

III. A VILLAGE IN TRANSITION IN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

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0. This is a preliminary report of the field work on a village in Côte d'Ivoire which I have been carrying on since May 1988.

This field research aims at grasping all the aspects of social and economic changes which a village society has been undergoing in the process of a rapid economic growth of Côte d'Ivoire since independence, which is well-known by the name of "Miracle Ivoirien".

1. The research work has been conducted as follows; I visited the village once or twice a week (40 times by the end of November 1988) and passed a few hours (mostly in the morning), talking with villagers and observing what they were doing.

I interviewed the villagers myself with the aid of an interpreter (a villager who showed his interest in this research work) when necessary. Except for him, I did not employ any assistant to collect the data to supplement and enlarge my own research work. Nor did I use questionnaire, prepared in advance, thinking that the questions which I felt necessary to ask villagers on the spot and their answers to them would be more useful to understand their situation.

The number of the heads of a nuclear family whom I interviewed up to now amounts to be 25 as Table.1 shows. The sample was not selected by any statistical method. At the first stage, starting from the ancient Chief of the village I have been acquainted with since 1967⁽¹⁾, I interviewed one villager after another who has come in contact with me in the course of time. At the second stage, I chose several samples intentionally according to the data I had already collected, such as the richest planter in the village.

3. Ahoué, the village on which I have been carrying on the field work is located 30 km in the north-east of Abidjan, the economic capital of Côte d'Ivoire, with about 2000 inhabitants (see Map.1)

According to the administrative division, Ahoué is one of the 24 villages, belonging to Sous-prefecture Anyama, one of 10 Sous-prefectures composing Department d'Abidjan.

Historically speaking, Ahoué is one of the villages created by Atié people who is said to have immigrated into this region from Koumassi, central region of the present day Ghana after political conflict over the succession of the throne at the end of 17th century, or the beginning of 18th century. Atié people preserve a well-known oral tradition of "Passage across Comoé River of Queen Poku", in common with other peoples of the same Akan group, such as Baoulé and Agni. According to the oral tradition, collected in Ahoué, their ancestors constructed a village in the location where Ahoué stands today and settled down there at the end of 19th century after several removals in the neighboring area. Ahoué is a mother village from which derived Atiékoï (5 km in the north-west of Ahoué. see Map.1), Bingerville-Adjamé (20 km in the south-east of Ahoué, absorbed today in Bingerville City area. see Map.1), and Yakassé-Mé (30 km in the north of Ahoué. see Map.3). In fact, the 4 villages above-mentioned keep a special relationship among them even today which will be reconfirmed by the exchange of visits of villagers on the occasion of the traditional events like "Fête d'Igname".

This oral tradition, however, is a little different from the one collected by A.Ferrari in Atiékoï⁽²⁾, which says Ahoué is derived from Atiékoï and also from what D.Boni⁽³⁾ says on the process of immigration of Atié people. His map (Map.3) shows that Ahoué is derived from Brofodoumé, neighboring to Ahoué, the village which in both Ahoué and Atiékoï oral traditions admit

that, when their ancestors arrived this region, they found a small village, already occupied by foreigners to them. They did not expel but admitted them to remain here. The village name, Brofodoumé is said to have originated from Atié words which mean "you may live in the half part (of our territory)".

4. In the process of the transition of Ahoué village society since its creation, we can pick up chronologically several epoqe-making events as follows.

(1) French Colonization. It stopped the movement of people which had been rather frequent before then. According to their oral tradition, they had moved several times since they had immigrated in this region. French occupation in the southern part of Atié country was carried out rather peacefully owing to the penetration of Catholic missionaries since the end of 19th century, which had preceded military occupation, while in the northern part military operations were repeated until as late as 1910.

(2) Introduction of cocoa and coffee plantations. The first cocoa plantation in Côte d'Ivoire was created in the region of Aboisso, near the frontier of Ghana, in the south-east of Atié country between 1880-85; and it diffused to westward along the southern tropical forest including Atié country, between the two World Wars.

Coffee plantations started between 1923-30, a little later than cocoa plantations⁽⁴⁾.

An Ahoué villager (S. 23), born in 1926, remembers his father worked in his cocoa plantation when he was a child, but he had no coffee plantation.

It was since after the World War II that production of both coffee and cocoa started increasing rapidly.

(3) The movement for political independence. (- 1960). The first president of Ahoué branch of R.D.A.-P.D.C.I. (S. 22) participated in the inaugural conference of R.D.A. (Rassemblement

Démocratique Africain) which was held in 1946 in Bamako, the capital of Mali, in the north of Abidjan. He travelled to Bamako in the truck of a transporter living in Bingerville. He also attended several political meetings held in Abidjan at the critical moments in the eve of indepenence.

(4) The construction of the houses with cement bricks which started from the end of 1950s. Nowadays houses made of Banco and mud have alomost dissappeared while a few houses have even panes of glass in the window.

(5) The creation of oil palm plantation. Encouraged and subsidized by the government agency as one of diversification policy, Ahoué villagers started to create oil palm plantations from 1963. As of 1988, Ahoué has 70 planters with 180.83 ha in production.

(6) The construction and openings of a primary school and a kindergarten in 1967. The class-room buildings made of cement bricks were constructed with the funds and labor of the villagers, while teachers' residences were constructed by the government. The primary school enrolls in 13 classes 388 pupils from Ahoué village and surrounding camps, and 62 children were enrolled in the kindergarten in 1987/88. The school attendance percentage is now estimated to be between 60-70%.

(7) Electrification of the village in 1970. As of November, 1988, 91 compounds are in electricity distribution contract with E.E.C.I (Energie Electrique de la Côte d'Ivoire) for 5 amperes (contract fee; 6065 FCFA) in majority with a few exceptional cases of 10 amperes (contract fee; 24,175 FCFA). The street lamps installed in the main road of the village and to be maintained by E.E.C.I have long been left broken and unrepaired.

(8) The failure in digging four wells with a hand pump by a government agency in the village late in 1970's. Of four wells, the two did not work at all, and the other two were broken after

a few months. Since then the villagers use water of two swamps either of which are located at a several hundred meters' distance from the village, and rain water collected in a drum can.

There are a few Hausas from Niger, staying in the village, working as porters of water with the fee of 100 FCFA (for washing water) and 200 FCFA (for potable water) per 40 litres.

(9) Construction and operation of C.E.C.A (Compagnie d'Exploitation de Carrières, a quarry) from ?? to 1983 near the village. C.E.C.A employed more than 100 workers, most of whom were recruited in Ahoué, while the fine grains of sand, which the quarry let flow after washing pebbles, caused a considerable damage to the cocoa plantations of villagers. After a lawsuit, the company paid an indemnity of about 4 million FCFA in total amount to the villagers whose plantations were damaged.

(10) Creation of G.V.C. (Groupement à Vocation Coopérative) of coffee and cocoa in 1987. This is a kind of cooperative which functions as a collector of cocoa and coffee. The G.V.C of Ahoué, created in 1987/88 with a membership of collected 40.3 tons of cocoa and 31.4 tons of coffee, and received the rebate of 403,000 FCFA for cocoa (10 F/kg) and 157,000 FCFA (05 F/kg) for coffee in the first year of its activity (105 members as of Oct. 1988).

There are some planters, however, who hesitate to affiliate to G.V.C., because to be a member of G.V.C a planter must deposit 5,000 FCFA at B.N.D.A (Banque National pour le Développement Agricole), and the payment are deferred for a few weeks. A planter (S.17), who also acts as a private buying agent of cocoa, insisted that he had collected about 50 tons of cocoa, paying in cash and received a rebate of 750,000 FCFA from a Lebanese wholesaler in 1987/88.

(11) Opening of the paved road from Abobo-gare (the north frontier town of Abidjan) to Alépé, passing through near the village

(1981). Owing to this road we can reach Ahoué from Abobo-gare in 15 minutes by car, while it took more than an hour before. (see Map.4)

5. In Atié country before collonisation, the political integration had hardly proceeded beyond the level of a village. Almost all the villages in Atié country were politically independent with a village Chief at the top as was the case with Ahoué. As a matriarchal society, Ahoué consists of 6 matriarcal clans (wə), that is, Kə, Bə, Gnou, Dzo, Nye and lasibion (or Bofutzé). The representatives of each clan, so-called notables in French, (2 from each clan, and 12 in total) organize a senior council together with the chiefs of class of generation (see next paragraphe) to assist the village Chief.

Every Atié village society organises all the male-villagers into 4 classes of generation (Fokwe), that is, Monan, M'Béchoué, Niando, and Djigbo. One generation after another assumes the political leadership with its representative as village Chief, elected by common consent on a proposal made by the preceding and retiring generation (in case of Ahoué). The following generation, in turn, takes charge of the self-defense of village as a generation of warriors. Though Atié society is traditionally matriarchal as above-mentioned, it is to be noted that the class of generation which a man belongs to is decided patriarchally; all the sons of a Monan father are Niando, the sons of M'Béchoué are Djigbo, and those of Niando belong to Monan, and so on. Consequently, one generation may include men whose ages range over more than 20 years, and an individual of a younger generation may be older than the one of an elder generation. In our samples (see Table 1); Monan ranges from 1920 to 1931, M'Béchoué from 1922 to 1942, Niando from 1935 to 1963, and Djigbo from 1949 to 1963. An Atié man is socially recognized as such only after he participates in the initiation which is held when his genera-

tion has grown up enough to be the generation of warriors. A feeling of fellowship would be fostered among the men in receiving the initiation together.

The latest initiation to promote Niando to the generation of warriors was executed in 1985, after an interval of 18 years since that of M'Béchoué in 1967. The initiation consists of practice of the traditional musical instruments, such as tam-tams and horns, and dancing of warriors, learning a few sentences and songs in Sewue language, their ancestor's mother tongue, etc.

The initiation was carried out deep in the forest every week-end for several weeks. At the end of initiation, the whole village celebrates the "Fête de Génération".

The traditional political and social system as mentioned so far survive even today, though it has been forced to modify itself a little bit by the changes of circumstances. The class of generation has almost lost its *raison d'être* as a group of warriors in the present situation, but it continues to function as a framework, assuring the solidarity and mutual-aid among the villagers acrossing over 6 clans.

A 38 year-old young man (S.1), who could not have taken the post theoretically before 1967, when his generation was promoted to take political leadership, was nominated as village chief in 1958, presumably because he was one of a few villagers with French learning, qualified to play an intermediary role between the government and the village. He was compelled to retire from his post in 1981 presumably because of some political scandal (to be mentioned later), though he could have remained in his post theoretically until 1985 when his succeeding generation, M'Béchoué was promoted to that of political leaders. The present Chief (S.21) belonging to M'Béchoué, who is qualified to remain in his post until next initiation is held, has recently been decided to retire and transfer the post to a government official,

born in Ahoué, but living in Abidjan and belonging to the succeeding generation, Niando, who has just been initiated as generation of warriors.

In addition to common consent in village, the approval of Sous-prefet concerned has become necessary for a village Chief to be recognized officially since independence.

The new Chief of Ahoué, is now under examination of Sous-prefet to be approved.

If he is approved as Chief, Ahoué will have for the first time a Chief who does not live in the village.

6. It can be said that the monetary economy has penetrated deep into Ahoué since the introduction of cocoa and coffee production. Nowadays Ahoué produces cocoa, coffee, and oil palm as the sources of monetary income. These three main commercial products only are roughly estimated to bring the village the gross income equivalent to 82 million F.CFA (100 tons of cocoa for 40 million F.CFA, 100 tons of coffee for 20 million F.CFA and 1140 tons of oil palm for 22 million FCFA). This amount of gross income means the income of 41,561 F.CFA per inhabitant.

In addition to these three products, cassava seems to have recently come to play an important role as a source of monetary income especially for women.

Every morning except for Sunday, you can observe one or two small trucks leaving for Abidjan, charged with a hundred of sacks of wet rough flour of cassava for Atiéke⁽⁶⁾ which were milled in the afternoon of the previous day at 4 mills installed around the village. Women peel and cut cassava into pieces suitable for milling with a knife, sitting in the garden in the morning and bring them to a mill in the afternoon.

A sack of roughly milled cassava of 20 kg is bought for 1200 F (in Oct- Nov of 1988) from the women in the village and sold to the market mummies for 1500 F.CFA in town markets. If 100 sacks

are produced a day for 200 days a year, cassava flour production is estimated to assure annual gross income of 24 million FCFA. If this income is not over-estimated, the income from cassava flour production will be not only very important in value, but all the more important in its effect on the village economic structure because this income is, almost totally appropriated by women as a result of their labor except for the amount they pay for milling (estimated to be less than 15% of the gross income).

If the cassava flour production continues to be left in the hand of women as is the tradition with food production, the women will have the possibility to obtain economic independence, even in its monetary sense, from men who monopolize the income from the three commercial products.

7. The problem of land property, though most important to analyse an agricultural economy, is most difficult for this field research to make clear.

The village leaders have a vague concept of the village territory, demarcated by swamps, or rivers against those of neighboring villages, agreed between them, though they do not have any written document to prove it objectively. All the village territory, including the virgin forests where villagers collect firewood, are divided among 6 matriarchal clans, and subdivided among enlarged families (lamɛ) of a clan. No villager has ever dared to register his plantations publicly, though possible under the legislation in force, because the cost for demarcation and registration is rather expensive.

When asked the acreage of his plantation, every villager can give the exact answer for cocoa, coffee, and oil palm plantations, as is shown in Table 1, because, in case of oil palm plantation, 140 seedlings are to be planted in one hectare (one seedling: 9m x 9m x 9m in triangle), and they have come to have an idea of one hectare, according to the explanation of a villager.

On the other hand, they do not know exactly the acreage of the fields for cassava and other food products which are comparatively small and it is for women to take care of them. There are only a few oil palm plantations, owned collectively. They are a plantation (1.72 ha) of the primary school and the plantations of the three clans (kə: 8.95 ha, Gnou: 6.89 ha, and Lasibion: 0.94 ha, while the other three clans have no collective plantation). Both types of plantations are under the control of some tenants, and the profit is to supplement the school budget in the former case, and to accumulate the common fund of a clan in the latter.

All the villagers interviewed so far answered definitively that no land in this village has ever been and will ever be sold or bought. A villager (S. 13), owner of a mill, who, born in another village in Atié country, has come to live in this village, complained that he can not find any land for sale in the village though, if any, he wants to buy it to create his own plantation.

The last but no less important problem concerning land system is the problem of heritage. The present situation is very obscure. All the villagers interviewed believe that the plantations they created themselves belong to themselves and will be heritable to their own sons if they wish, but that land itself on which the plantation exists always belongs to their matriarchal clan and must be inherited by matriarchal clanic order. It means that a son who inherits his father's plantation must ask the approval of his father's matriarchal clan to use their land, possibly for a certain amount of rent. Anyway the problem of heritage seems to be left in obscurity for the time being and possible to cause a conflict among villagers.

Under such land system as explained so far, how do a few villagers have come to have plantations by far larger than the others (see S. 1,2, and 22 in Table 1). It can be said that they

have come to have such a grand plantation, creating with their own effort and labor force, including hired labor, at their disposal, a new plantation in the forest owned by their enlarged family or clan. Today, however, the villagers say that there is no more land or forest where they can create a new plantation.

8. As Table 1 shows, the majority of the villagers are Catholic, while there live minority groups of Harrists and Muslims.

A Harrist church, constructed with concrete blocks in the 1950s, stands at the southern end of the village where gather about twenty faithful Harrists, consisting mainly of women to worship every Sunday. A Catholic Church, constructed also with concrete blocks a little later than the Harrist church, but bigger than that, stands at the north end of the main street, where a hundred of Catholic villagers, consisting of men and women of all generations, gather to have worship on Sunday.

There is no mosque in the village, though the number of Muslim is estimated to be more than two hundred. On the occasion of a grand islamic festivity like Tabaski, Muslims come together to the playground of primary school for praying. Almost all of Muslims living in the village are foreigners who have come here, as agricultural workers, merchants and so on, from the northern Islamic region of Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, and Mauritania, except for two Atiés, one of whom (S.7), born between a Senoufo Father and a Atié mother, had been brought up naturally as a Muslim in his father's natal village in Korhogo, but has come back with his mother after his father's death, to be now a notable of his matriarchal clan kə. The other one (S.11) converted to Islam in Bobo-Dioulasso (Burkina Faso), where he spent his youth.

At the far southern end of the village, you will also find a small Protestant church, constructed several years ago by a European missionary living in the neighboring village (Brofodoumé).

But he has not yet succeeded in converting any villager to Protestantism.

It seems that these three religions co-exist peacefully in this small village, and on the occasion such as funerals, Catholics, Harrists, and Muslims come together, according to the personal relationship to the deceased. There can be observed a few cases of inter-religion marriage between a Catholic and a Harrist (S.19), and a Muslim and a Catholic (S.7). Both Catholics and Harrists are to be buried in the same village cemetery located in the south of the village (see Map.5) which was removed there in 1958 from the ancient site in the north. The cemetery exclusively for Muslims was newly constructed in 1986 near the existing village cemetery, to avoid the conflict between Muslims and the others. Muslim people do not have a custom of keeping the cemetery clean like Christians, but several women, in turn, are called for to clean up the village cemetery every Friday morning if the deceased are buried there. This is the explanation given by S. 7 for the reason why a new cemetery was constructed for Muslims.

9. According to the population census, executed in March 1988, the population in Ahoué is 1973 which shows 14.6% increase from 1975 (see Table 2). Compared with the growth rate in two neighboring villages, Atiékoï (30.6%) and Brofodoumé (30.7%), that of Ahoué is as small as half. Why such a difference has been recorded during the last 13 years between Ahoué and the two neighboring villages which seem apparently to be placed under the same circumstances (coffee, cocoa, and oil palm producing villages under the strong influences of urbanisation in Abidjan)? It is a question to be analysed further. The hypothesis, however, which can be drawn at the present stage is that Ahoué should have already been too saturated to absorb the population increase so long as the agricultural production is concerned.

In this context it is to be noted that the percentage of population living in the camps who are considered to consist mainly of foreign workers is by far greater in Ahoué (18.1%) than in the other two villages (Brofodoumé : 3.2% Atiékoï : 10%).

The most numerous are agricultural workers who have come mainly from Burkina Faso. Most of them live in the camps around the village, some of them with their family. It is supposed that their immigration started with the introduction of coffee and cocoa in this village. A Burkinabé (S.24) has been sent to this village by his father who returned to his natal village to take his place as a sharecropper for a big Atié planter. He was given a coffee plantation of 1.2 ha, considered as a member of the family owing to their long patron-client relationship. He now controls and takes care of Burkinabés staying in Ahoué as an elder Burkinabé.

There live a few Malian families, so called Julas, mostly working in the plantations like Burkinabés. S. 25 is a marabout (Islam leader) who leads Muslims in this village with his Koranic learning. He has lived in Ahoué since 1960 in a house owned by his patron, working as his share-cropper, and sometimes engaged in kola-nuts commerce. He would not send his children to primary school, and educate them himself.

The third element consists of several Ghanaian women, most of whom, living in a rental room of 3,000 FCFA a month earn their living by prostitution mainly with foreign workers. One of them has recently opened a small maquis (African food restaurant). She has lived here for 5 years , since she left her home village near Koumassi in Ghana, leaving behind 5 children after having been divorced. She says that she is now the second wife of a foreign worker.

There also live 3 Mauritanian brothers who run a grocery-store in the village, and a few Hausas from Niger who work as

porters of water as already mentioned above.

Finally in Ahoué live dozens of intellectuals, sent by a government, consisting of 13 school teachers, 2 kindergarten teachers, and a monitor of oil palm plantation, mostly with their family. All these foreign elements who seem to have been welcomed in this village without any resistance, are left aside from the village politics which continue to be conducted in the traditional framework of 6 matriarchal clans and 4 classes of generation, though foreign elements are now rather important in number. 10. Observing houses in the village, you can notice dozens of bigger houses, painted on the external walls and some with a pane of glass in the windows, by far better and newer, different from ordinary ones which are rather simple even though almost all of them are made of concrete blocks.

Among our samples, S. 2, S. 3, S. 5 with S. 6, S. 9, S. 10 with S. 14, and S. 17 live in such houses deluxe, and a new house of this type of S. 22 is under construction. In cases of S. 2 and S. 3, their houses symbolize their wealth. S. 2 has the only 3-storied house in the village, though the 3rd floor has not yet been completed. He is said to be the richest planter in the village. S. 3 is also comparatively rich because he has a stable monthly income of 40,000 FCFA as a driver for a small trucks of S. 2, in addition to income from his plantations and from a mill which his son operates.

But except for these two, the other inhabitants are not wealthy enough to live in such houses. These are houses, constructed by one of their family members who live now in town, mainly in Abidjan, with a stable and relatively high income. They were constructed for their enlarged family, especially for their mother, and for himself after his retirement in future. A big house with 8 rooms of a retired policeman is under construction. There are also several houses under construction which are

being constructed little by little with annually accumulated fund and their own labor disposable during long summer vacation by those who live now in town and will return to their home village after their retirement.

The composition of inhabitants in a compound (a house with several rooms with a garden and a separate kitchen) seems to have the characteristics of a matriarchal society. The typical example is the case S. 1. He lives in a compound with 6 rooms. He occupies one room with his first wife (the other three wives do not live here) and her youngest daughter occupies another one (the other sons and daughters of hers have left the village). The other three rooms are occupied by the two younger sisters of his with their small children. Neither of their husbands do not live with them. The last one is allocated for a single Burkinabé, working in S. 1's plantation. Atié society is said to be matriarchal but patrilocal in principle⁽⁷⁾. This is true, but women seem to keep a strong tie with her parents and to be allowed to stay or to return to the house of her parents even after marriage if they want.

Generally speaking in a compound live a few so-called nuclear families, but they do not eat in common.

11. Ahoué, a village which was created as a small politically independent village of Atié people in the tropical forest in the second half of 19th century, has survived until today, overcoming a lot of difficulties caused by the changes of circumstances, adapting itself to new environments, and absorbing a lot of heterogeneous elements.

The most serious problem it has encountered in the recent history of the village should have been that of C.E.C.A, which must have caused a deep split among the villagers. A quarry plant of C.E.C.A, set up near the village presumably in the end of 1960's was welcomed by the villagers at the beginning, because

it offered to villagers more than a hundred employments with a stable monthly money income, and it contributed to improve the infra-structure around the village. But its operation proved to have caused with the fine grains of sand it let flow a serious damage to the cocoa plantations of some villagers that located in the downstream. They protested and demanded the indemnity. After a long fight in court, C.E.C.A paid the indemnity, amounting to more than 4 million FCFA. C.E.C.A stopped its operation in 1983, because of its trouble with the villagers or its own economic reason, leaving an employee who still guards its rusted plant.

When this problem occurred, it is supposed that then village Chief found himself in a difficult position between wage-earners of C.E.C.A, among whom his son (accountant) was included, and the planters of damaged cocoa plantations.

I came to know this affair during my talk with villagers, and thought it important to know precisely the case as a whole. When I asked then village Chief (S. 1), with whom I have long been acquainted, about this case, he got angry and refused to answer my question, saying, "who talked about it to you? You don't have the right to bring up again the trouble which was settled down long ago. What I want now to do is to spend my remaining years in this village at peace". I could not continue to investigate this case further, but we can suppose from his words how deeply this village suffered from this trouble.

What kind of future is waiting for this village? I have come to make friend with a 14 year old boy who gave up the primary school halfway. Whenever I visit the village, he walks round in the village with me and sits by my side when I talk with villagers. What kind of future can he imagine? If he could have finished the primary school, he should have to pass the national examination to enter the public secondary school. Only 18 of 88

examinees (20.4%) of Ahoué Primary School passed that examination in 1987-88 school year. Will he be a successful planter employing a number of foreign workers? It is not sure that, when he is grown up to succeed some plantations from his mother's clan (neither is it sure), foreign workers will be available as abundantly as today. He may have to move to Abidjan to find a modest employment reserved for non educated people.

Can Ahoué still survive as a village of Atié people, or will it transform itself to be a small commune consisting of citizens of various origins who have equal right? Can Ahoué survive as a village based on agricultural production, or will it reduce itself to be one of residence area in the suburb of Abidjan? What is development for Ahoué?

NOTE

- (1) I visited Ahoué and got acquainted with him for the first time in December, 1967, when the "Fête de Generation" was held in this village. Our intercourse has continued since then though intermittently.
- (2) A. Ferrari et J-CI. Thoret, Atiékoi, un village de Côte d'Ivoire, Univ. D'Abidjan, 1970, P. 7.
- (3) D. Boni, Le Pays Akié, étude de l'économie agricole, Univ, d'Abidjan, 1970, P. 52.
- (4) D. Boni op. cit., P. 126.
- (5) According to D. Paulm who investigated the southern part of Atié country in 1964, they have only three classes without Monan. She says that it is in M'bato country that they have 4 classes. D. Paulm, "Première approche des Atie", Cahiers d'Etudes Africaines N°21, Vol VI PP. 104 - 107.
- (6) Atiéké is a main dish made of rough cassava flour boiled and eaten with a sauce. It has recently developed both in town and village of coastal area Côte d'Ivoire, as one of main dishes.
- (7) D. Paulm, op. cit., P. 90.

Table 1 List of villagers

No.	We (clan)	Fokwé (generation)	Age	Religion	Education	Family wife children	cocoa
1.	L	MO	1920	C	CM2	5 1 25	5.0
2.	L	MB	1929	C	N	2(1) 12	15.0
3.	L	MO	1931	C	N	2 1 4	0
4.	L	MB	1942	C	N	2 9	3.5
5.	L	DJ	1949	C	CM2	1 8(4)	1.0
6.	L	Ni	1961	C	3e	1 1	1.0
7.	Kə	MB	1922	T	N	4(1) 11	9.0
8.	Kə	MB	1923	H	N	1 2	1.0
9.	Kə	MO	1929	C	N	1 11	4.0
10.	Kə	MB	1931	H	N	3 5	4.5
11.	Kə	MB	1937	I	CM2	1 4	2.5
12.	Kə	Ni	1939	C	N	1 7	2.0
13.	Kə	Ni	1940	C	N	2 5	0
14.	Kə	Ni	1951	H	CM2	2 4	0
15.	Kə	Ni	1956	C	3e	1 1	0
16.	Kə	Ni	1963	C	4e	1 1	0
17.	Nye	MB	1932	C	CM2	2(1) 2	6.0
18.	Nye	Ni	1935	C	N	1 5	7.0
19.	Nye	DJ	1962	C	L	1 1 1	1.5
20.	Bə	MB	1928	C	N	3 1 4	3.0
21.	Bə	MB	1934	C	CP2	4(1) 4	12.0
22.	DZO	DJ	1925	C	N	2(1) 8	0
23.	GNOU	MO	1926	C	N	1 4	2.0
24.	(MOSSI)	(Burkina)	1920	I	N	1 5	0
25.	(JULA)	(Mali)	1938	I	N	1 5	0

(Note) N: Non-education CM2: Primary Sch. () dead C: Catholic
 CO2: The 2nd year 3e: 4th year of Secondary Sch.

interviewed in Ahoué

Plantation			Worker		E	Remarks
Coffee	Oil Palm	Cassava etc.	W	T		
27.5	18.0	?	2	0	○	Chief of village(1958-81), owner of a mill
10.0	45.0	?	0	15	○	Owner of a small truck and a grocery store
4.0	3.0	?	0	1	○	Owner of a mill, driver of a track (S.2)
0	4.0	?	1	0	○	Two elder sons working in Abidjan
0	3.2	?	0	0	○	employed by CECA (1970-78), living with S.6
1.0	0.5	?	0	0	○	living with his mother in the compound built by his eldest brother
1.0	1.2	0.5	0	1	○	chief of Kə. brought up in Korbogo (Senanfo)
4.0	0	1.0	0	1	×	living with his sisters' family, custodian of H church
5.0	12.0	5.0	0	5	○	President of Ahoué Branch of P.D.C.I (1985-)
0	2.0	?	0	0	○	living with S.14 separately from his wives.
1.5	0	2.5	1	?	○	Owner of a'taxi-breusse' and a grocery store.
1.0	0	?	0	0	×	neighboring to his wife's parents house
0	0	1.0	0	0	○	Engineer of CECA(1967-83), owner of a mill, born in Adjepo.
0	0	2.0	0	0	○	living with his mother in the compound in Abidjan (1967-83) built by his cousin.
0	0	?	0	0	○	Carpenter in Abidjan(-1979)
0	0	0.5	0	0	×	living with his mother and his sisters' families.
3.0	3.0	?	0	0	○	his wife in mental disorder for a few years.
2.0	4.0	?	0	1	○	Children (3) of his son in Abidjan, with their grand parents.
0	0	?	0	0	○	living with his parents (S.5)
2.0	14.0	?	1	2	○	President of G.V.C
0	3.0	?	0	0	×	chief of village (1981-)
0	40.0	?	0	6	○	first president of Ahoué branch of P.D.C.I
1.0	1.0	?	0	0	○	living with his youngest sister divorced.
1.2	0	3	0	0	×	chief of Burkinabé his father worked in Ahoué
0	0	2	0	0	×	marsbout.

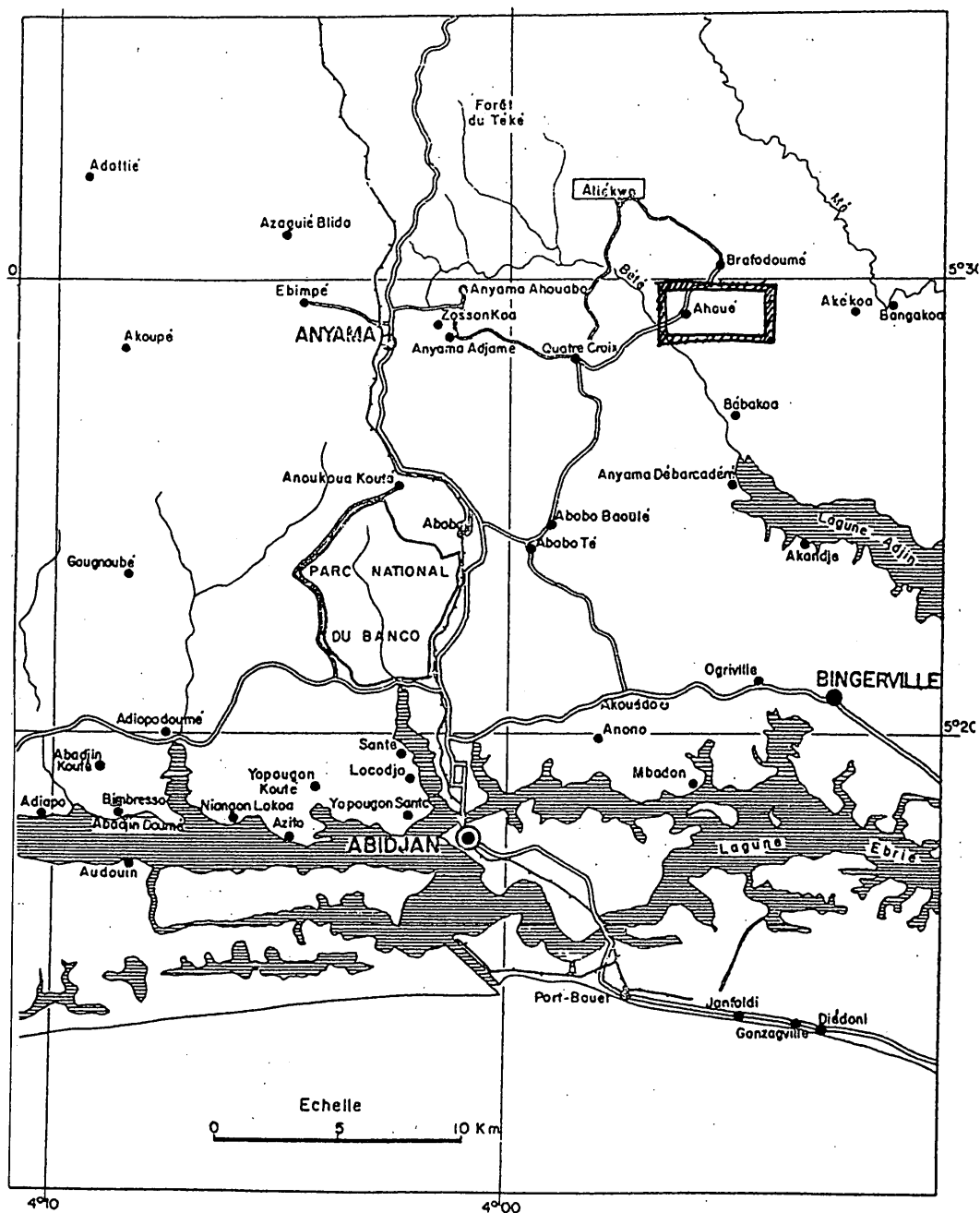
I: Muslim () Sharecropping W: Wage laborer E: Electricity
divorced H: Harist T: Sharecropper

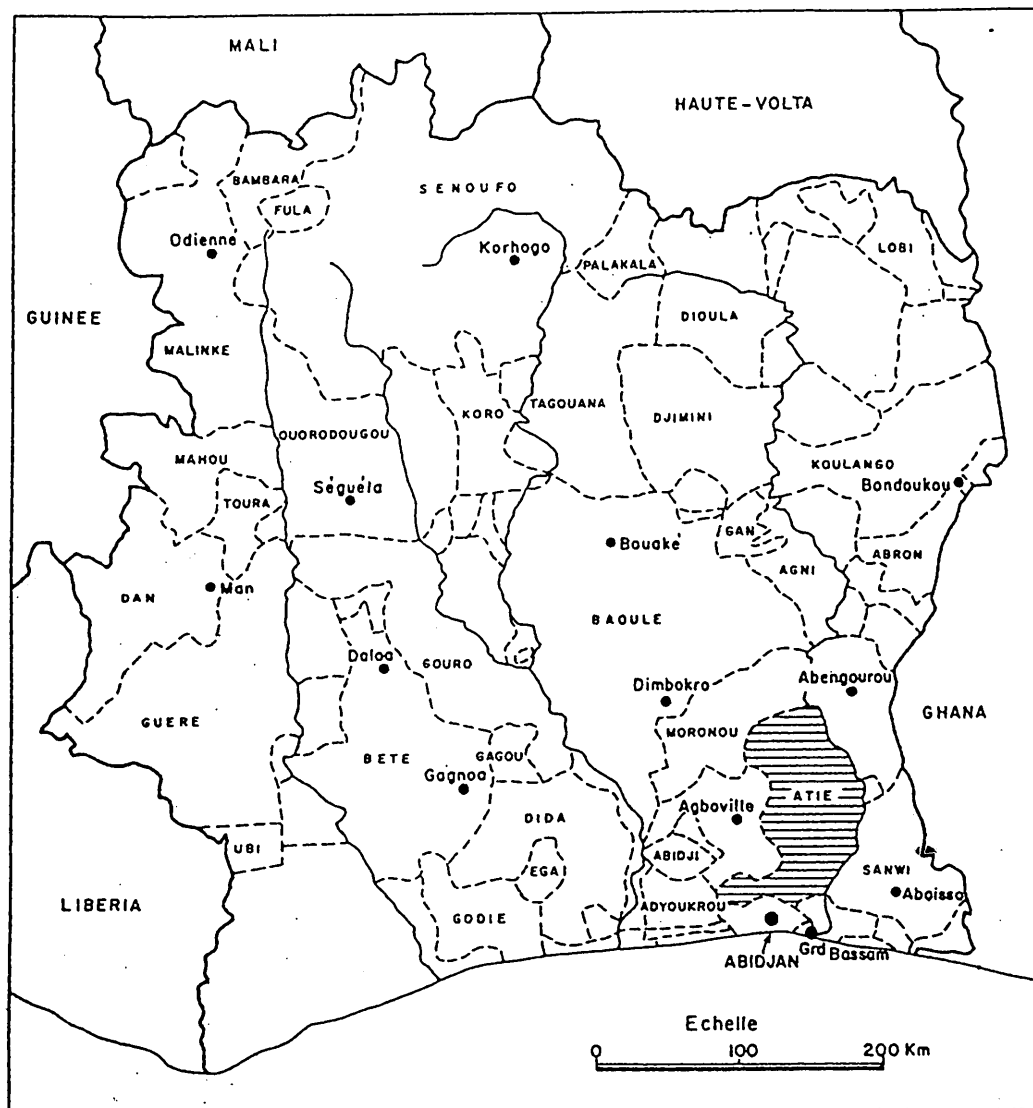
Table 2 Population (1975, 1988)

	Year	Core	Camps	Total(Growth Rate)	M	F
Ahoué	1975	--	--	1722	913	809
	1988	1915 (81.9)	358 (18.1)	1973(14.6%) (100)	981	992
Brofodumé	1975	--	--	1852	--	--
	1988	2343 (96.8)	80 (3.2)	2421(30.7%) (100)	1248	1173
Atiékoi	1975	--	--	2193	--	--
	1988	1836 (99.0)	28 (1.0)	2864(30.6%) (100)	1378	1486

Source 1975. Ministère dl'Economie,-----, Structuration du Milieu Rural Region Sud 1980, p.17.

1988. Direction Statistique (Hearing)





COTE D'IVOIRE CARTE ETHNIQUE
Localisation des Attié

INSTALLATION DES ATTIES EN CÔTE D'IVOIRE

Ech. : 1 / 500 000

- Premier village attié
- Villages créés à partir des premiers
- Villages nés des dissidences
- Anciens campements de chasse devenus villages
- Campements récents (moins de 70 ans) devenus villages
- ➔ Arrivées de pays Asankr (Ghana)
- ➔ Premiers mouvements après l'arrivée de Ghana
- ➔ Mouvements à la suite de dissidences
- ➔ Vers la création des campements

