clear as to which of their number were acknowledged to be elders. To elucidate who were most commonly thought of as being elders, 28 Fulbe were asked to nominate the five most important maube, the results appear below.

<u>Elders</u>	<u>Nominations</u>	<u>Rank Order</u>
Alpha Bakr Bah	23	1
Cerno Ibrima Jalo	22	2
Cerno Wuri Jalo	20	3
Momadu Jalo	18	4
Alhadji Bah	16	5
Abasse Soh	6	6
Bubakr Jalo (Pa Roque)	5	7
Momadu Jalo (Mark. Rd.)	2	8
Momadu Jeng Bah	1	9=, or 13=
Momadu Fula	1	" "
Momadu Barri	1	" "
Momadu Boi Bah	1	" "
Usman Bah	1	" "
Karamoko Abdulai Bah	1	" "
Momadu Timbo	1	" "
Boubakr Jalo	1	" "
Momadu Jalo (Mabes. St.)	1	" "

Informants were members of the Lunsar Fula Community. (Not all gave five names.)

Occupations (contd.)

64. Cerno Wuri Jalo
65. Cerno Ibrahima Jalo and Pa Hasana Bundu
66. Fal, or magic squares, made by a Fulbe Karamoko.

Temne Dancing Compin

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67. The leader of the yamama preparing to use matiri magic.
68. Devils of the yamama compin.
69. Yamama Drummers.

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Rank Order	Nominations	Elders
1	23	Alaba Bahr Bah
2	22	Gano Lirina Jalo
3	20	Gano Wuri Jalo
4	18	Komaba Jalo
5	16	Alimaji Bah
6	8	Akansa Bah
7	5	Bubaki Jalo (La Nodde)
8	2	Komaba Jalo (Mark. 24)
9th, or 11th	1	Komaba Jeng Bah
"	1	Komaba Fula
"	1	Komaba Bardi
"	1	Komaba Bel Bah
"	1	Lunan Bah
"	1	Kiraccho Abdoul Bah
"	1	Komaba Timbo
"	1	Komaba Jalo
"	1	Komaba Jalo (Maba. 24)

* Note: Although the maube have at least one Temme wife each, they all have at least one Fulbe wife. Marriage with non-Fulbe is looked upon as equivalent to marriage with slave women, a matter of expediency in the absence of Fulbe which does not alter their attitude to balebe in general. Nor does it go against pulasku.

The first five men on the list clearly are the most important elders, they are then followed by the younger men, who, in turn, are followed by several Fulbe each with one nomination apiece. The latter, it was found, had been nominated by kinsmen or people living in the same house, and who were in effect those to whom the nominator would go in the event of becoming involved in a dispute.

The top five elders are those Fulbe who first came to Lunsar, and include a man of slave status but with the referrent of manga. These elders are not the five oldest men in Lunsar, but are the residents of the longest standing, and who are well entrenched as citizens. They all have at least one Temne wife each, and all are able to speak Temne fluently which makes them invaluable when in dispute with the Temnes. By occupation the Headman is a karamoko who makes charms to assist people to find diamonds, he then buys the diamonds from the diggers and sells them at a profit. Cerno Ibrima and Cerno Wuri have already been mentioned; Momadu Jalo is an embroiderer and Alhadji Bah is a trader.

The Headman spends much of his time in the Diamond Area of Kenema, and during his absence, the elders under Cerno Ibrima Jalo take charge of the Fulbe. The elders not only listen to disputes but carry out orders from the Native Administration, such as the difficult task of collecting the 25s. head tax from the Fulbe.¹ In ritual also, the maube have special roles. They organise who is to do what, and where feasts and meetings will take place.

The Headman and elders, according to Fulbe custom, do not speak directly to someone they are visiting out of respect, nor when someone wishes to approach them do they answer him directly. A praisesinger first praises the person to be approached, either by singing and playing a native guitar (hodu) or by merely talking, saying what a fine man he is, and how the people like and respect him,

¹ During the tax collecting period the Fulbe either went on trading trips into the bush, or stayed indoors all day.

what his ancestors did, etc. until the recipient feels flattered and is considered to be in an approachable frame of mind. Another man will then explain the purpose of the visit, and relay any answers back to the elders who are immediately behind him. It is a breach of etiquette for the elders and the other party to talk directly to one another until the issue has been settled. By this means there can never be hard feelings between the two parties as a result of what was said, as they never actually speak to each other in a direct manner. The praisesinger and the 'speaker' or go-between acts as a buffer and keeps the situation under control, by excluding emotional inflection etc. in the parties' own voices.

The rigmarole involving praisesingers is usually left out when approaching a Temne or a European, although the go-between is almost always used.¹

The Compin

The male adult Fulbe (over 15 years) can be roughly divided into two on the basis of age, most of those over 15 and under 40 years are members of the 'Compin Omaru' and most of those over 40 do not belong to the 'Compin' but to the group of Muslim leaders and elders.

The 'Compin Omaru' is a voluntary association (soset in Pulla, from the French société) and more specifically in Pulla 'Hu wandirral' which is a term for an association in which people may mingle for enjoyment and making friends. Each Hu wandirral has a name which is usually the first name of the compin's leader, or owner. The Lunsar compin took its name from a man called Omaru Bah who had been the most active member until a couple of years back. Omaru's participation in the compin's activities has decreased since his marriage, although it still bears his name.

After a compin leader reaches about 38 years he will participate less and

¹ Monteil, loc. cit. reports that the Fulbe have an abhorrence of face-to-face contact without a go between. p-381

less until it is obvious that he is no longer an active member. At this point there are usually very few of the original members left and a new compin is formed, the new leader usually being one of the men left from the old compin. Thus Omaru Bah took over the leadership of the Lunsar Compin from Bubakr Jalo, now about 45 years or more of age and the biggest Kola trader in the town.

Compin leaders acquire their position through the interplay of several factors; they are usually

- (a) over 30 years of age
- (b) very active participants of the young man's activities
- (c) of a strong and forceful character
- (d) Charismatic leaders with the ear of the older men in the Fula Community
- (e) well liked by most of the other young men.

The leader of a 'compin' does not get paid for his position and receives his rewards in the form of hollaare, which means respect and prestige. He is assisted in performing his role as leader by his friends, who are also his friends outside the context of the compin, and often live in the same house or not far from it.

Officially, there is a treasurer, who looks after the compin funds which are raised in a number of ways, not always either clear or fair in the eyes of the members.

A Pullo, newly arrived in Lunsar, and wishing to stop there for some time, will naturally seek the company of other Fulbe of the same age, and if possible from the same place of origin. The new immigrant will be introduced to other young men and the 'compin'. Most likely the new man will already be a member of a compin in 'La Guinée' if he comes from there, and will know what it is.

If the young man wishes to join the compin he merely intimates a wish to do so and he is a member, there being no initiation ceremony to be passed through, and no compin secrets to be revealed to him. The senior members of

the Compin will, if the newcomer looks as though he has money, ask him for a subscription, and he will give what he can, or says he can. A prosperous youth may give 5/- or 10/- if he wants to create an impression, although 1/- to 2/- will do.

Secondly, money is raised by asking everyone for a subscription now and again. Sixpence a week is the amount members say should be collected although it never is. This is due to the fact that the compin rarely all come together during the week, and subscriptions are never collected except at meetings. Apart from this no member has the necessary authority behind him to extort the 6d. from anyone else, even the leader of the Compin would find it difficult to get money off another Pullo simply by asking in a straightforward manner for it.

The leader and a few of his friends may, if there are sufficient members present, announce a collection of subscriptions. After the hail of grumblings and protests that the leader and his friends always 'chop' or 'eat' the money, order will be restored and discussion begins.

The leaders of the compin will produce their sixpences and one or two other people may also produce theirs with a great show of reluctance. The remainder who have not paid can be classified into three groups, those who are vying with the leader for Charismatic leadership of the Compin, those who say they have not got any money, and those that really have not got even sixpence. This latter group may borrow it off someone else unless their credit is no good or they do not want to pay.

Eventually however nearly everyone pays up and the money is given to one of the senior members of the Compin for safe keeping. Usually the person chosen to look after the funds is a resident of at least 5 years' standing and with a job that gives him a reasonable income. The money is not given to a newcomer to look after or to a poor man, because he is almost certain to use it for his own purposes, or 'eat' it.

In the event of someone 'eating' Compin funds there is usually an outcry of righteous indignation although it is impossible to get all the money back, if it is more than a couple of pounds. All that happens is that the malefactor is stigmatised and not asked to look after the money again. 'Compin business' is 'Fula man business' and is not talked about with Temnes or other Balɛbe (black people); to make too much fuss about the 'eating' of the funds would bring the notice of outsiders to the affair and bring discredit on all Fulbe. The offender is not even ostracised, for to do so would break up the solidarity of the Fulbe which must be maintained vis-à-vis the Temnes and other Balɛbe. Misappropriating funds entrusted to one's care is not considered to be stealing to a Fullo, whereas going into another person's house, room or pocket, is stealing.

The third way funds may be raised for the Compin is by fining members for various breaches of etiquette. The compin does not lay down codes of behaviour and the codes adhered to are those of Fulbe in general, not especially those of Lunsar Fulbe or the 'compin'.

A member can be 'fined', a word which has its own connotation to Fulbe, for many things, and it is not always easy for an outsider to define the act that has to be fined. In fact a man may be fined for uttering a general curse which includes either all the Compin or all Fulbe, which is a serious curse. Fulbe may be fined for quarrelling and fighting, although this will be dealt with, as well as curses, later. Not 'greeting' a person may also warrant a fine being levied. The final way in which the Compin raises funds is as follows.

One or more ɲama kalaji (sing. ɲama kala) may visit Lunsar, usually those travelling in this part of Sierra Leone are Hoɗu (pl. Kodi) players who are described in the section on Occupations. Some ɲama kalaji play no musical instruments but only talk, giving a fast patter full of praises, or in some cases invective and abuse, others, like a woman who visited Lunsar, sing and

have apprentices beat time with rattles. The Fulbe have many types of travelling entertainer but the most popular to visit Lunsar were the Hodu players. These njama kalaji are freeborn (rembe) and are often sons of well-to-do men and minor chiefs. Njama kalaji most often travel in pairs and vary in age from eighteen to forty, after that a man is expected to give up playing the hodu and settle down.

Njama Kalaji will go anywhere there are Fulbe and money, and will stay in a town or village for as long as they can draw an audience which pays them. About sixteen Hodu players visited Lunsar over a period of ten months, staying in the town from one night to ten days. On entering the town they are greeted by another Fullo, who recognises them as Fulbe by their figure and dress; the visitors will next be taken to the house of one of the active compin members and offered a place to sleep.

The word soon gets about that there are two njama kalaji in town and all Fulbe will assume that they will play that night; nothing is organised, it is a matter of course that they will play. Similarly the musicians also assume that they will play the same evening.

From about 8.30 p.m. onwards Fulbe start to drift to the house in which the njama kalaji are to play, which is always a compin member's room, and in a house with mostly Fulbe living in it. Compin meetings are never held in the road nor do njama kalaji play in the road, it being part of the nature of Fulbe to keep their activities out of the public eye and especially from the eyes of the Bal&be.

When about twelve people have arrived the njama kalaji seat themselves on the floor with their backs to the wall and about two feet away from it, in order to have room to rock themselves back and forth while playing.

The audience will sit around the other three walls of the room on beds, chairs, or sit cross-legged like the players themselves. The chatter and gossip

die down as the kodi are tuned and a few tentative phrases are plucked out, while the njama kala hums to himself; at the same time he studies his audience and assesses the amount of money they have, for all njama kalaji are of a mercenary nature.

The next thing that happens is that the senior musician will ask the names of everyone in the room and they will answer giving their first name, clan name and country of origin. This completed the njama kalaji strike up with a praise song, praising each person in turn, towards the end of which everyone in the room has had time, through the means of this free sample, to assess the abilities and merits of the njama kalaji. Then people may begin to put money on the floor in front of the players as their names are praised, or they may call for relatives and friends to be praised also, but in any case whenever money is given to the players the exact amount given is shown to everyone. A senior member often gives a few shillings on behalf of the whole 'compin'.

Different sorts of songs are sung; praise songs, wedding songs and ballads of famous historical or mythical figures, such as Alpha Yia, are very popular. A recent 'smash hit' has been 'Diamond Area', and in fact songs are made up about many events new and old. There is even a song about a European who competed with a Chief for the favours of a Fulbe girl and won her; also there is a song called 'fono' which means gramophone, a very repetitive refrain. In addition there are curse songs which are usually directed at women who have badly treated either one of the musicians or a member of the company present. The only way to avert a njama kala from 'spoiling' one's name is to pay him a 'fine'.

A musical session may go on until after midnight by which time the audience is considerably reduced in number, having decreased from about thirty to half a dozen or ten men. If the njama kalaji drinks, as many do, the playing of the kodi and the singing become more and more boisterous, until eventually the

musicians say they are tired or the audience all goes and the evening's entertainment comes to a close.

The money put on the floor in front of the njama kalaji is counted up and divided, the players receiving two-thirds and the rest going to Compin funds. No record of the amount is written down although many of the Fulbe are capable of writing in Arabic, instead the money is shown to everyone and the amount called out so that all those present may bear witness.

These musical evenings are not exclusively patronised by men, women living in another room of the same house may also come and listen whether they are married or single, although a married woman who lives with her husband in Lunsar may only drop in for a short time.

The women most likely to be found in the audience are those who have come from the cattle camps outside Lunsar to sell sour milk (Kɔsan) and boiled butter (Nɛban deftaade). These Fulamusos come to Lunsar by lorry with as much as six gallons of Kɔsan and stay in the town until they have sold it all, which may take three or four days. While in Lunsar one of the Fulbe owning a house gives the women somewhere to sleep until they have sold their kɔsan.

To the woman from the cattle camps a trip to Lunsar is a real outing, for not only can she make money by selling Kɔsan, but look at the 'big city', which Lunsar is when compared with a cattle camp (Wurro). The women can buy cloth for their own and their children's clothes as well as all the things like pots and pans which she needs for her wifely duties.

Being strangers in town the Fulbe women are invited to come and listen to the Njama Kala if there is one playing, for not only can she listen to the music but also exchange news with the young men in the audience.

Prestige of Compin Members

According to the amount of money a man can give to the njama kalaji so he can have his name praised. The three main groupings which Futa Jallon Fulbe

fall into, the Bahs, Jalos and Barris, have representatives present as a rule, and each will try to have his own family or group praised, as well as his place of origin.

Thus a compin member receives prestige by having his name praised, and by showing that he can afford to pay to have it praised.

If there is a strange girl present and she chooses one of the young men present as her lover, then he receives prestige as a result of being chosen by the girl. Although he must try to match the prestige she is conferring on him by offering to pay her 'fine' for her. If the man says that he cannot pay it he insults the girl, and may be fined for insulting her. Usually he will try to get off by paying as little of it as possible.

The 'Compin Omaru' gives the impression of a loose organisation in which individual's roles are not clearly defined, the particular role of any individual at a particular moment being governed by the situational context. The Compin leader is often leader by name only, as the Compin pursues its activities just the same in his absence. The effective leader at most meetings becomes leader because he has charisma, while those people are present; if more people arrive then he may lose his charisma and another man may get it. Sometimes the meeting breaks up because cliques form which are opposed to one another. Kinship and place of origin play an important part in the formation of different cliques. The personnel in each clique vary according to their allegiances and according to the interests of the clique.

It will be noticed that there is little similarity in organisation between the 'Compin Omaru' and the voluntary associations described by Little¹ and Banton.²

When there are no njama kalaji to entertain the compin, members often hang

¹ K.L. Little: "The Role of Voluntary Associations in West African Urbanisation".

² M.P. Banton: "West African City".

Introduction

In 1954 Dr. J. Littlejohn conducted a pilot survey of the town of Lunsar in Sierra Leone on behalf of the Department of Social Anthropology in the University of Edinburgh. Five years later, in May 1959 under the direction of Dr. K. L. Little, Dr. Littlejohn returned to Sierra Leone as leader of the University of Edinburgh, Lunsar Research Team. The other two team members at that time were Dr. D. Gamble (anthropologist) and Dr. R. Mills (physician). This team, generously financed by the Nuffield Foundation, had the aim of studying the process of urbanisation in a town which had grown solely as a result of open cast iron mining activities taking place less than a mile away. During the course of his investigations Dr. Littlejohn reported that one tribal group, the Fula or Fulbe, were different from the other immigrants in that they kept separate from the other tribes, appeared to be strongly Muslim, and had defeated the Temne on a number of occasions in Historical times. It was recommended that I go to Lunsar and study the Fulbe to find out how they adapted themselves to living in Lunsar so that the Fulbe might be compared with the other tribal groups.

The Fulbe were not entirely new to me when I went to Lunsar in October 1959. While serving in 'A' Coy, the Gambia Regiment in 1954-5, Fulbe had formed the largest tribal group in the unit although they were not indigenous.¹ Even in the context of military discipline and with no formal anthropological training it was apparent to me that the Fulbe had their own peculiar characteristics which set them apart from the other soldiers irrespective of rank. For example, when a troop-carrying lorry crashed, the non-Fulbe claimed that a Fulbe driver had tied magic charms (tolkaru) on to the steering gear in order to make it crash because he was a rival of the lorry driver. During sports, when Fulbe won most of the races, the non-Fulbe taunted them by calling out 'tief man', implying that Fulbe

¹ Firdu Fulbe are found in the Gambia, but most of those in the army came from Senegal, Guinea and what is now Mali.

around on the verandahs or in rooms belonging to friends. Until about ten at night the young Fulbe congregate on a street corner on the main road in the dry season, where there are several groundnut stalls owned by Susus and Fulbe women, and also a tablefull of wares owned by a Fulbe girl whose husband is in the Diamond Area.

Many of the Fulbe on first arriving in Lunsar complain that the Compin is badly organised with no 'patron' or treasurer, and little in the way of organised entertainment. However, after being in Lunsar for a month or so they cease to grumble and join in the endless discussions and exchanging of news, as well as participation in the musical evenings and 'palavas'.

Sometimes the Compin organises trips to Marampa in conjunction with the older men who are not members of the compin, to 'greet' cerno Wuri Jalo, a much respected sage. In this capacity they are going as members of the Fula community rather than as a compin, and in fact it may be added that the only times that the young men are acting as compin members is when listening to njama kalaji, or in disputes between one man and another, or between the compin and one of its members. There are occasions when disputes cannot be settled within the compin and each side will try to obtain the support of one of the older Fulbe, usually an ex-compin member.

That the 'Compin Omaru' of Lunsar is not merely a product of the Lunsar urban situation is shown by the accompanying tables showing the relative parentages between members and non-members for both Fulbe and half-Fulbe, Lunsar residents and itinerant Fulas, very few of whom had visited Lunsar often before.

Table 3.2 Showing Compin membership against parentage for Lunsar and Itinerant Fulbe interviewed in Lunsar.

	<u>Lunsar Fulbe</u>		<u>Itinerant Fulbe</u>	
	<u>Members</u>	<u>non-Members</u>	<u>Members</u>	<u>non-Members</u>
Fulbe	56%	44% n = 71	Fulbe 54%	46% n = 38
Half-Fulbe	10%	90% n = 30	Half-Fulbe 11%	89% n = 9

The differences between the percentages of members and non-members for residents and itinerants in the table is insignificant for men with both parents Fulbe or only one parent a Pullo. Since most Fulbe with only one parent a Pullo, usually the father, come from Sierra Leone, and most Fulbe with both parents Fulbe come from Futa Jallon, this table shows that the same proportion of the male population are compin members in Lunsar and in Futa. The table also shows that the half-Fulbe in Lunsar have the same proportion of members as half-Fulbe in other parts of Sierra Leone. Both these statements are true if the Itinerant Fulbe and the Lunsar Fulbe do not vary to any great extent from those in Futa, in some other respect, unknown to me.

The young men in the cattle camp I stayed in also belong to Hu wondirral although like the town compin, it has a smaller membership, and young cattle owners as well as cattle drovers with no cows of their own belonged to it.

In an area of seven herds making three separate settlements, nearly all the men belonged to the compin, the only two who did not belong were og rnaabe, family heads and men over the age of forty-five. There were no half-Fulbe in the cattle camp.

	<u>Members</u>	<u>Non-Members</u>
Fulbe	82%	18% n = 11

N.B. The total numbers are only 11, so care should be used in comparing these figures with those in the previous table.

The cattle camps have a different structure to the Lunsar urban structure and are dealt with elsewhere.

Women

There are no Fulbe women's voluntary organisations in Lunsar, although they participate in certain activities of the men's compin as mentioned.

All the Fulbe women had undergone cliterodectomy either in Futa or in part of Sierra Leone. Young Fulbe girls may be sent to the Bundu¹ bush at the

¹ Bundu - Temne society which initiates girls.

appropriate time to have the operation performed, although when possible they are sent back to Futa Jallon or to the Koinadougou or Bombali districts where there are large numbers of Fulbe. I was unable to ascertain whether the Fulbe women in Lunsar ever performed cliterodectomy on young girls. In any case I was convinced that all Fulbe women in Lunsar had had the operation performed.

Temne Association

Two brothers whose father had been a Fulbe and their mother a Temne belonged to the Oje society. Another half-Fulbe was also a member of the Oje and also of the 'Jolly Boys'. Both these societies are predominantly Temne societies although the Oje came from Nigeria originally; as such, both of these societies 'own' and use non-Koranic magic, and possess devils which Fulbe consider to be nonsense (njama-njama) and the practice of pagans (kafirri). In addition the man who belongs to both societies drinks 'Yengama wine'¹ and smokes Jamba², which are both prohibited by Islamic law and Sierra Leone Law.

The Sphere of Political Activity

The complex divisions of the Fulbe community tend only to come into operation where relationships between members of the community are involved. In cases where a Fulbe is involved in a dispute with an outsider, the whole community may act, led by the elders and the senior compin members. Thus, when a visiting trader was beaten up in the market by a Temne lorry driver and his two apprentices, a Pullo seeing the fight ran round the town calling the Fulbe to go to exact justice. Within minutes of the attack about fifty Fulbe appeared in the market armed with knives and cutlasses, and only the prompt removal of the driver and his helpers to the Police Station averted serious injuries.

1

A fiendish concoction made by mixing fermented palm wine, snuff, peppers, powdered marihuana, sugar and 'gin powder'.

2

Marihuana - much smoked by lorry drivers to give them courage.

The Fulbe went on to the Police Station and demanded justice, threatening to fight the Police if satisfaction was not given. Eventually the Police made the Temne lorry driver pay the trader £5, and kept the driver and apprentices in custody for the night for their own safety. No charges were preferred, although the culprits were 'fined' on an unofficial basis.

The solidarity of the Fulbe community is very strong, as the above case indicates; even in less dramatic incidents the Fulbe are nearly always prepared to back up another Fulbe, vis-à-vis non-Fulbe. This strong feeling of belonging that most Fulbe have, resulting in tribal solidarity, extends beyond the Lunsar situation and includes the Fulbe in the cattle camps between Lunsar and the Bombali District which begins 21 miles up the Makeni Road.

The newly crowned Temne Chief of Feredugu, Bai Fonte, decided to appoint a Fulbe Headman within his chiefdom who would be responsible for settling disputes between Fulbe and Temnes. The latter are incessantly claiming that the cattle have spoilt crops and demand compensation, which leads to endless litigation; the new Fulbe Headman was to settle such disputes more quickly than had been done before. The new Headman was also to represent Fulbe and be responsible for them to the Temne Paramount Chief, Bai Fonte.

Altogether there were nine Temne sub-chiefs who had Cattle Camps on their Land, and there were two Fulbe contesting for the position of Headman. The brother's son (biddo) of one of these men had many friends and contacts in Lunsar, and spent nearly two months canvassing for his uncle (bapa = father) among the Lunsar Fulbe. On the day of the election about forty to fifty Lunsar Fulbe walked, cycled, and motored to Feredugu, five miles away, to support their friend's uncle. One man from Lunsar supported the other candidate, but this was not deemed disloyal as he had been the slave of the other man's family, and this tie was stronger.

During the election Cerno Ibrima and Cerno Wuri sat with Bai Fonte, and when challenged, said that as they were not taking sides this was permissible. However, in spite of the support of the Lunsar Fulbe, their man lost the election as Bai Fonte restricted voting to one representative from each cattle camp and to each Temne sub-Chief. A Temne sub-chief wrote down who voted for who, and actually announced the man with least votes as winner. But, since only he and I had recorded the vote nothing could be done about it: when I sought out the clerk to tax him with this injustice, he had disappeared, having urgent business elsewhere.¹

The nephew of the losing candidate was in tears for a while after the result was declared, and estimated to have lost £150 and some cattle in bribes, as well as the official £14 and one cow which each candidate had to give.

The Fulbe have not formed any kind of special political organisation or voluntary association to meet the Lunsar situation, but bring with them existing roles, statuses and loyalties which are adapted only slightly.

Role Conflict

There are occasions when traditional roles are assumed by those not entitled to perform them by tradition. Clashes between persons having taken up new roles and those who inherited them become clearest in ceremony and ritual. One of the praisesingers in Lunsar was by birth a man from Futa Toro who belonged to the 'wood carver' caste (laube); on the other hand a kola trader, from Labé in Futa Jallon, was an hereditary praisesinger but happened to be a Mandinka. Because of the latter's place of origin and his close association with Fulbe he was included along with a Mandinka leatherworker as being within the Fulbe community. Thus, when a sacrificial sheep was cut up, both men claimed the portion which by tradition went to the praisesinger (the)

1

I later told Cerno Ibrima Jalo about the ballot rigging but did nothing at the time for fear of starting a riot.

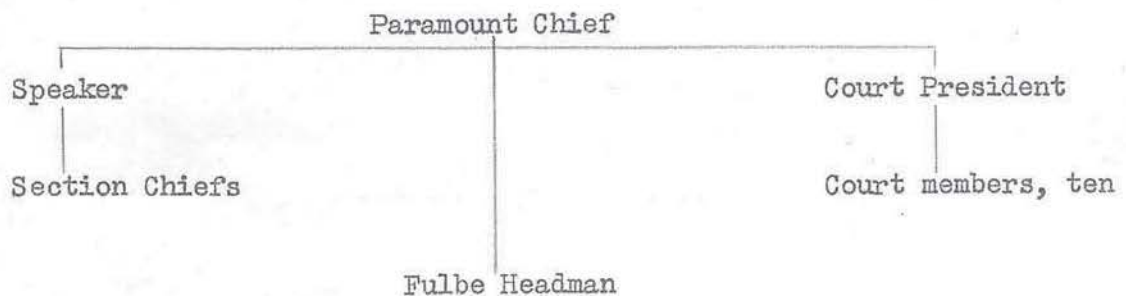
but eventually agreed to share it. Similarly, a leatherworker, who was actually a freeman by birth, claimed the skin, head and feet of the sheep, which by tradition should go to the manga, or elderly respected slave. Alhadje Bah, being the latter, contested the leatherworker's right to the meat but gave in after considerable argument.

The most significant feature of the disputes over rights is not that new rights have come into existence as a result of being in Lunsar, but that there is confusion over who has traditional rights. There is a change in the individuals claiming rights but not a change in the nature of the rights themselves, not in the idea of which social persons are entitled to certain rights. The conclusion which can be drawn from this is that some of the Fulbe are not sure of their identity, or that some of them have taken the opportunity on coming to Lunsar to change their identity.

The conflict of certain individuals in competing for traditional Fulbe rights may be due to them having come to Lunsar, or, on the other hand, it may be a feature of Fulbe society elsewhere to-day. But however it is viewed, the fact that the traditional rights themselves are recognised and sought after, shows that Fulbe ^{values are} ~~not~~ not being replaced by a new ^{ones.} ~~ones.~~

Relationship with Native Administration

The Fulbe chief comes directly under the Temne Paramount Chief, whose brother, The Speaker, takes over the administrative duties of the Chief during his frequent absences. The Fulbe are not represented on the Native Administration Court, nor is their Headman included in the list of Town Section Chiefs.



The diagram on the previous page roughly represents the organisation of the Native Administration in Lunsar.

Instructions concerning Fulbe, such as the collection of Head Tax, are given by the Chief, or his Speaker, to the Fulbe Headman or, in his absence, to Oserno Ibrima Jalo, who then pass on the instructions to all the Fulbe in Lunsar. If, after having given these instructions, a Pullo is found not to have paid his tax, then it is his own personal responsibility and blame cannot be laid on the Fulbe Headman or the maube.

Pictures taken at Ramadan



Plate 29. Lunsar Muslims praying at the end of Ramadan.



Plate 30. The women at the back of the meeting after praying.



Plate 31. The ram is brought before the maube to be admired.



Plate 32. Alfa Bakr's nephew killing the ram.

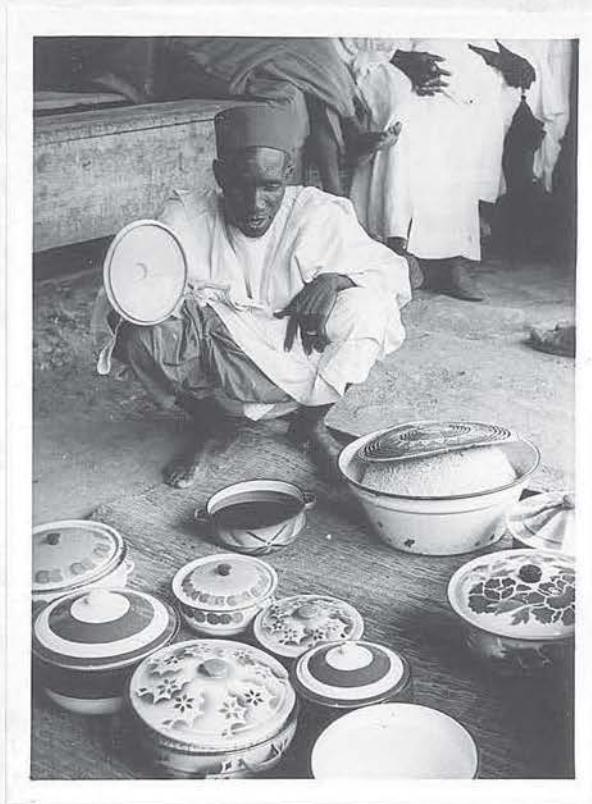


Plate 33. The Mandingo praise singer praises the food.

could run fast as they were used to running away from the scenes of their crimes. Since most of the N.C.O.s were Fulbe it was alleged that they used their own powerful magic to achieve promotion.

Although I was to some extent familiar with the Fulbe, when I arrived in Lunsar, with its 10,000 inhabitants it was difficult to see how to begin the study, for the Fulbe did not live close together, but scattered in little clusters all over the town. Fortunately the Fulbe are distinctive in their robes and after an introduction to their Headman by Dr. Gamble a search was made for someone to act as interpreter.

It was explained to the Headman, (Alfa Bakr) that the other team members were studying the Temne way of life, but that the Fulbe although small in numbers, were worthy of a special study of their own. Fortunately, largely through my previous contacts with Fulbe a favourable impression was made on the chief by greeting him by the words "Salaam a lekum", the traditional muslim greeting. Dr. Gamble then informed Alfa Bakr who I was, where I came from and what my mission was. Then after the customary double handshake, Alfa Bakr enquired after my health, and asked after my wife. Only after a long exchange of irrelevancies did he ask me what I wanted.

After recounting what Dr. Gamble had told him I explained my interest in the Fulbe and said that I wished to learn their language, and required an interpreter. I asked the chief to inform all the Lunsar Fulbe of my presence and interests. This he agreed to do but the only person available as interpreter spoke some French, next to no English, a little Wolof and his own language. He was also illiterate. However this language difficulty gave me plenty of incentive to learn the Fulbe language.

The importance of establishing good rapport with the chief of a people to be studied cannot be overstressed, although I was careful not to seek Alfa Bakr's company too often, as this may have increased the social distance between myself

CHAPTER IV. - SOCIAL STRUCTURE B

The last chapter explained that each individual owes allegiance to his country of origin. This principle segments Fulbe society into ever larger segments as loyalty is extended from the lineage through the canton, the province and the confederation, e.g. Futa Jallon, until the whole of Fulbe society may be included. The order of segment involved varies with the identity of the person with whom a Fullo, or group of Fulbe is aligned in a particular situation.

The second principle described in the previous chapter is that of horizontal stratification by freemen, artisans and slaves. Unlike the segments, the strata of Fulbe society have specific rights and obligations accruing to them. Freemen by tradition have the right to use the slaves to work for them every day except Thursdays and Fridays¹ when the slaves may work on their own behalf. The craft castes have a virtual monopoly on most of the traditional technology, and slaves have the right to be fed, clothed and sheltered in return for their services. An individual's parentage fixes his position in society, and although some freedom of choice is possible within each strata, he can not move from one caste or status to another.

Within each stratum, kinship defines the individual's rights and obligations with respect to fellow kinsmen. There is a fundamental difference between being in a caste structure and in a kinship system. Individuals within the limits of their own kinship system potentially may occupy any role performed by his or her sex, and in some societies people have been known to behave as members of the sex for which they are not biologically qualified. In the caste system each individual can only behave as a member of the caste into which he is born. A Fulbe slave cannot treat freemen as equals, and he cannot be one man's slave and another man's master. In addition kinship is based on consanguinity, whereas each caste places lineages, or groups of corporate kin, into status

¹ Vieillard, loc. cit. p. 156

categories which reach across and include corporate kin groups which are not related to one another.

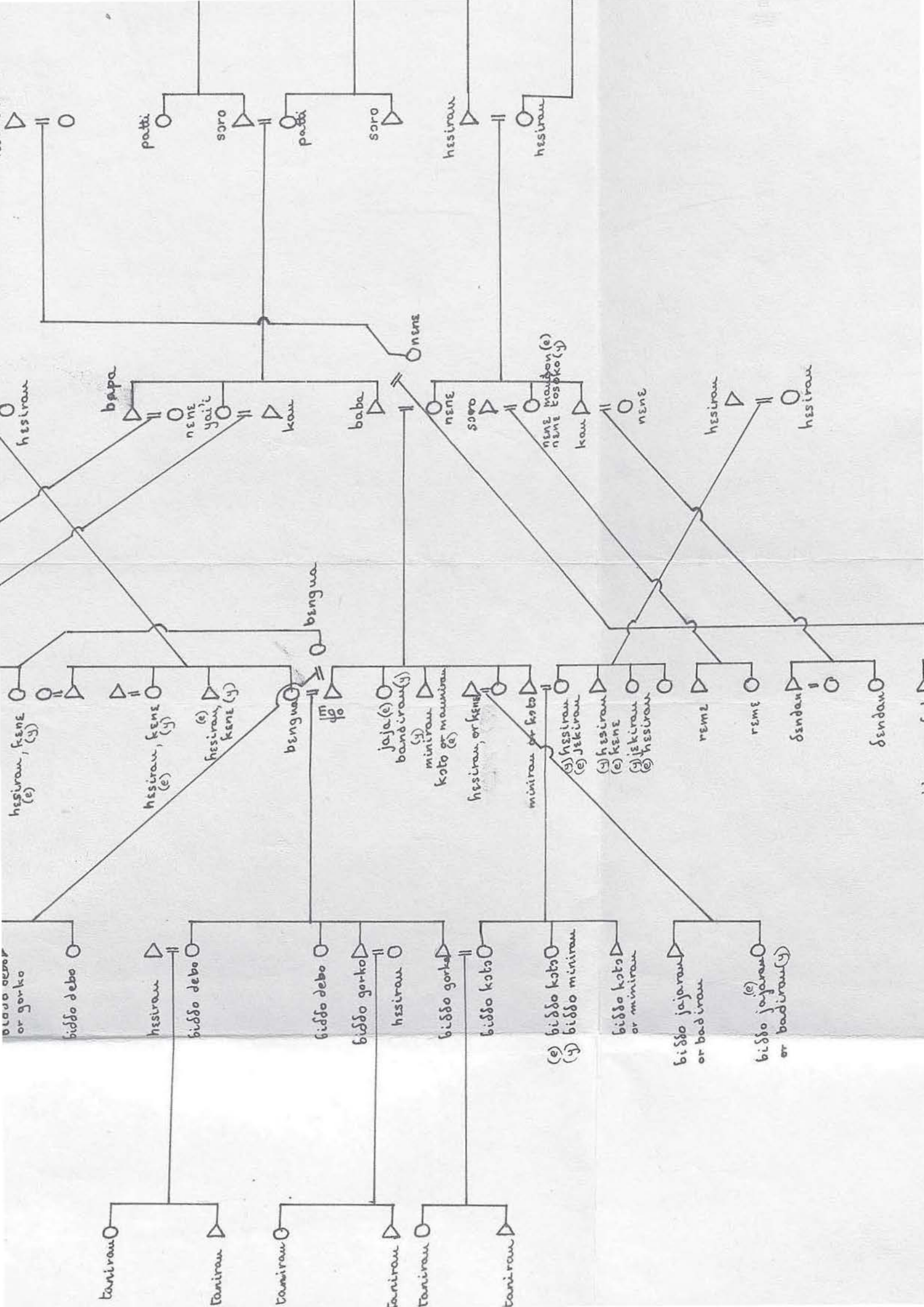
The bonds of kinship are important to Lunsar Fulbe, since they are linked by them to other kin living in Futa Jallon. This feature is in addition to the normal kinship role of regulating face to face behaviour of individuals belonging to the same corporate kin group. The bonds of kinship linking the Lunsar Fulbe with Fulbe in Futa Jallon provide the dimension of extension referred to earlier.

Kinship ties with kin in Futa Jallon tend to reinforce the Lunsar Fulbe's allegiances to their places of origin, because communication is generally maintained between the two. Kinship ties have a eunomic function in this case, as they tend to maintain the traditional structure. Since the Lunsar Fulbe are made up of 'projections' of many areas and live in close proximity to one another these allegiances tend to divide rather than unit them. Paradoxically the splitting up of the Fulbe into groups, or segments, is typical, and what at first sight appears to be dynomic in function is actually perpetuating the typical Fulbe social structure.

In order to show the relationship of kinship, lineality and other forms of segmentation a brief account of the Futa Jallon (Lunsar) Fulbe kinship terminology is given below. This is followed by a description and analysis of two cattle camps outside Lunsar, which are taken as a 'control' with which to compare the Lunsar Fulbe. The cattle camp Fulbe contain no half Fulbe and can be taken as representing the traditional Fulbe culture.

The Fulbe are patrilineal, agnates being known as garol, matrilineal kin are called deol, and all kin (fambul in Krio) are known as musidal. The Fulbe kinship terminology is classificatory and there are a number of features about it worth mentioning in the present context. The most important kin are the following:¹

¹ See diagram of Futa Jallon Fulbe kinship terms



- Fathers. Ego's father is called baba, and his brothers are called bapa¹. Ego shows considerable reserve and respect to these men who address him (or her) as bidáo (child). Baba and bapa are responsible for disciplining ego, although baba must provide for him and assist him in obtaining a wife.
- Mothers. Ego calls the following females nɛnɛ: his mother, his mother's sisters and his father's brother's wives. All these women show affection towards ego, which he in turn reciprocates. Ego's father's sister is called yai'i. nɛnɛ and yai'i call ego, bidáo.
- Mother's brother Ego has a special relationship with males addressed by him as kau, who are his mother's brother and father's sister's husband, i.e. the husband of yai'i. Ego respects his kau although not in the same way as his baba and bapa; they are potential fathers-in-law. kau address ego as badirau, and is very generous towards him, often contributing to his upbringing and education. Ego is also an heir to his kau.
- Joking. Ego has a joking relationship with two categories of kin, dɛndan and kɛnɛ. Ego's dɛndan are the children of his kau, i.e. of his mother's brother and his father's sister (yai'i) and her husband. kɛnɛ include ego's wives' sisters and brothers, and also his own sister's husband; thus the relationship is reciprocal. If these same individuals (kɛnɛ) happen to be older than ego, then he calls them hɛsirau, and the relationship is not one of joking but of respect on ego's part. Ego also has a joking relationship with his brother's wives if the brother is older than him; the wife is

1

To avoid confusion the singular form of the names of kin have been used in this section.

called jəkirau. Younger brothers' wives are called həsirau and must be respected.

Siblings. Brothers older than ego are called koto, those younger are called minirau. Elder sisters are called jaja, and those younger, bandirau. Elder brothers and sisters must be respected and have to discipline ego, while he in turn disciplines those younger than himself. A brother or sister by the same father and the same mother is said to be nənə goto, baba goto, or 'one mother, one father'. Half brothers and sisters are referred to as nənə goto or baba goto, according to which parent they have in common.

Children. Ego has to discipline not only his own children but also those of his brothers and sisters. His sister's child is called jakirau or bandirau according to whether the sister is older or younger than ego: he is their kau.

Familiarity. A casual and unrestrained relationship exists between ego and persons addressed as soro, patti and tanirau.
soro are male paternal grandparents, male maternal great grandparents and ego's mother's sister's husband.
patti are ego's female paternal grandparents and female maternal great-grandparents.
tanirau are ego's own male and female grandchildren.

Marriage. The most preferential marriage is between ego and his dəndan, i.e. his mother's brother's child and that of his father's sister (yai'i) and her husband; they are the children of his kau.
 Second in preference is marriage with rəmε, who are the children of ego's mother's sister and her husband (soro). Ego is also supposed to discipline his rəmε, and they to respect him in contrast to the joking relationship which ego has with his dəndan. Marriage with jəkirau

comes third in preference, who are his brother's wives (in the event of the brother's death), and their sisters. Ego may also marry his dead wives' sisters, who are called keng.

Inheritance. Males inherit cattle, money, houses and clothes (male property) from their father and their kau. Females inherit domestic utensils, of which Fulbe women have a great number, from their mother. Women may also inherit male property on behalf of their young sons, acting as trustees. Inherited goods are always divided up so that each recipient has an equal share.

It is characteristic of many Fulbe that their heirs take control of their inheritance before the death of the father, mother or mother's brother. A male infant begins to have cattle set aside for him from the time he is named when one week old. Both his father and his mother's brother designate cattle for the future herder at certain periods of the child's life. The times of naming, initiation and marriage not only mark the passing from one status to another but also increase the young man's herd. In addition, a woman brings a dowry of cattle to her husband's wurro or camp, at her marriage. The new man and wife are by this time a viable social and economic unit, and, as Stenning¹ has explained, their future prosperity depends on breeding more cattle and human beings.

More cattle are needed to replace those that die; to ensure a constant supply of milk on which they live; and to build up a surplus to provide wives for their sons, and dowry^{ie}s for their daughters. In turn a couple need daughters to work as milkmaids, and sons to assist with the pasturing, droving and protection of the herd. Looking after a herd is an active occupation and by the time a man is old and weak, control of all his cattle will have passed onto his

¹ Stenning, loc. cit. and 'Household viability among the pastoral Fulani'. Developmental cycle in Domestic Groups, Ed. Jack Goody Cambridge papers in Social Anthropology, no. 1. C.U.P. 1962.

sons and sister's sons. The old man's wives will no longer have the right to milk their husband's cows, since this becomes the right of their sons' wives. Consequently the old man's wives will have given away most of their milking utensils to their daughters when they were married.

There is a similarity between the Fulbe attitude to land and their attitude to other property. Land is to use, no matter who owns it, and cattle must be looked after and increased. Control over cattle is passed to a man's sons before he is senile because he can no longer manage them well and has no further use for them. The cycle is complete.

Kinship in Lunsar

To investigate the kinship configuration of the Lunsar Fulbe and half-Fulbe some 36 males and 4 females were asked what kin (and affines) they had actually living in Lunsar and Marampa. The exact nature of the relationships was noted, and from the data provided by the 40 informants it was discovered that a total of ten people had no patrilineal - or matrilineal kin - and seven had no affinal kin.

An analysis of the data is shown in tabular form in table 4.1; the Fulbe classificatory term is given, then the exact nature of the relationship, followed by the number of informants with kin in each category living in Lunsar, while the last column gives the number of kin named by the 40 informants who fall into each category.

Table 4.1 shows, as would be expected, that the most common link is between parent and child, although the second commonest link is with father's brother's sons, there being 9 people related to 23 father's brother's sons and 9 to father's brother's daughters. There is also a fairly high proportion of brothers and sisters who are immigrants and were not born in Lunsar.

Generally speaking there are three times the number of patrilineal kin

as there are matrilineal kin and others (e.g. sister's sons, etc.) all lumped together. This is almost certainly due to the higher mobility of men, and is also linked with the greater number of Fulbe men than Fulbe women in Lunsar.

On plotting a kinship diagram from the data one very large chart emerged showing that 18 out of 33 informants with any kind of kin (including affines) in Lunsar were related in some way; furthermore the kinship chart contained the names of half of all the Fulbe and half-Fulbe in Lunsar. Included in this large block of kin are the Headman, Alfa Bakr; cerno Ibrima Jalo, and cerno Wuri Jalo. Another acknowledged maudo (elder), Alhadji Bah claimed to be related to Alfa Bakr as he was the latter's brother's former slave.

This large block of Fulbe is also related to the family of the Temne Paramount Chief, the Kabias of Marampa, as Alfa Bakr's brother's daughter is married to Bai Koblo. Thus the Fulbe Headman is a father-in-law (hasirau) of the Temne chief.

The remainder of the 33 informants with kin in Lunsar together with the kin they named fell into nine other unrelated fragments with the number of related individuals varying between four and twenty-five. Each of the smaller groups of kin live in one house, and while the larger groups are naturally forced to split up they tend to live near to their relatives.

Many of those Lunsar Fulbe who were not used as informants in the study of kinship naturally appear on one or other of the charts made out, and it is not very likely that there is another large corporate kin group undetected. Apart from the single young men with no kin, the rest belong to small cells of the same type as those mentioned in the previous paragraph.

Whether an immigrant has kin in Lunsar or not is very important; for one thing, the fact that a man or woman has kin in Lunsar may make him, or her, decide to go and visit Lunsar, and perhaps later whether to settle there or not. Immigrants who have not specifically set out from their homes to come to Lunsar

will find life easier in the town on chance arrival if they have kin there, although the man with no kin will certainly be looked after to a limited extent. Kin who are established welcome members of their own family as it increases their own security, on the other hand, they will assist the new arrival in any way that lies within their power. Besides board and lodging (which any Pullo receives), kin attempt to find work for new arrivals, and will lend them money to buy an opening in some occupation.

Three brothers had an arrangement whereby one of them looked after their storehouse in Kindia (La Guinée) while the other two travelled to and from Lunsar with kola nuts, cattle, and cloth. Furthermore the man who bought kola nuts from the Temne villages and took them to Lunsar was their father's brother's son. Another father's brother's son often drove the lorry for them, thus ensuring the safe delivery of their goods.

The Fulbe say that the only Pullo they can really trust is a full brother, nɛnɛ goto, baba goto, although there were indications that other relatives were also trusted. One of the shops owned by the Headman was leased to a Lebanese, whose watchman was the Headman's sister's son. Thus the man's kau saw to it that his badirau had a job, and also that his property was safeguarded properly.

Kinship links between Lunsar Fulbe are kept active far more than are links with kin in Futa Jallon simply because there is more interaction between them; but if a kinsman (or kinswoman) comes to visit a Pullo who lives in Lunsar and has not seen him for twenty years, the relationship between them is built up on the basis of the link that already exists, and is not dependent on their own personal feelings and preferences. Thus kinship ties form a potential structure which becomes actuated on the appearance of a kinsman, and consequently determines the relationship between the two men.

Among Lunsar Fulbe it was interesting to observe the growth, maturation

Table 4.1

Kin of 40 Fulbe and half-Fulbe resident in Lunsar
over the age of eighteen, including four females.

<u>Kin category</u>		<u>No. with kin</u>	<u>No. of kin</u>
<u>Patrilineal kin</u>		<u>in each cat.</u>	<u>in each cat.</u>
baba	father	1	1
bapa	father's brother	4	6
yai'i	father's sister	3	3
ƙoto/min.*	father's brother's son	9	23
jaja/ban.*	father's brother's daughter	5	9
ƙiddo	father's brother's son's son	2	5
ƙiddo	father's brother's son's daughter	1	3
ƙoto/min.	brother, full	7	9
ƙoto/min.	brother, half	6	9
jaja/ban.	sister, full	1	1
jaja/ban.	sister, half	5	8
ƙiddo	brother's son	6	12
ƙiddo	brother's daughter	3	6
ƙiddo	son	11	18
ƙiddo	daughter	13	28
tanirau	son's son	1	1
tanirau	son's daughter	1	1
		79	143
<u>Matrilineal kin and others</u>			
nɛnɛ	mother	1	1
kau	mother's brother	3	3
nɛnɛ	mother's sister	1	1
dɛndan	mother's brother's son	1	1
rɛmɛ	mother's sister's son	2	2
rɛmɛ	mother's sister's daughter	1	1
dɛndan	father's sister's son	1	1
badirau	sister's son	2	4
badirau	sister's daughter	1	1
tanirau	daughter's son	3	13
tanirau	daughter's daughter	3	13
hɛsirau)	brother's wife	5	6
ƙɛkirau)			
hɛsirau)	sister's husband	2	2
ƙɛnɛ)			
ƙiddo	son's wife	1	1
hɛsirau	daughter's husband	2	2
		29	52
<u>Affines</u>			
bɛngua	wife	24	32
hɛsirau)	wife's sister	6	11
ƙɛnɛ)			
hɛsirau)	wife's brother	9	11
ƙɛnɛ)			
hɛsirau	wife's father	1	1
hɛsirau	wife's mother	4	4
number with no patrilineal or matrilineal kin		10	
number with no affinal kin		7	
		<u>44</u>	<u>152</u>
			<u>59</u>
			<u>254</u>

* = minirau in full: ban. = bandirau in full

and other more junior Fulbe. Instead friends were made with men in the twenty five to forty age group. This group which contained most of the Fulbe, put me in an advantageous position from which older men could be treated as fathers and grandfathers to whom I could go as a pupil wishing to learn rather than as an interrogator.

Naturally as a European, with a European type of job to do, I could not become a Pullo (sing. of Fulbe), and on certain occasions I was forced to act as a European. Only on one or two occasions did I behave as though belonging to an older age group. Once, when Alfa Bakr was away on business at the time of the Ramadan festival I provided the sacrificial ram which by custom would have been provided by the Headman. This gave me a unique opportunity to observe the whole process of organising the sacrifice and feast, the allocation of roles, the distribution of meat, its cooking and consumption. Being rather apprehensive of Alfa Bakr's reaction to the presumption on my part, I was very relieved when having sent for me on his return he told me that I had 'done well'.

A further factor assisting in the field work was the choice of residence. I was first given a house on the edge of town which was too far away from my informants, and when the Temne landlord said that he wanted fifty pounds a month rent, I moved to a cheaper house next to the rubbish dump,¹ which apart from occasional smells and being sited on an old cemetery,² had several households of Fulbe close-by. The importance of actually living in the middle of one's laboratory cannot be stressed too much. Much comes to notice which otherwise the fieldworker might not have enquired about at all.

The Fulbe in Lunsar at any given moment are not all residents, and to put newcomers at their ease my interpreter used to tell them about me first, in an attempt to induce their co-operation. In addition I carried 'JOB' cigarettes,

¹ Rubbish dumps are used by the Temne for working powerful magic.

² Because of the cemetery the house was supposed to have ghosts around it which was one reason why it was cheap.

and end of friendships. By friendships I mean informal associations between two individuals, who share common interests and who help each other in furtherance of those interests. Young men with no kin often made friends with others who also had no kin, and sometimes with younger brothers of established traders. For a few weeks or months, the friends appeared to be inseparable, gave each other money and clothes, helped each other in love affairs and had what appeared to be a closer relationship than many people had with close kinsmen. However these friendships frequently ended in rows and disputes, and new friends were found.

Friendships, although appearing for a short time to be closer bonds than those of kinship, break down frequently, while the kinship bonds last a lifetime and are maintained by other persons in the system. It is suggested that friendships between young Fulbe in Lunsar are often a substitute for kinship ties which they have not got with anyone in the town. Older men when asked who their friends were, often replied that they had none, or would sweep their arm round in a half circle and say, "All these Fulbe are my friends". The very concept of friendship (Krio = paadi) appears to be rare among older Fulbe, with kin, while very common among young men without, suggesting that it is a kinship substitute.

The importance of the Fulbe compin, and the strong solidarity of Lunsar Fulbe is connected with the tendency for Fulbe to maintain traditional values. Thus persons with no kin have only the identity of 'Pullo', and not of kau or biddo or any other kinship social person. To make their identity valid and operable, Fulbe maintain the idea of all Fulbe in Lunsar being one family.

The Cattle camps.

There are main cattle camps to the North and East of Lunsar but none to the South and West. To the North, cattle camps are found in ever increasing concentration until the Guinea frontier is reached. I visited about ten cattle camps in different places around Lunsar, but only spent some time in two of them.

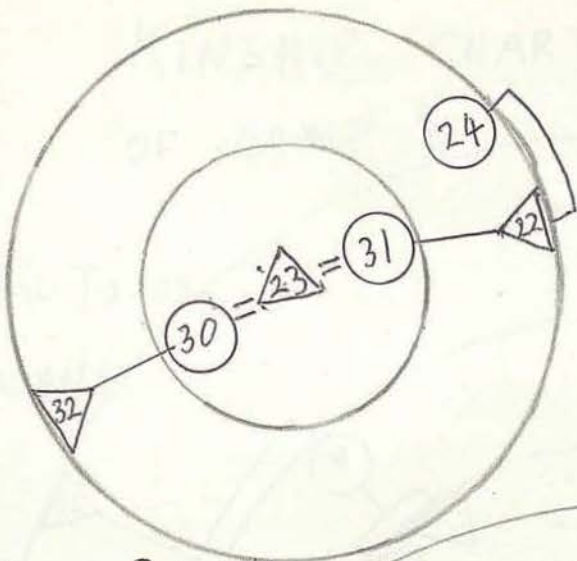
Camp 1 is smaller and older than camp 2, and consists of three herds using the same corral. The three herds are owned by three sons of one man but by different mothers. The kinship chart of camp 1 illustrates clearly the way in which the camp is made up of three separate households, or bengure, linked by agnatic ties between the three heads. One head, no. 2 is supporting his mother who is still alive but taking little active interest in the running of the bengure. Kin without numbers in these charts are either dead or absent. Other kin not living in these camps and not showing connections between kin have been omitted. An exception has been made of no. 13 in camp 2, because his herd is there and he had merely left to fetch his wives and children from their old camp. Camp 2 is very new, the occupants having decided to go there after nos. 1 and 16 had surveyed it and decided that it was a suitable site. Their old camp was nearly fifty miles to the North in the Sanda area.

It will be noted that in the kinship charts for both camps that married men owning herds often have their wives' sisters and sometimes brothers staying with them, these affinal kin help with the milking, herding, marketing of milk and perform odd jobs around the camp in return for their keep. No. 1 of camp one has as part of his bengure a man, no. 23, who is a herdsman or drover, (ainowo) whose wives and children stay with him. This herdsman is probably a maccudo or slave although the cattle owners would not admit it. The other drovers are poor freemen without cattle and therefore without the means of obtaining wives. In camp 2, nos. 37, 32, 35, 36, and 38 are such cases. These men work very hard and in return have a week's holiday a year, their keep, and every two years are given a one year old male calf, which is little use to them if they cannot afford any cows.

Camp 1e although having fewer cattle and people in it is more fortunate than camp 2e. This is because two of the three herd owners, (1 and 3), have male children who will take over the cattle and look after them when the

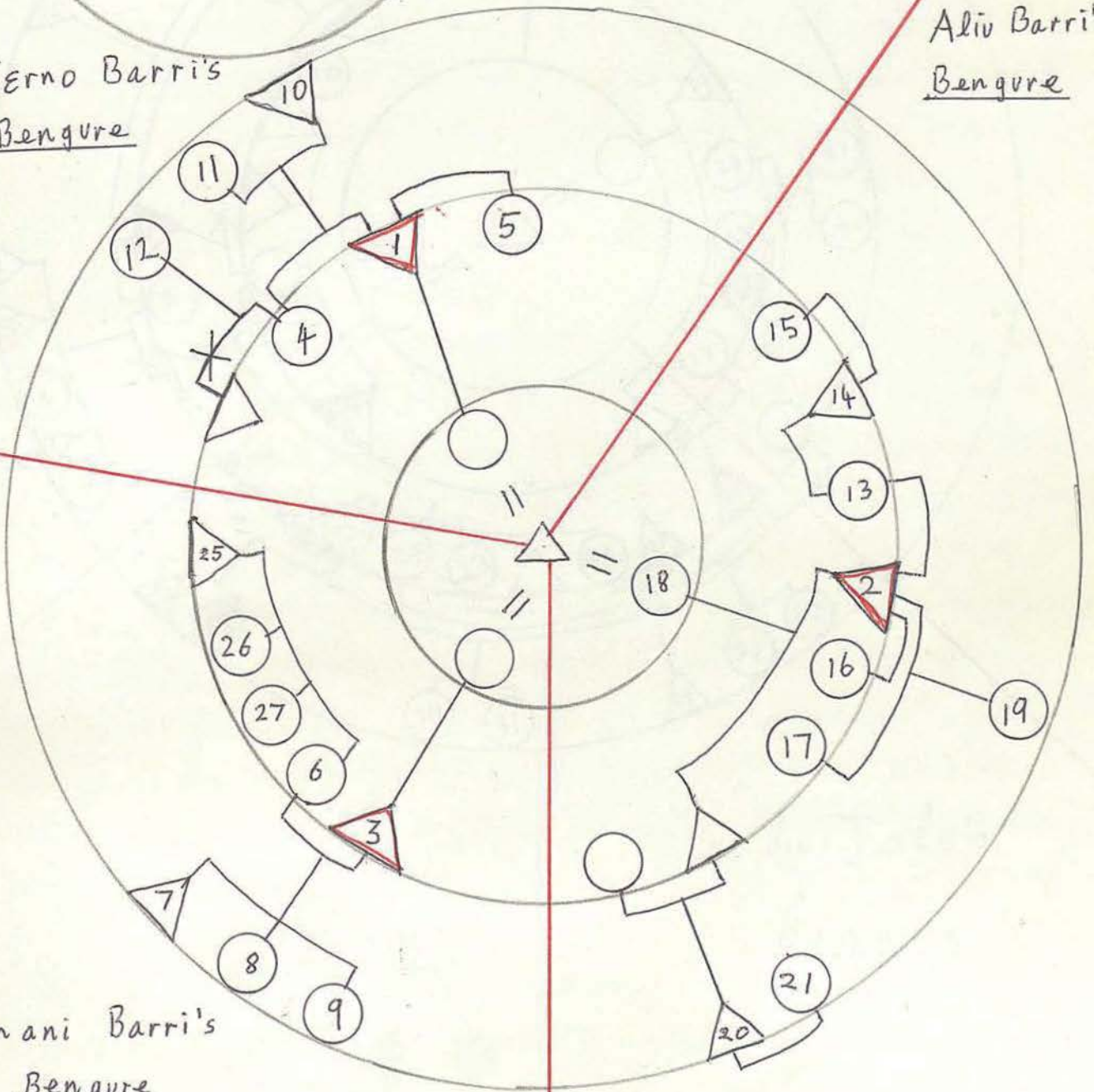
KINSHIP CHART OF CAMP 1.

(See Appendix 'E' for names)



Aliu Barri's
Bengure

Cerno Barri's
Bengure

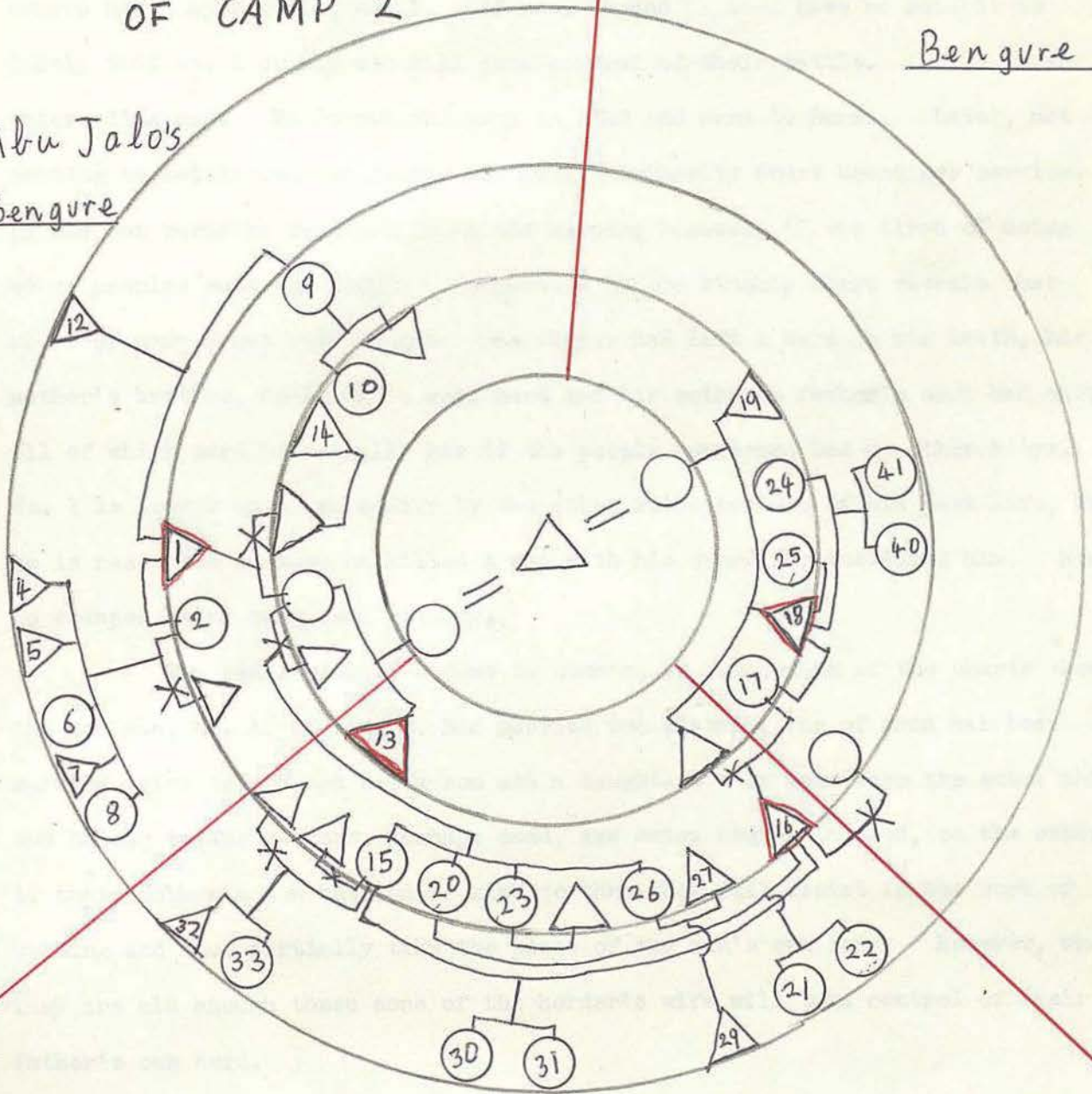


Usmani Barri's
Bengure

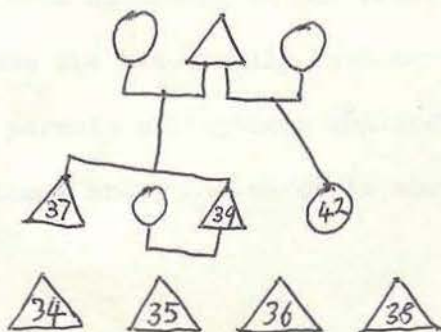
KINSHIP CHART OF CAMP 2

Cerno Habib's
Bengure

Abu Jalo's
Bengure



Sadu Jalo's
Bengure



fathers are old. Camp 2 is less fortunate in that only one out of four herd owners has a male child, no. 1. If nos. 18 and sixteen have no sons it is likely that no. 1 or his son will gain control of their cattle. No. 1 is an interesting man. He joined the army in 1940 and went to Burma. Later, not wanting to settle down he joined the Native Authority Court Messenger service. In his own words he returned to cattle keeping because, 'I was tired of doing other peoples work for them'. Inspection of the kinship chart reveals that no. 1 of camp 2 was very lucky. His father had left a herd on his death, his mother's brother, no 13 had a good herd and his mother's father's sons had cattle, all of which were potentially his if the people concerned had no other heirs. No. 1 is looked on as an oddity by the other Fulbe because of his past life, but he is respected because he killed a man with his sword for insulting him. How he escaped being hung is a mystery.

The remarrying of widows is common, as inspection of the charts shows. And one man, no. 16 of camp 2, has married two sisters, one of whom has been married twice before and has a son and a daughter. In some ways the extra children who belong to another man, perhaps dead, are extra mouths to feed, on the other hand if their mother's new husband is kind to them they will assist in the work of herding and thus partially take the place of the man's own sons. However, when they are old enough these sons of the herder's wife will take control of their father's own herd.

A complete camp of people and herd(s) is called wurro, whereas the household headed by the senior male is called bengure. Within the bengure status differences are made according to the order of marriage of wives. The first wife is special because she has usually been married by a betrothal marriage arranged by the couple's parents while their children were very young. The seniority of the various brothers and their wives is shown by the special layout of their

living quarters.¹

The senior male kinsman has his huts (suudu) to the south of the camp. The second senior kinsman puts his huts immediately to the North, and so on. The senior wife of each man has the most southerly of her husband's huts, and each of the other wives have a hut of their own to the North of hers, with the most junior wife having the most northerly hut. In camp 2 nos. 18 and 13 who arrived after 16 and 1, had to build their huts on the other side of the road in order to keep to the principle. A man's wives' sisters who come to visit them, sleep in their sister's hut. If male visitors come to visit the camp they will sleep either next to the cattle on the ground or in a small hut raised off the ground, called a bente (pl. bentse).

A further feature of these two camps is that camp 1 is dominated by a Barri lineage (75%) and camp 2 by a Jalo lineage, (75%). The only apparent connection between them being that the herd owner's dead father and nos. 13 and 18 of camp 2 all came from Gomba in Guinea originally. The herds and their owners have travelled southwards, stopping for a few years in various places until they have reached their present location. Vieillard² estimated that the Futa Jallon Fulbe are still migrating in a westerly direction, but the Lunsar Fulbe and their cattle herding neighbours indicate that there is also a considerable southerly and easterly movement.

There is no problem of the cattle Fulbe ceasing to be part of Fulbe society in general, or of becoming integrated with Temnes. The wurro is self-sufficient, except that the herder and his wife must sell a few cattle and some of the milk to obtain money. Money is needed for clothes, sandals, weapons and the few manufactured goods liked by the Fulbe. Large ostentatious alarm clocks, electric torches and guns are the usual prestige objects of the cattle Fulbe.

¹ Stenning, loc. cit. also found this among the Wodaabe, although he found that they always placed the cattle corral to the West of the huts. Those that I studied put them either to the West or East.

² Vieillard, loc. cit.

Otherwise, the Fulbe meet their own needs. Huts are built of local materials, and rope is twisted from fibrous bark, (see photo). Fulbe craftsmen make their gowns, hats, sandals, knives and swords in Lunsar.

The Kebu, and other pastoral Fulbe, pride themselves on their self-sufficiency. They smile tolerantly when the other Fulbe and Temnes try to ridicule them for 'sleeping in the bush'. They usually retort by saying that if a Temne Paramount Chief was fined a hundred pounds he would be unable to pay. A cattle owner could pay it the same day even if he had to sell a few cows to raise the money. The Kebu also say with pride that 'they do not know how to steal anything, except cows', which they are very good at.

Lunsar Households.

The Fulbe actually living in Lunsar are different in several ways from the pastoral Fulbe nearby, but the fragmentation of lineage off-shoots as residential units is very similar. The principle by which Fulbe from a common origin stick together is demonstrated by the sharing of one house by a number of separate kin groups from a common origin.

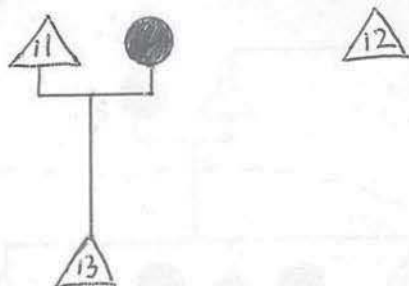
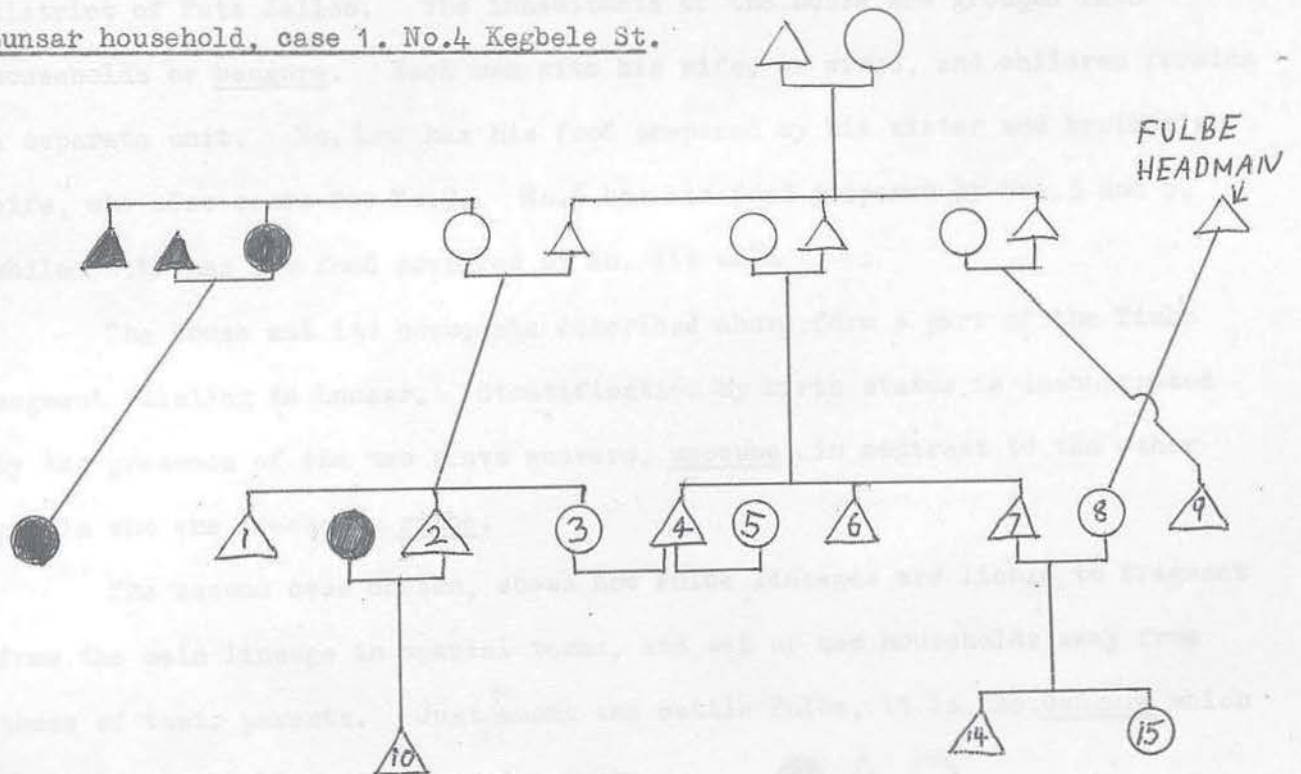
The Lunsar Fulbe refer to the room or rooms owned or rented by them as their suudu which is the same term as that used by the cattle Fulbe for their huts. Strictly speaking a suudu is a room, and traditional Fulbe huts have only one room. Therefore the Fulbe regard the town houses of Lunsar and other places as collections of suudu even though they are under the same roof. Ideally every room in a town house has one door which opens onto the outside of the house. In some cases, Fulbe houses have large hallways in the centre which are partitioned off to form more rooms, having access doors to the side rooms.

Lone Fulbe in Lunsar, without wives or kin in the town often rent rooms from Temnes. The fact that the rest of the house is occupied by Temnes does not matter to the Pullo because his own room bounded by its walls and with one

door leading to the outside is an isolated suudu. Groups of kinsmen and their wives normally live in one house which is divided up among them. The rule of one room for each wife holds good in Lunsar just as in the wurro, although they do not attempt to keep to the North - South orientation. The concept of the bengure, or household, is kept and one house may contain from one to four bengure.

To illustrate the kinship configuration in some of the houses we give two examples below.

Lunsar household, case 1. No.4 Kegbele St.



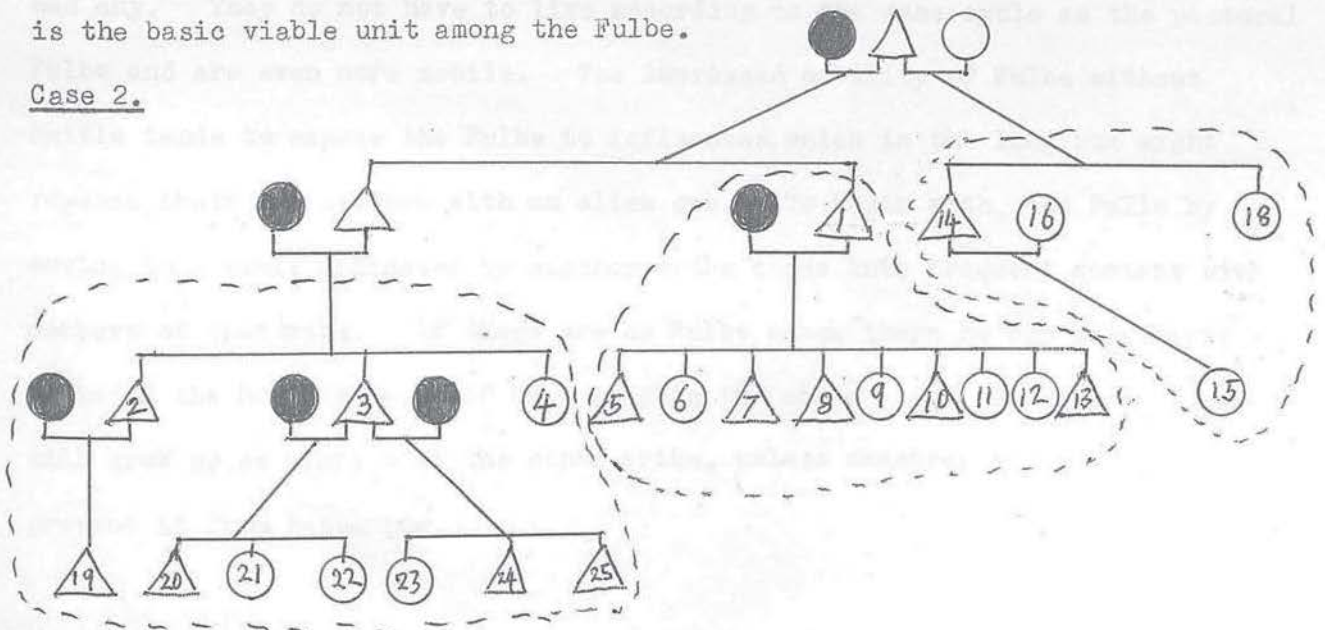
The black persons are Temne, and only those numbered are living in this house. Nos.1,2 and 3 inherited their house from their father who built it. Their father's brother's sons have come from Guinea to trade in kola nuts, and it is they who have been mentioned already. Nos.11 and 12 are both of slave status, and originally belonged to No. 1's father. They are now self employed as weavers, and have taken on the name of Barri after their former master.

All the agnatic kin and the slaves in this house come from the Timbo district of Futa Jallon. The inhabitants of the house are grouped into households or bengure. Each man with his wife, or wives, and children forming a separate unit. No. 1 has his food prepared by his sister and brother's wife, who also cooks for No.9. No.6 has his food prepared by Nos.3 and 5, while No.12 has his food prepared by No. 11's wife.

The house and its occupants described above form a part of the Timbo segment existing in Lunsar. Stratification by birth status is demonstrated by the presence of the two slave weavers, maccube, in contrast to the other people who are freeborn, rimbe.

The second case chosen, shows how Fulbe lineages are liable to fragment from the main lineage in spacial terms, and set up new households away from those of their parents. Just ^{as} among the cattle Fulbe, it is the bengure which is the basic viable unit among the Fulbe.

Case 2.



(their favourite brand) and kola nuts to give them. Fulbe do not drink alcohol and the technique of buying beer for informants to get them talking was therefore not possible. Moreover, many Fulbe do not like to enter a beer bar even to drink a lemonade. Instead they accept the offer and take the mineral home. Sometimes women, in exchange for information, asked for a piece of hair from my head, or asked me to touch their children. The idea is that white people's hair can be used as a lucky charm, and their touch alone^{is} lucky.

The adoption of a Fulbe name, which had been given me in the Gambia, assisted informants in their identification of me. The name Samba Jalo could be that of a slave or a freeborn, and differentiated me from the other two anthropologists in Lunsar, namely Pa Yamba (Dr. Littlejohn) and Sambu Sissay (Dr. Gamble). To have used my own surname or its Fulbe equivalent would have been undiplomatic, because although the Fulbe are largely pastoral, they do not kill their cattle; in fact butchering cattle, except in certain circumstances, is abhorrent to them.

The Fulbe are extremely secretive and do not willingly part with anything to a non-Pullo. To them information is a commodity, and even by telling a stranger which road to take a Pullo has given something away which he need not have done. In order to win their confidence it was necessary to echo anti-Temne sentiments at times, and to align myself with the Fulbe completely. As a result less interviewing of Temnes was possible than I had wished. Much information from Temnes had to be got through a Temne clerk who was given very specific instructions.

The secretiveness of Fulbe is illustrated by reference in pidgin English to 'Fula man business' as opposed to 'black man business' which is un-Fulbe like behaviour. 'Fula man business' is that which is close to an ideal Fulbe characteristic conceptualised as pulaaku, which will be explained later in the text. After it had become generally known that the white 'antropologisti' wrote things down regardless of their importance to the Fulbe, fieldwork became easier, although on one occasion while being conducted from one cattle camp to another my escort shouted "Hai arduun fwiiti dor hande o windai" as we neared some huts. This was

This short lineage has split into three main parts, which have been circumscribed with dotted lines. The kin live in three separate houses, and each house has been divided into parts so that each bengure, man, wives and children have a separate part. Some of number one's daughters are married and have left to live in their husband's houses.

The blacked out females are Temne and Madinka, although the agnates look upon Rosos in the Sanda area as being their home. Originally the ancestors of this group of kin came to Sanda from Timbo, and although their ties with other Fulbe are weak, due to constant intermarriage with non-Fulbe, they align themselves with the other Timbo Fulbe on ritual occasions.

The fundamental difference between the Lunsar Fulbe and the cattle Fulbe is that the former are not tied to cattle. At the same time the Lunsar Fulbe cannot live off cattle and have travelled to Lunsar to look for work opportunities. The mobility of pastoral Fulbe is considerable, since they may live wherever there is suitable tsetse free pasturage and the local people friendly. No matter where they roam, their contacts with non-Fulbe are restricted to commerce, and Fulbe culture and values are not impinged upon by influences which might have a destructive, or dynomic function.

The Lunsar Fulbe have either left their cattle in Futa Jallon or never had any. They do not have to live according to the same cycle as the pastoral Fulbe and are even more mobile. The increased mobility of Fulbe without cattle tends to expose the Fulbe to influences which in the long run might replace their own culture with an alien one. To begin with, the Pullo by moving to a place dominated by another tribe comes into frequent contact with members of that tribe. If there are no Fulbe women there he can only marry a woman of the host tribe. If he does this the chances are that his children will grow up as members of the other tribe, unless measures are adopted to prevent it from happening.

The next section discusses this and other problems of marriage among the Lunsar Fulbe.

Marriage and the family

Due to the higher mobility of men there is a shortage of marriageable Fulbe females in Lunsar, thus many men have married Temne women. This state of affairs has probably been the same ever since Fulbe came to Lunsar as many of the Fulbe who have lived there longest have Temne wives.

The Fulbe men think the Temne women pretty, but a somewhat risky proposition as lovers as they do not hesitate to denounce their lovers to husbands or brothers should the lover displease them in any way. If a Temne man suspects that his wife has a lover he beats her until she 'calls his name'; in contrast Fulbe rarely beat their wives for this reason and their women do not denounce their lovers.

Temne women are reasonable in marriage and are more docile than Fulbe women, and for many Fulbe males the choice is a Temne wife or no wife at all. By marrying a Temne girl a Fulbe increases his security in Lunsar as his marriage places him as a steady respectable citizen, also his wife's relatives will help him up to a point should he get into trouble with other Temnes.

The table below shows that most of the married Fulbe in Lunsar have Temne wives, and that only two half-Fulbe males are married to Fulbe women, as against 14 married to Temnes.

Table 4.2

Wives' Tribes (Parentage). All Fulbe and half-Fulbe Resident and Itinerant

Spouse's Tribe	<u>Own Parentage</u>		
	Fulbe Father Fulbe Mother	Fulbe Father Other Mother	Other Father Fulbe Mother
Fulbe	21 (13)	2 (0)	0 (0)
Temnes	30 (3)	14 (3)	3 (0)
Others	4 (1)	2 (0)	0 (1)

(x) = Itinerants

On the contrary, table 4.3 shows that only two Fulbe women are married to Temne Males.

Table 4.3

Husbands' tribes. Female, Fulbe and half-Fulbe, resident and itinerant

Spouse's Tribe	<u>Own Parentage</u>		
	Fulbe Father Fulbe Mother	Fulbe Father Other Mother	Other Father Fulbe Mother
Fulbe	19 (17)	6 (3)	4 (0)
Temnes	2 (0)	1 (0)	1 (0)
Others	0 (0)	2 (0)	0 (0)

This is due to two factors working simultaneously. (1) The few Fulbe women in Lunsar have either been brought there as wives, or as immigrants who are marriageable and are rapidly sought by Fulbe. (2) Fulbe will not allow Temne men to marry their womenfolk unless they first "turn Fula", i.e. become good muslims, give up all pagan beliefs and allegiances, and enter into Fulbe activities.

When Fulbe men marry Temne women, the wives' relatives to a large extent renounce the rights they would have over their daughter and son-in-law, had he been a Temne. Although Fulbe and Temnes both have a joking relationship with their wives' brothers, (and sisters' husbands), the prerogatives of the Temne wives' brothers are never insisted upon.

Children of Fulbe-Temne marriages are brought up to speak Fulbe and Temne, although they are often more proficient in the latter. The children are taught the Koran and if the father can afford it, are sent back to his kinsmen in Futa Jallon at the age of 8 to 14 years to make sure they become Fulbe and not Temnes. This is especially true in the case of male children.

Fulbe marriages are fairly stable between Fulbe men and women as table 4.4 shows.

Table 4.4.

Fulbe females, widowed, divorced, etc.

	<u>Only once married</u>	<u>Married more than once</u>	<u>Reasons for separating</u>
Residents	18	17	Disliked man = 2 Husband died = 8 'Palava' = 6 Cruelty = 1 Desertion = 1
Itinerants	16	4	Husband died = 1 'Palava' = 2 Desertion = 1

Marriage with Temne women seem on the whole to be even more stable, as the women have their own kin nearby. Fulbe women dislike Lunsar and see little reason why they should stay there. Some Fulbe wives in fact left their husbands and returned to Futa Jallon.

Disputes between Fulbe husbands and Fulbe wives are nearly always over the husbands' Temne male friends. One woman refused to cook for three weeks because her husband had lent her lappa to a Temne visitor to use as a blanket. When the visitor gave her the lappa back she told him to keep it as she would never use it again. Her husband reprimanded her, so she refused to cook for him.

Disputes between Fulbe men and their Temne wives are usually over the wives' obligations to her kin, or her belief in pagan deities. Often the wives' families want her to assist them on the farm at the same time as their husbands want them to help in trading in the town.

Many Fulbe said that if they discovered their wives owned kriffis (Temne devils in cigarette tins), that they would throw the kriffi down the latrine. Others said they would drive the woman from the house. As Muslims the Fulbe are forbidden to worship any other entity than Allah, and if their wives actually possessed devils then it was a terrible sin. Although Fulbe do not tolerate kriffis and theoretically believe them to be nonsense, they sometimes give the

impression that they are frightened of the Temnes' close association with devils.

The actual residential unit (bengure) is usually made up of husband plus wives, with a separate room for each wife, and a father's brother, his son, or some other agnatic kinsman, as well as the man's own children. Any extra rooms are usually let out to young Fulbe at about 10/- per month. Children always sleep in their mother's rooms. A husband with more than one wife is expected to spend an equal number of nights, usually three, with each wife in strict rotation. An exception to this occurs when a wife has had a child within 18 months or 2 years, and is said to be nɛnɛ bobo (Temne = kumra), or 'mother of a child', during which period the husband must not copulate with her. This is because they believe that semen mixes with the mother's milk and makes the child ill.

Young married couples and single persons with no kin in Lunsar rent rooms from Fulbe house-owners for about 10/- to 15/- per month. If the room has no bed they must provide their own.

Wives, whether they are Fulbe or Temne, cook for their husbands and any of the husband's unmarried kin who may live in the same house. Strangers staying in the house are also provided with food cooked by the wife, although if they settle in Lunsar, they are expected to pay 30/- to £3 a month for food.

For the most part the Fulbe eat the same food as Temnes while in Lunsar, although they buy soured milk (kɔsa) and boiled butter from visiting Fulbe women whenever they can. Rice and fish, or rice and potato or cassava leaf are the staple foods eaten; sometimes a little cassada is roasted although Fulbe do not like fufu, a doughy ball made of pulverised cassava which has been allowed to ferment.

Women eat separately from the men in the backyard, while the men eat either on the verandah or in their own rooms. Age rather than consanguinity tends to dictate who eats with whom from a common dish, old men eat with other old men, and the young share with the young. Children eat with their mothers until the boys

have reached puberty when they join the men.

Husbands give money to their wives to buy food and dresses, although some men with several wives send one out trading while the other(s) perform household chores. Those men whose wives live elsewhere are treated as single, and have to find a married woman to cook for them.

Table 4.5

Fulbe with and without wives in Lunsar

Number of married men with a wife in Lunsar	49	76.5%
Number of married men without a wife in Lunsar	15	23.5%
	<u>64</u>	<u>100%</u>

Number of men with a wife (or wives) in Lunsar and one or more elsewhere 13 (48%) out of 27 who have more than one wife.

The actual houses lived in by Fulbe and the areas in which they live are similar to those occupied by Temnes and are adjacent to houses owned by Temnes, Limbas and others. Most of the Fulbe live in houses built of mud and wattle, or mud block walls with a corrugated iron roof. The house is usually divided up into about eight small rooms with a central corridor passing down the centre, with four rooms on each side. Often the rooms have a door leading directly outside as well as that opening off the corridor.

The contents of the houses vary according to the status of the occupier of each room, although even the wealthiest does not possess much in the way of moveable property. Large native made four-poster beds are highly prized, and are generously draped with muslim to keep out mosquitoes. They often possess a small table made out of old beer cases, and a few crude stools lie on the earth floor.

The Fulbe hang what clothes they have over poles laid across the walls, (as they have no ceilings). The richer men have a few tin trunks which are rarely opened in the presence of other people. In these boxes learned men keep their

books and papers away from the ravages of ^rtemites and the eyes of unbelievers. Their best gowns are also kept locked up in boxes, while their money, if not in a box, is hidden in some secret hole dug in the floor or wall.

The walls are often decorated with cheap prints of the Prophet's Tomb at Mecca, and calendars in Arabic. Sometimes political calendars are brought from Guinée, which have photographs of the principal leaders of that country around the edges. The younger men put pictures taken out of old mail order books and magazines on the wall.

Residences within the town

There are 19 houses owned by Fulbe in Lunsar. Twelve men own one house each, one man owns two and the other owns five. Ten of the 19 houses have been built by their present occupants who acquired the right to build from the Paramount Chief. Nine of the houses have been inherited from other Fulbe, most often by their sons.

House owners and tenants in Lunsar fall into one of two categories under Temne law.

(1) They may be settler citizens, which means they must obey the Paramount Chief in all matters, although they only have to give an initial present (lambeh).

(2) As opposed to the non-recurrent type of lease is the recurrent tenantry which is obligatory on all persons engaged in commerce and trading. These persons pay each year and are not citizens in the sense that they do not have to obey the Chief in all matters; their rights and duties are not clearly defined.

Most of the Fulbe are in category (1), for many of the traders call themselves something else.

The status of the house owners vis-à-vis the Paramount Chief is not clear. Apart from the right to build houses on the land there are few clear rights and obligations appertaining to the land. The house is the full property of the house owner, and the original owner was 'shown' land on which to build after making the chief a present, the size of which is unknown as it was probably given in dribs and drabs over a period of time.

At the time when the various Fulbe were "shown" land, (and even in 1960) it is doubtful whether they asked about the rights and duties relating to their land, and it will only be after a series of test cases arising from disputes that any kind of conceptualisation of these rights will begin. The house owning Fulbe cannot be said to have the right to sell the land on which their houses stand, although they can sell the house or rent it out. There is then no real contract between the Temne Paramount Chief and Fulbe house owners.

There are two different principles involved in the process of Fulbe and other strangers building houses in Lunsar. The strongest is that land cannot be alienated from the family owning it, thus out-right sale of land is not possible. Secondly, when a stranger is 'shown' land by the Chief, the stranger cannot be said to have entered into a relationship with the office of Paramount Chief, but with the Chief as an individual. A dispute in Lunsar in July 1960 demonstrates this point.

An old man was arrested for striking a rich citizen with a machete, because the old man said he had come to seize his land, half of which had already been taken by the wealthy man. It transpired that the old man had been 'shown' the land by P.C. Bai Koblo I, but P.C. Bai Koblo II, the present chief, gave it to the wealthy man, thus disregarding a relationship established by his predecessor. When the new owner asked the old man for the land the latter refused, so the other man's brother set about destroying his crops and banana trees, provoking the old man until he struck the wealthy man. As a result of this dispute the old man lost

his land and was sentenced to three months I.H.L.

The above case shows the power of the Paramount Chief who has considerable personal power and influence and few checks on his behaviour, however arbitrary that may be.

The Fulbe Headman, who owns five buildings, two of which are shops rented to Lebanese traders at £6 per month, received his land from his brother who was left it by C/erno Amadu, the Koranic Scholar, when he died. The land now owned by Alfa Bakr Bah was given to C/erno Amadu as a reward for services rendered to Bak Kobli I, and does not fit into the categories of recurrent or non-recurrent leases. The land is owned by Alfa Bakr as an individual and not by virtue of being Fulbe Headman. It is quite possible that the next Headman will live somewhere else in the town and lease land on a different basis.

Most of the Fulbe house owners rent rooms out to other Fulbe, and a few other Africans - Temnes, Lokkos and Limbas, the amount of rent varying from 3/- to 15/- depending on whether the tenant has merely a mat on the floor of the hallway or a room to himself. The quality of the house also influences the size of the rent paid. If the tenant is fed as well then he pays extra.

Married couples pay the same as a single person occupying a room, which is most often 10/- per month. Most tenants provide their own beds made by local carpenters or Wollof blacksmiths who sell beds in the market. If tenants have visitors to stay with them in their rooms, there is never any question of the house owner demanding extra rent, unless of course the tenant fills his room up with people who pay him rent.

More details of cooking facilities and tenantry appear in the section on the Family; in the chapter on Social Organisation. There are also a number of Fulbe who rent houses and single rooms from non-Fulbe house owners, paying about £3-£4 for a seven room house and 10/- for a room.

Social Control, the compin and the elders.

The last part of this chapter deviates from the study of kinship proper, but has been included because the elders (maube) and the compin of Lunsar perform many of the functions that are the right and duty of senior kinsmen in Futa Jallon.

It will be shown that disputes between the Lunsar Fulbe do not come within the spheres of competence of either Sierra Leone Protectorate Law or Temne Law and Custom. In the absence of Fulbe courts, it is put forward that the Lunsar Fulbe look upon the elders of Lunsar in the same way that they regard a village council of elders, as heads of kin groups, in Futa Jallon. When elders are kinsmen they have one type of authority, jedal, and as acknowledged leaders or maube they have another kind of authority, baugal. It is because of this authority that the Lunsar maube are both asked, and have the right to settle disputes among the Fulbe.

There is no higher authority than the maube to whom the Lunsar Fulbe may appeal for judgement or help, but only the most serious cases are taken before them. The compin includes all the young Fulbe, and settles the many petty disputes that arise between them. I hesitate to say that the compin is a kinship substitute without conducting further research, but would say that the authority of the compin as a group over particular members is similar to that of an elder brother, koto, (or maunirau) over a younger, minirau. This is indicated by the habit of several young compin members calling older compin members by the title koto Ibrima, and koto Moutar.

The compin also assists in maintaining the identity of its members through the medium of the nama kalaji or hodu players. These players, by reciting at length the heroic exploits of clan ancestors are constantly reinforcing the differences between lineages and the general ideal of pulaaku. The hodu players are a form of travelling history teacher to the Fulbe, who by occupying a stranger¹ role may say things that might cause offence if said by other people without the

¹ See Georg Simmel on the stranger, The Sociology of G. Simmel, Free Press, Glencoe, 1957.

intended as a mock serious warning to the people in the camp - as translated it means, "whoever farts here to-day this man will write it down".

Methods

An outline of techniques used in the study of the Fulbe is given below.

Participant observation. This in itself is more of a way of life than a special technique, a kind of omnidirectional departure point from which the field worker gathers information by a number of means, viz:-

- a. observation and noting of the physical distribution and movement of the subjects of study.
- b. the interception by ear and eye of distribution and content of communications between subjects.
- c. the asking of direct and indirect questions to elucidate what has been seen or heard, or read as being the behaviour of the subjects.

The taking up of a special identity, the effort of learning the language, the assumption of a local name, the sharing of food when offered and the other deliberate acts of behaviour already mentioned are in fact 'participant observations' which are unstructured and can themselves only lead to impressions based on chance contacts.

The study period in Lunsar was originally to be six months, although this was later extended to ten months. Clearly, to collect enough data within this time a very intensive study had to be conducted.

Selection of informants. Since there were so few Fulbe in Lunsar it was important to obtain certain basic data on all the residents and as many Fulbe passing through Lunsar as possible. To assist in this an interview guide was drawn up which appears as an Appendix. From information gained in this way the demography and statistical structure of Lunsar and itinerant Fulbe was calculated. In analysis, all Fulbe who had stayed in Lunsar longer than nine months were treated as residents, and those staying for a shorter period were regarded as itinerants. This is a purely arbitrary division but no other could be adopted because of the unpredictability and high mobility of the Fulbe.

Additional specialist information, for example on occupations, ritual and

nama kala 'licence'. Again, it is through this type of licence that the nama kala can take the initiative in challenging or questioning individuals on their actions.

Social Control

During the period of study, British Protectorate Law was enforced in Lunsar; a strong detachment of 200-300 men of the Sierra Leone Police (S.L.P.) garrisoned in Lunsar, patrolled the town much as the Police do in Britain. In addition to their normal duties the Police are trained to quell riots and other large scale disturbances having arms which are only issued when such an emergency arises. The Lunsar Police take orders from their Freetown Headquarters and not from the Paramount Chief or the District Officer, although these persons may call upon them for assistance.

When charges are preferred against an individual by the Police, he is brought before the visiting Magistrate who convenes the court in the town's Court Barri. Persons who are fined pay the Magistrate's Court, and those imprisoned are taken to Port Loko Jail. Serious cases are remitted to a higher Court either at Port Loko, the district administrative centre, or in Freetown itself. Presumably, since Sierra Leone gained independence in April 1961, a similar set-up has continued, backed ultimately by the Sierra Leone Government and not the British Government.

The second set of laws operating in Lunsar are those categorised as being under Native Law and Custom, which is enforced by the Native Authority Court Messengers, under the orders of the N.A. Court, which consists of a President, Clerk, Treasurer and ten members. The jurisdiction of this court covers the whole of the Lunsar-Marampa Chiefdom as well as the town itself.

While the Police and the Magistrate's court deal with criminal offences, and those that come under the various other Protectorate Laws, the N.A. Court deals with all civil disputes brought to their notice, e.g. charges of adultery or 'women damage', as well as with persons who have committed actions which offend or

transgress Temne tradition and custom. For example, a man who has sent magic after an enemy (ansasa) without the permission of the Chief or his regent, i.e. illegally, can be tried and punished by the N.A. Court which has the power to fine people £10 and/or up to 6 months imprisonment.

The dual set of laws sometimes brings confusion on one or other of the Courts, as happened when the Police charged a man with making medicine out of another man's dead brother. The offender was produced in court and the pieces of half cooked corpse were produced in evidence, and after much deliberation the European Magistrate dismissed the offender saying there was no case against him, because the law (Protectorate Law) did not list making medicine out of bodies as a crime. The offence should have come under N.A. law as this practice was against Temne law. The Police were told that had the man been charged with unlawful exhumation, he would have been sentenced.

Such cases and situations as that outlined above make the job of the Police and the N.A. very frustrating at times, when no one is quite sure under which set of laws a person can be charged.

Futa Jallon Fulbe normally live according to Koranic law. Offences such as adultery are punished by as many as 200 lashes, and thieves sometimes have their hands cut off. During the chaotic period immediately after Guinea's independence, harsh punishments for theft, such as the amputation of a thief's hand and even crucifixion, were reintroduced in order to restore public control in the country.

The maube of the Lunsar Fulbe told me that they did not adhere to Koranic law while in Lunsar because there would be no possibility of keeping a full ceremonial beating from the eyes and ears of the Temne and other Africans. This policy is in keeping with the general one of not publicising the activities of the Lunsar Fulbe.

Serious disputes between Fulbe in Lunsar are settle by the maube under the

leadership of the Headman. The only serious case during my ten month's stay was the seduction of a man's wife by his own brother. This case was never brought out into the open and 'judged' for a number of reasons. The husband was rumoured to be impotent (maio porbe - 'dead waist') and the opinion was held by some of the Fulbe that his brother was doing him a service, and perhaps would beget the man a child. Most Fulbe considered the offence to be a delicate matter to be settled by the kin concerned, and since no one officially brought the case to the maube nothing was done about it. The injured husband should have brought the case to the maube but did not, presumably his own impotence would be made public, and his own kin disgraced. Instead he sent his wife back home to Futa Jallon.

There is evidence that when Lunsar Fulbe do something considered to be wrong in the eyes of Protectorate Law, Native (Temne) Law or Fulbe Law, that they simply run away before the act is detected, or before they are charged. The sudden disappearance of Fulbe who seemed to be settled in the town is sometimes followed by an outcry that the person has stolen money from another Pullo's room, or run off with a Temne man's wife. The action of running away removes the necessity of establishing guilt, but prevents the execution of justice.

In spite of the reputation that Fulbe have of being thieves and killers, during my stay of ten months in Lunsar, only one Pullo was sentenced for breaking and entering, and the conditions under which he was sentenced were very dubious, as he ~~was not brought before the court~~ said he did not know where he was. This man was the only Pullo to be in Port Loko Jail during the whole of the ten month period.

The only Pullo to be brought before the N.A. Court during my stay in Lunsar was on a charge of adultery. The man was a trader and had taken a Temne's wife to Lungi, on the coast, with him on a few occasions. Eventually after paying a £5 fine the Pullo was released.

The reason that no cases involving Fulbe versus Fulbe appear in the N.A.

Court is that it is only qualified to say what is Temne Law and Custom, and not what is Fulbe Law and Custom. Thus disputes between Fulbe are settled by the Fulbe themselves.

Disputes between younger men and women who are compin members are settled by the compin itself. The usual procedure being for each of the litigants to secure the support of as many senior compin members as possible, the ~~two~~ cliques then argue the case out, only allowing the litigants to speak when asked questions by the friends of either contestant. The most common type of dispute is between the compin itself and one or two individual members of it.

In many of the disputes between young men, other young men align themselves either for or against one party or another, not according to whether they believe that they are right or wrong but according to the degree of affinity between them. Those of the same musidal are tied by kinship, and others according to their origin in Futa Jallon. If they come from the same area as a defendant they will support him. If the defendant is in a dispute with a Fullo from another area, the latter will be supported by his own kinsmen and Fulbe not related but from the same area as himself. It is in circumstances such as these that the structural segments referred to, come into operation.

The usual cause of disputes is for one man to question another man's action, whereupon that man tells the other to mind his own business and as often as not threatens him with violence. At this the other man retaliates by shouting in his defence, and bystanders drawn by the noise intervene and a full scale 'palava' is in progress. Often the dispute is settled on the spot, but occasionally one man may utter a curse which makes the palave more serious.

Such a case arose during the compin meeting at which a Fulbe guitar player (nama kala) was providing entertainment. One of the Lunsar Fulbe who also played the hodu had accompanied the stranger, and at the end of the evening there had been £2:5/- on the floor by the two players. One pound was given to the

compin, and the Lunsar player gave the visitor 17/- and kept 8/- for himself. The tenant of the room in which this took place asked for some of the 8/- as it was his room and he had given the man a chance to play, whereupon the Lunsar player said he would not give him any money, since he had not taught him to play the hodu and he would play where and when he wanted to.

Later the Lunsar musician met a young man of slave status in the road who threatened him in connection with the affair. The musician retorted that he had done the slave no harm but if anyone wanted to fight, let him come and fight. However the words used were:

jaja wucundu nsnr otiji

implying that if anyone threatened him, he would cut off their mother's vulva and throw it on the ground.

To Fulbe this is a terrible curse which does not involve only those persons who might threaten him, but all Fulbe. Thus what had begun more or less as a personal dispute now involved all the Fulbe. Litigation about this case continued for well over a month, the majority of young Fulbe ignoring the man who had cursed, though a few loyal friends stayed by him.

The case came to a head just before the men were about to eat a feast after Ramadan, when one young Pullo said he would not eat if the man who had cursed ate. The elders, or maube, then intervened and said that the dispute must be settled, but after everyone had eaten together. The maube did not reckon the dispute to be very serious, as it was between young men. Later the same day the man was fined £5 by the compin which he paid up.

This case is interesting because the original cause, i.e. the refusal to part with a portion of the 8/- was forgotten after the defendant had uttered the curse. Had he not taken any notice of the maccudo's threat the affair would probably have been forgotten, but the uttering of the curse was a breach of etiquette at which any Pullo could take offence.

In this case the defendant transformed what was virtually a personal argument into a dispute between himself and the compin. He came from Labé and managed to secure the support of the other Labé men, and in addition a Maninka from the same town. Since there are few Labé Fulbe in Lunsar and the man had no kin there, he was in a very poor position to win the case.

The point about the above case is that it was not merely a question of a man breaking a law and then being punished for it. A personal dispute with a trivial cause grew and grew, until it involved many men, and formed cliques of hostile Fulbe in the community. The case from start to finish took nearly two months, and was used as an excuse to settle old scores between many young men, by aligning themselves according to origins with one or other of the parties involved.

Another case in which a Fulbe woman attacked another in the road, beating her savagely with a roll of barbed wire, was started by one woman calling the other a whore (which she was), who cursed the other in return, saying that she had not been cliterodectomised. This fight was broken up by some men, and several women took the combatants to the head wife of Alfa Bakr Bah, the Headman, who settled the dispute with other senior women. The nature of the curse being the affair of women and not men. Both of the women were fined for fighting in the road which was considered to let down the Fulbe and show disunity in front of the Temnes.

Disputes between older men seldom seemed to occur, or if they did, were settled discreetly by the maube as not once did I hear older Fulbe quarrelling or even arguing in anything but an orderly manner.

Minor disputes sometimes break out between freeborn and slaves, for although to call another freeman maccudo, or slave, is a sign of familiarity and friendship, to address a true slave thus is an insult. Several times freemen were reprimanded by their elders for baiting slaves by calling them maccudo, although such disputes are not seriously considered as anything but young men's pranks.

Quarrels between kinsmen rarely occur, and when they do are settled by

other kinsmen. In cases where a young man with no kin becomes involved with another man with several kin, he usually solicits the assistance of other young men like himself, or if possible an older respected member of the community, usually from the same place in Futa Jallon.

The compin not only has the role of correcting behaviour, but also of directing it, and avoiding trouble in the future. The compin usually makes use of visiting hodu players for both directing behaviour, and in accusing wrongdoers. The fact that most of the hodu players are strangers means that whatever they say or do will not disrupt the solidarity of the Lunsar Fulbe.

While the nama kalaji are performing, then the senior one, by virtue of personality and playing ability is in charge of the situation. The twenty or thirty spectators are arranged in a near semi-circle around the players, while the nama kalaji are holding the attention of the audience and can influence its mood, there is a straight dyadic relationship between the players and the audience during the session. Later if the nama kalaji 'fine' someone they are careful to get the tacit support of the majority of the crowd first, which may be why they wait until only half a dozen or so are left, as it is easier to win over a more intimate group than a large one with people pushing in and out of the room all the time.

The senior members of the compin may wish to have a member answer for behaviour considered to be a breach of etiquette, committed previous to the meeting, and take advantage of the large numbers of members present to settle the case. The nama kalaji will also be used as instruments in the process of settlement, for as a rule one of the senior members will have informed them of the 'case' beforehand. At some point in the evening the senior nama kalaji will 'hold' the individual concerned and 'fine' him, which is an invitation for that person to give an account of what he has done.

Immediately nearly everyone except complete strangers take sides, some

supporting the man who is 'held', while the others will go against him. Much argument ensues, the nama kala always being on the side of the prosecutors. If the individual loses the case then the nama kala may receive a portion of the fine, the compin getting the rest. On the other hand, if the alleged wrongdoer wins the argument then the nama kala may still receive a small reward for helping to settle the case.

The occupational culture of these nama kalaji is such that they can say anything to nearly anyone, except religious leaders and maube, without invoking retaliation, which puts them in a good position for accusing wrongdoers. It is more difficult for a compin member to accuse another than it is for a nama kala to do so, since the nama kala's role in this respect is acknowledged by all those present; also the nama kala does not have to live with the individual he has accused, as he will be on the road again in a few days' time.

A case occurred towards the end of an evening's entertainment as follows:

Aliu (the leading nama kala) asked the woman Binta why she had not come to greet them, but she said that she had been busy but had now come. Binta handed the nama kalaji a shilling to greet them. Aliu thanked her and asked her to say who her lover was, but Binta said that she did not have one.

Aliu: Why?

Binta: I had one, but we broke up.

Aliu: Why?

Binta: I no longer wanted him.

Aliu: Then the fault is with you, give me five pounds now or tell me who your friend is.

Binta: Let me go and think about it.

Binta came back and took off her necklace and gave it to another woman present, Li'irawan Bah, and asked her to give it to Mamudu (a sign that she

wishes to have him as a boy friend).¹

Mamudu: I am happy that this woman has named me, and I am pleased to give the five pounds, I should now like to go and sleep with the woman to test her.

Aliu: Produce the five pounds or even three pounds first.

Mamudu: If the woman does not come to me tonight, I shall return tomorrow and make trouble and not pay anything.

Aliu: This boy does not want the woman, if anyone else here does, produce the money now.

Mamudu: If anyone does I will hit him in the mouth.

Aliu: All right we will wait and see until tomorrow.

The next morning Aliu and Tula, (another nama kala) went to Mamudu's room and asked him for the money. Mamudu asked whether the woman had gone to a man the night before and was told she had not. Mamudu said he would pay up although he did not want the woman and was paying so that she would not feel shame at being rejected. Mamudu paid ten shillings which was accepted by Aliu as being all right, although he asked Mamudu why he had not paid up straight away. Mamudu's answer being that he had wanted to think about it first.

By this time the woman, Binta, had left Lunsar and Mamudu said that when she returned he would ask her properly whether she wanted him as a lover (kale).

This account is fairly typical of the way nama kalaji may attempt to extort money from women visiting the town. They know that the women have come to sell kosan and therefore have money, and they also know that because of the shortage of Fulbe women in the area, some men will pay her 'fine' for her and be her lover.

Mamudu, in this particular incident, already had a girl friend and was actually reluctant to take this one on as well, partly because his other girl lived only five miles from Binta and might discuss Lunsar with her.

1. Dr. Little reports that the Mende have a similar custom, and that a woman who likes a lover will give him her head tie as a sign of affection. Personal communication.

If Mamudu had given a pound to Aliu on his first demand then the Compin would have had at least a third of it, which would have supplemented the funds.

Smith¹ has described how the Hausa praisesinger acts as an intermediary between rivals competing for a girl's favour and the girl herself. In the Hausa case the praisesinger is given money by each man in turn to sing the girl's praises. The wealthiest man wins because he can praise her for longer. The Fulbe case is different in that pressure is put on a girl by the nama kala to name 'her friend'. Having named a man he must pay the nama kala or shame both himself and the girl. In the Hausa type a man may drop out of the competition and retire honourably, in the Fulbe type he cannot.

Another case may help to illustrate this point still further.

On this occasion in May 1960 some different nama kalaji were present, and thirteen compin members. The playing began at 9 p.m. and continued until 11 p.m. Then two senior members called nama kala 'Bobo', and said 'Li'irawan and Uuma come here to get kosan and they have lovers but they have not given us anything."

Bobo: All right, I will hold the boys, they must give three pounds.

K. Bah and A. Jalo eventually agreed to pay the 'fine'. Later the two boys 'begged' the nama kala, who agreed to accept two pounds from each of them, which was paid on the spot. Bobo then said the matter was settled, 'until you go away or you die the women must be your friends, if they go with anyone else they will have to pay five pounds."

The nama kalaji gave the money to the Compin, who took one pound fifteen shillings and gave the nama kalaji two pounds five shillings.

The type of behaviour described might appear unconducive to a pleasant evening's entertainment, with the aggressive questions and demands by the

1

M. G. Smith. 'The Social Function and Meaning of Hausa Fraisesinging.' Africa. vol. XXVII, 1957.

family was obtained directly from the persons best able to provide the information. An attempt was made to avoid using one informant more than others.

Psychometric Tests. The psychometric tests used were not intended to be anything more than a more exact way of verifying or refuting hypotheses made on the basis of data obtained by observation and interview. Where the data from such tests appears in the text only a minimum of arithmetic appears, and the main calculations appear separately in an appendix.

Samples. The informants subjected to tests of one kind or another were not all selected at random. Although random samples may be ideal, especially when the distribution of variations in the population is known, they were found to be unsatisfactory because of the informants' continuous coming and going as they went about their business, trading, etc. Also, even if the population in Lunsar had been correctly represented, the total statistical universe of Fulbe all over Africa could not be. To get round this difficulty large samples were used (30% plus) stratified by age and occupation in as similar manner as possible as the total Lunsar Fulbe population. Also appearing as an appendix is a list of Fulbe informants in Lunsar and the tests set them.

It will be noted that few women have been used in these special studies. This is because the Fulbe women although very independent are not considered by their menfolk as repositories of knowledge and wisdom. The women themselves act according to their society's expectations of them and consider intensive questioning on topics other than domestic issues embarrassing and answer such questions by "mi anda" - I do not know.

Documentary material. Although there is an enormous literature on the Fulbe, most of it takes its subject matter from areas dominated by Fulbe. Little has been written about the behaviour of Fulbe on the peripheries of these concentrations, where they are faced with the problem of interacting with ^{members of} other cultures while maintaining their own culture.

nama kala, Aliu. Although Aliu was later asked by her father to answer for 'holding' Binta, this type of behaviour is quite common and has a number of interesting sociological features in it.

On payment of the 'fine' the woman must sleep with the man and she is then officially that particular young man's lover, and on all her future trips to Lunsar is expected to sleep with him. Sleeping with another man means that her lover will demand all the money and presents back, which he has ever given to her or paid on her behalf.¹

The nama kalaji have a very important role or position in the social control of sexual relationships between young men and women. In a situation like that in Lunsar where Fulbe men outnumber Fulbe women by four to one, less formalised competition for women coming to the town could easily lead to friction among the Fulbe males and tend to divide them. As it is, once a woman has nominated her lover then she is bound to him until they break up by mutual consent.

According to the compin members the allocation of women to boy friends is performed by the compin itself in Futa Jallon. In either case, that of Futa Jallon or Lunsar, the compin is responsible for a certain type of social control in the wider sense. Social Control is normally used to describe a complex of sanctions which come into effect when an individual or group exhibit abnormal behaviour. I prefer to consider the term social control as including positive directives for behaviour as well as negative ones. In this light the compin can be look upon as controlling human behaviour in a positive manner, i.e. the Fulbe compin in allocating one man to each woman, is playing an important part in maintaining social organisation. Although it cannot definitely be said that there would be another form of competition among young men for available Fulbe women, which might tend towards disorganisation, if the compin did not allocate

1

There is no question of moral judgement being passed on the women, all of whom are married, for having boy friends in Lunsar.

them it is a distinct possibility.

The same group of 40 who were used as informants in the study of kinship among Lunsar Fulbe, were also asked to name the three people that they would go to for assistance if they became involved in a dispute. The data show that the people to whom most people would go, coincide with the people named as being maube (elders).

Table 4.6

Frequencies with which Fulbe were named as being of assistance to individuals in disputes

<u>Names</u>	<u>Number of nominations</u>
Alfa Bakr Bah, Headman	26
Madi Mamudu Jalo	12
cerno Ibrim Jalo	11
Alhadji Bah	10
cerno Wuri Jalo	9
Babakr Jalo	4
8 people each had -	2
30 people each had -	1

This demonstrates the role of the Fulbe Headman in social control, and at the same time helps to show that one qualification of a maudo is his ability by status and intelligence, to settle disputes.

Twenty out of the 40 informants, named relatives as being potential help in disputes, and since only 30 of the 40 had any kin in Lunsar, 66% of those with kin would go to relatives. The other 33% were found on examination to be youngish men with only small children who would in fact be no help to them. Men with no kin invariably named the Headman as their first choice, which indicates an interesting problem for further investigation, i.e. that the importance of the Headman increases where few members of the community are related, and decreases where there are many related individuals.

Photographs of a Naming Ceremony

Plate 34. Preparing
cobal

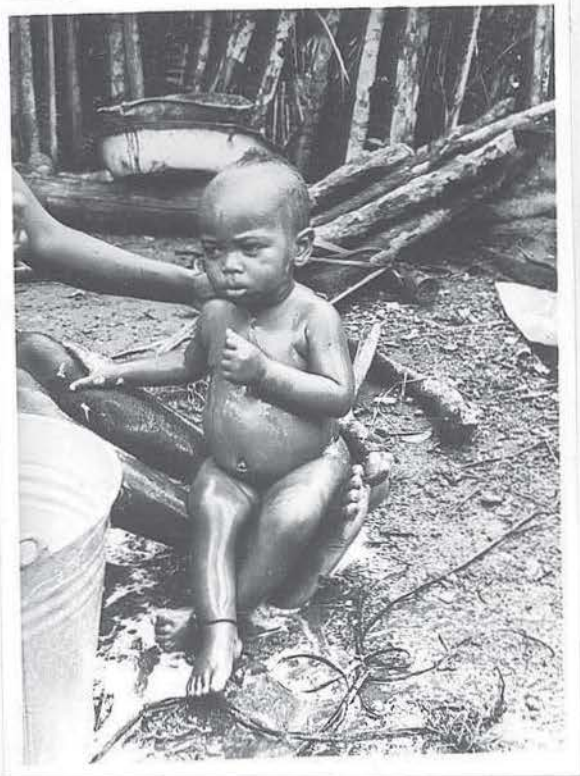


Plate 35. Washing the
infant.



Plate 36. Cerno Wuri about to kill the ram



Plate 37. The child's name is called

CHAPTER V - RITUAL AND LUNSAR FULBE

The point that Fulbe in Lunsar have brought Fulbe values and sentiments with them from their homeland has been made already, but beyond the fact that children are often sent to Futa Jallon for upbringing as Fulbe, little has been said on the subject of the perpetuation of these values and sentiments inside Lunsar.

Radcliffe-Brown¹ says that fear produces cohesion in society, and that solidarity is maintained through being in opposition to the spirit world. The situation of the Andamanese was such that they were only in opposition to the spirit world, whereas Lunsar Fulbe are also in opposition to, and often in fear of, the Temne and their spirits. This in all probability contributes to the strong solid front which the Fulbe present to the Temne, in spite of disputes and bickerings among themselves. There is in this respect a similarity between the Lunsar Fulbe and the Zabramas as described by Rouch², who say:

"The more we are hostile (among ourselves) the stronger we are when we are united."

Solidarity is not maintained simply by being in fear of spirits or other peoples; ceremonial, according to Radcliffe-Brown, is the collective expression which maintains sentiments and passes them on to the next generation.³ Since society depends on the existence of common sentiments among its members, and since the Lunsar Fulbe brought these with them, the question of whether the immigrants and their offspring remain Fulbe, is dependent on whether or not the sentiments and values are perpetuated from generation to generation.

¹ A. Radcliffe-Brown: The Andaman Islanders. p. 328

² Jean Rouch: Notes on the Migrations into the Gold Coast. March-Dec. 1954, p. 57

³ loc. cit., p. 233

Radcliffe-Brown also points out that everything that may affect the cohesion of society becomes an object of this type of sentiment, and that they are not innate but develop in the individual by the action of society on him. To Radcliffe-Brown, ritual is almost wholly responsible for the inculcation of tribal values and sentiments, and whereas I think ritual important in this respect, I believe it to be only a part of the whole process of education or socialisation of the young. If, for example, a tribe has twenty days of ritual in a year, the young do not live in a vacuum for the other 345 days, but are constantly being indoctrinated with social values of one sort or another. The fact that many Fulbe send children back to Futa Jallon may indicate that there are too many 'de-Fulbeising' influences in Lunsar and that the few rituals that take place are not sufficient to counter-balance them.

The Fulbe in general terms tend to avoid de-Fulbeising influences. For example, Delco with its bureaucratic organisation and rational approach to work ignores any statuses or rules that its employees may have outside the context of their jobs. Most Fulbe choose not to work for Delco because they would enter into new sets of typically non-Fulbe, or even 'anti-Fulbe' value systems. Also, Fulbe believe that according to each man's birth so he has an ascribed status and intrinsic worth. Bureaucratic organisations such as Delco never take such an approach to their members. Avoidance of de-Fulbeising influences is therefore complimentary to ritual activity in maintaining traditional values. These influences are dealt with in more detail in the chapter on occupations.

The ceremonials of Lunsar Fulbe, for the most part, only involve adults, the children being kept in the background, although of course they are fully aware of what is happening; in fact the participation in ritual may be something to which the children aspire.

The three main periods of ritual activity which occur every year are at Ramadan, the ii'd and the Muslim new year which in 1960 fell on July 4th. Ramadan is the great Muslim fast month when Muslims are commanded to fast during the whole month every day from the first appearance of daybreak until sunset. The ii'd festivities fall at the time of the year that Muslims make the pilgrimage to Mecca and Mount Arafat, if possible, and the festival at the new year is called jumb nte by Fulbe.

These three periods of ritual activity are common to all Muslims, and although all the Muslims of the town co-operate to organise the 'big pray' at the end of Ramadan, the Fulbe also celebrate the end of the fast by a feast,

to which only Fulbe are invited. (See photos). By tradition the richest (most important) man in the community provides a ram for sacrifice, which is killed and cooked with rice, according to certain procedures which have already been mentioned.

About 80 adult male Fulbe and about 20 females came to the feast at the end of Ramadan at which everyone wore their best robes, hats and sandals, except for the young men under 25 who mostly wore smart European shorts or slacks, shirts, shoes and socks. The gathering together of most of the Fulbe community in traditional dress was used as an opportunity to settle the dispute with the hodu player, which has been mentioned. Although there was no dancing or music, the Fulbe talked and enjoyed themselves for many hours on this occasion, using it as a means of judging and fixing the statuses of the people present.

Before the feast, on the same day, there was a large prayer meeting held in the bush at the edge of Lunsar in which all Muslim men and women took part. (See photos). The prayer was conducted by one of the two town Imam who is a member of the Kabia family and a colleague of the Fulbe clerics.

The other two Muslim feasts did not involve large numbers of Fulbe coming together except in prayer, there being no large scale feasts, but only family gatherings to which one or two friends were invited.

The Ramadan Feast.

The feast month of Ramadan for the Fulbe, as for other Muslims, is an arduous period because of the stringent rules of fasting. Probably because of this it is a period of intense religious activity and sentiment. The traditional feast at the end of the fast month provides a form of relief, and is a thanksgiving to God. The feast is not merely a question of cooking a great deal of food and consuming it, but has a number of distinct phases, each stipulated by custom and performed by various persons also prescribed to a large extent by tradition. It is this organisation of behaviour around

existing roles that characterises ritual activity, and differentiates it from completely rational behaviour which results from the designing of new roles in order to make the most out of the least. Paradoxically the phasing of the ritual permits the Fulbe to perform the maximum of ritual with the minimum of materials in the form of food.

Although I gave the ram, rice, oil, etc., for the feast I do not believe that the ritual was in any way affected. The stages are as follows.

1. The handing over of the ram.

A messenger came to the house and announced that a party was coming to collect the ram, and say thank you for it. Later the same day five Fulbe came to the house where the ram was kept. Cerno Ibrahima Jalo led the party, because in the Headman's absence he is the 'biggest' man in Lunsar. With him came the deceased Cerno Amadu's slave, Manga Alhadji Bah, because he 'follows' Alfa Bakr, the headman, and Cerno Ibrahima. Bubakr Jalo came to listen on behalf of the younger men. Sekou Gise, the Maninka Praisesinger aligned with the Fulbe, came as spokesman to the group. Fouba Mumini, an old woodcarver (laubo) turned praisesinger from Futa Toro, came because 'he is always there to listen'.

The sheep was brought in by the young Pullo who had been looking after it since its purchase. The spokesman said that they had come to see the sheep that they had heard about, and also to verify that it really was being given as a sacrifice for the Fulbe community. The qualities of the sheep were/praised formally, its size and fatness admired. After this the tethering rope was placed in the spokesman's hand, the young Pullo telling him that he was to look after it from then on.

Cerno Ibrahima next said a thanksgiving prayer (dua), asking that when the giver of the sheep died, that he should go up to heaven, rather than down to hell. The party then left, and Sekou Gise took the sheep to his house and looked after it for two days.

2. Showing the sheep.

Two days after the sheep had been handed over to the Fulbe it was taken to the Headman's front yard to be 'shown'. The same party were present, and in addition they had called Cerno Wuri Jalo from Marampa village five miles away. A large number of other Fulbe had also come to look.

The 'business' of the sheep was explained at great length to Cerno Wuri while everyone else listened. Cerno Ibrahima then told Alfa Bakr's son to kill the sheep because he was well read in the Koran, and because his father was 'bigger than them all'.

3. The slaughter.

Alfa Bakr's son went and read a sura of the Koran (Al Wujuudu) in order to prepare himself for the job of killing the sheep. He then rapidly walked to the sheep which was being held ready on its side in the back yard, and with the help of a leatherworker cut the beast's throat. As he did so he said, 'Ia Il la la, Mahomedura surelai, sora lai walai na salema'. He then went and washed his hands, after which he got on with his work as an embroiderer.

The leatherworker skinned the sheep and cut it up into portions. The maube who are not allowed to see the slaughter and cutting up the sheep, then had all the meat except the bowels, skin and head, brought before them to look at.

4. The allocation and cooking of the meat.

The meat by tradition is allocated in a special way, and two of the principles conflicted. The oldest slave may take the head and skin as he is normally the one to skin the sheep. In this case Manga Alhadji Bah, thought himself too important to carry out the task as he associates himself with the maube. The leatherworker tried to take the head and skin assuming that because he had done the work they were his reward. The Manga contested his right but gave in eventually when he saw that to claim the meat he would have to establish

his slave status publically, and this he was reluctant to do.

Cérno Wuri Jalo was given the front ribs and sternum to take back to Marampa and cook. The offal was given to Fouba Moumini and the other old men, and the remainder was to be eaten by everyone.

Some of the older and more established Fulbe with families in Lunsar, such as Cérno Ibrahima Jalo, Manga Alhadji Bah, Abass Soh and also Sekou Gele wanted to take the food away to their separate houses. Bubakr Jalo and the other young men strongly opposed this, and said the meat should be cooked by the three segmental groups, Timbo, Timbe Tourne (near Pita) and Labe. Since there are so few Labe Fulbe in Lunsar they opted to join forces with the Pita Fulbe who are not so numerous as the Timbo Fulbe. The meat and other food was therefore given to representatives of the following households to cook.

Cérno Ibrahima Jalo, representing	Timbo.
Baba Jalo,	" Timbo.
Alfa Bakr,	" Timbe Tourne, Pita.
Bubakr Jalo,	" Labe.

5. Praising the food. Haala fi namagol.

By noon the following day the food had been cooked and was brought in large enamel wash basins to the yard in front of Alfa Bakr's house. The Maninka praisesinger then examined each dish in turn and sang its praises. He then said that all the Fulbe should be told that the food was ready.

At this point someone noticed that one Pullo in particular had not come. Abass Soh said 'Now he thinks he is a big man', but was challenged by Momadu Wuri who asked him why he talked like that, adding that the absentee should be called properly. A Pullo was despatched to call the man but returned alone with the news that the man was ill and could not come.

6. Allocation of the food.

The praisesinger then continued with the allocation of the food. The young men were to take the two largest dishes, three small ones were to be

A few articles on Fulbe in Sierra Leone have been written and where possible the relevant material has been incorporated in this study.

Native Authority court records were consulted, although they reported few cases involving Fulbe. A far richer source of information was the District Commissioner's files at Port Lokko, from which the history of political conflict since the war between Fulbe and the Temnes and Lokkos was in part obtained.

Mechanical Equipment. a. A camera was used to obtain pictorial illustrations, some of which appear in the text. However, it was found that ^{it} was very difficult to combine note taking and picture taking, so most photographs were taken on outings specifically assigned for this purpose. It was found that the best technique was to write down a list of the photographs required and systematically tick off each subject as it was photographed. When the social situation to be studied is outside the control of the field worker, e.g. rituals, a decision has to be made at the time on whether notes or photographs will be of most use. When long sequences of photographs can be taken and the films processed locally it is fairly easy to ask informants to explain them afterwards.

b. A tape recorder was used to collect material at ceremonies, although for various reasons it did not work on some important occasions. The tape recorder was sometimes used during interviews when more than one informant was being used. This enabled me to find out afterwards what was discussed by people not actually talking to me at the time.

c. General information on each informant was transferred on to 'Cope. Chat Paramount Punch Cards' to assist in the processing of statistical data. Each informant was given a code number on being first interviewed. This helped me to differentiate between a number of people with the same names. Each individual's card could also be sorted out by the code number. A complete description of the card system and codes appears in appendix D. This was written in the field so that in the event of an accident to myself, the material would be understandable to anyone else.

taken to the women and small children in the back yard, and two dishes were to be given to the Maube, and other old men.

The young men then refused to eat the food because Mamudu Jalo, the hodu player, was there and they had 'palava' with him. Bubakr Jalo, who was the senior of the young men and came from the same place as Mamudu Jalo, Labe, said that the dispute should not interfere with the feast. Cerno Ibrahima Jalo told Bubakr Jalo to stop the 'palava' between the young men after everyone had eaten. He then called for water to wash hands, and said that no one was to take any food away but must eat his fill there. Cerno Ibrahima Jalo stressed the importance of eating communally by saying that if anyone took food away he 'could go his own way thenceforth', and could not count himself a member of the Fulbe community any more.

7. The eating.

The maube and other old men ate from two of the bowls regardless of their origin. The young men ate in two groups, Timbo Fulbe in one group and Labe and Timbe Tourne Fulbe in the other. The women and children ate their share together in the back yard out of sight of the men.

The food was consumed quickly, and afterwards the compin members decided to fine Mamudu Jalo five pounds. The payment of this amount ended the dispute, and groups of Fulbe remained in the locality of the yard for some time talking amongst themselves.

Analysis.

The ritual of the Ramadan feast must be considered as starting with the formal handing over of the sheep to the delegation who represented both the young and the old Fulbe.

There are seven distinct and separate phases in the ritual, viz.;

1. Handing over of the ram to the community.
2. Showing the sheep to the community.
3. Slaughter of the sheep.
4. Allocation of the meat to the principal segments.
5. Praising of the food after cooking.
6. Allocation of dishes to the various groups.
7. The eating of the food.

Each of the phases were carried out ceremoniously and according to Fulbe tradition. Attached to each phase were separate roles which must be performed. For example a learned man must kill the sheep having prepared himself by reading the Koran. His declaration that the sheep is killed in God's honour (holaare Allah) is important to the Fulbe as muslims.

Even if the person normally qualified to perform a role is missing, a substitute must be found. Therefore, in the absence of a real Fulbe praise-singer a Maninka who by birth was a praisesinger was co-opted for the job. The mild dispute between the Manga and the leatherworker about who should have the head and skin, indicates that the status of the old slave is accepted, but, that due to his age and association with the Maube freemen, he has accumulated a high prestige. If he had insisted on having the head and skin as his right he would have forfeited some of his prestige.

Although there was a slight confusion over status by birth during the ritual, there was no question of any Pullo challenging the right of Cerno Ibrahimia Jalo and Bubakr Jalo to represent the old and young Fulbe of Lunsar. Again, when the 'compin' refused to eat until their dispute with Mamudu Jalo was settled, a quiet word from Cerno Ibrahimia made them eat first and settle the dispute afterwards. The authority of Cerno Ibrahimia is not political, although he was representing the absent headman his authority comes from his title of Cerno. To have this title a Pullo must be well read in the Koran, Muslim Law and various texts in addition to having knowledge of varieties of magic and astrology. Fulbe fear to cross a Cerno because he can work powerful magic against them. The right of Bubakr Jalo to represent the young men was undisputed because

he had been a 'compin' leader but had not yet reached the ranks of the Maube.

The Ramadan feast demonstrated the segmentation of the Lunsar Fulbe, the majority of whom insisted that the food be cooked and eaten by the major segments represented. The fact that Labe and Timbe Tourne combined for convenience does not remove the significance of these segments. The difference between men and women and children is illustrated by the complete separation of the two groups during the feast. The eating together from the same bowl by all the older men from many segments demonstrated and reaffirmed the unity of the Fulbe as one people, as brothers in religion, (musibbe dina).

The spiritual part of the ritual lies in the killing of the sheep. The Fulbe do not like to kill animals, one proverb even says that it is better for a Fullo to have his brother killed than to slaughter his favourite cow. To deliberately cut the throat of an animal (other than a fowl) goes against Fulbe custom and values. For this reason many Fulbe may trade in cattle but to find one who is a butcher is very rare. Before Alfa Bakr's son killed the sheep he read the Koran, and while actually cutting its throat he said a short prayer, in order that it was quite clear that it was being killed in the name of God. To the Fulbe who often live in a symbiotic relationship with animals, their deliberate slaughter is a true sacrifice.

The ritual of the Ramadan feast demonstrates a number of structural features actually working, the importance of traditional roles, i.e. of praisingsinger, leatherworker and Manga. It shows the division of the Fulbe according to their origins and the sharp division between the Maube and the young men. The ritual, by necessitating the performance of various traditional roles, contributes to the reinforcing of traditional values and the perpetuation of Fulbe society in Lunsar.

Funerals

Three Fulbe funerals took place during the period of study, a carno, a baby, and a stranger. The baby's funeral was a very minor affair compared

with that of the cerno, although the stranger's funeral was only a shade less impressive, for although the man had no family or friends in Lunsar, and died his first day there, he was considered to be a 'brother' and all the Lunsar Fulbe contributed to his proper burial in the Muslim fashion.

As soon as a Muslim dies in Lunsar a small boy carries a multicoloured flag around the town to inform the population of the event. The dead man's friends and relatives then go to the house and sit quietly on the verandah in silence, while the senior kinsmen or clerics wash and shave the body. Another cleric collects subscriptions from all present to give the widow something, and to finance the family feast required by custom. Each sum given is noted down in Arabic or Pullar, with the giver's name in a big ledger.

Meantime other men dig the grave in the Muslim burial ground on the outskirts of Lunsar, and as soon as it is finished the body, wrapped in a white sheet, is conveyed in a coffin fixed on old motor wheels, to the burial ground. All the adult male Fulbe then escort the coffin to the graveyard where the body is removed and laid on the ground.

The senior man present, Alfa Bakr or cerno Ibrima Jalo, then addresses the crowd, telling them what to do, then after facing Mecca and saying a few prayers the corpse is placed in the ground, wrapped in its white cloth, placed in such a way that it will be facing Mecca at the last judgment. In the dirt underneath the corpse is written in Arabic:

"Bismilla ra ma na Rahim".

The corpse is next protected by logs and sticks laid on wide ridges along the sides of the grave, the remaining four or five feet of which are filled up with earth, a neat mound being left on top. No headboard or sign is left to show who was buried there, for as the Fulbe pointed out, "God knows who lies there".

All those present then sit round the grave leaving the Mecca side clear, and cerno Ibrima Jalo conducts prayers for the dead man. After half an hour

everyone walks back to the deceased's house where a goat is sacrificed, cooked and eaten in the evening.

On burial, all dead people are in a neutral zone (lakora), and only when the world is finished will each soul go to its appointed heaven or hell. All sarnaabe go to heaven automatically, where the three parts of man, the soul (baaraji),¹ the body (bandule) and life (wonki) all join together again. Lunsar Fulbe observe no ceremonies after the feast, the matter being finished.

Other ritual occasions on which Fulbe come together are naming ceremonies, although many Fulbe said they preferred to wait until they could take their children to Futa Jallon to be named. Until a child has been named he is called sampa, and frequently a tuft of hair is left on the left side of his otherwise shaven head.

At a naming ceremony (denabo or fembugol bobo), which only occurred once during the ten month study period, all the Fulbe who are able go to the house in the forenoon. The women of the house beat rice into a powder ready to mix with wild honey to make cebal a ceremonial food, often referred to in Krio as a 'sacrifice'.

The child meanwhile is well bathed and the sacrificial animals are held in a row in readiness (when cerno Wuri Jalo's grandson was named one ram and two cocks were sacrificed). Three women line up with the animals, each with a long pole poised over a single mortar containing rice.

The child is then brought round to the front of the verandah and held ready for shaving, and at the same moment that the head of the family cuts the ram's throat, he calls out the child's name, which no-one else previously knew. The other animals or fowls have their throats cut, a man begins shaving the child's head and the women begin beating the rice, all simultaneously. Then the praisesingers begin praising the child, its name and its family. If there

¹ baaraji, motuŋaado and yentuldu are all words for soul, differing in their 'goodness'. A bad soul is bonnŋnaado.

are musicians present they also begin playing the refrain associated with the child's clan. The hair from the child's head is dropped into a calabash of water, a leaf (jibe) is dropped in, and people throw coins into the water. Later the mother collects the coins and will keep her child's hair.

While the sacrificial animals are cut up, coḅal and kola nuts are passed round to everyone so that all may actively participate in the ritual. This is followed by a feast of rice and stew, the rules for who eats with whom being the same as those described previously.

After eating, all the Fulbe line up in front of the house and one of the sarnaabe officiates with prayers, meanwhile other men continue dissecting the animals. When the prayers are finished the meat is allocated in the following way, as was done at cerno Wuri's grandson's naming ceremony:

<u>Part of Ram</u>	<u>Recipient</u>
Right front ribs	Praisesingers
Liver and kidneys	The author and Dr. D. Gamble ¹
One back and one front leg	<u>cerno Wuri Jalo</u>
Head, skin and testicles	
One front leg	Alfa Bakr
Stomach and intestines,	Shared out amongst the rest
leg and ribs	

The remainder of the coḅal was distributed for people to also take away.

Both the funeral ceremony and the naming ceremony reinforce tribal values and solidarity, for both rituals are conducted according to the same procedures followed in Futa Jallon. The rituals involve only Fulbe, and since they are conducted in the open, not only demonstrate to Temnes that they are a separate group, but also make the Fulbe themselves aware of their identity.

Those Fulbe who attend rituals may be called the core of the Fulbe community, many of those who do not participate are half-Temne by birth. The Fulbe community take part in rituals, and it is participation in rituals that

¹ Normally these portions would go to elders (maube).

helps to define the community itself. The sphere of influence of rituals extends beyond the locality of their performance, and are conveyed to those who cannot attend, by means of the meat and coḅal which is distributed.¹ Thus all the Fulbe were made aware of the existence of cerno Wuri's grandson as a full member of the tribe and community.

Rituals, by bringing large numbers of Fulbe together, also give them confidence, as they can see themselves as a corporate group with common values and interests. Since they live scattered over the town, Fulbe rarely congregate in large numbers except for ceremonial purposes.

Rituals, being about the only occasions when the Lunsar Fulbe all come together have a dual function, its end is eunomic. On all ritual occasions the alignments of Fulbe are according to birth status, (slave, free and artisan,) in addition to status and prestige achieved by age and knowledge. Also the allegiance to origins in Futa Jallon demonstrate clearly the principle of segmentation. The coming together as a group demonstrates Fulbe solidarity to the Temne and other Africans. Simultaneously however, each Pullo by participating in such collective demonstrations of Fulbe solidarity is committing himself to the Fulbe traditional way of life. By participating he is demonstrating that he considers the values of the group to be important, and to achieve and maintain the respect of other Lunsar Fulbe each Pullo must try to live up to the ideal of pulaaku.

The next chapter shows how the strong adherence of the Fulbe to traditional values affects their choice of occupation and consequent role in the economic life of Lunsar.

¹ There is an obvious similarity between this practice and that of sending pieces of wedding cake to people in Europe.

Occupations

Plate 38. Fulbe table trader; her customers are also Fulbe.

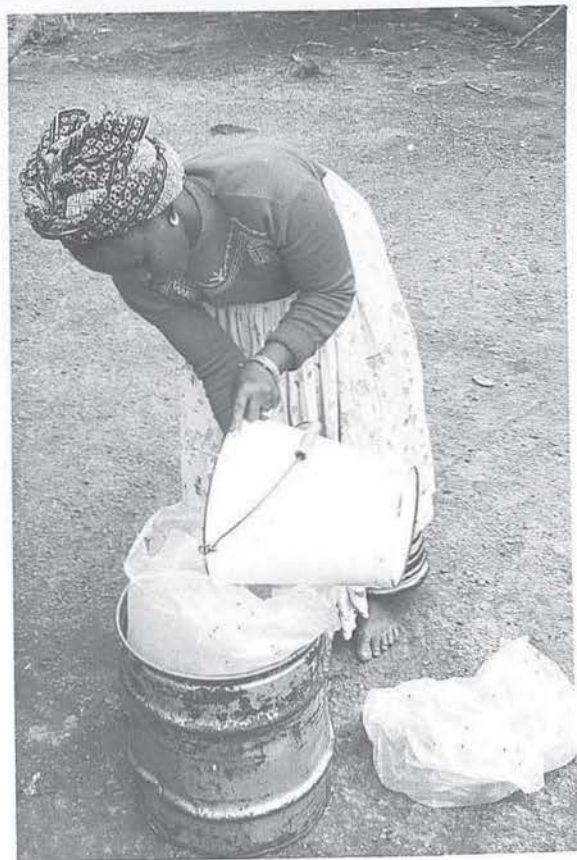


Plate 39. A more prosperous stall in the market.



Plate 40.
Table trader reading
from a holy book.

Plate 41.
A woman who lives in
Lunsar but goes to the
cattle camps to buy
Kosan. It costs her ten
shillings to fill the
white pail.



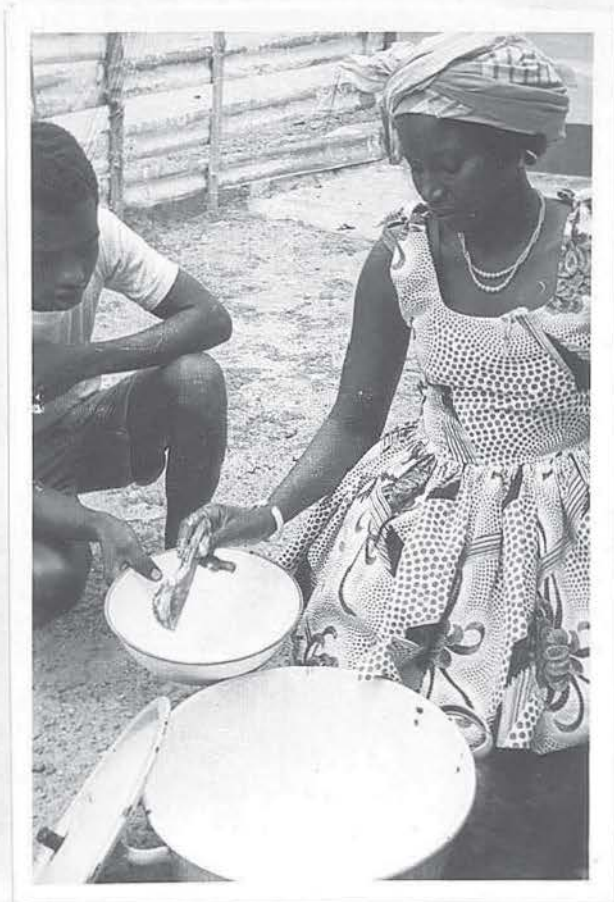


Plate 42.
Kosan seller from one
of the cattle camps.
One spoonful costs two-
pence.

Plate 43.

The same woman at work in
the cattle camp. Note the
difference in dress.

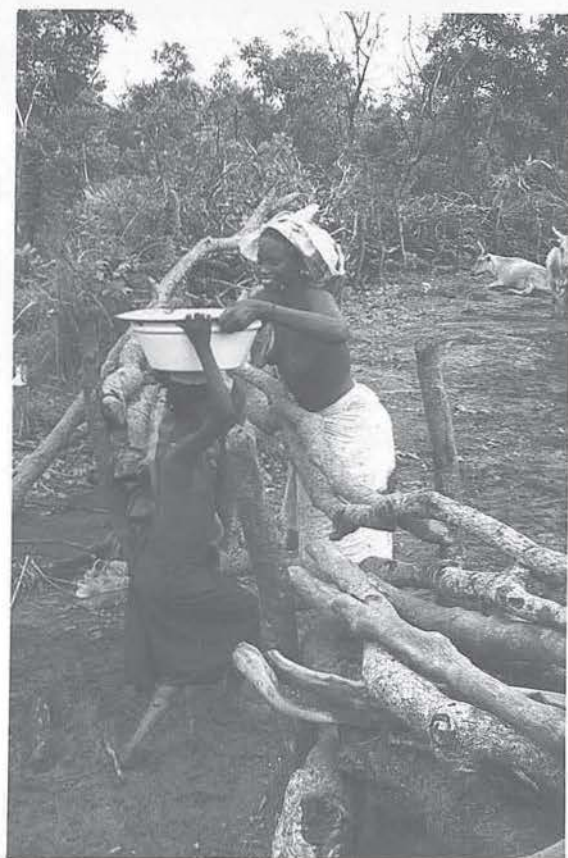




Plate 2. Masaboin hill from the side of the European compound. In the foreground are tailings from the mill.

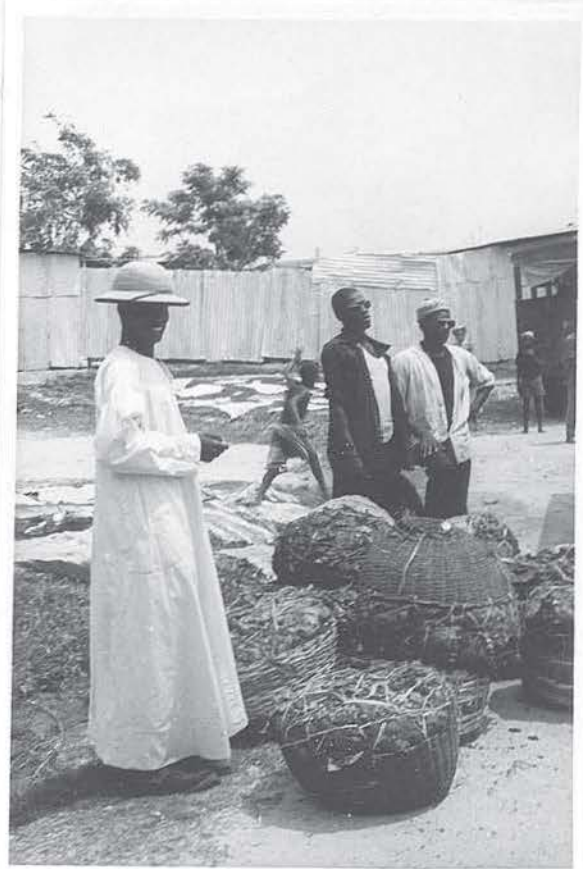


Plate 44.
A kola trader counting
bly as they are unload-
ed from a lorry return-
ing from the bush.
The two men in the rear
have just brought the
kola for the other man.



Plate 45. A leatherworker finishing an
ornate scabbard for a cutlass.

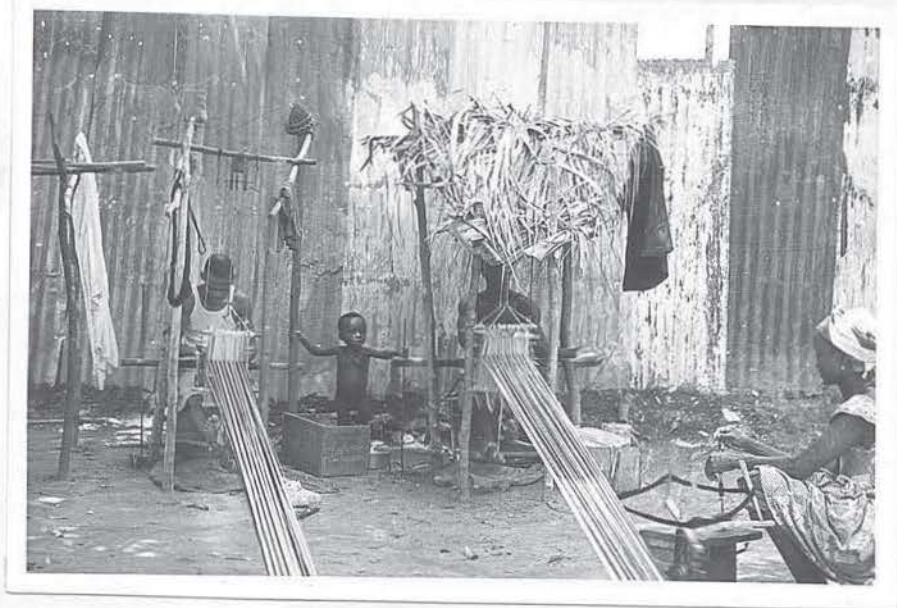


Plate 46. Two of the weavers at work.



Plate 47. The wife of a weaver winding thread onto a shuttle bobbin.

Plate 48.
A Fulbe weaver



Plate 49. Showing how the shuttle is thrown through the warp.

Plate 50. Tailor sewing a girl's dress while she waits.

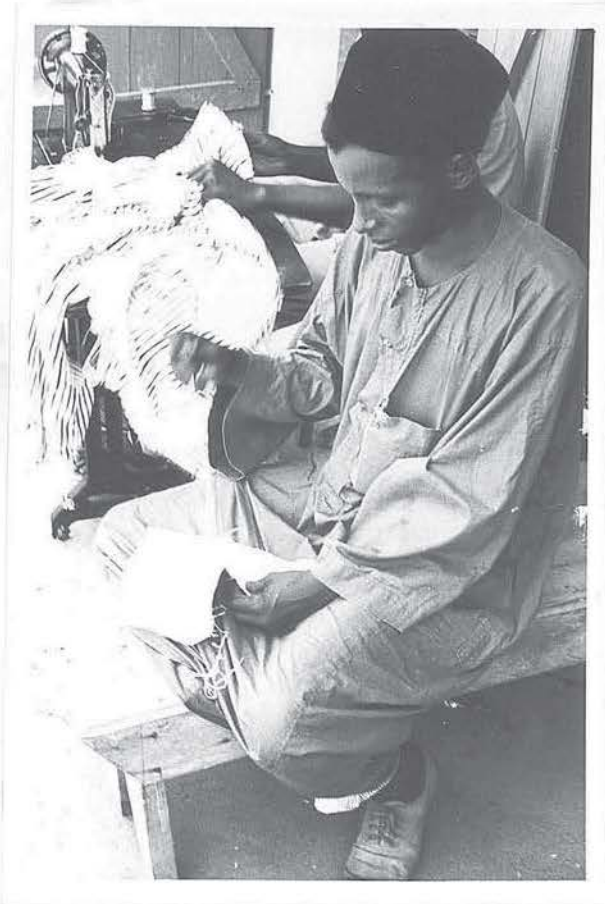


Plate 51. Embroiderer working on a pocket for a gown.

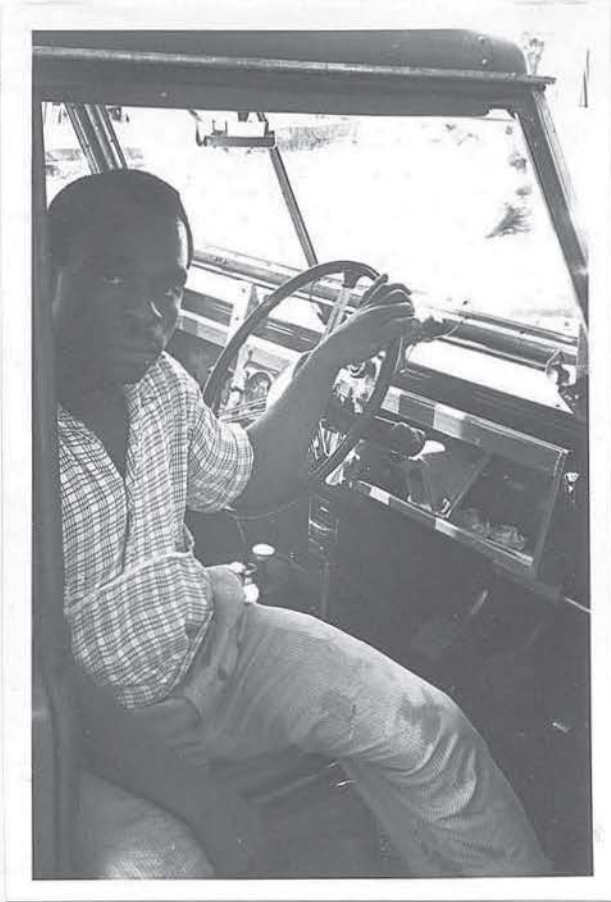


Plate 52.
Half-Fulbe driver.

Plate 53.
Ralli gal

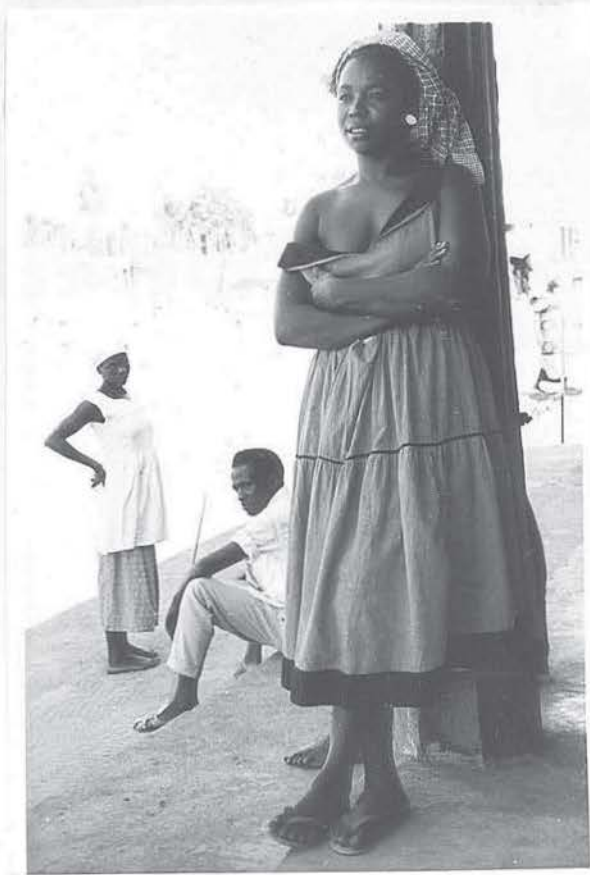




Plate 54.
Guitar player or
nama kala hodu.

Plate 55. A young
'urbanised' Pullo.

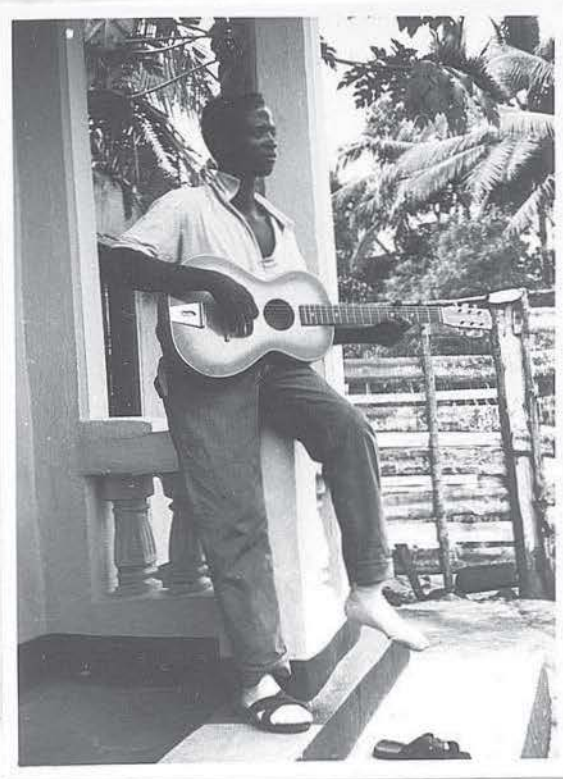


Plate 56.
Fulbe mother wearing her
best clothes.



Plate 57.
A Pullo's wife, cooking.



Plate 58. Temne girl having
her gums blackened by a Pullo.

Plate 59.
A mad Temne retained as
an unpaid servant by the
Fulbe headman.



Plate 60.
Temne Koranko balanji players
at the election of the Fulbe
chief at Feredugu.



Plate 61.
The victorious contestant is chaired
by his jubilant followers.

Plate 62. Auluŋe



Plate 63. Gaulo praising cerno
Wuri Jalo and his forefathers.

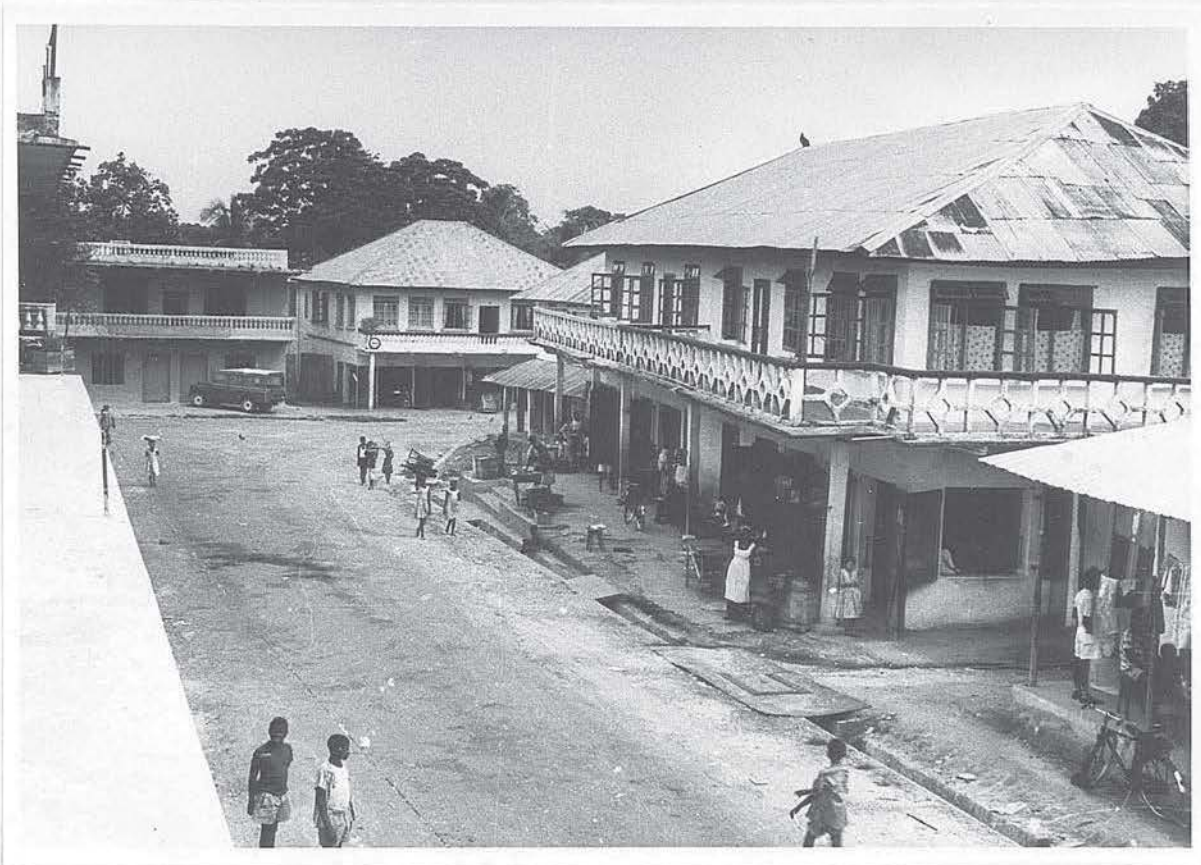


Plate 3. Lunsar mainstreet, looking towards the commercial area including the bank. (Land Rover parked outside)

Plate 64.
Cærno Wuri Jalo.



Plate 65.
Cærno Ibrahima Jalo and
Pa Hasana Bundu. Two clerics.

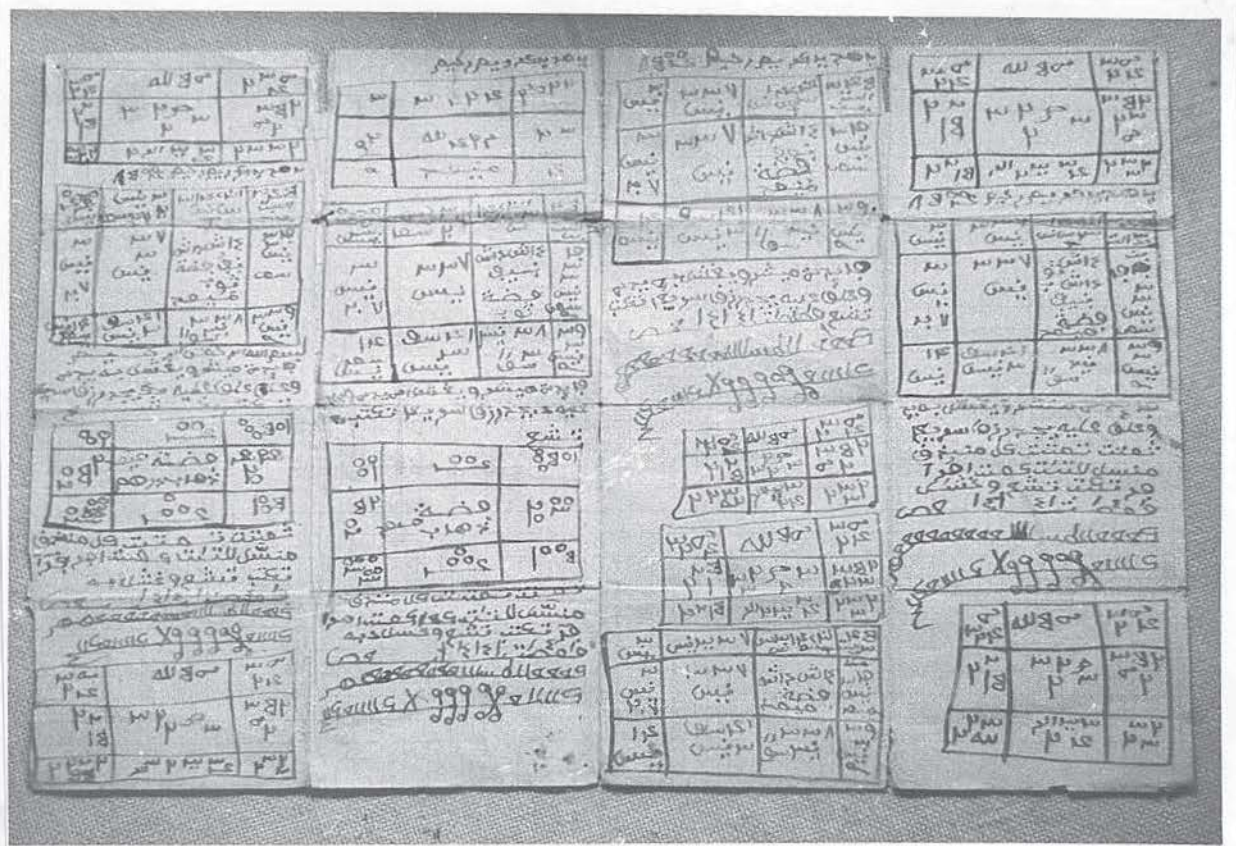


Plate 66.

Fal, or magic squares, made by a Fulbe Karamoko.

CHAPTER VI - OCCUPATIONS AND WORK

Introduction - concepts, definitions and scope of the study

Industrialisation is the process by which each individual engaged in producing, no longer performs all, or nearly all, the processes and stages giving rise to a product, but begins to specialise by performing only one or two of the essential processes. This division of labour by process rather than by product differentiates between modern industry and the crafts of pre-literate or pre-industrial societies.¹

The division of labour by process necessitates that there are at least as many persons performing productive roles as there are processes; thus industries tend to have larger labour forces than do pre-industrial crafts. The Sierra Leone Development Corporation (S.L.D.C.), most commonly known as Delco, is a large modern industry engaged in open cast iron ore mining in the Lunsar-Marampa Chiefdom in the protectorate of Sierra Leone. When this company started producing in the early thirties, Lunsar was a small village of seven houses, in 1959 it had a population of about 10,000, of which 1,300 work for Delco. The sex ratio is about equal, so the figure of 1,300 represents 47% of the adult male population, 1,100 men (40%) work at town occupations, and 360 men (13%) are unemployed.²

Lunsar has grown up as a result of mining operations and is therefore an industrial town, and because it has only been in existence for thirty years, most of its adult population are immigrants. The immigrants come from all over Sierra Leone as well as from other West African territories, and can be divided into two categories; those who come to seek work in the mine, and those who

¹ An exception is to be found in the manufacture of cloth by the Mende, K. L. Little, The Mende of Sierra Leone.

² Population figures from D. Gamble's occupational survey.

come to work in Lunsar itself. Of those who come to find work in the mine, many are unsuccessful or have to wait until vacancies occur, and so they often remain in Lunsar as unemployed persons or find alternative occupations in the town itself.

Very few of the adult Fulbe work for Delco as can be seen in Table 1.7 which is repeated below:

Table 1.7

	<u>Town Occupations</u>	<u>Delco Occupations</u>	
Both parents Fulbe	66 93%	5 7%	= 100%
One parent a Fullo	13 43%	17 57%	= 100%
Totals	79	22	

Numbers and percentages of adult male Fulbe and 'half' Fulbe resident in the Lunsar area working in Town and Delco Occupations.

From this table one can see that men who are half Fulbe have a higher proportion of their number working for Delco than those who are Fulbe by virtue of their father's and mother's tribe.*

The Fulbe immigrants into Lunsar are mainly of the type who come there to exploit the secondary effects of industrialisation, i.e. urbanisation, and not to sell their labour by performing a process for a fixed and regular wage. Most of the Fulbe and half-Fulbe who do work for Delco have been born and brought up in Temne country and do not come from Futa Jallon; they are second generation immigrants to this area.

The fact that Fulbe do not, on the whole, work for Delco indicates that there must be a reason for it, which has a lot to do with their being Fulbe. As individuals they are not mentally or physically incapable of doing the work, but disinclined to. The investigation of why Fulbe do not work in industry leads us to find out what occupations they do pursue. Thus the first part of this section on occupations and work is devoted to a detailed description of

Note: * It should be noted that Fulbe and half-Fulbe working for Delco belong to Fulbe as category, but are not placed within the social structure. The Delco Fulbe do not even live according to Fulbe culture.

Fulbe occupations in Lunsar.

With the arrival of industry in Lunsar, imported in its entirety, and coupled with the rapid growth of the town, many of the needs of life formerly met by each family by its own endeavours, began to be fulfilled by persons not working in Delco but specialising in other fields. Today Lebanese and African shops as well as the large central market sell rice and other foodstuffs. Thus Delco not only demands specialisation of its employees, but induces it in the whole area around. No longer can a man farm in the rains and have some other job in the dry season if he works in Delco, he has to rely on others for his food supply, clothes and other essentials.

The situation in Lunsar has not yet reached the stage where every working man pursues only one occupation, in fact it is doubtful whether any society ever arrived at such a point; but there are many ways of earning money in the town, and few men set out to earn it in any precisely limited fashion. Most traders deal in more than one kind of commodity, many 'craftsmen' will produce more than one product, in fact very few of the Lunsar inhabitants have an idea of one man, one job, and will turn their hands to any venture open to them which will show a profit.

Since it is impractical to assume that each working individual has 'a job', the idea of a 'working person' will be used in this section. The fact that 139 occupations are pursued by 103 adult Fulbe males in Lunsar, appears quite reasonable if one thinks of the 103 men as 139 working persons and not as individuals. A partial explanation for the fact that individuals perform more than one occupation each, is that specialisation in only one traditional craft such as mat making, will not produce enough profit to keep even one person alive, let alone their dependents.

The division of labour has been a very rapid process in Lunsar, and is still continuing at a fast rate; most of the traditional occupations performed by Africans still exist, although the demands of a large population is tending to

make them more and more specialised, e.g. women have always dyed cloth for their own use, but now some women dye cloth not for their own use but to sell. The demand for goods and services is proceeding at a greater rate than competent persons can satisfy, for this reason persons with only a rudimentary knowledge of dispensing or nursing call themselves 'doctors' and administer drugs and treatment to a credulous public, who believe that a 'chook' (Krio for injection) of penicillin will cure anything from leprosy to a headache.

The situation in Lunsar, where in many fields, any person who cares to, can set himself or herself up as a purveyor of services such as those of 'doctor', has come about as an effect of introducing a large modern industry in an area inhabited by pre-industrial people. The older men appear to have built up a resistance to the new and rapidly changing values that have come with industry, but many of the young men do not seem sure of what their ambition is, nor, if they have one, of the role they have to play in order to achieve it. These remarks apply less to the Fulbe in Lunsar than to the other Africans. The Fulbe still believe that ^{most of} their tribal and religious values are as good as the new ones brought by the 'White Man'.

The importance of studying work in an area where a town has risen, and an industry developed without an industrial revolution, cannot be stressed too much. The division of labour by process requires different control systems to pre-industrial crafts. In Lunsar the new control systems are adequate in the work site of Delco mine, but are inadequate in the town which has grown up as a result of mining operations, mainly because most of the people in the town have no experience of industry and the complex bureaucratic type of organisation which usually accompanies it.

The Fulbe have vast experience of conquest, travel and living among other tribes who are often hostile. The Fulbe also had large towns and centres of learning before European rule was established in the hinterland of West Africa, and they are therefore able to live and work in Lunsar quite easily without

having to go through the difficult process of re-orientation that the Temnes, Limbas and other local tribes have to go through. But, the role of the Fulbe in Lunsar has not changed to what can be called an industrial role, they do not sell their labour for executing a process in Delco, but continue to try and amass capital in traditional Fulbe ways.

The Fulbe often liken themselves to Europeans, and see themselves as doing the same thing as Europeans in coming to the country of the Balɛbe in order to make profit, and spread the word of God (Allah), although they recognise that Fulbe and Europeans have different methods. Fulbe lack the large capital and technical know-how necessary to exploit natural resources in the same way as Delco, but are able to exploit those who earn money in Delco. Some Fulbe were puzzled that Delco should pay their workers so much, when the Fulbe have always enslaved other tribes to work for them. More than one man asked me in confidence if the Scots were the slaves of the English, as there seemed to be so many working for Delco, which they thought was an English 'compin'.

The way in which the Fulbe exploit the Lunsar wage earners is for the most part by trading, although many Fulbe are artisans; mainly tailors.

Any kind of division or classification of occupations into African and European occupations must be a spurious one, because today Africans are to be found performing most occupations that were previously pursued solely by Europeans in West Africa. The rapid advance in the acquisition of Western knowledge by Africans makes the classification of doctors, lawyers, fitters, etc. as European occupations invalid, when Africans are to be found performing them. It is possible to say that some occupations in Lunsar are traditional in the sense that Africans in this area have pursued them since before European influence became extensive. All the occupations pursued in Lunsar today are logically Urban and modern because they are pursued in the town and are contemporary, an exception is the farmer or cattle owner who lives in Lunsar, but travels to his farm or pays another man to look after his cows.

Persons such as diamond diggers who live in Lunsar are included in the discussion on occupations in spite of the fact that diamonds are not mined in Lunsar. The money, diggers living in Lunsar, make, is spent in the town and therefore plays an influential role in its economy.

The application of western concepts to a town whose inhabitants vary from complete illiterates to Government Ministers, is very difficult and to be approached with caution. The use of the term 'unemployed', for example, presents a difficulty because when used to describe an ex-clerical worker of Delco, it has a similar meaning to that of the same term when applied to an unemployed clerical worker in Britain; but it is hard to say whether the term can be used of an immigrant Temne away from his village for the first time. The man may have left his village in the dry season when farming work is almost nil, to find work in the mine for a few months to supplement his income, but finds on arrival in Lunsar that there is no work available at the mine. The Temne man may stay in the town for four months in the hope of getting work, but cannot really be called unemployed because he is a farmer and the dry season is the time that farmers do little work anyway. Many persons come to Lunsar in the dry season and return to their farms at the beginning of the rains, and such people, when interviewed in Lunsar, were classified as

- a. farmers if they expressed the intention of returning to their farms by the rainy season,
- b. employed in some other occupation if by its means they earned enough to keep themselves in food,
- c. unemployed if they wanted work and had no income at all, or one so small as to be insufficient for their own food, and if they expressed the intention of not returning to farming.

One final point on the question of concepts and definitions is the difficulty of saying what is 'an occupation', a full-time job in Delco or government service can be called 'an occupation', but when a Pullo is a weaver in the

morning, a trader in the afternoon and a watchman at night, as one man is, the problem arises as to whether his occupation is, weaver, trader or watchman. This difficulty has been surmounted by using the concept of the 'working person', thus this Fullo as an individual contains three working persons as he has three distinct roles which earn him money, all of which earn about the same amount.

The description of the role of the Fulbe in the sphere of work and occupations in Lunsar is divided into sections, as it is felt that it is better to keep the different types of analysis distinct while laying out the argument, and later by collating the material present a composite picture at the end.

- A. The first section describes the occupations performed by Fulbe in Lunsar from a sociological and economic point of view. The factors of production, processes, product, distribution and rewards of each working person will be described, and also the nature of the social relationships necessitated by the pursuit of each occupation. Other sociological factors such as the form of training needed and the internal organisation of the occupation will be given.
- B. This section deals with the occupational histories of the Lunsar Fulbe in order to ascertain what influence coming to Lunsar has on the Fulbe's choice of those occupations open to him.
- C. An analysis of an occupational prestige rating test given to Fulbe and half-Fulbe working the town and in Delco is given.
- D. The conditions of work which influence a Fullo's choice of occupation were investigated by means of a 'matched pairs' test, and the results are laid out in this section.
- E. From the preliminary results of the above two tests it was apparent that it would be worthwhile finding out what form the Fulbe's conception of various types of work takes.

F. From a list of all the occupations found in Lunsar, those that Fulbe perform were examined in order to discover why Fulbe have these jobs and not others.

An attempt has been made to ascertain which factors

- a forbid the entry of Fulbe into an occupation,
- b permit the entry of Fulbe into an occupation,
- c encourage Fulbe to perform certain occupations.

In general terms the object of this section is to isolate the factors responsible for the work role of the Fulbe in Lunsar.

G. The final section is a collation of all the facts, data and analysis from the other sections to make perfectly plain the economic and occupation role of the Lunsar Fulbe as the tribal group which has the smallest proportion of its members working for Delco; which in itself is an explanation of why Fulbe tend not to work for Delco.

Section A - Description of Occupations

Commercial Occupations

Trader, table (yeyo table)

Demography

Three Fulbe males, two Fulbe females and three half-Fulbe females. One of the men was under 30 years of age but the other two were over 40. The two Fulbe women and one of the half-Fulbe women were under 30, and the other two were under 40 but over 30 years of age.

Work task

Table traders sell items of small value to the public by displaying their wares on a table; the goods sold vary, although certain 'lines' are sold by all



Plate 4. Headties for sale in Lunsar Market



Plate 5. Main market building; Lunsar

table traders. Each trader usually has a very heterogenous collection of goods for sale - viz.

Matches - by box 3d. - 4d.	Needles - singly or by packet
Thread	Cowrie shells - 2 for a penny
Buttons - 2 for a penny	Sheeps' horns
Cigarette - by 'stick'. Players 2d. Woodbines 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.	Soap (native made) - by block
Dye, usually blue, by packet	Scent - by bottle
Red nail varnish - 3d. per hand painted.	Tobacco leaves

Factors of production

Their stock plus the table and stool, is their capital, and in every case was owned by the table traders themselves. The table, made out of old beer cases, is sold to them by Temne carpenters at 5/- to 8/- each.

Work Site

Many Temne table traders put their tables and wares in the central market in the morning, although the Fulbe prefer to site them elsewhere, usually in the main streets of the town. If possible they are placed under verandahs but otherwise crude shelters are constructed of wood and empty cardboard cartons, to keep off the sun and rain.

Two of the Fulbe males site their table near the premises of the Syrians who employ them as watchmen. One Fulbe girl had her table on the verandah of a Lebanese shop, but paid no rent for the site, having first got the permission of the owner.

Distribution and Marketing

Most of the goods are brought from Lebanese shops at normal prices per packet or unit of measure. The table traders break down the packet of whatever it is, cigarettes, needles, etc., and sell smaller units at a profit, e.g. ten 'Players Please' bought for 1/4d. are sold singly at 2d. each giving a profit of 4d. on the whole packet.

Often the goods on sale on a table can be bought at the normal price in the Lebanese shop next to the table, but in Lunsar where so often an individual has not got enough money to buy a whole packet of cigarettes, they will go and buy in smaller units from the table trader. The Lebanese do not sell single cigarettes or needles, there being an agreement between them and all African petty traders to sell only by packet. The packet price is called 'wholesale' price by the Africans.

Fulbe tend to buy from Fulbe traders.

Recruitment and Training

Anyone who has the inclination and the capital can set up as a table trader; formal training is absent and the individual learns by watching others and by trial and error. As each table trader is an individual and separate economic unit, there is only an informal feeling of solidarity between them, which would only come into operation if the Lebanese started selling goods in smaller units in the way that the table traders do. Since they have no organisation there is nothing they could do about it, if the Lebanese did undersell them in small units.

Relationship with the rest of society

No licence is required to be a table trader, although the permission of the site owner is required in the case of a verandah.

Career History of Table Traders

The women have never had any other occupation except keeping house.

One of the men had been a table trader for thirteen years, another for five years, and the other for three years. The latter having been a watchman trader in Makeni before that. The man who had had a table for five years had worked as a labourer in Delco for a year previously, and had been a trader before that. The other man had always been a trader, although he was reckoned to be a wise man as he was always reading the Qur'an and other books in Arabic, while sitting at his table.

Traders, tray

Demography

Three Fulbe women.

Work Task

Small quantities of whatever produce is in season is either carried round the town on the woman's head, or put down on the road near several other such traders. The commonest things sold are kola nuts, Oranges and Mangoes.

The kola are usually poor quality ones which the Fulbe Kola Traders have given to the women or sold to them cheaply. They are retailed at two for a penny, or a penny each, depending on quality and season.

Oranges are usually sold at two per penny, and on purchase the woman peels off the hard oily outside skin, and leaving the white pulp surrounding the orange, cuts off the top so the purchaser can squeeze the orange and suck out all the juice. Africans do not 'eat' the orange as a European does. This latter service is inclusive of the cost of the oranges, since the plain uncut orange sells at three or four for a penny.

Factors of Production

The only capital investment involved is 4/- to 6/- for an enamelled metal tray, usually made in Hong Kong.

Work Site

The whole town may be the work site although women usually have their set 'beat'. Others have a permanent site which they occupy during the day and evening.

Distribution

This is done by the woman herself, who also finds her own goods to sell. Generally she also keeps the profits.

Recruitment

This is generally from the ranks of small boys and girls and young married women. Many of the Temne tray traders are part-time prostitutes who use trading

as an excuse to walk around distant parts of the town, and thus escape the vigilance of their husbands. The Fulbe women were all young married women and not prostitutes.

No licence is required to be a tray trader.

Career Histories

None of the women had had any previous occupations except housekeeping.

Trader, Cow (njula nai'i)

Demography

All six of the cattle traders were adult Fulbe males.

Work Task

Three of the traders bought cows in La Guinée and either walked with them, or took them in lorries to the Lunsar area. These traders usually brought half a dozen to a dozen at a time and sold them at any point on the journey that they could. One cattle trader, who was also the most prosperous Kola trader, bought cows with his profits in Futa Jallon and brought them to Lunsar by lorry.

The other three cattle traders bought cows from the Fulbe living to the north of Lunsar and sold them to Temnes in Lunsar and other towns.

Considerable skill and knowledge of cattle is necessary if a cattle trader is to be successful, and since the Fulbe are almost the sole cattle owners and stockmen in Sierra Leone and La Guinée, they have the best chance of learning about cattle. As well as knowledge of cattle, another prerequisite is the ability to speak Fulbe and be able to bargain with the cattle owner who is selling his cows. Since cattle, to those Fulbe who raise them, are more than just a commodity, considerable tact and persuasion are often needed on the part of the trader to get the owner to sell his cattle.

Having bought some cattle, the trader may go from herd to herd until he has as many as twelve cows. These may be driven or carried in lorries to the towns where they are sold to Temne butchers and cattle owners.¹

¹ A prosperous Temne may buy cattle and pay a Fullo to look after them for him.

The best time of year for the trader to buy cows is during the rainy season when the cattle are kept inside the dingira (fenced compound) at night. During this season the cattle can be inspected at leisure, while during the dry season when they roam on their own, it is hard to see them all at once. However the cattle are often thin at the beginning of the rains, and money is generally short, so traders tend to buy at the end of the rains when the cattle are well fed and the Temnes, having sold their rice crops, have more money.

Work Site

This, naturally, is not fixed, for the cattle are bought in one place and sold at another. However some traders keep returning to the same cattle owners to buy from them, and similarly sell their cows to a limited number of customers, although they will sell to the highest bidders in any case.

Marketing

This is done by the trader himself, and the cattle are not auctioned, but prospective buyers approached separately, and bargained with until a price is arrived at.

Milking cows are sold to persons who wish to keep them in their own herds, but bulls (sing. n'gai; pl. ga'i) and steers (sing. buugeri; pl. buugi) are sold to butchers for slaughtering.

There are five butchers in Lunsar, all Temnes, who take it in turns to sell meat in the market for a week at a time. Killing takes place on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays, three cows a week being killed. Similarly the same five butchers take it in turns to sell meat in the market in the Labour Lines on the Delco compound.

The traders often buy from the cattle owners on credit, and the butchers nearly always buy from the traders on credit, paying the traders back after they have sold the meat. After killing, the carcass is simply hacked to pieces with a cutlass, and sold at 3/- per pound whether it is the gut, leg, liver or skin. Europeans are charged 3/3d. per pound for what an African pays 3/-.

Butchering is not a very profitable business because fish from Luugi is plentiful and cheaper than meat, and often a butcher can only kill one cow in his week due to the competition from fishmongers.

A buugri bought for £10 in La Guinee or £15 in Sierra Leone can be sold to a butcher for £20, although it may take ten weeks to take the cattle from the place where they were bought to the place where they are sold.

Recruitment

This is by individual choice, but all the cattle traders seen were Fulbe.

Relationship with rest of society

The Fulbe are the only raisers and suppliers of beef in Lunsar, and in fact in all Sierra Leone including Freetown, except for imported beef which is very expensive (7/- per pound).

Traders bringing cattle from La Guinée have to pay duty at the Guinée customs, and a foiled attempt to smuggle the cattle in, may result in their confiscation.

Career pattern of Cattle Traders

All six cattle traders were under 35 years of age; one had been a leatherworker (Ggranke) but had left this work because he wanted more money. All the other men had been traders since youth and had begun as petty traders with a table, or hawking items of cheap goods around villages.

Trader, sheep and goats (yeyo kalaara)

Demography

Three Fulbe and one-half Fulbe male.

Work Task

Like the cattle traders, sheep and goat traders buy in La Guinée or to the north of Lunsar in Sierra Leone and bring the animals to Lunsar.

Factors of Production

The trader's capital is his stock, and his wealth in the form of money and his skill with animals combined with his knowledge of markets for buying and

selling. Sheep and goats are bought from Fulbe and Temnes, mainly from the latter.

Place of work

One trader bought 20 sheep at Telemele in La Guinée, another buys at Labe in Futa Jallon, another at Kamakwie in the Bombali district of Sierra Leone and the other in the Buya Remendi chiefdom in the same district.

The man who brought 20 sheep sold seven at Mabanta, and the other 13 in Lunsar.

Marketing

Sheep and goats are cheaper in the villages than in Lunsar, costing about £2: 10/- to £3: 10/- in the Bombali district; the same animals selling for £4: 10/- to £5 in Lunsar just before Ramadan when many sheep and goats are slaughtered. This Muslim festival and another one later in the year are good times for selling sheep and goats, for it is a rule that all good Muslims who can afford to should kill either a sheep or a goat at these festivals. As a consequence of the heavy demand the price of sheep and goats goes up by 25%.

Recruitment and training

There are also Temne sheep and goat traders, although most are Fulbe. Temnes do not take to travelling long distances by foot as a means of earning wages money, and to do so requires a stout heart and stamina for which Fulbe are well known. Also Fulbe are prepared to sleep out in the bush on their own in a strange country, which most Temnes will not do.

Training is carried out in an informal manner; a younger brother, for example, may accompany a trader on his trips and learn where to buy and sell and how to look after himself and his wealth.

Internal organisation

Since each trader is self-employed and rarely has an assistant there is no internal organisation of sheep and goat traders, except if the trader has an 'apprentice' or younger brother who is learning, then the latter takes orders from the man who owns the animals.

Relationship to the rest of society

Sheep and goats are bred in Lunsar itself and in the surrounding countryside, but the demand for them at certain times of the year exceeds the supply and it is profitable for traders to bring them to Lunsar.

Sheep, especially rams, have an important part in Muslim society for not only are they slaughtered on festive occasions, but are sacrificed at naming ceremonies by Muslims of all tribes. Sheep and goats are also killed at funerals.

Career Histories of Sheep and Goat Traders

The man who brought animals from Telemele farms during the rains and trades in the dry season, and has been doing so for three years: he is 23 years old.

One trader also dealt in cows but rarely at the same time, and another man dealt in Kola nuts. The Kola is bought in Lunsar and sold in Labé (Futa Jallon) and with the profits he buys sheep and goats and sells them in Lunsar. This man has always been a trader.

The half-Fulbe, half-Temne trader also farms in the rains.

Trader, cloth

Demography

Eight Fulbe males, two Fulbe females, two half-Fulbe males, five half-Fulbe females, totalling seventeen.

Work task

The male traders differ from the females in that they take their goods to the surrounding villages while the women either sell the goods at their homes or in Lunsar market. The men sell men's clothes and 'lappas', (Krio for a six-foot by three-foot length of cloth wound around the lower half of African women). The women sell 'head ties' 'lappas', and sometimes ready made 'dockets' (the top half of a woman's clothing, rather like a tight waisted blouse with a frilled bottom).

Many of the women dye their own cloth and make up the clothes themselves, but a few of the male traders make the clothes they sell. The cloth is bought by the yard from the Fulbe weavers (sanyow), or Lebanese shops, and given to a tailor to make into clothes. The tailors make the cloth up into large baggy linen trousers or gowns if the trader intends to sell to the cattle-keeping Fulbe, but if the prospective customers are Temnes, heavy serge cloth is made into long-sleeved gowns called kaftaan.

After the machine tailor has made up a gown, the trader may commission a Pullo embroiderer (gɛnɛnke) to make a fancy pocket for it, and embroider the hems as well.

A highly embroidered gown of fine quality damask may cost as much as £8 to buy from a clothes trader. Aiming at the poorer man's pocket the traders frequently carry ready made pairs of khaki shorts to sell to Temne men in the villages, and almost inevitably a number of women's lappas and head ties, as they well know that village women are becoming very dress-conscious.

The women traders make smaller profits than the men, but have a smaller capital outlay involved as they do most of the making of the clothes themselves. Also it is quite hard work carrying a large bundle of clothes from village to village in the sun, as the men do.

Factors of Production

From the foregoing description it can be seen that the trader has to co-ordinate a number of steps in the production of the clothes, and if she is a woman, she makes them herself. A man may commission a Pullo weaver to weave a certain pattern, take the cloth to a machine tailor to make up, and then to an embroiderer to finish. The whole process of production takes two weeks in the case of an expensive gown.

From the trader's point of view the factors of production are capital and a sound knowledge of the markets for different types of garment. Those who lack ready money sometimes take cloth on credit from Lebanese traders and pay

them back when they have sold the finished clothes. Some Fulbe had as much as £80 credit at one shop.

Work site

This necessarily includes all those places where the clothes are made, and the places where they are marketed.

Distribution and Marketing

In the case of women, the clothes are sold in Lunsar itself, usually in the market.

The men who have the clothes made up in Lunsar sell them locally in the Temne villages and the Fulbe cattle camps.

Those who have the capital, or credit, buy large quantities of cloth from the Lebanese and take it to La Guinée and sell it at a large profit. This is possible because, since Guinea became independent, cloth and other imports have been cut to a minimum and English cloth is highly valued.

A lappa costing 12/- from the weaver is sold for 15/- in the villages. The order of profit being 25%. This also represents the per cent profit made on other lines as well.

All the cloth traders are self-employed and have no internal organisation as such. However in many cases two traders will travel around the villages together. Clothes traders also go to Delco market on pay and 'advance' days.

The Fulbe men have a monopoly of the clothes trade in the villages around Lunsar, possibly because they are not afraid to travel in the bush, and because Fulbe are generally better business men than Temnes.

Career Histories of Clothes Traders

In the case of the women this was the only work they had had, except housework. Below are given the career histories of the men as they show considerable divergence.



Plate 6. Old town; one of the oldest houses in Lunsar

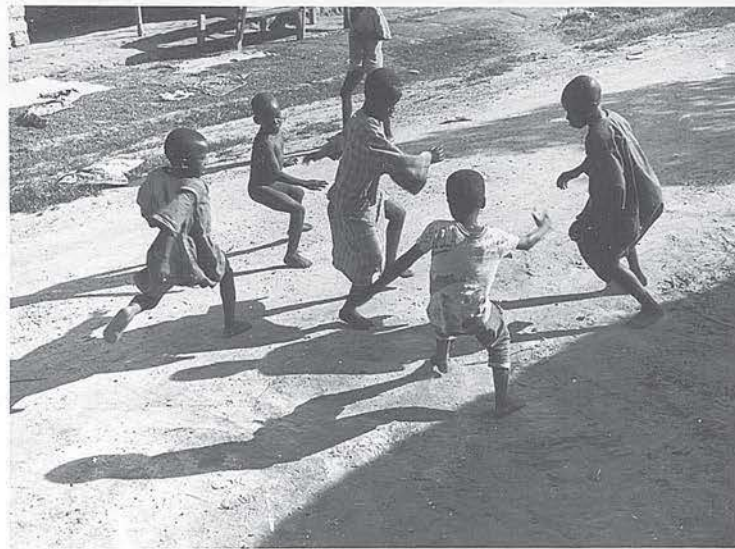


Plate 7. Small boys playing in the street.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupations</u>
1. Alhadji Bah	54 years	Trader, clothes Learned while travelling with Karamko. (He was his slave)
2. Momadu Bah	55 years	Trader, clothes, 20 years: Farming, 20 years.
3. Abasse Soh	40 years	Trader, clothes, 10 years Shop boy to Syrian, 5 years Delco labourer, 2 years Kola trader, 3 years
4. Momadu Jeng Bah	40 years	Trader, 14 years Headman over platelayers near Conakry, 3 years Farmed and read the Qkōran previously
5. Ousman Bah	38 years	Trader, 16 years Delco 'water boy', 3 months Farmed since small boy
6. Sullaiman Bah	37 years	Trader/embroiderer, 8 years Farmed (locally), 5 years Farmed in Futa Jallon previously
7. Abibu Bah	36 years	Trader, 18 years No previous occupation
8. Mamou Saliu Sesay	35 years	Trader since a boy
9. Omaru Bah	32 years	Traders, ? years Burglar (says he has retired)
10. Momadu Jalo	30 years	Trader, 5 years Farming previously
11. Momadu Barri	28 years	Trader ? years Burglar (retired)
12. Mohamed Barri	27 years	Trader, 5 years Gun runner from Liberia to Yengema, 2 years
13. Momadu Jallo	25 years	Trader, 3 years European cook (Conakry), 3½ years. Headman labourer, 2 years Farming previously.

Comments on these career histories and those of individuals performing other occupations are made in the final section on occupations.

Trader, Kosan (soured milk)

Demography

Only women sell kosan. Twenty-six Fulbe women and two half-Fulbe women were interviewed while selling kosan in Lunsar.

All the women except two, who were married to the same Fulbe kola trader, lived in the cattle camps (Temne = worreh, Fulbe = worroh) and brought their kosan into market.

Work Task

These women, who are mainly Kébu Fulbe, prepare the milk themselves. The Fulbe say 'the man own the cattle, and the women own the milk' (worrbe hēbi nai'i, relbe hēbi kosan). The kosan is kept in calabashes and enamel basins until enough to warrant paying five shillings fare on a lorry is accumulated.

One of the Lunsar Fulbe women used to travel in a lorry to the cattle camps and buy as much as five or six gallons of kosan, bring it back to Lunsar and sell it at her house, while her half-Fulbe co-wife hawked it round the town.

The usual amount brought to Lunsar by a woman was about three or four gallons.

Forces of production

The cows are the forces of production and are owned by the Fulbe men. The women own the kosan by virtue of the fact that they are the men's wives and are entitled by tradition to the milk. It is also the women who milk the cows.

Work site

The cows are milked and the kosan is prepared in the worrehs.

Market

The kosan is sold in Lunsar market, at twopence per calabash spoonfull. (See photo.) Sometimes the women bring a bottle of boiled butter, (nēban

deftaade), which is sold as 'cow oil' to the Temnes at four and six to five shillings a bottle.

Not only the Fulbe buy kosan, for the Temnes have acquired a taste for it and buy and eat it on the spot in the market. Fulbe always eat rice with kosan, so they always laugh at anyone who eats 'neat' kosan and call them a balejo (black man).

Profits from kosan trading buys rice and clothes for the women and her children as well as pots and pans.

Training

Training in the preparation and marketing of kosan comes from a girl's mother.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

These Fulbe women are the only source of fresh dairy products in Lunsar, and the sour kosan, tasting like yoghurt is much appreciated by Temnes as a pleasant and nourishing food.

Career Histories

The women have all been raised in worrehs themselves and have milked cows since the age of about ten.

Trader, Trinkets

Demography

Ten Fulbe males.

Work Task

Buying and selling of cheap jewelry and beads. Bought from other Fulbe who bring it from Guinea. It is made in Czechoslovakia for the most part, although some is French.

Place of Work

Lunsar market and the surrounding villages.

Market

The jewelry and beads are sold in the Lunsar market and at the Delco market

on Delco pay and 'advance' days. These traders also sell their wares in the villages.

Recruitment

Most of these traders are cloth and kola traders normally, who fill in with trinkets during slack periods.

Trinket traders and Lunsar

The Fulbe n'dulaaaje supply most of the cheap jewelry that Lunsar women wear. Most of it is imported from Czechoslovakia into Guinea, from whence traders bring vast quantities to Lunsar, selling it to other Fulbe traders and to Temne women with stalls in the market.

Career Patterns

Most of the career patterns of trinket traders are similar to the other n'dulaaaje.

Traders, rice.

Demography

Onehalf-Fulbe man, and one half-Fulbe woman.

Work Task

The female trader buys rice from the Lebanese shops by the kettle (22 lb.) or by the bag, and sells it in Lunsar market, at 4d. per cup (cigarette tin).

The male, on the other hand, buys rice directly from the Temne farmers and sells either to the Lebanese or to the Temne women who sell it in their houses or in the market.

Factors of production

Temne farms, owned by Temnes.

Place of work

For the woman - in the market.

The man travels around the farms and transports the rice by lorry to his house in Lunsar where he stores it.

Marketing

This is done by the traders themselves, the man selling at wholesale rates to the Lebanese shopkeepers. The woman sells at retail price to the people who buy rice by the cup in the market. When her profits reach £5 she gives it to her husband, who is a Pullo.

Recruitment

Undoubtedly the fact that the man was born in Lunsar has enabled him to establish the contacts for buying and selling rice in bulk. Furthermore his father was a trader, and taught him to be one.

The woman was taught to trade by her husband, who also put up the capital with which to buy a stock of rice.

Rice traders and Lunsar

Many Temne women sell rice in the market and elsewhere, and this half-Fulbe woman is an exception, as Fulbe women do not usually sell rice.

There are also many Temnes who trade rice, and this was the only Pullo to do so, however he is also half-Temne by his mother.

Career Histories

The woman had had no other occupation and the man, who is also a clothes trader, has always been a trader.

Hardware traders, including calabashesDemography

Two Fulbe males.

Work task

Both these traders, along with a Serahuli, brought calabash bowls in bulk from Guinea to Lunsar by lorry. Enamelled metal basins are traded by Temnes who obtain them from Freetown.

Factors of production

There are the calabashes and the lorries used to transport them to Lunsar. The calabashes are owned by the trader who brings between 50 and 150 at a time, and the lorries are hired by him.

Work site

Guinea and Lunsar market.

Marketing

The trader may sell his stock, or a large part of it, to a local trader for 10% less than he can get by selling each calabash separately. If he sells in Lunsar and Delco markets the price per calabash varies between 4/6d. to 6/- each.

Recruitment

These calabash traders also trade in other goods at different times, and do not specialise in calabashes. Neither of them lived permanently in Lunsar.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

Most metal basins, bowls, etc., sold in Lunsar come from Freetown where they are imported from Hong Kong. Calabashes are also grown locally, but obviously the supply does not meet the demand for these Fulbe traders sold their entire stock in under a week.

Career Histories

Both men had begun trading in a small way in Kindia, Guinea. Cautious saving had given them the capital to travel as far as Lunsar, over 100 miles away.

Traders, miscellaneous

Demography

Five adult male Fulbe, and one adult male half-Fulbe.

Work task

Four of these traders who have much less capital as a rule than the kola traders, buy anything saleable from travelling Fulbe traders returning from Futa Jallon or Liberia. Then they hawk the goods around the villages. The other two traders were not Lunsar residents, and brought goods over long distances to sell in Sierra Leone.

Factors of Production

A common commodity brought into Lunsar from Guinea are cartons of 'Job' cigarettes. These cigarettes are made in Algeria and brought southwards by traders as far as La Guinée. From there the cigarettes are distributed by other traders. Since Guinea became independent, imports of French goods have almost ceased and all Job cigarettes are now smuggled into Guinea. Again, to avoid duty at the Sierra Leone customs, the cigarettes are smuggled into the country, the trader going through the bush and not along the road.

Perfume and colognes of many different qualities are also smuggled in from Guinea. One trader specialised in selling what he called 'chooks', which were actually 5 c.c. vials of Peredural type penicillin, with a 5 c.c. vial of distilled water. This penicillin of Dutch origin was smuggled in from Liberia.

Place of work

Obviously the traders have many places of work.

Marketing

The 'Job' cigarettes which cost the equivalent of 1/- for 20 in Guinea, are sold by the carton of 500 to Temne shopkeepers and other Fulbe at 1/3 a packet, who in turn retail them at 1/6 a packet of twenty.

The better quality perfumes are often bought by Lebanese women in the town, and by the wives of European employees at Delco for their personal use. The cheaper perfumes and colognes are bought by African men and women in Lunsar and Delco market.

The penicillin and water for injection is bought by anyone who thinks he has a disease which can be cured by it, for 12/6d. Having bought the penicillin and water the purchaser then has to find someone capable of injecting it into him. For this he may pay another 10/-. There are also a number of 'doctors' in Lunsar who buy up drugs, and administer them to their patients for a high fee. While my wife was working at Delco hospital, she

had the greatest difficulty in preventing the hospital labourers from picking the empty vials and bottles from the dustbins. So great is the demand for penicillin that empty bottles have been known to be refilled with dilute evaporated milk and injected into a sick person for a fee of one guinea.

Recruitment and training

These traders come from the same ranks as the cloth and kola traders, and training is by imitation.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

These traders supply the demand in Lunsar for goods which cannot be met through legitimate channels. 'Job' cigarettes are half the price of any English cigarettes, the perfume is much cheaper and the penicillin, although more expensive than it is for an authorised person to buy in Freetown, is well within the reach of many Africans who are otherwise unable to obtain it. One 5 c.c. vial does for five injections at a guinea each.

Career Histories

These are similar to the other traders.

Kola Traders

Demography

Ten Fulbe males, one half-Fulbe and one Mandingo male from Labé, Futa Jallon, who lives as a member of the Fula community.

Work task

The kola traders are a highly organised group with distinct roles within it. They can be divided into:

- a) those who carry kola from Lunsar to Guinea, three of whom are full brothers. The brothers plus one other trader are resident in Lunsar, that is, they have houses to live in there, and three of them have wives there;
- b) two other traders only visit Lunsar long enough to collect kola before transporting it to Guinea;

- c) two traders go into the bush in the Buya Ro Mendi chiefdom (Kamasondu) and buy kola from the Temnes, and transport it to Lunsar. The capital for these expeditions being put up by the traders who come and go to Guinea;
- d) three of the traders buy kola from Temnes who bring it to Lunsar. As much kola as the traders can afford to buy is amassed, and then sold at a profit to those that go to Guinea.

Factors of Production

To buy kola, ready cash is needed, as villages do not sell kola on credit. Traders of type (a) often come to Lunsar with £200 or £300 in cash which is their capital. Type (b) traders are given the money to go and buy for those who want large quantities of nuts. Type (c) rarely buy more than one 'bly' (110 lb.) at a time, usually out of the proceeds from trading in clothes.

Lorries hired to bring kola to Lunsar, and take it from Lunsar to Guinea, have to be paid for out of capital also.

Place of work

There are three main work sites, the villages where the kola is bought, the house in Lunsar where the kola is sorted into red and white kola, packed into bags or bly, and stored; and the place where it is marketed in Guinea.

Distribution and Marketing

Type (a), the wealthiest traders, usually wait until they have accumulated between 70 and 120 bly before transporting the kola to Guinea. All the traders except one sell their kola in Kindia where they have storehouses. The kola is then sold by the bly to smaller traders who sell it to the public in smaller units.

One of the traders of type (a) takes his kola to his home town Labé, in Futa Jallon, where kola is very scarce, and not grown locally at all.

Traders of type (b) buy from the villages to order, being given a fixed amount of money to pay for so many bly of kola. If he can buy from the

villagers for less, then he makes a profit; and if when he returns to Lunsar he has not 'lost' any of the other man's capital he is usually given a present of £2 - £3.

Type (c) traders sell their kola to the long distance traders directly.

The economics of Kola trading

1. Weights and measures used by kola traders

22 lb.	=	1 Kettle
5 Kettles	=	1 bly
20 bly	=	1 Tonne = 2,200 lb.
20 bly	=	12½ bags.

2. Cost of buying kola nuts in Lunsar area

	£	s.	d.
1 Kettle		14	-
1 bly		3	10
70 bly in Kamasondu, Buya Ro Mendi	245	-	-

3. Cost of packaging

1 bly costs between 10d. and 1/- . Made by Temnes who are shown a prototype, 70 cost £3. 1 bunch of leaves, enough to wrap 4 bly of kola costs 3/-. Therefore enough for 70 bly costs £2 12s. 6d.

String to tie up 70 bly costs 7/-.

4. Transportation costs

From Kamasondu to Lunsary, 70 bly costs	£5:	-:	-
From Lunsar to Kambia, 70 bly costs	£13:	-:	-
From Kambia to Kindia, 70 bly costs	£20:	-:	-
Total	£38:	-:	-

5. Customs duties

Export duty, Sierra Leone Customs for 70 bly	=	£10
Import duty, Guinean Customs, for 70 bly	=	£45
Total	=	£55



Plate 8. A young Temne good time girl;
a phenomenon of urbanisation.

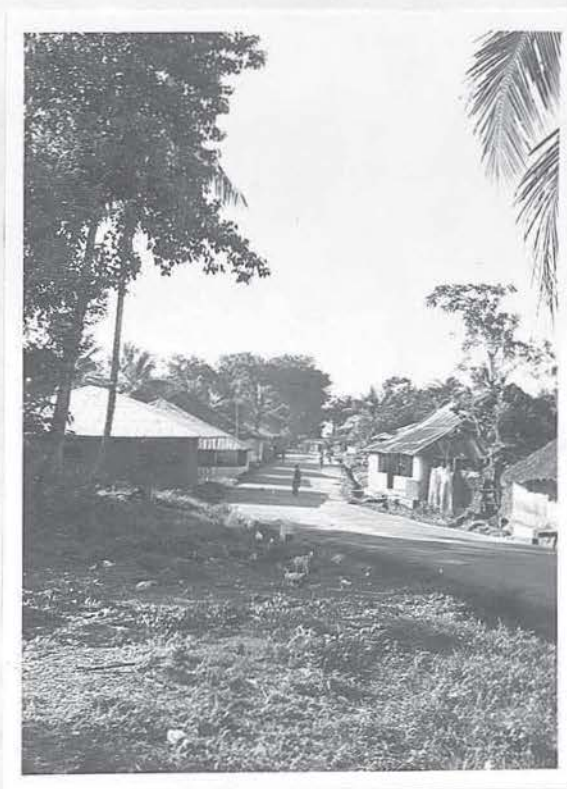


Plate 9. St. Peters Street, from the town rubbish
dump; otherwise known as 'Father St.' because
of the R.C. Mission at the far end.

6. Selling price in Kindia

1 bly = 800-1,200 dollars. (one dollar = 5 francs,
5 dollars = 1 shilling,
or 150 dollars = £1)

Say an average of 1,000 dollars per bly :: 70 bly sells at 70,000 dollars.

= £470 - £500

Summary of expenditure.

Cost of 70 bly	£245: -: -
Bly	3: -: -
Leaves	2: 12: 6
String	7: -
Transport	38: -: -
Customs	55: -: -
	<hr/>
	£343: 19: 6
	<hr/>

Estimated price 70 bly are sold for:

	£500: -: -
Profit	£157: -: -
	<hr/>

All the traders who took kola to Guinea during my fieldwork period of 10 months took about three loads each of 70 bly, netting about £450 profit.

Most of the profits kola traders make are lent to Lebanese traders in Guinea, the balance being used to buy cows, sheep and other goods to take back to Lunsar and sell. Since Guinea became independent and changed the currency, the Fulbe traders say business is slower because they have to bring back cattle now instead of money, which few people in Sierra Leone will exchange for local currency. Also, the policy of the Government of Guinea is to inhibit private enterprise, and the tightening up of customs controls is making the trader's life difficult.

Recruitment and training

In kola trading this seems to be usually run on a kinship basis. Younger brothers learn from their more wealthy and experienced brothers. Brothers

usually undertake to sell kola for a man while he is off looking for more. A Fullo trader will only trust his full-brother with his wealth and secrets.

A bar to those who wish to become traders is often lack of capital. To buy and market seventy bly of kola a man needs about £250 and some assistants whom he can trust.

Because of all the difficulties in the way of kola trading, the few Lunsar Fulbe who deal in kola take precautions to monopolise the market and even assist each other.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

Each Fulbe trader spends about £400 per annum in Lunsar and Kamasondu, and since there are about six traders of this type, (a), £2,400 is spent in the area every year.

Kola to most West African people is more than a pleasant delicacy, it has an integral part in the marriage ceremonies and other rituals of many tribes. It is for this reason that people in Guinea, especially Futa Jallon, are prepared to pay so much for a kola nut.

Career Histories of Kola traders

Two of the traders were previously tailors, two looked after their brothers' cows, one was a cloth trader for twenty years and one was a typist in the French administration before independence. The others have always been traders.

Bar Owner and Bar Keeper

Demography

One half-Fulbe Bar owner, and one half-Fulbe Bar keeper, who is the half brother of the bar owner.

Work Task

Retailing of Wines and Beers, and cigarettes, and also provisions.

Factors of production

The bar itself, which is a part of a fairly new house in Lunsar. A kerosene refrigerator, stocks of wines, beers, cigarettes and provisions. There is also a clockwork gramophone with a moving coil pickup head plugged

into a battery radio, plus about forty gramophone records.

All the above except the gramophone, radio, etc., belong to the bar owner.

Work site

The bar is No. 3, Kabia Street.

Marketing

Imported beer and wines made in Freetown and Cyprus are sold throughout the day and evening, the bar closing after the last paying customer has left. The owner of the bar has a very good job in Delco and his brother looks after the bar for him.

The clientele of the bar consists mainly of Africans from the clerical class, although a few Europeans from the mines call in once or twice a week. The bar has no space for dancing and is an orderly establishment. Lebanese never come to this bar to drink.

The cost of beer is less than at the rowdiest bar in town, but dearer than in the Lebanese shops. Beer from the 'fridge' is 3/- per reputed quart, 'hot beer' (at room temperature) is 2/9d.

Despite the fact that the Bar owner and the Bar keeper are devout Muslims, they are quite prepared to go on serving a man with liquor until he falls into the gutter just outside the bar. The Fulbe very much believe that each individual finds his own salvation.

As well as beer and wines, cigarettes are sold singly or in packets at the same rate as that charged by petty traders elsewhere in the town. Provisions are also sold and include tins of Heinz vegetable salad at 1/6d., onions at four for 3d., and sardines at 1/- a tin.

Recruitment and training

To the bar owner the bar is looked on as a capital investment; ~~and~~ his brother looks after it for nothing, although ^{the bar owner} ~~his brother~~ allows him part of the house to live in ^{rent free} ~~for nothing~~. No formal training has ever been given them on how to run a bar, they have simply modelled the bar on others in the town.

Internal organisation

The bar owner controls the buying of stocks and decides on what to sell.

Relationship with the rest of Society

No licence was required formerly to run a bar selling beer and wines, but it is now.

There are 23 beer bars in Lunsar, and this one is considered to be about the fourth or fifth best one in the town.

Career Histories

The bar owner has the post of Surgical Assistant in the Marampa Mines Health Centre and has held this position for four years. For fourteen before that he was a Nurse.

The career history of the Bartender is the same as that of the photographer.

Diamond Dealer

Demography

One half-Fulbe male.

Work Task

Buys diamonds from the diggers and sells them to other dealers at a profit.

Factors of production

These are his skill in discerning between diamonds of varying qualities in terms of their market value. The dealer's capital is a factor of production. Also his Diamond Dealer's Licence costing £100 per annum.

Place of Work

This man operates in the diamond areas outside the 'Concessions'. He spends most of his time at Sembahun near Bo.

Distribution

He buys diamonds from African diggers and sells them to Lebanese traders and the diamond corporations. His profits cannot be very big as he can only afford low value diamonds, and has not got the capital to buy the best ('number one').

Relationship to the rest of Society

In accordance with the Alluvial Diamond Mining Ordinance and Rules 1956, this man has a Diamond Dealer's Licence granted by the Government of Sierra Leone.

Photographer

Demography

One half-Fulbe male. The same man as the bar keeper.

Work Task

This man takes photographs of people, develops his own films, and make contact and enlarged prints from the negatives.

Factors of Production

One Zeiss Iykonta camera and an Ados camera, Jumbo enlarger, Beta II enlarger, Flash equipment, tripod, developing tank and dishes and a large stock of photographic chemicals.

Work site

Customers either go to the Bar and have their photographs taken there, or the photographer goes to the customer's house, especially if it is a family group to be taken.

Developing of films is done in his house behind the bar, although the photographer has to go to Makeni to make enlargements bigger than post card size, as there is no electricity supply in Lunsar. Post card size prints can be made with his Jumbo daylight enlarger, and contact prints are also simply done.

Marketing

The more prosperous Africans and Lebanese in Lunsar like to have photographs of themselves and their families. The other Fulbe in Lunsar rarely go to have their picture taken.

Prices are:	Post card	-	2/-	minimum of 2
	Half plate	-	3/6d.	minimum of 2
	Full plate	-	5/6d.	minimum of 2

Training

~~180~~ 179

This man learnt photography from a Nigerian called Olu Dora Mulu who was living in Lunsar. The photographer was at that time a tractor driver at Delco on night shift, and learnt photography during part of the day.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

This man is the only 'professional photographer' in Lunsar, and his business had a big boost in 1960 when driving licences were required to have a photograph of the driver fixed to them. The photographer does not belong to any professional association.

Career History.

Photographer, 8 years.

Tractor driver, Delco, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Mill sample clerk, Delco, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ years.

Shopkeeper

Demography

One Fulbe female.

Work Task

She retails cigarettes, matches, onions, tins of sardines, pilchards, vegetable salad, cloth, thread, needles, beer and wines.

Factors of Production

The shop, which is rented from a Temne at £1 a month. The stock, which she owns herself.

Work Site

The shop is in Delco Road near the chief's compound.

Marketing

The shop is open all day up to nine o'clock in the evening; if there is a full moon and a 'big play' on in the Town, she stays open until later.

Training

By watching others.

Career History.

Besides a shopkeeper she has only been a housewife.

Transporter

Demography

Two Fulbe, one resident in Freetown but coming to Lunsar. Both of them were born in Temne country.

Work Task

These men own one lorry each, and drive them themselves. They carry passengers and goods between Freetown and Lunsar. Leaving at about 8.30 a.m. they reach their destinations at about 11.30 p.m. The lorries are then serviced and begin the return journey at about 4 to 4.30 p.m. The man not residing in Lunsar also takes his lorry to Rokulun, 70 miles north of Lunsar.

Factors of Production

Three-ton lorry cab and chassis with a wooden 'manny wagon' top built on it. Cost approximately £900.

Market

Any persons who wish to travel between Lunsar and Freetown and who pay the fare of 10/- to 12/-. Passengers and goods are picked up anywhere on the road if there is room for them. To sit in the cab next to the driver is considered to be a privilege for which people pay extra. However it is less frightening to travel in the back where you cannot see what is coming.

Recruitment and training

The Lunsar Pullo was taught to drive by Delco, over a period of a year, and the other man was taught by Suleman Jolo of Komakwie in the Bombali district over a period of four years.

Relationship with the rest of Society

A Government driving licence costing 5/- per annum is required by law. Similarly the Government stipulates how many passengers may travel in a lorry, and what its gross tonnage may be. There are regular police check points to

ensure that the law is being observed. Summonses are frequent.

There are many transporters in Lunsar, including the Lebanese traders, one of whom owns a fleet of five lorries.

Career Histories

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Agibu Jolo	38 years	Transporter, 3 years Driver, 10 years.
Saliu Wurri	42 years	Transporter, 2 years Lorry driver, Delco, 7 years Orderly, Delco, 2 years.

Artisans

Shoemaker, leatherwork (Gcranke)

Demography

One Fulbe male. In the list of occupations this man is listed as having two jobs, that of leatherworker and that of shoe repairer. This is because they are distinct roles, other men in the town specialising in shoe repairing.

Work task

Manufactures sandals, repairs European type shoes, makes coverings for charms and amulets. Ornamental scabbards for african-made cutlasses are also made. He is self-employed.

Factors of Production

A piece of board, one end of which rests on a stone, the end nearest the worker resting on the ground, is used as a bench, while he sits cross-legged on the floor.

His tools are:- a tool like a paper knife for rubbing leather made by himself (nungrunron); a spike with a handle fixed on it, African-made (lowenwal); a brush (lcundal); a sharpening stone (hi'ede); a mould the shape of a foot (nunguron); several knives (labbi); beeswax (kan'yi); one hammer (matrung); pliers (gggarde); a last, African-made (fer); needle (mesalal); thread (ngara); string (caluagul); and a file (kasoragol).

Most of these tools are of European origin and were bought in Freetown.

Thread and needles are bought from Lebanese shops in Lunsar.

The raw materials used in making sandals are old motor tyres, sheets of rubber from Delco mill, and strips of plastic bought in Freetown.

Sheep and goatskins are cured by the man himself, and with the leather (gurri) he makes traditional Fulbe sandals, and covers scabbards and amulets.

Shoes are usually repaired with pieces of rubber from Delco mill or old motor tyres.

Work site

During my stay in Lunsar this man moved from the verandah of a Lebanese shop in the main street, to a small side turning off the main street. He and a Mandingo shoemaker were told to get out by the wife of the shop owner. He afterwards said he had worked some Fulbe magic against her in revenge, proof that the magic had worked coming the next week when the woman's husband gave her a severe beating.

In his new site the leatherworker constructed a rough shelter of flattened cardboard cartons, to keep off the sun and rain.

Marketing

Temnes, Fulbe and other Africans all buy this man's sandals, although it is mainly Fulbe who come to have scabbards made for their cutlasses.

About ten pairs of sandals are produced each day, which sell for 1/6d. to 2/- a pair.

Training

This leatherworker is actually a freeborn Pullo (rimbe) and not a leatherworker by birth (g \ddot{e} ranke). He learned his trade in Guinea.

Relationship with rest of Lunsar

He and the Mandingo are the only sandal makers in this part of Lunsar and serve a large number of customers. It is a full-time occupation.

Career History

Leatherworker, 13 years.
Cook, to Lebanese, 7 years.
Houseboy, to Lebanese, 3 years.
Farming previously.

Blacksmith-silversmith (bailo kante)

Demography

One Fulbe.

Work task

This man specialises in making ornaments. Copper and silver are worked by means of a charcoal fire in a pit on the floor, the metal to be worked being put either in the fire to soften it, or in a crucible to melt it. The molten metal is poured into crude moulds of clay, and finished with a file when cold.

Rings of silver and silver and copper, silver and copper bracelets, earrings and charms for pregnant women are made. These latter in the form of a minute pair of scissors, one half silver and the other half copper.

Factors of production

Several pairs of long pliers and tongs, made by himself, a small anvil fixed to a log of wood; a pair of goatskin bellows and four hammers comprised most of his equipment. As he was a travelling bailo kante he only used what tools he could carry.

Silver and copper were bought from anyone who had access to it. Silver coins were also used.

Work site

The incomplete and unfinished house of the Fulbe Headman of Lunsar. No rent was paid.

Marketing

About one day in seven the silversmith took all the things he had made around the town peddling them. Some of the Temne market women bought large quantities of his ornaments which they sell with their other goods.



Plate 10. A smart Temne from Freetown, her husband is Lunsar's photographer.

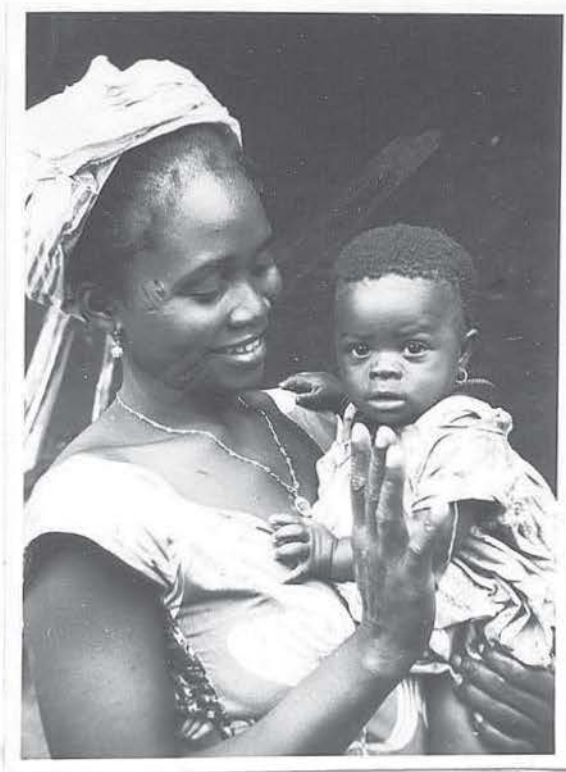


Plate 11. Temne mother and child.

Prices

Rings, 6d. - 6/-.

Bracelets, solid silver, 6/-.

Bracelets, twisted silver and copper, 1/-.

Babies' rings, silver and copper, 1d.

Miniature scissors or tongs (Temne = ka-yepo), 6d.

When this bailo konte had sold his wares for about six months he left Lunsar, since as he observed, all the table traders had his products and the market was saturated.

Recruitment and Training

This man was a bailo konte by birth, and was trained by his father, Both his parents were of the bailo konte craft caste.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

There are several Temne blacksmiths in Lunsar, although most of them make farming implements and not many make ornaments.

Weavers (sanyowo, pl: sanyobe)

Demography

Three adult male maccube (sing: maccudo), which is the name for Fulbe of slave status.

Work Task

Cloth is woven in strips 7½" wide and up to 60' long, on a loom made by the weaver himself. The long strips are then cut into lengths of about 6', and six strips are sewn together to make a 'lappa'.

Factors of Production

A loom (koriwal) operated by the feet and hands. The loom consists of a roller (taggugal) near the operator which takes up the cloth as it is woven, a reed (kaffinwal) which is used to keep the warp separate and the weaving tight, and a heddle which is operated by the feet. The two parts of the heddle or shaft are joined by a cord which is passed over a pulley above the loom. The

sticks pushed downwards by the feet are also fixed by cords to the two parts of the heddle. Thus as the weaver pushes down with his foot, an opening is made between the warp, and the shuttle bearing the weft thread is thrown through; on pressing the other stick down, the warp threads cross over the weft thread, and the operation is repeated.

The thread is bought in a skein costing about 25/- in Freetown. This quantity of thread is enough for about three or four lappas.

The thread is often wound on to the shuttle bobbin, which is a piece of palm frond, by one of the weaver's Temne wives. (see photo.) This operation plus that of setting up the thread in the heddle takes up a lot of the weaver's time.

The looms were made by the weavers themselves, the only thing which is bought is the thread. The best weaver makes 16 yards a day and the other two about 20 yards, although their cloth is inferior.

Work Site

All three weavers live in different rooms of the same house and work in the back yard, their looms side by side and the three lots of warp running parallel for about 30 or 40 feet across the yard. Although they pay rent for their rooms, the weavers pay no rent for their work site. During the rains, the weavers transfer to a nearby verandah.

Marketing

The weavers all make a black-and-white striped cloth most of the time, which is liked by Temnes. Fulbe do not like this pattern and prefer good linen or damask to 'country cloth'. The weavers therefore make cloth for the large Temne market in Lunsar.

The weavers cut the long strips into 6' lengths and sew six strips together to make a lappa. This is either sold by themselves for 12/- to 15/-, or sold to a Pullo trader, for a slightly lower price, who takes it to a village to sell.

If a gown is to be made from the cloth then the tailor or trader dictates into what lengths the cloth must be cut.~~into~~.

Recruitment and Training

All Fulbe weavers are of slave status, and no dimo (pl. rembe) or freeborn Fullo would weave, however poor he was.

Two of the weavers had been taught by a man called Bailo Boh, and the best weaver had taught the third weaver; all had learnt in Freetown.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

There are no other weavers in Lunsar, and these three monopolise the market for 'country cloth', in Lunsar and the surrounding villages, except for the cloth an occasional trader brings in from elsewhere.

Career Histories

- 1. Ycro Barri Weaver, 10 years
 Houseboy to Syrian, 5 years.
- 2. Bokari Jalo Weaver since youth
- 3. Amadu Barri Weaver, 8 years
 Houseboy, 2 years.

Tailors, (Sewing Machine)

Demography

Eight Fulbe males, and one half-Fulbe. One of the Fulbe is an apprentice.

Work task

These tailors cut out cloth, brought to them by customers, and make it up into men's short and long trousers, kaftaan (gowns with sleeves), pikol, a flowing white robe and Western style shorts. They also make women's dresses and dockets.

The tailors usually make clothes for the persons who are going to wear them, although they also make clothes for traders who wish to sell them in the villages. Five of the tailors, all under thirty years of age, make French style or 'Cowboy' shorts and narrow drainpipe slacks. The older men tend to make more modest shorts, and generally clothes for the older generation.

The apprentice is a form of tailor's 'mate' and assists in any way he is told to.

Factors of Production

Two of the tailors owned their machines, one having been given his machine by the man who taught him to use it. Another tailor had bought his machine on credit but still owed £12 for it. One tailor rented his machine for 15/- a month from a Pullo embroiderer, and the rest, except the apprentice who had no machine, rented their machines from Temnes at 15/- also.

The cloth and buttons are bought by the customer, and the thread is supplied by the tailor.

Work site

All the tailors work on the verandahs of shops, for which they pay no rent. The tailor attracts people who come as customers or just to gossip, who may buy something from the shop. Reciprocally, people buying in the shop may stop to see how good a workman the tailor is, and later bring custom to him. Also the verandah provides shade from the sun and shelter from the rain.

Marketing

The cost of cutting and sewing varies but the following list gives an idea of the prices, and the number of hours a tailor takes to make different things.

<u>Items</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>Time</u>
Shorts	4/- to 5/-	4-5 hours
Slacks	7/- to 12/-	6-7 hours
Dockets	3/- to 5/-	2-4 hours
Kaftan	4/- to 6/-	4-5 hours
Shirts	4/- to 5/-	4-5 hours

The tailor calculates his prices on the time it takes to make something and the difficulty of the job involved.

Recruitment and Training

A young man wishing to learn the trade, befriends a tailor who may later begin to teach him the job. Training varies between two to five years, during which period the apprentice receives no pay but an occasional present from the tailor. The apprentice does all the fetching and carrying as well as running errands and putting the machine away at night, ~~etc.~~ When he feels competent enough the apprentice will rent a machine and start up on his own.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

There are many tailors in Lunsar, although the Fulbe form a fair proportion of their number, about 25%.

Career Histories.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Momadu Bâh	40 years	Tailor, 16 years Servant, 10 years Farming
Baba Gala Jalo	35 years	Tailor, 8 years Delco Sample man, 3 years Mechanic, ? years
Suleman Jalo	35 years	Tailor, 8 years Apprentice tailor, 5 years
Abdulai Bâh	28 years	Tailor, 10 years Cattle driver, 8 years
Usman Jalo	26 years	Tailor, 13 years
Kinde Boh Tailor	22 years	Tailor, 5 years Farming, ? years
Momadu Somba Jalo	21 years	Tailor, 4 years
Amadu Jalo	20 years	Apprentice tailor, 1 year
Alfa Barri	18 years	Tailor, 7 years.

Embroiderers (G n nke)

Demography

Six freeborn Fulbe males. One of these rents out a sewing machine for 15/- per month, and is a watchman, and another is also a trader.

Work Task

These men buy white linen or calico, and after first making a simple hat, embroider geometrical designs on it in orange and green thread.

Some make the pockets and other fancy work on gowns for tailors and traders, while others make complete gowns by hand. Examples of the hats can be seen in the photographs of the cgarno and the cattle owner.

Factors of Production

White cloth, thread of different colours and a packet of needles, all owned by the embroiderer.

Work Site

Because there is so little equipment, embroiderers can stroll about the town, stopping and swapping gossip with other Fulbe, while they are working.

Market

The clothes made by these men are traditionally Fulbe, and few other Africans, except Mandingoes, wear them. The market is almost exclusively the Fulbe in Lunsar.

A Fulbe hat sells at about £1 to 30/-.

Career Histories.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Momadu Jalo	45 years	Embroiderer all his life
Momadu Boi Bah	37 years	Embroiderer(Watchman, 3 years Servant to Syrian, 7 years Farming, ? years
Suleman Bah	37 years	Embroiderer/Trader, 8 years Farming, ? years
Amadu Jalo	35 years	Embroiderer, 7 years Sheep and cow trader, 4 years
Abdulai Jalo	25 years	Embroiderer, 10 years Farming, ? years.

Mat Maker (Sanyowo gaata)

Demography

One adult Fulbe male of slave status.

Work task

Weaves mats from the mid-rib of palm fronds, which are first split many times down the middle to provide a number of thin cane-like pieces.

Work Site

In the bush where the palm fronds are collected, and at his room where the actual weaving is done.

Factors of Production

A machet and a small knife.

Marketing

Persons wanting mats come and ask for them, as the man keeps a small supply of mats in his room. They measure about four feet by five or six feet and cost 2/- to 3/- each.

Training

This man had been taught by his father as a small boy.

Relationship with rest of Lunsar.

There are several Temne mat makers in the area and although the style of mat varies, the basic principles involved seem to be the same among Temne and the Pullo mat maker.

Career History

Mat maker (on and off), 15 years.
Labourer, Delco (paid off), 2 years.
Farming previously, ? years.

Dyers of Cloth (firss nowo)

Demography

Three Fulbe and two half-Fulbe females.

Work Task

Dyers use two main techniques. The simplest one is to dip cloth, in the form of a lappa, or dress, into a water dye in such a way that only the lower half of the material is deeply dyed, the intensity of the colouring tailing off until about halfway up the cloth it disappears altogether. This method and the results it produces is extremely popular among Temne women, and the basic colouring of the material may vary from pure white to patterned or checked, coloured material. Sometimes the whole piece of material is dyed, and in the case of men's gowns this is always done.

The second method of dyeing cloth is rather more laborious. The cloth is first cut into strips about four inches wide, joined only by a thin strip

of material left uncut at one edge. Coins, palm nuts or pebbles are then placed at four inch intervals along the strips of cloth, and after wrapping the edges of the strips over the pebbles, string is wound tightly around the cloth between the pebbles so that each strip of cloth now looks like a large string of beads.

The next stage is to dip the cloth in the dye, remove it and allow it to dry in the sun. The string and pebbles are then removed and the strips sewn together. The now complete lappa has a diamond pattern on it, for the dye is more dense where the pebbles ^{have been} ~~came~~ than where the string was tightly wound around the cloth.

The commonest colour used is blue.

Factors of production

Cotton and linen are bought from Lebanese shops and blue dye also bought. Although indigo trees grow in Lunsar, dye is not made nowadays.

Work Site

Most dyers work in their own back yards, and spread the cloth on the grassy patches of road to dry.

Marketing

Most of the clothes are taken to the market for sale, although three of the women often sell at their own homes. The customers are mainly Temne women and Fulbe men, the former buying lappas and dresses, and the latter paying to have gowns dyed.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

These Fulbe dyers represent only a small proportion of all the cloth dyers in Lunsar, as many Temne women are engaged in the occupation.

Career Histories.

The only other occupation besides housework, that these women ^{are} ~~had~~ engaged in is table trading.

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Service Occupations

Driver

Demography

Two Fulbe and four half-Fulbe males. Also one Fulbe apprentice driver.

Work Task

The two Fulbe drivers are the same individuals as the two transporters, i.e., they are the men who own their lorries themselves, the four half-Fulbe drive for other persons for a wage.

One of the drivers works for Barclays Bank D.C.O. and is actually a driver-messenger; his vehicle is a long-wheelbase Land Rover, and he drives the Lunsar Branch manager to Freetown, and more frequently to Makeni. On many occasions when this man is driving there are considerable sums of money on board, e.g., every fortnight the Delco wages are taken to the mine from Lunsar.

One of the drivers works for a Lebanese, driving his Land Rover, while the other drives trucks and Land Rovers for a Temne. The other man drives both Land Rovers and trucks for a Temne in Freetown. The apprentice loads and cleans the lorry, and is also responsible for making all hand signals, such as when following vehicles are to overtake, etc. Apprentices have their own norms of behaviour and always run after the lorry and jump on the back, never sitting in the lorry when it moves off. When the lorry is fully laden, the apprentice stands on the step on the back of the lorry, nonchalantly hanging on with one hand.

Factors of production

The only two men who own their vehicles are the two transporters, the other men drive vehicles belonging to the men who pay them.

Rewards

Those who own their trucks would not say how much they earned. The Bank driver-messenger earns £14 per month, the man from Freetown earns £12, and the other two Lunsar drivers earn £8 per month.

It is recognised, by all except Europeans, that if a man hires a driver, then he can expect the driver to load his vehicle with passengers when^{ever} he can, and by charging them, supplement his wages. The Lebanese simply demand a 'cut' from this extra money, while Europeans will sack a man for taking passengers if he has not been authorised to do so.

Recruitment and Training

Apprentice lorry drivers are very common all over Sierra Leone. Sometimes one lorry may have as many as three apprentices, who are usually youths up to about 20 or 22 years of age and very agile.

The apprentice has to do all the loading and unloading of the lorry; washes the lorry; pushes it to make it start and does all the hard work, while the driver issues instructions. It is a part of the lorry driver's occupational culture to only drive the lorry, and leave all other work except breakdown repairs to the apprentices. Drivers never load or unload their own lorries.

The reason for this state of affairs is that so many youths wish to become lorry drivers that they are willing to perform all the menial tasks, often without pay, in the hope that the driver will teach them to drive and help them to get a driving licence.

Internal Organisation and Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

Although no union for drivers exists in Lunsar, there is a common feeling of friendship between them, and on occasions they all unite to bargain for higher wages. Once there was a threatened 'strike' in Lunsar by all the drivers, who said they were tired of driving for Lebanese and wanted the government to give them lorries of their own.

Career Histories

See Transporters for two of the drivers' career histories.



Plate 12. Tar spraying the main street. On the left are a group of Fulbe watching.



Plate 13. A Fulbe slave girl.

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
A. Jalo	27 years	Driver, 8 years Was taught to drive by an American in Moravia, Liberia.
O. Bah	28 years	Driver, 6 years Apprentice driver, 4 years
Y. Sesay	36 years	Driver-messenger, Barclays Bank, D.C.O., 1 year Driver, Agricultural Department, 3 years Driver, P. J. Roxby, 3 years Apprentice driver, 3 years
A. Barri	22 years	Driver for Lebanese, 1 year Driver, Delco, 1 year Sacked from Delco for going off his authorised route with his tipper truck.
A. Soh	22 years	Apprentice driver, 2 years Servant, 3 years.

Servant

Demography

Three Fulbe youths.

Work task

All three work for Lebanese. One looks after the small children of his employer, and the others do odd unskilled jobs in the shop, such as heaving bags of rice and unloading lorries. The youths also wash and iron the family's clothes.

Work Site

Lebanese shops.

Rewards

£3 per month, plus food and shelter.

Relationship with rest of Lunsar

Most of the Lebanese employ youths in their houses and shops, which are usually in the same building.

Career Histories

The youths had never had any previous occupation, except assisting their

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families with their farms.

Cook (dɛfɔwo)

Demography

Two Fulbe males under 25 years of age.

Work Task

In the case of one who worked for a Lebanese family, the work involved not only cooking but also working in the shop, putting goods on the shelves, unloading lorries and other tasks.

The other Fulbe worked for me and only cooked and bought food in the market.

Factors of production

Stoves, pots and pans etc., all of which was owned by their respective employers.

Work site

Employer's kitchen.

Rewards

One cook earned £3 per month and the other one £4 to £5.

Career Histories

One Fulbe had previously been a steward to a French engineer and his family in Conakry and Dakar for three years. The other man had only been a farm labourer.

Watchman

Demography

Eight Fulbe males, four of whom are of slave status, and four of whom are freeborn; also two half-Fulbe males.

Work Task

Two of the watchmen, both freeborn, guard the property of Barclay's Bank D.C.O., one looking after the bank itself, the other the bank Manager's house. All the other men look after Lebanese shops at night. Usually watchmen put a

number of boxes on the verandah, and lie on the top of them to rest, although, of course, they are not supposed to sleep.

Factors of production

Apart from the property they are guarding, the factors of production are a machet or cutlass and a lantern.

Worksite

The property being guarded.

Rewards

Between £3 - £4 per month.

Recruitment and Training

Half the watchmen are of slave status. One is a relative of the Pullo who owns the shop that a Lebanese trader rents. Formal training is absent.

Career Histories

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
<u>Freeborn</u>		
Saliu Bâh	44 years	Watchman, 10 months Loader, Delco, 9 years
Amadu Jalo	27 years	Watchman/Table trader, 3 years Trader, ? years
Momadu Boi Bah	40 years	Watchman/Embroiderer, 3 years Servant to Lebanese, 7 years Farming, ? years
Omoru Jalo	38 years	Watchman, 6 years Servant to Lebanese, 7 years Farming, ? years
<u>Slave Status</u>		
Ysra Bah	20 years	Watchman, 5 months Unemployed, 3 months Planted bananas, 2 years Farming
Samba Jalo	29 years	Watchman, 2 years Watchman, Delco, 2 years Cattle drover, since infancy

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<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
<u>Slave Status</u>		
Amadu Juma	30 years	Watchman Trader, 10 years Driller, Delco, 2 years Labourer, Delco, 2 years Cut grass under bananas, 1 year
Amadu Bah.	Same as weaver of that name.	

Half-Fulbe

Abdulai Bdh	52 years	Watchman, 3 years Loader, Delco, 2 years Labourer, Delco, 14 years Farming, ? years
Saliu Barri	50 years	Watchman, 6 months, Watchman, Delco, 8 months Farming previously.

Interpreter

Demography

One Fulbe male.

Work Task

Interpreting for the author, from Fulbe into 'pidgin' and 'petit nègre'.

Work Site

Lunsar area and cattle camps.

Remuneration

£8 per month.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

Three other interpreters worked for the other two anthropologists and the doctor on the research team in Lunsar. The Courts usually use either an N.A. Court messenger or a Court clerk as interpreter.

Prostitutes (ralli gal = Krio)

Demography

Only those women whose only work or occupation was prostitution are included. There were two half-Fulbe females.

Work Site

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Lunsar and Marampa mines.

Market

One of the girls had been kept by a European during the three years he had worked at Delco for which she had received about £10 a month. She had even moved house to the edge of town so as to be near to the European compound.¹

The other girl catered for Africans and charged from two to five shillings 'sur le champ'; her husband who was nearly always in Futa Jallon, trading, divorced her as soon as he found out what she was doing.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

There are approximately twenty real prostitutes in Lunsar, some of whom are thrifty and keep their money in Post Office savings accounts. They can roughly be divided into two categories, those who visit the European compound and those whose clients are all African or sometimes Lebanese. Those in the first category are easily recognised by their Western style dresses and shoes, but those in the second category are not so easily recognised by their dress.

Prostitution appears to be a practice which only appears with Urbanisation; it is never found in the small villages around Lunsar. The girls in Lunsar often have a youth to act as a go-between and make all the arrangements, the girl usually visiting the man at his house.

The Lunsar prostitutes come from several tribes, Limba, Temne, Susu, Mende and Fulbe.

Political Occupations

Headman

Demography

One adult Fulbe male.

¹ I have since heard that a European Delco employee has built her a house.

Work task

The position of headman involves a political role, in which the man appointed both by people of his own tribe and by the Temne tribal authorities, is held responsible to the latter for the good behaviour of all members of the headman's tribe. The Fulbe headman is therefore responsible for all Fulbe in Lunsar. Any newcomer who is a Pullo is supposed to report on arrival to the headman, and usually gives a present of from a few shillings to one pound. In return the headman protects the Fulbe and will if necessary give strangers board and lodging.

Work site

Lunsar town.

Remuneration

Small tributes from Fulbe in the town. The position of headman is not a full-time occupation, the Fulbe headman in Lunsar also being a Karamoko.

Recruitment

The headman has to be a member of the tribe he represents; he must be a man of authority who is respected, and an inhabitant of long standing who has knowledge and experience with Temne law and custom.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

Formerly there were Mende, Limba and Mandingo headmen in Lunsar, but now the Limbas are scattered all over the town, the Mendes live mostly on the mine compound and there is only the Mandingo headman left. The position of Fulbe Headman is only about ten years old, and was created at the time that anti-Fulbe pogroms were in operation in the area, when many Fulbe were rounded up and repatriated into French Guinea.

Thieves

Demography

Two adult males, known of.

Work task

Burglary.

Work site

Lunsar and the surrounding villages.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar

Fulbe have a reputation, in Sierra Leone and other West African territories, for being thieves. Ten or fifteen years ago there were so many burglaries and hold-ups by Fulbe that hundreds of them were herded into lorries and repatriated after serving one month I.H.L. in prison. Today there are two men living in Lunsar who are said to have retired from the business, one of them has a hydrocele and is therefore not very agile any more.

During my stay in Lunsar, one Fulbe male was convicted of housebreaking, and one half-Fulbe ran off with another man's £4. Most of the thieves operating in Lunsar now are Temnes and Susus, and most of these do not live in the town but come from other places.

Entertainers

Jeliba

Demography

One Fulbe male of the blacksmith caste who played the bolon, an instrument like a harp.

One Fulbe slave status female and two youths of slave status, who were professional singers, beating time with small rattles called laala.

Work task

The bolon player had learned from a Mandingo with whom he was travelling. These two men stayed in Lunsar for a week and then moved on somewhere else.

The bolon players and the three singers were itinerant musicians, going from town to town playing for about a week or two weeks in each place. The two bolon players made up a team of two, and likewise the three singers also made up a team.

The bolon players had a repertoire of Mandingo and Fulbe songs, but the singers, who were in Lunsar at a different time, only sang Fulbe songs.

Factors of production

In the case of the ^jJeliba bolon, the instrument itself is a factor of production; in the case of the singers, their rattles are factors of production.

Audiences

These two sets of players both catered for Fulbe audiences although the bolon players also played for Mandingoes.

The musicians are rewarded by presents of money given by members of the audience to the performers while actually singing or playing. The amount of money given varies from one penny to two shillings each time.

Recruitment and training

Recruitment is from those Fulbe men and women of slave status or of the craft castes. No freeborn Fullo will engage in the occupation of jeliba, although he may become a Fulbe guitar player.

Career histories.

The Jeliba bolon has played for about thirteen years, previous to which he was a blacksmith, as his father was before him.

The woman singer had never had any other work, and her two 'apprentices' work on the land during the farming season.

Praise singers (gaulo, pl: Owlube)

Demography

Three Fulbe males and one other Fulbe male who played the Fulbe guitar.

Work task

Fulbe chiefs often have a praise singer as a spokesman; when the chief or headman goes anywhere the praise singer accompanies him, and puts the chief's point of view to the people ^{with whom} that the chief wishes to communicate. ~~with~~. When a distinguished member of the community is visited, the praise singer will sing and shout praises of the man and his forefathers for as long as ten minutes. See photo.

The role of the praise singer who plays the guitar is similar, although his praises of living and mythical heroes of Fulbe tradition are always sung to the accompaniment of his guitar.

Place of work

If possible the praise singer will attach himself to a wealthy man, such as a chief or headman, but otherwise will live on his own or travel about, and begging where he can.

Remuneration

If a man is praised then he must reward the singer, and if he is an important person he may give as much as ten shillings.

When oulube are not praising, they spend much of their time visiting influential people on their own behalf, finding out as much as they can about them. Also on being visited, an influential man is obliged to give the visitor a small present.

Oulube in Lunsar praise Temnes as well as Fulbe, for although a Temne does not know what the Fulbe man is saying he knows it is complimentary and will reward him. Two of the oulube speak Temne and use this language to beg, but not to praise.

Recruitment and training

Two of the oulube were born as such, as one was born a Laubo, or wood-carver, but had turned to begging and praising and called himself a praise singer.

Oulube are generally trained by their parents, since it is an hereditary occupation. All oulube came from Futa Toro originally, and call themselves Torobe even when born in Futa Jallon.

Hodu Players and other entertainers (ŋama kalaji)

Demography

Twelve Fulbe males played the Fulbe guitar (Hodu), and two Fulbe males who talked, rather as a comedian does. All the men were freeborn.

Work task

These entertainers tend to travel in pairs, from one town to another and play wherever there are Fulbe. Each area with several Fulbe in it has a Fulbe compin, and the entertainers play to the compin; older men neither belong to the compin nor listen to ɲama kalaji.

The songs are mainly praise songs, although there is considerable variety, (see section on the Compin).

Factors of production

Fulbe guitars, the box of which is made of wood by a blacksmith, the rest is made by the ɲama kala himself.

Work site

The house or room owned or rented by one of the compin.

Remuneration

See section on the Compin.

Recruitment and training

All these entertainers were of freeborn status, and learned to play their guitars from other players. The occupation is that of a young man, and few ɲama kalaji over 35 years are to be found.

Career histories

All the men had either farmed or looked after cattle, and several of them still pursue these other occupations at intervals. None of them had ever had any other occupations.

Rural Occupations

Farm Labourer

Demography

One Fulbe and four half-Fulbe males.

Work task

'Brushing' - clearing bush ready for planting, planting, weeding and harvesting rice, cassava and sweet potatoes.

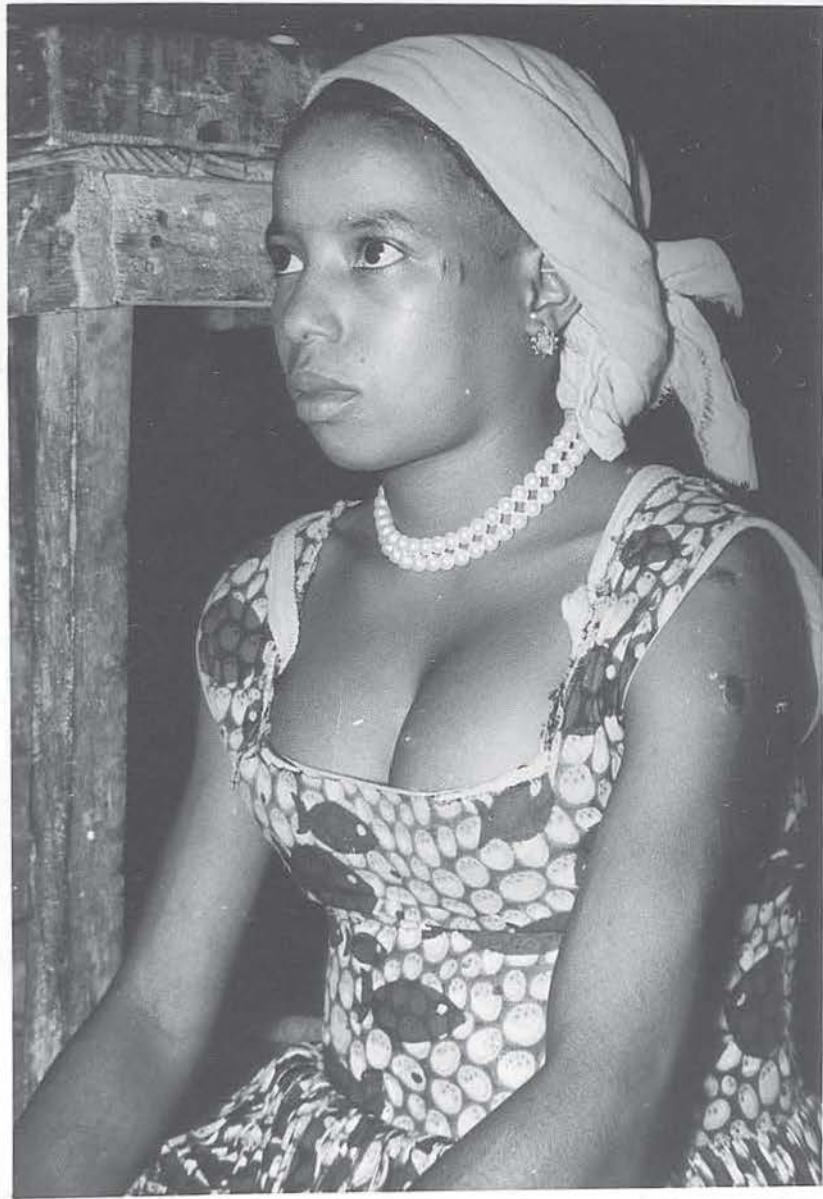


Plate 14. A freeborn Fulamuso.

Factors of production

Land, owned or leased in each case by kinsfolk. Hoes, axes and matchets owned by the individuals themselves.

Work site

In the Buya RoMendi and Sanda areas.

Rewards

They do not receive any wages, although they are given a small plot of land on which to make a garden for themselves. They also receive rice and a few presents in return for their labour.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

All these farm workers were visitors to Lunsar, although there are many Temnes in the town who go each farming season to work on their own or their kinsfolks' farms.

Career histories

Farming was the only work these men had ever had.

Farmer - see farm labourer

Demography

One Fulbe and one half-Fulbe male.

Work task

Same as farm labourer.

Factors of production

The Fulbe man had been given land to farm by friendly Temnes in the Sanda area. The half-Fulbe man had received land from his mother's kin who are Lokkos by tribe. He farms in the Sanda area, but lives in Lunsar during the slack period.

Career histories

The half-Fulbe man had once been a trader for five years; the Pullo had always been a farmer.

Cattle Owner

Demography

Four Fulbe males.

Work task

Rearing of cattle.

Factors of production

The cattle owned by each man, having been inherited from their fathers, and the land on which the cattle are pastured loaned to the Fulbe by Temnes for about twenty to thirty pounds sterling per annum and usually paid in kind, cattle, milk, etc.

Work site

Buya RoMendi and Yengisaa, north of Lunsar.

Marketing

Three or four cattle may be sold each year, although the Fulbe prefer not to sell their cattle. Superfluous bulls and steers as well as sterile cows are sold, and the proceeds are used to buy clothes, and pots and pans for storing milk. ~~is~~

Recruitment and training

Nearly all cattle owners have inherited their herds, and were trained by their fathers and uncles.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

There are two Temnes in Lunsar who own cows, but pay Fulbe cattle drovers to rear them.

Career histories

All four men had only held this occupation.

Cattle drover

Demography

Four Fulbe males.

Work task

Assist in building huts, fenced compounds for keeping cattle in during the rainy season nights. Herd cattle throughout the day in the rainy season to make sure that they do not damage the crops of Temne farmers. This work was formerly performed by slaves.

Factors of production

Cattle and land owned by others.

Work site.

Buya RoMendi and Bombali areas.

Remuneration

Each cattle drover receives a year old male calf every other year at Christmas time, at the same time he gets a week's leave. In addition, while working he receives free board and lodging.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

The cattle drovers only visit Lunsar occasionally. There are no Temne cattle drovers.

Career histories

All the men had always been cattle drovers.

Government Service

Police Constable

Demography

One half-Fulbe male.

Work task

Normal police patrol duties on the beat.

Work site

Lunsar for about a fortnight and then he was transferred to Kabala to the north east.

Remuneration

The exact pay that a p.c. earns is not known, although it is somewhere

in the region of £4 - £5 a week.

Relationship to the rest of Lunsar

Most of the Sierra Leone Police were Mendes, although there were representatives of most Sierra Leone tribes. There were no other Fulbe police in the town.

Recruitment and training

This man joined the Police on leaving school, and was trained at Hastings, near Freetown.

Unemployed

Demography

Five Fulbe and three half-Fulbe males. Two of the men were ex-infantry corporals of the French Army, who were demobilised when Guinea achieved independence. One had been a soldier for seven years and wanted to be a watchman, and the other with ten years' service later baked bread in Lunsar and then ran off with another Fullo's money.

The career histories of the other unemployed is given below.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupations</u>
A. Barri	36 years	Unemployed, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ years. Watchman, Delco, 3 years. Cook, Lebanese, 3 years. Worked as a labourer in a firm which extracted oil from oranges, 3 years.
Hamiru Barri	22 years	Unemployed, $\frac{1}{2}$ year. Trader, 2 years. Farming, ? years.
Amadu Jalo	29 years	Unemployed, $\frac{1}{2}$ year. Table trader, 4 years. Bus conductor, $\frac{1}{4}$ year. Tally clerk, in Sierra Leone Coaling Company, 8 years. This man later got a labouring job on the Taylor Woodrow project at Marampa.
Mahomed Bailo Bah	20 years	Unemployed, ? years. No previous occupation.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
Amadu Barri	20 years	Unemployed, 1 year. Trader, 1½ years.
Pa Rankin	50 years	Unemployed, 10 years. Labourer, Delco, 10 years.

The Learned Occupations

<u>Demography</u>	<u>Number of Fulbe adult males</u>
<u>cerno</u> (pl. <u>sɛrnaabe</u>)	2
<u>karamoko</u>	7
<u>alfa</u>	2

One of the karamoko was of slave status.

Work task

There is some confusion in Lunsar as to whether men with the title of alfa, karamoko or cerno are called by the title because of the role they perform, or because they have been given them, or have given themselves the title. All these names actually mean 'a cleric', although the Futa Jallon Fulbe differentiate between them. The senior clerics in Lunsar are the sɛrnaabe, but it is not clear who follows them in seniority, the karamoko or the alfa.

There were three sɛrnaabe in Lunsar, cerno Ibrahima Jalo, cerno Wuri Jalo and cerno Momadu Jalo, although the last man died during my stay in the town. The first two men were regarded as the custodians of Fulbe morals and law, which is a mixture between Islamic law and tribal tradition: and although the Fulbe headman was politically responsible for the Lunsar Fulbe, they more often went to cerno Ibrahima Jalo for advice in cases of serious dispute. These men were the most learned in the Koran, and also the most respected by the Fulbe.

The karamoko are regarded by the Lunsar Fulbe as writers of magic symbols to be used as charms and amulets. (The word for a pen in Fulbe is karambal).

All three categories of cleric teach children the Koran, although those called alfa do more teaching than the others. The children's parents do not pay the teacher, but give presents to him when the child has completed a stage in his or her studies. The teacher also may exact services from the pupils,

such as assisting him to make a house, to plant rice, etc.

All the clerics can divine for those ~~that~~^{who} wish to consult them, although each man specialises in one field or another, cerno Ibrahima Jalo is an expert in dream analysis, while the Fulbe headman, who is a karamoko, sells magic to help people to find diamonds. Performing divinations, with the writing of magic charms, gives the clerics their major source of income.

The type of magic usually associated with the Fulbe is based on esoteric knowledge almost identical to that of the Hurufi, which can only be obtained by studying under a man who already knows it. The length of study is often twenty years. For this reason the sernaabe have the most powerful magic in Lunsar, for they are old men and studied under cerno Amadu who drove the demon from Masaboin Hill.

The magic is often written in the form of a magic square, or fāl in Arabic, which combines numbers in set ways which, when added up, yield a sum which can be turned back into a word with a special meaning. In other words, numbers are in the first instance substituted for names of things, concepts, persons or parts of the body, etc.; secondly these nominal numbers are treated as though they were interval numbers, and added to produce a new ordinal number which can be translated into a word or concept. J. K. Birge¹ says of the Hurufi doctrine,

"The doctrine, as we have seen, had its beginning in the year 800 (1398) when a man named Fazlullah of the city of Esterabad in Horasan proclaimed himself a new Prophet in whom the final truth of God and the universe were revealed. According to him, God's primal state was, as Islamic mysticism in general taught, an unknown First Cause who was indeed a 'Hidden Treasure', Kenzi Mahfi, and whose first emanation or manifestation was in the form of the Word, kelam. This Word in its original form was abstract and undifferentiated, kelami nefsi. As Ultimate Reality further revealed himself, this Abstract Word became separated and externalized into certain elements, the Twenty-eight letters of the Arabic alphabet and the thirty-two letters of the Persian alphabet. These form the elements of the Word Pronounced or Expressed, kelami melfuz. It is in their combination that the world of sense and consciousness came into existence.

¹ J. K. Birge: 'The Bektashi order of Dervishes.' Luzac, 1937.

It is natural that, since God's revelation of himself through prophets has been progressive, to each prophet should be revealed in turn an understanding of an increased number of these letters or elements out of which the universe was created. Thus to Adam was revealed a knowledge of nine letters, to Abraham fourteen, to Moses twenty-two, to Jesus twenty-four, to Muhammed twenty-eight, and to the final prophet, Fazlullah, thirty-two. In the case of the last four, the number of elements each knew is the number of letters in the alphabet of the language in which the revealed book of each was written, twenty-two in Hebrew, twenty-four in Greek, twenty-eight in Arabic and thirty-two in Persian. As this statement of the relationship of the various prophets to the known number of elements was one evening being explained to me by a well informed and very enthusiastic Hurufi-Bektashi in Albania, I asked how one could be sure that Adam knew only nine letters. With the assurance of complete confidence in the convincingness of his demonstration my friend drew to him a piece of paper and wrote down the number one, to that he added two, then three, four, and so forth up to nine. The total equalled forty-five. He then wrote down the numerical value of the three letters of Adam's name; elif equals one; dal, four; and mim, forty; again equalling forty-five. Adam was a simple man. One's a priori judgment of him would be that he could know only the simple numbers; ten would be a complex number. And one's expectations are proved to be true by the mathematical coincidence of the numerical value of his name's equalling one raised in an arithmetical progression to nine.

It follows then that by a knowledge of the meaning of the thirty-two elements known to Fazlullah the interpretation of the true and hidden meanings of all that had been revealed to the former prophets might be made known. Passive vehicles for the impartation of God's revelations, the other prophets brought into the world God's revelations. Now in Fazlullah's teachings is to be found the key to unlock the meaning of all that had gone before."

The magic symbols are written on paper or on a piece of wood, or on both. The paper is made up in either of two forms and covered with leather by the leatherworker. Either the paper is folded into a tight wad, tolkaru, or rolled into a long thin cylinder, bakawel. In the case of the board, the writing is washed off and the ink coloured water is either rubbed on the body or drunk.

Factors of production

Special ink is required and is either prepared from mango roots or ^{from} the leaf of a certain tree. The 'cleric' prepares his own ink. Paper is bought in the Lebanese shops, and books on law and other subjects are obtained directly from Cairo via Futa Jallon. Pens are made from bamboo, and ink pots are made by blacksmiths in Futa Jallon.

Work site

Children are taught the Koran around a fire in the evenings in the road, or on a verandah by day.

Divinations are conducted in a room with closed shutters, likewise all preparation and processing of magic charms is conducted away from the eyes of pagans and balɛbe in general.

Remuneration

For teaching children only occasional presents are given. Amulets and charms may cost from two shillings to fifty pounds.

Relationship with the rest of Lunsar.

The Fulbe clerics have a monopoly of Islamic magic in Lunsar, although some Temnes do teach children the Koran. The imam of the mosque is a Temne who received several years' training in Futa Jallon, as well as elsewhere.

Career histories

One cleric had been a tailor in his youth, and another had been a trader, all the others had always been learning and teaching Islamic studies.

Undergraduate

Demography

One Fulbe male from Fourah Bay College and in his second year of the honours course in economics came to Lunsar to assist me as interpreter and general assistant with interviewing etc., during two months of his long vacation.

He is the first Fullo to go to Fourah Bay College.

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Occupations	Number of Fulbe		Number of $\frac{1}{2}$ Fulbe		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
<u>Commercial</u>					
Traders, table	3	2	0	3	8
do. tray	0	3	0	0	3
do. cow	6	0	0	0	6
do. sheep and goats	3	0	1	0	4
do. cloth	8	2	2	5	17
do. kosan	0	26	0	2	28
do. trinkets	10	0	0	0	10
do. rice	0	0	1	1	2
do. calabash	2	0	0	0	2
do. miscellaneous	5	0	1	0	6
do. kola	10	0	1	0	11
Bar Owner	0	0	1	0	1
Diamond Dealer	0	0	1	0	1
Photographer	0	0	1	0	1
Shopkeeper	0	1	0	0	1
Transporter	2	0	0	0	2
<u>Artisans</u>					
Leatherworkers	1	0	0	0	1
Shoemaker	1	0	0	0	1
Blacksmith	1	0	0	0	1
Weavers	3	0	0	0	3
Tailors, machine	8	0	1	0	9
Tailors, embroiderers	6	0	0	0	6
Mat Maker	1	0	0	0	1
Dyers of cloth	0	3	0	2	5
Bakers	2	0	2	0	4
<u>Service</u>					
Drivers	2	0	4	0	6
Servants	3	0	0	0	3
Cooks	2	0	0	0	2
Watchmen	8	0	2	0	10
Interpreter	1	0	0	0	1
Prostitutes	0	0	0	2	2
Bartender	0	0	1	0	1
Apprentice Driver	1	0	0	0	1
<u>Political</u>					
Headman	1	0	0	0	1
<u>Entertainment</u>					
Jgliba balon	1	0	0	0	1
do. laala	2	1	0	0	3
Praise Singers	3	0	0	0	3
do. do. guitar	1	0	0	0	1
Guitar Players	12	0	0	0	12

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Occupations	Number of Fulbe		Number of $\frac{1}{2}$ Fulbe		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
<u>Rural</u>					
Farmers	1	0	1	0	2
Farm Workers	1	0	4	0	5
Cattle Owners	4	0	0	0	4
Cattle Drivers	4	0	0	0	4
<u>Government</u>					
Police Constable, SLP.	0	0	1	0	1
<u>Clerics</u>					
Sernaabe	2	0	0	0	2
Karamoko	7	0	0	0	7
Alfa	2	0	0	0	2
<u>Others</u>					
Undergraduate	1	0	0	0	1
Unemployed	5	0	3	0	8
Thieves	3	0	0	0	3
TOTALS	142	38	28	15	222

Table 6.1. Number of occupations pursued by male and female Fulbe and half Fulbe over the age of fifteen, in Lunsar.

CHAPTER I - LUN SAR AND THE PROBLEM

In this first chapter an attempt is made to describe the town of Lunsar explaining briefly why it grew from a few huts to a town of 10,000 in thirty odd years. Some comparisons will be made between the type of immigration into Lunsar and immigration to towns in other parts of Africa.

It will explain how the Fulbe differ from the other immigrants in that they do not come to work for the iron mining company. This itself leads to the problem to be dealt with in the thesis, which in turn necessitates a clear statement of the problem, and the units of study selected for the solving of the problem.

Lunsar - A Brief Description

Dr. N.R. Junner of the Sierra Leone Government Geological Department discovered haematite ore deposits in the Marampa Chiefdom in the year 1926. Further investigation by the African and Eastern Trading Corporation, Limited, showed that the iron ore deposit was promising and secured in 1928 a concession from the Tribal Authority to work the deposits in two hills, Masaboin and Gafal. Later, from 1928-30 prospecting instigated by a London financier, Mr. James Campbell, showed that the ore deposits were of sufficient size and quality to warrant commercial exploitation.

The hills, Masaboin and Gafal, or Bafal, were inhabited by two Daemons, a female called Masaboin Tenke and a male who lived in Gafal. According to the Temne people who own and inhabit this area, Masaboin Tenke appeared in the form of lights which moved around and down the hill. The Temnes now say that the Daemon was taken to London by the Europeans and point to the mining company's telegraphic address - 'Masaboin', - to prove it. Other Temnes say that Masaboin manifests herself in the whistle of the iron ore trains, or in the works hooter.¹

¹For a description of how Masaboin Tenke was rendered harmless see Chapter VII on Fulbe - Temne Relations.

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Type of Occupation	Males				Females				Total	%
	Fulbe	%	$\frac{1}{2}$ Fulbe	%	Fulbe	%	$\frac{1}{2}$ Fulbe	%		
Commercial	49	35	9	32	34	90	11	74	103	46
Artisans	23	16	3	11	3	7	2	13	31	14
Service	17	12	7	25	0	0	2	13	26	12
Political	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.5
Entertainment	21	15	0	0	1	3	0	0	22	10
Rural	10	7	5	17	0	0	0	0	15	7
Government	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
Religious	11	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	5
Others	9	6	3	11	0	0	0	0	12	5
	141	100	28	100	38	100	15	100	222	100

Table 6.2 Number and percentage of male and female Fulbe and half Fulbe engaged in various types of occupation. Includes residents and itinerants.

Delco Occupations

It is not intended to describe the occupations of those Fulbe and half Fulbe who work for Delco. This is because the names of the occupations and the tasks of those pursuing them are similar to occupations in British industry.

A table is given showing the distribution of Fulbe in Delco occupations, and these will be discussed from different aspects in the following sections.

Unskilled

Unskilled

- Motor Driver
- Truck Driver
- Club Steward
- Machine Wash Man
- Wagon's Mate
- Wagon Painter
- Breakdown

Skilled

- Electrician
- Electrician's Helper
- Temple Labourer
- Mechanical Labourer
- Flour Labourer
- General Labourer
- Labourer

Electrician

Labourer (Miller)

Total number of occupations
23 persons

Table 1.1. Summary of Fulbe
occupations at Delco

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Occupation	Number of		Remuneration
	Fulbe	$\frac{1}{2}$ Fulbe	
<u>Staff</u>			
Surgical Assistant		1	£300 per annum
Accounts Clerk	1		£200 per annum
Clerical Assistant		1	£200 per annum
Restaurant Supervisor	1		£150 per annum
<u>Tradesmen</u>			
Journeyman Fitter		1	11/6d. per day
Journeyman Mason	1		8/6d. " "
<u>Semi-skilled</u>			
Shovel Driver		1	10/- per day
Truck Driver	1		6/8d. " "
Club Steward		1	5/7d. " "
Headman Winch Man		1	7/3d. " "
Mason's Mate		1	6/6d. " "
Rough Painter		1	6/4d. " "
Breaksman		1	6/- " "
<u>Unskilled</u>			
Sampleman		1	5/7d. per day
Electrician's Labourer		1	6/- " "
Sample Labourer		1	5/7d. " "
Sanitary Labourer	1	1	5/7d. " "
Store Labourer		1	6/- " "
Garden Labourer		1	5/7d. " "
General Labourer		2	5/7d. " "
Watchman		1	5/7d. " "
Station Messenger	1		5/7d. " "
Labourer Driller		1	6/- " "
Total number of occupations and persons	6	19	

Table 6.3: Number of Fulbe and half Fulbe males employed in Delco. Salaries and wages are shown.

Section B - Career Histories and their sociological implications

General considerations

There are few men in Lunsar who have the concept of a career or vocation. Exceptions to this occur among those engaged in rural and certain traditional occupations, and among the children of such persons. Farmers and cattle owners do not work in Lunsar but in the villages and ⁱⁿ bush, and it is possible to qualify the opening statement by restricting it to urbanised individuals. Such people include immigrant workers and their offspring, who have made their homes in Lunsar as well as those kin and dependants who come to stay in Lunsar but never return to their villages.

A simple explanation why the new urban inhabitants of Lunsar have little sense of vocation or of a career is that the older generation cannot give advice on what the young should or should not do in the present society simply because it is alien and they themselves have little experience of such a society. In Western societies industrial revolution was started by those already in those societies and industry was not imported in toto; African societies have never had an industrial revolution, but have only had members of other societies bring 'an industry' into their country.

Evidence that Lunsar is still pre-industrial is not hard to find; persons performing traditional crafts such as blacksmiths and weavers which have modern counterparts in industry, do not revolutionise their crafts or work in industry to learn the Western techniques of their crafts. The African technicians in Delco do not come from craft castes, but are the new elite from the secondary schools all over Sierra Leone.

With the growing demands of large populations, craftsmen do not alter their techniques but take on more apprentices who are taught the old methods; in this way only is production increased. The African attitude to time is a major factor contributing to the perpetuation of pre-industrial techniques, unless

time is looked upon as a part of the cost of production industrialisation will not take place. A European carpenter does not stop to pick up each nail as he drops it, but picks them up when the job is finished since he knows that the value of the nail is less than that of the time it would take to pick the nails up. An African carpenter ^{whom} ~~that~~ I watched picked up each nail as he dropped it and wasted about a quarter of his time and energy doing so; to many Africans time is unlimited and is not uniform, but varies in quality according to what they are doing.

Miller and Form¹ set out the table reproduced below, showing some characteristics of the industrial revolution as it took place in the West. Although Africa has had no industrial revolution some of the effects mentioned are to be found in Lunsar.

Major Forces Operating to Disorganise Traditional Work Values

1. Manifold aspects of the industrial revolution.

The effects of the industrial revolution upon work motives and habits are far-reaching. Prominent cause-and-effect relationships may be identified.

	<u>Cause</u>	<u>Effect</u>
The industrial revolution:	1. Transferred an increasingly large number of persons from rural to urban life. Secondary group participation increasingly comes to predominate within the growing corporate structures. 2. Replaced independent proprietorship with dependence upon an employer. 3. Set work performance within highly specialised or highly routinised limits. 4. Created an impersonal market in which demands for labor were subjected to extreme cyclical variations during which large groups of workers were exposed to economic insecurity and suffering.	Introduced impersonality and weakened the social controls supporting traditional work values. Brought about decline in motivation and sense of personal responsibility. Weakened purposive effort as end product was obscured and the individual's part became unidentifiable. Aroused feelings of insecurity and insignificance. 'Nobody is indispensable'.

¹ Delbert C. Miller & William H. Form. Industrial Sociology. p. 636

5. Stimulated an increasingly restricted market as monopolistic practices of capital and labor multiplied.

Formed motives and habits in which attempts to gain by producing less rather than harder work and more production were seen to be rewarded.

6. Raised the standard of living by increased mechanisation of work tasks.

Stimulated motive to reduce efforts of manual labor by 'letting a machine do it.'

Delco is a bureaucratically run organisation and therefore has an impersonal interest in its employees, and rewards them for efficiency at their work tasks and for playing the game of bureaucracy. The older generation of the Lunsar population and many of the younger unschooled immigrants have an idea that a man has an intrinsic value for which he should be rewarded, and cannot understand the bureaucracy of Delco.

As Lunsar grows in size so the social controls supporting traditional work values become weaker; this, linked with a decline in motivation, little sense of personal responsibility and little purposive effort, tends to inhibit any idea of a vocation developing among urbanised Africans. Many of the young men from secondary school refuse to take menial jobs and are exactly as Miller and Form describe some of the American youths.¹

The belief that each step reached on the educational ladder is at the same time a step taken toward a higher-status, better paying job has stimulated greatly the aspiration for white collar jobs. It explains why so many young people expect to avoid manual labor and why they so often look with disdain upon workers engaged in manual labor.

Decreasing traditional controls with no efficient new set of controls and little class structure create in Lunsar a truly 'open society' where only people with no money are ashamed. The older generation cannot guide the young because they themselves are lost, and the young model themselves on those people who are powerful; the powerful are also the rich and the way in which a man becomes rich is rarely questioned or censured.

¹ Ibid. p. 579

The aim in life that most of the Lunsar young men have is a negative one: the aim of not being a failure. The literate Africans who cannot get a clerical or typing job will do no work at all, as manual work is beneath their dignity. Illiterate Africans are not so particular in this respect and will usually perform manual work rather than not work at all. Only about half a dozen literate Fulbe were met in Lunsar, three of whom worked for Delco, the photographer, the policeman and a kola trader who was an ex-French civil servant. One other Fulbe had been a clerk, then a bus conductor, a table trader and after great reluctance, finally a labourer. This man was disliked by the other Fulbe who also said that he had turned kafrii (Krio for kafiri, Fulbean unbeliever).

The fact that the Fulbe have resisted Western influence especially in the field of school education and the general socialisation of the young, means that tribal tradition is stronger among the urban Fulbe than among the urban Temne. The maube, or elders, are also the custodians of tribal tradition and therefore have retained considerable authority over the younger men and women.

Although the Fulbe are less westernised than the Lunsar Temnes, they have retained the attitude of conquerors and aristocrats to one another and to outsiders. Competition between Fulbe for wealth and power continues alongside the exploitation of balabe. At the same time the Fulbe have lost the use of domestic slaves and no longer have great political power, as this is in the hands of the Europeans and the educated Africans, few of whom are Fulbe. The removal of political responsibility and their responsibility as masters over slaves has encouraged the entrepreneurial tendencies displayed by the Lunsar Fulbe.

The Fulbe disdain manual labour in the same way as the semi-educated Temne does, though not because they are literate but because the aristocratic idea that only slaves perform such work has been maintained. As the next

section on occupational prestige shows, the tribal traditional work values are still maintained and many of the Fulbe are aware of what their aims are in terms of traditional values. The alleviation of many of their former responsibilities leaves the Fulbe in a better position to pursue private and personal interests.

Islam as Trimingham¹ points out, is primarily an urban religion and with the increase in the size and number of towns, so the strength of Islam is also increasing in West Africa; Lunsar being no exception. The Ahmadiyya mission is setting up a school in Lunsar at the present moment. Fulbe in Futa Jallon receive better training in Islamic subjects than most West Africans, and they are therefore better equipped to teach others. The Lunsar clerics of merit are all Fulbe, excepting the town imam. The urban situation tends to reinforce the tradition of teaching the Koran as there is a greater demand for its knowledge. It is common knowledge that Islam makes many more converts in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone than the Christian Missions make.

To sum up these general remarks I will say that the breakdown in tribal, work and other values induced by urbanisation as experienced by the Temne, have not occurred to the same extent among the Fulbe; in fact the urban situation boosts trading and the spread of Islam.

Table 6.4

Men taking up their first jobs on coming to Lunsar

	<u>Fulbe</u>		<u>Half Fulbe</u>		<u>Total</u>
Took up first occupation on coming to Lunsar	16	23%	12	50%	28
Did not take up first occupation on coming to Lunsar	55	77%	12	50%	67
	71	100%	24	100%	95

¹ J. Spencer Trimingham. Islam in West Africa. OUP 1959

This table suggests that more half Fulbe (50%) than Fulbe (23%) take up their first occupation on coming to Lunsar, and on calculation¹ it appears that a significantly greater proportion of half-Fulbe than Fulbe take up their first occupation or job in Lunsar.

The above fact may be true because half Fulbe come to Lunsar to find work while they are younger than many of the Fulbe immigrants; although it is more probable that since the Fulbe come from further away than the half Fulbe, they have previously taken a job nearer to their homes in the first instance. Most of the jobs held by Fulbe prior to coming to Lunsar were nearer to their birthplaces, than Lunsar.

Table 6.5

Showing movement of Fulbe to and from rural and urban occupations

	<u>To urban</u>	<u>To rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>From rural</u>	35 67%	0	35 67%
<u>From urban</u>	17 33%	0	17 33%
Total	52 100%	0	52 100%

Analysis of the above table² shows clearly that there is a significant tendency for Fulbe to change from rural to urban occupations and not vice versa. This may also be taken as an index of the urbanisation process as it means that not only are people moving from rural to urban areas, but also that those Fulbe who come from towns in Futa Jallon who had rural occupations (e.g. farming on the outskirts of towns) have switched to urban occupations. A Pullo farmer or cattle drover coming to live in Lunsar is of course forced to take up an urban occupation as he has no claim to land in Temne country, and cannot look after cows in the town.

¹ See Appendix F - Career Histories for details of techniques used.

² Ibid.

Table 6.6

Showing the movement of half Fulbe to and from rural and urban occupations

	<u>To Urban</u>	<u>To Rural</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>From rural</u>	1	0	1
<u>From urban</u>	6	1	7
<u>Total</u>	7	1	8

Using the same test and level of significance as for the previous table, it is concluded that the movement of half Fulbe from rural to urban occupations is not significantly greater than the movement from urban to rural occupations.

As similar data was not gathered for a sample of Temnes it is not known whether there is a significant movement from rural to urban occupations among them as there is among immigrant Fulbe. For the purposes of this test the rural occupations taken as such, were farming for oneself or for another person, owning cattle and rearing them and non cattle owning drovers and stockmen.

There are a number of possible causes for this change from rural to urban occupations as displayed by the Fulbe: (1) they are mostly immigrants and therefore could not have inherited land in the area, (2) they may be the sons of slaves, poor men or cattleless fathers, and (3) this may be a part of the general movement to towns and an effect of primary and secondary industry growing up in Sierra Leone and Guinea. Since there is nothing to stop these men from driving other men's cattle or making other men's farms for payment in kind, the third possible cause seems to be the most likely. Cattle keeping Fulbe do not sell many cows although they accumulate large herds and hence wealth. Futa Jallon Fulbe have had towns for many years and it is possible that many young men worked at rural occupations and then moved to the towns long before industry appeared in West Africa. In other words, it is difficult to separate what may be part of a traditional Fulbe career pattern from a new type produced by the growth of industry. The desire for

In 1930 the Sierra Leone Development Company Limited was formed with a risk capital raised by shareholders, of £500,000; a further £500,000 was loaned by the Colonial Development Fund, on the entire assets of the Company as security. By 1939 this loan was paid off.

Before production could begin, S.L.D.C. had to complete three major constructions; an ore processing mill near Masaboin, a railway to take the ore to the coast, and a new port at Pepel, opposite the old Slave Factory on Bunce Island. In addition housing accommodation had to be built for European and African workers. In September 1933 the first export of iron ore was shipped from Pepel in the S.S. "Hindpool".

The S.L.D.C., otherwise known as Delco, is in the main a huge transport organisation geared to move iron ore from the top of Masaboin on to the ships at Pepel: the actual quarrying of the ore in 1958 utilised only 7.7% of the total African labour, and the preparation, washing, etc. only 12%. The rest of the labour force is involved in maintenance, the railway, offices and stores, etc. The following table shows the distribution of African labour throughout the firm.

Table 1.1. Delco Labour Force, (African), between 1947 & 1958¹

<u>Department</u>	<u>1947</u>	<u>1948</u>	<u>1953</u>	<u>1956</u>	<u>1958</u>
Quarries	637	1775	288	289	207
Loading bank and washing	118	112	74	55	48
Construction	294	79	289	155	237
Development	0	36	46	58	33
Overheads 1 & 2	334	331	311	390	419
M.P.O. 2 & 3	131	209	193	189	276
Workshops	308	304	451	458	429
Office & stores	78	67	103	155	172
Traction					188
Geological Survey			75	148	
Railway maintenance	169	168	171	158	221
Stone quarries					30
Overburden and sterile				45	87
Pepel	221	277	204	214	338
	<u>2290</u>	<u>2358</u>	<u>2205</u>	<u>2312</u>	<u>2685</u>

¹From Delco labour statistics

town religious and secular life as well as money may also be partially responsible for this rural-urban movement.

Having established that the Fulbe in Lunsar have a significant number of men who have changed from rural to urban occupations, the question arises whether they make other changes in occupations, i.e. from urban to urban occupations. Table 6.5 and 6.6 show that 33 per cent. of the Fulbe and 6 of the half Fulbe (75%) who have made changes of any kind in their occupations have moved from one urban occupation to another.

Table 6.7

Number of Fulbe and half Fulbe who have changed occupations before and after coming to Lunsar (Immigrant residents only)

expected frequencies in brackets

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Changed before coming to Lunsar but not since</u>	20 (15.7)	1 (5.3)	21
<u>Changed after coming but not before</u>	10 (9.7)	3 (3.3)	13
<u>Unclassifiable</u>	41 (45.6)	20 (15.4)	61
<u>Totals</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>95</u>

There is no significant difference in the proportion of Fulbe and half Fulbe who changed their occupation only before, and only after coming to Lunsar.

Since the figures in Table 6.7 are taken from a total population (resident Fulbe and half Fulbe) and not a random sample it is safe to say that the Fulbe who only change their occupations either before or after coming to Lunsar tend to make more changes before coming than they do after coming to Lunsar. The numbers of half Fulbe are rather too small to make any definite statement of this nature for them.

Twenty-seven Fulbe (38%) and twelve half Fulbe (40%) in all have changed their occupations since coming to Lunsar, which includes several persons who

have changed both before and after coming to Lunsar. These men appear to be the less successful citizens who drift from one low status and low paid occupation to another.

It is possible to see in the career histories of the Lunsar Fulbe and half Fulbe similar trends to those explained by Miller and Form¹ and said to exist in America. Many of the young Fulbe drift in and out of different jobs before settling down. Miller and Form divide people's working lives into (1) initial, (2) trial, (3) stable, and (4) retired work periods. Because of the difficulty of differentiating between the initial and trial work periods of Africans I prefer simply to lump the two together and call them the trial work period; also as it is difficult to say when an African has retired, I prefer not to speak of this period of people's lives in these terms.

Most of the immigrant Fulbe now resident in Lunsar came (and are^{still} coming) between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, which is also the time when most changes in occupation are made, and were made by those men now past this age group.

Table 6.8

Number of changes made by men while in each age group, excluding changes from rural occupations

Age groups (years)	Number of changes made while in each age group		
	Fulbe	Half Fulbe	Total
16-20	24	0	24
21-25	31	8	39
26-30	20	3	23
31-35	9	2	11
36-40	5	3	8
41-45	1	4	5
46-50	0	4	4
51-55	0	0	0
56-60	0	0	0
61-70	0	0	0
totals	<u>90</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>114</u>

N = number of Fulbe = 49. N1 = number of half Fulbe = 15.

¹ Ibid.

The above table shows that changes in occupation are most frequent when an individual is between twenty and thirty-five years of age; the number of changes then declines until middle age after which there are no more changes made.

Industry is relatively new to Africa and Lunsar is a young town and therefore more people now past middle age represent the traditional work values and not those of modern urban centres. Table 6.9 shows the proportion of men in each age group who have changed occupations, which it will be noticed declines to zero at age fifty and grows again in the two oldest age groups. The table is displaying two types of behaviour; most of the changes made by men up to age fifty are changes to and from modern urban occupations, while those of the old men were changes from one traditional occupation to another, i.e. wood carver to praise-singer. Both types of change are indicative of changes in traditional work values, although their effects on the young and older generations differ.

Table 6.9

Proportion of men in each age group who have changed their occupation at some time, excluding changes from rural occupations

Number and proportion in each age group who have:

<u>Age groups</u>	<u>Never changed occupations</u>		<u>Changed occupations</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	
16-20	5 (.83)	2 (1)	1 (.17)	0 (0)	8
21-25	13 (.77)	5 (1)	4 (.23)	0 (0)	22
26-30	17 (.59)	5 (.56)	12 (.41)	4 (.44)	38
31-35	5 (.33)	3 (.38)	10 (.66)	5 (.62)	23
36-40	2 (.17)	7 (.78)	10 (.83)	2 (.22)	21
41-45	1 (.11)	2 (1)	8 (.89)	0 (0)	11
46-50	5 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1)	6
51-55	6 (1)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1)	8
56-60	2 (.66)	0 (0)	1 (.33)	1 (1)	4
61-70	3 (.5)	0 (0)	3 (.5)	0 (0)	6
<u>Totals</u>	59	24	49	15	147

There are two main processes acting simultaneously which give rise to the frequencies in tables 6.8 and 6.9; with the increase in the number of immigrants into towns, more and more men are leaving the rural occupations and at the same time the population is increasing. Young men are free to choose from a number of occupations and usually have two or more during the trial work period. The men over forty-five never had quite so much freedom of choice which accounts for the smaller proportion of their number having changed their occupations. The weakening of traditional work values has led to the partial removal of the concept of a career in terms of a man's status and occupation as determined by birth, e.g. some slaves now perform jobs previously the prerogative of freemen, and some freemen are now craftsmen.

Table 6.8 gives a slightly misleading picture because there are more men who have passed the age of twenty than there are men who have passed the age of forty. Therefore even if the number of changes in occupation when in each age group had been the same, the frequencies in the table would not be the same for this reason. To overcome this problem of representation table 6.10 is shown below. The number of occupations that each individual has had is divided by the number of working years that he has completed; taking fifteen as the age at which Fulbe and half Fulbe begin working.

Table 6.10

Number of occupations per working year for Fulbe and half Fulbe interviewed in Lunsar. Includes rural occupations.

<u>Ages</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>			<u>Half Fulbe</u>			<u>o/yr.</u>
		<u>occs.</u>	<u>w.l.</u>	<u>o/yr.</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>occs.</u>	<u>w.l.</u>	
16-20	4	11	11	1.0	0	0	0	0.0
21-25	8	20	53	0.377	1	2	6	0.333
26-30	16	40	186	.215	3	6	35	.171
31-35	11	27	181	.149	4	10	68	.147
36-40	10	28	214	.131	5	13	116	.112
41-45	8	25	207	.121	1	2	27	.074
46-50	1	2	33	.061	1	2	33	.061
51-55	2	4	72	.055	5	12	180	.067
56-60	2	4	81	.049	1	2	41	.049
61-70	2	4	100	.040	0	0	0	0.0
<u>Totals</u>	<u>64</u>	<u>165</u>	<u>1138</u>		<u>21</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>506</u>	

occs. = number of occupations performed by the members of each age group.

w.l. = working lives.

o./yr = number of occupations per year.

Conclusions on the effect of age and changes in occupation

- a. A greater proportion of Fulbe under the age of forty-five have changed their occupations at least once, than the proportion over the age of forty-five.
- b. Most changes in occupation are made when men are under twenty-five; even those old men who have changed did so when under thirty-five. Up until the age of about thirty-five Fulbe and half Fulbe often have a number of occupations, and this first twenty years of their working life may be called the trial work period.
- c. Table 6.10 shows that there is an increasing tendency for young men to have a number of jobs in succession. It is difficult to say whether young men change occupations more than their fathers did, although none of the older men appear to have had so many different occupations as some of the young men; this trend is most likely due to changing values associated with urbanisation.
- d. The stable work period for most of the men begins after the age of thirty-five, and continues until they are too old to carry on, at which point they live off their children or are forced to beg.

Other factors associated with changes in occupation.

Those men who have never changed occupations after having left rural occupations fall into two significant categories as table 6.11 shows below.

Table 6.11

Self-employed and employed Fulbe and half Fulbe who have never changed their occupation

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Self-employed</u>	43	6	49
<u>Employed</u>	16	18	34
<u>Totals</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>83</u>

A significantly greater proportion of Fulbe than half-Fulbe who have not changed their occupations are self-employed.¹ This would appear to indicate that half-Fulbe do not value self employment as highly as Fulbe, and are more content to remain working for another person. The distribution of self employed Fulbe appears below in table 6.12.

Table 6.12

Occupations of self-employed Fulbe

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Number of Fulbe</u>
Traders	12
Religious	11
Tailors and Embroiderers	7
Rural	4
Others	9
<u>Total</u>	<u>43</u>

The employed half Fulbe are nearly all Delco employees, and the employed Fulbe include Delco workers and young men in service occupations.

The Fulbe place a high value on self-employment as against jobs in which they are employees. Evidence for this is to be found not only in what the Fulbe say they like, but in what they do. The Fulbe tend to move from occupations in which they are employees to those in which they can be their own boss.

Table 6.13

Movement to and from occupations in which Fulbe and half Fulbe are employees and self-employed

	<u>To Self-employed</u>	<u>To employed</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>From Employed by another:</u>	16 (5)	14 (2)	30 (7)
<u>From Self-employed:</u>	10 (1)	3 (3)	13 (4)
<u>Totals</u>	26 (6)	17 (5)	43 (11)

The main conclusion that can be drawn from the above table is that

¹ See appendix - Career histories.

Fulbe show stronger motivation towards being their own bosses than do the half Fulbe. This is in keeping with the traditional aristocratic values of Fulbe society, whereby to work for another person places an individual in a position similar to that of a slave. The same traditional values are not so strong among the half-Fulbe as table 6.14 shows. Upbringing by a Temne mother and her kin is probably responsible for Fulbe traditional values being less strong among half-Fulbe. Also the individual growing up amongst Temnes is bound to adopt some Temne norms, and these do not include the same abhorrence of being employed that the Fulbe have.

Table 6.14

Number and percentage of Fulbe and half Fulbe who are working for Delco, have worked for Delco and have never worked for Delco

	<u>Delco workers</u>		<u>Ex. Delco</u>		<u>Never worked for Delco</u>		<u>Total</u>	
Fulbe	7	10%	11	15%	54	75%	72	100%
Half Fulbe	19	59%	4	13%	9	28%	52	100%
Totals	26	25%	15	14%	63	61%	104	100%

From the above table it at once becomes obvious that not only is there a greater proportion of half Fulbe working in Delco than there are Fulbe, but also that a smaller proportion of Fulbe have worked for Delco, and a greater proportion of those living in the area have worked there and have left the firm.

Most of those who have left Delco are now self-employed, and are in commerce or artisan occupations.

Career histories of those in different types of occupations.

Figs. 0.1 to 0.7 inclusive illustrate the career histories of Fulbe and half Fulbe males in the following manner:

- a. each line represents the work history of one working person,
- b. each circle represents a change in occupation, or employer,

- c. the horizontal distance between circles as measured on the scale gives the time in years that each occupation has been held,
- d. the reference point in time is the event of coming to Lunsar and is indicated by the dotted line,
- e. where a line ends abruptly it indicates that the occupation is still being pursued,
- f. the categories used are the same as those in the text of the previous section.

Religious workers. Most of the ~~ce~~rnos, karamokos, etc., learned their profession before coming to Lunsar, although three have learned since coming. Several men have moved into this category from other ones, viz: rural, commercial and artisans; none, however, have come from clerical, service unskilled or entertainment. Some have continued with rural pursuits and some have only ever had religious occupations.

An interesting and revealing fact is that none of the 200 or so men interviewed had changed from religious occupations although several had taken on additional money-making roles.

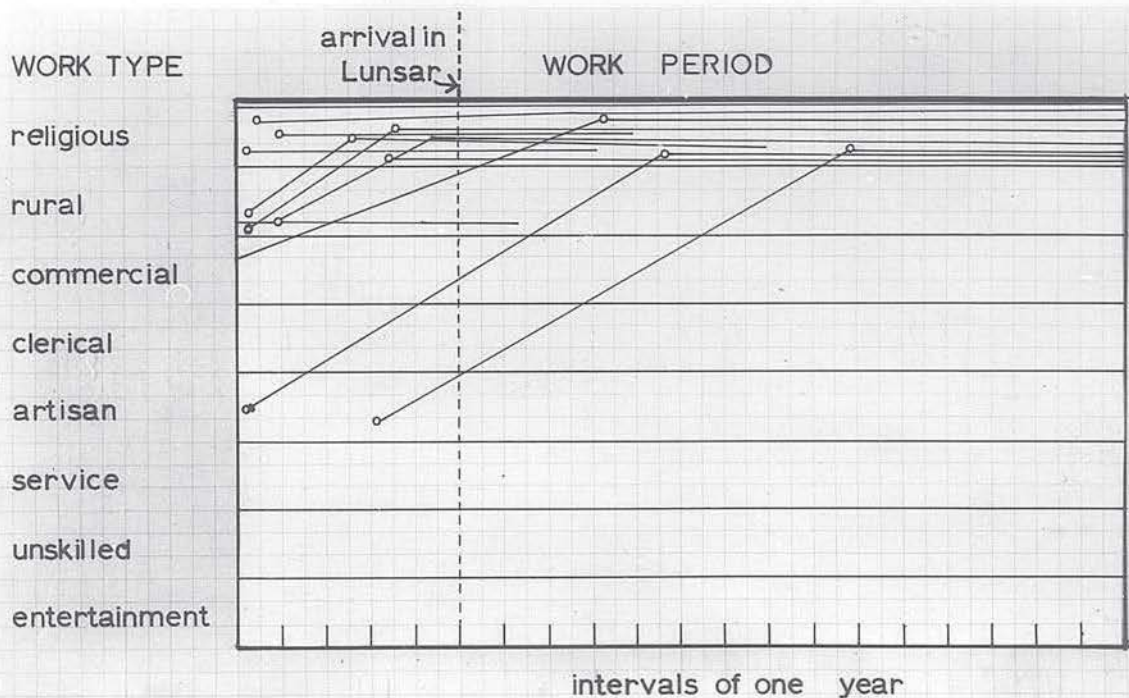


Fig. "O"1. Religious workers

Commercial workers. Most of the men in these occupations were only visiting Lunsar, and most of them had started out in rural occupations. Some of the men are also engaged in commerce or in entertainment. One man became a trader for eight years and then returned to farming. Only one man entered this category from another one, and even he had had some previous experience with cows.

Rural workers. Most of the men in these occupations were only visiting Lunsar, and most of them had started out in rural occupations. Some of the men are also engaged in commerce or in entertainment. One man became a trader for eight years and then returned to farming. Only one man entered this category from another one, and even he had had some previous experience with cows.

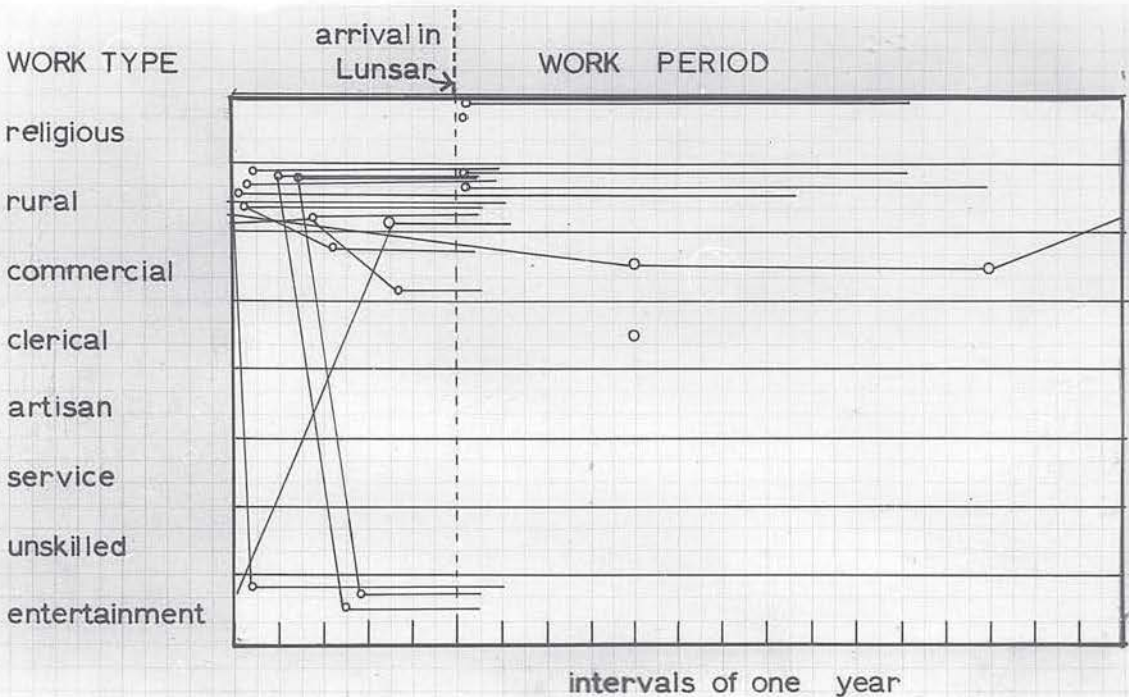


Fig. "O." 2. Rural workers

Commercial workers. Figs. 0.3 and 0.3a show the histories of these workers. Those on Fig. 0.3 are more diverse than those of Fig. 0.3a, many of whom have begun their working lives in commerce aided by elder brothers. The men on Fig. 0.3 have gone from rural occupations to other types of work and after building up capital have gone into commerce. It will be noted that some of the men have left commerce for a while and then returned to it; this is often because they have lost their capital and have had to amass more by doing another job.

Many of the men have come to Lunsar as traders, etc., and others have come and worked in service or in Delco and then launched out on their own.

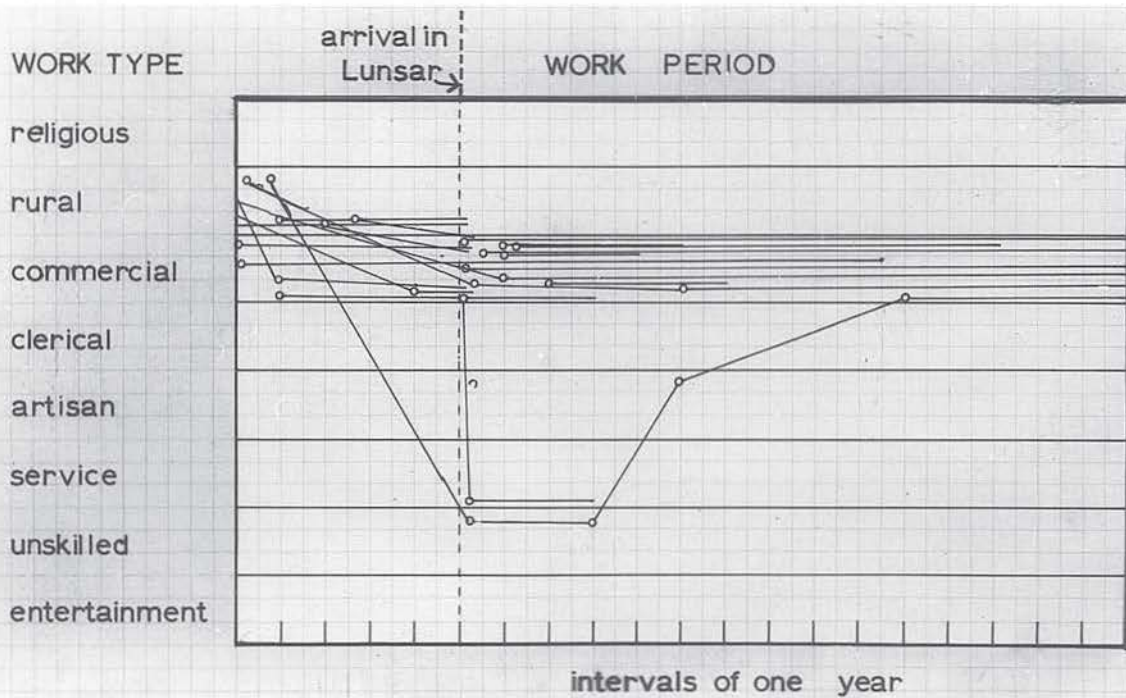


Fig. "O". 3a Commercial workers

The overall number of employees has increased, although some departments have decreased their labour force as a result of increased mechanisation. Those departments that have increased labour strengths have done so either because they have expanded, e.g. the Marampa Health Centre, or because of increased production necessitating more men in the mills, (M.P.O. 2 & 3).

Since 1933 well over 20 million tons of iron ore have been exported by Delco, the present annual tonnage being in the region of 1.5 million tons valued at about £1 per ton. The deposits of ore at Marampa would last for another twenty years at the present rate of extraction, although richer and bigger deposits in Liberia may make the Marampa mines unprofitable in the next few years.

The 2685 African, and eighty European, workers do not live in isolation; wives and dependants of the workers come to live in the area and inhabit three main settlement areas. About a mile from the mine, is a well spaced out compound with houses and bungalows for European workers and their wives and children up to the age of about ten. After this age the children have to stay in the United Kingdom as there are no proper school facilities for them at Marampa. A mile or so away on the other side of the mine are a number of hamlets, consisting of semi-detached concrete houses for the African workers of different grades. The official size of the population in these hamlets is 3,000 although the figure often exceeds this. A mile to the north-west of the mine is a town called Lunsar, and it is Lunsar which primarily interested the University of Edinburgh Research Team, consisting of Dr. Littlejohn, Dr. Gamble, and myself, anthropologists; and Dr. Mills, a physician interested in Social Medicine. Lunsar is built on a low broad ridge bordered by two swamps; two streams running westwards provide water, one to the north and one to the south of the town. The built up area occupies about 400 acres and the streets

Commercial workers. Fig. 3 and 4 show the migration of these workers. Those on Fig. 3 are also shown from those of Fig. 4, many of whom have begun their working lives in commerce already by their fathers. The men on Fig. 3 have come from rural occupations to other types of work and after building up capital have gone into commerce. It will be noted that some of the men have left commerce for a while and then returned to it; this is often because they have lost their capital and have had to make some by doing another job. Many of the men have gone to Lunsar as traders, etc., and others have come and worked in service or in other jobs than mentioned on their cards.

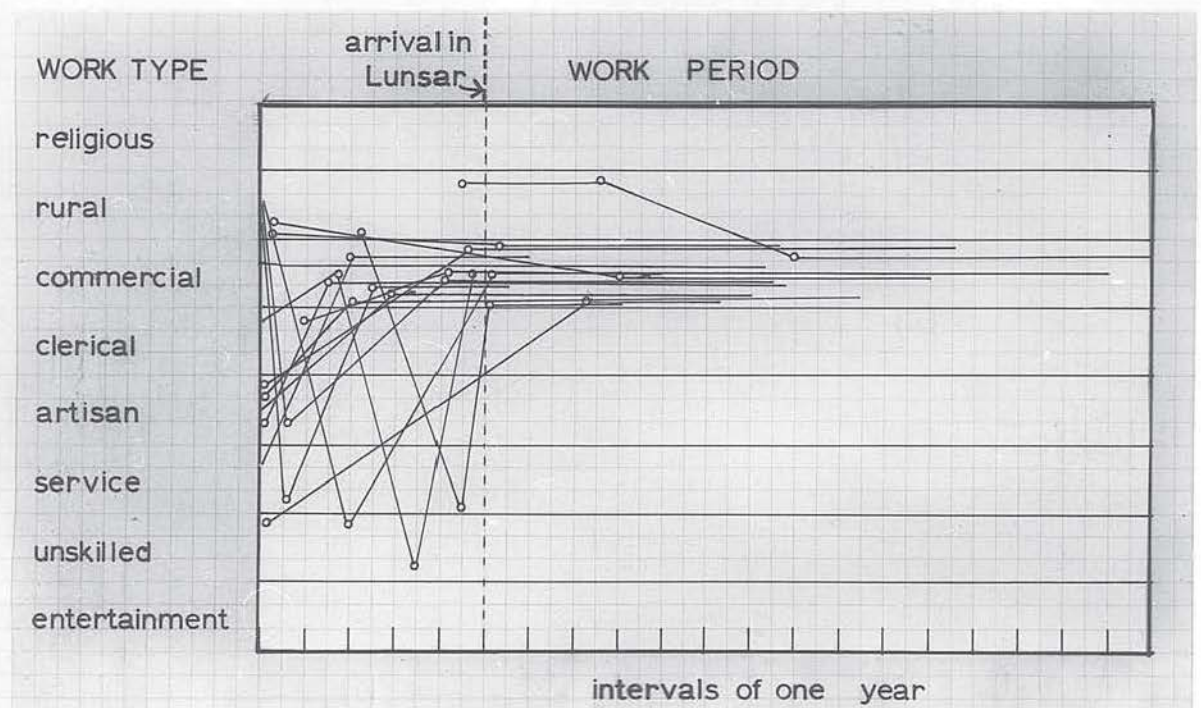


Fig. "O": 3. Commercial workers.

Artisans. Most of the artisans have practised their crafts before coming to Lunsar, although three have taken up crafts since coming. The artisan occupations, both traditional and modern, are urban occupations and most of these men were born in towns. Several of them were born into craft castes which may account for the relatively small number of changes they have made. The artisans may be said to form an occupationally stable group.

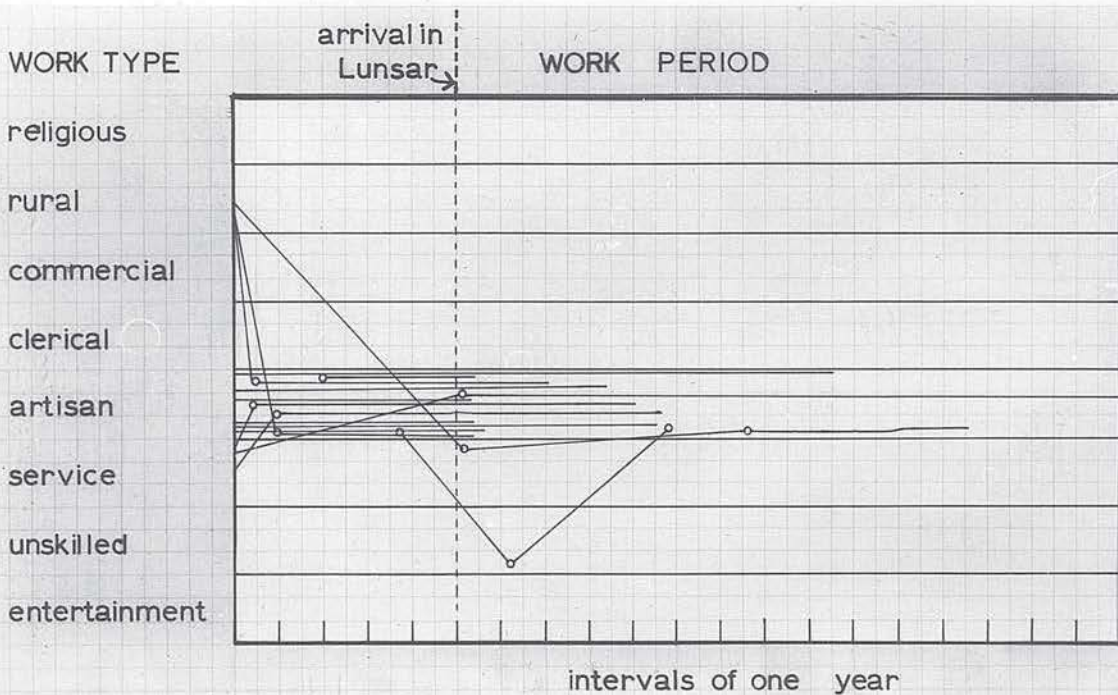


Fig."O"4. Artisans

Service workers. Many young men go into service occupations on coming to Lunsar and only five of those still in it were in service before coming. Recruitment is mainly from rural occupations and unskilled labour, although two unsuccessful traders are now in service. Few of those now in service have been in it over five years, as it is essentially a young man's type of work in which he can learn about the world and save money.

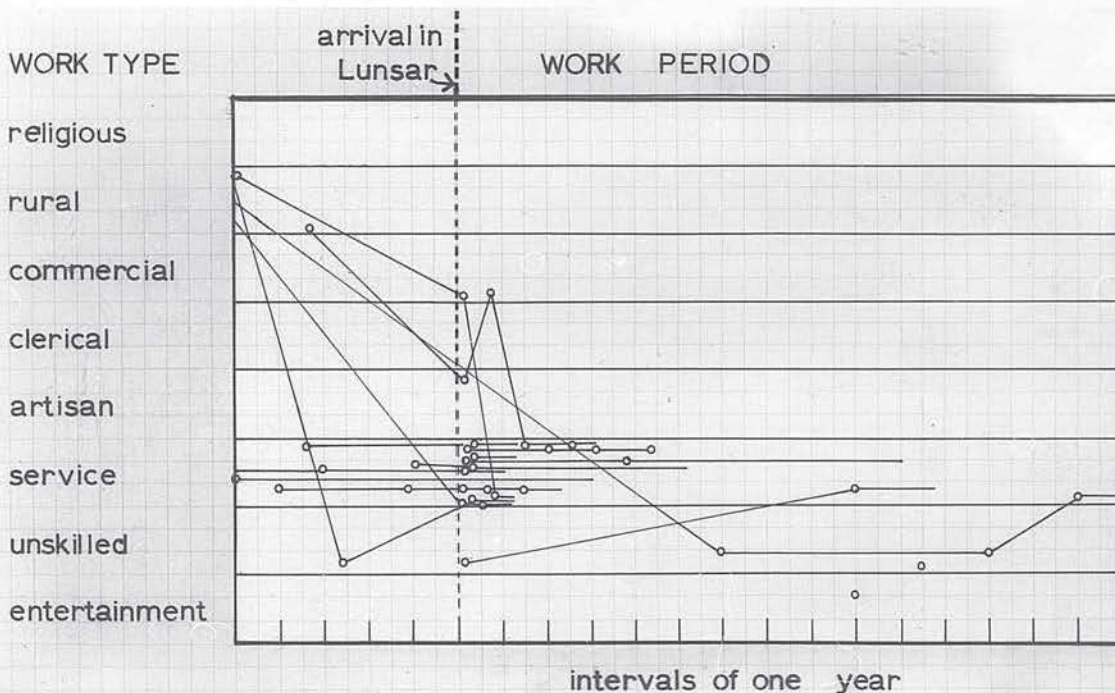


Fig. "O".5. Service workers

Entertainers. Some of these were born jeliba and one was born a blacksmith, the others come from rural occupations to which they return at the appropriate season.

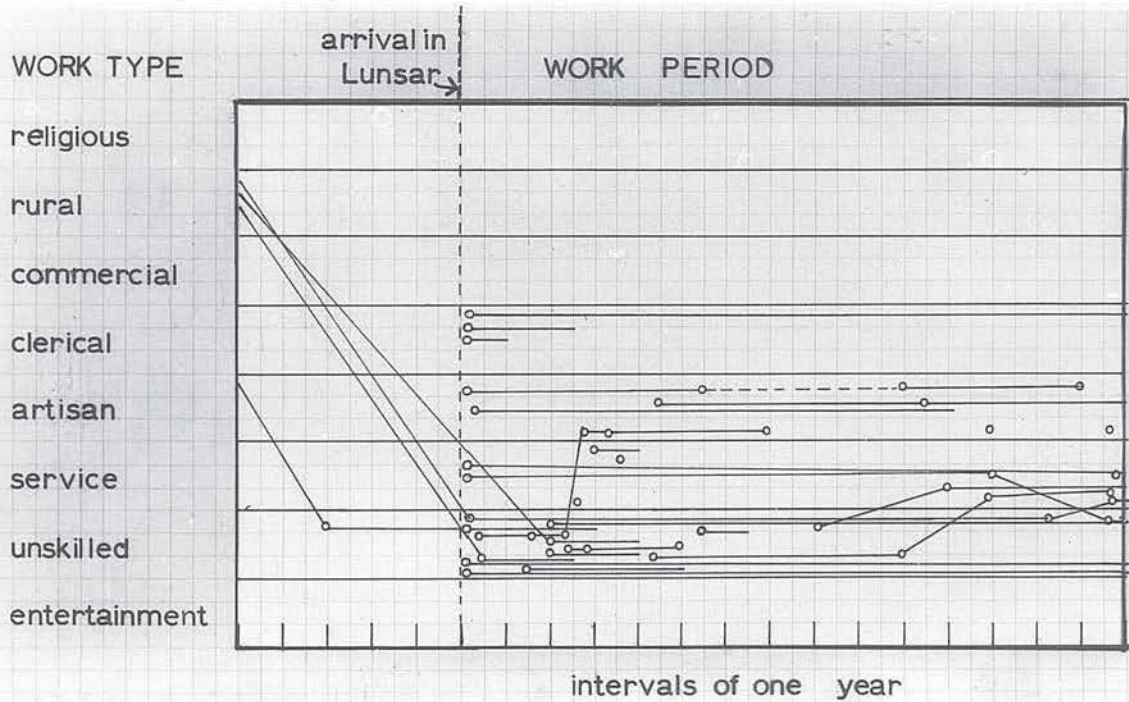


Fig. "O".7. Delco workers

Delco workers. All the Delco workers have been put on the same chart to show how little mobility there is between types of occupation, and how for most of them; Delco gave them their first jobs. The dotted line of one man indicates broken service while he went back to French Guinea as a mason there, (his Delco job.).

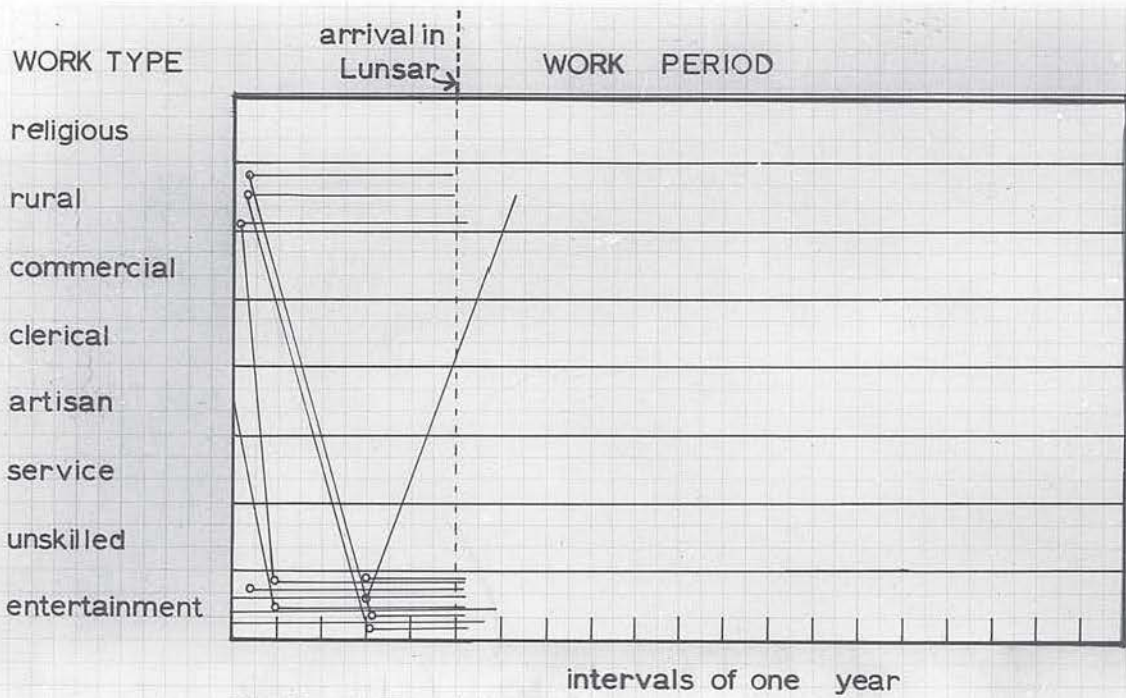


Fig. "O":6. Entertainers

...workers. All the ... workers have been put on the same chart to show how little mobility there is between types of occupation, and how far most of them ... their first job. The dotted line of one man indicates broken service while he went back to ... as a reason there, (see also ...)

Section C - Occupational Ratings and PrestigeA. Introduction and Problem

From existing literature and from only a month in the field it was apparent that in modern urban situations such as exist in Lunsar, traditional work values are losing their intensity to varying degrees among different social categories of the town's population. Being primarily concerned with the Fulbe and their role and adaptation into Lunsar which is mainly populated by Temnes, it was thought to be necessary to ascertain where these two groups place certain traditional and modern occupations in the 'respect' hierarchy. I use the term respect and not prestige as the informants are familiar with this term and use it themselves; also in krio and in Fulbe (holaare), respect has much the same meaning and connotation as prestige has to us. An additional advantage of using respect is that it is more of an operative term than prestige which is a much baguer concept which does not describe behaviour but is an ambiguously defined position in a hypothetical framework.

Traditional Fulbe Work Values

Futa Jallon Fulbe, of which the Lunsar immigrants are representative, are a highly stratified tribe in which groups or strata of persons are known by certain terms which indicate not only the strata, but its relationship to the rest of society and the type of work that its members may perform.

Vieillard¹ points out:

'Je dois prévenir aussi de l'emploi de certains termes: cette étude est conçue dans le cadre local, certaines parties en ont été rédigées sous la dictée des habitants; avec leurs vocabulaire, qui n'a pas changé en quarante ans; or, le haut moyen-âge français fournit d'assez bons équivalents des statuts sociaux au Futa-Djallon: "Seigneur", "Maitre", "Vassal", "fief", "serf", et "servage", "noble", et "manant", traduisent assez bien les mots peuls; cela ne signifie pas que féodalité et servage prospèrent dans une colonie française: ils ne prospèrent pas, ils sont en complète dissolution;

¹ Vieillard. Notes sur les Peuls de Fouta-Djallon. Bulletin de IFAN
JAN-AVRIL 1940.

mais rien ne les a remplacés, ni dans les esprit, ni dans le vocabulaire.'

From my own observations I noted that all that Vieillard says holds true for the Lunsar Fulbe. The freeborn are the masters and perform little or no manual work themselves, the slaves are the property of their masters; again there are the craft castes, e.g., blacksmiths and leatherworkers, who are also born into a social status with a predetermined occupation associated with it. There are other groups such as the musicians and praisesingers or griots who are similarly born into an occupation.

These occupational groups and the terms describing them are inextricably tied in with the whole culture, ethos and structure of the Fulbe and those who do not take up traditional occupations in fact cease to be wholly Fulbe in identity, and fall into the category I call half-Fulbe. This category is more fully described on page 272.

This occupational rating test is as much a test of the presence of pulaaku as it is a test of anything else.

B. Test Material¹

A list of forty-five occupations was made which included all the occupations in which Fulbe were found to be engaged after one month's fieldwork, plus two (dancer and acrobat), which were known to be traditional Fulbe occupations from my previous experience with Futa Jallon Fulbe in the Gambia. The list included Delco and non-Delco occupations, although unfortunately it excluded that of clerk as it was not realised at first that there were two Fulbe clerks working for Delco. A list of the occupations is to be found in Appendix G.

C. Testing Method

The test used is a variation of that used by the American National

1. This test is very similar to that described by J. Clyde Mitchell and A.L. Epstein, ('Occupational Prestige and Social Status among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia', Africa, Vol. XXIX, 1959). The differences between the two tests are that my subjects were given pieces of cardboard to place into the five categories, rather than ask them to write the answers down. A more important difference is that by applying a chi-square test to the scores of each occupation, I have almost eliminated the possibility of including occupations that the Fulbe as a group do not associate with any particular status.

Opinion Research Center,¹ and was made up of the following apparatus: viz:

- (a) A piece of plain cardboard the size of a sheet of foolscap divided into five equal sections by heavy lines ruled across it, and numbered one to five from top to bottom in arabic numerals.
- (b) Forty-five equally sized pieces of white card each with a different occupation typed on it.
- (c) A score sheet with a list of the occupations down one side and vertical columns in which could be registered each informants scores and personal particulars.

Each informant was told in Fulbe and Krio, or Temne and Krio that on being given a piece of card he or she would be told which occupations it represented, and was required to place it in one of the five divisions on the piece of cardboard according to how much respect they thought that occupation carried. Number one was for the occupations with most respect, number five for the least, and the other numbers for occupations with intermediate quantities of respect. Fortunately, due to the almost universal knowledge of Sierra Leoneans that diamonds are graded from 'Number one' (the best) downwards, this aspect of the test presented little difficulty provided that five, or the lowest category was nearest to the informant, one being furtherest away.

The slips of card were picked out of a tin at random and the name of the occupation read out in English, French, Fulfulbe or Temne until the informant appeared to understand. A brief description of the work task involved was given if the informant appeared not to know what the occupation was. The number of the category into which the piece of card was placed was noted down on the score sheet in that particular informant's column opposite the occupation in question.

¹ National Opinion Research Center, 'Jobs and occupations: A Popular evaluation' Class Status and Power, Ed. Bendix and Lipset. Free Press, Glencoe Illinois 1960.

D. Scoring Method

The method of scoring is quite simple although a little laborious: first the total of the numbers of the categories into which each occupation was placed were found, then each of these totals was divided by the number of informants in each sample, yielding the average position in which each occupation was placed.

Secondly the scores of informants were split into six blocks (for Fulbe and half-Fulbe only) according to their own occupational type, i.e. religious, rural, commercial, clerical and staff, artisan, service and unskilled labour.

Chi-square tests were performed on each rated occupation to find which of them could meaningfully be ranked one above the other, and compared with the same occupations as ranked by other samples.

E. Samples

The test was administered to three separate social groups, Fulbe, half-Fulbe-half-Temne and Temne. A random sample of the Fulbe and half-Fulbe population of Lunsar was selected for the administration of the test, but had to be abandoned due to the difficulty of finding people when they were wanted. Instead a stratified sample of thirty-one Fulbe (two females) and thirty-five half-Fulbe (three females) constituting over forty per cent. of the population was used. Later a similarly stratified sample of sixty-nine Temnes completed the same test. The breakdown of the informants occupational categories is as follows:

Table 6.15

Occupational categories of informants for Occupational¹
Rating Test

<u>Occupational Category</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half-Fulbe</u>	<u>Temne</u>
Religious	1	1	4
Rural	0	1	1
Commercial	12	4	16
Clerical & Staff	1	2	4
Artisan	9	7	17
Service	6	9	11
Unskilled	2	12	16
Total	31	36	68 ⁹

Although the Fulbe and half Fulbe population of Lunsar are strongly represented in the samples, the same cannot be said of the Temne. For purposes of this test, what was required was a sample of Temnes who were comparable to the other groups studied; furthermore a representative sample of Temnes would have to have over 500 informants in it, and the value of the test did not at that time appear to warrant the extra amount of work required.

Nearly all the persons tested were illiterate, although a total of ten could read and write English to varying degrees. When literate informants were tested the same testing procedure as used for illiterates was adhered to, although the additional precaution of preventing them from seeing other informants' scores on the sheet was taken.

The territorial origins of the informants cover most of the Northern Province of Sierra Leone and a large part of La Guinée; nearly all of them are immigrants and only a small proportion were born in Lunsar.

¹ For individual occupations see Appendix *Q. 4*

ORTHOGRAPHY

The following phonetic symbols have been used for Pullar, Fulfuse and Temne words in the thesis.

<u>Symbol</u>	<u>Pronunciation.</u>
ɔ	'o' as in English, 'not'
ɛ	'e' " " " 'net'
ŋ	'ng' " " " 'sung'
ɓ	implosive 'b'
ɗ	implosive 'd'
ʔ	glottal stop, as in Glaswegian's pronunciation of 'bottle'.
ç	'ch' as in English, 'church'

are laid out in a grid pattern. As one approaches Lunsar from Freetown by road, the two hills first come into view, and then as one goes over a ridge a 'Mobil' oil sign indicates a petrol station 500 yards ahead. The bush then breaks and houses come into view, those nearest being incomplete, indicating that the town is still growing. At the end of this stretch of road is a roundabout, the left hand turning leads to Makeni 40 miles to the north-east. The right hand turning leads into Lunsar town. Beside the roundabout lies a new petrol station in white concrete and glass windows, but already it is derelict because the oil company cannot find a manager who will run it at a profit.

Facing the town down the road appears the large walled compound of Bai Koblo, Paramount Chief of Lunsar Marampa, a large two-storied house which has never been completed juts up above the twelve foot high mud walls, while outside the walls are two cracked concrete tennis courts green and mouldy with disuse; a gift from the Sierra Leone Development Company to the town. On the other side of the road the large corrugated iron roofed market shelter seethes with people, buying and selling farm produce from the villages, enamel bowls from Hong Kong, head ties from Japan and Czechoslovakian jewelry.

Beyond Lunsar market the main part of the town spreads down a slight incline to the main commercial area, to the Bank and the Lebanese shops clustered together where the 'Old Town' has almost crumbled away and been replaced by new concrete two story^e shops. It is there that petrol is sold, not from a pump but out of a 44-gallon drum.

From the adjacent hill of Masaboin can be heard the roar of accelerating and straining diesel engines, and sometimes it is possible to see the giant 200 h.p. Euclid scrapers crawling across the hillside, their yellow bulk in contrast to the red dust cloud behind them. There are six such scrapers working on the hill, working about eighteen hours a day,

F. Results

Although Fulbe and half Fulbe were differentiated between for test purposes it was later found satisfactory to also lump their scores together and differentiate between occupational categories as in Appendix 0.4.6 This is because two comparable samples of the same order of numbers is obtained, and it is assumed that where a normal distribution for an occupation occurs, e.g. blacksmith, then the Fulbe and half Fulbe populations must be rating the occupation within the respect hierarchy. A chi-square test was applied to each occupation to see if its rating or score could have occurred by random or chance.

The results are directed towards showing the following factors:

- (i) How each sample placed the test occupations,
- (ii) Inter-sample differences in rating the forty-five occupations,
- (iii) Whether there is in fact a respect hierarchy, and if so which occupations can be said to have a definite position in it for each sample,
- (iv) Which modern occupations have been incorporated into the population's value system and which have not, and which sections of the population have indicated that they have certain values in terms of the occupations tested.

Table 6.16

Illustrating in scale form the relative positions of the occupations for which chi-square is greater than at the $\alpha = .05$ level, for the three groups tested

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	<u>Temnes</u>
1			
1.25	cérno		
1.5			
1.75	karamoko		
2	farmer	cérno	dispenser
2.25	driver	driver shopkeeper	farmer farm labourer
2.5			karamoko
2.75	embroiderer		tailor embroiderer driver sheep trader
3	table trader mason dyers of cloth	housewife	table trader photographer blacksmith weaver
3.25			cattle trader leatherworker
3.5	painter sample labourer farm labourer weaver	restaurant super. cattle drover blacksmith leatherworker	restaurant super. headman sample man elect. lab. sample lab. shovel driver watchman
3.75	jéliba cattle drover	acrobat weaver watchman	housewife small boy acrobat unemployed dancer
4	mat maker hòdu player messenger acrobat	dancer mat maker messenger hòdu player	
4.25	dancer	jéliba thief sanitary lab. praise singer	jéliba
4.5	watchman sanitary lab. unemployed thief	unemployed	messenger praise singer sanitary lab.
4.75			thief
5			

i Differences within the Fulbe sample

After having applied a chi-square¹ test to the occupations rated by the Fulbe a total of only twenty-three out of the forty-five were found to have been significantly placed; that is, these were the only occupations which one could say had a chance of less than twenty to one of having been allotted scores by random.

From Table 6.16 which gives the average scores of the occupations of the three groups, (full details are to be found in Appendix ~~0.2~~⁶), the fact that there is less distance between the lower rated occupations than between those considered to have more respect indicates that the Fulbe have retained a large part of their traditional value system; there are only five traditional occupations, all of which are those of the freeborn, above the 3.00 level, while there are ten slave or low caste occupations below it.

The second striking feature is the presence of only seven new or modern occupations in the whole list. Most of the occupations whose scores had to be rejected were the modern ones associated with Delco and the Government. Those modern occupations which do appear on the scale, such as painter, sample labourer and watchman appear low down among the former slave and low caste occupations.

It is interesting that some of the occupations not appearing on the scale are traditional occupations. For example cattle owner, leatherworker and praisesinger. The first was probably not significantly placed due to the fact that each individual's attitude to the cattle owner is influenced by the type of contact he has had with cattle Fulbe. Most of the sample tested were Futa Jallon Fulbe, who are mostly urban, and who look upon the exclusively cattle keeping (and never urban) Kɛbu and Tɛliko Fulbe as backward and primitive. On the other hand some of the sample came from families who kept cattle in Futa which might have favourably influenced their rating of cattle owners.

¹ Chi-square one-sample test, with four degrees of freedom and significance level = .05.

The leatherworker is changing his status from that of a man born into a humble occupation to that of a relatively prosperous craftsman meeting a large demand for footwear. The fact that one of the Fulbe leatherworkers in Lunsar was actually born a freeman who learnt the craft when an adult supports this hypothesis and helps to explain why the sample rated his occupation inconsistently.¹

Most of the occupations which are left unscaled are those about which the sample rating them had no consistent ideas on the quantity of respect due them; be they old traditional or modern Delco occupations they must be considered as lying outside any respect system of hierarchy that the Lunsar Fulbe may possess.

Differences within the half-Fulbe sample.

The half Fulbe sample only rated twenty occupations in a significant manner, and the range over the scale that these twenty occupations cover is narrower than that of the Fulbe scores.

There are less traditional occupations at the higher end of the scale while those at the lower end are the slave and lower craft caste occupations of the Fulbe tribe.

Differences within the Temne sample.

The Temnes significantly rated thirty-seven of the occupations used in the test, and those that were not rated included, among others, Cerno, cattle drover and cattle owner, all of which are Fulbe occupations and not Temne.

The dispersion over the scale is shorter than that of the Fulbe sample, and has much more bunching around the median, giving the appearance of less stratification than in the other two groups tested.

ii Inter-sample differences.

On looking at Table 6.16 it becomes obvious that as well as the order

¹ There may have been confusion in the minds of the informants between the man and the concept of 'leatherworking'.

of the occupations varying between the three groups, the degrees of dispersion of the occupations varies also. The occupations used in the test were pursued by the Fulbe interviewed in Lunsar and therefore are not representative of the occupations of Temnes in Lunsar. This fundamental limitation of the test may partially explain why the occupations rated by the Fulbe spread almost over the whole range, whereas the other two groups tend to place the same occupations in a much smaller range. In other words, if some of the occupations performed by Temnes, such as Paramount chief and Delco Welfare Officer had been included, then the Temne sample would probably have placed them higher than the position occupied by dispenser. The test was primarily intended for the Fulbe and the Temne sample was used for comparative purposes in rating Fulbe occupations; also many of the occupations used in the test are performed by Temnes as well as Fulbe.

Not only are the rated occupations more bunched together by the Temnes, but they have rated significantly a much higher proportion of the occupations used in the test than have the other two groups. This brings us to the next result which is on the nature of the respect systems operating within each of the three groups and the sociological factors underlying them.

iii Conclusions

The Fulbe demonstrate by the wide range of the scores they gave the occupations, that those included in the test probably cover the whole range (in terms of respect) of their occupational hierarchy. Secondly, the predominance of traditional Fulbe occupations and the conspicuous absence of modern Delco type occupations, indicates that the Fulbe have retained much of their traditional occupational value system, and have formed firm attitudes and opinions about very few modern occupations. Most of those about which the Fulbe have definite attitudes are placed in the lower rather than the higher part of their respect system.

Few Fulbe work or have worked in Delco which may explain why few Delco occupations were rated significantly, i.e., since they had no clear conception of the jobs, then they could not rate them consistently; this fact is not disputed although many of Delco's occupations are universal in Sierra Leone and La Guinee, e.g. Labourer, yet it is put forward that most of the Fulbe do not want to work for Delco in spite of the fact that they have no clear idea of what many of the jobs at Delco consist of.

The Fulbe are by tradition an aristocratic tribe who have had craft castes and slaves to do most manual work for them; those Delco occupations that they have rated, are rated low, and since the traditional value system is still operating, most freeborn Fulbe will not seek work in Delco. There are signs, however, that some modern occupations may become desirable in the next generation; the fact that 'driver' is placed fairly high indicated that the Fulbe are capable of changing although it may be a slow process.

The half Fulbe scores indicate that they are different to both the Fulbe and the Temne, in terms of the quantity of respect accorded to the various occupations. Also the fact that the sample had definite opinions on only twenty out of the forty-five occupations used in the test, shows that their respect system is the least well defined in spite of the fact that a high proportion of them work in Delco and have knowledge of most of the traditional Fulbe occupations. Another possible explanation of the small number of significantly rated occupations may be that the sample varies within itself in terms of upbringing much more than do the members of the other two samples. Nevertheless, the half Fulbe as a group defined by parentage show the least definite occupational value system of the three groups tested.

The small numbers in the sample does not permit further significant analysis by breaking it up into small social groupings, although further research along these lines might prove fruitful; it is my considered opinion that the defining of this group in terms of parentage is only valid in cases

where the influence of both Fulbe kin and Temne kin, on the socialisation of the half Fulbe child have been equal, or the same, in all cases. Due to the large spatial distance between Temne and Fulbe countries, and the hitherto small Fulbe population in Lunsar, the chance of paternal and maternal kin equally influencing the child are very remote. These reservations should be held in mind when examining Table 6.16 and those in the Appendix relating to this section.

The Temnes have the most definitely formed opinions on the test occupations of all the three groups as shown by the high proportion rated significantly. They are the only group to rate a Delco occupation highest, (dispenser), and there appears to be a gradation from clerical through rural, artisan and commercial, unskilled, to service occupations at the bottom.

The relatively small differences in scores between occupations rated reflects the Temne social structure as the wider spacing of the Fulbe reflects theirs. The Temnes had domestic slaves up until 19~~39~~²⁶ although in contrast to the Fulbe they had no craft castes and occupations were not rigidly associated with the positions of persons within the social structure. Hence 'farm labourer' is only just below 'farmer' whereas the Fulbe make a much bigger distinction between the two.

The lack of association of manual work with slavery permits the Temne to work for Delco as a labourer without loss of dignity, and it is perhaps fortunate for that company that the iron was found in Temne country and not Fulbe country.

Table 6.17

Scale showing relative positions of occupations rated by Fulbe and half Fulbe for which chi-square is greater than at the $\alpha = .05$ level.

<u>Scores</u>	<u>Occupations</u>
1.00	
1.25	
1.5	Cerno
1.75	
2.00	karamoko
2.25	trader farmer
2.5	driver trader, shop
2.75	embroiderer
3.00	trader, table dyers of cloth
3.25	electrician's labourer blacksmith
3.5	mat maker sample man leatherworker sample labourer cattle drover
3.75	weaver
4.00	praise singer acrobat hɔdu player
	jɛliba watchman messenger dancer
4.25	sanitary labourer thief
4.5	unemployed
4.75	
5.00	

Although the number of informants in the Fulbe and half Fulbe samples do not permit them to be sub-divided into more social categories the two sets of raw data can be added together and the results analysed in the same way as has been done for the three separate samples. Chi-square tests were performed on the joint data and twenty-seven out of the forty-five occupations proved to be significant, ($\alpha = .05$).

Table 6.17 shows the relative positions of the rated occupations as calculated from the joint results of the Fulbe and half Fulbe. On examination the table shows, as one would expect, a position somewhere between the Fulbe and half Fulbe scores on Table 6.16; the range of scores is less than that of the Fulbe and greater than that of the half Fulbe. The slave and low caste occupations have been put higher than by the Fulbe, and there are more significantly rated occupations than on either of the two separate scales, among which is the travelling trader, which was unplaced by both groups in Table 6.16.

The joint sample of Fulbe and half Fulbe show by the fact that together they rated more occupations than either group separately, that they do in fact form a body of people with a large measure of agreement about the quantity of respect that the test occupations have.

G. Summary

- i The test shows that the Fulbe had largely retained their traditional tribal work value system and incorporated into it very few modern occupations.
- ii The half Fulbe are the group with the least well defined respect system, and this may itself mean that the group itself is the least well defined, (i.e. by parentage and not by socialisation).
- iii The Temne also reflect their traditional respect system but since their social structure differs so much from the Fulbe in terms of stratification they appear to be capable of incorporating modern occupations into their

value system more easily than the Fulbe.

iv. By treating the Fulbe and half Fulbe as one set of informants, not much more is learned about them than by treating them separately, except that together they significantly rated more occupations than either group did separately.

... in terms of the possibility of ...
... respect is that the only factor ...
... being a given occupation desirable or undesirable to any individual varies ...
... as to a Fulbe or an Englishman. Security, transportation and the amount of ...
... physical effort required, may all influence an individual's choice of occupa- ...
... tion from the range of choices open to him; this section describes an ...
... attempt to isolate those conditions of work which are important to the Fulbe, ...
... and the order of importance of those conditions when they have been isolated.

As in the previous section a psychometric test had to be selected, ...
... although it is well recognized that sociology and social anthropology deal ...
... with groups of people and not individuals as such, there are now well ...
... tried techniques for ascribing the attitudes of individuals and for the ...
... statistical analysis of a total group and its sub-groups respectively. ...
... Further justification for using a psychometric test is the fact that within ...
... the range of possibilities open to an individual as a member of a social ...
... group, it is the individual's choice that to a large extent determines which ...
... occupation he will pursue. Lastly, it may be argued that a survey of ...
... individuals living in the same community, who have similar attitudes towards ...
... the various facets of life, form a social group.

In fact, the only systematic objection to the foregoing method ...
... one of the advantages of using such a procedure is that it ...
... the individuals of the sample are very nearly ...
... areas are not easily selected for further ...

removing the top from the hill of iron ore until it is now flat-topped, and the scintillating mauve powder looks like a wasteland.

Until 1961 most of Lunsar's streets were untarmac-ed and surfaced with dust, but during the latter half of our stay the Public Works Department (P.W.D.) began spraying the roads with tar so that most of them are now at least coated with a thin layer of tar.

All the houses now being built, and some of the older ones, have corrugated iron roofs (known as pan), although many of the older houses are thatched. The plan of all but two of the houses is rectangular, although the materials used for the walls may be mud and wattle, mud bricks or concrete blocks according to the house owner's pocket. Most of the storied houses besides that of the Paramount Chief, are owned by Lebanese traders, the ground floor accommodating the shop or store. Behind each house there is usually a yard often with a roofed area used as a kitchen, sometimes there is also an outhouse with two or three rooms in it usually let out to lodgers.

In front of most houses, between them and the street, there is usually a large ditch bridged at intervals by concrete slabs, flattened oil drums or planks. These ditches are necessary to drain the town of the water during the long and heavy rainy season, which lasts from April to December. The mean annual rainfall from 1941-50 as recorded at Marampa was 103.52 inches.¹ The town water supply comes from wells and from a pumping station run by the P.W.D. which distributes water to some private houses, and to a number of public taps at convenient points.

There are two schools, one with 800 pupils run by a Roman Catholic Mission, and one of 210 pupils run by an Anglican Mission, both of which have churches alongside them: the Ahmadiyya Mission is going to set up a

¹ Statistics illustrating the Climate of Sierra Leone. 1951. Government Printer, Sierra Leone, 1952.

Section D - Preferences for certain conditions of work

A Introduction and Problem

In the previous section we have shown the way in which Fulbe, half Fulbe and Temnes rank forty-five occupations in terms of the quantity of respect associated with each occupation. Respect is not the only factor making a given occupation desirable or undesirable to any individual whether he is a Pullo or an Englishman. Security, remuneration and the amount of physical effort required, may all influence an individual's choice of occupation from the range of choices open to him; this section describes an attempt to isolate those conditions of work which are important to the Fulbe, and the order of importance of those conditions once they have been isolated.

As in the previous section a psychometric test had to be adopted; although it is well appreciated that sociology and Social Anthropology deal with groups of people and not individuals as such, there are many well tried techniques for obtaining the attitudes of individuals but few for accurately assessing those of a total group and its collective representations. Further justification for using a psychometric test is the fact that within the range of possibilities open to an individual as a member of a social group, it is the individual's choice that to a large extent determines which occupation he will pursue. Lastly, it may be argued that a number of individuals living in the same community, who have similar attitudes towards the various facets of life, form a social group.

No test, or set of systematic enquiries can be exhaustive, although one of the advantages of using tests involving experimental procedure is that the limitations of the enquiry are more easily pin-pointed, and therefore, areas are more easily selected for further investigation. For example,

after three samples similar to those used in the last test, had completed this one, and had rated the importance to them of five conditions of work, it became apparent that it was not known which occupations the informants thought of as possessing these various conditions or characteristics; as a result of this, a systematic set of interviews was carried out to clarify what occupations and activities the informants had in mind when being tested.

B Method

i Test Material

The test as used by Mlle. Xydias¹ was utilised with a slight variation; instead of using good wages, high prestige, easy work, enjoyable work and work with a good boss as the conditions to be compared, it was found after discussion with a number of Fulbe that self-employment is an important factor for that tribe. The conditions used in the Lunsar test were:

work with high remuneration, or material reward,
work with high respect associated with it,
easy work, i.e. not physically tiring,
enjoyable work,
work in which the informant can be his own boss.

The method of paired comparisons was used since it is

'far more sensitive and discerning than actual measurement on a scale of values.'²

In this method each item is paired against each other item in turn and the informant is asked which of each pair he prefers. There are $\frac{n-1}{2}$ combinations when n = the number of items to be compared. Thus the five items above give ten pairs, six items give fifteen pairs and so on. Due to the repetitive form of the questions it is advisable to keep the number of pairs to a minimum, in order not to bore the informants and hence lower their sense of discrimination.

¹ Attitudes to work. Mlle Xydias. Social Implications of Industrialisation in Africa South of the Sahara. Ed. D. Forde. U.N.E.S.C.O. *Cite date.*

² Facts from figures. M. J. Moroney. Pelican 1951, p. 341.

The form that the questions took was modelled on that used by Xydias¹ as it was already tried and tested; thus the following questions comprised the test material.

If you had to choose between and, which would you prefer. In the blank spaces occupied by dots above, the paired phrases were inserted, viz.,

1. A job with good wages for difficult and tiring work
Average wages for easy and not very tiring work
2. A job with a lot of respect, but working for another man
A job with low respect, but working for yourself
3. A job which gives you pleasure and carries an average wage
A job which does not give you much pleasure but well paid
4. Easy and not very tiring work, but working for someone else
Difficult and tiring work but working for yourself
5. A job with a lot of respect, but which you do not much enjoy
A job with little respect but which you enjoy doing
6. Working for yourself with an average wage
Working for another man for a high wage
7. Easy and not very tiring work with low respect
Difficult, tiring work which has a lot of respect
8. Working for yourself, but work which does not give you pleasure
Working for another man, but work which gives you pleasure
9. A good wage for work with little respect
An average wage for work with a lot of respect
10. A job which you enjoy doing, but which is difficult and tiring
A job which you do not enjoy doing, but which is easy and not tiring.

ii Testing procedure

The informants were asked the ten questions in the order that they appear above, in whatever language conveyed the meaning, although at times it took as long as twenty minutes to complete one informant's responses. The Fulbe do not like answering any question directly and much tact and patience was needed on occasions before they would co-operate throughout the whole test.

¹ Xydias. loc. cit.

Each response was marked on a piece of paper with the questions down one side and places for informants' particulars on the other.

iii Scoring Method

Each response, or choice between each pair that the informants made was marked opposite the characteristic in question. The total number of times that each characteristic was chosen by each sample was then added up giving the raw scores.

iv Samples

The same test was given to three stratified samples, Fulbe, half Fulbe and Temnes. The low number in the half Fulbe sample (15) is explained by the fact that this sample was tested by an African interpreter who later admitted 'cooking' the results, and there was time only to test fifteen of the sample again.

The total numbers in each sample are as follows: Fulbe, thirty-seven; half Fulbe, fifteen; Temnes, seventy-five.

C Results

The results are directed towards showing the following:

- i The order of importance to each of the three samples of the five characteristics used in the test.
- ii Inter-sample differences in assessing the relative importance of the five characteristics tested.

Preliminary discussion on the method of obtaining the results

Mlle Xydias¹ explains in a footnote that she calculated her results according to the method described by Guilford on page 217 of his book.² Guilford describes the technique for straightforward comparisons of paired items; it will be observed that the questions I asked the Lunsar samples, which are modelled on those of Mlle Xydias, are not simple but are compounded,

¹ Ibid.

² Psychometric Methods, J. P. Guilford.

i.e., each statement contains a positive and a negative characteristic to be compared with another such statement. There are two ways in which the test when structured in this way can be viewed. Either it can be assumed that what each informant is choosing in each case is the positive element of each statement (1), or that he is carefully weighing up the pros and cons implied by each of the compound statements, (2). If this latter is the case then there are not simply ten items arranged in all the possible paired combinations, but at least forty-five pairs. This is so, because if each factor is considered to have a positive and a negative aspect, i.e. good wages and average wages, or high prestige and low prestige, then there are ten factors being compared and not five; this, according to formula giving the number of pairs ($= \frac{n(n-1)}{2}$) yields forty-five pairs. Whether Mlle Xydias saw this or not no mention of it is made in her article,¹ and for those who may want to use such a test in the future this small digression may prove useful. If the field-worker wishes to simply assess the importance a group attaches to five (or any other number) characteristics then the ten pairs can be quite simply made up, and the list of questions appearing on page 106 should read:

If you had to choose between and which would you prefer?

1. Good wages
Easy work
2. A job with high respect
A job in which you were your own boss
3. Enjoyable work
High wages
4. Easy work
Working for yourself
5. High respect
Enjoyable work
6. Working for yourself
High wages
7. Easy work
A job with high respect

¹ Xydias, loc. cit.

8. Working for yourself
Enjoyable work
9. High wages
A job with high respect
10. Enjoyable work
Easy work

This revised form of the test is simpler for informants to understand, and strictly speaking, is a better and less confusing test of the five characteristics. If the method used by Mlle Xydias and myself is used then it must be remembered that ten, and not five, stimuli are being presented to the informants and that less than a quarter of the possible number of pairs are being used; also the fieldworker is not sure which stimulus the informant is responding to, i.e., in question 1 of the first list, in choosing the first alternative he may be choosing either the good wages or the difficult and tiring work. Having adopted (and used) this test from Mlle Xydias's article¹, which I had with me in the field, I am of the opinion that the scores that were obtained in using the test were similar to those that would have been obtained, had the simpler version been used. I am assuming that the informants were choosing the positive elements in each statement rather than the negative, furthermore as Guilford points out,²

There is nothing sacrosanct about pairing each stimulus with every other one in the series It is often a proper procedure to select from all the stimuli a limited number to become standards for the scale. These should be chosen at approximately equal intervals along the scale.....

Hence it is thought that no undue loss of accuracy has ensued from following Mlle Xydias's procedure, although the test took much longer to administer than necessary due to its long and involved phrasing.

The actual scores which each characteristic has been given are the means of the proportions of the times that each characteristic was preferred to every

¹ Ibid.

² Guilford, loc. cit., p. 168-9 (Second Edition)

other by the members of each sample,¹ multiplied by 100.

Table 6.18

Preferences of Fulbe, half Fulbe and Temnes for good wages, high respect, easy work, enjoyable work and self employment as conditions of work

(see also graph 0.1)

Characteristic	Scores		
	Fulbe	Half Fulbe	Temnes
High respect	70	66	76
Self employment	70	62	66
Enjoyable work	46	43	49
Easy work	35	47	29
Good wages	29	31	31

It will be noted that the Fulbe scores are in rank order but that the other two samples are not. The half Fulbe place easy work above enjoyable work and the Temnes place good wages above easy work.

The Fulbe, by whom an equal proportion of choices have been made for work with high respect and for self employment, are a people with an aristocratic tradition, and it is expected that these two characteristics should be highly placed by them. To an aristocratic people the types of work gaining most respect are those in which a man is his own boss, and possibly someone else's as well. The land or cattle owner falls into this category but not the slaves and low caste persons working for a master.

The half Fulbe, as they did in the occupational rating test, show the least dispersion and in this case, the smallest differences between their choices of the five characteristics. They choose high respect as being most important, but place self employment below.

The Temnes, who also place high respect first, are the only group not to place low wages bottom.

¹ $M_p = \frac{C + .5N}{nM}$ from Guilford, p. 170.

D Summary and Conclusions

- i This test is easy to compile but tedious to use, unless in the amended form suggested; it is also an accurate way of measuring attitudes.
- ii There is little difference in the order of preferences made by Fulbe, half Fulbe and Temnes for the five conditions or job characteristics used in the test.
- iii It is inferred from this test and from general impressions that the Fulbe conceive of high prestige occupations as those in which a man is also his own master.
- iv If the opportunities for further research in this field should arise I would test more characteristics, and if practicable, use those which one would expect to be of near equal importance and thus discriminate between them.

E Corollary to the test

In order to gain an idea of which occupations the informants had in mind when choosing between the characteristics, thirty-nine Fulbe and five half Fulbe were asked to nominate five occupations, each one having one of the five characteristics associated with it. The results, showing the occupations that the informants thought of as being well paid, in which a man was his own boss, work with a high prestige, enjoyable work and easy work are to be found in Table 6.19. The informants' own occupations appear in the right hand column; it will be noticed that all expect two of the occupations pursued by the informants were nominated as having at least one of the test characteristics. The informants also nominated twenty-three occupations which were not pursued by any of them. Some of the informants had the idea that work or golle to the Fulbe, encompasses all activity including sleep and the procreation of children, the latter not being an unreasonable nomination as remunerative activity among a rural people.

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Table 6.19

Frequency with which the informants nominated and placed occupations in each category

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>Pays well</u>	<u>Own boss</u>	<u>High respect</u>	<u>Easy work</u>	<u>Enjoyable</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Informants</u>
'doctor' ¹	2	0	1	0	0	3	1
weaver	1	1	1	1	3	7	3
farmer	14	3	6	2	6	31	1
praise singer	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
trader	7	7	2	5	2	23	11
labourer	2	0	0	0	0	2	1
diamond digger	1	0	0	0	1	2	0
diamond dealer	2	2	0	0	0	4	1
fitter	1	1	3	0	0	5	0
cattle drover	2	2	0	0	2	6	1
army	1	1	0	0	1	3	0
tailor	3	2	1	3	0	9	6
police	1	0	2	1	0	4	0
karamoko	1	4	2	1	0	8	3
driver	2	3	1	0	7	12	2
carino	2	4	12	4	3	25	1
procreation	1	0	0	1	0	2	?
P.W.D. worker	0	1	1	0	0	2	0
P.W.D. foreman	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
foreman	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
Islamic scholar	0	1	0	1	0	2	1
Arabic teacher	0	1	1	0	0	2	?
manager (firm)	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
leatherworker	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
contractor	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
school teacher	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
paramount chief	0	1	1	3	1	6	0
bike repairer	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
clerk	0	0	4	6	0	10	0
magistrate	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
carpenter	0	0	1	0	0	1	0
native doctor	0	0	1	0	1	2	1
imam	0	0	1	0	1	2	0
embroiderer	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
messenger	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
reading the Qu'ran	0	0	0	1	6	7	?
cook	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
shopkeeper	0	0	0	4	3	7	0
electrician	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
sanitary labourer	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
servant	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
Queen	0	0	0	1	0	1	0
interpreter/							

¹ To many of Lunsar's population 'doctor' includes dispensers, senior nurses, etc.

<u>Occupation:</u>	<u>Pays well</u>	<u>Own boss</u>	<u>High respect</u>	<u>Easy work</u>	<u>Enjoyable</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Informants</u>
interpreter	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
musician	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
sleep	0	0	0	0	1	1	?
Totals	44	41	42	40	40	207	38

Other informants' occupations

watchman							1
baker							1
unemployed							4

Total + 38 = 44

Positions in which informants placed their own occupations: pays well, twelve nominations; own boss, eleven; high respect, five; easy work, four; enjoyable work, seven.

Some observations on the results

The informants used in this test, placed each of the activities that they nominated in one or more categories according to the image that each of these occupations had for them; the images do not always correspond with the work task associated with some of the occupations, e.g. several of the occupations nominated as ones in which a man is self employed, such as manager, schoolteacher, P.W.D. foreman and driver, are positions within a hierarchy which have other positions superior to them. A common feature of these occupations is that the individuals working as managers, etc., do so without direct supervision in the sense that while actually working they are on their own; labourers are always directly supervised the whole time while on the job and could not fit into this category.

The fact that the forty-four informants nominated only forty-five occupations out of a possible 220 nominations, (assuming each man could nominate five), indicates that the Lunsar Fulbe do not have much conception of the range

Muslim school in the near future. There are two Mosques, the town being divided into two wards, each with its own Imam. In addition to the Mosques there are a number of rectangular areas marked out with logs or beer bottles pushed into the ground which also serve Muslims as places for prayer and meditation.

In the centre of the town is a Government dispensary and clinic, which also has two midwives who go to women in labour when asked for. The services of the clinic are supposed to be free, although many people complain that they either have to pay for treatment or receive drugs which have been diluted. The R.C. Mission has recently set up a modern hospital at Mabessene, a mile away, for which patients are charged according to their means; relatives of Delco workers may go to the mine hospital which offers the best medical services in the district.

There is a post office in the main street which operates a telephone link with other towns through Port Loko some twenty-two miles away. The bank also has a telephone but because there is no electricity both are powered from Leyden Jars.

Mail arrives in Lunsar from Freetown three times a week on a lorry owned by a Lebanese trader who has a contract to carry it. Other communications in case of emergency can be made by wireless, either by the Policetransmitter or by the one at Delco which is more powerful. Road links with Freetown and Makeni to the north are poor, although the road to Freetown is to be tarmac-ed before the Queen visits Marampa in September 1961. A new road is under construction from Lunsar to Bo, the provincial capital, crossing the Rokel river at Masimera where there is a ferry and linking up with the main Bo road to Yonibana to the south-east.

Lunsar has grown from a village of six houses in 1930 to a town of some 10,000 people today¹. Because the town is only thirty years old, nearly all persons over thirty must be immigrants, although many of those less than

¹Estimated from Dr. Mills' census data.

of possibilities open to them and other people in Sierra Leone. That the informants were not just nominating occupations that the Fulbe actually pursue is shown by the mentioning of occupations such as that of Queen, manager and school teacher.

There is agreement between the placing of *o*erno and farmer in the occupational rating test and the number of nominations that these two occupations have received, placing them as having 'high respect' in this test. 'Trader', although not receiving many nominations within any one category, has the third highest number over-all, which may explain why so many Fulbe like to trade, or at any rate why Fulbe traders like their job.

The firmest conceptions are held for occupations which pay well and for those with highest respect, while less consensus of opinion is to be found for occupations which are easy, enjoyable or in which a man is his own boss. It is understandable that the conception of work which is easy or enjoyable should be dependent on subjective factors and therefore vary, but it is not possible to say the same of jobs in which one is one's own boss. The only reason that I tentatively put forward for this lack of consensus on self employed jobs is that the Fulbe (and perhaps other Africans²) lack understanding of bureaucratic organisation, having previously only had the dual relationship of master and slave, dominant and dominated, and have not had finely perceived status differences within hierarchical organisations based on specified work tasks.

These observations should be remembered when looking at the table of preferences of work characteristics, since, for example, a Pullo when choosing a self employed job to an easy one may have in mind the manager of Delco as being a self employed man. However it is impossible to work out all the possible weaknesses in any scheme of study, and the evidence of this test and its corollary is correlated with much that has gone before in this chapter.

Section F - Occupational opportunities open to Lunsar Fulbe

A Introduction and Problem

The previous two sections have described informants' attitudes to work both in terms of respect and the characteristics of jobs which make them attractive. Both sections have been based on objective studies carried out under experimental conditions, but are both assessing subjective entities - opinions.

To provide a more complete picture of the Fulbe contribution to the occupational activities in Lunsar it is important not only to find out which occupations they pursue, have respect for, and prefer; but it is required that the range of all the occupations in Lunsar is known. About 175 occupations were found in Lunsar, and the Fulbe were found engaged in under sixty of them, although there are at any one time well over one hundred male Fulbe over the age of fifteen in Lunsar. This fact indicates that there are various forces exerting pressure on the Fulbe to go for certain occupations and not others.

What determines which occupation an individual takes up is (1) the occupations which are open to him, and (2) which of these he chooses. In the previous two sections data are set out which show the subjective factors influencing the types of choice a Fullo or half Fullo will make if possible. The nature of all the occupations found in Lunsar must be considered to ascertain how many of them are open to the Fulbe.

B Method

A list of 175 occupations was compiled from three independent lists, one made up by myself, another by my colleague, Dr. Gamble, and another by an African Assistant. This final list probably includes all, or nearly all, the occupations found pursued actually in Lunsar, or by people living in Lunsar who normally work elsewhere.

The list of occupations was divided into three; (1) the occupations that were barred to most Fulbe on the grounds that to perform them an individual has to be literate in English, be born a local Temne, or a Christian or a Pagan, (2) occupations that Fulbe actually pursue, and (3) occupations that Fulbe could pursue if they wanted to, but do not. A very small percentage (1.8%) of the Fulbe Working persons in the town held jobs requiring literacy, although they are exceptional.

C Results

Table 6.20

Numbers and percentages of Lunsar Occupations
open and closed to Fulbe and half Fulbe

<u>Occupations</u>		
(1) Most Fulbe are barred from	55	31.4%
(2) Fulbe can, and do pursue	51	29.2%
(3) Fulbe could, but do not, pursue	69	39.4%
Total	<u>175</u>	<u>100.0%</u>
(4) Exceptional Fulbe who have jobs requiring literacy in English	4	2.3% of all occupations

Occupations barred to most Fulbe and half-Fulbe

(a) Literacy in English required

Government

Post-master
 Telegram messenger
 Telegraph operator
 Sanitary inspector
 Sanitary overseer
 Forest guard
 P.W.D. works Inspector
 Road roller driver
 road grader driver
 P.W.D. pump attendant
 P.W.D. road overseer
 P.W.D. timekeeper

Commercial

Bank manager
 Bank cashier
 Bank driver/messenger
 Shop clerk
 Record seller
 Photographer

Religious

R.C. Father*
 R.C. Headmaster*
 R.C. Teacher*
 R.C. Lecturer*

P.W.D. clerk
 Agricultural instructor
 Veterinary inspector
 Police assistant super.
 Police sub-inspector
 Police sergeant
 Police corporal
 Police constable
 Police wireless operator
 Police fitter
 Police armourer
 Dispenser
 Midwife
 Maternity assistant
 Court clerk
 Court treasurer
 Assessment clerk

Anglican pastor*
 Anglican headmaster*
 Anglican teacher*
 S.D.A. preacher*
 ah'madya missionary*

Artisan
 Gramophone and radio repairer

Others
 Travelling conjuror (Western type)
 Undergraduate
 Counterfeiter

* Asterisk denotes occupations also barred to Fulbe on religious grounds.

(b) Temne birthright required

Paramount Chief
 Speaker or Regent
 Sub-Chief
 Court president
 Court member
 Elder

(c) Pagan beliefs required

ya bai

Occupations which Fulbe may, and do, pursue

<u>Native Authority</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Artisan</u>	<u>No.</u>
Tribal headman	1	Baker	4
		Silver and blacksmith	1
<u>Rural</u>		Tailor	8*
Cattle owners	4*	Embroiderer	6*
Cattle drovers	4**	Mat maker	1
Farmers	2	Dyers of cloth	5
Farm labourers	5	Leatherworker	1**
		Shoe-repairer	1
<u>Religious</u>		Weavers	3**
sarnaabe (sing. cerno)	2**		
karamoko	7*	<u>Service</u>	
alfas	2*	Cooks	2
		Wash and iron boys	3
<u>Commercial</u>		Bank watchman	1**
Traders, table	6	General watchmen	10*
Traders, tray	3	Interpreter	1
Traders, cows	6**	Prostitutes	2
Traders, sheep and goat	4*	Drivers, lorry	3
Traders, cloth	17*	Drivers, Land Rover	2
Traders, kosan	28**	Drivers, apprentice	1
Traders, trinkets	10*		

Traders, rice	2	Others	
Traders, kola	11**	jɛlibas bolɔn	1**
Traders, hardware	2	Praise singer	3*
Traders, miscellaneous	6	Praise singer with hɔdu	1**
Shopkeeper	1	ɣama kalaji, hɔdu	12**
Bar owner	1	ɣama kalaji, talking	2*
Bar tender	1	ɣama kalaji, singing	3**
Diamond dealer	1	Burglars	2*
Transport owner	2	Sneak thieves	1*
		Unemployed	8

Total = 51 occupations

Occupations marked * signify that the Fulbe have a partial monopoly, and ** signify that they have a complete monopoly.

Occupations barred to most Fulbe, but which literacy enables them to pursue

Police constable	1
Bank driver/messenger	1
Photographer	1
Undergraduate	1

Total = 4 occupations

Uncategorised list of occupations that Fulbe could pursue but do not

sanitary headman	mason
sanitary labourer	carpenter
P.W.D. foreman	lorry coachwork builder
P.W.D. assistant foreman	mattress maker
P.W.D. labourer	hammock maker
P.W.D. plumber	painter
P.W.D. mason	well digger
agricultural labourer	fitter
police driver	gardener
police cook	wood cutter
dispensary orderly	diamond digger
N.A. Court messenger	car driver
forestry labourer	steward boy
restaurant owner	general labourer
counter hand	'kaka' bailer
trader, fish	beggar
palm wine seller	imam
kerosene seller	thief-catcher, licensed
bread seller	thief-catcher, unlicensed
book seller	diviner
chimpanzee collector	native doctor
contractor	illicit distiller
empty bottle collector	pickpocket
merchant seaman	fence
barber	police informer
butcher	dope peddler

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|
| blacksmith | procurer |
| bicycle repairer | quack doctor |
| watch repairer | palm wine tapper |
| umbrella repairer | hunter |
| dressmaker | garden owner |
| roofmaker | <u>jeliba</u> , balangi |
| thatcher | <u>jeliba</u> , guitar |
| basket maker | <u>jeliba</u> , drummer |
| straw hat maker | |

Total = 69 occupations

Section G - Conclusions on the Study of Fulbe Occupations in Lunsar

It has been shown that most of the local Fulbe work in commercial occupations, and that relatively few of them take jobs at Delco, especially those involving unskilled manual labour. In the section on the amount of respect attributed to various occupations the conclusion was reached that traditional work values were retained to quite a large extent by the Fulbe and to a lesser extent by the half-Fulbe. The occupations are roughly graded from traditional freeborn Fulbe activities down through the crafts to the slave type, involving manual labour and the entertainment of others. Few modern occupations are significantly rated by the Fulbe at all, which again draws attention to their ethnocentric tendencies and tribal solidarity.

That the Fulbe are able to live in a growing industrial town and retain their traditional values, can only be explained by the fact that they consider their own way of life with its close connection with Islam as preferable to any other way that Lunsar may show is open to them.

One of the most outstanding features that comes to light in the results is that literacy is an important factor in the Lunsar occupational structure. Nearly all the Government jobs, except the menial tasks, require an individual to be literate in English; the Government jobs may not actually employ more than a small proportion of the Lunsar working population, but they tend to be an elite, most of whom are in large Departments and who can therefore by hard work rise to high places in the civil service of Sierra Leone, at any rate in theory.

The Fulbe, or most of them, are automatically excluded from these opportunities and can be considered as non-starters to competitors in the various Government hierarchies, as a direct result of the fact that most Fulbe are illiterate. Literacy in English can only be obtained by going to school in a part of West Africa where English is the main language. Most of the Lunsar Fulbe come from La Guinee where the schools teach French, and

only two Fulbe interviewed in Lunsar were literate in French. Basically the Fulbe are illiterate because on the whole they do not send their children to schools offering a Western type of education, but to an alfa or karamoko who will teach them to read the Koran and some elements of Islamic law.

It is put forward that the Fulbe with their long tradition of Islamic law and Islam have not been up to the present day susceptible to ideas coming from cultures other than their own and that of the Arabs; not only does this include the cultures of non-Fulbe Africans whom they have in the past enslaved, but also Western European culture. The balɛbe adopted the idea of Western education far more readily than the Fulbe did, partially because they know no ideology as powerful and all embracing as Islam. The Fulbe, on the other hand, have traditions and even written history that appears to them as good as anything the European has to offer.

The earliest schools in La Guinee and Sierra Leone were all run by missions, and even today many Protectorate schools are still ^{run by missions} thus the Fulbe have not sent their children to schools to be taught by 'unbelievers', and today many of the teaching duties have been taken over from the European missionaries, and are now performed by educated balɛbe whom the Fulbe have always looked down upon. It is only today that a few far-sighted Fulbe, men of good position, such as Alimami 'Wurro' chief of the Fulbe in the Bombali District to the north of Lunsar, are beginning to see the threat to the political position of their tribe that the new power of the balɛbe through literacy is offering.¹

There are other obstacles in the way of Fulbe sending their children to school, among them being their high mobility and the isolation of the pastoral Fulbe, although this type of difficulty is only secondary to the resistance of tradition. Most of the Lunsar Fulbe come from urban districts

¹ I heard recently that the Senda Fulbe have built a school and have non-denominational teachers to teach their children.

and their tribal tradition is as much an urban tradition as it is a rural tradition. Thus merely by coming to Lunsar and settling there the Fulbe will not necessarily send their children to school; the opportunities of sending children to school exist in their places of origin in La Guinée, and before a high proportion of the immigrants send children to schools there will have to be vast changes in tribal traditions and values.

The changes in Fulbe culture are only likely to come about as a result of leadership from Fulbe chiefs and Headmen, who themselves will first have to see the future position and role of the Fulbe in the rapid process of Western Urbanisation occurring in Sierra Leone today. The chief in the Bombali District is one such man who is already persuading his people to send their children to school, as well as persuading some of the pastoral Fulbe to build houses and live in towns. As yet the Lunsar Fulbe are not yet firmly enough entrenched in the town's affairs to have such a powerful chief who may be capable of initiating such a move towards integrating his people into the modern urban process.

Apart from those occupations which are more or less barred to Fulbe there are over 100 which they may pursue if they should want to. Those occupations that they actually do pursue contain a high proportion monopolised either completely or partially by the Fulbe in Lunsar. The implication of this monopolisation of certain activities is common among immigrant groups all over the world, and is not so much a characteristic of Fulbe, but of immigrants in general. It is only by cornering certain occupations for themselves that the Fulbe are able to maintain their traditional values; if they came to Lunsar with no special skills or knowledge, but just their muscles, as many Temne and Limba immigrants do, the Fulbe would be forced into selling their labour to Delco, which employs nearly all the Lunsar labour of this nature.

The separation of the occupational pursuits of the Fulbe from the idea of the Fulbe people is invalid; if one part is taken from the other the

people cease to be Fulbe as they know themselves. For the Lunsar Fulbe to all obtain jobs in Delco would necessitate the giving up of their identity as Fulbe, because the only jobs open to most of them in Delco are menial manual tasks, and a freeborn Fullo is held back by tribal tradition from performing such a role. Most Fulbe and half-Fulbe working in Delco have been brought up in Temne country and their conception of themselves as Fulbe is very vague, and usually goes no deeper than the acknowledgement of one of their parents as a Fulbe; there are, however, one or two exceptions to the rule to be found working for Delco. If Fulbe with, say, a Temne or Lokko mother at least belong to the category of Fulbe. If they have been brought

It is concluded therefore that the Lunsar Fulbe occupational structure, and up as Fulbe then of course they will also be structured within Fulbe society, but their attitudes to work can only be interpreted properly by reference to the Futa otherwise not. It is also possible for half-Fulbe to subscribe to certain Fulbe Jallon Fulbe culture and structure. Choice of occupation is regulated by the position an individual occupies in the status hierarchy.

The social relationships between half-Fulbe and members of the Fulbe community tend to agree with the above hypothesis. Most of the 'Delco Fulbe' live in Fulbe working for Delco. Elsewhere it has been explained that of the 22 Delco the Labour Hamlets, and do not visit Lunsar Fulbe or participate in their rituals. Fulbe 17 are half-Fulbe, 4 are of slave status and 1 is freeborn. In the case of the Some who live in Lunsar do not belong to the community either. Therefore it is not slaves, working for Delco requires no radically new set of attitudes towards manual distance which prevents their participation in Fulbe life. labour, since by Fulbe tradition they normally perform all manual tasks.

Occasionally, 'proper' Fulbe attempt to make use of half-Fulbe in influential positions, by appealing to their Fulbe ancestry, but usually without success. For Copperbelt, i.e., they are a 'tribe as category' and live for the most part in sets of example, sick Fulbe sometimes try to obtain free medical treatment from the Delco relationships which are not of that tribe. dispenser, who is half-Fulbe. They are not often successful because the dispenser,

by vi There is little doubt that many half-Fulbe are Fulbe in name only and neither live according to the cultural norms nor occupy a definite position within the tribal structure of the Fulbe. The point was mentioned in the section on marriage that if a of Pullo sends his children back to Futa Jallon for education, they will in all likelihood grow up as 'proper' Fulbe regardless of their mothers' tribes. Also half-Fulbe who have been brought up as Fulbe are definitely within the Fulbe Fulbe who grow up in the non-Fulbe mothers' home area will not grow up as Fulbe but will community, and live according to gulecky culture and values of Futa Jallon Fulbe. live according to the culture of the mother's tribe. This is especially true if the Pullo father dies or goes on extended trading trips.

thirty are also immigrants as table 1.2. shows.

Table 1.2. Birthplaces of a ten percent sample census of Lunsar inhabitants

Males birthplace		Age Group	Females birthplace	
Lunsar	Elsewhere		Lunsar	Elsewhere
20	1	under 1	13	2
28	9	1-4	30	24
37	29	5-9	33	40
25	23	10-14	12	15
6	26	15-19	17	45
6	28	20-24	6	38
6	56	25-29	7	56
3	34	30-34	4	30
7	48	35-39	4	39
2	24	40-44	1	16
1	25	45-54	3	29
1	18	55-64	2	12
0	5	65-74	0	7
0	0	over 75	1	0
142	325		133	353

The tribal distribution of the above is as follows:

Table 1.3 Distribution of those in the same census by tribe¹

<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Temne	338	389	727
Mende	11	11	22
Fulbe	28	21	49
Lebanese	3	3	6
Limba	36	32	68
Loko	22	12	34
Creole	9	6	15
Mandingo	5	4	9
Susu	10	5	15
Aku	2	1	3
Yoruba	1	1	2
Fanti	1	1	2
Totals	<u>467</u>	<u>486</u>	<u>952</u>

In addition there are estimated to be 300 persons within the Police Barracks, including wives and children, although few of the Police are Temnes.

Lunsar is regarded by a senior executive in Delco as a rather unfortunate geographical fact, for which the firm has no direct responsibility. Apart from spraying the houses in the town every six

¹Ibid.

There is then a process by which children are 'lost' to Fulbe society. That is to say they have no sense of pulaaku, do not live according to Fulbe values and culture, and have no set status and role within the social structure. The question of why are they even in the category of Fulbe is interesting, and I put forward that Gluckman's hypothesis that tribe is of fundamental importance in classifying Africans, holds good for Sierra Leone. Usually people in Sierra Leone belong in name to their father's tribe, thus half-Fulbe with, say, a Temne or Lokko mother at least belong to the category of Fulbe. If they have been brought up as Fulbe then of course they will also be structured within Fulbe society, but otherwise not. It is also possible for half-Fulbe to subscribe to certain Fulbe cultural features without actually belonging to the structure.

The social relationships between half-Fulbe and members of the Fulbe community tend to agree with the above hypothesis. Most of the 'Delco Fulbe' live in the Labour Hamlets, and do not visit Lunsar Fulbe or participate in their rituals. Some who live in Lunsar do not belong to the community either. Therefore it is not distance which prevents their participation in Fulbe life.

Occasionally, 'proper' Fulbe attempt to make use of half-Fulbe in influential positions, by appealing to their Fulbe ancestry, but usually without success. For example, sick Fulbe sometimes try to obtain free medical treatment from the Delco dispenser, who is half-Fulbe. They are not often successful because the dispenser, by virtue of his position in the Delco hierarchy, either cannot accept claims made on him which are based on tribal relationships, or feels secure enough to refuse them. It should be noted that the dispenser does not participate in any aspects of the life of the Fulbe community.

Half-Fulbe who have been brought up as Fulbe are definitely within the Fulbe community, and live according to pulaaku culture and values of Futa Jallon Fulbe.

1. Gluckman, Loc. cit.

Temne Dancing Compin

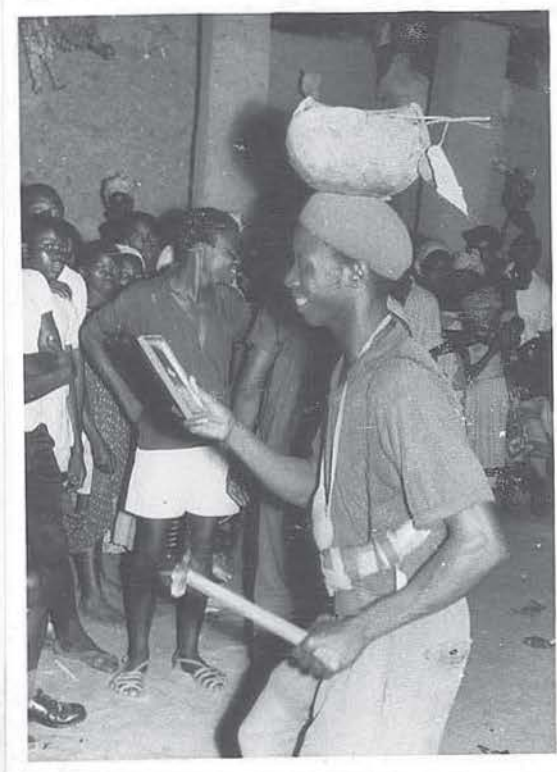
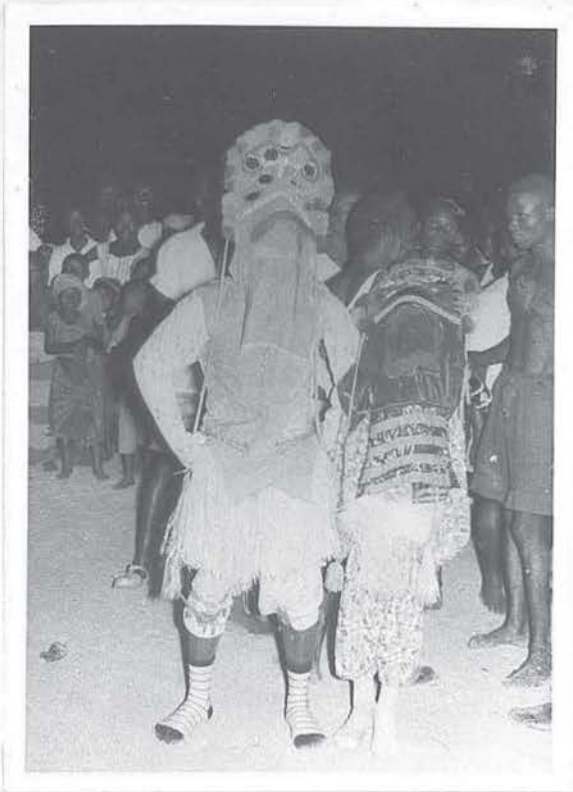


Plate 67.
The leader of the yemama is
preparing to use matiri magic
against an enemy.

Plate 68.
Devils of the yemama
compin.



Temne Dancing Compin



Plate 69.

Yemama Drummers.

CHAPTER VII - TEMNE - FULBE RELATIONS

It is considered to be important at this point to stress that the activities of the Fulbe in Lunsar as so far described do not take place in a town dominated by Fulbe. Far from it, Lunsar is dominated by Temne people and their ways and customs. The local Native Authority is completely run by Temne men, and until recently this organ of authority was antipathetic towards the Fulbe.

There is a long history of contact between Fulbe and Temnes, and it is unfortunate that little of it has been written down. A number of Temne chiefs are descended from a man called Ferma Tami which means 'Follow Me'. This man according to Temne oral history, led the Temne from Futa Jallon to their present country after having been defeated by the Fulbe.

Most of the oral history remembered by informants, and the few written reports, deal with episodes of violence between the Fulbe and Temne, and there is no information on the spread of Islam or the trading of former times. No doubt many Sernaabe and Karamoko recorded events of interest soon after their occurrence, although documents are jealously guarded by their owners who are not forthcoming on their existence or contents. One 'history' of the Fulbe copied for me by a Karamoko proved to be of little value on its own since it mentions many names without saying what they did.¹

In spite of the lack of written documents it is probably safe to say that the Fulbe drove the Temne from Futa Jallon, and that the Temne drove the Lokko from part of the country now occupied by the Temne.

¹This document has not been included as it has little relevance, but I would like to acknowledge the work of Mr. P. Cachia of the Muir Institute, University of Edinburgh, who translated it for me.

Both the Bundukas¹ and the Hooboos² fought against the Temne during the nineteenth century, and it is very likely that the migration of the Hooboos from the unjust Sultan of Timbo coincided with the migration of the present Sanda Cattle owning Fulbe who also fled from harsh taxation by the Timbo chief or Sultan.

Again, although no written accounts could be found, it is certain that the Temne and Susu of the Lungi area fought a running battle against the Fulbe along the seashore in the late nineteen thirties. The Fulbe on this occasion are supposed to have suffered many casualties, and were driven all the way to Guinea.

The most recent serious trouble between Fulbe and Temne occurred between 1945 and 1950, and later in 1955. The earliest mention of the Fulbe in the District Commissioner's confidential file on 'Fulas' is dated 16th July, 1945. This was in the form of a letter to all chiefs in the Port Loko District, and was written as a result of numerous complaints by chiefs about the bad behaviour of Fulbe, (mainly assault and theft).

The letter pointed out that Paramount chiefs by the Order 8/1937 section (L) could force all Fulbe in their chiefdoms to register^{and} in addition, itinerant Fulbe could be required to report their presence and have someone to vouch for them. Each chief was instructed to keep a register of resident and itinerant Fulbe. Residents were to pay two shillings and itinerants one shilling registration fee.

¹Wurie, loc.cit.

²Blyden, loc.cit.

In addition, chiefs having a large number of Fulbe in their areas were required to appoint a Fulbe sub-chief to be responsible for the registration and good behaviour of the Fulbe.

Any Fullo not registering could be repatriated to French Guinea on a vagrant order, (Ordinance 17/1934, sections 3 and 6). Under Ordinance 8/1937, section 8(b) itinerant Fulbe were to be prohibited from carrying weapons.

The measures taken above cannot be said to be special anti-Fulbe legislative measures, since the ordinances giving the power to the chiefs apply equally to all tribes and not just the Fulbe. The nature of the regulations is repugnant to the Fulbe since they carry arms by tradition and are not accustomed to being restricted in their movements. The one acceptable feature, but which was not implemented for some years was the instruction that Fulbe sub-chiefs should be appointed. The above measures for controlling the Fulbe had little effect, because by 1947 trouble with Fulbe robbers had spread all over the Northern Province.

There were many reports of Fulbe gangs setting upon travellers and robbing them, besides burglaries and large scale cattle stealing. The administration blamed much of the trouble on the repatriation of Fulbe from Freetown and the 'slackness of the administration in French Guinea'. The administration also suspected that certain chiefs permitted robbers to hide in their chiefdoms in return for a proportion of the profit made by the thieves.

However the only action open to the administration was to order the chiefs to use the ordinances by which the Fulbe could be disarmed and repatriated as vagrants. Clearly the implementation of the policy relied on the integrity of the Temne and Lokko Paramount Chiefs. Under ordinance

13/1931 section 28, the chiefs were given the power to swear in some Special Court Messengers to enforce the policy. But instead of catching the dishonest and rascally Fulbe the Temne chiefs began to extort tributes and 'taxes' from legitimate Fulbe in return for 'protection'.

The effect of victimising legitimate Fulbe was disastrous. Some Temne chiefs continued to receive a 'cut' from the thieving Fulbe, and at the same time extorted money and cattle from honest Fulbe. Honest Temne chiefs who tried to catch the robbers suddenly found that trustworthy Fulbe had taken to shielding them, because they ceased to distinguish between honest and dishonest Temne chiefs. A further complication arose when Temne and Lokko farmers began to slash the udders and hamstrings of cattle belonging to legitimate Fulbe in retaliation for having their houses robbed and burned by the bad Fulbe, or even for spoiling their crops.

By 1949 the situation was becoming out of hand, mainly because of the difficulty of enforcing the policy of the administration. The Fulbe are so mobile that it was discovered that the same Fulbe were being repatriated to French Guinea over and over again. Furthermore, by living in the bush most of the time, the Fulbe were very difficult to catch. They tended to raid villages and cattle camps at night and hide up during the day. In the dry season they stole cattle by making salt trails to the road. The cattle, which always follow such trails, were simply loaded into lorries and taken to a big town, where before morning they were cut up and ready for sale.

The problem was solved in the Bombali District by appointing the richest Pullo, Alimami 'Wurro' as chief. He was responsible for the good conduct of the Fulbe, and in return was given a small salary. Honest Fulbe no longer had to resort to vengeance for having their cattle slashed but went to their chief. Similarly, the Temne and Lokko farmers reported to the chief when their crops were damaged by cattle. Disputes were put on a legal basis

with proper machinery for dealing with them. Alimami 'Wurro' also saw to it that the gangs of thieves were dispersed and driven out of the area.

Soon after the Bombali District became peaceful, trouble began in Lunsar. A Pullo thief living in Lunsar, and allegedly head of the thieves, followed a Temne called Pa Abu to his village after he had sold rice worth £250 to a Syrian trader in Lunsar, (Basma). Just as Pa Abu reached his village, Magbil, he was attacked by Wuri Jalo Mabulu who took his money from him. Several villagers hearing the fight rushed out and killed the Pullo thief. This incident gave very bad publicity to the Lunsar Fulbe, which was not helped by other Fulbe activities in Lunsar at that time.

Gangs of Fulbe were in the habit of waylaying Delco employees on pay day. The day workers were safe enough, but those on the evening shift and walking home at midnight were easy prey. Little firm action was taken until P.C. Bai Koblo's house was burgled one night, after which the Marampa Native Authority Criminal Court tried 32 Fulbe for vagrancy. They were found guilty and sentenced to one month's imprisonment with hard labour, and repatriation to French Guinea and other chiefdoms. The sentence was later confirmed by the A.D.C. Port Loko, and the Fulbe were duly imprisoned and repatriated. The action taken by the Court probably punished several innocent Fulbe, although of course they were technically 'vagrants'.

A few weeks later the two acknowledged heads of the Lunsar Fulbe were charged by the chief Bai Koblo, although the nature of the charge is unknown to me. Alfa Bella and Alfa Bakr, the Fulbe heads, escaped and went to Freetown where they obtained the assistance of a lawyer, Mr. Rogers-Wright.

In the same week a further 36 Fulbe were sentenced to one month's I.H.L. and repatriation to either French Guinea or the Chiefdom entered against their names. A further 29 Fulbe were permitted to remain in Lunsar because they

either worked for Delco or had leading citizens¹ to vouch for their good behaviour.

Mr. Rogers-Wright took the case of the Fulbe as presented to him by Alfa Bella and Alfa Bakr to the Sierra Leone Supreme Court which quashed the charges against the two leading Fulbe, and also upheld the verdict of the A.D.C., Port Loko, who had quashed the convictions of 29 Fulbe, although it also quashed his conviction of the other 36 Fulbe. By the end of November, 1949, the Paramount Chief, Bai Koblo and the colonial administration were worried by new outbreaks of raiding and robbery. There was little doubt that the group of 36 Fulbe contained most of the troublemakers, because it was noted that while they were under lock and key all raiding ceased, and on their release it started again.

The last letter in the confidential file on 'Fulas' indicates the frustration felt by the District Commissioner, Port Loko, who had to abide by the Supreme Court decision and yet was required to assist Bai Koblo in stopping the illegal activities of some Fulbe. He mentions that as a last resort, he might have to ask the Provincial Commissioner to grant new powers to Tribal Authorities although he does not say what they might be.

For us it is significant that the last letter on trouble with the Fulbe should have been written at this time, and that the situation should not have been restored to order. Bai Koblo himself was instrumental in providing the solution which was very simple. He sent for Alfa Bella and another Pullo, and asked them to nominate a 'strong' Pullo who could be an effective Headman over the Fulbe. Alfa Bakr was nominated and elected and has remained Headman to this day.

Under Alfa Bakr the Fulbe ceased to rob people because it was possible for him to find out which Fulbe were responsible. He then told them to desist or take the consequences, which meant that they would be tried by the Courts and the Fulbe would not help them. Since many of the Fulbe were honest traders and workers Alfa Bakr had the backing of the majority; in addition to having

¹It is interesting that among their number were several Syrians and Lebanese. The Fulbe and the Levantines are both muslims and many Fulbe are good wholesale customers.

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baugal or chiefly authority, he is skilled in Koranic magic and few Fulbe have the nerve to go against the orders of such a person. During my stay in Lunsar several of the former thieves were pointed out to me, now pursuing legitimate occupations such as tailoring and trading.

The historical events so far described are important because they have partially influenced the position of the Fulbe in Lunsar today. There is little doubt that many Fulbe thieves attacked and robbed many Temnes as well as legitimate cattle owning Fulbe. However the inability of the Colonial Administration and the Tribal Administration to detect the culprits individually led to hostility developing towards the Fulbe as a group. In turn this anti-Fulbe behaviour increased the solidarity of the Fulbe to the extent that honest Fulbe would shield their dishonest fellow tribesmen. Characteristically it was a Pullo who put a stop to the trouble, just in the same way that Alimami 'Wurro' restored order in the Bombali District.

The security of the Fulbe in Lunsar was increased when Bai Koblo married Alfa Bakr's deceased brother's daughter, Mari. After the marriage Bai Koblo suffered from an illness known as anpunck ('head mix' in Krio). Alfa Bakr took the sick chief to Futa Jallon where he was cured by a Karamoko in 1952. Bai Koblo is supposed to return yearly to Futa Jallon 'to have his body washed', but had not returned after 1953.

The last outbreak of trouble with the Fulbe occurred in 1955 during the time of general disturbances in the Northern Province of Sierra Leone. Most of these troubles were not directed at tribal groups in particular, but took the form of 'strikes' against the chiefs and administration. During the course of general rioting Temnes and Lokkos in the Sanda area destroyed property belonging to Fulbe. On the 11th January, 1955 crowds burned the Native Administration barri or court house in Pendembu, and in addition a Mosque which the Temne and Lokko believed to be the source of the Fulbe 'power'.

months to keep control over endemic malaria, and occasional presents like the tennis courts, there is no formal contact between Delco and the inhabitants of Lunsar. As custodian of the land on which the concession lies, Bai Koblo received £6,000 per annum which is distributed among his relatives. The Europeans go to the town sometimes to buy goods from Lebanese shops, although most of their food comes from Freetown direct to the mine compound. Some Europeans come down to Lunsar to see African life but are discouraged from visiting African bars and houses for recreation; it is well known that the heads of Department in Delco are forbidden to frequent Lunsar bars. In keeping with this policy Delco has built a large and expensive Senior Staff Club open to all Europeans and a few senior Africans. There are also an African Senior Staff Club and a Junior one in addition to a community centre all built near the African Labour Hamlets.

Lunsar cannot be said to have been sponsored or encouraged by Delco, and has grown up mainly to provide goods and services to those who work for Delco. Putting it another way, traders and other persons have gone to the area to exploit the wage packets of the workers. Due to the heterogeneity of the immigrants and the size of the population traditional tribal Authority is inadequate in maintaining control,¹ and since 1955 there has been a substantial detachment of the Sierra Leone Police force stationed on the edge of the town. The 'Court Barri' is used for cases brought by Native Law and Custom and by the Police, one type is heard by the Native Authorities and the other by visiting Magistrates.

There are very few goods produced in Lunsar except by native craftsmen such as blacksmiths, weavers, etc., and tailors. There are two main sources of money in Lunsar, one is the money paid by Delco to its employees

¹The disturbances as described in the Sierra Leone Report of Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Provinces, 1956, gives evidence of this.

Alimami 'Wurro' as chief, and as a very wealthy man, sent word all over the district that all young Fulbe men should come and meet at the Mission in Pendembu immediately. On the 13th of January 38 Fulbe arrived and had their names recorded, later the same day the numbers rose to fifty. The Fulbe were armed with sticks and swords (kafa), those owning shot guns carried them. The party then walked to Kamaranka under the leadership of Alimami 'Wurro' and his maube who acted as lieutenants. Many Temnes gave the Fulbe food on the road to show their goodwill, and asked to be protected.

The next day the Fulbe marched to Rokulun, after returning to Pendembu where their numbers were increased to 200. On reaching Rokulun Alimami 'Wurro' killed a tateri (three year old bull) and cooked it with rice. He also gave them four pounds on their arrival, and three pounds on their departure. The next day they marched to Kamaranka again, and returned to Rokulun on the following day where they dispersed in the evening.

The action of the Fulbe on this occasion was organised by their legitimate chief, who no doubt being wealthy feared for his property. The forming of an organised group had a desirable effect because very little Fulbe property was damaged apart from the Mosque. Also the Police did not regard the group as an unlawful assembly but saw it for what it was, a kind of 'home guard'.¹ Fulbe informants claim that the Temne and Lokko were rioting because the Fulbe paid a tribute to the Temne and Lokko chiefs who kept the money to themselves instead of sharing it out. The report does not mention this, although it mentions that 'The pattern of events in Pendembu-Gowahun Chiefdom was completely different from that in any other chiefdom in the district.'²

¹ Sierra Leone Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in the Provinces, (November, 1955 to March, 1956). Crown Agents, 1956.

² ibid. page 66.

During the disturbances, Lunsar was a focal point. Although two persons were killed by the Police, while attempting to set fire to Bai Koblo's house¹ there is no indication of their tribe. Fulbe informants in Lunsar say that the local Temne provoked them in various ways, but that Alfa Bakr managed to keep order among them. However, many Fulbe were herded into lorries for despatch to French Guinea but were later allowed to go home after Alfa Bakr had intervened.

The only other disturbance involving Fulbe in Lunsar known to me is the case of the trader and the Temne lorry driver already mentioned. The case illustrates the rapidity with which the Fulbe come together when one of their number is threatened or injured. The case also demonstrates that the Fulbe are insecure and think that unless they take strong positive action that they will not receive just treatment. Why else would they demonstrate outside the Police Station and even threaten the Police?

The various periods of intertribal hostility between the Fulbe and the Temne (also Lokko) since the second world war can be explained in terms of several causes. Initially the Fulbe thieves antagonised the Temne and led to them having a form of 'justification' by which they retaliated by slashing cattle belonging to honest Fulbe. Since there was no legal mechanism through which the two groups could come to terms the situation went on deteriorating until the Fulbe were allowed to have their own headman. Order was restored.

As a result of the five years (1945-1950) of tension and violence between the two tribes they had acquired certain expectancies of behaviour from the other group when administrative control broke down. During the Protectorate Disturbances of 1954-55 the Sanda Fulbe formed their own home guard after their Mosque had been burnt down. They were probably justified in taking this action

¹ ibid. page 70.

because the widespread rioting and looting in the area indicated that the legal representation through their headman or chief would be of no use. The Temne and Lokko chiefs who had agreed to recognise the Fulbe as legitimate residents of their chiefdoms were the very people against whom the rioters were directing their illegal activities.

The Fulbe actually living in Lunsar, acting on their Headman's instructions formed no such paramilitary unit and sure enough the Temne distrust and fear of the Fulbe showed in the attempt to repatriate the Lunsar Fulbe to French Guinea. This action, as well as the earlier trouble resulted in the Fulbe taking the law into their own hands when the Temne lorry driver and his assistants beat up a Fullo trader in Lunsar market. Clearly the Fulbe (in the absence of Alfa Bakr, the Headman) assumed that they could not expect fair treatment from the Tribal Authority, the Police or any other controlling influence dominated by non-Fulbe.

The breakdown of relations between Fulbe and Temne are interesting because for most of the time they get along together without undue friction. It will be remembered from the section on marriage that a high proportion of Fulbe men have married Temne women. The Fulbe do however continue to live as Fulbe and tend to restrict social contact with the Temne to certain types, and even in marriage the Temne wife is expected to give up various Temne religious practices.

Friendship with the Temne is not new, Sayers¹ in 1927;

"There is also a remarkable and distinctive reciprocal sympathy between Fulas and Temne. Fulas are always welcome in Temne Country and will freely acknowledge a species of kinship with them."

Sayers also claims that Ferma Tami, the chief who led the Temne from Futa Jallon was partly Fulbe by ancestry.

¹ F. Sayers, 'Notes on the clan or family names common in the area inhabited by Temne-speaking people'. Sierra Leone Studies: SLS No.X, December 1927, p.21.

The apparent ambivalence in attitude shown by the behaviour of each group towards the other prompted me to attempt an 'attitude survey', which is described below.

Fulbe-Temne Attitudes.

An attempt was made to assess or build up the image of Fulbe held by the Temne, and the image of Temne held by the Fulbe. It had become apparent during the field work that the Temne show a marked ambivalence in their behaviour towards the Fulbe. The earlier section on the recent history of Fulbe in the Port Loko district of Sierra Leone demonstrates the extremes of anti-Fulbe behaviour in which illegal personal violence was meted out to individuals. Hostile collective action by Temne against the Fulbe as a group was given legal backing through the courts which sentenced many Fulbe to one month's imprisonment and repatriation to French Guinea.

Apparent pro-Fulbe behaviour is illustrated by the Temne willingness to give their daughters in marriage to Fulbe. It is interesting to note that the Fulbe often see the latter type of gift not as being pro-Fulbe in particular, but as showing the Temnes' friendliness towards strangers in general.

Further evidence of the ambivalence at the behavioural level between Fulbe and Temnes is provided by the Temne Paramount Chief allowing himself to be taken to Futa Jallon to have his anpunck cured by the very man he had not long previously attempted to bring to court on 'some reasonable criminal charges'. Just before leaving Lunsar the Chief had married the same man's daughter, thereby putting himself under perpetual obligation to him.¹

The Fulbe view of the Temne is less clear for a number of reasons. The records and reports of an official nature describing Fulbe-Temne relations are all based on incidents reported by Temnes who were until the appointment of a Fulbe headman in Lunsar the only group with an official voice and consequently

¹The Temnes believe that nothing can 'pay' for the function of a woman in bearing a man's children for him. Littlejohn.

the right to demand protection from the colonial government. The Fulbe do not volunteer opinions about other people, and this tendency is reinforced when the Fulbe are in Temne country where they are 'strangers', are heavily outnumbered and have a recent history of violence between themselves and the Temne. It is mainly in situations of crisis, like the time that a trader was beaten up by a Temne lorry driver and his mates, that latent anti-Temne attitudes become manifest in collective action.

The commonest index of Fulbe antipathy towards Temnes is demonstrated by both men and women on the subject of Fulbe girls either marrying Temnes or having them as friends. Fulbe men say that they will not allow a girl of their tribe to have sexual relations with a Temne, either in or out of marriage, and the girls will refuse a Temne's advances in this direction. On one occasion a highly sophisticated and well-paid Ghanaian friend of mine displayed interest in a Fulbe girl, actually of kado (slave) status. My interpreter acting as middleman attempted to arrange a liaison between the man and the woman, but was wholly unsuccessful. The girl, while agreeing that the man was attractive in many ways, rejected him as a balajo or 'black man'. This example further indicates that anti-Temne attitudes of the Fulbe are actually part of general anti-blaye, anti 'black men' attitudes. The Temne, or Ewe in the case of the Ghanaian, are all non-Fulbe.

To obtain additional data on Fulbe and Temne attitudes to one another, a simple unstructured test was used. The possible use of a social distance test similar to that devised by Bogadus¹ was rejected because any such test would be meaningless when applied to two different cultures, due to the necessity of specifying critical relationships in constructing the test. What is critical to one group may not be to the other.

¹Bogadus, E. Mary S. Immigration and Race Attitudes (Boston-Heath, 1928).

The actual test¹ used did not assume any prior knowledge of Temne-Fulbe attitudes or behaviour, although other information had been gathered by means of ordinary anthropological techniques. Samples of Temnes, half-Fulbe and pure Fulbe were asked the following:-

"What are three good characteristics of Temnes"?

"What are three good characteristics of Fulbe"?

"What are three bad characteristics of Temnes"?

"What are three bad characteristics of Fulbe"?

The sample distribution by occupation appears below in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1 Sample distribution of those informants used in the Fulbe-Temne attitude survey.

Occupational Group	Fulbe	Half Fulbe	Temnes	Total
Religious	2	1	2	5
Commercial	13	5	2	20
Clerical & Professional	1	1	7	9
Artisan	12	5	12	29
Service	5	2	2	9
Unskilled	-	1	7	8
Entertainment	2	-	-	2
Unemployed	2	1	3	6
At school	-	1	2	3
Total	37	17	37	91

The administration of the test was straightforward, the informants has a chance to say what they liked about themselves and the other tribe. No

¹This test was modelled on that used in a study of stereotypes in Stanleyville. Nelly Kydias, 'Social Effects of Urbanisation in Stanleyville, Belgian Congo, Section B, Appendixes'. Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization in Africa South of the Sahara. U.N.E.S.C.O. and I.A.I., 1956.

leading questions were put to them, although in some cases informants said uncomplimentary things about a tribal group in answer to the question about good characteristics. This did not affect the value of the answer because during analysis it was moved into the correct category. This explains why the Temne sample shows over 100% response for bad characteristics of themselves and the Fulbe in Table 7.2.

Response Patterns

Table 7.2.

Percentage of responses in each category by each of the three samples.

Samples	Good Temne %	Categories of Characteristics		Total %	
		Good Fulbe %	Bad Temne %		Bad Fulbe %
Fulbe	61	74	62	58.5	64
Half-Fulbe	88	96	94	72.5	88
Temne	95	85	104	106	98
Total	80	83	85	81	82

It is interesting to note that the response pattern to the questions asked are complimentary to both the statements made by the informants and to observed and documented behaviour. For example, the Fulbe who are described by the Temne as 'secretive', and by themselves as 'capable of keeping secrets' responded to only 64% of the questions, compared with 88% and 98% by half-Fulbe and Temnes respectively. Many Fulbe informants after giving one or two answers stated that they did not know any good or bad traits of anyone. The senior cleric in Lunsar made the following apt, but evasive answer:-

"I do not know the qualities and faults of Temnes, nor do I know the faults of Fulbe. A Person's qualities are comparable with his finger prints and everyones' are different. Generalisations are untrue".

Another feature of many Fulbe answers was their apparent inability to criticise themselves without qualifications. For example, several informants made statements such as:-

"If a Fula (Fullo) drinks, it is bad". Or,

"When a Fula steals, it is bad". And,

"If a Fula does not read Al Koran, it is bad".

All answers of this type are really recitations of prescribed activities according to Islamic law or Fulbe custom in general.

The Fulbe often began criticisms of themselves by the qualification 'some' as, for example, in:-

"Some are thieves" or "Some steal".

In such cases, the some has been ignored in analysis, apart from the present mention of it, because it is inferred that when one says of another:-

"They steal", or "They copulate with little girls", it is not meant to imply that everyone in that group do these things, or that they do them all the time. The Fulbe by preceding such statements about themselves by 'some' are merely being extra cautious.

Apart from such guarded and qualified statements by Fulbe about themselves, a higher percentage of them gave no answer at all in this category than either of the other two groups of informants. The highest response by Fulbe appears when they are stating good characteristics of themselves. The same is true of the half-Fulbe, although the Temne's highest response appears in condemnation of Fulbe.

The Fulbe, so all three samples say, and I have observed it to be so, are both secretive and cautious, which no doubt partially explains why they are not over anxious to reveal what they think about people. The Temne are outspoken, often tactlessly so, and in addition are the 'hosts', or owners of the land in which the Fulbe are living. It is possible that the reluctance to criticise Fulbe, part of the general activity of maintaining Fulbe solidarity

among a potentially hostile people. However, reports from elsewhere indicate that the Fulbe are universally characterised by secretiveness and a tendency to stick together, although this may have been produced by extensive living on the land of, or among, non-Fulbe who have been at various periods in history both potential slaves and potential persecutors.

The half Fulbe have responded to 88% of the questions and show a similar pattern to the Fulbe. The highest response, 96% is of good characteristics of the Fulbe. There is a marked increase over the Fulbe, in the half Fulbe response to point out the bad characteristics of the Temne. This is interpreted as indicating that this sample, who all have either a Temne father or mother, are much more secure than the Fulbe in Lunsar. It must also be pointed out that this sample also know more about the Temne as most of them have lived in closer proximity to them.

The Temne response pattern is very different to that of either the Fulbe or half Fulbe samples. The lowest response is in praise of the Fulbe, 85%, and second to that, praise of themselves, 95%. The Temne informants' highest responses are in criticism of the Fulbe, (106%) and themselves, (104%).¹ That the Temne think that the Fulbe have so many unfavourable characteristics, and themselves almost as many indicates that they are more secure as hosts, than the Fulbe are as strangers. This does not explain why they give so many unfavourable characteristics of themselves, and it might indicate that Temne morality is different to that of the Fulbe, in that it is not necessarily bad to possess these characteristics. To pursue this idea further, more field data would be required and would be worth doing.

¹These percentages exceed 100 because with 37 informants each given an opportunity to say three things in each of the four categories a total of 444 responses for the sample is the maximum. This gives 111 answers in each category, but in some cases the Temne made uncomplimentary statements in the two categories when 'good' opinions were to be stated. On transferring these to 'bad' categories figures of over 100% were produced.

~~289~~ 284

Analysis

The 898 statements made by the three samples were examined to see if they fell into a logical set of categories which would assist in ordering them and aid in their interpretation. The test having been unstructured, was found to have produced two main types of answer. Specific statements about behaviour, and general statements on character unrelated to particular areas of behaviour. For example,

"Temne wives kneel before their husbands when giving them their food". illustrates the first type of statement and:

"Temnes have no shame",
is an example of the second.¹

A set of categories was selected into which most statements about behaviour seemed to fall. In addition a further category simply called 'character' was used, into which general statements like the second example above, were placed: statements about behaviour not warranting a category of their own were also placed in the 'character' category. Since the categories are merely for convenience and no statistical tests have been used on inter-category frequencies and differences the scheme will not have produced bias should some categories overlap.

The statements made by the three samples appear in Appendix H, in the order, Fulbe, half Fulbe followed by Temne informants. Where the same characteristic has been given by more than one informant the number in the column headed 'f' (frequency) indicates the number of informants of the same opinion.

¹The two types of statements are classified by Allport as expressing the 'belief factor' in the first example, and the 'attitudinal factor' in the second. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, Doubleday Anchor 1953, p.13.

and the Kabia family for the mining concession, and the other is the wages paid out to persons in the various Government services such as the Police, Post Office and Sanitary Department. There is one other source of money, although it is not regular, which is from those who have made money in the Diamond area and have taken it to Lunsar either to set up as traders or simply to retire. One of the Lebanese in Lunsar is a noted diamond dealer who is actually forbidden to enter the diamond area any more.

Unfortunately for Lunsar much of the money coming into the town goes out again in the pockets of the Lebanese traders, most of whom have the ambition of returning to the Lebanon as wealthy men.

Table 1.4 shows the occupations of the males over 16 who appeared on the ten percent sample, a more complete list of the occupations in Lunsar is to be found in the chapter on occupations. Note that this table also shows a high proportion of Delco workers as living in the town.

Table 7.3

The Distribution of responses by the three samples grouped into categories
(Converted into percentages)

	Fulbe on				Half Fulbe on				Temnes on			
	Temnes		Fulbe		Temnes		Fulbe		Temnes		Fulbe	
	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.	Fav.	Un.
Character	1.5	38	33	55	38	65	53	65	55	72	48	74
Elders, leaders and authorities	7	-	3.4	-	9	-	4	2.7	11	1.7	1.3	1
Own group, solidarity	1.5	1.5	5	-	-	-	12	14	9	-	6	1
Women, children and affines	4.5	9	3.4	4.6	4	6	4	5	-	8	-	1
Work	8	-	2.3	-	7	-	10	5	9	-	12	6
Money, property and business	1	13	2.3	8	9	10	-	8	1	5	6	9
Strangers	4.7	10	3.4	8	16	-	2	-	2.8	-	1	-
Appearance, manner and behaviour in public	1	-	-	-	9	4	2	-	8	-	2	4
Other People	1	1.5	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Religion, magic and witchcraft	4	25	33	15	-	12	10	-	1	13	8	1
Friends and guests	20	1.5	7	1.4	7	2	-	-	1.9	-	-	2.5
Social status	1	1.5	5	8	-	-	2	-	-	-	3	-
Total percentages	97.5	101.0	98.8	100	101	99	99	99.7	98.7	99.7	99	99.5

285

200

Some observations on the material collected.

The response made by Fulbe and Temne are taken to be parts of the collective representations of each group to themselves and to the other group. The half Fulbe sample are taken to represent an intermediate group with some bias towards expressing the Fulbe rather than the Temne point of view. This is justified on the grounds that many of the sample are known to include themselves in the Fulbe community; rituals, disputes and religious practices being the types of situations that most readily demonstrate this fact.

It is from the lists of favourable and unfavourable characteristics that we may infer the types of concept or 'image' that the samples have of themselves and the other group. It is important to distinguish between these concepts and what are commonly called attitudes. The concepts are assimilated from knowledge about the two groups, i.e. themselves and the others, which may or may not be 'true'. Past experience, allegiances and inter-group relations are probably the most important factors influencing the individual in his conscious and unconscious retention of facts and impressions of the two groups.

The sets of concepts only become attitudes when they influence the individual in his choice of behaviour, or are drawn on by the individual to justify his behaviour. This partially explains how the Fulbe can say that the Temne

"are gentle" and also, "like to fight", while the Temne say of the Fulbe that they are both

"honest" and "thieves".

In order to maintain social intercourse each of the two participant groups must acknowledge the existence of favourable traits in the other. But from past experience each knows of various undesirable traits in the other which may themselves produce a crisis in the relationship or alternatively, make themselves manifest in a crisis between the two groups.

It will be noted how in some cases favourable characteristics are remarkably similar to unfavourable ones, e.g. the Temne say the Fulbe are:

"thrifty", "serious about money", "know the good use of money" and "work hard for money",

as being favourable, but also say about Fulbe that they are:

"stingy", and "like to get money not worked for",

Clearly there is a narrow boundary on the topic of carefulness-about-money dividing what is good for one person from what is bad for another. Looking after one's money well, can be a virtue in one context and may become stinginess in another. Similarly the Temnes view the Fulbe tendency of:

"keeping to themselves" as

favourable, but at the same time criticise them because:

"they do not mix with other tribes".

There are many characteristics mentioned by all three samples which are common to Temne, Fulbe and half Fulbe although the frequency of mention varies slightly. There are, on the other hand, several instances of a group singling out what might be termed as cultural characteristics of the other group. For example the Temne in ten cases cite the Fulbe tendency to "migrate" as being an unfavourable characteristic. Never do they cite this tendency as being favourable, and the Fulbe do not mention it at all. To the Fulbe migration is neither good nor bad in itself, but a part of their way of life. The Temne are not migratory.

The practice of Temne men looking after the sexual lives of their sisters ("brothers find sweethearts for their sisters") is in fact a cultural trait of the Temne and is carried on into the girl's married life when the husband and wife's brother have a form of joking relationship, in which the brother may even mimic copulation with the husband.¹ The Fulbe girls on the

¹ Littlejohn, "The Temne of Morampa Chiefdom", a chapter in the forthcoming book on Lunsar.

other hand choose their own lovers usually by mutual agreement with the young man of their choice, as described in the chapter on the 'compin'.

A glance at Table 7.3 shows that 4.7% of the favourable traits of Temnes are concerned with Temne behaviour towards strangers. Nearly half of the informants appearing in this category say that:

"Temnes give their daughters to strangers to marry".

The frequency that Fulbe say this of Temnes, added to the other favourable remarks about the Temnes' behaviour towards strangers indicates strongly that this friendliness towards the stranger and genuine hospitality is characteristic of Temnes. The category on 'Friends and Guests' contains 20% of the Fulbe favourable conceptions of the Temne, and includes complimentary statements on their hospitality.

The largest category of unfavourable traits of Temnes according to Fulbe is that of character and general topics. The kafiri (unbeliever) practices of Temnes evoke the most classifiable condemnatory responses (25%) through which the Fulbe demonstrate their strong affiliation with Islamic ways. The possession and belief in Kriffis or personal devils is a practice abhorred by the muslim Fulbe. It is interesting to note that two Fulbe informants criticise the Temne men and women for standing up when urinating, even if they are learned in the Koran. Also in the same category, Fulbe say that women given as wives to Fulbe are witches. This would appear to be possible although no evidence was available. Since most of the Fulbe married to Temne women had made the initial choice of spouse it is unlikely to be general.

Fulbe also criticise the Temne for dishonesty in business and for their unwillingness to repay what they have borrowed. In addition six Fulbe mentioned that Temne do not like to see anyone become successful or better off than they are. It is not merely in their relations with Fulbe that the Temne show this trait. Allegations by poorer people that a rich man has 'stolen' their crops

and property by magic are common. For example, a farmer less efficient than another farmer nearby may claim that the other man has a better rice crop because he has used magic, to make his own rice crop better. The extra rice having been the rice which would have grown on his neighbour's farm had he not used magic to make it grow on his own. Such allegations are taken seriously by the Temne who may consult diviners for verification of their suspicions. Many Lunsar Fulbe came there with little money, but through their own efforts have become better off than many Temne. As a result many Temne believe that the Fulbe have strong magic.

Although the majority of Fulbe think that Temnes are kind to strangers some consider them to be the reverse, (10%). Two Fulbe said that Temnes do not like to see strangers successful, which is part of the more general Temne attitude expressed above, and two claimed that the Temne kill innocent and defenceless strangers. The latter probably remember the anti-Fulbe 'pogroms' between 1945 and 1950. It is worth mentioning that when travelling the Fulbe are much better armed than the Temnes, usually carrying a knife and a long sword (kafa) under their robes.

The Fulbe responses praising themselves fall into two dominant categories, the rather general one of 'character' and that of 'religion, magic and witchcraft', (33%). They demonstrate their piety and observance of Islamic law strongly, as one would expect of a mainly muslim people because Islam not only dictates what should not be done, but what should be done. The tendency is for the Fulbe to state ideal characteristics of themselves which are in fact dictates of Islam.

Seven percent of Fulbe favourable characteristics are relative to their behaviour towards 'friends and Guests', and five percent relative to 'Social Status', e.g. "they are good to the poor", which is also a Koranic dictate. Five percent of the responses indicate that the solidarity of Fulbe is desirable, e.g.

"they keep company with one another",

and "if one is sick all other Fulbe help him".

From the Fulbe point of view their bad characteristics fall into two main groups. In the category of 'Character' they appear as secretive, violent-to-the-point-of-killing, suspicious and scheming people. In the other categories most of the criticisms support this although in addition it appears that their Islamic knowledge and learning of which they are proud, is also used for evil purposes, e.g.

"they take rivals to senaabe who might harm them".

In addition, eight percent of the responses indicate that the Fulbe are status conscious, in that those of superior status disregard people beneath them in the traditional hierarchy, e.g.

"no respect for slaves" and "in a crisis the rich exploit the poor".

The half Fulbe sample expresses similar ideas to the Fulbe with one or two significant variations which are to be explained in terms of the different social positions occupied by them in Temne society, and their own degree of identification with the Fulbe.

The importance (for the Fulbe) of Temne friendliness to strangers is apparent in that only sixteen percent of responses fall in this category when they are complimenting the Temne, compared with the 'pure' Fulbe forty seven percent. The half Fulbe are much more secure in Lunsar due to their Temne parent having given them ties of varying strengths within Temne society. Similarly there is a considerable drop in the praise of Temnes as hosts to their 'Friends and Guests', from twenty percent to seven percent, which may indicate that as a group the half Fulbe are less dependent on Temne hospitality and friendliness as a favour, because for many of them it is an expected right.

The half Fulbe show an expected decrease in the percentage of criticisms of Temnes in the category of 'Religion, magic and witchcraft', presumably because many of them contribute to a greater or less extent to similar beliefs, even

though most of them claim to be muslims. Most of the unfavourable characteristics fall into the 'Character' category, in which the Temne appear as being quarrelsome, credulous, unreliable, greedy and disloyal.

Correspondingly, the half Fulbe pay less attention to the religiousness of Fulbe when praising them (10%), and are more impressed by the solidarity of Fulbe than the latter are themselves. In this respect the half Fulbe form a bridge between the two groups. On the one hand they belong to the Fulbe community in many respects, and on the other have rights and obligations to their Temne parents' kin. Both sets of ties afford security depending on the situation and the persons involved. In disputes with Temnes other than affinal kin their Temne kin will help, and in disputes with other groups the Fulbe and Temne may help. The conditions permit the half Fulbe to view both Temnes and Fulbe in a more objective manner than either of the two tribal groups can do.

Paradoxically the half Fulbe also consider the strong solidarity of Fulbe as an unfavourable characteristic, e.g.

"they speak ill of others in their own language", which is undesirable to some who do not speak pullar or fulfulde,¹ as is the case with many half Fulbe.

Fulbe are also considered to be 'stingy', liars, thieves and rascals. Perhaps more meaningful is the criticism that Fulbe:

"marry wives in Lunsar and leave them for long periods".

This statement was made by the most highly educated (Western) half Fulbe individual and may be a general problem which less articulate half Fulbe have not thought about in objective terms, but may themselves have been neglected by their fathers for long periods during childhood.

¹pullar is the language of Futa Jallon Fulbe, and differs in certain features from fulfulde the language of the Toro, or Futa Toro Fulbe.

Temne informants.

The Temne think of themselves as kind, ambitious, gentlemanly and brave in general terms. More specifically they consider their respect of elders (authority) as a strong characteristic, and both Fulbe and half Fulbe to a lesser extent think the same of them. They also think of themselves as good workers, proud of their tribe and neat, tidy and well behaved in public. In contrast to the Fulbe they do not express many favourable opinions on their own religious beliefs. This may be because religions other than Islam or Christianity in Sierra Leone today, have overtones of illiteracy, backwardness and consequently of low status. Alternatively it is possible that they do not consider their own traditional beliefs and practices as a 'religion' in the same way that Muslims and Christians consider their own catechismic beliefs and practices.

Temne do, however, criticise themselves for believing in kriffis, and because they:

"try to destroy one's life by witchcraft",
a reference to which has already been made.

The Temnes do not think of their treatment of, and relations with, women as being very satisfactory, for example,

"they are jealous of wives",
and "they beat up their wives in public".

Marital disputes among Temnes are very common in Lunsar, and it is not rare to hear or see a man beating his wife in a yard. Usually he pulls off her clothes first, but whether to make her feel the blows of the stick better, or whether to discourage her from running away, thus shaming herself I do not know. Normally such beatings are to extract from the woman the name of her lover, which the husband suspects that she has. In some cases the woman will 'call a man's name' just to stop her husband from beating her further. Even if the ^{suspected.} man is

innocent he will find it difficult to extract himself from the situation without paying a fine.

The Temne pride themselves on their fighting qualities as Dawson has shown¹ although it is often demonstrated in the form of truculence, aggressiveness and cruelty. Once I saw a child of about five years holding a puppy by its back legs and beating its head on the ground until it was senseless. A number of adults were in the yard at the time but took no notice at all, except to tell the child to move away from the door as he was blocking it. When I asked an interpreter to ask the child why he had done it he laughed and said that there was no reason.

The Temne think of the Fulbe as co-operative, kind, respectful and honest, as well as being ambitious, energetic, strong minded and friendly with animals. Fulbe are praised for the respect they give to their elders (authority) (13%), and for being good traders and workers. Temnes acknowledge the Fulbe to be religious, thrifty and to have strong loyalties with their own people. This in itself helps to demonstrate that the conscious 'front' put on by Lunsar Fulbe to the Temne has some effect, and that rifts and disputes within the community are successfully concealed from outsiders.

Among the general unfavourable characteristics of the Fulbe according to Temnes are that they: are quick tempered, migratory, secretive, wicked and thieves. The quick temper is perhaps an asset to members of a minority group who are normally very quiet and unobtrusive. In the event of personal danger becoming imminent, to have a reputation for being wicked and ruthless is a definite deterrent for potential antagonists. The Fulbe also have a reputation for fighting, not to make a show like the Temne, but to kill. However it must be stressed that the Fulbe are not arrogant or aggressive but only fight when their person or honour is attacked.

While several Temnes thought the Fulbe thrifty others consider them to be

¹J. Dawson: Unpublished D. Phil., thesis.

mean and stingy, liking money not worked for, and for liking bribery. To the Fulbe money not worked for is from Allah, and I never met a Temne who refused this kind of money.

Conclusions

The type of unstructured test ~~not~~ used allowed the informants to say what they liked whereas a Bogadus type of social distance test could not have been designed without the information that the one used eventually provided. If I had had more time in the field to design and carry out structured tests, it would have been the logical next step in the study of Fulbe-Temne relations.

The degree of willingness and reluctance to make statements about themselves and the other group is understandable in terms of the relative security of the informants' tribes, and tribal traits of cautiousness or talkativeness.

The Fulbe image of the Temne is to a large extent affected by their position as strangers in Lunsar, with a consequent emphasis on the Temne behaviour towards strangers. The Fulbe are most critical of the Temne for not being muslims. They further criticise the Temne for having different customs from their own thus indicating that they are ethnocentric and intolerant of other peoples.

The half Fulbe emerge from the test as a marginal group which alternates in its opinions and loyalties according to the situation. If anything the half Fulbe images of Fulbe and Temne are closer to those of the Fulbe than those of the Temne.

The Temne in general seem to respect the Fulbe although there are signs that they are frightened of them for their ability to kill either by physical or parapsychical means.

In general the test qualifies and supports what has already been said about the three groups, i.e. Fulbe, half Fulbe and Temnes and has not produced evidence which contradicts what was found out through participant observation.

Table 1.4 Occupation of Males over sixteen who appeared on the 10%

		<u>Sample census¹</u>	
	<u>Town</u>		<u>Delco</u>
Alfa (teacher)	6		
apprentice (lorry)	2		
baker	3		
barbar	1		
boy	2	boy	2
butcher	3		
carpenter	5	carpenter	9
clerk	1	clerk	5
cook	1	cook	4
diamond dealer	1		
driver	1	driver	3
		dumper driver	1
		tractor driver	1
		electrician	5
farmer	50	foreman	3
forest guard	1	fitter (mechanic)	12
		headman	5
		greaser	1
Imam	1	joiner	1
labourer	8	labourer	40
mail carrier	1		
mason	3	mason	4
NA police	4	mill trainee	1
		orderly	1
palm wine tapper	3	painter	1
		plumber	1
sanitary labourer	1	sanitary labourer	4
schoolboy	7	shunter	1
shoemaker	1	station master	1
shop boy	1	surveyor	1
tailor	16	telemechanic	1
		timekeeper	1
teacher	2	train guard	1
trader - rice	1		
- shop	3		
- general	22		
watchman	3	ward attendant	1
	<u>154</u>	watchman	1
			<u>112</u>
unemployed	20	skilled (ex-Delco)	3
" - ill	2	labourer (ex-Delco)	11
" - old,retired	2		
" - young(20)	9		
	<u>36</u>		<u>14</u>

Employed		Unemployed	Total
Town	Delco		
154	112	50	316
48.7%	35.5%	15.8%	

Note: 32% of the 'farmers' are over the age of 50 (28% over 55)
6% of the 'farmers' are under the age of 20

¹Loc. cit. Dr. Mills

I do not think that from the statements made by any of the three groups about Fulbe and Temnes, we can infer that either group is prejudiced for or against the other. Allport¹ quotes Ackerman and Jahoda² as saying, "Prejudice is a pattern of hostility in interpersonal relations which is directed against an entire group, or against its individual members; it fulfils a specific irrational function for its bearers".

Allport on the same page points out that for prejudice to exist "there must be an attitude of favour or disfavour". The Fulbe and Temnes in their statements about one another have said nearly as many favourable things about the other group as they have said unfavourable things. Neither is consistently hostile towards the other.

Apart from the test statements, the Fulbe and Temnes normally show no hostility in their behaviour to the other group except during crises. Areas of contact may be restricted to business to a large extent, but the giving of Temne women to Fulbe indicates that they are willing to intermarry, it is the Fulbe's own reluctance that prevents Fulbe women from marrying Temne men. In this respect the Fulbe are discriminating against the Temne, although if a Temne man first 'turns Fula', by becoming a Muslim and by living up to pulaaku (in so far as he is able) he may marry a Fulamuso (woman of the Fulbe tribe).

Both Temne and Fulbe can be said to discriminate in their relations with the other tribe. Each speak their own language and have their own customs, culture and values. It is mainly through these differences that the two groups discriminate, obviously a Fullo's relationship with a Temne is very different from that which he might have with other Fulbe. There is however a different basis for discrimination between Fulbe and Temne in addition to those of language, etc.

¹Allport, loc.cit.

²N.W. Ackerman and Marie Jahoda. Anti Semitism and Emotional Disorder. New York, Harper, 1950, 4.

The Temne have been defeated by the Fulbe and driven from Futa Jallon by them. Since that time they have had many skirmishes with smaller groups of Fulbe, in which blood has been shed. It is very possible therefore that the Temne have developed an historical attitude towards the Fulbe, and look upon them as traditional enemies (and friends).

The Fulbe definitely regard the Temne as belonging to the general category of balɛbe, or black people, in contradistinction to themselves as Fulbe. As Fulbe, they are superior since they have, and live up to Pulaaku. In addition they and other muslims are brothers in religion, musibbe dina. Most Temne are not muslim and are therefore excluded. The Fulbe with their Pulaaku are inherently superior to all balɛbe, in their own eyes. This fact is well demonstrated by the myth of origin.

The Fulbe, like most African peoples, have a large mythology which provides explanations for the existence of people, animals, plants and other entities, as well as the reason for the particular nature and role of everything in the world.

Each group, or sub-tribe of Fulbe, has its own accepted forms of the myths, and although they may differ in the details, the general outline and other important features are more or less constant.

The myth that Mankind began with Adam and Eve (Adama and Eva) is very common among Fulbe in the Western part of the Guinea Coast. Noah's three sons also occupy a prominent part in the Myth; Shem, Efat and Ham were the founders of the races of the 'world' as it is known to the Fulbe. Shem, who took the riches of the Ark, founded the European race, which^{is} why they are rich. Efat founded the Arabs and the Fulbe, and Ham was the first Negro, or balejo.

The mythic charter¹ of the Fulbe is adhered to even today, and is clearly linked with the absence of enthusiasm shown by them towards adopting a

¹This term is used in the way Malinowski used it. B. Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion and other essays. Glencoe, 1948, p.89f.

Western education and way of life. The myth makes the distinction between Fulbe and other Africans (balɛbe sing. balejo) very real, and not something to be treated as a piece of folklore in a Modern European city. Although Fulbe do not understand white people (dangbe, sing. danejo) they respect them for (1) their intelligence, (2) their honesty, (3) worshipping the one God, (4) their wealth. Fulbe claim that Europeans and themselves have more in common spiritually and mentally than they have with other Africans, although circumstances force them to live among the latter and on the same low level as they do.

Black people have always been a type of natural resource to the Fulbe, who could go and take over their land and enslave them. Black people are not important as they are unbelievers (kafiri, sing. kafir) and to enslave them was to do them a favour as many were then taught to be good Muslims. Now that slavery has been abolished (Sierra Leone, 1928) much of the same attitude to balɛbe is still present, although nowadays a man can marry a Fulbe girl if he first 'turns Fula' by taking up Islam and the Fulbe moral code and values.

The old mythology does not cope with a situation such as exists today, when the practice of fighting and killing Black men is prevented by the white man, and Fulbe have to live on equal terms with people who are equated with goats. (The first goat was a black slave who had been turned into this form for being recalcitrant.)

Myths are not rigid structures which come tumbling down when present circumstances force a contradiction, and they can be added to ad infinitum; and no matter how many inconsistencies may be contained within the myth, it is still valid. Thus the Lunsar Fulbe have developed a myth which not only explains their presence in the town but also provides a charter, and a right for them to be there.

The development of the myth in Lunsar can be studied by asking the first settlers for accounts of their arrival and activities, and by asking

young people either brought up in Lunsar or who have immigrated from La Guinée to give accounts of the same events.

Three old men in the area, Cerno Ibrahima Jalo, Cerno Wuri Jalo and Manga 'Alhadji' Bah, came to Marampa village about forty years ago with a great scholar called Cerno Amadu Bah. At that time Cerno Ibrahima and Cerno Wuri were his pupils, while 'Alhadji' Bah was his slave. This small party not only made and sold charms, but also engaged in petty trading.

These three old men all tell the same story of their arrival in Marampa; Cerno Amadu was invited by a Temne of the ruling clan, (the Kabias of Marampa) to come and help him become chief by means of his supernatural powers. This Temne had a friend called Kulifa who also wanted to assist him to become chief, and with the help of Cerno Amadu's magic succeeded and became P.C. Bai Koblo I.

Afterwards, Cerno Amadu said he wished to return to his home, but Bai Koblo persuaded him to stay in Marampa and gave him some land and a house. Not long afterwards the Europeans began prospecting for iron on Masaboin hill and found large, rich deposits of ore, but found difficulty in working it because of the Demon, Masaboin Tenke, and the 'Bush Devils' who inhabited the hill.

P.C. Bai Koblo seeing that enormous profit could be made out of the Europeans, begged Cerno Amadu to drive out the Devils and make the mine prosperous, and make a big town grow. Cerno Amadu went into seclusion in a special hut built for him, and only came out to perform his natural functions and to wash. Otherwise he was in the hut by himself for a fortnight, nobody else being allowed to enter. This type of seclusion is called kalfa by Fulbe. While in kalfa Cerno Amadu prayed and begged God to drive the devils and make Lunsar grow into a big town. He also made a charm which was later hung inside Lunsar to make people come and settle there.

Cerno Wuri and the others said that Bai Koblo I was ungrateful and cheated the Fulbe by not suitably rewarding them for making the mine and Lunsar prosperous. Apparently he had promised them a large sum of money but never gave it to them, which makes the Fulbe feel bitter towards the chief.

The above simple story as told by Cerno Wuri, who still lives in Marampa, is corroborated by the other two old Fulbe, and is probably historically correct. However, the younger Fulbe in their twenties and thirties have a much more elaborate story of these same happenings, which is now a myth.

"The first Fulbe to come to Lunsar were Cerno Ibrima ^{the others,} Cerno Wuri and Alhadji Bah, all come about three months after. Alhadji Bah carried Cerno Amadu's Box as he was his Slave.

"On arrival he went to Marampa village as that was the big town, Lunsar not being in existence as a town. Cerno Amadu came to practise as a cerno and cernos Ibrima and Wuri came with him to read and learn from him. At this time Delco was not in existence.

"Five years after their arrival, Delco began operations, the Devils (Djina Bofi in the larger hill worked now and Djina in the other hill). Djina Bofi's legs were deformed, being splayed outwards so that he was permanently on his knees and unable to walk. This was a blacksmith (bailokante) devil Djina Baili). He lived in one place, but when they (Delco) began work in the daytime they would return next day and find everything spoilt, the machines would not work; buildings fell down. Delco asked the Temne chief which Africans understood such things, who said one Fula man named Cerno Amadu understood such things. Cerno Amadu said he was able to drive the Devil.

"Delco promised that if Cerno Amadu drove the Devil they would give him money for the rest of his life (£200).

"He went and examined the hill then said, "Wait, I will go and read my books and dream about the hill". In the dream he saw the Devils in the hill. Then he asked for a small one-roomed house to be cleaned thoroughly and went inside for two weeks, no man, woman or child being allowed into the house, neither did he come out for anything.

"He prayed much of the two weeks, and read the books, especially Sirri to himself with his Talshibir for two weeks, calling the Devil. When he called the Devil, the devil sent a minor devil after two weeks and asked Cerno Amadu why he had called him. Cerno Amadu told him he wanted him to leave the hill, and go somewhere else. This devil returned to the big devil with the deformed legs and told him Cerno Amadu wanted him to go. The Devil refused and sent the small devil back with the news. Cerno Amadu asked if the small devil himself agreed to go and was told yes.¹ The big Devil said that if Cerno Amadu drove him by the Kataba force then Cerno Amadu would die. Cerno Amadu agreed and said he didn't mind so long as the devils went away.

"When the Devils came out, the two hills trembled violently with a loud noise in the middle of the night. Cerno Amadu told the chief that the Devil had been driven, and the chief told Delco. Delco said now the chief and you will get money until you die. Then Cerno Amadu told the chief that many people would not believe that he had driven the Devil. He went and walked the boundaries of Lunsar as it is today, up to Mabessene and said this would one day be a big town full of houses slap up against one another. Cerno Amadu said the town was to be called Lunsara Marampa. 'Now I have told you and I am going to die'. Then Cerno Amadu went back to Marampa.

"The area now occupied by Alfa Bakr's property between BaiRampa Road, Kegbele Street and King Edward Street, was given to Cerno Amadu by the chief.

"After he had built two houses, Basma's old shop and the house next to Amadu Sesay's house he died. This was about 25 years ago, and was within one year of driving the Devil. Now the Temne Chief gets all the money and the Fulbe get nothing."

¹Kataba is arabic for 'book'.

(The Chief of Marampa when Cerno Amadu arrived was Bai Koblo, father of Alsein Kabia, Lorry and Landrover owner.)

This myth has been included in its entirety as it explains much about the position of Fulbe in Lunsar. In the same way as Bai Koblo I obtained assistance from Fulbe so Bai Koblo II had to seek their help when he was ill. The myth also explains the distrust that Fulbe have for Temnes and their ways.¹ The real importance of the myth to the Fulbe is that it justifies their presence in Lunsar, and the fact that they have never been fully rewarded merely increases their idea that they have a right to be in Lunsar, and that the Kabia family are under an obligation to them.

A new myth is beginning to take shape which reinforces the sentiments already produced by the one narrated above. It is rumoured by the Fulbe that Bai Koblo II's present compound in Lunsar is built over the grave of Cerno Amadu, and that the Chief is afraid to complete the large concrete two storey house he has been building for five years, because Fulbe magic will 'catch' him if he does.

The interesting feature of these myths is that most of the facts can be checked historically; for example, whether or not Cerno Amadu was actually buried where Bai Koblo's compound is built. Also the sernaabe keep diaries and write accounts of events often having boxes full of documents on the growth of Lunsar, the Fulbe are not interested in finding inconsistencies and fallacies in their own myths.

Myth serves an important function in the Fulbe community, in fact the community can almost be defined as containing only those to whom the myths are important. Common myths thus provide not only a sense of security to Lunsar Fulbe but also maintain solidarity, by serving as a symbol. Looked at in this way it is possible to understand why myths are not only embellished but also

¹ See ~~Chapter~~ ^{Section} on Fulbe-Temne attitudes.

added to and altered. As the community (and society) changes so the myth, its symbol, changes to suit the requirements of the people as members of the community.

The old Fulbe myths which explained the various statuses of sub-groups, such as slaves, blacksmiths, freemen etc., are less important in Lunsar than in Futa Jallon, because the way of life pursued by Lunsar Fulbe is very different. Men of slave status, such as Alhadji Bah are allowed to use the title or name of Alhadji which they would not be allowed to do in Futa Jallon. Other slaves are allowed to use traditional freemen's names, although I was told that on returning home they would have to drop them and reassume their own slave names.

The basic problem of Lunsar Fulbe is security. High handed action such as that taken by Bai Koblo in 1949 in departing Fulbe, and the fact that they are a minority group who maintain differences, between themselves and the local Temnes may be said to throw them together and increase their solidarity: but at the same time the new myths give them justification for being in Lunsar whereas the old myths do not.

Myths as well as being a symbol and a Charter, are an expression of insecurity, and it is postulated that if the Fulbe should become much more strongly established in Lunsar, and cease to be an easily recognised minority group, then the importance of the myths will diminish and their nature change.

An interesting case is quoted below which serves the dual purpose of showing the working of the N.A. Court and the differences which both Fulbe and Temnes recognise as existing between them. The case also illustrates the change in attitude of Temnes towards Fulbe over the previous eight years; here is a case in which a Fullo is supported by Temnes, in contrast to the cases in which they were victimised in the same court in 1949.

Report of Case held in Lunsar Court, 8/8/58.¹

Lunsar Marampa - Masimera Chiefdom Court. Members present:

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Alimamy Korama. | 6. Lamina Falah. |
| 2. Santigu Bia. | 7. Bassie Kamara. |
| 3. Santigi Kanu. | 8. Kapr Polie. |
| 4. Wusu Bia. | 9. Santigu Polah Bia. |
| 5. Lamena Sanko. | 10. Pa Sebana Bia. |

Plaintiff:

Dibbin Fulah
of Matokor in the Marampa-
Masimera Chiefdom. Ve.

Defendants:

Pa Kapr Thallay, Sebum Thuray,
Ibrahima and Sarifu Tharawolie of
Matokor and Manonke in do chiefdom.

Charge: Defendants charged with initiating plaintiff into the Porro Society against his will, being a Fula man.

Summons and Service nil.

Plea: Defendants pleaded guilty.

Procedure of the case.

Dibbin Fulah: "My name is Dibbin Fulah living at Matokor village. One day in the month of February 1958, I saw a number of people fall upon me whose faces I could not distinguish. When they fell upon me, I then asked them what I have done to be fallen upon in such a manner. But no answer to this, I was just initiated as a member. I am a Fulah, the Society is not in our family, by initiating me means that I am separated from my Tribe and never to go and live with my people of the same Tribe. This is the reason of my making the report to the District Commissioner.

I reported the above defendants simply because they are the owners of the town, but the people who really initiated me into the Society are:

1. Sarifu Tharawolie and 2. Ibrahima Tharawolie."

Pa Kapr Thallay: "My name is Pa Kapr Thallay, living at Matokor village. The initiation of Dibbin Fulah into the Porro Society was unknown to me. I know that Ibrahima and Sarifu brought the Porro Society into the village."

Pa Sebana Bia: "Did you report at all when this came to your hearing because you yourself are a chief and should know when to report matters to those above you?"

Pa Kapr Thallay: "I have done bad by not reporting to the chiefs in Authority."

Sebum Thuray: "My name is Sebum Thuray, living at Matokor Village. As a headman of this town I know when Dibbin Fulah was put into this Society, but did not take part in this initiation."

¹Lunsar N.A. Court Records.

Pa Alimamy Koroma: "You are the headman of this town, if anything ill happened there then, why did you not report to the Authority?"

Sebum Thuray: "It is in this that I made the mistake".

Pa Sebana Bia: "Who came and raided the town?"

Sebum Thuray: "It was Sarifu and Ibrahima."

Pa Sebana Bia: "Who owns the Porro Society?"

Sebum Thuray: "The Porro was owned by Sarifu and Ibrahima; and they were the people who initiated Dibbin Fulah."

Ibrahima Tharawolie: "My name is Ibrahima Tharawolie, living at Manonko village. It was Kiamp who delivered some one over to us at Matokor, and when we went; the Porro members mistakingly fell upon Dibbin Fulah who was not delivered to us, the man that was delivered to be initiated, then gained chance to run to the Police Station and reported the matter."

Pa Alimamy Korama: "When Kiamp gave you the person to be put into the Society, did you report to the Tribal Authority before the initiation?"

Ibrahima Tharawolie: "No, hence I say that I have made a mistake."

Pa Sebana Bia: "Before beginning to initiate people into the Society did you get permission from the N.A. or chiefs in general?"

Ibrahima: "I did not gain permission from anyone, it is there I made the mistake."

Pa Sebana Bia: "And if a person has done as you have done, has he done good work?"

Ibrahima: "No, it is a very bad action."

Sarifu Tharawolie: "My name is Sarifu Tharawolie, living in Matukia. There Kiamp desecrated the Porro society laws and offended me, and consoled me by giving me "Sallay" and this Sallay man abused Kiamp in the presence of a great crowd of people much against the Porro. We went then in search of Sallay at Matokor whom we found had fled to the Police Station to report. This crowd then mistakingly fell upon Dibbin Fulah and initiated him."

Pa Sebana Bia: "When Sallay was delivered to you by Kiamp, why did you not report of it to the Tribal Authority?"

Sarifu Tharawolie: "It is by failing to do so, hence it is a mistake on my part."

Pa Sebana Bia: "What are you in the society?"

Sarifu: "My brother and myself own the society."

Pa Sebana Bia: "Why did you make Porro without reporting to the Tribal Authority in order to gain their consent before any procedure?"

Sarifu: "It is a mistake that I have made."

VERDICT - We the Court members have closely sought out facts given by both parties; Sebum Thuray, having failed to report to the Tribal Authority, and you, being a headman, we therefore fine you the sum of 5 (five pounds).

2. And you, Pa Kapr Thallay, being a chief and Tribal Authority, such action as that of initiating some one into the Porro Society without first having gained the consent of the Tribal Authority, we also fine you to pay the sum of five pounds.

3. The Porro Society, which Ibrahima Tharawolie has introduced into the area, has been of many complaints and if this trip they initiate a Fula who is a different man from them, we therefore sentence him to be imprisoned for six months; and for introducing the Society without the knowledge of the Tribal Authority, we also sentence him to six months imprisonment which sentence should run consecutively with hard labour.

4. The "Porro Society" which Sarifu Tharawolie has introduced into the area, has been a source of many complaints which give a bad reputation to the chiefdom, and if this trip, they initiate a Fula man, who is a foreigner, we therefore sentence him to six months imprisonment and for introducing the Society into the area with the knowledge of the Tribal Authority, we also sentence him to six months imprisonment which sentence should also run consecutively with hard labour.

Remarks: The Porro menace is becoming quite repugnant to the interest of good Government in this chiefdom if an example is not set.

On review at Port Loko 9th August, 1958. Sentence confirmed. Both Sarifu Tharawolie and Ibrahima Tharawolie to undergo six months imprisonment with hard labour, but the sentences should run concurrently, not consecutively.

Signed Pa Alimamy Koroma.

The above account demonstrates the great importance of Islam to the Fulbe, for the plaintiff himself says at the beginning that by being forcibly initiated into the Poro Society he has been alienated from the Fulbe tribe. Poro is a pagan society and Muslims cannot, and are forbidden to join, thus by becoming an initiate a man relinquishes all claims on other Muslims, which for a Fullo includes his kin, family and tribe, since all Futa Jallon Fulbe are Muslims. The bond of musibbe dina (brothers in religion) had been broken.

Summary

Relations between Fulbe and Temnes must be looked at in terms of historical experience, which forms the basis for the various ideas which each group has about the other.

Immigration, Lunsar and other studies.

There have been a number of studies made on migration and urbanization in Africa in recent years. These studies fall into three main types. First there are studies made at the sending end, usually rural, of the migration chain which often terminates in towns and mine compounds or locations. Schapera's Migrant Labour and Tribal Life¹ is a good example of an attempt to find out why tribesmen leave their home to go and work in the Witwatersrand mines. Schapera's work also explains the attitude of both the migrants and their fellow tribesmen who do not migrate to the phenomenon of migration, from their own points of view.

The second type of enquiry, is illustrated by Rouch's² work. Rouch was interested to find out the routes taken by migrants, and the frequency with which they made migratory journeys. He was also interested to discover how tribal migrant groups organised themselves once they had reached their destinations.

This brings us to the third type of study, and for this thesis the most relevant for comparative purposes. That is to say, what happens when migrants have reached their destinations, and the way in which they live in the new environment. Richards³ has pointed out that there have been few studies of African migrants moving to new agricultural land, but most such research has been steered towards migrants in African towns.

Since Lunsar is a town, albeit a small one, it is worth while considering some of the research that has been carried out in other African towns, in order to demonstrate any similarities or differences shown by this thesis to these other studies.

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1. Schapera, I. Migrant Labour and Tribal Life.
 2. Rouch, Jean. Notes on the migrations into the Gold Coast.
 3. Richards, A.I. (Ed.). Economic Development and Tribal Change.

It is concluded that intergroup relations are conducted normally until a crisis appears. On these occasions in-group solidarity on the part of the Fulbe becomes very strong, and the Temne appear to use them as opportunities to get 'their own back'. However, because social intercourse is amiable and friendly at other times neither group can be looked on as prejudiced. They both appear to know the shortcomings and virtues of the other and do not allow them to interfere with everyday interpersonal behaviour.

Different behaviour shown to members of the other tribe is to be expected on the basis of cultural and linguistic differences. There is no apparent ideological barrier on the part of the Temne to prevent a member of another tribe taking up their ways. On the other hand the Fulbe adhere strongly to their own language, culture and pulaaku, in addition to their myths of origin.

New myths have arisen among Lunsar Fulbe which justify their presence in Lunsar. Although the older men such as Cerno Ibrahima Jalo and Cerno Wuri Jalo probably know what actually took place at the time Masaboin Tenke was driven from the hill of iron ore, they do ^{not} attempt to correct the younger men from embellishing the facts until they become myths. Due to the system of status with age, it is doubtful whether the old men know about the version of the story spread by younger men, as there is little or no informal contact between the young and old.

The court case at the end illustrates that the Temne attitude to the Fulbe is more favourable than previously, and also that the Poro society is not as strong as it used to be. The Court member, Pa Sebana Bia is himself a senior Poro member, but does not allow this to influence him during the course of the questioning.

CHAPTER VIII - CONCLUSIONS

The role of the Fulbe in the urban life and economy of Lunsar is specialized. The way in which the Fulbe adapt themselves to Lunsar life is different, from the way in which other tribal groups adapt themselves. The specialized role of the Fulbe emerges from their own peculiar adaptation to urban life which can be explained in sociological terms. Basically the difference between the Fulbe and the other immigrant groups lies in their social structure, which both permits them to go on living as Fulbe and necessitates that they specialize.

It has been explained that Lunsar exists because Delco extracts iron ore on a large scale nearby. The presence of Delco has introduced to the area two types of phenomena on a large scale. The first is the existence of a large labour force who in return for performing tasks for so many hours a day are paid wages and salaries. This in itself is an innovation in an area where people have hitherto existed as subsistence farmers, only occasionally amassing a surplus above their domestic needs for sale.

The second major influence that Delco has had, is by demonstrating a new type of work, which is new not merely in techniques, but in organisation. Delco is a modern (albeit extraction) industry, which is different from traditional industries in that there is a division of labour by process rather than by product. It should be noted that African iron smelters and blacksmiths (Bailo kante) have been extracting iron ore for many years, but for their own use. Delco itself allocates labour to each process, and Delco as a total organisation is only performing one process in the production of steel, i.e. the supply of basic ore.

The division of labour by process and the enormity of the project necessitates the use of a bureaucracy in which office holders have clearly defined

spheres of competence¹ and which are hierarchically arranged according to various levels of responsibility. To the African employee, working within a bureaucratic organisation performing skills new to Africa, and seeing new techniques and machines being operated by other Africans must be a stimulating experience. Although it is in the nature of modern industry for workers to 'switch off their minds' when the hooter goes at the end of the shift it is inevitable that many of the new ideas and values presented to them during their work period are carried into Lunsar, and will in the long run produce a new outlook.

We can simplify the situation and regard Delco as something which pumps out money and ideas into the vicinity. Both of these entities have attracted people to the area and the town of Lunsar has grown up. Secondary effects have come about as a result of the present comparatively large population. The government has had to instal various services to ensure that Lunsar has food, is kept disciplined and healthy. It now has a detachment of the Sierra Leone Police, a Magistrate's Court, a Native Authority Court, and road links with Freetown and Makeni. There are Sanitary Inspectors to see that drains are working and that the market meat is edible, and Delco sprays every house with insecticide every six months. In addition the Roman Catholic and the Anglican Missions run schools, and soon the Ahmadiya Mission is to open one. Lunsar has become a small Urban centre with many of the facilities of a large town. Thus not only does Delco itself provide new ideas and stimuli to the local people but its secondary effect, i.e. Lunsar, also provides them.

This thesis has described how one immigrant group, the Fulbe, live in such a situation. The reason for studying the Fulbe was their apparently small membership of Delco's labour force. We have also shown that the Fulbe do not participate in many aspects of life in Lunsar either, except certain occupations.

1 Max Weber. 'Bureaucracy' From Max Weber, translated and edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Kegan Paul 1961.

The Fulbe have no political role outside their own community, they do not join non-Fulbe associations or send their children to mission schools, but send their children back to Futa Jallon to be educated in the traditional manner. The Fulbe tend to expose themselves to modern influences and those of the balabe as little as possible, not so much as a consciously objectivized tribal policy, but because they do not adopt courses of action which are incompatible with Fulbe traditional values and ideal 'Fulbeness', pulaaku.

It is not difficult to see why the Fulbe retain their identity. To learn, and benefit from, the new concepts and techniques imported by Delco and Lunsar they would initially have to sacrifice certain of the key values of Fulbe society. Having benefited from the new ideas and techniques they would no longer be recognisable as Fulbe, and in fact the half Fulbe demonstrate that this has happened in some cases.

The two most important sets of values which inhibit Fulbe integration into the New [^]are centred around work and religion. The prestige hierarchy of work tasks among the Fulbe is directly connected to the social structure. The task and the performer are intimately combined, and performers occupy points in the structure commensurate with their tasks which not only dictate what tasks they might undertake, but describe and de-limit the rights and obligations of each performer outside the context of work itself.

The Fulbe with their rigid stratification into freemen, artisan or craft castes and slaves, do not fit into a modern bureaucratically run industry. The only Fulbe who may work for Delco without loss of dignity are the slaves. But by doing so their kin may lose the right to work part of their former masters' land. The artisans could also work for Delco but since they are used to being their own bosses would find it irksome. Also, a Fullo blacksmith would not be taken on by Delco as a Blacksmith but as a labourer because he would not be capable of using the complex modern equipment or of working to drawings. Neither

could he work to the close tolerances required by Delco. Finally, although a Pullo craftsman may have served a traditional type of apprenticeship, it would not qualify him for membership of any of the recognised guilds to which Delco's craftsmen belong. He is fit only to be a prime mover.

Just as the Fulbe artisans find it repugnant to work for Delco so do the freemen. The freemen are faced with an even more limited choice of occupations because traditionally they do not work even as skilled craftsmen. Just as Vieillard¹ says, the abolition of slavery was for the Fulbe, equivalent to the destruction of capital in a bourgeois state. One of their former occupations, the Jihad, and the consequent catching of slaves to do the work has been stopped. The former role of the aristocratic freemen in governing the others has been taken over by the State. Training in the Koran, Islamic Law, Astrology, reading and writing Fulfulde and Arabic continue, but equip the young Fulbe to do little else in their turn.

The freeborn Fulbe have however found a few occupations which are compatible with traditional values and enable them to survive economically. They engage in commerce on a large scale, thus taking over the role of their former clients the Serakulle. New skills such as 'tailoring' are taken up because they enable a man to be self employed, and since they are new, have no stigma or association with lower^w castes. Other new occupations in which men are working for themselves, or without supervision such as driving lorries are also attractive to Fulbe. Senior posts in Delco or the civil service which might be suitable for Fulbe because of the high prestige, are barred to them on the grounds of illiteracy in English, or in La Guinée, French.

Religion is the bar to literacy in Western languages for the Fulbe. This is because the primary schools are run by Christian Missions of one denomination or another. The Futa Jallon Fulbe who were (and perhaps are) the

1

Vieillard, loc. cit.

most fanatical Muslims in West Africa¹ do not like to send their children to unbelievers for education.² Without going to primary school the Fulbe cannot possibly enter the Government non-denominational secondary schools. For Fulbe to drop the idea that only a muslim education is good enough is as hard as it is for them to change their ideas about work and status. To change either or both would have a dynomic function.

Delco besides being a source of new ideas and techniques ultimately provides, or generates, most of the money in circulation in the area. One of its most important ancillary effects has been to stabilise the rice market, and consequently reduce the variation between post harvest abundance and pre-rains semi-starvation. Every day the Delco labour force receives two 'cups'³ of rice per worker, as part of their wages. This rice is bought by Delco at a fixed rate on a contract basis. The overall effect has been to reduce the individual demand for rice during shortages, and to prevent suppliers from charging excessive amounts for the little rice available. Consequently each worker pays less over a long period for his staple food which gives him more spending money.

There is little doubt that apart from the sarnaabe, karamoko and alfa who come to teach the Koran, the Fulbe come to Lunsar to make money. Those Fulbe who come to Lunsar by chance and who stay, do so because there is money to be made. In this respect they are similar to the Lebanese and Syrian traders who live in Lunsar. They are also similar to the European Delco employees, except of course that they do not work for Delco. They are similar to the Levantines and Europeans in that they live according to values brought with them, and not those of Lunsar in general. Also they tend to send their children away so that they may be taught the values of the parents and not those of Lunsar. Finally, they try to take what money they make back to their homeland and spend as little as possible locally.

¹Stenning, loc.cit.

²Even when the new Ahmadiya school opens it may not be patronised by the Fulbe because Ahmadiya is not 'true Islam'.

³A 'cup' is an empty cigarette tin.

The principal difference between the Fulbe and the Europeans is that the former lack modern technology and bureaucratic organization, otherwise they are very similar, even to the extent of carrying work status and prestige values into other in-group behaviour outside the actual work situation.

Although it may be tautologous to say so, the Fulbe are well adapted for their role in Lunsar. Their social structure is built up on a number of domestic groups, bengure, which if complete include freeborn and slaves. The way in which a number of bengure are related to one another is simple, there merely being a series of progressively more inclusive bonds between them as the group referred to increases in size. Basically one bengure could under ideal conditions, develop over a long period into a new Fulbe sub-tribe. The recognition of a common ideal, pulaaku, and among muslim Fulbe the bond of musibbe dina, enables them to band together to form a united front in the event of being threatened. This applies to kinsmen and strangers alike.

The Fulbe are also well suited to their Lunsar role in other ways. They are by tradition a migratory people who are not linked to any particular piece of land by magical, religious, mythical or sentimental ties. Wherever they roam they can pray to Allah for protection and praise his name, holaare Allah. Unlike the European in Lunsar the Fulbe can exist on what food is produced locally, and by travelling light they are independent of the long lines of supply necessary for the European's comfort. It can be concluded that the Lunsar Fulbe make few adjustments and changes, except in the field of work, to live normally. They are behaving in a typically Futa Jallon Fulbe manner.

In spite of the adjustment of the Fulbe in Lunsar they are faced with a dilemma, not just in Lunsar but elsewhere in West Africa. The balebe (Temme, Mende, Limba, etc., etc.) whom the Fulbe have always looked down upon as potential slaves and infidels, are learning the new techniques and are absorbing Western type education whenever possible. Sierra Leone and the other West African states are being run according to the new techniques and by Africans who

have been taught in Western type schools and Universities. The Fulbe by avoiding the new values and education will soon be governed by the balébe. Although this is an intolerable situation for the Fulbe to be in, they themselves will not be qualified to take part in anything other than village administration.

A change in outlook by the Fulbe is needed if they are to become an integral part of the new African states, and not become as gypsies in Europe. The Fulbe of Northern Nigeria have managed to hold onto political power so far, but only with the backing of the British. It is men like Alimami 'Wurro' who have organised the Fulbe in part of Sierra Leone to build a non-Christian school for their children who may bring the Fulbe up to date. Alimami 'Wurro' can see the problem but may have difficulty in persuading his fellows. An examination of his school project would be well worth while, as a piece of further research.

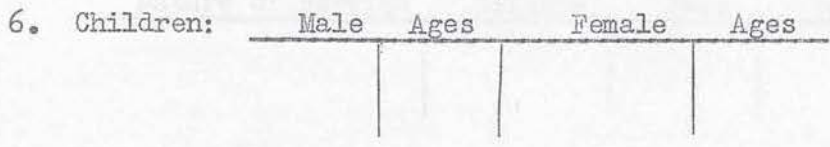
Other future research problems which have arisen during the course of my own work include the following: the importance of dualism among the Fulbe in general; whether the same work values found in Lunsar exist to the same extent in Futa Jallon itself, especially where there are large scale industries like Delco. In fact we should wish to know where such industries obtain their labour.

One very interesting project would be to verify whether or not the expansion of Fulbe from Futa Jallon is continuing despite the enforced peace, and whether in fact Lunsar is at the moment the most southerly 'spearhead' of such an expansion. The decline in importance of the Poro, and the Islamisation of the Temne may indicate this.

Appendix A - Interview Guide

Males

- 1. Name.
- 2. Sex.
- 3. Age.
- 4. Marital status.
- 5. Wives:

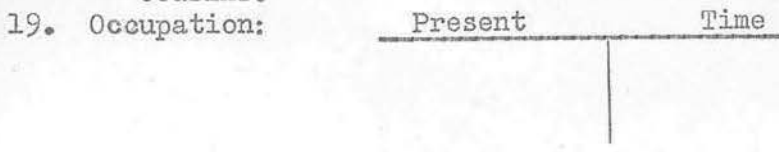


- 7. Location of Wives:
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.

- 8. Father's tribe.
- 9. Mother's tribe.
- 10. Birthplace.
- 11. Time since departure.
- 12. Time in Lunsar.
- 13. Visits home.
- 14. Places visited:



- 15. Address.
- 16. Owner of house.
- 17. Monthly rent.
- 18. Relatives in Lunsar:
 - Full brothers.
 - Half brothers.
 - Cousins.



Previous

- 1. 1.
- 2. 2.
- 3. 3.
- 4. 4.
- 20. Where learnt.
- 21. Teacher.
- 23. Period learning.
- 24. Employer.
- 25. Site of work.

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26. Traders:

Goods sold	Origin	Brought by	Sold to	At

27. Producers:

Product	Raw mat.	Market	Cost	Tools & Machines	Their origin

28. 'Service occupations'

Nature of service	Clients	Fees	Tools, books etc.

- 29. Member of soc.
- 30. Reason for change in occupation.
- 31. Free or slave.
- 32. Musical instruments.
- 34. Played for money.
- 35. Proposed length of stay.
- 36. Like Lunsar.
- 37. Like temnes.

1
 Max Gluckman maintains that although migrant Africans can be called tribesmen while in their home areas, and while in towns, tribalism in towns is a completely different phenomenon. Gluckman insists that in the town situation, 'tribe' is primarily a means of classifying a multitude of Africans of heterogeneous origin who live together. 2
 Mitchell develops the same ideas as Gluckman (above) and says that tribalism is the most important category on the Copperbelt today. Mitchell maintains that the importance of the newcomers' tribe is thrown into relief by the multiplicity of tribes living in close proximity to one another. Tribe becomes a category on the basis of which casual relationships between members of different tribes are developed.

It appears to me from what I know about the Temne, Mende, and other tribes whose members are to be found in Lunsar, that 'Tribe as category' also influences relationships between individuals belonging to the various tribal groups. 3
 Similarly, Mitchell's distinction between tribal structure and tribalism is also valid for the inhabitants of Lunsar. Mitchell says, of tribal structure and tribalism, :

'the one is a system of social relationships, and the other is a category of interaction within a wider system'.

Within each tribal group, especially in domestic life, Lunsar inhabitants to a great extent are structured according to principles imported from their home villages.

By coming to live and work in Lunsar, Africans are exposing themselves to new work values and techniques in addition to new social relationships based on the tribe as a category. 4
 Mayer criticises Gluckman (and Mitchell for he shares the same opinion) for presenting a 'schizoid' picture, i.e., that Ego switches from relations in the morning when they are based on 'tribe as category' (urban) to tribal and structural relations in the evening. 5
 Mayer claims that any theory postulating that

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1. Gluckman, M. Anthropological Problems arising from the African Industrial Revolution.
 2. Mitchell, Clyde. The Kalela Dance; Rhodes-Livingston Papers, No. 27, M.U.P., 1959, p. 29.
 3. Mitchell, ibid. p. 30.
 4. Mayer, P. "Migrancy and the study of Africans in Towns". American Anthropologist, Vol. 64, No. 3, Part I, June 1962. p. 580
 5. Mayer, ibid.

Appendix A - Interview Guide

Females

1. Name.
2. Age.
3. Marital status.
4. Father's tribe.
5. Mother's tribe.
6. Husband's name.
7. Husband's tribe.
8. Husband's location.
9. Relatives in Lunsar:
 - Full Siblings
 - Half Siblings
 - Cousins etc.
10. Birthplace.
11. Time since departure.
12. Time in Lunsar.
13. Visits home.
14. Places visited:

	Time		Purpose
15. Address.
16. Owner of house.
17. Rent.
18. Paid by.
19. Previous marriages.
20. Cause of break-up.
21. Children:

	Male	Ages	Female	Ages
22. Time married to present Husband.
23. If Trader etc.

Merchandise	Sold at	Origin	Brought by	Receiver of profits
24. Co-wives:

Tribe	Number
25. Like Lunsar.
26. Like Temnes.

APPENDIX C

List of Informants and the tests set them

Number	Name	Random Sample	Delco Employees	Occupational Rating Test	Conditions of Work	Conception of Work	Attitudes	Friends	Kinship	'palavas'	Maube	Temne Wives
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	Cerno Ibrima Jalo					1	1					1.2
2	Jalo, Mom. Samba											
3	Cassimimo Dumbuia											
4	Baba Jalo	1		1	1	1	11	1	11	1	1	1.2
5	Samba Jalo	1			1							
6	Mahomet Barri					1	1	1	1	1	1	1.
7	Ibrima Barri			1	1	1	1					
8	Samba Jalo											
9	Momadu Barri											
10	Monasaliu Bah			1	1	1	1					
11	Abdulai Barri	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	2.
12	Amadu Bah	1		1	1	1	1		1	1		
13	Mahomat Yero Barri				1	1						3
14	Bokarie Jalo					1	1	1	1	1	1	3.
15	Bah, Kinde Tailor	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	
16	Amadu Jalo			1	1	1		1	1	1		
17	Omaru Bah											
18	Momadu Barri											
19	Alpha Barri											
20	Abdulai Bah					1						2.3
21	Momadu Jalo	1					1	1	1	1	1	2.3
22	Ousman Bah											2.
23	Aliu Jalo	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	
24	Abasse Sew	1		1	1		1	1	1	1	1	

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		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
137	Ousman Bailo	1	1	1								
138	Jalo Amadu											
139	Smith Sila			1								
140	Amadu Barri	1				1	1					
141	Agibu Jalo											
142	Sullaiman Jalo	1		1			1					1.1
143	Momadu Jalo			1		1	1					
144	Momadu Bailo Bah											
145	Amadu Barri											
146	Momadu Sesay	1										
147	Abu Barka Jalo											
148	Momadu Jalo											
149	Ibrima Barri					1		1	1	1		1
150	Cerno Bah											
151	Cerno Barri	1						1	1	1		
152	Usman Barri	1						1	1	1		
153	Abu Jalo							1	1	1		
154	Saadu Jalo							1	1	1		
155	Ibrima Sorie Jalo							1	1	1		
156	Ousman Barri	1				1		1	1	1		
157	Mom. Saliu Sew							1	1	1		
158	Abu Barka Barri	1						1	1	1		
159	Aliu Barri							1	1	1		
160	Juldeh Bah							1	1	1		
161	Cerno Habibu Jalo	1						1	1	1		
162	Sullaiman Timbo			1								
163	Fouba Momadu Seik					1						
164	Mom. Yia Ture	1										
165	Yera Bah					1		1	1	1		1
166	Forley Bah											
167	Talibe Kamara	1										
168	Karamoko Amadu Jalo											

= 162 Informants

28	Kadijatu Kamara										
29	Marie Bah	1									
30	Aye Sesay										
31	Ariatu Bah	1									
32	Sumrah Ali	1									
33	Kadi Wuri										
34	Marie Sesay										
35	Maimouna Forfona										
36	Jaja Barri										
37	Mariama Jalo										
38	Li'riwan Bah										
39	Fatu. Jalo	1									
40/54	Adama Sira Jalo	1				1	1	1	1		
41	Nene Fula										
42	Momadu Binta										
43	Mabinty Jalo										
44	Fatumata Bah										
45	Kadijatu Gargigo										
46	Isatu Jalo	1									
47	Isatu Jalo										
48	Binta Bah										
49	Jabiya Jalo	1									
50	Hulai Bah										
51	Adama Bah	1									
52	Kadijatu Jalo						1	1	1		
53	Mariama Juldh Bah						1	1	1		
54/40	Adama Sira Jalo	1				1	1	1	1		
55	Kaday Sila						1	1	1		
56	Bilgina Jalo	1					1	1	1		
57	Reli Jalo						1	1	1		
58	Binta Barri	1					1	1	1		
59	Sadi Barri						1	1	1		
60	Binta Bande										

= 59 Informants

APPENDIX D

THE PUNCH CARDS.

Each person put on the census has most of the census information transposed on to a punched card.

'Cope Chat' 8" x 5" cards being used.

Other information not appearing on the census forms is also entered on the cards.

Two systems of storing information have been used.

- (a) By coding information first and by clipping certain holes to represent code numbers.
- (b) By writing on the card information not easily coded or which it is not desirable to codify. This includes information where the total number of possible or even probable answers is unknown.

1. ...	30. ...
2. ...	31. ...
3. ...	32. ...
4. ...	33. ...
5. ...	34. ...
6. ...	35. ...
7. ...	36. ...
8. ...	37. ...
9. ...	38. ...
10. ...	39. ...
11. ...	40. ...
12. ...	41. ...
13. ...	42. ...
14. ...	43. ...
15. ...	44. ...
16. ...	45. ...
17. ...	46. ...
18. ...	47. ...
19. ...	48. ...
20. ...	49. ...
21. ...	50. ...
22. ...	51. ...
23. ...	52. ...
24. ...	53. ...
25. ...	54. ...
26. ...	55. ...

OCCUPATIONS

A running list of occupations had been compiled, each one with a separate number. The numbers are noted by clipping hole^S:-

l = Hundreds

E = Tens

F = Units.

The occupations are:-

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Leatherworker | 27. Cattle trader |
| 2. Blacksmith | 28. Cattle owner |
| 3. Weavers | 29. Chief's messenger (NA. Police) |
| 4. Karamoko | 30. Farmer, self |
| 5. Cherno | 31. Jeliba |
| 6. Cattle Drivers (for others) | 32. Trader, table |
| 7. Traders (Travelling) + women | 33. Trader, shop |
| 8. Tailors, machine. | 34. Shovel driver |
| 9. Tailors, hand. | 35. Club steward |
| 10. Watchman | 36. Painter |
| 11. Unemployed | 37. Sanitary labourer |
| 12. Labourer | 38. Sample man |
| 13. Driver | 39. Sample labourer |
| 14. Hospital labourer | 40. Electrician labourer |
| 15. Surgical assistant | 41. Headman winchman |
| 16. Farm labourer | 42. Fitter |
| 17. Sheep, goat trader | 43. Thief |
| 18. 'Small boy' | 44. Restaurant supervisor |
| 19. Photographer | 45. Oulube |
| 20. Dyer of cloth | 46. Policeman |
| 21. Housewife/cook | 47. Accounts clerk |
| 22. Hodu player | 48. Clerk |
| 23. Dancers | 49. Baker |
| 24. Acrobats | 50. Servant |
| 25. Mat-maker | 51. Koran student. |
| 26. Mason | |

that Ego switches back and forth between two fields or systems cannot help us to understand the process of change, or any shift in the strength of different ties. However, whether Gluckman is right or wrong, there is little doubt that most Africans in Lunsar do switch from the industrial organisation represented by Delco, and all that entails, to their domestic lives which are largely traditional.

1

Mayer postulates that his own approach or idea of an 'urban model' is more useful. He says that in fact within African towns all institutions are more or less urban and rural. The important factor is the proportion of 'urbanness' to 'ruralness' within institutions and in the ties linking each individual.

2

Mayer both in the afore mentioned article and in his book uses a 'network' approach to explain why three separate types of Xhosa remain distinct from one another. One group are town born and bred, the townsmen. Another group are the 'School' migrants, and the third are the 'Red' migrants. It is this latter group who are of particular interest to us because they have several characteristics in common with the Fulbe. Mayer says that Red migrants and School migrants are 'in the town but of the country', and that chance throws each individual into contact with his workmates, but that choice allows each to select those with whom he spends his leisure time.

3

The Red migrants like the Fulbe tend to send their children home to be educated within the tribal setting, and Mayer says that "if most migrants raised their children in town, the distinction of the Red and School categories in this setting could be largely obscured within a generation". A further similarity is the shortage of Xhosa women in East London and Fulbe women in Lunsar, and the consequent competition for women of their own group or category.

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1. Mayer, ibid. p. 584.
 2. Mayer, P. Townsmen or Tribesmen. Xhosa in Town Studies, Cape Town O.U.P., p. 9.
 3. Mayer, ibid. p. 14.

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B. AGE GROUPS

The age groups are noted in section 'G' on the cards. The numbers 7, 4, 2 and 1 being added together to obtain the required numbers.

<u>Age groups</u>	<u>Code Numbers</u>	<u>Holes punched</u>
0 - 4 years	1	1
5 - 9 "	2	2
10 - 14 "	3	1 + 2
15 - 19 "	4	4
20 - 24 "	5	4 + 1
25 - 29 "	6	4 + 2
30 - 34 "	7	7
35 - 39 "	8	7 + 1
40 - 44 "	9	7 + 2
45 - 49 "	10	7 + 2 + 1
50 - 54 "	11	7 + 4
55 - 59 "	12	7 + 4 + 1
60 - 69 "	13	7 + 4

C. TIME OF RESIDENCE IN LUN SAR OR PLACE
IN WHICH INDIVIDUAL WAS INTERVIEWED

Code numbers are noted in section 'H' on the cards.

The numbers 7, 4, 2 and 1 added as in age groups.

A person is resident if he has actually been in the place continuously for a period without leaving for any length of time, e.g., over four months, and if his house and possessions were not removed or loss of ownership incurred.

<u>TIME</u>	<u>CODE NUMBER</u>
Visiting, including those who have been in place for under three months.	1
3 - 6 months	2
7 - 11 months	3
1 year	4
2 "	5
3 "	6
4 "	7
5 "	8
6 "	9
10 "	10
15 "	11
20 "	12
25 "	13
30+ "	14

D. UNEMPLOYED

A separate hole is set aside to mark unemployed persons, because the occupational list was also used in the occupational rating test; to have removed it from this list when marking on cards would have altered the number sequence.

Hole top left unmarked,
before corner.

E. SEX

If male, top left hand corner hole clipped.

If female, top left hand corner hole unclipped.

F. MARITAL STATUS

Top, first hole from left corner.

If single, this hole is clipped.

If married, this hole is left unclipped.

G. NUMBER OF WIVES

Top, hole section 'b' - 'E'.

Letter overmarked with number thus:-

The number of wives being denoted by adding the superimposed numbers in various combinations. For females, this section is left blank.

H. SPOUSES' TRIBES

Top, the hole sections F, G, and H denote whether a spouse is -

F	=	Fula
G	=	Temne
H	=	Any other tribe.

Half Fulas are cast as Fulas, if father was a Fula.

Half Temnes are cast as Temne, if father was Temne.

I. SPOUSES' LOCATIONS

If with individual, top hole 'I' is clipped.

J. AGNATIC KIN

If in same area as individual, top hole 'J' is clipped.

K. PARENTAGE

Three categories of parents are noted.

Top Hole

- K = Fula father and Fula mother.
- L = Fula mother and mother of another tribe.
- M = Fula mother and father of another tribe.

L. MUSICAL SKILLS

Top Hole

- Mc = Person who plays the hodu. (Fula Guitar)
- N = Person who plays the bailo (Fula Jew's Harp)
- O = Person who plays any other instrument.

M. MEMBERSHIP OF A SOCIETY

<u>Society</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
'Compin' - Fula	1
Al Koran and Maube	2
Oje	3

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<u>Society</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
Women's Society - Fula	4
Bundu.	5
'Compin' - Temne	6

Top - section T, U, V and W, overmarked 7, 4, 2 and 1, code numbers obtained by addition.

N. STATUS

The various castes are given code numbers thus:-

Section P, Q, R and S, overmarked 7, 4, 2 and 1.

<u>Caste</u>	<u>Code Numbers</u>
Rimbe	1
Macudu	2
Rinenado	3
Bailo Kante	4
Laube	5
Jeliba	6
Oulube	7

O. INDIVIDUAL'S ORIGIN

The individual's place of origin was noted and each place given a code number.

<u>Place</u>	<u>Code Number</u>
Timbo	1
Pita	2
Labe	3
Momou	4
Masi	5
Faucoumba	6
Telemete	7
Kindia	8
Dalaba	9
Lunsar Marampa	10
Temne Country	11
Elsewhere in Sierra Leone	12
-	13
Others	14

Top - Holes section X, Y, Z and A, overmarked 7, 4, 2 and 1. Code numbers obtained by addition.

P. CENSUS FORM NUMBER

These forms found in the files 6, (Males) and 7 (Females), contain much of the information found on the holes of the cards. The other relevant information is written on the cards themselves.

The first hole from the top right-hand corner (unmarked) on the right-hand edge, denotes Two hundreds.

The second hole along this edge (marked 1), denotes One hundred.

The section marked 'a' denotes Tens.

The section marked 'B' denotes Units.

All persons on the census have a number but the same sequence of numbers has been used for both Males and females, it is therefore likely that two individuals may have the same number, but they will be individuals of opposite sex.

Q. DELCO EMPLOYEES

Right-hand edge, hole 13.

This hole is clipped if the individual is an employee of Delco. It is left intact if he is not.

R. INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED IN WORREHS.

Right-hand edge, hole 16.

This hole is clipped if the individual was interviewed in a worreh. It is left intact if the interview took place elsewhere.

S. DECEASED

Right-hand bottom corner hole.

This hole is clipped if the individual concerned has died since the census was compiled.

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T. RANDOM SAMPLE -

for general use

Right-hand, hole bottom corner (unmarked).

U. DUPLICATE SET OF CARDS

Bottom, hole 31.

V. CARDS CONTAINING OTHER WRITTEN

INFORMATION

Bottom, hole 30.

W. SELF EMPLOYED PERSONS

Bottom, left-hand corner (unmarked).

X. CHANGE OF OCCUPATION SINCE LEAVING HOME

OR COMING TO SIERRA LEONE

Left-hand edge, hole first above corner (unmarked).

Y. TWO JOBS

Persons with two main sources of income,
e.g., Watchman and Table trader.

Bottom; hole 2.

If the individual concerned falls into this category the hole is clipped.

If not, it is left intact.

Z. TESTS

Each test has been allotted a specific hole, as shown in the following table. If the individual concerned has been subjected to any tests the appropriate hole is clipped, if not it is left intact.

<u>Test</u>	<u>Side</u>	<u>Hole</u>
1. Occupation Rating	Top-right	E
2. Temne-Fula attitude	Top-right	I
3. Three friends.	Top-right	O
4. Kinship.	Top-right	U
5. Temne wives, social rating.	Right edge	10, 11, 12
6. Job characteristics	Right edge	14
7. Conceptions of types of work.	Right edge	15
8. 'Palavas' test.	Right edge	17
9. 5 Maube test.	Bottom-right	hole before corner (unmarked)

APPENDIX E

Names of Fulbe appearing in the kinship diagrams.

		<u>Camp 2</u>
1.	Barri, Cerno.	1. Jalo Abu.
2.	" Aliu	2. Sila Kaday.
3.	" Usmani.	3. (dead)
4.	" Binta.	4. Jalo Bailo.
5.	" Aminata.	5. Jalo Yero.
6.	" Sadi	6. " Bailo.
7.	" Momadu	7. " Alusine.
8.	" Fatumata.	8. " Jenabu.
9.	" Lamarana.	9. " Bilgissa.
10.	" Momadu Wuri.	10. " Sarjo.
11.	" Aie.	11. husband of 10. absent.
12.	Jalo Garanky	12. Jalo Juleh
13.	Barri Mariama.	13. " Alfa Mumini.
14.	" Abdul.	14. " Cerno Juleh.
15.	Silla Sadi.	15. Bah Mariama Juldeh.
16.	Barri Jewin.	16. Jalo Sadu.
17.	Sesay Mariama.	17. " Cerno Jabiyah.
18.	Barri Kadijatu.	18. " Cerno Habibu.
19.	" Mariama.	19. " Lama.
20.	" Bilor.	20. " Kadijatu.
21.	" Fatumata.	21. " Salmatta Yasin.
22.	" Sanasi.	22. " Hulaimattu.
23.	" Ibrahimia.	23. " Adama Sira.
24.	" Fatumata.	24. Bah Hulai.
25.	" Maliki.	25. " Binta.
26.	" Adama.	26. Jalo Rabi.
27.	" Jam Yero.	27. Barri Aliu.
28.	Lamina Momadu.	28. " Momadu Bailo.
29.	Kamara Bubakr.	29. Jalo Alimu.
30.	Jah Adama.	30. " Aisatu.
31.	Binta Mama.	31. " Momadu Binta.
32.	Barri Lama.	32. " Cerno.
33.	Conteh Momadu.	33. " Adama.
		34. Barri Usmani.
		35. Soh Momadu Saliu.
		36. Jalo Ibrahimia Sori.
		37. Bah Juldeh.
		38. Barri Abu Bakr.
		39. Bah Aliu.
		40. Jalo Umu Sale.
		41. " Adama.
		42. Bah Binta.

Barri = 25
 Jalo = 1
 Sila = 1
 Sesay = 1
 Lamina = 1 (Temne)
 Kamara = 1 (Temne)
 Jah = 1
 Conteh = 1 (Temne)
 Binta = 1

Barri = 4
 Jalo = 28
 Sila = 1
 Bah = 6
 Soh = 1

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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I would like to acknowledge the help, advice and consideration of Professor K.L. Little who planned and directed the project from Edinburgh.

My thanks are also due to my colleagues and advisors in the field, Dr. D. Gamble and Dr. J. Littlejohn who initiated me into the ways of fieldwork and writing up. Dr. J. Littlejohn also had the arduous task of being my supervisor, without whose sympathy and advice this thesis would never have been written.

I must also thank Delco for helping to make my stay in Lunsar a happy one by permitting me to make use of their recreational facilities.

Stanley Sklaroff helped me to understand some statistics and for that he is to be praised. My wife ~~who~~ has helped in numerous ways from allowing me to turn the house into a cattle camp to sticking in photographs.

Lastly, I thank Alfa Bakr Bah and all the other Fulbe for their patience and tolerance for my intrusion.

Some of the material appearing in this thesis appears in a report submitted to the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Edinburgh. Some has also been used in an article on the 'Fulbe in Lunsar' to be published in the forthcoming book on Lunsar.

The East London situation is interesting because unlike the Copperbelt towns there is only one tribal group and not many. But because of the importance of the categories of Townsmen, School and Red Xhosa, there is a close similarity to the multi-tribal Copperbelt towns with their 'tribes as categories'.

The Lunsar Fulbe do not appear to have a really close parallel in either South Africa or Central Africa, although at first sight the Red Xhosa are similar. The main difference between the Fulbe and the Xhosa is that Fulbe migrants cannot be divided into the same type of categories. The half-Fulbe provide us with an example of a marginal group who, although part of the general category of Fulbe, may through non-Fulbe upbringing and socialization choose to live according to norms of urban behaviour in Lunsar. However they cannot be said to have their own version of Fulbe culture or structure as a group.

1

Mayer stresses that Red migrants' culture and values may be those of the country, but that their social structure is of necessity different. It is argued in this thesis that the Fulbe tend to re-create their own social structure as well as live according to Fulbe culture and values. The way in which they achieve this is fairly easy for them, as they already have both a culture and structure geared to migration and contact with other tribal groups. Like the Xhosa migrants they can make choices of their friends, but unlike the Xhosa chance does not throw them into close relationships with members of other tribes because the types of choices made by Fulbe are determined by each individual's position within the social structure.

The Fulbe are a 'tribe as category' to non-Fulbe, but unlike the other tribal groups, Fulbe structure and 'category' nearly coincide. The exceptions are provided by some of the half-Fulbe who do not even subscribe to Fulbe culture and values. This type of half-Fulbe must be looked upon as having been shed from Fulbe tribal structure, and are merely a statistical category when looked at from the Fulbe point of view. To the Temne, Mende, etc., they may be in the category of Fulbe, but only if they choose to make known their Fulbe parentage.

2

Epstein, when he states that 'trade unions transcend tribes' implies that truly urban institutions necessitate new types of relationship and structure, which are not in any sense tribal. Such urban institutions as unions, football clubs and other voluntary associations, e.g., the 'Oje' and 'Yemama' societies, exist in Lunsar but no Fulbe participate in their activities. Thus Fulbe tend to avoid relationships which might lead to their becoming integrated into a new structure.

It will be demonstrated later in the thesis how statuses, and consequent fields of choice, are ascribed to individual Fulbe at birth. What persons of a particular status may or may not do is a function of structure and culture, hence the necessity in the chapter on occupations to relate the study of Fulbe work to both status (structure) and values (culture).

1. Mayer, ibid. p. 6.

2. Epstein, A.L. Politics in an Urban African Community. M.U.P. 1958.

APPENDIX F (B)

Appendix F. Career Histories.

Table 6.4

Men taking up their first jobs on coming to Lunsar.

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half-Fulbe</u>	<u>Total</u>
Took up first occupation on coming to Lunsar	16 23%	12 50%	28
Did not take up first occupation on coming to Lunsar	55 77%	12 50%	67
<u>Total</u>	<u>71 100%</u>	<u>24 100%</u>	<u>95</u>

To test whether the difference is statistically significant the following procedure was used.

- i. Null Hypothesis, (H₀): there is no difference between the proportion of Fulbe and half Fulbe who took up their first occupation on coming to Lunsar. H₁, the alternative hypothesis is that a greater proportion of half Fulbe took up their first occupations on coming to Lunsar.
- ii. Statistical test used is the chi-squared test for two independent samples.
- iii. Significance level: let $\alpha = .05$. N = the number of persons in the sample, = 95.
- iv. Chi-square as computed from
$$\chi^2 = \frac{N (AD-BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$
 has a sampling distribution which is approximated by the chi-square distribution with one degree of freedom, (df=1).
- v. Rejection region. The region of rejection consists of all values of chi-square which are so large that the probability associated with their occurrence is equal to or less than $\alpha = 0.05$.
- vi. Decision. The value of chi-square for the data in the above table is 5.245. The probability of occurrence under H₀ for chi-square 5.245 with df = 1 is $p \frac{1}{2}(0.025) = p 0.01$. Insomuch that this p is less than $\alpha = 0.05$ the decision is to reject H₀ in favour of H₁. We conclude that half Fulbe take up their first occupation on coming to Lunsar more frequently than do Fulbe.

Career Histories

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Table 6.5

Showing movement of Fulbe to and from rural and urban occupations.

	<u>To Urban</u>		<u>To Rural</u>		<u>Total</u>	
From Rural	35	67%	0	0%	35	67%
From Urban	17	33%	0	0%	17	33%
Total	<u>52</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>100%</u>

Using the McNemar test for the significance of changes the Null Hypothesis that for those Fulbe who change their occupations the probability that any Fulbe will change from a rural to an urban occupation is equal to the probability that he will change from an urban to a rural occupation, was

tested. The significance level of $\alpha = 00.05$ was used, the sampling distribution of chi-square as computed by

$$\text{chi-square} = \frac{(A - D) - 1}{A + D} \cdot 2(0.2)$$

with $df = 1$ is very closely approximated by the chi-square distribution with $df = 1$.

The rejection region consists of all values of chi-square which are so large that they have a one tail probability associated with their occurrence under H_0 of 0.05 or less.

Decision. $A = 35, B = 0, C = 17$ and $D = 0$.

chi-square = 33. Probability of occurrence under H_0 is $p \frac{1}{2}(0.05)$ which is $p 0.025$). Inasmuch as the probability under H_0 associated with the occurrence we observed is $p 0.025$ the observed value of chi-square is in the region of rejection and our decision is to reject H_0 in favour of H_1 .

The conclusion is that Fulbe show a significant tendency to move from rural to urban occupations.

Career Histories

Table 6.7

Number of Fulbe and half Fulbe who have changed occupations
before and after coming to Lunsar
(Immigrant residents only)

expected frequencies in brackets

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Changed before coming to Lunsar but not since</u>	20 (15.7)	1 (5.3)	21
<u>Changed after coming but not before</u>	10 (9.7)	3 (3.3)	13
<u>Unclassifiable</u>	41 (45.6)	20 (15.4)	61
<u>Totals</u>	<u>71</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>95</u>

The null hypothesis (H_0) is that there is no difference between Fulbe and half Fulbe in the proportion who change their jobs only before or only after coming to Lunsar. H_1 is that there is a significant difference between the two groups. The chi-square test for two independent samples is used and a significance level of $\alpha = 0.01$. N the number of men equals 95. Chi-square is calculated from the following:

$$\text{chi-square} = \sum_{i=1}^r \sum_{j=1}^r \frac{(O_{ij} - E_{ij})^2}{E_{ij}} \quad (0.3)$$

O_{ij} = observed number of cases categorised in i .th row of j .th column.

E_{ij} = number of cases expected under H_0 to be categorised in i .th row of j .th column. $df = (r-1)(k-1) = 2$

Rejection region: all values of chi-square which are so large that the probability associated with their occurrence is equal to or less than $\alpha = 0.01$.

Decision: chi-square = 6.9 and the probability of occurrence under H_0 of this value with $df = 2$ is less than 0.01 and therefore H_0 is true.

There is then no significant difference in the proportion of Fulbe and half Fulbe who changed their occupations only before and only after coming to Lunsar.

Career Histories

Table 6.11

Self-employed and employed Fulbe and half Fulbe who have never changed their occupation

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half Fulbe</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>Self-employed</u>	43	6	49
<u>Employed</u>	16	18	34
<u>Totals</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>83</u>

Null hypothesis: that the proportion of Fulbe and half Fulbe who are employed and self-employed of those who have never changed occupations should be the same.

H1, the alternative hypothesis, is that the proportion of self-employed Fulbe is greater than that of the half Fulbe. Using formula 0.1 for chi-square, a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$ and one degree of freedom chi-square gives a value of 14.28.

Decision: The probability of 14.28 occurring is less than 0.05 so Ho is rejected in favour of H1. Therefore a significantly greater proportion of Fulbe than half Fulbe who have not changed their occupations are self-employed.

Conclusion: The probability that Fulbe and half Fulbe have not changed their occupation in which they are employed is not significantly different. It is greater than the probability that they will be self-employed or employed.

Career HistoriesTable 6.13

Movement to and from occupations in which Fulbe and half Fulbe are employees and self-employed

	<u>Self-employed</u>	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Totals</u>
<u>Employed by another</u>	16 (5)	14 (2)	30 (7)
<u>Self-employed</u>	10 (1)	3 (3)	13 (4)
<u>Totals</u>	26 (6)	17 (5)	43 (11)

Null hypothesis: for those Fulbe (half Fulbe) who change, the probability that any Pullo (half Pullo) will change his occupation from employed to self-employed is equal to the probability that he will change his occupation from self-employed to employed, is equal to one half.

Using the McNemar test for the significance of changes, and therefore formula 0.2 for chi-square, with a significance level of $\alpha = 0.05$, chi-square for the Fulbe = 7.58 which has a probability of occurrence of less than $\frac{1}{2}(0.05)$ and H_0 is therefore rejected. Chi-square for the half-Fulbe = 3.2 which also has a probability of occurrence of less than $\frac{1}{2}(0.05)^1$ which leads us to reject H_0 .

Conclusion: The probability that Fulbe and half Fulbe will go from an occupation in which they are employed to one in which they are self-employed is greater than the probability that they will go from self-employed to employed.

It is important to remember that this test has only been applied to those men who have changed occupations, and there are, as table 0.12 shows, a number of half Fulbe mainly in Delco who have remained employees.

¹ $\frac{1}{2}(0.05)$ and not 0.05 is taken since this test is one tailed.

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APPENDIX G

Occupation	\bar{x}^2	Fulbe Score	\bar{x}^2	Half-Fulbe score	\bar{x}^2	Temne score
Leatherworker	3.98		16.3		11.0	
				3.71		3.26
Blacksmith	6.62		11.42		17.7	
				3.68		3.13
Weaver	13.28		17.43		11.9	
		3.61		3.88		3.17
Karamoko	31.01		9.14		11.6	
		1.65				2.62
Cerno	54.29		20.86		6.6	
		1.35		2.00		
Cattle drover	20.44		12.85		6.9	
		3.07		3.43		
Trader, travels	8.08		5.14		1.0	
Tailor	9.21		2.47		11.7	
						2.88
Embroiderer	15.22		4.86		14.5	
		2.74				2.94
Watchman	35.0		15.14		11.6	
		4.29		3.85		3.54
Unemployed	45.92		42.16		20.7	
		4.42		4.49		3.77
Labourer	1.79		8.58		20.8	
						3.61
Driver	11.23		12.58		9.5	
		2.29		2.34		3.01
Hospital labourer	8.57		3.72		9.2	
Dispenser	6.57		4.86		33.3	
						2.16
Farmer	14.70		4.00		25.4	
		3.61				2.5

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Occupation	x^2	Fulbe score	x^2	Half-Fulbe score	x^2	Temne Score
Sheep trader	8.63		5.72		25.2	3.19
Small boy	1.73		8.01		23.4	3.8
Photographer	4.37		6.57		18.6	2.98
Dyers of cloth	13.66	3.13	4.29		6.9	
Cook/housewife	1.59		9.72	3.17	16.1	3.67
Hadu player	13.27	4.06	21.85	4.05	24.6	3.79
Dancer	21.34	4.26	20.57	3.97	24.2	3.82
Acrobat	21.47	4.13	13.14	3.83	26.0	3.82
Mat maker	19.79	4.03	21.42	4.05	21.0	3.41
Mason	9.54	3.03	3.72		15.5	3.48
Cattle trader	6.05		4.58		19.2	3.2
Cattle owner	8.84		2.57		2.8	
Messenger	33.99	4.19	26.58	4.03	67.7	4.33
Farmer, self	21.4	1.9	4.29		17.7	2.42
Jɛliba	21.11	3.97	22.72	4.2	62.5	4.26
Trader, table	14.33	3.00	6.58		9.6	2.89
Trader, shop	4.64		9.72	2.37	9.1	
Shovel driver	1.73		0.56		20.7	3.65

Occupation	x^2	Fulbe score	x^2	Half-Fulbe score	x^2	Temne score
Club steward	5.03		4.58		29.5	3.77
Painter	10.50	3.55	3.14		19.6	3.55
Sanitary lab.	41.39	4.32	30.72	4.25	107.	4.5
Sample man	6.31		7.72		30.0	3.4
Electrician lab.	6.95		4.00		2.13	3.45
Headman	5.99		5.43		13.6	3.51
Fitter	3.02		2.28		9.2	
Thief	51.65	4.51	22.72	4.25	188.0	4.8
Restaurant supervisor	4.37		12.29	3.37	12.5	3.26
Gaulo	8.18		28.13	4.31	71.0	4.41
Unskilled						
Sanitary labourers						
Labourers						
Transporters						
Agricultural labourers						
Domestic labourers						
Unemployed labourers						
Total						

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Informants sample structure for occupational rating test

<u>Occupations</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Half-Fulbe</u>	<u>Tennes</u>
<u>Religious</u>			
Karamoko	1	0	3
Arabic scholar	0	0	1
<u>Rural</u>			
Farmer	0	1	1
<u>Commercial</u>			
Traders (all types)	10	3	12
Orange sellers	2	0	4
Photographer	0	1	0
<u>Clerical and Staff</u>			
Undergraduate	1	0	0
Dispensers	0	1	1
Clerks	0	1	1
Schoolteachers	0	0	2
<u>Artisan</u>			
Tailors	5	1	7
Embroiderer	2	1	4
Weavers	1	0	0
Leatherworker	1	1	1
Baker	0	1	0
Fitters	0	1	3
Shovel driver	0	1	1
Mason	0	1	0
Apprentice carpenter	0	0	1
<u>Service</u>			
Interpreter	1	0	0
Driver	1	3	5
Gaulo (praise-singer)	1	0	0
Cook	1	0	0
Policeman	0	1	0
Station messenger	0	1	0
Prostitute	0	1	0
Housewife	0	1	0
Stewards	0	0	3
Watchmen	2	2	3
<u>Unskilled</u>			
Sanitary labourers	0	1	1
Labourers	0	4	1
Rough painter	0	1	2
Electrician's labourer	0	1	1
Sample man	0	1	1
Sample labourer	0	1	1
Hospital labourer	1	0	1
Brakesman	0	1	0
Unemployed labourers	1	1	6
Headman labourer	0	1	1
Totals	<u>31</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>68</u>

APPENDIX H

FULBE-TEMNE STEREOTYPES

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Character</u>			
Good	1	Kind to honest people	1
	1	Clerics and learned men do not drink	1
	1	Love all that has life	1
	1	Never idle	1
	1	Fears nothing	3
	1	Do not steal	1
	1	Always tell the truth	6
	1	Good judge of character	1
	1	Dislike violence	1
	1	Mind their own business	2
	1	Can feel shame	1
	1	Sensitive	1
	1	Help people to become <u>senaabe</u> for nothing	1
	1	They learn	1
	1	Have self respect	1
	1	Like people who do not lie	1
	1	Tactful, avoid 'palava'	1
	1	Do not let out secrets	1
	1	Frank and outspoken	1
			<u>27</u>
<u>Attitudes to Elders, leaders and authority.</u>			
Like law abiding people	2	Remove shoes on entering room of one they respect	1
Like 'chief business'	1	Respect elders	1
Always ready to save rich people	2	Like those who respect them	1
	<u>5</u>		<u>3</u>

The title of the thesis is perhaps a little misleading in that it holds out promise of a total approach to Fulbe life in Lunsar. Although this would be desirable, it is not feasible to present such a total description and analysis in one book.

This thesis, in fact, has a specific approach. Work, as a major area of human behaviour has been examined, described and analysed in detail, and related to Fulbe values as they arise out of the social structure. Particularly the hierarchy of statuses which are so closely connected with occupations. This study therefore differs from that of Mayer who adopts a network approach to total categories of Xhosa.¹ It also differs from Mitchell's study as he is also describing how tribal relationships give way to ^{categorical} relationships in an urban situation.² In fact, these two authors, as well as Epstein,³ are primarily interested in discovering the processes by which tribal relationships are changing as a result of urbanisation. I am attempting to demonstrate what happens when an African people try to live under new conditions in terms of traditional cultural values and structure.

Tables 1.5 below shows the tribal distribution of males over the

-
1. Mayer, Loc. cit.
 2. Mitchell, Loc. cit.
 3. Epstein, Loc. cit.

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
 ACCORDING TO FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Attitudes to own group, solidarity.</u>			
Look after those they know	1	Keep company with each other	1
	1	If one is sick all other Fulbe help him	1
	1	Protect each other from outsiders	1
	1	Proud, will not take insults	1
	4		4
<u>Women, children and affines.</u>			
Temne wives kneel before their husbands	1	Clerics and learned men do not shake hands with other people's wives	1
Temne wives show respect to their husbands	1	Give young men wives and cattle	1
Parents give hooded gifts to wives to give them to husbands at ramadan	1	Give daughters to trustworthy strangers to marry	1
	3		3
<u>Work</u>			
Work hard, but not always successful	2	Make country clothes	1
Will sell produce to anyone	1	Make rings for fingers	1
Make cutlasses for farm	1		2
Make axes to split wood	1		2
Make hoes to dig earth	1		2
	6		2
<u>Money property and business</u>			
Temne women lend money without security	1	Some are straightforward in business	1
	1	Keep to agreements	1
	2		2

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Strangers</u>			
Like Strangers	4	Respect strangers	2
Generous to strangers	5	Kind to strangers	1
Give women daughter to strangers	14		<u>3</u>
Give one land or place to work	3		
Respect strangers	1		
Like strangers but not his brother who follows	1		
Lodge strangers	4		
	<u>32</u>		
<u>Appearance, manner, behaviour in public.</u>			
Great people fine	1	Behave well in public	nil
	<u>1</u>		
<u>Other People</u>			
Earlier Temne chiefs disliked Fulbe.	1	Not outspoken of their opinions of others	1
	<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>
<u>Religion, magic and witchcraft.</u>			
Pray to God	1	Religious	1
Like <u>alfas</u> and <u>mori</u> men	2	Like all muslims, no matter their colour and tribe	1
	<u>3</u>	Follow God (Allah)	1
		Teach children Al Koran	1
		Prays to Allah	14
		Reads Al Koran	4
		Offer sacrifice and pray to God	2
		Respect men who know Al Koran	1
		Fear God	2
			<u>27</u>

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
 ACCORDING TO FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f.</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f.</u>
<u>Friends and Guests</u>			
Hospitable	6	Hospitable	2
Help friends in difficulties	1	Entertain guests very well	1
Invite men to chop before killing them	1	Give all to those they love and admire	1
Protect guests from insults	1	Always know their real friends	2
Dependable, once he trusts you	2		<u>6</u>
Grateful, remember their benefactors	1		
Credit and give all good things to friends	1		
	<u>13</u>		
<u>Social Status</u>			
Do not know anybody with nothing	1	Good to the poor	4
	<u>1</u>		<u>4</u>
Nil response	42		26
	<u>42</u>		<u>26</u>

Unfavourable stereotypes of Fulbe and Temnes, by Fulbe.

<u>TEMNES 1</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>FULBE</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Character</u>			
Bad tempered, get angry, fight	2	Some steal	1
Fight with bottles	1	Take risks, woman will take her lover to her husband's bedroom	1
Quick to kill	1	Bad temper for fighting, quick to kill	3
Liars	2	Use knife for fighting	1
Use open threats in quarrels	1	Kill enemies, quick	2
Gamble for money	1	Careless of life	1
Think all people are bad	1	Say they will do something, and fail	2
Look behind gifts	1	Promise and not fulfil	1
Deceitful	1	Burglars, thieves	7
Talk nonsense	2	Those who drink are bad	3
Tell you one thing, do another	1	When they do corner it is bad	1
Do not mind their own business, disrupt bargains	1	Suspicious of wanderers, even relatives	1
Have no shame	2	Talk behind one's back	2
Addicted drunkards	1	Break agreements	1
Steal	1	Good schemers, work another's downfall	1
Difficult to understand, not open	1	Do not know what they are about	1
'Corner, corner' until he get something from you	1	Some are hypocritical	1
Temne yes, means no	1	Easily offended, but don't show it	1
Never fulfil promises	1	Will not help someone who does not help him	1
Never tell you the right time	1	Strong heart to do bad things if annoyed	2
Unreliable	1	Slow to do things	1
Take back what they have given	1	Very jealous	1

Unfavourable Stereotypes, by Fulbe

<u>TEMNES</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>FULBE</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Leaders, elders and Authority</u>			
Do not respect one another	nil		nil
<u>Own group, solidarity</u>	1		nil
<u>Women, children and affines</u>			
Adult males sit on their mother's beds	1	Sometimes even men who read Al Koran commit adultery	2
Brothers find sweethearts for their sisters	1	Never give women in marriage unless they know your ancestry	1
Copulate with small girls	1		<u>3</u>
Temne wives are superstitious, prevent husbands getting jobs	1		
Never forgive those who copulate with their wives	1		
Marriages are impure, copulate before ceremonies complete	1		
	<u>6</u>		
<u>Work</u>			
	<u>nil</u>		<u>nil</u>
<u>Money, Property and Business</u>			
Dishonest in business	2	Selfish, do not give alms, mean	3
Don't like to see anyone better off, or successful	6	Some do not pay their debts	1
Borrow and don't pay back	1	Use other peoples' money and don't care	1
	<u>9</u>		<u>5</u>
<u>Strangers</u>			
Do not like to see strangers successful	2	Don't like to lodge strangers, suspicious	4
Complain when strangers get firewood	1	Think strangers are thieves	1
Kill innocent and defenceless strangers	2		<u>5</u>
Do not like strangers	1		
Never accept a stranger, no matter how long they know you	1		
	<u>7</u>		

Unfavourable Stereotypes, by Fulbe

<u>TEMNES</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>FULBE</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Appearance, manner, behaviour in public</u>	nil		nil
<u>Other People</u>			
Speak ill of the Fulbe	<u>1</u>		nil
	<u>1</u>		
<u>Religion, magic and witchcraft</u>			
Believe in kriffis	3	Take rivals to <u>sɛrnaabe</u> (clerics) who might harm them	1
However learned in the Koran, they always stand to urinate	2	Do bad things to people with magic so that they don't know	1
Do not believe in God (Allah)	1	Fulbe who farm and don't sacrifice are bad	1
Have kriffis (devils)	8	Fulbe who do not make sacrifice in Ramdan are bad	1
Do not fear God	1	Those that don't pray are bad	4
Hypocritical, pretend to be godly	1	Those that don't read Al Koran are bad	<u>2</u>
All the girls they marry to other tribes are witches	<u>1</u>		<u>10</u>
	<u>17</u>		
<u>Friends and Guests</u>			
Do not lodge guests promptly	<u>1</u>	Easily forget old acquaintances	<u>1</u>
	<u>1</u>		<u>1</u>
<u>Social Status</u>			
Look down on everybody	<u>1</u>	Envy those in better positions	1
	<u>1</u>	Class conscious	1
		In a crisis the rich exploit the poor	1
		No respect for bastards	1
		No respect for slaves	<u>1</u>
			<u>5</u>
<u>Nil Response</u>	<u>41</u>		<u>39</u>
	<u>41</u>		<u>39</u>

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO HALF FULBE

<u>Temne</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Character</u>			
They are gentle	1	Not too proud	1
Cautious	1	Courageous	2
Think before acting	1	Firm on their dealings	1
Only 10% keep their words	1	They are learned	1
Do not keep malice	1	Good, when they believe in people	1
Learn modern ways quickly	1	Do not like lies	1
Good imitation	1	Give you anything you want	1
Gentlemen	2	Keep their secrets	1
Ambitious	2	Respectful	1
Hate arrogant people	1	Considerate	1
Energetic	1	Eat nice food	1
Like to give, more than to receive	1	Quiet people	1
Kind	1	Go softly, cautious	2
Keep promises	1	Co-operative	3
Very obliging	1	Sell cattle and milk to others	1
	17	Trustworthy	1
		Mind their own business	1
		Distinguish good from bad	1
		People of extremes, can do what they make up their minds to do	1
		<u>Sgrnaabe</u> only eat food prepared by those they know	1
		Kind	1
		Honest	1
			26
<u>Leaders, elders and authority</u>			
Respect elders	3	Respect elders	2
Obey parents	1		2
	4		
<u>Own group, solidarity</u>			
	nil	Stick together, present united front to outsiders	2
		They are like the English, Always unite in face of danger	1
		Look after strange Fulbe from Futa	1
		Pay for poor to return home	1
		Proud of their tribe	1
			6

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO HALF FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Work</u>			
Make farm	2	Practice many trades useful to	
Make fine houses	1	the community	1
	<u>3</u>	Good traders	1
		Hardworking	1
		Devoted cattle rearers	1
		Cattle Fulbe proud of their life	1
			<u>5</u>
<u>Money, Property and business</u>			
Some are generous	1		nil
Lend freely to those they trust	1		
Grateful to benefactors	1		
Reliable customers	1		
	<u>4</u>		
<u>Strangers</u>			
Give land to strangers	1	Good to strangers	1
Kind to strangers	6		1
	<u>7</u>		
<u>Appearance, manner, behaviour in public</u>			
Talk fine, tell you 'how do'	1	Dress well and neatly	1
Well dressed	1		1
Always tidy	2		
	<u>4</u>		
<u>Other people</u>			
Some like the Fulbe	1		nil
	<u>1</u>		
<u>Religion, magic and witchcraft</u>			
	nil	Proper muslims	1
		Believe in one god	2
		Good <u>alphas</u>	1
			<u>4</u>

UNFAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO HALF FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>General Character</u>			
Like to fight	2	Jealous	2
Quarrelsome	3	Very wicked	3
Hate thieves	1	Fulbe slaves steal	1
Unreliable	1	Lower class steal, especially	
Kill people	1	<u>Kɛbu</u> Fulbe	1
Traitors	2	Thieves	3
Creates bad feeling between neighbours	1	Kill easily	2
Create bad feeling by informing	1	Slow to carry out their plans	1
Swallow anything they are told, do not find out for themselves	1	Liars	3
Kill people	1	Rascals	1
Deceitful	2	Secretive	1
Talk behind one's back	1	Quick tempered	2
Repay ungratefulness harshly	1	Dishonest	3
Do bad to people	1	Ungrateful	1
Liars	1	Selfish	1
Dishonest	3	Anti-social	1
Jealous	2	Untrustworthy	1
Greedy	1		<u>27</u>
Steal	2		
Ungrateful	2		
Unco-operative	1		
	<u>31</u>		
<u>Elders, leaders and authority</u>			
	nil	Scheme and ruin influential people	1
			<u>1</u>
<u>Own group, solidarity</u>			
	nil	Speak ill of others in own language	1
		Proud	2
		Do not like one another	1
			<u>4</u>
<u>Women, children and affines</u>			
Do not fear to copulate with host's wives	1	Take others' wives	1
Alienate affections of others' wives	1	Marry women in Lunsar and then leave them for long periods	1
Abuse their parents	1		<u>2</u>
	<u>3</u>		

age of fifteen living in Lunsar, the tribal distribution of Delco employees living in Lunsar, living in the Labour Hamlets, and the Labour Hamlets and the outlying villages together.

Table 1.5¹ Tribal distribution of Lunsar labour, and Delco African employees.

	10% Sample Census (Dr. Mills) July 1959	Occupational Survey (Dr. Gamble) July 1960	Delco Employees Dec. 1958		
	Males over 15 years	Males over 17 years		Lunsar, villages, Pepel port, Labour Hamlets	Labour Hamlets
	* Lunsar town	Lunsar town	* Lunsar town		
Number	294	500	1127	2685	645
Tribe	%	%	%	%	%
Temne	69.6	69.6	61.6	56.6	22.6
Limba	8.8	7.4	9.7	13.8	20.6
Mende	2.7	5.2	8.2	11.4	29.1
Susu	2.0	00.8	2.0	1.4	0.9
Loko	5.4	5.2	4.3	4.5	5.9
Maninka	1.7	2.4	1.7	1.3	1.1
Fulbe	5.1	4.8	1.8	1.2	0.8
Lebanese	0.7	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Koranko	0.3	1.0	0.9	0.9	2.3
Sherbro	0.0	1.0	1.6	2.2	5.0
Creole	2.4	0.8	3.2	2.9	5.6
Kono	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.7	1.9
Others	1.4	0.8	4.8	3.1	4.2
Totals	100.1%	100.0%	100.2%	100.0%	100.0%

1. Table based on that compiled by D. Gamble, appearing in the forthcoming book on Lunsar, edited by K.L. Little and M.J. Ruel.

From table 1.5 it can readily be seen that the Fulbe are a small minority group in Lunsar and form an even smaller proportion of Delco's labour force. The slight discrepancy between Dr. Mills' and Dr. Gamble's figures are discussed later in the section on the demography of the Lunsar Fulbe.

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UNFAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO HALF FULBE

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Work</u>			
	nil	Lazy, like self employment	1
		Lazy	<u>1</u>
			<u>2</u>
<u>Money, property and business</u>			
Do not like to see others more prosperous or successful	3	Stingy	1
Do not pay debts	1	Never give cows, one has to buy them	1
Only become gentle when in need of money	1	Like money	1
	<u>5</u>		<u>3</u>
<u>Strangers</u>			
	nil		nil
<u>Appearance, manner and behaviour in public</u>			
Abuse people in public	1		nil
Talk loudly	1		
	<u>2</u>		
<u>Other people</u>			
	nil		nil
<u>Religion, magic and witchcraft</u>			
Are witches	1		nil
Believe in <u>kriffis</u>	3		
Worship idols	1		
Hypocrits	1		
	<u>6</u>		
<u>Friends and Guests</u>			
Ask, but never give to friends	1		nil
	<u>1</u>		
Nil response	<u>7</u>		<u>11</u>

UNFAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO TEMNES

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Character</u>			
Liars	9	Jealous	6
Deceitful	12	Migrate	10
Foolish	1	Dishonest	4
Ungrateful	1	Anti-social	3
Like to migrate	1	Liars	1
Dishonest	5	Secretive	7
Traitors	4	Quick tempered	15
Hatred mind	3	Too troublesome	3
Weak minded	1	Rogues	3
Proud	3	Wicked	6
Lazy	4	Mean (tricks)	1
Wicked	2	Weak minded	2
Thieves	3	Thieves	5
Don't think before acting	1	Easily imitated	1
Always ready to fight	4	Treacherous	2
Boastful	3	Not gentlemen	1
Impatient	3	Deceitful	2
Quarrelsome, fight	3	Impatient	1
lack qualities of gentlemen	1	Primitive in behaviour	1
Rogues	2	Self conceited	1
Always disgruntled	1	Fight to kill	1
Too bold	1	Cunning	1
Barbarous	3	Selfish	1
Treacherous	1	Fickle minded	2
Don't like to see someone progress	1	Lack moral etiquette	1
Hot tempered	1	Always serious	1
Dishonest	1	Act like women, weak minded	1
Untrustworthy	1	Very cruel	1
Careless	1	Boastful	1
Unreliable	2	Notorious for stealing	1
Have prejudiced mind	1	Dependent on others	1
Not co-operative	1	Proud	1
Depend on others	1	Quarrelsome	1
Cunning	1		<u>89</u>
	<u>84</u>		
<u>Elders, leaders and authority</u>			
Think about themselves too much	2	Disobedient	1
	<u>2</u>		<u>1</u>
<u>Own group, solidarity</u>			
	nil	Do not mix with other tribes	1
			<u>1</u>

UNFAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO TEMNES

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Women, children and affines</u>			
Jealous of their wives	7	Do not take care of their homes	1
Beat up their wives in public	1		1
Careless with their children	1		1
	<u>9</u>		
<u>Work</u>			
	nil	Lazy workers	7
			<u>7</u>
<u>Money, property and business</u>			
Mean	2	Like money, stingy	9
Like money easily come by	1	Like to get money not worked for	1
Spend a lot of money	1	Like bribery	1
Like to beg	1		11
Like money	1		11
	<u>6</u>		
<u>Strangers</u>			
	nil		nil
<u>Appearance, manner and behaviour in public</u>			
	nil	Always untidy	4
		Like to dance in the streets	1
			<u>5</u>
<u>Other people</u>			
	nil		nil
<u>Religion, magic and witchcraft</u>			
Like kriffis	7	Use magic to make someone mad	1
Witches	1		1
Hypocrits	4		1
Worship idols	2		1
Try to destroy one's life by witchcraft	1		1
	<u>15</u>		
<u>Friends and Guests</u>			
	nil	Ungrateful	3
			<u>3</u>
<u>Social Status</u>			
	nil		nil

FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO TEMNES

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Character</u>			
Polite	4	Co-operative	13
Straightforward	1	Kind	7
Kind	10	Respectful	5
Not too proud	2	Honest	4
Co-operative	3	Gentle	1
Help person in trouble	18	Grateful	1
Ambitious	7	Ambitious	3
Trustworthy	3	Friendly	1
Grateful	3	Truthful	1
Patient	1	Polite	1
Helpful	1	Like to be palin in everything	1
Strong hearted/brave	5	Energetic	2
Gentlemen	6	Strong minded	2
Self willed	1	Friendly with animals	2
Cultured	2	Well cultured	1
Do not talk foolishness	1	Have moral etiquette	1
Friendly to all	2		<u>46</u>
Like pleasure	1		
Sympathetic	1		
Keep to their words	1		
Sensitive	1		
Energetic	1		
	<u>58</u>		
<u>Own group, solidarity</u>			
Keep to their prestige	1	Keep to themselves	3
Proud of their tribe	9	Stick together	1
	<u>10</u>	Kind to their mates	1
		Assist their brothers when in trouble	1
			<u>6</u>
<u>Elders, leaders and authority</u>			
Respect elders	9	Respect their leaders	12
Honour their leader	1		12
Like to be leaders	1		
Obedient	1		
	<u>12</u>		

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FAVOURABLE STEREOTYPES OF FULBE AND TEMNES
ACCORDING TO TEMNES

<u>Temnes</u>	<u>f</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>f</u>
<u>Women, children and affines</u>	nil		nil
<u>Work</u>			
Hard workers	5	Good traders	9
Good traders	4	Hard workers	4
Like manual labour	1		<u>13</u>
	<u>10</u>		
<u>Money, property and business</u>			
Spend money when in good company	1	Thrifty	2
	<u>1</u>	Serious about money	1
		Know good use of money	2
		Work hard for money	1
			<u>6</u>
<u>Strangers</u>			
Kind to strangers	3	Good to strangers	1
	<u>3</u>		<u>1</u>
<u>Appearance, manner and behaviour in public.</u>			
Always tidy	6	Well behaved	2
Behave themselves in public	3		<u>2</u>
	<u>9</u>		
<u>Other people</u>	nil		nil
<u>Religion, magic and witchcraft</u>			
Religious	1	Religious	7
	<u>1</u>	Good <u>alfas</u>	1
			<u>8</u>
<u>Friends and Guests</u>			
Sociable	2		nil
	<u>2</u>		
<u>Social Status</u>			
	nil	Like to keep to their prestige	2
		Do not like to be disgraced	1
		Like to be honoured	1
			<u>4</u>
Nil response	nil		<u>1</u>

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TOWN PLAN of LUN SAR



Preliminary plan drawn from air photographs
 F.A.S. Marampa (S.L) 012, 024, 30th April 1958 by P.K.M.
 Checked on ground and revised by D.P.G. August 1960

- Shop
- ▨ Occupied shop
- ⊙ Bakery
- ☪ Palm wine bar
- Bar
- ⊗ Empty
- ▣ Being built
- ▤ Lebanese shop
- Tree

Approximate Scale 0 100 200 yards

To make the point that proportionately fewer Fulbe work for Delco than any other tribe clearer, the percentages appearing in the two starred columns of table 1.5 have been converted to raw numbers. The figures from the ten percent sample census have been multiplied by ten, and the percentage of each tribe living in Lunsar town and working for Delco has been computed.

Table 1.6. Percentage of males in each tribe over the age of fifteen employed by Delco.

Tribe	Census figures times ten	Number employed by Delco	Percentage employed by Delco.
Temne	2030	691	36%
Mende	80	93	112%
Fulbe	150	20	13%
Lebanese	20	nil	nil
Limba	360	109	42%
Loko	150	49	33%
Creole	70	36	51%
Mandigo ⁿ (Maninka)	50	19	38%
Susu	60	23	38%
Others	50	87	170%
Totals	2920	1127	38%

The figures in Table 1.6 are only meant to indicate how few Fulbe work in ^{Delco} Lunsar. It will be noted that percentages for the Mende and the 'Others' come to over 100%, and it is assumed that this is due to a weakness in the representativeness of the census sample. To give a more accurate picture of the Fulbe, table 1.7 has been included.

Although the Fulbe are a numerically small group they stand

out from the other tribal groups in that a much smaller proportion of their number are employed by Delco. In fact of the twenty two so-called Fulbe working for Delco only five are men whose fathers and mothers were both Fulbe. The other seventeen are half-Fulbe and half Temne or Loko, etc.

Table 1.7. Numbers and percentages of male Fulbe and half Fulbe over the age of fifteen resident in Lunsar working for Delco and engaged in other work in Lunsar town.

	Lunsar town occupations	Delco employees	Totals
both parents Fulbe	66 93%	5 7%	71 100%
one parent a Fullo	13 43%	17 57%	30 100%
Totals	79	22	101

Reference to table 1.7 shows that ninety three percent of the true Fulbe do not work for Delco compared with fifty seven percent of the half Fulbe.

If the Fulbe were indigenous to the Lunsar area the phenomenon of their small degree of participation in Delco's activities would be less remarkable than it is. The Fulbe with the exception of one Ghanaian and two Nigerians in the area, have travelled further from their homes to reach Lunsar than any other group. Most of the Fulbe come from Futu Jallon in Guinea, and a few have travelled from Futa Toro in Senegal. The average distance from Lunsar to the homes of the Fulbe is between 200 and 300 miles, and at the time of the study, not long after Guinea's independence, with virtually a closed frontier to cross.

The Lunsar Fulbe are not new to Lunsar, some have been there since Delco first started operations, and yet they have not become absorbed into the urban life in the same way as the Temne, Mende, Limba and

Loko. They retain their identity as Fulbe, dress in typical Fulbe style, provide their own entertainment, choose not to work for Delco and yet are able to compete economically with the rest of the town.

The retention of tribal identity might have been partially explained had the Fulbe been concentrated in one small area of the town, but this is not the case. Although in its early days of growth Lunsar was divided up into ethnic group areas known as Fula (Fulbe) town, Mende street and Limba town, these ethnic areas are no longer dominated by any particular tribal group, all are mixed up together. Today the Fulbe are scattered all over Lunsar, there being a few clusters of Fulbe houses here and there, but many Fulbe are several hundred yards from neighbours of the same tribe. Some of the Fulbe rent rooms in houses owned by Temnes and others. The geographical distribution of Lunsar Fulbe has little or no effect on their way of life.

The problems

This thesis is concerned with a series of related problems which arose during the field work. The field work itself was started originally with one rather general aim, i.e. to find out the role of the Fulbe in the urban life and economy of Lunsar.

At the beginning of the enquiry during the collection of basic data on the Fulbe population the fact of their non-participation in Delco and other modern institutions became apparent. The work histories of those Fulbe interviewed showed that few of them had ever worked for commercial organisations before coming to Lunsar, even though they existed near to their homes. This necessarily led me to find out more about Fulbe culture in general and to extend the unit

of study to include any material about Futa Jallon Fulbe that was available. Although ethnographic data was gathered locally it was only after reading some of the literature that I fully realised how typical of Futa Jallon Fulbe were the Lunsar Fulbe.

The Lunsar Fulbe are similar to Fulbe living in Futa Jallon, and have a continuous turnover of personnel, new immigrants arriving and immigrants of longer residence in Lunsar going home or moving on elsewhere. Of the 291 Fulbe interviewed in Lunsar 234 have been classified as residents as they were known to have been there for at least nine months. The fifty seven not arbitrarily classified as residents stayed for periods from one day to nine months. I expect that several classified as itinerants in the latter half of the field work period stayed for longer than nine months and have become 'residents'. There must also have been several Fulbe who visited Lunsar for a few hours, or even days, who escaped my notice altogether.

The Lunsar Fulbe are a very fluid population, they themselves never knowing how long they would remain there. This, combined with the widespread physical distribution throughout the town makes it impossible to treat them as though they were a closed community like the inhabitants of Baumannville¹ or migrants living in Ghanaian 'Zongos'.²

Most studies of migrants have two features in common. Firstly they treat migrants as populations of individuals, usually employing statistical techniques to show the age and sex structure, the earning power of the migrants, and the way in which they spend their money. Most of the migration studies already referred to are of this nature, an additional example being the book 'Plantations and Village in the

1. Baumannville, "A study of an Urban African Community".
Natal Regional Survey. Report No. 6.

2. Personal observation.

cameroons. Some writers like Richards and Schapera have gone into the causes of migration.

The second feature of migration studies is that many investigate what happens to the immigrants in towns in terms of relatively few social institutions. Little has carried out a great deal of research into the formation and function of voluntary associations in Sierra Leone, and the changing position of women in rapidly changing societies. Southall and Gutkind's study of Kampala, although not confined to particular institutions, is of a very general nature and mainly descriptive. The study of Lunsar Fulbe could also have been tackled in terms of population structure and description were it not for the fact that they provided subjects necessitating a structural and functional approach. The concepts I use are those fundamental to social anthropology, namely, structure, function and culture.

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1. Ardener, Ardener and Warmington (Eds.) Plantation and Village in the Cameroons. N.I.S.E.R. Oxford, 1960.
 2. Richards, loc. cit.
 3. Schapera, loc. cit.
 4. Little, K.L. "The role of voluntary associations in West African Urbanization", American Anthropologist, Vol. 59. Aug. 1957.
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 6. Southall, A.W. & Gutkind, P.C.W. "Townsmen in the making", East African Studies No. 9.
 7. Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., "On Social Structure" from Structure and Function in Primitive Society, London 1952.

Most of the time that social structure is referred to in this thesis I have in mind the Radcliffe-Brown structural form, which it may be argued is similar to the Levi-Strauss mechanical model. Because an immigrant population was being studied, much basic information was collected which has enabled me to produce statistical models showing the distribution of statuses. In the section on occupations, the various psychometric scales when related to social structure are themselves a kind of statistical structure.

The Lunsar Fulbe appear to a casual observer to be very withdrawn and as a collection of individuals coming and going about their own business, and not very concerned about other Fulbe in the town. This state of affairs continues until a crisis occurs, such as the death of a Fullo, a serious dispute between a Fullo and a Temne, or the celebration of a feast such as Ramadan. On these occasions the Fulbe all come together and are organised and aligned according to structural principles imported from outside Lunsar.

Most West African peoples are structured mainly in terms of lineage and kinship, when a stranger of the same tribe arrives and settles in an area he is often given a fictitious kinship relationship which will structure him within the local system. Bohannan¹ reports how the Tiv practise this. The Fulbe are also structured in terms of kinship roles, and of course if they choose to, many can claim as many kinsmen as non-Fulbe tribes. But the Fulbe can continue to live as Fulbe in very small groups, man, wife and children, or more often father, sons and wives often forms the largest unit of Fulbe in an area. To continue to exist as Fulbe three or four male agnates and their wives is sufficient. On the other hand if such an extended family group decides to settle for a long time, a large

1. Bohannan, Laura, "Political aspects of Tiv Social Organisation." Tribes without Rulers, Ed. by Middleton and Tait.

community made up of such units may develop. Chapter IV will deal in more detail with the domestic group.

Similarly, if a large group of Fulbe is suddenly depleted by the sudden migration of several people, those left behind will not disintegrate structurally because the basic working structural unit is small. Larger communities are merely built up from a number of smaller units or moduli.

The Fulbe are traditionally a pastoral people, and although many of them now live in towns their social structure remains very much the same as that of the small groups to be found herding their cattle in the Savannah bush. Although kinship plays an important part within small groups, and a slightly lesser part in governing relations between such groups, the Fulbe are also structured by membership of four clans. The Dya (Ja) and the Soh together make up the 'red Fulbe', and the Baa and Bari form the 'black Fulbe'.¹ The colours red and black in this case do not however refer to the actual skin colour of the two major types of Fulbe. Furthermore, the Fulbe are subdivided into numerous sub-tribes, such as the Kebu, the Telikò, the Firdu, the Wodaa6e, and the Toro6e in addition to the Futa Jallon Fulbe.

The Fulbe are stratified by statuses inherited at birth from the parents. Each strata tends towards endogamy, and has its own name which is usually associated with a particular occupation. Chapters III and IV will be describing the structure of the Fulbe in greater detail and this brief excursion is intended only to stress that the Fulbe are organised by numerous principles, most of which cross out one another thus assigning each individual to a definite position in the total structure.

1. Monteil, Vincent, Contribution à la sociologie des Peuls.
(Les "Fonds Vieillard" de l'IFAN), Bulletin de l'IFAN,
Tome, XXV, series B, Nos. 3-4, 1963. p. 352

The local sub-tribes tend to inhabit one locality, although in their search for new pastures half the group could become separated from the rest. Members of the four major clans are found in any sub-tribe and no clan is associated with a particular area of territory. Clans are not linked to particular pieces of land because the people are mobile. In turn, it is because the Fulbe are structured according to sets of abstract principles other than those of kinship and which are unrelated to ownership or possession of land, that they can be highly mobile without the overall, or total structure becoming in danger of collapse.

The Lunsar Fulbe are no exception, and illustrate a further property of this flexible structure. Although most of the Lunsar Fulbe are from Futa Jallon some come from Futa Toro (Torabe) and some are Kebu Fulbe, and inspite of their heterogeneity the Lunsar Fulbe as a whole fit together structurally.

Lunsar Fulbe are structured in accordance with principles which exist outside Lunsar, and which are mainly those of Futa Jallon. Conceptually the Lunsar Fulbe form a microcosm of Futa Jallon society since they are segmented by clans and by their chiefdoms of origin. Simultaneously they form an extension of Futa Jallon society through their stratification by status strata or castes, and through their kinship ties within each caste with people living in Futa Jallon. Later, in Chapter II, it will be shown how much older migrations by Fulbe to other parts of the Northern Province of Sierra Leone have given rise to other sub-groups of Fulbe, also structured according to the same principles as those in Lunsar and elsewhere.

It is reasonable to suppose that at times during the life of the Lunsar Fulbe a role has to be performed, but that the traditional

person whose right and obligation it is to perform the role does not live in Lunsar. This does sometimes happen, for example the role of praisesinger at the Ramadan feast (see Chapter V) had to be performed even though the correct type of praisesinger was missing. To overcome the problem a Maninka from Labé in Futa Jallon was asked to assist in the ritual even though he was of a different tribe. This example well illustrates White's¹ idea of the function of role:

" The distinctive aspect of roles in formal organisation must not be their content but their articulation, the structure they form".

After the food had been cooked for the feast its praises had to be sung, and the various dishes had to be allocated to persons occupying points within the social structure, i.e. the elders, young men, women and children etc. The latter roles of eating the food had to be preceded by the praisesinger's role which forms the point of articulation for the roles of eating.

This example has shown how in one case a structural approach assisted in the analysis of a social situation, there are many others which appear throughout the text, which ~~are~~^{are} both possible and pertinent to a study of the Lunsar Fulbe who form both an extension and a replica of Futa Jallon society. The fluidity of the Lunsar Fulbe population, and its rapid turnover of individuals does not affect the social structure which is essentially a role structure, in which roles form the nodes about which other roles are articulated. Although fresh individuals may occupy the nodes, or carry out the roles, the total structure of roles remains fairly constant.

1. White, H.C. An anatomy of kinship, Mathematical models for structures of cumulated roles. p. 5 Prentice-Hall.

Function

Radcliffe-Brown uses his analogy of the biological organism to explain that the various organs each have an activity, and that each activity has a function.¹ When the organism is in good order the various functions of its parts are contributing to its eunomia. But when the various organs cease to function in such a way as to maintain the organism or overall structure in good order, then dysnomia, or disorder results. There are then eunomic and dysnomic functions. The latter is sometimes called dysfunction.

On the level of human behaviour, certain actions can be said to have an eunomic function and actions, a dysnomic function, or dysfunction. Wiener² would say that the eunomic functions are part of the normal homeostatic process which maintains order, whereas dysfunction rapidly leads to a breakdown of the self-regulating qualities of society, or the organism, and entropy, or disorder prevails.

Fulbe society in Lunsar only maintains its social structure by virtue of the fact that most of the choices of action of the individual Fulbe have an eunomic function. Even where actions with dysfunctional tendencies are carried out there are other mechanisms in the system which prevent total disorder from prevailing.

The Fulbe have a concept of ideal 'Fulbeness' known as Pulaaku which will be introduced in the next chapter. For the moment it is sufficient to mention that ideally^e every role performer in Fulbe society is manifesting a facet of Pulaaku in the process of role performance.

1. Radcliffe-Brown, A.R., On the concept of Function in Social Science, London, 1952

2. Wiener, Norbert, The Human use of Human Beings.

By bringing in the concept of Pulaaku it has become clear at once that the Fulbe are aware of their identity, which is nothing more than the sum total of roles to be performed by them plus the idea of Pulaaku.

The Lunsar Fulbe are presented with a finite number of choices of action at any given moment, or in any social situation. To the 'good' Fullo in each situation there is the limited number of choices encompassed by Pulaaku. If he chooses another type of action that does not conform to the idea of Pulaaku on one or two occasions it will not alienate him from the Fulbe in general. But a consistent succession of such choices will inevitably place him outside the Fulbe community as a 'carefree', (Krio version of Kafiiri, an unbeliever).

To return to the idea of function. There are two types of behaviour open to Lunsar Fulbe, that which is consistent with the idea of Pulaaku which has an integrative function, and that which has a tendency to break down traditional structure, having a disintegrative function. During the course of the thesis these two types of function will be illustrated as they have been used to explain the connection between different types of behaviour. For example few Fulbe work for Delco because performing another person's manual labour for him equates a man with slaves. Working for Delco tends to alienate a Fullo from the community, therefore most 'Fulbe' found working for Delco are half Fulbe among whom Pulaaku is weak. Instead, Fulbe pursue occupations of a traditional nature which tend to regenerate the social structure because these occupations are roles within the social structure. Such occupations can be said to have an integrative

Note: Of the twenty two so-called Fulbe working for Delco, seventeen are half-Fulbe among whom the sense of pulaaku is weak. Of the five 'proper' Fulbe working for Delco, four are of slave status. This is further discussed on page 266.

function, and working for Delco a disintegrative function.

A further point on structure and function illustrates that Lunsar Fulbe are part of a wider Fulbe society. There is a steady loss, or shedding, of Fulbe personnel caused by intermarriage with Temne women. The resultant half Fulbe become more or less Fulbe or Temne according to the proportion of influence exerted by each of the two parents and kin. If the children are sent back to Futa Jallon they will grow up as Fulbe, but if they remain in Lunsar they may grown up more as Temnes. In this latter case they will very likely work for Delco and drop out of the Fulbe community. They will have no role apart from that of 'son' to a Pullo.

The Lunsar Fulbe are not therefore entirely self perpetuating, and are to a certain extent reliant on fresh personnel coming in from outside. As mentioned already Fulbe are constantly coming to, and going from Lunsar which not only provides new personnel but ensures continuity with the wider Fulbe society.

The units of study.

The last point about the half Fulbe brings us to the various units of study used to provide data for analysis.

The community includes all those Fulbe and half Fulbe who subscribe to the Fulbe way of life, and who fit into the social structure. Although newcomers to Lunsar do not take a very active role at first they participate in Fulbe affairs to an extent governed by their status, age, and deference to longer established Fulbe. Also the half Fulbe who have been brought up as Fulbe are included as being in the community. The Fulbe themselves have an idea of themselves as being members of one

large community, of which Lunsar Fulbe form a part.

The Lunsar Fulbe community sometimes extends a political influence to other Fulbe living as far as thirty miles away. The election of headmen in areas where pastoral Fulbe are living are influenced indirectly by the moral support and funds given to the candidate of their choice. They are not allowed to vote because the headmen are responsible to the Temne Local Council, and only Fulbe living in that particular Local Council area may vote. Contact between Lunsar Fulbe and cattle Fulbe is frequent, cattle traders from Lunsar go to buy cows and women from the cattle camps come to Lunsar to sell milk products.

The half Fulbe are sometimes treated as a separate category, mainly in statistical terms, because as a group they were found to display different characteristics from either the Fulbe or Temne. These differences are demonstrated in the text, mainly in the chapter on occupations.

Two days were spent at Ro Kulun in the Sanda Tenraran area to the North of Lunsar, where chief Alhadji Alimamy Wurro was interviewed. This trek was made to find out how the Sanda Fulbe compared with the Lunsar Fulbe, the former having lived in the area for over seventy years. The data collected has been used for making comparisons, particularly in the section on politics.

Photographs of a Cattle Camp.



Plate 15. Thatching a byre for young calves .



Plate 16. A woman beating rice.

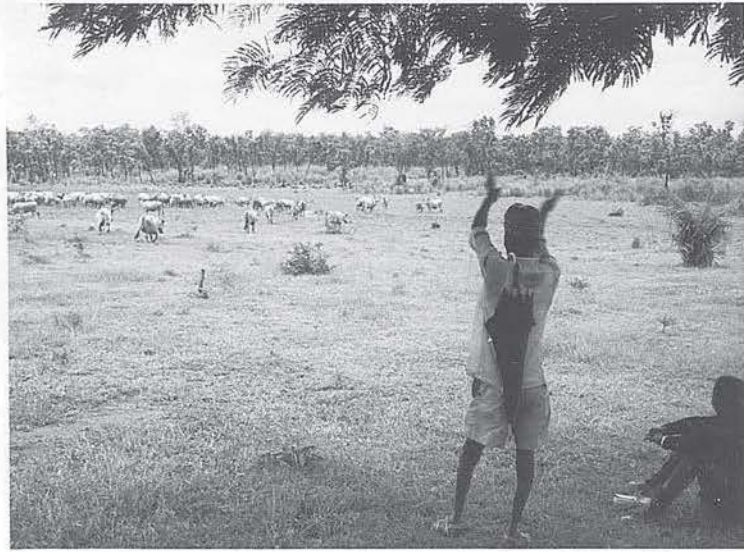


Plate 17. A stockman (ainowo) herding the cattle.



Plate 18. Cattle being let out of the corral after milking.



Plate 19. The senior kinsman and head of the camp.



Plate 20. Two of the leader's wives.

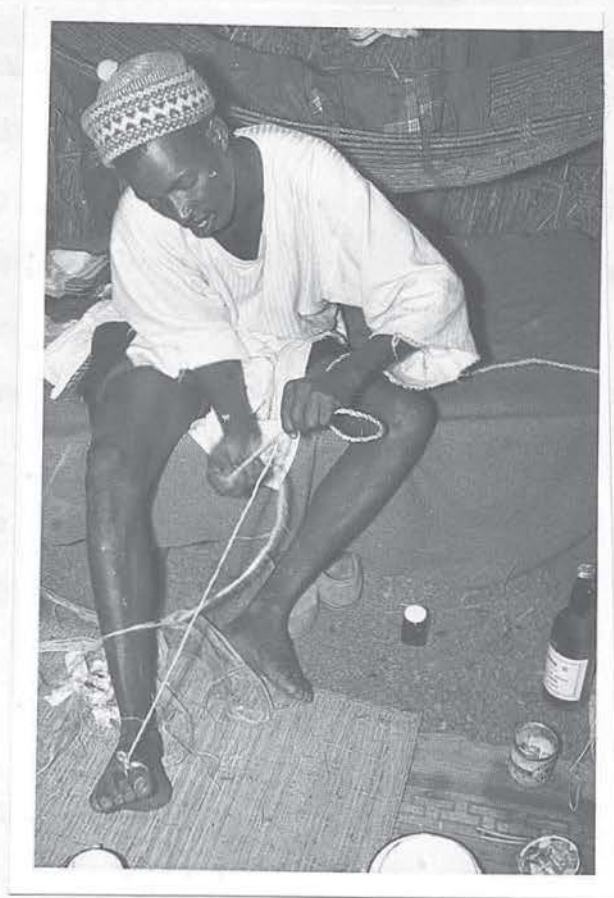


Plate 21. Cattle owner making tethering rope.



Plate 22. Dairy utensils of a Fulamuso.

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CHAPTER II. THE FULBE TRIBE - IMMIGRATION INTO SIERRA LEONE -
DEMOGRAPHY OF LUNSAR FULBE

The last chapter explained that the Lunsar Fulbe are in fact a microcosm of Futa Jallon Fulbe society. Before proceeding to explain the social structure of the Lunsar Fulbe a brief description of Futa Jallon and its inhabitants will be given. This is necessary because without reference to Futa Jallon society, the social structure of Lunsar Fulbe and their attitudes to work, cannot be adequately explained.

Also in this chapter is given a brief account of Fulbe immigration into Sierra Leone and Lunsar in particular, which leads directly into the demography of the Lunsar Fulbe.

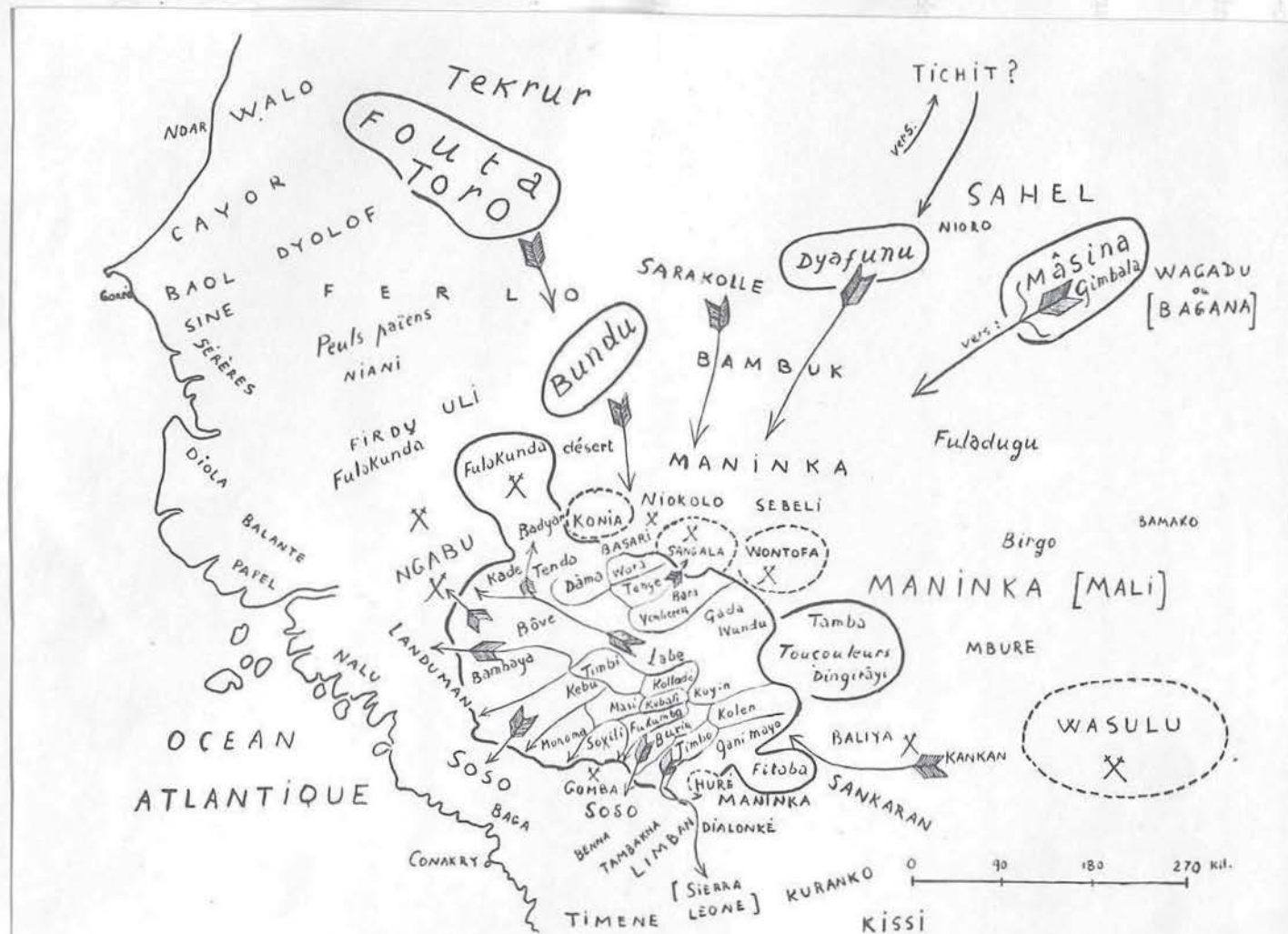
Futa Jallon and the Fulbe.

The area known as Futa Jallon lies to the North of Sierra Leone in La Guinée, formerly French Guinea. The area has many mountains some of which rise to over 6,000 ft., and because of the large number of rivers which have their sources here is sometimes called 'the father of rivers'. The rivers Senegal, Gambia, Casamance, Scarcies and Niger all arise in the area of the 'massif éburnéo-guinéen', which includes Futa Jallon.

Table 2.1. Population of Futa Jallon, by administrative areas.¹

<u>Headquarters</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Other tribes</u>
Labé-Mali	344,000	10,000 (Jalunkas, Jakanke)
Mamou-Dalaba	194,000	34,000 (Mandingo-Serahuli)
Téleméle	63,000	7,000 (Susu etc.)
Gaoual	50,000	20,000 (Chapi, Coriagui)
Dabola	41,000	70,000 (Mandingo, Jalunka)
Kindia	15,000	68,000 (Susu)
Boké	10,000	58,000 (Landuman, etc.)
Bofa	2,500	52,000 (Susu)
	719,000	319,000

¹Vieillard, Notes Sur les Peuls de Fouta Djallon, Bulletin de l'IFAN, Janv.-Avril, 1940.



Carte 2. — Eléments conquérants des Fûta Dyâlô: leur expansion postérieure (les éléments peuls en cursive, les éléments non peuls en capitales).

The Fulbe are in all likelihood the largest tribe in West Africa. Stenning estimates their number as being over six millions.¹ The term Fulbe is used by a large number of people to describe themselves. For convenience we refer to this large group of people as a tribe.

The Fulbe (sing. Fullo) are called Fulani in Nigeria, Ghana and nearby countries, Fula in Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and Foulah and Peul or Peuhl in former French territories. The Fulbe are to be found between St. Louis in the west and the Cameroons to the east, and are sub-divided as Hopën² points out into a series of sub-cultures. The sub-cultures can be broadly divided into the pastoral Fulbe, the bush or farming Fulbe and the town Fulbe. In addition each subculture consists of many distinct groups, or sub-tribes, each with a separate name. The physical distribution of the various centres of Fulbe culture in the western area of the Guinea coast is shown in Map 2.

The Fulbe domination of Futa Jallon took several centuries, and it was only after 1103 muslim year (circa 1766 A.D.) that the muslim Fulbe of the Labé district led by Mamudu Saliu revolted against their Jalunka overlords, and installed one Alimami Karamoko Alfa as chief of Labé, known thereafter as Alfa Mo Labe³. From this time on the Fulbe defeated most of the other peoples living in Futa Jallon and went on consolidating their position until the French defeated them and took possession of the country in the nineteenth century.

Traditionally Futa Jallon was divided up into three regions administered by the Fulbe. The regions were sub-divided into provinces, viz:⁴

Regions and provinces of Futa Jallon

Regions

1. Lower Futa
lei pelle

Provinces

1. Timbo
2. Ganin-Mayo

¹Stenning, D.J., Pastoral Nomads. I.A.I. 1959

²Hopën, C.E., The Pastoral Fulbe of Gwandu.

³Arensdorf, Manuel Pratique de langue Peulh, Paris 1913.

⁴Adapted from Vieillard. loc. cit. p.101.

Regions

2. Central Futa
Hakunde madji

3. Upper Futa
Dou pelle

Provinces

1. Fukumba
2. Buria
3. Kebali

1. Timbi
2. Kollade
3. Labe
4. Koyin

Each province is (and was) divided into smaller areas each called a miside (Arabic. misjid) meaning a mosque. The best English word for miside as an administrative unit is, Parish. Within each miside the dominant clan form the tekun. Within each miside are a number of villages and hamlets each with their own chiefs. After the French occupation of Futa Jallon much of the original political organisation was retained, although the provinces with a few slight alterations became colonial administrative areas (cercles), as shown in Table 2.1.

Under the Fulbe, Futa Jallon was a loose federation of states or chiefdoms,¹ the largest political unit being the province headed by a chief elected to the office from a notable and noble family. The electorate consisted only of freemen, rimbe. For example Alfa Yia, one of the great heroes of the Futa Jallon Fulbe signed himself 'Malik du Labe, Sahib du Kade' or 'King of Labe, and Marquis of Kade'.²

The miside were each headed by an Almami, who were the muslim leaders or imam. The Almami were the chiefs of the priesthood, the leaders of the believers, regarded as successors to the Prophet, lieutenants of God and heads of the muslim army which was perpetually mobilised for the sacred war, the jihad.³

The miside were supplemented by administrative units, or cantons called lando each headed by a secular chief elected from a noble family. These chiefs usually had titles such as cerno, alfaajo or modiibo and were assisted in their

¹ Vieillard. loc. cit. p. 124
² " loc. cit. p. 123
³ " loc. cit. p. 127

duties by secretaries (batulajo sing. and batulabe pl.) who wrote and corresponded in both Arabic and their own language, pullar.

Each village also had a chief, who in fact was often considered as a vassal of the canton chief. Village chiefs were nominated by the canton administration after it had consulted the village commission. The village commission itself was composed of the heads of families and given the name maube (sing. maudo) meaning 'elders'. (kautital maube = council of elders).

Below each village in the administrative hierarchy came the hamlets, and the chiefs of hamlets were elected from, and by the hamlet. Hamlet chiefs were ignored by the lando administration and the names of chiefs were not even recorded.

Within the villages and hamlets under the headman, or hore kaide, male heads of families controlled the inhabitants. Families are either noble, lenial, or humble, lenium, although in either case their structure is similar, they differ only in the amount of prestige accruing to them. A complete family unit consists of the male head, his wives and perhaps concubines, his children and his slaves. Such a unit is a bengure.

Social bonds and authority.

Futa Jallon society according to Vieillard¹ is built up on a series of social ties in which the base is the mother-child bond. As the groups involved become larger, so bonds based on consanguinity give way to political power, with the provincial chief at the head.

The smallest grouping, and that with the strongest bond is the mother and her children. The mother figure is 'endan, or dendan which literally means, 'mother's milk', and the bond between persons born of the same mother, (nɛnɛgɔto) is only exceeded in strength by that between children of the same father and

¹ Vieillard, p.p. 115 f.

mother, (ni ngoto, baba ngoto).

The term musidal refers to those 'who have sucked the same breast', and there are a number of musidal in a polygynous domestic group, which including slaves and other supernumeraries is called a begure. It is polite after asking a Fullo how his wives are to ask, "bengu ma na tu?" meaning, "is your household alright?" The begure is the smallest political group, in the sense that it is autonomous and relies on the authority of the oldest freeborn male to control its activities, and not merely on kinship ties and consanguin^eous ties intrinsic with each individual's position to other individuals at birth. The authority of the oldest in the household is called jedal and implies the authority of the father over his children, his wives, the domestic authority of master over the slaves, and can also imply the political authority of suzerainty over vassals.¹

Where a number of begure live in close proximity, for example in some cattle camps, and the separate households are headed by men belonging to the same lineage, they are hierarchically arranged according to the generation and order of birth of each leader. Stranger families may be incorporated into such a group and will be fitted into the hierarchy. The territory occupied by such an extended family group and its slaves together is called, tolodal. The leader of the group is again the oldest freeborn male kinsman.

The Fulbe in addition to having authority invested in senior males, believe that the world is divided into two kinds of people, those who have power over others, and those who are subjugated by the powerful. The authority of the powerful is baugal, and those who do not have it are to do what they are told. The Fulbe also demonstrate this type of 'might is right' attitude in respect of

¹Vieillard, loc. cit. p. 116

property, as Vieillard¹ quotes,

"A chacun le produit de son travail"

as a sign of an egalitarian outlook by the Fulbe, is supplemented by:

"A chacun œqu'il peut defendre".

The Fulbe believe that their freemen are the powerful, and that their vassals, craftsmen and slaves are to do their bidding. This outlook is extended to other African tribes who as heathen (kafiiri) and as black people (balebe) are to be exploited, and in former times caught and enslaved.

The all encompassing bond of Islamic brotherhood, musibbe dina, is, according to Vieillard² the most powerful bond of all, the community of spirit, and although the present writer does not fully agree with Vieillard there is little doubt that it has a unifying effect on the Fulbe. In addition as Trimmingham³ says, Islam is essentially an urban religion, and therefore gains strength during the urbanisation process in West Africa.

Fulbe society is therefore built up of a number of familial groups. Each group is founded on maternal milk (dendan) the source of warmth and affection. The father, wives, children and slaves together form the bengure, and a number of bengure are structured by their leader's ties with the eldest male, (deyol), and everyone must accept his position by virtue of the power possessed by the leaders, (baugal). Each such group is bound together, and to each other similar group by the 'brothers in religion' bond, (musibbe dina).

Clans.

All Fulbe claim descent from Adam through the four sons of a man called Yasir. The sons of Yasir founded the four main Fulbe clans, which are divided

¹ Vieillard, loc. cit. p. 170

² Vieillard, loc. cit. p. 116

³ Trimmingham, Islam in West Africa. Oxford 1959.

into two 'red' clans and two 'black' clans.¹ The red and the black colours of the clans have nothing to do with the present skin colour of their members who have the same amount of variation. Each of the four clans are subdivided and the same names for the various clans are not used by all Fulbe, although there are equivalents. Laid out below are the four clans and some of their equivalents.

Clan grouping

	'red'		'black'	
<u>Names.</u>	jaloube	feralbe	ouroube	da'lbe
	ja (jalo)*	soo*	bah*	barri*
			bande	

Names marked with an asterisk are the commonest in Futa Jallon. Each red clan has a link with a black clan, although there is little evidence that there is any other content to the link but a vague verbal acknowledgement. The couplings also have equivalents, as follows:

Soh/Barri = Sidibe/Sankare

Bah/Jalo = Jaga Yette/Jalo or Sumuntara

The Fulbe clans do not own land, or even occupy it, as a clan right, although in certain places members of a particular clan have come to dominate politically over areas of land. For example the King of Timbo, and his kinsmen of the Barri clan dominated (and still do) the Timbo province of lower Futa.²

The Fulbe are highly mobile and much less interested in owning land and immovable property than in using and controlling it. Monteil says:³

"La tenure des terres n'a pas d'intérêt chez les Peuls. Ceux qui sont à demi-sédentarisés, qui ont des cultures, suivent les mêmes règles que les sédentaires, à savoir: droit d'usage sur la terre à celui qui vivifie la terre".

Vieillard⁴ does not consider that Fulbe clans can be considered in the same way as anthropologists treat those of many African peoples. There are no rules

¹ Monteil, loc. cit. p. 352.

² Vieillard, loc. cit.

³ Monteil, loc. cit. p. 293

⁴ Vieillard, loc. cit. p. 117

specifying intra or inter clan behaviour, clans do not own land, and the clan members are scattered all over the West African savannah. Only by definition can they be called clans, in that the members claim descent from a common ancestor. The only time that I have observed anything that could be called clan rivalry has been when men have paid praisesingers to sing about famous ancestors. Even in such cases not only is the clan name given but also the locality in which the famous man lived.

The Fulbe do not even refer to particular parts of clans by statements such as 'the Barris of Timbo', they will say rather that their name is Barri and that they come from Timbo. Emigrants are often known by their origin. For example the Fulbe who live in the Sanda area of the Bombali District of Sierra Leone all have the name Timbo as a surname.

The Fulbe clans also cross cut the various sub-tribes of which there are a large number. Some of the sub-tribes have already been mentioned in the previous chapter and it would be both irrelevant and impossible to list all of them. Most of the Lunsar Fulbe are from Futa Jallon, and some are from Senegal, Torobe. The pastoral Fulbe living to the North of Lunsar are called Kebu, and those further North again are Telik.

Slavery, and craft castes.

Futa Jallon society, like that of other Fulbe, was maintained largely by means of slave labour before its abolition by the French in 1905¹ and by the English in 1926.² Manual labour is repugnant to freeborn Fulbe who used slaves openly until its abolition. However the passing of an ordinance cannot wipe out the stigma associated with manual labour. Linguistically the Fulbe word for work, huwowo, and for worker, golowo, is interchangeable with the word for a person of slave status, macuudo (pl. macuube). A slave is born with his or

¹ Vieillard, loc. cit. p. 153

² Ordinance for the Abolition of Slavery, 1926: v.p. 23. Sierra Leone.

her status. If born in captivity they are macuube, and if members of another tribe they are balebe (sing. balejo) until caught and enslaved by the Fulbe, after which they become macuube.

The Fulbe justify slavery by saying that it is recognised by God. Bilal, the slave of Mahomet the Prophet, continues to serve his master in paradise. God imposed work on Adam, but later created the heathen, (kafiiri, balebe or haabe), with strong arms to work the soil and serve the believers.¹ Also according to Vieillard, the sacred war, or jihad, was a national industry:²

"La guerre sainte était une industrie* nationale, comme le brigandage pour les Highlanders ou le service mécenaire pour les Suisses".

There was a definite season for slave catching, after the harvest when, presumably, movement was easy and the potential slaves well fed and healthy. The various provinces of Futa Jallon each faced onto an area of land occupied by other African peoples, which for each province constituted a reserve of slave labour. This type of outlook on the world is another facet of the Fulbe belief that the waube have the power, baugal, to overcome the wawabe who are weaker, and whose destiny it is to be overcome and enslaved. Vieillard³ says that French suppression of slavery among the Fulbe is comparable with the destruction of capital in a bourgeois state.

The sons of freemen were either cattle owners, or steered towards a dignified occupation such as the army, politics, religion and letters. In former times the Fulbe did not engage much in commerce which was left to the Serakulle tribe, many of whom were clients of aristocratic families.⁴ The principal occupation of the army was to catch more slaves to do the work.

¹ Vieillard, loc. cit., p.137.

² " loc. cit., p.98

³ " loc. cit., p.124

⁴ " loc. cit. p.120

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During the French occupation of Futa Jallon few Fulbe sent their children to French schools, preferring to send them to karamokos and alfas for their education, Vieillard¹ reports,

"Les peuls préfèrent l'éducation donnée par les karamoko, parce que ceux-ci donnent une éducation religieuse et morale, qu'ils enseignent l'amour de Dieu et de la famille".

This has no doubt contributed to the continued maintenance of traditional Fulbe values and morals. Also although slavery has been abolished, the people of macube status have no land except that of their former masters, and they are told that if they wish to continue cultivating it, they must 'do something' for their former masters in return. Poor people often pledge their children who are to all intents and purposes, slaves.

In addition to slaves, there are in Fulbe society craft castes, each specialising in a given occupation. The castes are also of low status but a little higher up than the slaves. It is justifiable to call them castes as they are endogamous. The principal castes are:

wailoube or bailo kante = blacksmiths and iron smelters.

loube = woodcarvers.

garanke = leatherworkers.

aulube = praisesingers and musicians.

Representatives of all these castes were met in Lunsar and reference is made to them in the text.

The concept of pulaaku.

Pulaaku is only definable as a tautology. It is the quality which differentiates the Fulbe from other African peoples. It is the essence of every Fullo, the ideal state of Fulaness towards which every Fullo aspires in outlook and behaviour. Vieillard² quotes a number of answers by Fulbe to the question, what

¹ Vieillard, loc. cit, p.163

² " loc. cit, p.78

is pulaaku?

1. "Something which you are frightened of, that thing which comes over you, you do not run away".
2. "One says: "So-and-so is very honourable: He dares".
3. "A Negro; anyone he sees he says 'give me a tip', a Peul (Pullo) never speaks in that way"
4. "When one summons a Peul for something, the Peul will always refuse".

Pulaaku is closely related to honour and respect, (holaare) but is not the same thing. To withstand hardship and overcome it is pulaaku, not to run away from the enemy is pulaaku. Many sub-tribes have as part of a young man's initiation into adult status a ceremony (soro) in which the initiate is beaten by a friend using a rawhide scourge. The initiate will urge his friend to beat him harder until the raw flesh on his back is exposed. To not flinch or cry out is the sign of a man, he has pulaaku. Although it is most common to hear the word used in a context of violence it also has peaceful uses. To behave in a self-sacrificing manner is also pulaaku.

So far in this section we have attempted to give an outline of Futa Jallon society, without reference to which a study of the Lunsar Fulbe would be incomplete.

The tradition of slaves to do the work immediately raises the problem of how the Fulbe obtain a livelihood in Lunsar where not only is slavery illegal, but where the Fulbe are in the minority. Since freeborn Fulbe are so concerned with Pulaaku, honour and status, they have to make special adjustments in order to live in the modern urban setting. These adjustments and the ensuing consequences will be dealt with in the chapter on occupations. One reason for making the occupations chapter so detailed is that it is considered to deal with the crux of the problem of Fulbe integration into the new way of Sierra Leone town life.

The Fulbe attitude to land is considered to be of great importance. Their lack of interest in owning land coupled with the viability of the small mobile

unit, the bengure, which also can be formed by any lone Fullo and his wife who have capital, wealth or skill, and fertility, enables Fulbe to travel outside the territorial limits of other Fulbe and produce additional units of Fulbe society.

Evidence of the high mobility of the Fulbe and their ability to reform self-supporting units of Fulbe society in new areas is given by their wide physical distribution over West Africa from Mauritania to the Cameroons. In spite of their present dispersal they have a fairly homogeneous culture. Nadel¹ describes how a few Fulbe infiltrated into Bida the capital town of the Nupe of Nigeria. Having remained there for several years they analysed the palace situation, and during a crisis at the time of an interregnum, sent for a Fulbe army which with little trouble annihilated the Nupe royal family and introduced a new system. One of the interesting features about this was that the new system of rotating leadership was not a traditional Fulbe practice but an intellectual solution to a specific problem. At the same time the solution or system, although new, was compatible with Fulbe values. The Nupe case provides us with an example of a sudden and dramatic type of Fulbe expansion, the exception rather than the rule.

A further feature of Fulbe society which permitted migration without loss of identity, was the freedom from long lines of supply. Although the technology of Fulbe artisans was at least as good as any other African peoples in West Africa, they had not invented the factory. Therefore iron smelters could set up anywhere there was ore and wood. Iron could be worked with the portable forge described in the section on occupations, and the other craftsmen could also easily transport their tools. Even the Fulbe food supply was (and is) mobile, since their principal diet has always been soured milk with some cereal, rice or millet.

There is little doubt that since the Fulbe look upon land and all the life

¹ Nadel, S.F. A Black Byzantium, Oxford.

and objects on it simply as something to use at no time are they far from their ancestors who are with God who is everywhere. Similarly, they do not fear to trespass on other tribes' land, because as muslims, it is not sacred to them.

The Futa Jallon Fulbe have not ceased their expansion although they are now forced to resort to peaceful means. As Map 2 shows, Fulbe migrate from the Cercle de Mamou, and Timbo in particular, down into Sierra Leone. This movement has been going on for over a hundred years and is still continuing.

Immigration of Fulbe into Sierra Leone

One of the earliest known movements of Fulbe into Sierra Leone was not a gradual infiltration but an importation of two hundred or more Fulbe from Senegal by a French slaver called Hannibal in 1772 A.D. These Fulbe were brought to the country as traders and mercenaries and were stationed for the most part at Forodugu, about fifty miles up the river Rokel, others being at Magbolonto and Ro Makuta. The French slaver left the area and the Fulbe settled there. Later the Fulbe fought and defeated Pa Molai Limba on behalf of the Temnes who rewarded them with 100 of all kinds of trade commodities plus land. These same Fulbe also defeated the Sankos at Port Loko (denied by living chiefs). The Bundukas, as these Fulbe are known, also introduced the tabale, or chief's drum which is now used all over the Northern Province of Sierra Leone.¹

Many of the Bundukas finally settled in the area of Gbinti where even during my fieldwork I found many people with the same names as those attributed to the original traders and mercenaries, e.g. Bundu and Wuri are very common.

Another account,² tells how war broke out in 1840 between Mahommadu Bundu, chief of Forodugu, and Maliggy Bundu who was backed by the chiefs of Marampa and Masimera. In September 1843 a Mr Dawson was commissioned to travel up the river in the steam ship "Soudan" to stop the war. The "Soudan" stopped at Paitefoo

¹ From Wurie A. The Bundukas of Sierra Leone, S.L.S., Dec. 1953, pp.14-25.

² History of Masimera, Archives of Fourah Bay College.

and before it reached Forodugu, Fulbe reinforcements came to relieve the siege on Mahommadu Bundu, and drove off Maliggy Bundu and his Temne supporters, chasing them up the river and plundering as they went. Warfare continued among the Temnes themselves until about 1880 although it did not involve the Bundukas to any great extent.

Another movement of Fulbe into Sierra Leone began during the middle of the nineteenth century.¹ Many pastoral Fulbe fled from the unjust ways of Fulbe chiefs in the vicinity of Timbo, first bringing their cattle through the Koinadougou District to the Lokko and Temne country known as Sanda Tenraran. Blyden in 1872² says of a group of Fulbe:

"The Hooboos are a terror to the region (Yimbereh). They are renegade Foulahs (sic) in rebellion against the King of Timbo. About twenty years ago, in consequence of some oppressive exactions imposed by alimami Omaru, the then reigning sultan, they revolted, and went off with their families and settled on the Pasture lands between the Futah (sic) and Suolima countries.

Many of these Fulbe found the local Sanda chiefs as harsh as those in the Timbo region, often demanding twenty head of cattle at a time. Those Fulbe who refused to give cattle were sometimes killed and their herds stolen.

Until recently there have been no Fulbe chiefs in the Sanda area, although there are some in the Koinadougou District further North where there are many more Fulbe anyway.³ In the early 1950's the administration decided that the Sanda Fulbe should have a chief who would serve the dual role of being responsible for the good behaviour of all Fulbe in the Bombali District, while at the same time protecting their interests. A very rich Pullo who has more cattle than anybody knows, a fleet of lorries and numerous trading interests was elected chief.

Alhadji Alimamy 'Wurro' Timbo, as the Fulbe chief is known, (a Wurro being a cattle camp) is in effect more powerful than any of the local Temne chiefs,

¹ From a personal interview with Alimami 'Wurro', Fulbe chief in the Bombali District.

² Blyden, Edward W. 'Report on the expedition to Falaba, January to March 1872'. Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. XVII, 1873, pp.117-131

³ 20,000 according to Sierra Leone Census of 1931.

each of whom rules only a small portion of the District. Alimamy 'Wurro' is chief of all the Fulbe in the District no matter which Temne chiefdom they are in. In cases of dispute any Fullo has the right to ask the Fulbe chief to speak for him; thus any Temne chief trying to exploit Fulbe may very likely be faced with Alimamy 'Wurro', who not only is wealthier than any Temne, but who has more subjects also. Thus the robbing of Fulbe and the hamstringing of their cattle by Temnes and Lokkos, which occurred up until about ten years ago, has ceased. Also the raiding and robbing of Temne and Lokko villages as retaliation has ceased. In effect a wasteful type of social control in the form of vengeance between Fulbe and non-Fulbe (balfe) has been supplanted by law. The Fulbe can obtain redress against non-Fulbe through the legitimate channel of their chief and not through crude self-help.

During my period of fieldwork another Fulbe chief was elected six miles from Lunsar at Feredugu, the chief's town in the Buya-Romendi chiefdom. The edge of the Bombali District is about twenty miles from Lunsar along the same road. Although this new chief is only responsible for Fulbe in the Paramount Chiefdom of P.O. Bai Fonte - Buya-Romendi, it is indicative of the continual process of Fulbe expansion, by infiltration of individuals and single families into an area, which if the occupants are friendly and the land suitable for grazing, is followed up by more immigrants and political consolidation and the election of a chief.¹

The last type of Fulbe immigration is not an indirect infiltration of complete family units in relatively small steps like that of the Pastoral Fulbe, but a rapid movement from Guinea of individuals or occasionally a man and his wife. Most of the 'pure' Fulbe in Lunsar have come directly from La Guinée, with perhaps one or two brief stops on the way. Some of them do not stop for long in Lunsar but say that they are going on to Freetown after a week or two.

¹ For a description of the actual election of a Fulbe chief see the section on Political Organisation.

Most of the half-Fulbe in Lunsar have come from Sanda or Gbinti. Nevertheless, no matter how a Fulbe comes to Lunsar or how long he has been there he is a member of the Fulbe community, and if he is a stranger will be looked after until he is able to stand on his own feet.

After the Second World War, there was an increase in the number of Fulbe who came into Sierra Leone. Many of these Fulbe had no work and went about in armed gangs stealing cattle from pastoral Fulbe and robbing houses of Temne chiefs and other rich men as well as persons travelling between villages.

Trouble from Fulbe became greater in 1945, and the Commissioner for the Northern Province sent out a number of instructions to Tribal Authorities to deal with the situation:

Whereas there are many armed Fulas (sic) who travel about the country killing and wounding people with intent to steal their property and whereas it is necessary to preserve the peace, we the Paramount Chief and the Tribal Authority of this our chiefdom hereby order as follows:-

Thence follows a series of orders to the effect that Fulbe should be prohibited from carrying arms, etc.; that Fulbe had to report their presence to the chief on arrival and pay 10/- registration fee, after having been vouched for by a local taxpayer. Any Fulbe not registering and without employment for 21 days could be repatriated forcibly back to French Guinea. Also no Fulbe could build houses without the permission of local Paramount Chiefs.

From this period onwards considerable correspondence between various District Commissioners and Chiefs continued because the 'bad Fulas' persisted in their illegal activities. Late in 1945 an order was issued that in areas where there were large numbers of Fulbe one of their number should be made a Headman and be held responsible for their good behaviour. This no doubt was because many unscrupulous Temne chiefs were harbouring Fulbe robbers, and in return received a 'rake off'. It was considered that a Fullo headman would have more control over his own people, and would have it in his interest to preserve their good name. One, Alfa Bella was made Headman of the Lunsar Fulbe.

By 1947 the situation was far from under control, in fact it had deteriorated considerably and extra Court Messengers were sworn in and armed, to assist with the disarming and repatriation of Fulbe. However, during this period Lunsar was not a trouble spot as regards Fulbe, and the main reason for trouble persisting in some areas was the failure of the Paramount Chiefs to carry out the administration's instructions. Chiefs who did take strong action were threatened with their lives by gangs of Fulbe robbers, who for the most part lived in temporary camps in the bush.

Trouble with the Lunsar Fulbe began again in 1949, when there was an outbreak of burglaries, as a result of which the Marampa N.A. Criminal Court sentenced 37 Fulbe to one month I.H.L. and repatriation to French Guinea and 'other chiefdoms'. A week or so later Alfa Bella and Alfa Bakr Bah were charged by Bai Koblo with some 'reasonable criminal charges' but absconded before they could be brought to court. It appeared that these two men went to Freetown and succeeded in obtaining the services of a lawyer, Mr Rogers-Wright, to act for their defence. At the same time some 28 Fulbe out of 36 charged with vagrancy were allowed to remain in Lunsar, either because they had genuine business there or because many of the Lebanese traders there were willing to vouch for them.

In October 1949 lorry loads of Fulbe arrived in Port Loko, having been sent there by P.C. Bai Koblo, and 65 of them were sentenced to a month's I.H.L. and repatriation, some 29 having their cases quashed. Alfa Bella and Alfa Bakr Bah won their case and Alfa Bakr Bah was made Fulbe Headman and has remained so ever since. There was a little trouble with Fulbe in Lunsar during 1955 although it was settled fairly easily and Alfa Bakr Bah has managed to keep order among his people.

Soon after the situation in Lunsar had settled down, P.C. Bai Koblo had a nervous breakdown and was taken to Futa Jallon by Alfa Bakr Bah where he was treated by a number of Holy men. On returning to Lunsar the chief appeared to

be better, although he is supposed to return to Futa each year in order to prevent a recurrence of the affliction. For the last few years the chief has not gone for 'treatment' but seems to be all right.

Several Fulbe said that Fulbe magic worked in revenge had struck the chief, although those Temnes who were willing to discuss the matter said that it was the Kabia (the chief's clan) devil that had caused the illness. After his visit to Futa P.C. Bai Koblo married the niece of Alfa Bakr Bah which has probably helped to stabilise the situation.

Demography of the Lunsar Fulbe

Table 2.2 and Fig. give the Fulbe population structure in Lunsar town itself. These figures were not obtained by the usual census technique of recording everyone at a given time of night, simply because at first it was not at all clear who were Fulbe and who were not. Many of the resident Fulbe spend as much as 50 per cent of their time in outlying villages trading, and yet should be considered as Lunsar inhabitants.

~~There is a distinction to be drawn between persons who have some remote Fulbe ancestry and consider themselves as Fulbe, and those persons with the Fulbe ancestry who have lived in Lunsar since their fathers' time.~~

In Dr. Mills' 10 per cent sample census¹ there appear to be more Fulbe than in my own survey on the Fulbe which went on for ten months, a total of 49 times 10, as against 234 that I found. This discrepancy is too large to be ignored, and some attempt was made to find out its reason. On re-examination it was found that on the average there were twice as many people living in houses owned by Fulbe according to the census than there were at any time when I personally surveyed them.

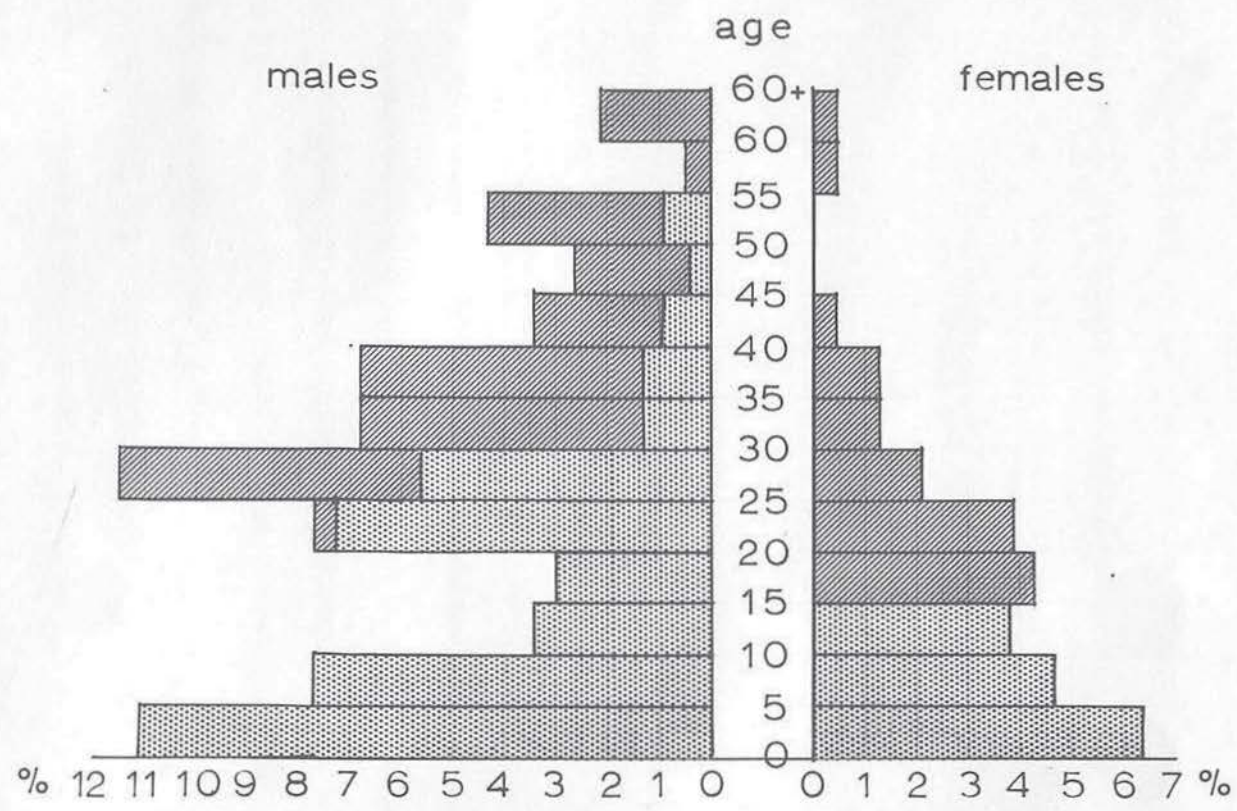
The Fulbe, who feel insecure in Lunsar², considered it advantageous to be on the 'white man's paper' as they know from previous experience that the white

¹ Mills, loc. cit.

² See chapters on Fulbe-Temne relations and Social Organisation.

Fig | Lunsar Fulbe & half Fulbe Population

single = [dotted pattern]
 married = [diagonal lines pattern]



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man and his administration protect them from the Temne. A further inducement to get one's name on the census was that the sample were able to receive free medical treatment from Dr. Mills. There had been a temporary movement (on paper) into Fulbe houses that appeared on the sample census, from other houses which had not been selected.

The Temne who 'own the land' and are in a majority do not feel insecure and prefer not to have their names recorded on lists, which might be used for tax and other purposes disadvantageous to them.

My own Fulbe figures were made up over a period of time and included persons that I knew to have been resident for at least nine months in Lunsar. Also, only Fulbe and half-Fulbe (persons with one parent a Pullo) were recorded, and most of these were also members of the Fulbe community, many of whom but not all, were actually related by kinship or marriage.

Table 2.2 - Fulbe and half-Fulbe resident population. June 1960.

Age Group years	Males		Females		Total
	Total	Married	Single	Married	
0 - 4	11.1	0	11.1	0	11.1
5 - 9	7.7	0	7.7	0	7.7
10 - 14	3.4	0	3.4	0	3.4
15 - 19	3	0	3	4.3	7.3
20 - 24	7.7	0.43	7.3	3.9	11.2
25 - 29	11.5	6	5.6	2.1	13.6
30 - 34	6.8	5.1	1.3	1.3	8.4
35 - 39	6.8	5.1	1.3	1.3	8.4
40 - 44	3.4	2.6	0.9	0.43	4.33
45 - 49	2.6	2.1	0.43	0	3.13
50 - 54	4.3	3.4	0.9	0	5.6
55 - 59	0.43	0.43	0	0.43	1.29
60 plus	2.1	2.1	0	0.43	4.63
Totals	70.8%	27.3%	42.9%	14.2%	57.0%

Percentages are based on a total of 234 persons.

The population pyramid for Fulbe and half-Fulbe in Lunsar is very similar to that of Futa Jallon Fulbe in Dakar,¹ where they are called Peuls. The preponderance of men over women is the same in Lunsar and Dakar, as also the relatively

¹ Recensement démographique de Dakar (1955), page 19, Fig. 25.

large numbers of young unmarried men who live in Lunsar. It is doubtful that the latter fact is entirely due to immigration into urban centres, and more likely to be associated with the belief and practice of the Fulbe, that it is a good thing for young men in their late teens to go and see the world, and thus learn something about it.

Table 2.3 shows that some 57 Fulbe were interviewed on arriving in Lunsar but ~~who~~ left again within days or weeks and are thus classified as itinerants.

Table 2.3 - Age and Sex of Married and Single Itinerant Fulbe and Half-Fulbe.

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males Married</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Single</u>	<u>Females Married</u>	<u>Total</u>
0 - 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
5 - 9	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 - 14	0	0	0	1	0	1
15 - 19	3	0	3	0	2	2
20 - 24	8	1	7	0	6	6
25 - 29	11	2	9	0	3	3
30 - 34	7	6	1	0	0	0
35 - 39	4	4	0	0	3	3
40 - 44	1	1	0	0	1	1
45 - 49	2	2	0	0	1	1
50 - 54	0	0	0	0	0	0
55 - 59	3	3	0	0	0	0
60 plus	1	1	0	0	0	0
Totals	40	20	20	1	16	17

The majority of male and female itinerants fall between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. The men are mainly travelling petty traders, entertainers and unemployed who are not sure of what kind of jobs are open to them. The women are nearly all housewives, who bring a type of soured milk (Pullar = kasa) from cattle camps in the bush, which they sell in Lunsar. Other females come to visit relatives living in Lunsar.

The majority of Fulbe living in Lunsar probably came there in this somewhat haphazard and random manner, except that they stayed in the town and those I classify as itinerants did not. A few Fulbe came from their homes explicitly to join brothers, uncles, husbands etc. who already lived in Lunsar. Whether or not an itinerant stays there depends on whether he likes Lunsar and can find a way of earning a living compatible with his social background.

Fulbe have been coming to Lunsar for many years, and some four or five of them lived in the village of Marampa when Lunsar was but a hamlet. These early settlers moved to Lunsar when it began to grow, although one man and his family moved back to Marampa again. These early settlers comprised a party consisting of a learned Koranic Scholar called O'erno Amadu, his pupils and his slave; all of whom were alive in 1960 with the exception of the scholar himself. The length of time which the Fulbe population have lived in Lunsar is given in Table 2.4 which excludes persons under fifteen years of age.

Table 2.4 - Length of stay in Lunsar. Fulbe and Half-Fulbe over 15 years of age.

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Under 3 months	40	17
3-5 months	5	2
6-11 months	3	2
1 year	12	3
2 years	6	6
3 years	6	6
4 years	9	3
5 years	5	1
6 years	7	1
10 years	9	5
15 years	14	0
20 years	10	4
25 years	5	2
30 and over	10	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	141	54
	<hr/>	<hr/>

From this table it is apparent that the number of Fulbe coming to Lunsar has increased since French Guinea became independent. Twelve males came in the year after independence, whereas only six came in each of the two preceding years. Most of those recorded as being in Lunsar under three months moved on and did not stay in the town.

Fulbe have been coming to Lunsar for many years, and some have lived in the village of Lunsar when Lunsar was but a hamlet. These early settlers moved to Lunsar when it began to grow, although one man and his family

2

Age of arrival in Lunsar of 104 male Fulbe over 15 years of age. (Residents)

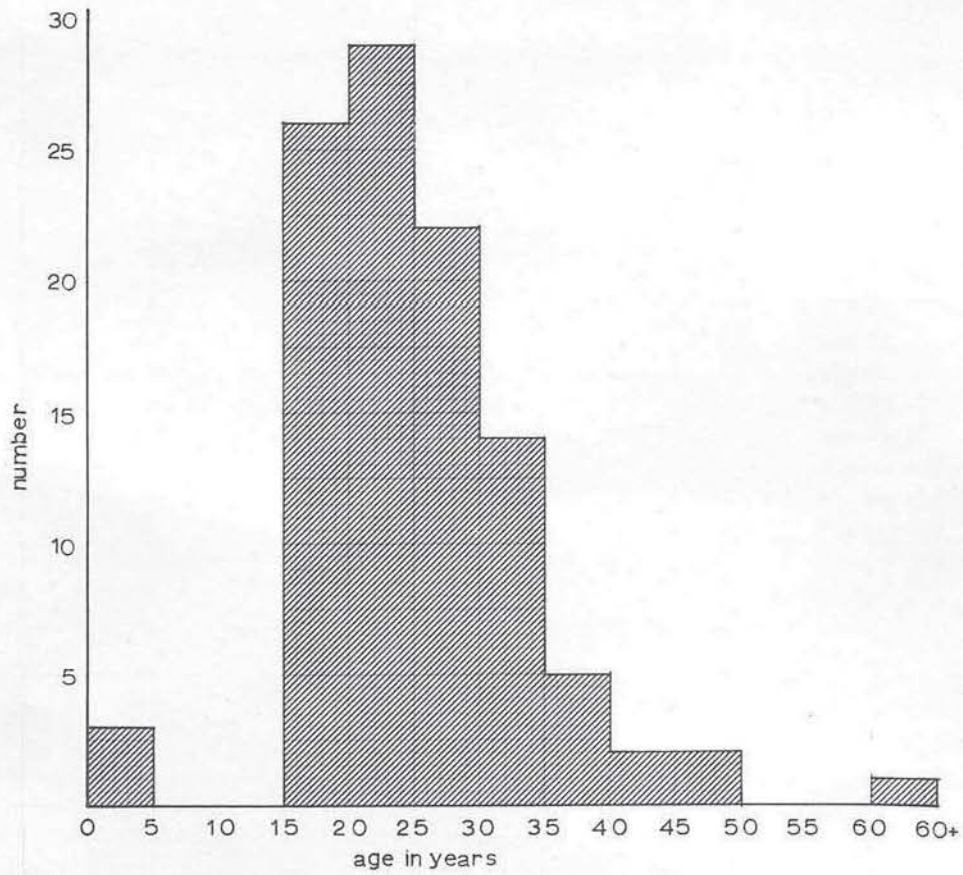


Table 2.5 - Age at which Fulbe have come to Lunsar.

Age Group (years)	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54	55-59
No. of immigrants	3	0	0	26	29	22	14	5	2	2	0	0
Age Group (years)	60+											
No. of immigrants	1											

From Table 2.5 and the accompanying histogram (Fig.2) it will be clear that most Fulbe immigrants to Lunsar are young men between 15 and 35 years of age. This is the period of their lives at which young men are encouraged by tradition to travel and see the world, obviously many of these young men do not return home but make new homes for themselves as some have done in Lunsar.

Many new arrivals said that since the independence of La Guinée unemployment and poverty had increased, which is understandable when one considers the way in which the French moved out. Cement was thrown in Conakry harbour and other materials destroyed, as well as the immediate collapse of the administration caused by the sudden withdrawal by the French. Thus many young men had left La Guinée to look for new opportunities in Sierra Leone.

The new Guinée government put very harsh laws into operation to combat the outbreak of stealing which occurred after independence. Several men were crucified in Conakry and others had their hands cut off; as a result of which many thieves left the country and came to Sierra Leone. Later, however, the harsh laws were altered, the population of La Guinee having seen that the new administration would not tolerate lawlessness.

La Guinée is discouraging private enterprise and new regulations are making it harder for nationals to trade with Sierra Leone, which is possibly going to inhibit emigration. Traders bringing diamonds from Sierra Leone are welcome at



the frontier, and are about the only persons not required to have papers before entering La Guinée.

Places of Origin

Previously, it was explained that there have been a number of separate movements into Sierra Leone. The origins of the Lunsar Fulbe correspond with these movements. Table 2-6 shows that the majority came from Futa Jallon (55.7 per cent), whereas others came from Sanda (after known as Creole Fulas) (11.8 per cent) and the remainder from Port Loko and the Lunsar/Marampa area (32.5 per cent).

The place providing most immigrants, both male and female, is a town called Pita and its close neighbour, Timbe Tourné which has been added to Pita in the table. Immigrants from Sanda are mainly descendants of Fulbe originally from Timbo, although many of them are half-Fulbe and half-Temne or Lokko. Those from Gbinti are mostly descended from the Bundukas already referred to, although many of them are from cattle camps of Futa Jallon Fulbe who have settled not far from the town.

Labé is a much larger town than Pita, but fewer Fulbe come to Lunsar from there, as it has a tradition by which young men of the Labé area go each year to Senegal, mainly to work on the groundnut farms, returning to their homes in the off season. There are no Fulbe seasonal workers in Lunsar, except for a few cattle drovers and farmers who travel during their slack period as musicians and traders.

There are three main routes by which Futa Jallon Fulbe come into Sierra Leone, the road from Kindia through Kambia; via Kamakwie, and from Timbo to the North through Kabala. The fact that there are Fulbe in Lunsar does not mean that it is especially attractive to them. There are many more Fulbe in Freetown, Morkeni and the Diamond Area, which is very attractive to them. Lunsar has little to offer the Fulbe except good kola nuts and a market for selling Koranic magic.

Table 2.6. Places of birth of Fulbe and half-Fulbe over 15 years of age

BIRTHPLACE La Guinée Cercle de	RESIDENTS						ITINERANTS						TOTAL	
	males		females		total		males		females		total		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
<u>Mamou:-</u>														
Pita	22		6		28		8		0		8		36	
		20.1		20	20			21		0		14.5		18.6
Timbo	14		1		15		2		1		3		18	
		12.8		3.3	10.9			5.3		5.9		5.5		9.3
Mamou	12		0		12		1		0		1		13	
		11		0	8.6			2.6		0		1.8		6.7
Dalaba	3		2		5		1		0		1		6	
		2.8		6.7	3.6			2.6		0		1.8		3.1
Fugumba	4		0		4		0		0		0		4	
		3.7		0	3			0		0		0		2.1
<u>Cercle de Kindia:-</u>														
Telemele	2		0		2		7		3		10		12	
		1.8		0	1.4			18.4		17.7		18.2		6.2
Kindia	5		0		5		3		0		3		8	
		4.6		0	3.6			7.9		0		5.5		4.1
<u>Cercle de Labé:-</u>														
Labé	7		2		9		2		0		2		11	
		6.4		6.7	6.6			5.3		0		3.5		5.6
<u>Sierra Leone</u>														
Gbinti	6		2		8		4		2		6		14	
		5.5		6.7	5.8			10.5		11.8		10.9		7.2
Sanda	13		1		14		4		5		9		23	
		12		3.3	10			10.5		29.5		16.4		11.8
Port Loko/ Koya	8		6		14		2		0		2		16	
		7.3		20	10			5.3		0		3.6		8.2
Marampa	3		2		5		2		0		2		7	
		2.8		6.7	3.6			5.3		0		3.6		3.6
Lunsar	4		5		9		0		0		0		9	
		3.7		16.7	6.5			0		0		0		4.7
Other places	4		3		7		0		6		6		13	
		3.7		10	5			0		35.1		11		6.7
<u>Places elsewhere</u>														
	2		0		2		2		0		2		4	
		1.8		0	1.4			5.3		0		3.6		2.1
Totals	109		30		139		38		17		55		194	
		100%		100%	100%			100%		100%		100%		100%

Photographs of a funeral



Plate 23. The flag announces the death of a Muslim.



Plate 24. The Fulbe escort the bier to the burial ground.



Plate 25. The corpse having been removed, the bier is pushed to one side.



Plate 26. Cerno Ibrima Jalo contemplates the shrouded corpse.



Plate 27. Lowering the corpse into the grave.



Plate 28. Cerno Ibrima Jalo addresses his people at the graveside.

Plate No.		Between Pages
21.	Cattle owner making a tethering rope.	
22.	Dairy utensils of a Fulamuso.	
<u>Photographs of a Funeral</u>		53 & 54
23.	The flag announces the death of a Muslim.	
24.	The Fulbe escort the bier to the burial ground.	
25.	The corpse having been removed, the bier is pushed aside.	
26.	<u>Cerno</u> Ibrima Jalo contemplates the shrouded corpse.	
27.	Lowering the corpse into the grave.	
28.	<u>Cerno</u> Ibrima Jalo addresses his people	
<u>Pictures taken at Ramadan</u>		88 & 89
29.	Lunsar Muslims praying	
30.	The women at the back of the meeting after praying.	
31.	The ram is brought before the <u>maube</u> .	
32.	Alfa Bakr's nephew killing the ram.	
33.	The Mandingo praise-singer praises the food.	
<u>Photographs of a Naming Ceremony</u>		137 & 138
34.	Preparing the <u>cobal</u> .	
35.	Washing the infant.	
36.	<u>Cerno</u> Wuri about to kill the ram.	
37.	The child's name is called.	
<u>Occupations</u>		140 & 141
38.	Fulbe table trader.	
39.	A more prosperous stall in the market.	

CHAPTER III. SOCIAL STRUCTURE - A

It has already been claimed that the Fulbe living in Lunsar form both a microcosm and a replica of Futa Jallon society. Before describing in detail the horizontal stratification by statuses, and the vertical segmentation by origins, it will be convenient and to the point to construct a model from the data displayed so far.

Most ideas of social structure, such as those already mentioned in chapter I developed by Radcliffe-Brown¹ and Levi-Strauss² are built up on the notion of interperson relationships. Any single relationship is between a social person and another social person. In order to construct a model of kinship the anthropologist must introduce the multiplex person, Ego, in order that all possible kinship relationships can be shown simultaneously. The particular individuals with whom Ego has relationships is determined when Ego is born. If the anthropologist takes another individual, perhaps Ego's mother's brother, as the Central Ego, the first Ego becomes a sister's son and all the other social persons become different social persons. No matter who becomes Ego the structure remains the same, and the same group of individuals are involved, none drop out and no fresh ones appear. Everybody is Ego.

Since everybody in real life is Ego within their own set of kin, it is necessary to look beyond kinship to find a wider organisation or structure into which the smaller operative units of related kin can be placed. Since by definition a member of one group cannot be Ego in another group of kin we can say that within the wider group or tribe there are a number of closed or corporate kin groups.

Fulbe society, as will be shown in the next chapter, and which can be inferred from the description given in the previous chapter, depends on kinship

¹ Radcliffe-Brown, loc. cit.

² Levi-Strauss, loc. cit.

to order social relations within the small group living together (musidal). Kinship relations between sets of people who live far away from each other only become effective when there is communication between them, or, when someone goes from one place to the other. ~~If trying to analyse Fulbe society in terms of kinship models alone, we can only produce an image of the Fulbe as a segmentary society which is not strictly true.~~

~~Because kinship can only order relationships (structure) within the corporate kin group, and cannot regulate behaviour between members of different kin groups, we must look elsewhere for other principles, in order both to understand the mechanisms regulating behaviour between non-kin, and to be able to construct a model. The importance of the model is to test its applicability to both Futa Jallon Fulbe (as in Futa), and to the Lunsar Fulbe. If the model fits both sets of Fulbe then we have verification that the social structure of the Lunsar Fulbe is similar to that of Fulbe living in Futa Jallon.~~

The various principles by which the Fulbe in Lunsar are structured are described below. The first principle is that derived from the existence of strata; freeborn, craft castes and slaves. The strata in which each Fullo is born is an unalterable factor in each individual's life.

Horizontal stratification

The Lunsar Fulbe are an amorphous group made up of people from different parts of Futa Jallon and Sierra Leone. Some of them are freeborn, some slaves, and others belong to occupation castes such as blacksmiths and praisesingers.

Table 3.1 Numbers of resident Fulbe and Half-Fulbe born in each status found in Lunsar

	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
		<u>1/2 Fulbe</u>	<u>Fulbe</u>	<u>1/2 Fulbe</u>
Freeborn	91	39	34	19
Praisesingers	3	0	1	0
Leather worker	1	0	0	0
Blacksmiths	3	0	0	0
Woodcarver	1	0	1	0
Slaves	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>
	111	39	41	19

The biggest group are the freeborn, although slaves can sometimes pass for freeborn when not known in an area. Although by French and British Colonial Law slavery has been formally abolished for many years, the relationship between the slave and his family and his master and his family has in many cases remained a very close one. This is because when domestic slaves became free, they had no land of their own and remained dependent to a large extent on their former masters. Also they still possessed the status of slave (maccudo) and did not assume that of freeman (dimu, pl. rimbe). Some slaves who were formally freed by their masters acquired a new status of freed slave (ringnaado). Never, however, can a freed slave become a freeman (dimu).

Table 3.1 above shows a slightly higher proportion of female slaves (kodo, pl. hobbe) than male slaves although it is a comparatively small difference. The other groups are occupational castes, each of which has a special status of its own, and only four types of these were found in Lunsar, the praisesingers, leatherworker, woodcarver and the blacksmith.

The Lunsar Fulbe are divided up into categories in terms of their statuses at birth. These differences in status appear to come into operation when Fulbe are interacting with Fulbe, and not, for example, when a Fulbe slave is in contact with Temnes. To the Temne the man is a 'Fula', whereas to a Pullo, a slave is not a Pullo but a maccudo.

The fact that no half-Fulbe who were of slave status were encountered may mean one or more of three things. (1) Slaves have only recently been allowed to travel and thus have the opportunity of marrying Temnes. (2) The offspring of Fulbe slaves and Temnes do not admit to having a parent who was a slave. (3) These offspring are not aware of the niceties of status in Fulbe society. Whatever the reason for there appearing to be no half-Fulbe of slave status, the fact remains that Temnes, Lokkos, Limbas, etc., do not distinguish between freeborn and slave born Fulbe, but categorise them all as 'Fulas'.

The occupational castes have a higher status than the slaves but are not equal with freemen. Their vocation is determined at birth, and is often one requiring a high level of technical skill only acquired by years of apprenticeship with instruction from the father. As in the case of all the hereditary statuses, there is a large part of Fulbe mythology given over to account for the origin of the status differences, and why certain families pursue given roles. The occupational castes tend to marry within their own group and not outside it.

Apart from the hereditary statuses forming a basis for horizontal stratification of Fulbe society, there are a number of other ranks which may be acquired during lifetime. Age plays a large part in determining an individual's status within his own group, e.g., freeborn, slave born, etc., and there are a number of ranks which individuals may reach during their lives.

Although small children live and play freely together small boys are solibe (sing. solijo), and small girls are djuɓe (sing. djuo). After circumcision the boy becomes a saagataa (pl. saagataabe), although he is not yet considered to be an adult man. The young man must slaughter a bull which in this case is designated udditigo, and is taken from his mother's brother's (kau) herd. Before this sacrifice the novice is known as aaddonndau, and after as dokkuran. Much later a second bull, dokkigo, is killed and the youth becomes a somburu. Normally this second bull is deemed to be sufficient although sometimes a third is sacrificed, sombitgo. Initiation of boys (and girls) was not carried out in Lunsar but in Futa Jallon where the children were sent about the time of puberty. The naming of infants was performed in Lunsar and such a ceremony is described in chapter V.

After initiation the youth becomes known as a man, gorke (pl. worbe).

Later when he is old he will become maudo, an elder (pl. maube), but only if he 'has sense' or hakkil and respect, holaare. Old men in general are bɛraabe, (sing. bɛraawo).

A young mature girl who has been initiated by cliterodectomy, is a culbaajo. After marriage she becomes a man's dɛɔɔo, (pl. rɛlbbe) until her death. However after bearing a child she become a jedirau, (pl. jidiraabe). When she is past the menopause she becomes a yumirau, (pl. yumiraabe). Each of these age statuses operate within the fixed caste status determined at birth for both males and females.

Other ranks or statuses are attainable by males which are not necessarily concomittents of age but dependent on their status or class at birth, and the position they achieve in the occupation which they pursue. An elderly male slave, whose wisdom and wealth are respected by all types of Fulbe, is often given the title of Manga (from mangaaajo). Alhidji Bah, who had been Cerno Amadu's slave, has this title which is used as a referent, and never in addressing a man.

The three main status groups are differentiated by the various rights and obligations accruing to them by tradition. The three groups are endogamous, and if a freeman takes a slave woman as an official concubine an incomplete marriage ceremony takes place. The handing over of a calf rope (bɔgɔl) which is of great importance in the marriage between freeborn and freeborn is omitted. Also since the slave woman has no claim to a herd she has no dowry to bring to her husband. Thirdly, although her children may be given presents by their father they have no claim to his property either before or after his death.

One of the biggest differences between freeborn and slaveborn is that the former can make use of the services of the latter as a right. The right is by

virtue of the authority of the freeman head of the domestic group. In return for working five days a week for his master the slave has Thursday and Friday to work for himself on the plot of land allocated to him by his master. This is a privilege and not a right, and is by the master's generosity. The slave is protected by his master who will also help him to acquire a wife, although any children she bears belong to the master or his descendants.

The craft castes are more independent than slaves as they are not owned by anyone in particular, although they often voluntarily attach themselves to a chief in order to have protection and custom. Some craft castes, e.g. the laube or woodcarvers are regarded as being a different kind of Fulbe, a sub-tribe, both by themselves and by freeborn and slaves. Often the craft castes have some additional roles not technically part of their job as artisans. The blacksmiths, or bailo kante are famous for certain kinds of non-Koranic magic.

Freeborn Fulbe in Lunsar, as elsewhere, are the élite of Fulbe society. They are the aristocrats from whose number are recruited the Chiefs, Legal Advisers (alkali) and Scholars. Political leaders do not necessarily have to have a high standard of education in Koranic studies, but must be of noble birth and command respect, usually by virtue of their success in the world; money, cattle, houses, wives and children all being indices of success.

Scholars are graded according to how much they know and by the number of examinations passed and 'degrees' held. The three commonest grades encountered in Lunsar, were cerno, karamoko and almudo or student.

The scholars, or clerics, tend to specialise in one particular field, but at the same time teach younger people. Cerno Ibrahima Jalo of Lunsar is known for his interpretations of dreams and knowledge of law, whereas Cerno Wuri Jalo of Marampa was renowned as a philosopher and astrologer. Many clerics take on the name of Alfa, although it is not a rank and generally refers to a teacher.

Lunsar Fulbe informed me that nowadays some men become Cerno without knowing very much but how to ingratiate themselves with real scholars who, on the look out for profit, would create a man a cerno after being suitably rewarded.

The Lunsar Fulbe are stratified in a similar way to the Futa Jallon Fulbe. That is, there are the rigid strata of freeborn, craft castes and slaveborn which are fixed at the birth of each individual, and which is determined by his parents' status. Within each of the strata each individual moves from one status to another by means of the rites de passage of naming, initiation, marriage and finally, death. While any normal individual passes through these rites de passages, some learned men also pass through degrees, i.e. those of Karamoko and Cerno, which besides showing academic qualifications, give the persons concerned respect, or holaare and the opportunity to influence and educate others. Within the craft castes there are various rites de passages to mark the stages of technical competence achieved by 'apprentices'.

Further stratification is produced by considering people of different ages as being in separate categories, small boys and girls, young people, old men and women. Wise and old freemen may become maube, and a respected slave may become manga. These latter statuses are not marked by rites de passage, but are either concomitant^ts of progressing age or follow as a result of the individual's own efforts to live up to that aspect of pulaaku which is appropriate to their status group.

The pastoral Fulbe living in the Bush surrounding, and to the North of Lunsar are stratified in exactly the same way, but do not as a rule have members of craft castes living in their camps. The artisans are mainly to be found in towns, and the pastoral Fulbe when needing sandals, clothes, swords, knives and scabbards come to Lunsar to have them made.

Next, we will review the system of vertical segmentation.

Vertical Segmentation

The Lunsar Fulbe to a marked extent reflect the political units of Futa Jallon. This becomes very clear when a large number of Fulbe congregate in one place, when a tendency is displayed for them to split into about three groups of cliques. Each group usually contains all the Fulbe from one particular district of Futa Jallon, thus all those from Timbo would sit together, those from Pita in another place and the Labé Fulbe in another.

The segmentation of Fulbe by their origins was abstracted by themselves, and used as a principle in ordering social relationships between them. In a dispute a man from Timbo could rely on the support of other Timbo men if the dispute was with a man from Pita. If both litigants came from the same place other principles became activated.

At the end of Ramadan (the fast month for Muslims) a sheep was killed and the meat was allocated to the elders (maube) who were representative of places in Futa. A dispute broke out because there were very few Labé Fulbe in Lunsar and it could not be decided who should accept the meat on their behalf. Eventually they agreed to amalgamate themselves with the Timbo Fulbe and thus the feast was cooked by the two main groupings of Pita and Timbo plus Labé. When the feast was eaten both horizontal and vertical divisions operated. The elders all eat together irrespective of origin, the women all eat together out of sight in the backyard, and the younger men shared bowls with kinsmen and persons from the same place in Futa.

The commonest 'surnames' of Futa Jallon Fulbe are Barri, Jalo, Bah and Soh. By tradition the Barris were the aristocrats of Timbo and the Jalos ruled Labé, although it is not clear where the other two ruled, if anywhere in Futa Jallon. Fulbe with common names do recognise some link between each other, even though one man is a pastoral kebu and the other an urban Pullo from Futa Jallon.

There are a number of synonyms for the various Fulbe names as mentioned earlier. Some Fulbe on coming to live in Temne country for a long time have adopted what they claim as being the Temne equivalent of their Fulbe names. For example, several Fulbe go under the name of Sesay, which is a Temne name, although it is also common among the Mandingo of the Sene-Gambia. Kamara is the Temne equivalent of Jalo, although this name is common among other Sierra Leone tribes, and some of those in La Guinée, notably the Susu. Most of the Fulbe using Temne names are in fact half-Fulbe, and presumably they use the Temne equivalent of their Pullo fathers' names in order not to attract attention as being different from other Temnes. Again, many Fulbe use names such as 'Tailor' or Bailo which are actually occupation names. A Bailo kante being a blacksmith. Others simply use the name Fula. The Timbos of the Sanda area are an example of the use of an area as a name. Rouch¹ reports how migrants in Ghana use names other than their real names.

When the names of the Lunsar and cattle Fulbe were compared with their places of origin there did not appear to be any strong correlations. The few cases of people with particular name dominating the migrants from an area are as follows:

<u>Place</u>	<u>Number with a given name.</u>			
	<u>Jalo</u>	<u>Baa</u>	<u>Barri</u>	<u>Soh</u>
Timbe Turne	1	10	1	0
Timbo	7	2	3	0
Sanda	7	2	2	0

Altogether, of those Fulbe males with one of the above four names there were, 52 Jalo, 30 Barri, 34 Baa and 3 Soh, recorded. In addition there were 41 with other names. The female distribution was 22 Jalo, 5 Barri, 23 Baa and nil Soh. There were eleven females with other names. Unless some actual

¹ Rouch, loc. cit.

kinship link exists between two Barris when they come from different parts (which is unlikely), they will show allegiance to the Jalos and Bahs from their own areas in preference to a Barri from another district. Within the groupings of Fulbe in terms of their origins, the clan and lineage affiliations become important in determining alignments, particularly in mutual aid, in disputes, and in marriage.

Lunsar Fulbe on the whole live in houses inhabited by those from their own place of origin, those from Sanda in Temne and Lokko country align themselves with Timbo Fulbe rather than any others, although many have much in common with Temnes. Kinsmen are also found to share houses, unless each has a sufficiently large family to warrant a home of his own.

The segmentation of Lunsar Fulbe by allegiance to their origins is much more important than membership of one or other of the four clans. The divisions produced by origin extend to Fulbe of the craft castes and of maccudo or slave status. These latter groups although affiliated to the four main clans are not members. Therefore all Fulbe align themselves vis-a-vis other Lunsar Fulbe in terms of membership of segment of origin. This does not mean to say that the other relationships of kinship and status are overridden, they are complimented. Among half-Fulbe who subscribe to the Fulbe way of life, and who can be said to belong to the Fulbe community, allegiance is given to the father's segments, and in some cases to the grandfathers'. It is however possible that if enough Fulbe were to establish themselves in Lunsar, that other Fulbe might see them as 'Lunsar Fulbe' in their own right. This would be a function of their numbers and political influence in the future.

Lineality is important among the Fulbe because they are patrilineal, patrilineal and preferably endogamous, and the residential unit is usually expanded through these principles. The next chapter goes into greater detail on this subject and at this point I wish only to make the point that short