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CHAPTER 10

Social and Economic Factors Affecting Markets in Guro Land

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The Guro number approximately 100,000 people, the great majority of whom live inside the limits of the administrative district called *Cercle de Bouaké* in Ivory Coast. Our observations were limited to the Guro living inside this district.²

The Guro country is roughly divided into two ecological areas: on the southwestern side of the Marahoué River, an affluent of the Bandama, lies the tropical forest. As we proceed towards the northeast, the forest thins out and savannah gradually replaces the forest. But up to the northern limits, large patches of forest or forest galleries remain: it is what is commonly called the savannah-forest.

A fraction of the Guro people occupy the tropical forest country in the southwestern part of Guro country. The density is comparatively low³: in Sinfra Subdivision clusters of villages (or "tribes") are separated from each other by wide unoccupied stretches of forest. A greater population is settled in the northeastern section of savannah-forest. There the density is higher and the villages are spread more uniformly⁴. The high density of this area contrasts with the southern forest land also with the savannah-country to the north.

The occupation of the country by the Guro is probably 250 to 300 years old. They stem, according to Delafosse, from the Mandé Fu stock, and seem to be related to western populations such as the Dan, the Guere, the Kru, and in the west and southwest, the Bete. On their progress eastward, they met the matrilineal Baule on the Bandama River. The northern neighbors of the Guro are of the Malinke group, commonly called *Vaa*⁵ by northern Guro while they have no

(1) This paper is based on research carried out in Ivory Coast in 1958 under the auspices of *l'École Pratique des Hautes Études* (VI^e Section Centre d'Études Africaines) Paris, and with the supplementary aid of a scholarship from *l'École Française d'Afrique* (Dakar).

(2) The *Cercle de Bouaké* is divided into three Subdivisions: Zuenoula to the North, Bouaké in the center and Sinfra to the South.

(3) In Sinfra Subdivision, the average density of the Guro population varies from 4.8 to 7.5 to the square km. In Bouaké, from 4.1 to 7.1.

(4) Density in Zuenoula Subdivision averages 21.1. Some Guro cantons reach 40 to the square kilometer.

(5) They are today commonly called *Dionla*, a generic term associated with traders and applied to any individual of Guinean or Sudanese origin, peddling or trading in the southern part of Ivory Coast.

indigenous name among the southern Guro. To the south the Guro are bounded by the Gagon, a population with whom they have various similarities, according to Tauxier's work (Tauxier 1924).

Money-cropping has become the main economic activity of present-day Guro. Their agricultural vocation is a new one, having actually started around 1950 with the development of coffee growing and the end of forced labor. In the indigenous system, the main male activity was hunting; many cultural or social features were linked to this activity. They practice shifting agriculture, the bulk of work depending on the woman. Men do only the bush-clearing and miscellaneous tasks. Cattle breeding has completely disappeared since the extermination of the stock during the French conquest. In any case it was not very important and limited to a trypanosomiasis-resistant dwarf-cattle of southern origin. Milk or dairy products were not consumed. Cattle were, for the most part, used as matrimonial compensation, at funeral occasions and for sacrifices.

The Guro people are patrilineal and patrilocal. The main social and economic unit is the lineage (*Goniwoo*) counting from 25 to 200 individuals.³ The head of the lineage is the *Goniwoozan*. Two to six lineages may live together in a village. In some cases, they derive from a putative common ancestor, but more often the different *Goniwoo* populating a village come from various parts of the country.

The *Goniwoo* is roughly an exogamic unit (though exogamic rules do not always coincide exactly with it). Marriage is sanctioned by a matrimonial compensation paid by the groom or his family to the bride's guardian. This compensation guarantees the paternity of the husband on all children born of the woman for whom it is given. Polygamy and divorce are frequent.

Inheritance of titles, duties and of some prestige goods goes from the elder brother to the next one in such a way that family control remains in the hands of the elders.

The Guro have no boys' or girls' initiation. Knowledge is transmitted in casual ways, through story-telling or mere imitation.

Remote from the Sudanese area where kingdoms rose and fell, off the main slave hunting area, and commanding large available space, the Guro enjoyed comparative security and peace. The low density and the absence of outer threats did not contribute to the constitution of a centralized power. Actually, the Guro have no word for "chief." Inside the village, the pre-eminent position was acknowledged in

(3) Some of the large *Goniwoo* are divided into sub-lineages averaging around 50 people. The notion of *Goniwoo* is itself not everywhere precise in the mind of the Guro. They were probably driven to give it a more concrete meaning under administrative pressure and for tax purposes.

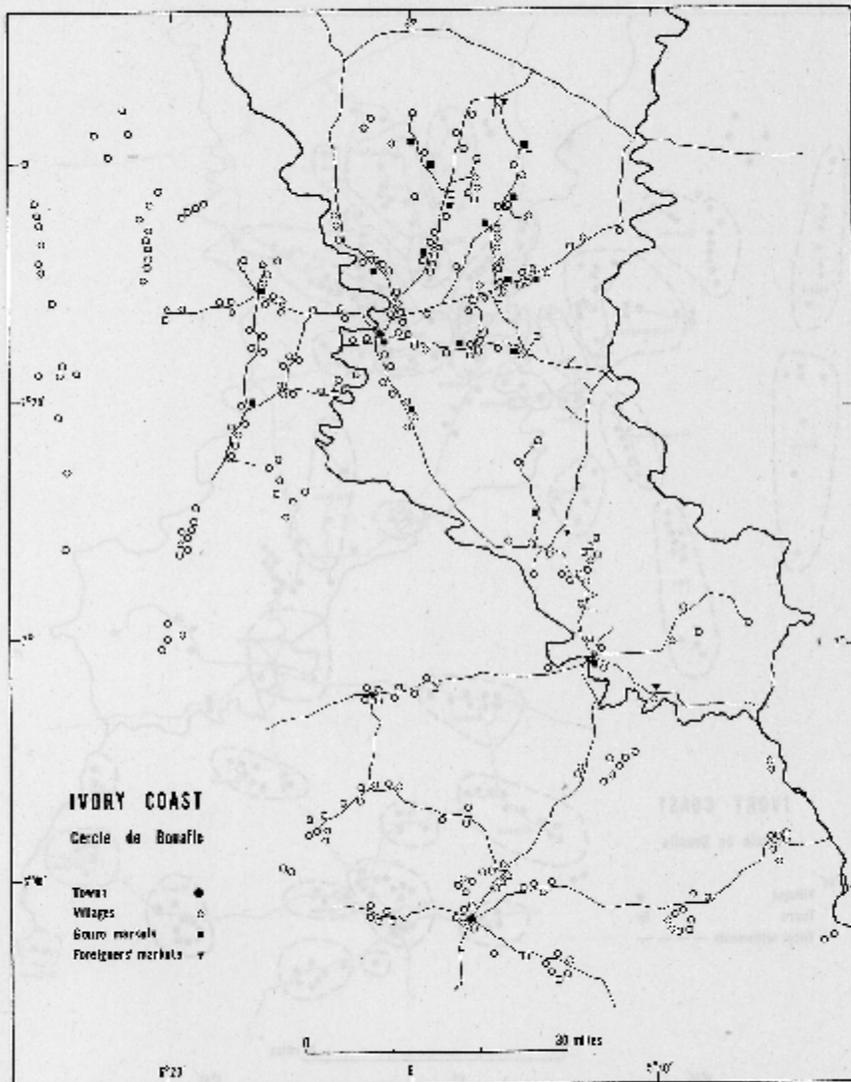


FIGURE 12
Towns, Villages, Foreigners' Markets and Guro Markets

favor of an elder, or wiser or "richer" *Goniwoazan* who was consulted on various litigious affairs. But he had, of course, no power to enforce his ruling which had to be backed up by social consensus. Occasionally, this peacemaker could be the head of the warriors and the earth master. But in many cases, the various elements of communal power were shared among several individuals: the peacemaker, the earth

groups of villages would be known under a collective name. Though the word "tribe" or any equivalent was unknown to the Guro, this is what the administrators call them today. These villages were usually allied in war, and settled their conflict through conciliation or through "brother-war," differentiated from war against alien groups.

Furthermore, a "tribe" might develop a formal alliance with another "tribe," which meant again that conflicts occurring between individuals or families or villages of opposite groups would be settled through judiciary process. But it did not imply military alliance.

Between unallied groups of villages, the normal process of solving conflicts was war. War occurred exclusively in connection with women (elopements, murders). But women were respected during these wars, since their destruction would have been self-defeating. It meant that they could freely travel during these periods of insecurity and continue the trading activities of which they were active agents.

MARKET DISTRIBUTION AND TRADE IN PRE-COLONIAL TIMES

Forest vs. Savannah Forest.

The map showing traditional markets in the Guro country, reveals a striking difference between the southern part, where markets were nonexistent, and the northern area, where they were extremely numerous.⁷

This distribution coincides both with an ecological feature—savannah-forest vs. forest—and with the density variations of the population. This market distribution suggests two hypotheses. Either the savannah-forest milieu creates a need for exchange between complementary areas or a high density of population promotes a greater trading activity.

Substantiating evidence for these hypotheses is not conclusive. In this transitional ecological area, patches of forest can be found up to the northern part of the Guro country, while savannah area exists down to the southwestern limits. Hence no sector of the population is excluded from either savannah or forest resources. Villages are frequently established at a place where savannah and forest join, and the people exploit both environments.

Soil types and physical features are fairly uniform all through the country. Hence, the need for complementary exchanges between neighboring groups does not seem to have been imperative. Actually, the total absence of markets in the southern area shows that, on staple

(7) I was given the names and locations of thirty-one marketplaces existing before colonial times in the area now known as Zuenoula Sub-Division.

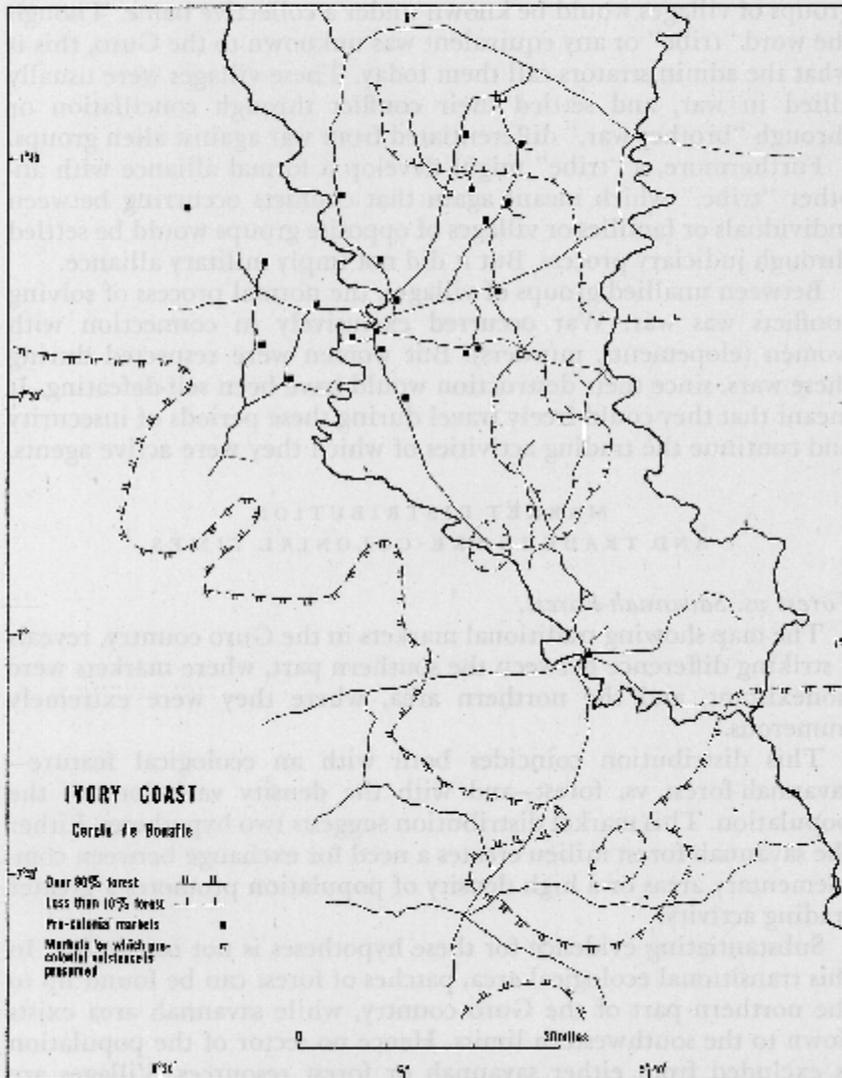


FIGURE 11
Relation of Markets to Forests

food and local resources at least, each group could live self-sufficiently.

II, on the other hand, high density involves greater trading activity, it remains to explain the higher density of the savannah-forest area. Any superiority of this milieu sufficient to lead to three or four times the density found in the forest is not patent.

Traditional agriculture undergoes only minor variations from one

end of the country to the other. Crops are the same all over: essentially rice, yams and bananas with emphasis on rice in the forest and yams in the savannah. Rice is more appreciated but yams are said to have a better yield in the forest and the forest is the natural environment for bananas (plantains). Clearing the ground offers greater difficulties in the forest than in the savannah, but the effort is repaid by greater yield.

Due to the distribution of savannah and forest all over the country, game was to be found equally abundant everywhere and hunting was equally good. In the forest, it was said that villages were often founded near good hunting grounds. The northern part, opened towards the Sudan country, did not offer greater security or protection against possible invasion. Forest, on the contrary, was an efficient barrier against the cavalry of the northern conquerors.

A greater density, then, might have occurred from an unachieved historical migration towards the forest. But, here again, the facts do not support the assumption: the main stream of migration, according to village traditions, was moving from the southwest to the northeast, that is, from the forest area to the savannah.

A population density map of the Ivory Coast shows clearly that this area of savannah forest is an island of density: 20 per square kilometer against 5 to 10 in both the southern forest and in the more northern savannah. No modern circumstances explain this higher density left over from the pre-colonial period. It shows, therefore, the exceptional quality of this area both in relation to the savannah and to the forest and it must be explained in relation to both.⁸

Therefore, if it is true that higher density promotes greater trading activity we must also consider the reverse proposition that great trading activity entails a higher density. In order to support this assumption, we must enlarge our field of observation and consider the Guro country in the network of exchanges of pre-colonial western Africa.

Staple vs. Prestige Goods.

It is well-known that the countries of the Sudan were supplied with kola nuts by the forest peoples. It is not so often emphasized that forest population (this is, at least, the case of the Guro) completely lacked iron ore, while iron was essential for all kinds of economic activities: weapons for hunting or agricultural implements.⁹

(8) If we observe today a rather feeble reverse move towards the forest, it is due to a better cover for coffee growing. But this concerns only small families, and people of the savannah do not show any intention to follow *en masse*.

(9) Even if we admit that primitively the Guro could do without iron—though we

The consumption of kola by the Sudanese peoples was quite high, enough to induce sustained external trade. The exchange of iron for kola became the basis for all further exchanges between the two complementary areas: the Sudanese savannah and the tropical forest.

Local informants claim that the Vaa (or Dioula) also used to buy food such as yams, rice and cassava. In exchange, they brought soap, relishes, trinkets and medicine. They also paid for food with iron, in the form of iron rods of standard size, called *sombe* by the Dioula and *bro* by the Guro.¹⁰

During the Samory war, trade of foodstuff became a real necessity for the Ahmamy's armies. Though some villages fled on his approach, the country was not pillaged. On the contrary, trade took place and captives were exchanged to the Guro at the rate of one slave for a single basket of cassava or for half the quantity of *sombe* previously paid.

The opportunity of converting foodstuffs into *sombe* or even into slaves,¹¹ induced the opening of many markets. In several instances it is reported that markets were created by a rich man (or, occasionally, a rich woman) who had yams, chicken or kola in great quantity to sell to the passing Dioula traders.

To this traditional African stream of exchange, oriented north-south, another one, induced from the European pre-colonial trade, was added. The bulk of European products, though also coming in small quantities from the Sudanese area, reached Guro country through the Baule.¹² The most important of these goods were guns

found no record of such a situation—from the time when iron was introduced, it set a standard of culture which once known could hardly be given up.

(10) One could collect "prices" of food in rods, such as 4 rods for a chicken or one rod for some quantity of rice. It is almost impossible, however, to get any information of the extent of the use of rods on the subsistence level. But several economic and social data can be taken into consideration: the iron rods, a convenient aliquote and durable item, undoubtedly pervaded the local trade in market places, but since their use on the subsistence level was a way to break into the prestige sphere of exchange, it was also resisted by the conservative elements in Guro society. On the other hand, only large quantities of *sombe* were considered prestigious (I was told that some rich men owned as much as several granaries of *sombe*). Hence, to the extent that *sombe* could be earned through trade of subsistence goods or other non-prestige items by commoners, their hoarding value may have overshadowed their use for purchasing. Therefore, the iron rods did not have the same "quality" once inside Guro society, where they tended to be preserved as prestige goods, as they had between the Guro and their northern neighbors where they played the role of a currency.

(11) The exchange of slaves for food was a very exceptional one for the Guro, and was linked with war emergency.

(12) The Fage historical map No. 29 shows clearly the main points of impact of the European trade. The closest trading ports were in Assinie (1703) and then in Grand Lahu (1787). Local information confirms that European goods came from these directions. (Fage, 1958).

and powder. They were carried by successive exchanges towards the savannah country. Hence the Guro were in a privileged situation, producing a commodity—kolas—highly demanded by the savannah people and being on the route of goods coming from two outside sources.

To this, let us add that cattle and traditional craft goods were exchanged with the Bete and the Gagon to the south.

Now the question occurs as to why trading points developed on the Vaa border and not near the Baule country. The factors in such an explanation are many. The kola trade remained basic, since it was the source of iron. Kola is consumed in vast quantities by the Sudanese peoples, and is of comparatively small value in relation to its weight. It also requires careful packing and handling. Thus a large number of people were interested in the handling and transportation of large quantities of kolas. Though the Guro were not commercially minded, in the modern sense of the expression (see below), it was a fairly important activity.

In exchange of kola, the Sudanese offered mostly *sombe*. With *sombe* an item of great convenience and usefulness was introduced into the Guro country. It could be used not only as a raw material for ironsmithing but also as a medium of exchange. The active agents of the kola trade, the Dioula people, did not go far down into the country but plied their trading activity for the most part in the savannah forest area. Therefore, several favorable conditions for marketing activity co-existed in this area: a contact area between two complementary regions; exchange of staple products; existence of a medium of exchange; the presence of active trading agents.

But as we go south, the trading process thins out and takes another form. It is generally reported by all the Guro that women from northern Guro tribes came in great numbers to the forest-villages to collect the kola "from door-to-door." They offered in exchange either *sombe* or local products such as woven goods. Hence the exchange of kola in terms of *sombe* was less favorable in the southern area. Twenty packs of *sombe* were received for a basket of kola (100 units) from the Dioula. Among middle populations (Bonavere, Gonan, W. Yasua, Bonon) the price was five to ten packs for a basket. To the Bete, the traders gave five packs of *sombe*. Among South-western tribes of forest peoples, reported terms were between two and five packs, never as much as ten. Consequently, the quantity of *sombe* in the southern area was comparatively smaller, the *sombe* being retained in the areas further north. Thus, they were bound to be restricted to ironsmithing or matrimonial compensation in the south. Few of them were available for monetary purposes, therefore local trade.

Trade with the Baule was of a different sort. Baule people do not use kola nuts and do not produce iron. The goods exchanged were "prestige goods;" guns, powder, tusks, slaves, golden objects. They did not need handling or conditioning. Terms of these exchanges were often fixed by custom. Each party used to offer not a single commodity but several, among which *sombe* were only (and not always) one of the many components.

Baule traders did not penetrate far into Guro country, but conversely it is reported that pre-eminent Guro often sent over men of their own into Baule country to fetch the precious weapons.

Given the nature of the products exchanged, the comparative lack of a convenient medium of exchange, and the absence of penetration by active trading agents, there were hardly any economic inducements for market trading on the Baule border.

Aliens vs. Allies.

The contention is that exchange and trade explain, partly, the differential distribution of markets in Guro country, and further, the differential density of population. This contention can also be supported by an analysis of the socio-economic behavior of the Guro people in relation to their neighbors and among themselves.

Karl Polanyi has shown brilliantly how external trade in ancient and primitive society does not take the same form as in our modern capitalistic world, of market-organized industrialism, and how in many substantive economies the social status of the trading parties is of great relevance to the exchange process. His analysis appears to be entirely confirmed in the Guro country.

Even today, it is frequent that, when asked about the "price" of a product or a service, the seller sets different rates according to the status of the buyer. To members of one's family, it is gift. From fellow-villagers, a token gift is expected in reciprocity and food during the period of work. To members of other villages, it depends on matrimonial alliances or friendship. To alien Guro a bargaining rate is offered and to alien people a still higher "price," unless prestige or hospitality requires it to be a gift. Conversely, we were told that it was proper for a rich and prominent man to pay highly for some goods as guns or slaves, etc., in order to exhibit his wealth both to his fellow-villagers and to the foreigners. Roughly it can be said that the "price" went higher as social bonds dwindled and that between parties of comparable status it varied according to the nature of the goods involved in the transactions (prestige or subsistence goods).

Exchanges as they took place among the Guro are, we think, a good example of the variation in the dominant concern governing socio-

economic relationships. In the northern part of the country, the Guro face an alien population. Guro people scarcely penetrated the country of the Dioula, whom they feared. Occasionally Dioula men married Guro women, but the reverse was very exceptional and the matrimonial exchanges did not have the same character of reciprocity as among Guro. Social bonds were thus not strengthened through matrimony. Few personal links were likely to develop and affect the rates of exchange to any degree. Official records from the colonial army mention violent clashes (not war) between Dioula travelling traders and Guro due to swindling and fraud. In these conditions, we may assume that trade between Guro and Dioula was dominated more by considerations of material gain than by the quest of social or political alliances and that they did not in general temper their economic relationships by social considerations.

If we turn towards Guro-Baule trade relationships, we find quite a different picture. The intermediary area between the Baule and the Guro is populated by several groups of Baule origin, but assimilated to Guro culture. They claim their homeland to be the Baule, admit they were formerly matrilineal, still speak the Baule language concurrently with Guro, and claim to be either kinsmen or affines of the Baule people on the other side of the Bandama River. They maintain social contacts with the Baule and travel frequently among them.

These marginal tribes were the natural intermediaries between the Guro of the hinterland and the Baule. Toward affines or kinsmen, i.e., towards Baule or Guro people, their trading behavior was greatly affected by social considerations, as it was by the nature of the exchanged goods (guns, powder, woven cloth, cattle, *sombe* — used as matrimonial compensation) which involved prestige, and not subsistence. Frequently, according to informants from this area, the terms of trade with the Baule were exactly repeated with the next Guro tribe, leaving absolutely no profit for the intermediary.¹³ All-in-all, trade was not what we would call in modern terms "a profitable business." It was, rather, that goods moved between people of pre-eminent status, on customary terms, until they reached the upper part of the country, whereupon they were traded at terms of exchange which profited the upper Guro.

A brief description of these variations from the Vaa to the Baule illustrates this process. As we have seen it above, kola was exchanged for *sombe* to the Vaa and for cloth to the lower-Guro. Such was not the object of trade with the Baule.

(13) S. F. Nadel (1947 : 76) notes that "rifles—the most valuable single property in the Nuba hills—are invariably exchanged for their original value (in spite of the fact that they are more and more difficult to obtain)."

Guro from the north recall the existence of slave markets in the Vaa country where slaves could be procured for kola or *sombe* or, later, during the Samony war, for food. But Guro from the Bouaffé area say that slaves were not marketed but exchanged "from man to man"¹⁴ for high valued products offered in batches: guns, powder, tusks, cloth and sometimes cattle. The same type of exchange took place with the Baule.

Cattle were rarely obtained from the Dioula who bred the humped variety which is not resistant to tripanosomiasis. But when they were, they were bartered for kola or *sombe*. Among Guro they were also exchanged for powder and cloth; with the Bete or the Baule, mainly for cloth. Guns came mostly from the Baule, for cloth and livestock, sometimes *sombe*; they were exchanged with the Dioula for slaves or *sombe*.

Tusks were high prestige goods, offered "from man to man" as gifts mostly for slaves among Guro and Baule, but rarely to the Vaa. Gold was imported from the Baule, but as jewels or plated objects (headgear of sceptres) for personal use, not for re-exportation.¹⁵

In short, we can say that staple and subsistence goods were the basic elements of trade with the foreign Vaa to whom they could be offered against some prestige goods, while prestige goods were traded with the allied Baule to the near exclusion of staple or subsistence goods. Among the Guro themselves, a process of conversion from one type of goods to the other took place along with substitution of imported goods for domestic goods.

The various sets of trading conditions, the difference of products, of partners found on the Vaa border and on the Baule border, and the greater opportunity of conversion of staples into prestige goods near the Vaa country, strongly contributed to the creation of markets and to the fixation of a larger population in the northern area.

The Market as a Political and Social Institution.

Undoubtedly, these markets became a convenience for the Guro. It was easier for women to go to market and trade their excess products than to collect all necessary products in the bush or in the

(14) This phrase, which I did not fully appreciate while I was in the field, is a translation of "*l'homme à l'homme*", used by the Guro in French to distinguish this form from both market exchange and door-to-door trading. The phrase "*entre commerçants*" was used in a similar context.

(15) The Guro did not stand as intermediaries for, or providers of, some basic products of the African trade, such as gold and ivory. They were on the contrary gold buyers; ivory was mostly reserved to the Baule. As for salt, they imported some, but apparently not in large quantities since they could make vegetable-salt.

fields. The use of *sombe* among themselves, even in the exchange of subsistence goods, was a further incentive to market trading.

But purely economic factors—i.e., quest for material gain—account less for the development of markets and subsistence trade among the Guro people than do political and social considerations. The founder of a market was usually a pre-eminent and rich individual, a "*Fua*" who sought social recognition. The opening of a market was the occasion of a celebration: cattle were killed and people from the neighboring villages were invited to share the meat. It was usual to give the market the name of its founder.

By opening a market a man acquired not only social recognition of his wealth, but also a jurisdictional area, since conflicts occurring on the market-ground, distinct from the village grounds, were within his competence. He even had police, a rare instrument of power in these societies, by appointing men to maintain order in the market. Furthermore, he stood in the position of an eventual peacemaker in conflicts happening between villages or tribes attending his market.

Markets were not only an instrument of political status, they were also places for social gathering, entertainment, dances and various social activities. We have been the witness of a persistent custom which testifies to the social role of market places. In Zanzira, an important traditional market, villages in turn send their women dressed with their best outfits. They go round the market place in a procession, carrying on their heads some of their richest clothes, then sit on chairs set apart for them and offer themselves for the admiration of the crowd. Suitors, friends, parents come and offer them kola nuts and money. After they have completely changed their dress for an extra outfit picked up from their load, they return as they came.

"Young men who wished to get married were attracted to the markets," say the old men. This striving for matrimony often took a violent form, and many a woman eloped or was carried off on these occasions. Sometimes this caused wars and eventually the disappearance of the market.

Since markets were generally places of violence and fights, they were always located outside the village. Fines were inflicted in case of fight or insults, and as we have said before, there were men responsible for maintaining peace. It is recalled that sometimes markets were established because a child or a woman had been beaten up in another one. Palm wine drinking was not always allowed.

In spite of this "explosiveness," several markets together created a social network. As seems frequent in Africa, the days of the week are called by the names of the surrounding markets held on successive

days.¹⁶ People from any village will find themselves in a network of seven markets that they can attend in turn.

In Zanzira for instance, before the colonial rule, the days of the week corresponded to seven markets attended in turn by people of about seventy villages from three different "tribes." Today's matrimonial exchanges cover very much the same area. On the other hand, exhibitions of women in Zanzira were restricted to fewer villages all belonging to one tribe.

As we see, markets were occasions for tightening social bonds either inside a more integrated unit, as in this women's display, or towards distant groups belonging to the same market "calendar." The overlapping of "calendar areas" created a chain of social relationships so that no group was self-enclosed.

Through them, the Guro people came to know itself *de proche en proche*. Markets were the occasion of extensive social mixing, trading was the opportunity to scout further areas. It might have been the dawn of a "Guro" consciousness on which R.D.A. propaganda could build in 1947 a campaign for the administrative unity of Guroland.

THE IMPACT OF COLONIAL TRADE

Dioula trade vs. Colonial Trade

With the colonial period, several factors occurred which affected trade and markets in Guro-land. Even before the actual occupation of the country by the French, the impact of colonial economy was felt.

As early as 1904, it was reported that Dioula were killed by Guro from the southern forest where they had come to collect latex. In 1906, similar facts were reported: Dioula who had come to fetch ivory and latex in the forest were accused of extortion and robbery by the local people. Violent clashes occurred. Furthermore, they brought with them an epidemic of smallpox.

The French army intervened to close Guro country to the Dioula traders. As this point, an interesting event occurred: the French army reported that the Guro demanded of the French the re-opening of their country to Dioula trade. To achieve this end, they went so far as to accept the drastic conditions set by the French army, conditions putting their country under colonial rule. It is interesting to note that Guro country was conquered through a "commercial blockade" (in the very words of the administrative reports), and it testifies to the importance of the traditional trade in this area. After five to six years of fighting, during which the *Pax Gallica* was not readily accepted by

(16) In the South, where there are no markets, days are called by ordinal numbers. The Guro have a seven-day week.

the Guro, the kola trade with the savannah was resumed. The Dioula followed the French columns and penetrated the whole country.

It seems that the military administration was greatly concerned with the protection of the Guro people against the exacting Dioula. Indeed, the Dioula traders were competitors of European commerce. Several restrictive measures were taken against them. Their settlements were limited to areas near the military stations in order, it was said, to prevent possible friction with local people. "Native markets" were created in the *chef lieux* by the administration to compete with markets controlled by Dioula people. Guro were compelled to carry palm kernels and rice to Dimbokro to be sold to European traders. Sales of kola were taxed. Last but not least, the new power attempted to impose its own currency in place of the *sombe*.

In spite of these measures, European trade was slack. In 1914, thirteen European trading posts are reported in the Guro Cercle. In 1915, they closed up. They were not sufficiently integrated to the local economy to resist the impact of World War I. It was not until 1921 that nine of them reopened, only to close a few months later.

In 1922 the Dioula were reported to be the only trading agents in the area. They exchanged salt and cattle for kola and cloth. The *sombe* were still used among the Guro. French money found no use save in payment of tax. Indeed, the money income of the natives was hardly more than they needed for tax payment. In 1920, it was even less, for in 1919 the Government stopped buying the palm kernels ordered by the Defense Department. Since 1918, latex prices had gone down and collecting had stopped. In 1924, when the silver coins were removed from circulation and replaced by paper money, the *sombe* showed up again in the markets "with the Dioula's encouragement." Zanzra, a local market where they were widely used, grew greatly to the detriment of Zuenoula's administrative one. During all this period, the old pattern of trade with the same products, the same agents, the same medium of exchange tended to persist alongside the colonial economy.

The opening of motor-roads in 1924 and the use of trucks brought a decisive advantage to colonial trade. European or Syrian shops opened again, and for good. European goods penetrated in larger quantity. French money, though made of paper, found an outlet and the *sombe* disappeared gradually. In 1924, for the first time kola was carried by truck. The same year, the Dioula were given freedom to operate. Their natural move was to integrate themselves to the new pattern of trade. This integration was completed when coffee and cocoa became the main money crops. They became the traveling coffee buyers.

Dioula trading relations with the Guro compared to the pre-colonial period are apparently the same: in addition to kola—of which they largely control the trade today—they buy coffee and cocoa. They even improved their position with regard to their geographical extension. But they no longer control the currency. They are only the intermediaries at the first level in the coffee buying process. Actually they often act as agents for the Lebanese traders or the European concerns from which they get advance payment. Even in the bush they undergo growing competition from the Lebanese and from the government cooperatives who send their trucks to the remotest villages. In the towns, trade belongs to Lebanese and European shops, and in the major cities, to the large trading companies. They are no longer the sole controlling agents of trade in Guro country.

Market and Trade Today.

The general pattern of market location and frequency of distribution has hardly changed since pre-colonial times. The major events in this connection were the creation of administrative markets in Simfra, head-town of the southern subdivision, and in Bouaffé the *chef lieu* of the Cercle.¹⁷

In the Bouaffé Subdivision, a few minor markets were created under alien impulsion: in Schizra, near a Dioula settlement and in the Mossi villages. Bouaffé market, the major one, affects the near totality of the Bouaffé subdivision, or approximately 15,000 people.

In Simfra, there is a single market for the whole subdivision— that is for 14,000 people. Of course the frequency of attendance of distant groups is lower. Price of transportation prevents numerous trips to the town: purchasing and administrative errands are usually combined.

Given this very loose network of markets in the forest area, it will be more informative to study the modern market structure in the Zuenoula Subdivision where marketing is still the most intensive.

We found eighteen market-places in the Subdivision, which gives an average of one market for approximately 3,300 inhabitants.

The Pattern of Market-Trading and its Personnel in Zuenoula Area.

The modern pattern of distribution is a complex one and varies with the different kinds of products considered.

(17) It is reported that a market existed in Bouaffé (which means "fish market") before colonial times and that it disappeared during a war between the Bonavéré and the Goura. Unfortunately I have not been able to gather much information on this market.

Manufactured goods of European make originate from trading centers located outside Guro country. Bouaké and Daloa are the two main centers commanding the Zuenoula area, where the goods are bought to be resold on the minor markets.

Native products, such as palm oil, tobacco, peanuts, and corn; imported foodstuffs such as rice, salt, dried fish, and sugar; and various "luxuries" such as bread and kerosene are bought in major markets, Zuenoula or Trafesso¹⁸, by intermediaries and resold in the minor ones. Sometimes they go through another market of middle importance before reaching a minor one. As for local subsistence goods, they come from neighboring villages and are not sold through intermediaries.

According to the extent of the network of each product, various trading agents will be involved. Trading of printed cloth, fabrics and miscellaneous manufactured goods is controlled almost exclusively by Dioula men. In 1958, the forty-one retailers registered in the Zuenoula Subdivision, were Dioula. They are often residents of towns where a major market is held, Zuenoula or Trafesso. They buy their goods from wholesalers in the trading centers mentioned above and carry them through public transportation to the various markets held on successive days.

Palm oil, salt and rice are bought mostly by Dioula women or sometimes men, also resident in the major towns, and carried to the minor markets where they are retailed. But an increasing number of Guro women are engaging in this profitable business—essentially women living in villages closer to the major markets. Women selling such commercialized products cluster together in the market: all palm oil merchants sitting in a circle, all rice merchants sitting in a row, etc. This makes it possible to distinguish at a glance the imported foodstuffs from the native ones. Local subsistence goods, products of domestic crops or gathering, are sold by Guro women exclusively. Women of the same village sit together independently of what they sell; several wives of the same man may even sit next to each other. They sell either a single commodity such as rice, or bananas, yams, peanuts, corn, palm oil of their own making; or several products at the same time, usually dried cassava, relish, kola-nuts, mushrooms and dried caterpillars. Dried fish is sold both by registered merchants (Niger people from Mopti, or Dioula) and by Guro women who offer fish bought in Abidjan on the occasion of a visit to kin.

¹⁸ Trafesso is situated outside the administrative limit of Zuenoula subdivision and on the edge of the Guro country. Guro from Trafesso still call the town Traalla and claim that it was a Guro village before the Dioula came in such numbers that the town is now officially considered as Dioula with a Dioula name.

The settlement of Dioula in the country has transformed the craft-product trade. Most agricultural implements, except the bush knives of European making, are made by Dioula smiths and traded occasionally in the markets. It seems, however, that iron goods are often purchased on commission as are some other craft-products such as mortars, also made today by Dioula men.

Mat and winnowing is the near monopoly of Guro men. Such products are made in the villages by young men who carry them sometimes to very distant markets, depending on the price expected. Bonafé seems to be a center of such products and prices increase as one moves away from Bonafé market.

Pots are still made in a few villages by the women and brought occasionally to the markets. But large pots come from the savannah through middlemen.

In major markets we find, in addition, foreigners from further afield: Hausa traders and their medicine and trinkets; Fulani herdsmen and their cattle; Anango selling odd manufactured goods; craftsmen from British Africa selling sandals of their own making. Services are numerous: hairdressers (men and women), photographers from British Africa, "cafés", prepared food, etc. Baule women, wives of administrative agents employed in the town, specialize in processed food such as cassava semolina or fritters. As a minor market grows in importance, people to perform these services will move to it.

The reason for the pervasive marketing activity in Zuenoula area is twofold. On the one hand, markets provide a better distribution of utility goods among a population of greater density. On the other hand, they have become a permanent trait of political and social life. This permanency is expressed in the persistence of social activities taking place on market days, as described above. Attendance of a market still coincides very much with the tribal area.

Politically, the market remains a platform of prestige for the family who controls it. While village chiefs have been installed under administrative pressure, market chiefs, who are very often distinct personalities, still represent a traditional authority. The control of some markets is still at stake between rival families.

Today however, marketing express a new economic reality. There have been drastic changes in the nature of the marketed commodities. *Sombe* exist only as relics; kola is the object of large scale trading by Dioula wholesalers, who directly collect and transport the product by trucks to the savannah towns; staple foods in great quantities are collected by trucks in the villages to supply larger cities. The new pattern of marketing is now organized around European products instead of the traditional kola-iron exchanges.

The installation and longevity of a market place today are subject to such considerations as the pattern of distribution, its location inside a general network of markets, its calendar in relation to neighboring markets. A market pattern is also affected by modern phenomena such as the settlement of Dioula traders in certain towns. Not enough evidence has yet been brought to light to isolate the social elements proper from economic and geographical factors.

In modern markets two types of exchange exist side by side and overlap. Subsistence goods remain mostly the province of women, but if imported they also fall into men's trading activities. If the sale of local foodstuffs is reserved to Guro women, Dioula women permeate it eventually through profit-trading. Craft goods provision has shifted partly from natives to foreigners and at the same time from a "subsistence exchange" to a market exchange process.

It remains true, however, that market trading is limited; such market exchange still excludes prestige goods. Cattle or bridal cloth are not sold in the market; they are transacted at a socially higher level and according to traditional rules. Men still weave cloth for matrimonial purposes or as gifts.¹⁹ Money itself has not yet completely pervaded and transformed the sphere of matrimonial exchange; there is still a strong tendency to demand bridewealth to be made up of a special variety of goods.²⁰

Even money acquires a new quality when it reaches a certain amount, say beyond 10,000 f C.F.A. Its possession becomes a new indication of prestige. That "quality" of "money" does not change hands in the markets, since no single transaction ever entails such an amount.

CONCLUSION

Our observations in the Guro country lead to a few remarks on the complex role played by markets as social and political institutions in a substantive economy:

In such an economy, local needs of exchange for foodstuffs or craft products do not seem sufficient to promote marketing activities. Gifts, reciprocity, redistributive processes can take care of the circulation of these products. Markets are primarily induced by external exchanges of complementary products with an alien population. When such a situation occurs, the markets tend to be localized at the contact

(19) However, this custom is nearly completely lost in villages surrounding Bonalla.

(20) This is of course a devaluing process. Through legal administrative divorce procedure, bridewealth is converted into money and the new groom can refund its totality in money or marketable goods.

area between complementary zones. Hence, they can help to indicate the limits of substantive economic areas.

With marketing, new opportunities to convert prestige goods into socially less valued goods will appear. In the process, social relationships and consequently social structures may be in danger of being altered. This is a real danger when an all-purpose money is introduced into the economy. However, we observe that a great deal of resistance is opposed to such a devaluing process: market trade tends to be firmly restricted to the lowest sphere of exchange.

Alongside this socially disintegrative potential, markets also possess integrating virtues. They contribute to the formation of overlapping political areas, reaching beyond the traditional social and political units and able to cope with the more intensive conflictual situation brought about by a more dense and diversified population. In so doing they may delay the emergence of a centralized power of equal integrating force.

Investigations along these lines may open interesting vistas.