

ACADÉMIE ROYALE DES SCIENCES D'OUTRE-MER

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The Yei markets in the former
Lado enclave
A study in the social implications
of marketing

by

Fatima ABDEL-RAHMAN EL-RASHEED

B. Sc. (Juba)

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Mémoire présenté par M. J. COMHAIRE à la séance
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Rapporteurs : R. P. J. DENIS, MM. A. MAESEN et J. SOHIER

ACADÉMIE ROYALE
DES
SCIENCES D'OUTRE-MER

Rue Defacqz 1 - boîte 3
B-1050 Bruxelles
Tél. (02) 538.02.11

KONINKLIJKE ACADEMIE
VOOR
OVERZEESE WETENSCHAPPEN

Defacqzstraat 1 - bus 3
B-1050 Brussel
Tel. (02) 538.02.11

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SUMMARY

The site of Yei, close to the point where Sudan, Zaire and Uganda meet, already called for attention from the part of the Belgians when occupying the Lado Enclave, where it is located. There are there today a small town and sixteen markets in the vicinity, one of them more important than the town market although located at an almost desertsic place. Thus it seems that the market did not create the town, contrary to Pirenne's theory but confirming the views of Soviet historians.

On the other hand, the town plan runs against the theory of the Chicago sociologists holding that urban populations always tend to distribute their members in concentric circles according to their living standards.

Attendance during one year at markets and at offices wherefrom they are run led to finding the socio-economic implications of their work, particularly those of the sale of intoxicating beverages which alone enables women to reach somewhat better living standards.

On the contrary, peasant women cannot possibly save any money. All the cheap and perishable produce they carry on their heads serves to buy immediately-needed articles such as soap, matches, etc. Men, by keeping for themselves the sale of valuable produce, mostly coffee, and of manufactured goods, are able to save money and so to buy bicycles and other conveniences which help in strengthening their economic superiority.

The local authorities collected a number of recommendations aiming at improving conditions and there already exists a Government unit for production but development will depend on a slow change of attitudes.

The study is completed with statistical data collected through a questionnaire.

RÉSUMÉ

Le site de Yei est situé dans l'ancienne Enclave de Lado. Il avait attiré l'attention des Belges par sa proximité du point de rencontre du Soudan, du Zaïre et de l'Ouganda. Aujourd'hui, il y a là une petite ville et seize marchés aux alentours dont un plus grand que celui de la ville et situé précisément au point de rencontre des trois pays. Comme ce dernier site reste presque désert, le cas semble bien confirmer la théorie soviétique, contraire à celle de Pirenne, suivant laquelle un marché ne suffit pas à créer une ville.

D'autre part, le plan de la ville défie la théorie des sociologues de Chicago suivant lesquels la population urbaine tend toujours à se disposer en cercles concentriques suivant son degré d'aisance.

La fréquentation pendant un an des marchés et des bureaux d'où ils sont administrés a permis de dégager les implications socio-économiques de leurs activités et de montrer, par exemple, comment le commerce des boissons alcooliques est le seul qui permette à une femme d'acquérir un certain degré d'aisance avec, malheureusement, de graves conséquences sociales.

Il est impossible aux paysannes de faire les moindres économies parce que tout ce qu'elles peuvent porter sur la tête en denrées périssables et bon marché suffit à peine à l'achat de savon, alumettes et autres articles d'immédiate nécessité. Les hommes, en se réservant la vente de denrées de valeur, café surtout, et d'articles manufacturés seuls peuvent mettre de l'argent de côté pour achat de bicyclettes et autres facilités qui contribuent à accroître leur supériorité économique.

Les autorités locales ont compilé un certain nombre de recommandations en vue d'améliorer ces conditions et déjà un organisme de l'État travaille dans la région mais le développement dépendra de la lente transformation des attitudes.

L'administration d'un questionnaire a permis de compléter cette étude par quelques données statistiques.

FOREWORD

In 1904, King Leopold of the Belgians, in his capacity as Sovereign of the Congo Free State, quarrelled with the British on the matter of borders between his State and the Sudanese condominium. This made him send his vice-governor-general, Emile Wangermée (1851-1924) to the so-called Lado Enclave, an area he was occupying on a life time basis and which was giving him a direct access to the Nile River. Wangermée was quick in noticing the strategic importance of Yei, an almost empty river crossing, located half-way between Aba, on undoubtedly Congolese ground, and Rejaf, his port on the Nile close to present-day Juba. He even drew elaborate plans for a military stronghold to be built there. Nothing came out of it because the matter was settled two years later, on a scientific basis making the borderline coincidental with the crests of the hill range separating the Congo from the Nile river basins, but Yei so had been granted the perhaps dangerous honour of recognition in historical documents.

So, I was quite interested to learn that the author (henceforward "FAR"), whose scholarly acumen was already known to me, was going to spend the best part of a year at Yei, studying the social implications of marketing. This, I also expected to be an opportunity to test a range of theoretical considerations which would include the way Soviet historians have criticised Pirenne's theory that Flemish and other towns and cities were so to speak born on their market places. These historians hold that traders are too volatile a lot to be fixed in any large numbers at one permanent residence unless there is some inevitably fixed business, among which crafts and industry hold first rank in their minds, likely to supply them with a stable stock of customers (ТИХОМИРОВ 1946).

Southern Sudan provides a good case in point. We know for sure when, where and how towns and markets, both unknown to the local tradition, came into being under Egyptian military protection around colonial stations – such as the celebrated Fashoda and Gondokoro – and strongholds of armed merchants, the zeriba. Markets then certainly came

second. After the troubled days of the Mahdiyya, the Mahdi's revolt, these early and uneasy settlements vanished for the sake of others, more suitably located, such as Kodok, replacing Fashoda, and Rejaf, replacing Gondokoro before being in turn replaced by Juba. Markets grew in their own way, either inside already existing urban areas, or in utter isolation, usually at crossroads.

As regards the Yei area, FAR found not a single market located north of the main road and, besides Yei town, there are only two located along that road, one at Kagelu, a Belgian farm still prosperous on the way to Zaire after eighty years of existence, the other on the way from Juba, fifteen miles away from but not at Loka, the second town within the district but no commercial centre. All other markets are aligned along the two poor roads leading to the point where Sudan, Zaire and Uganda meet and where Kaya stands without even a prospect of urbanisation in future times. Now, the Kaya market is no less, perhaps even more prosperous than the Yei town market and "38-Miles", the third most important market place of the district, stands very close to Kaya and also in isolation.

Cooperatives, on the other hand, are somewhat more spread than market places, with three of them on or close to the road to Maridi, in a northwestern direction, and one on a road to Kajokaji, southeast of Yei town, but they too failed to generate urbanisation. Both market places and cooperative centres are totally absent in the area north of Yei town where the Yei river flows towards the Nile.

As regards Yei town itself, FAR's study may rank as a warning (there are many others available but ignored) to governments that there are social forces which should be given consideration in town planning. The Chicago school of urban sociology – to which a former missionary in the Congo Free State, E. Faris, made such a valuable contribution – has shown how residents in a town display an almost invincible tendency to distribute themselves on the map in concentric circles corresponding to the growth of socio-economic categories. The fundamental trend on such occasions, consists in concentrating in the inner circle all the main institutions, such as town hall, the headquarters of the main public and private services, etc., also the cathedral temple of whatever religion is practised by the urban majority. Residents then settle as far away from the center as their means permit, from middle-class collective transportation to upper-class individual vehicles. The immediate periphery is left to the poor or to downtrodden minorities (even Harlem has its "Sugar Hill") forced to stay there by the combined pressures of forced walk to work and low rents for accommodation nobody wants to live in (WIRTH 1964)

The colonial view, as the author puts it from a look at the town plan, consisted in forcing segregation on a basically racial basis but the supposedly lilywhite southern half of Yei maintained provisions for domestic servants and other "natives" living in inexpensive, but inconvenient to all, conditions. Racial segregation today is out of question but in the absence of a proper town center of easy access to all, the northern half of the town has witnessed an explosion of housing plagued with such evils as a scattering of places related to a "beer market" which exists only in the mind of the tax collector. Better conditions are maintained in the southern quarters by artificial means which may collapse at any moment: Government ownership of houses for officials, incomes without common measure with others of a few merchants, including the managers of a handful of high-class beer halls.

Living with a local family, speaking "Juba Arabic" and resorting to the participation-observation method, FAR has acquired an inside view of the town-and-country relationship as it operates in a town which has nothing of its own to offer in exchange for the produce of agriculturists. There are no manufactures, no food-processing plants to free the customers from the burden of transport costs. These are relatively light only as regards furniture from nearby Kagelu, but even daily necessities, such as soap, must come from at least as far away as Juba, the provincial headquarters.

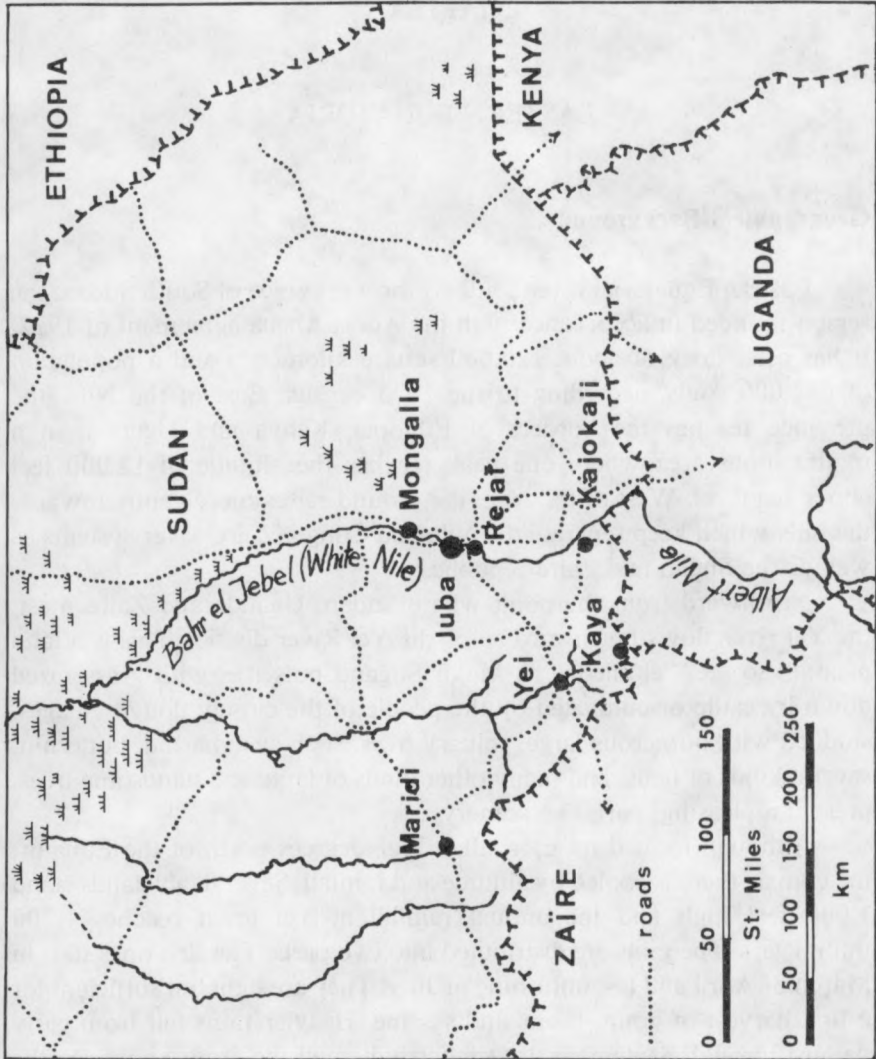
Juba itself, about one hundred miles away, has little of its own to offer. It is a chaotic agglomeration of about 100,000 souls, mostly newcomers and still bewildered at the complexities of urban life. Communications with the outside world are very poor and there is no other direct way to Khartoum than the slow and awkward seven hundred and fifty miles (one thousand two hundred kilometers) down the Nile. Nairobi, as a result, has become a main centre of supply for Southern Sudan but the lorries which travel across poor mountain roads are bound to suffer from exceedingly hard services, if not from accident and this adds to the transportation cost.

A striking result of the analysis FAR made of the conditions of rural women is that it is impossible for them to obtain a surplus for saving from the exchange of their produce with daily necessities coming from far away. Some women in town, on the other hand, can make good with beer brewing and selling but this is likely to lead to a quick degradation of their personalities.

Rather than offering answers entirely of her own, which could easily be dismissed as coming from a stranger, FAR had been perusing archives

and debating matters so as to present a set of recommendations in which the people of Yei should recognise their own mind. Even the privileged, who are the only ones there able to read English, should appreciate her candid summary of conditions in a town she came to like almost as much as her home in distant Darfur because she made it her own for the duration of a year full of human experiences.

J. COMHAIRE



CHAPTER 1

EASTERN EQUATORIA

Geographical Background

Eastern Equatoria is the southernmost province of South Sudan, the region founded in accordance with the Addis Abeba agreement of 1972. It has a territory of about 120,000 square kilometers and a population of 652,000 souls, according to the 1973 census. East of the Nile, the province reaches the borders of Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda, in a mountainous area where one peak reaches the altitude of 12,000 feet above sea level. West of the Nile, the ground raises more gently towards the hills which keep separate the Nile and Congo (Zaire) river systems as well as the Sudan and Zaire republics.

Northward from the point where Sudan, Uganda and Zaire meet, the Yei river flows northward across the Yei River district. This is a land pleasant to see, "clothed – as Major Stigand puts it – with grass razed down by cattle or cultivated by the people of the closely dotted villages, studded with numerous large, solitary trees, such as tamarind, butternut, several kinds of ficus, and many other kinds of large and handsome trees, present a pleasing, park-like scenery ...".

Although located no more than four degrees north of the Equator, the climate there is cooled by altitude and rainfall. Several tablelands stand 1,000 feet high and the annual rainfall at Yei town reaches 1,200 millimeters. The rains are distributed into two parts. The first ones start in March or April and last until June or July. They are light but sufficient for a first harvest of grain, beans and sesame. Heavier rains fall from early August through September or October, when all the crops known to the district may be harvested. Thunderstorms then are frequent and people sometimes are killed by lightnings.

Economically speaking, there has been little development. The typical unit of both production and consumption remains the household of an average 6.9 persons depending on the cultivation of 8.40 feddans.

They keep growing traditional crops, supplemented with fishing and hunting, rather than new crops, though these are not unknown.

Most of the coffee, tea, tobacco and other commercial crops grown in the district are the work of huge plantations. Two experimental stations are located in the immediate vicinity of Yei town and one of them added recently 700 feddans of land to 300 already in cultivation.

Historical background

The two provinces of Eastern and Western Equatoria are the last remnants of the southernmost Ottoman province, founded after the first exploration of the area, in 1864. Seventeen years later, the province was cut off from Khartoum by the Ansars of the Mahdiyya. Emin Pasha, its governor-general, was rescued by Stanley, the well known explorer, but many soldiers remained stranded in the area and married local women. In 1894, the British, fearing a French advance toward the Nile River, invited the Belgian sovereign of the Congo Free State to occupy an area then known as the Lado Enclave for the duration of his life. Three years later, King Leopold's forces defeated the Ansars at Redjaf and the enclave became part of the Makraka zone of the Free State. Thirteen stations were founded until the time the area reverted to Egyptian rule under Ottoman suzerainty, in 1911, in the new form of an Anglo-Egyptian condominium.

The southern half of the old Equatoria nevertheless was annexed to British Uganda and many ethnic groups, such as the Kakwa and the Acholi saw their territory divided. Confusion still exists today as to the allegiance and rights of people on both sides of the border. The British were in fact sole masters everywhere, all inhabitants to them were colonial subjects and they objected to the presence in the area of Northern Sudanese rather than of Ugandans. Italian Catholic missionaries spread Christianity with such success that Eastern Equatoria today is coterminous with an archdiocese run by a Sudanese.

Independence, proclaimed on the 1st of January 1956, was marred by armed strife but peace has prevailed since the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972.

The Bari cluster of ethnic groups

According to Murdock, most inhabitants of Eastern Equatoria belong to the Bari cluster of the Nilote family, which extends as far south as the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania. Ethnic groups of the cluster include

the Bari proper, around Juba, the Fajelu, the Kakwa, the Latuka, the Kuku and the Mundari. Traditionally, all were cattle keepers and milk was their staple diet, along with blood, but some indulged in fishing. Men claimed a monopoly of cattle keeping and cleared the land for women to work on. There was very little trade and agriculture failed to give women a safe economic position.

The same as with other Nilotes agriculture consisted primarily in the cultivation of cereals. Durra, a variety of sorghum, was their first staple, followed by eleusine and millet. These African grains were supplemented by ambary, cotton, cow and earth peas, gourds, okra, sesame, from the Sudanic complex of crops, gram and hyacinth beans, hemp, Jew's mallow and pigeon peas from the Indian complex, bananas and yams from the Malaysian complex, maize, cassava, peanuts, sweet potatoes, cucurbits and tobacco from the American complex.

The Bari kinship system was patrilineal, nobody could marry a relative through his father, however distant. Marriage involved a bride-wealth in cattle and some help in land clearing expected by the bride's family from the bridegroom's family and after marriage, the bride went to live and work on land owned by her husband's lineage or clan. The Bari had a reputation for egalitarianism founded on the fact that they recognised no king, no hereditary aristocracy. They kept no slaves but there were serfs known as dupi. Except for the Fajelu and the Kakwa, age grades entered by initiation provided a political organisation strong enough to give them strength and they were actually feared by the Madi. Considerable individual power might also be won by rainmakers. Circumcision was not practised.

The Madi cluster

Around Yei but mostly East and South of the town, many inhabitants belong to the Madi cluster of Murdock's Central Sudanic family – which includes the Madi proper, the Lendu, the Balanda, the Kaliko, the Lugbare, the Luluba, the Baka and the Moro.

Contrary to the Bari, the Madi seem to have been primarily agriculturists though some indulged in fishing and hunting and gathering came as a supplement to the diet. "For millenia – so says Murdock – they have participated fully in the Sudanic complex, growing ambary, cow and earth peas, gourds, okra, roselle, sesame, watermelons ... in addition to sorghum and millet, the long standing staples. Diffusion by way of the Yam belt brought eleusine from Ethiopia and gram, hyacinth and sword

beans from the Indian complex, as well as sweet potatoes and all the principal Malaysian crops. Taro, yams, and sweet potatoes occur nearly everywhere (as well as bananas in our district) ... At a later period, the Central Sudanic peoples acquired a number of additional crops from the New World: cucurbits, lima beans, maize, manioc (cassava), peanuts, pepper and tobacco."

Cattle keeping looked less important to them than to the Bari but they also made it a male monopoly, milking included.

Marriage involved a bridewealth of livestock and of iron gadgets paid to the bride's family and a period of service might also be required. Age groups existed only among the Moro and the Kaliko. The political organisation was so weak that about two centuries ago, the Madi lost much territory to the Bari, coming from the East, and to the Azande, coming from the North. Circumcision remained unknown to all Central Sudanics.

Languages

According to GREENBERG, all inhabitants of the district speak languages of the Macro-Sudanic family but the language of the Nilotes (Bari, Kakwa, etc.) belong to the southern or eastern branch of the family, while those of the Madi and other Central Sudanics belong to another branch.

On the Yei town market, sellers and buyers are using almost exclusively a creole with a mostly Arabic vocabulary and an African grammar. This local language is not generally used in rural areas, where both tribal languages and local Arabic can be heard even on market places, but at Yei and Juba merchants speak it all the time even when they were born in Northern Sudan, though sticking to regular Arabic among themselves or with their children.

English is only spoken by school educated residents, mostly officials.

Bangala, a northern variety of lingala which is an official language in Zaire was introduced to the area at the time of the Lado Enclave and it is still spoken by those who maintain contacts with Zaire. Swahili is used similarly by people in touch with or refugees from Uganda.

Trade, traditional and modern

From all available evidence, as compiled by Murdock and others, there was only a minimum of trade in South Sudan before the arrival of

strangers to the region. COMHAIRE has argued that there must be trade so soon as some indispensable commodity is unavailable locally, giving salt as the most common example but in South Sudan, pastoralists may well have found enough salt for survival in the blood and liver of their cattle. Thus trade may have remained practically non-existent.

In any case, markets were unnecessary for such trade as existed and Evans-Pritchard claims that the very idea of buying and selling at fixed prices, according to agreed – upon standards, was strange to the Nuer and to their neighbours. Transactions with the Arab merchants were at first regarded as an exchange of gifts, involving every cultural trait common to relations between persons rather than about goods. The merchant was “bought”, rather than his merchandise, just as a god or spirit was “attached” to a devotee through a sacrifice. In the Nuer language the same word was used for buying-selling as for making an offering to some god. (EVANS-PRITCHARD 1951)

Advent of markets

Whatever the previous situation may have been, trade certainly existed so soon as zeriba (all-purpose fortified camps) were built by the thirteen Arab and other merchants enjoying trading rights in the region. They wanted a lot and they had a lot to offer. Whether the locals took it as an exchange of gifts rather than as a commercial transaction was not their concern.

Trade collapsed for a while with the triumph of the Mahdiyya but no information is available on how a new form of economy came to life before the advent of the Belgians, firm believers in trade and money as agents of modernisation, as all their colonial policy would testify (Congo Belge, 1925). Under the condominium which followed, merchants settled in large numbers all over the region. Moreover, and starting at the time of the Lado Enclave, numerous soldiers, locally known as malaki, stayed in the region after retirement from the army and kept offering money for produce. Markets then appeared and multiplied without waiting for official recognition, as they are still doing today. Attitudes do not change quickly but today's sellers, being the great-grand-daughters of those who sold to residents in zeriba, should not be expected to look at trade in the same way as their remote ancestresses.

CHAPTER 2

THE YEI RIVER DISTRICT

The District

Yei town is headquarters of a district occupying the southwestern-most corner of the Sudan, right on the borders of Zaire and of Uganda. The district is 6,800 square miles in size and has an estimated population of 111,000 souls, thus a density of 160 inhabitants per square mile, benefiting from an average rainfall of 1,200 millimeters per year. There is, since 1953, an elected district council and Justice is administered by A courts, dealing with marriage, land and succession according to customary law, and B courts, with a larger jurisdiction which includes criminal cases.

In addition, and most important in rural daily life, seventeen appointed chiefs help in the maintenance of public order and in the collection of taxes, their police powers varying with their ranks. They are paid a small salary. From the comparable example of Haiti (COMHAIRE 1950, 1955) we may assume that such petty and non-traditional chiefs depend for effective power on their status as community leaders. Outside the town, they are responsible for an average 5,300 citizens, which should not be more than adequate for the maintenance of a community spirit.

The district market system

The recognised markets of the Yei River District may be classified as follows,

1. The central market, open daily in Yei town,
2. Rural markets of four different types,
 - a. Produce and general trade markets operating daily at Kaya and at 38-miles, on the borders of Uganda and Zaire,
 - b. Isebe and Iwatoka, produce markets visited by women from across the borders, twice weekly in the former case, once weekly in the latter case,

- c. The Lanya produce market, open daily fifteen miles north-east of Loka, an important educational and agricultural centre, likely to become headquarters of a new district before long,
- d. Ten other markets, open once or twice a week, mainly for the sale of produce.

The Yei town market offers a considerably larger quantity and better quality of manufactured goods for sale than all others, except perhaps Kaya, where attitudes also come nearer to those observed at Yei town. The last thirteen markets may be regarded as satellites limited in their trade because they have no more than one or two small shops each, more often than not owned by a man living from agriculture rather than from trade. Manufactured goods are hard to find at such places.

As rural markets open on different days, some women are able to attend more than one of them each week, but never offering anything else than their own produce. Their wandering reflects the general poverty of the district trade.

Cooperatives

Cooperatives in a way provide a supplement to the market system. They are fourteen in numbers, with about one thousand members, often operating far away from market places. The District Cooperation Union was founded in 1974, with a membership of five primary societies. Women participate as administrators as well as ordinary members and peasant women benefit through them from a measure of protection against blackmarketing but the institution remains dominated by men and – the same as in other African countries – its efficiency is impaired by the inadequate training of leaders and the lack of understanding of members.

Blackmarketing and smuggling

All over the district, smuggling comes as a conspicuous feature of trade, particularly on the international border-line. Favoured by the location of the area at the point where three countries meet, smuggling is furthermore promoted by the inefficiency of the trade system and of the market organisation. Regular trade so is maintained at such a low level that it cannot satisfy an ambitious trader. Goods, as a result, are smuggled both from and to the Sudan. Medicines, textile and ivory are taken out of the country, while coffee, cigarettes, tobacco, beer, honey and fuel are smuggled in from Zaire and from Uganda.

Women are involved, directly or indirectly, mostly in relation to beer and honey for brewing. Sometimes they buy such goods unaware of their illegal origins but some maintain secret contacts with traders going to and from Zaire, and a very few keep visiting Zaire for that purpose. Thus smuggling contributes to a general deterioration of the position of law-abiding traders as well as to the instability of prices.

Areas outside the market system

Rural families cannot obtain such necessities as salt, soap and clothes anywhere else than in shops or on the market places but many locations remain deprived of them, as they are all aligned along a few roads accessible to lorries. Among the Mundu, Baka and Avokaya tribes, some may be living as far as forty miles away from motor roads. Women in such cases hardly ever attend markets, as they cannot easily walk so much twice in a day and do some trade in the meantime. Some man owner of a bicycle then rides to fetch indispensable commodities which he will sell to his neighbours or exchange for their produce. Most of the year, these people stay at home and eat what they have grown or obtained from hunting and gathered wild fruits. Making them walk to a market place calls for a strong push factor, for instance the gathering of bridewealth, which makes them go to sell a little coffee or anything else that can be commercialised in their produce.

The Kaya case

In the immediate proximity of Uganda and hardly farther away from Zaire, forty-six miles south of Yei town, "Kaya town" has grown spontaneously as a single street of shops, with a satellite at the 38-Miles milestone on the road. It is an amazing example of how a small community may thrive on a mostly illegal trade bred by a fancy of political geography.

Kaya ranks first in revenue among all markets within the district but as fees are collected on individuals, not on the quantity or value of goods offered for sale, it lags behind Yei town in other respects, with 38-Miles coming third in attendance. The population at these two smuggling centres include a large number of foreigners, some refugees from civil wars. Goods are displayed of an abundance and variety indicating a business comparable to that of Yei town or even of Juba. There even are a few women owners of restaurants, small hotels and cafés, though they sit

in the backseat in any other business than produce selling on all market places within the district.

Attendance at markets

The district council records indicate a daily average of attendance, for both men and women, as follows,

200 each at Yei and Kaya,

100 at 38-Miles,

80 at Iwatoka,

75 at Morobo,

65 at Pawaya,

60 at Lujulu,

50 at Mitika, Kirikwa, Umbassi Kakwa, Umbasi Kaliko,

45 at Kabangare,

35 at Isebe,

30 at Lungete,

20 at Lanya and Mundumude,

making a total of 1130 traders.

It is difficult to evaluate how many families are involved in that trade but the fact is that all people, even in the remotest areas of the district, are wearing clothes that could only be bought in shops or on market places. So, all must in some way be connected with the marketing world, though the small figures of attendance lead to the suspicion that most families are only conducting a very small amount of trade.

CHAPTER 3

YEI TOWN AND MARKETS

Yei town – The colonial legacy

On Independence Day, 1st January 1956, Yei was neither a village, nor a town, just a typical colonial station, divided into two halves. The northern half was occupied by a central market, the police lines and "native lodgings". Although there was ample ground available, the land allocated for residents was so restricted that they were, in fact, living in cramped conditions, with the following distribution of quarters,

Native lodgings,	138 men,	100 women,	238 total,
Market area,	50 men,	30 women,	80 total,

The statistical data on the southern half of Yei indicate the effects of segregation :

Native lodgings,	92 men,	63 women,	155 total,
Hospitals,	29 men,	1 woman,	30 total,
Officials,	143 men,	93 woman,	236 total,

So, the "officials", that is the British with their servants, were able to live in spacious conditions and in the midst of gardens, with help immediately available for all personal services.

The station, on the other hand, was already expanding at a quick pace, as shown by the difference between "de jure" and "de facto" populations. The former numbered 452 men in 739 inhabitants, thus an already high masculinity rate of 157, and the latter 857 men in 1352, an even higher masculinity rate of 173. Little true urbanisation, that is moving towards a settled family life in town, could be expected in such circumstances. Yei remained a service station where most people were living on a temporary basis.

Yei town today

Along with Juba, the provincial headquarters, Yei is one of the two agglomerations of Eastern Equatoria where a true adjustment to a new

urban way of life can be observed, but Yei remains smaller, and also more pleasant to look at, than Juba. A cooler and rainier climate helps in making trees, grass and flowers grow more easily. Right on arrival, from Juba, a tree-shaded avenue leads to a huge open space bordered with governmental offices. Further on, two market places stand side by side, one of them, for produce-selling women, has no buildings for their protection, but the other one provides two galleried shops and other facilities to merchants. Still further in the same northward direction, the old "native quarters" have been overwhelmed with waves of immigrants now occupying even the ground around the mosque that is beyond the colonial checkerboard.

Since Independence Day, the town has grown enormously. In 1979, the Council recorded a population of 4549 adult men, 5139 adult women and 11,475 children, thus a total of 21,163 inhabitants. The 1973 census had stood at the total figure of 10,868 of all ages, 5344 males, 5524 females. Besides the leap in size, indicating the presence of newcomers who cannot be expected to be fully urbanised, the obvious characteristic trait of the town population is the reversal of the sex ratio. There are now more women than men and this should help in changing general conditions though the direction such change will take remains unknown.

Social categories

As it stands, the socio-economic structure of the Yei town population remains so fluid that there is no clear demarcation to be observed in terms of classes or castes. At the level of the district, three social categories nevertheless may be defined, each one with its own structure.

The first category consists of peasants, cultivating their family land and keeping a few goats, sheep and chickens as a supplement to agricultural produce. Most of their food crops are kept for home consumption but from time to time, they offer coffee or tobacco for sale as they need money to satisfy immediate needs in imported goods, such as soap, matches, salt, etc. People in this category depend entirely on family land for the satisfaction of all their needs and most of them are living in rural areas but some of them are town dwellers.

Government servants make for the second category, with messengers, watchmen and others in menial jobs as well as the most highly educated residents in town. Their sole common characteristic is that they feel more secure than others because their salary provides them with a

stable source of income. Attitudes differ widely in relation to the level of such salary.

Then come the merchants. They too are a varied lot, some of them locals, others strangers to the town, some earning considerable incomes, others doing less well and few feeling secure in their way of life. There are rich men, with wide national and even international connections, able to sell coffee at such remote places as Djeddah, in Saudi Arabia. A second subcategory consists of shopkeepers and owners of eating and drinking places and a third one of women who brew and sell beer. The incomes of these women are not comparable to those of merchants and shopkeepers but they still stand far above those of women on the produce market. They are able to save some money for non-immediate needs. Such women operate at Yei town, Kaya and 38-Miles, and in isolated shops scattered all over the district.

Differences among social categories

Some peasants may rank as rich men, thanks to coffee plantations on which they maintain hired labour, but most people in the first category are living close to mere subsistence level.

A sense of security prevails within the second category but the salaries in menial, and even in relatively high jobs, stand at such a low level that they remain dissatisfied.

The contrast between rich and poor is even higher at the third category level. Shopkeepers cannot hope to earn anything comparable to the profit of big merchants, one of them a millionaire's son, a rare occurrence anywhere in the Sudan. Women in this category may do better than all others but at the price of social consequences about which more later in this study. It is, however, in respect of women that the three categories are most clearly differentiated. The peasants cling to a strict traditional division of labour which should give women a monopoly of the produce market. Nevertheless, males take care of the sale of coffee, adults on the general markets and little boys on the produce market, though at 38-Miles, I met a woman selling coffee from Zaire. Whether the same applies to other cash commercial crops I have been unable to verify.

Social and occupational mobility

There is very little social or occupational mobility. Even menial Government jobs, such as messengers, requiring no knowledge of the

English language, seldom go to peasants, though I met a few of both sexes.

For women of any extraction, beer brewing offers an opportunity to make money which has attracted females from rural areas as well as town dwellers but it often keeps them in a marginal position as we shall see when considering the beer market.

CHAPTER 4

THE TOWN MARKETS

Physical structure

What is usually described as "the Yei town market" consists in two distinct places, kept separate from each other by a road. Local produce is sold at one place, other goods along with some produce at the other. The local produce market is nothing more than an open space with a little stand where fees are paid to the tax collector. The area is fenced, so that sellers have to go in through the opening next to the tax office, but another opening is provided for the buyers. Almost all the sellers are women who distribute themselves according to the commodities they have to display for sale and there they remain exposed to sunshine and rain.

Across the road from the produce market, three rows of shops were erected for the convenience of general merchants, all men. A continuous gallery makes shopping more pleasant and provides shade for the tailors. There is also a separate roof for the butchers.

The market population – General

As many as four hundred women have been found to attend the produce market on a single day, though the average does not go above half that number. Almost all of them walk from and to homes which may be ten miles distant or even more, but a handful ride bicycles. All are daily commuters who pack everything left unsold and carry it on their heads so soon as they cease to expect buyers or have to buy something they need. Needless to say, they never can sell more than a small quantity of produce. A woman who needs more than can be acquired on the profit of a single day must take another long walk between home and town.

Most men on the general market are strangers to the town or even to Southern Sudan and some maintain contacts with Uganda, Zaire or Saudi

Arabia which may or may not be a matter of smuggling and black-marketing. Those who are not residents in town have bicycles or other means of transportation and, having the possibility of displaying more goods than those a woman can carry on her head, they carry trade at a much larger scale than women.

Everybody on the town market can speak the Yei dialect of the "Southern arabic" creole, even women coming from rural areas.

The shops on the general market place are not open outside the hours set for market trade.

The market population – Children

At the low stage of development reached in the Yei district, children are of great economic importance. They help in the production and marketing of produce to an extent beyond the level of a mere supplement. Girls, most of them schoolgirls, walk to the market alongside with their mothers, carrying as much as they can, a crucial factor in view of the limited quantity of produce the mother can take care of on her own head. Girls also help in selling but they do not, so far as I know, act as middlewomen and they never keep money for their own personal use, only to buy goods needed by the family.

Boys are another case, especially schoolboys. They sell matches, cigarettes, soap and other inexpensive articles on both markets and many act as middlemen. They even go wandering along the roads leading to town and they buy from housewives anxious to be back home as quickly as possible, before re-selling with a profit. Among boys of school age, some receive from home produce they can sell for their personal use. This is a way of paying for their school fees not only because many parents are too poor to pay them in another way but also because some regard school as a matter of low priority.

The beer market

Intoxicating beverages are sold on what is called the Beer market but this consists in pockets of houses located at several different places. There are three of them at Lomuku, north of the town proper, two at Dar es Salaam, the overcrowded site of the old native lodgings, others at Gigumuni, along Kaya Road, at Hella Lebani, south of the town, and

along the main roads to Aba and to Maridi. These are either densely populated quarters or roads much used by car or lorry drivers.

The right to sell liquor is subject to autorisation by the Council and to the payment of an annual fee. They may be closed on account of public disorder or of epidemic diseases, both frequent occurrences.

They serve a great variety of beverages brewed by the women themselves and known as "beer" for the sake of simplicity. I know of four popular ones : *duma*, made of honey ; *aragi*, made of *dura* ; *ganzuz*, made of sorghum ; *kunjumuru*, made of sesame. Manufactured beer is available at some places, the one most in demand being the *Makasi beer*, from *Isiro*, *Zaire*.

New position of men and women

Men so far benefited more than women from the measure of development brought about by the market trade. They even saw their male superiority strengthened, as expressed in a new concrete way when they come to the market riding bicycles rather than on foot. With very few exceptions, they alone sell goods of high value, including cash crops such as coffee, the most profitable of all, mangoes, pineapples, even tobacco, a newly commercialised traditional crop. In addition, they alone are given the opportunity of new sources of income, such as work on the many plantations in the area, one of them, *Kagelu*, in the immediate vicinity of *Yei town*, going back to the Belgian occupation of the *Lado Enclave*.

As a result, men show up on market places in much larger numbers than beforehand and in the position, unknown to tradition, of petty capitalists who sell not only to satisfy urgent needs but also to save money for later occasions.

Not so with women, whose position remains basically unchanged. They sell much the same produce as ever after having grown it much the same as in the past, and they still carry everything on their heads, which restricts both quantity and value of what they can offer for sale. As a result, most of the time, they have to spend on necessities all the money they earned on the market place before walking back home. Economic and social factors so combine to keep them in an inferior position although they have an almost exclusive responsibility for the welfare of their family. The same applies to the price system which applies to the economy of the area.

Prices and related topics

Marketing calls for fixed prices, a problem unknown to traditional African economies. Studying it in depth would call for an economic exercise which has no place in this anthropological research work but some first-hand observation clarified its relation to general conditions.

We may start with examples of prices as obtained on the Yei town markets in early 1980 and as expressed in piastres (pt) at the rate of one hundred piastres for one Sudanese pound. Women would sell durra at 15 pt for a small container, cassava at 5 pt a glass, groundnuts at 5 pt a handful, fresh boiled maize at 5 to 15 pt to a small container, sesame at 10 pt a glass, and 3 or 4 okras at 10 pt. In return, men on the general market offered them soap at 10 pt apiece, matches at 3 pt apiece (sic), salt at 10 pt a glass and cooking oil at the same rate, or 5 to 10 onions for 20 pt.

Note the fancy system of measures available to these women, as they cannot afford the scales and other gadgets indispensable for selling by weight, a situation which still obtains in Haiti and about which a law had to be passed in Belgium as late as the mid-nineteenth century (COMHAIRE-SYLVAIN 1984) but which comes as a severe handicap when competing with men able to evaluate a number of their goods in a more elaborate way and to resort to weighing when it comes to cash crops.

Women moreover sell perishable goods. They cannot keep them stored in anticipation of rising prices, even in the rare cases in which they might not be in urgent need of buying something. Their transactions smack of bartering rather than buying and selling in the way economists understand it.

To crown it all, produce prices are subject to seasonal variations and to occasional crises more than the goods usually sold to women. They depend largely on the local rains. Vegetables are available all through the year but all the staple diet of durra, cassava, maize and sesame becomes scarce in April, and scarcer and scarcer until it can be harvested from November on. The variable amount of money available to buy it, as much as of the quantity available for sale makes the price of okra jump up to 10 pt for three or four in June and go down one pt apiece in December. In June, no woman can carry on her head more than more than one hundred piastres worth of maize. Depending on the season, her burden may be worth between twenty five and two hundred piastres but even the highest amount will never enable her to save money for non-urgent needs. Female trade may be described as a single commodity cycle as agricultural

goods – sometimes but not always prepared – are sold only to buy more expensive articles. No accumulation of wealth can be obtained in such a way.

Social function of the market

By offering everybody an opportunity of exchanging goods, the market performs a social as well as an economic function. Different ethnic groups and social categories meet for interaction all through the year and views are exchanged beyond the level of bargaining on prices. New human relations are started, less personal than in the village and freer of traditional prejudices. The market place is a major medium of socialisation.

In analysing such function, politics have to be taken into account, even national politics, an ubiquitous factor in Southern Sudanese life. Politics inevitably play a role in increasing or reducing the attendance at market places, even in deciding the amount and nature of the goods sellers are ready to do business with, a situation in sharp contrast with the ignorance of such events displayed by peasants in Haiti, living not farther away than fifteen miles away from their capital city. All through seventeen years of disturbances moreover, villagers have been made to move forcibly from place to place, with inevitable damage done to both production and trade. As the buyers too hesitated or were just unable to attend, market places often remained half empty.

In addition, all markets are under Government control and any sign of political tension brings about stricter regulations. The beer market in particular was closed several times and until today police raids from time to time are ordered for the purpose of confiscating cigarettes and other smuggled articles.

Marital conditions in a changing society

All residents in Yei stick to the traditional family system. Marriage remains subject to the payment by the family of the bridegroom of bridewealth to the family of the bride. Modernisation however brought about the possibility of including imported manufactured articles, such as agricultural implements and, above all, money.

In case of disagreement between the two families, the judge may have to decide what the actual custom is today. The Liya B court, for instance, settled a case by fixing the bridewealth at forty goats, two heads

of cattle and twenty four Sudanese pounds. Courts however do not recognise any bride service that may be provided by custom in addition to the bridewealth. According to custom, the bridegroom may be requested to work on the land of his in-laws or to participate in the building of a house for them.

As to the termination of marriage, the divorced bridegroom must return in full the bridewealth of a wife who bore him no children. If there are children, the wife's family keeps one half of the bridewealth and in a few cases, the divorced wife retains a right to cultivate part of the land of her ex-husband. If the wife dies before completion of the payment, her family keeps what has been paid but is entitled to fuller payment only if there are children. After her husband's death, a widow usually keeps cultivating his land, but there exists a strong temptation for the children to divide their inheritance and, if they do, the mother's fate depends entirely on the good will of her offspring.

Marital use and control of income

The husband is bound to contribute financially to the maintenance of his family and if he fails to do so, a court case may be brought against him by his wife. In practice, his contribution seldom is a reliable source of income and the wife maintains the whole family on the product of her own work until the husband is willing to pay his share.

The wife's income, derived primarily on sales on the market place, is used without delay in buying consumer goods essential to the life of her family. Further needs are met, as we have seen and corresponding to answers to my questionnaires, by further walks and sales. They keep complaining that their husbands either lack money, being unemployed or working for a low salary, or spend it on drinks and women, which brings us to the matter of beer and prostitution.

Beer market and prostitution

The beer market creates an atmosphere clearly conducive to prostitution. Many illegitimate pregnancies originate in private beer houses and objections from their parents often make girls to decide for a life combining the sale of beer with prostitution. There is no alternative because these girls lack the educational background indispensable for regular employment, having devoted more time to their training in beer brewing and selling than in school attendance. Rejected by their parents

and still unmarried, they are not entitled by custom to a plot of land to cultivate, assuming that they would want to work on one. So, they are left entirely on their own, without any expectation of support from anyone, at the mercy of men ready to pay for sexual favours. The more they earn that way, the more desperate their case.

The implications of the "oldest profession" are far-reaching. Besides degrading the girls themselves, it contributes to quarrels between husbands and wives easily ending in separation. The husbands neglect their families and the wives are laughed at for not being able to keep them straight, even by the husbands themselves.

On a point of information, it may be mentioned that the custom of temporary marriages, which has spread from traders to Ethiopian Christians, has at least the advantage of giving girls in search of "sugar daddy" merchants some respite in their quest for a living and, above all, of giving their children a legitimate status.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

Summary of conditions

My inquiries led me to asking how much people have to change their way of life so as to benefit from a new economic order and, secondly, how those left disadvantaged by economic change may manage to improve their new position. Markets usually are deemed to help by fulfilling a fundamental need for goods thanks to a fair exchange of them, with or without the use of money, because they are open to all and sundry. But the law of offer and demand does not always operate in a fair way. It is only theoretically that markets can be found always to work in the way they are expected to do.

For instance, the Yei women stand in a non-competitive position because they are refused many facilities enjoyed by men only. The female sellers of produce have to cultivate the land before selling the crops and they moreover have to maintain households, doing all the domestic work. This comes as a first and serious handicap. Trading to them means sacrificing for a while their family duties. If they leave their home in the custody of a daughter, the girl loses one day at school. There is no end to the consequence and there never is a husband ready to accept a share in such responsibilities.

The cash profit that can be expected from trade is restricted in many ways particular to women. This starts with the physical limitation to the amount of good any human being can carry on his head and once on her way, the woman is in for a return journey which may imply walking ten or fifteen miles, thus spending a whole day and a considerable amount of energy for a meagre result. Riding a bicycle would make it easier but earning the surplus needed for acquiring such help is out of question. Women cannot even think of buying scales or standard containers for a proper evaluation of articles offered for sale. All the money they earn in a day must go to the satisfaction of immediate family needs.

The relevant authorities at the same time never offer women anything more than open spaces entered on payment of a fee.

Male vendors are in a better position, their goods are more highly valued and usually non-perishable, thus giving them an easier start. Whether shopkeepers or middlemen, they can give elasticity to their business by withdrawing goods when poorly priced, storing them for a while and also making use of external contacts out of the reach of the women who are all mere peasants. As a result, they have more control of prices, even on those of produce they must buy from women.

Even peasant men, when forced to come to the market place, are not pushed by the same irresistible pressure as exercised on women, and they find themselves in a better position when they show up on the market place. They may be restricted by their limited capacity to control prices which only exists as regards coffee and tobacco, but their fundamental advantage over women is that they are not compelled to participate in domestic duties in time and often even in money. This is the way they can earn a surplus which in turn brings further advantages about, such as the possibility of buying a bicycle.

Let us at the same time mention that both sexes suffer from the inconvenience of either walking or riding poor tracks and roads, the improvement of which would help in reducing a severe handicap of peasants in their transactions with townsmen.

Recommendations

I have heard and read on several occasions the following recommendations recorded in the archives of the Yei District Council.

1. That family decisions should be made by couples rather than by husbands using their prerogatives of household heads,

2. That husbands should encourage their wives in participating in public activities,

3. That parents should not regard as degrading that their daughters indulged in traditional activities, such as old time dancing,

4. That wider educational opportunities be opened to women,

5. That cooperative societies be recognised as sole buyers of local produce,

6. That political and executive organs should take the lead in fighting the blackmarketing and smuggling of goods.

On the other hand, I heard the following recommendations presented at the conclusion of debates I attended,

7. That women should be discouraged from brewing and selling beer,
8. That more marketing centres be opened in rural areas,
9. That production be fostered as a way of keeping prices under control.

Social recommendations

Recommendations 1 to 4 and 7 are of a social character. They can only succeed, as I understand it, through the implementation or recommendation N° 4, on the provision of more and better educational facilities for women. In the school year 1975-76, there were fourteen primary schools in the District, with a registered population of 3,924 boys, as against 1,869 girls only. The total population of the District included 33,372 boys and 30,390 girls. Thus, during that school year approximately 11 per centum of the boys and 6 per centum of the girls enjoyed the benefits of education in primary schools. As all boys and girls under 16 are recorded in such statistics, it follows that about 33 per centum of the boys of school age but no more than 18 per centum of the girls are attending primary schools located within the District.

Many are expecting that it would be enough to provide school education in order to see women be more respected by their husbands and allowed a share in decision-making at home as well as participation in public life. Education, however, cannot do it alone. All human beings learn more at home and in the company of friends than at school. The help of other social forces, both traditional and modern, is indispensable to a change in attitudes. All over the District, tradition ignores the concept of husband-companion rather than master in the house, and women are kept out of traditional public offices, except perhaps as rainmakers.

On the other hand, women have always be welcome at cultural traditional events, such as dancing. A ban on drum dancing for a long time followed its condemnation by missionaries of European origins. The situation in this respect has already improved. Now that drums are no more banned from church services, the local school girls are even encouraged at beating them in accompaniment of Sunday masses, women should feel freer to dance than beforehand. But this cannot be regarded as a decisive point.

What may be more significant is that the tradition has actually collapsed for some privileged women, members of the Sudanese Socialist Union or professionals such as doctors and others engaged in medical and

social services. Let us hope they will act as leaders, showing the way to others, an aim which will only be obtained through concerted efforts of all public and private organisations at work in the District.

Beer brewing

The recommendation on the repression of beer brewing and selling by women calls for two considerations. On one hand, women today have economic responsibilities which they can only meet by earning money. It depends largely on men that women are enabled to take a sufficient share in the maintenance of the family whenever money is needed for the purpose. On the other hand, the income of women outside beer brewing should not be expected to meet all the expenses that men today decline to meet. This brings us back to other social and economic recommendations.

Regarding this issue, I think that the numbers of beer licenses should only be reduced on a par with the opening of new opportunities for women left unemployed. This should include training for new occupations and allocations of land with the allocation of the facilities needed to make cultivation profitable to women left uncovered by both tradition and new mores.

Economic recommendations – Production

From the economic point of view, the most interesting recommendation is that production should be increased. All right, but how can it be done? P.D.U. (Project Development Unit), a Ministry of Agriculture service, is attempting an improvement of the standards of local produce through new varieties of crops and technical advice. For instance, they have developed a variety of dura which grows faster than others and one of groundnuts that is more productive. Their technical assistance work, on the other hand, does not consist in action on individuals or on individual families. They contact community leaders and let them call groups of peasants to pieces of land where they can work according to the advice and under the supervision of PDU field assistants.

One of the problems is that some peasants eat all the new harvest before sowing the seeds of the old variety of crop again. Sometimes they turn the new dura into beer. Another problem is that too many villages are located far from all roads or tracks of easy access to the vehicles that PDU fieldworkers are using. It should be noted that their field staff includes nutrition experts as well as agricultural extension officers.

PDU also maintains a marketing section but from the documentation at my disposal, it was impossible to verify how effective their marketing officers are in helping the peasants to sell their produce more easily and at better prices.

Marketing

Several recommendations are dealing with the marketing problem. One is that more market places should be opened in rural areas. As trade is free before Sudanese law, it seems to me that the authorities should leave the actual decision to the peasants themselves but follow them without delay by providing operational facilities to the markets so born of felt needs.

Another recommendation is that cooperatives should be the sole buyers of produce. Those who are taking that view claim that the peasants are too easily cheated, due to their ignorance of prevailing economic conditions. The cooperative then would offer them some protection. But everywhere in Africa, cooperatives have run into trouble when wanting to extend their activities too quickly and too far, their structures and ways of understanding business being too far away from traditional practices. It would be safer that they remained chiefly consumers co-operatives, supplying the peasants with better articles at lower prices and leaving them free to face competition on the market places according to their own judgment.

In any case, considering that all over the District, there are today no more than fourteen cooperatives, with just about one thousand members, generalising cooperative business would be the work of many years. In the mean time, the cooperatives offer an interesting example of what can be done at the local level and it may be mentioned that there is better relationship between men and women involved in the cooperative movement than in other innovations in the economic order. But the rigid structure of European cooperatives contradicts the easier-going ways of the rotating credit clubs (sanduk in the Sudan, from the arabic for box) known in so many African and Afro-American societies.

Administration of Economic affairs

The success or otherwise of cooperatives and other new aids to the peasants depends on the existence of an efficient administrative organisation. This also applies to projects that should be launched for a

better control of prices, repression of smuggling and of blackmarketing, etc.

As regards price control, essential articles for sale today are allocated to individual traders and to cooperatives on a quota basis decided by Government services. The retailers have to sell them at fixed prices. The rule applies, for instance, to sugar and to kerosene, and there is moreover a strict control exercised over the meat trade. District committees keep an eye on market places in order to secure the proper respect of official prices. But, needless to say, the machine does not work as well as desirable. Goods are retained in the expectation of rising prices and of sales under the counter.

Smuggling comes as another problem, originating mostly at Kaya, where the political geography makes control practically impossible at a point where three different countries meet together. It has been suggested that lorries should not be permitted to travel during the night and also that the market place should be removed to a site deeper into Sudanese territory. But a proper control of lorries would involve cooperation at an international level which seems difficult to obtain and as to Kaya, this market is the result of spontaneous development through forces which must be expected to operate independently of State law. The presence on the spot of a better-trained and better-equipped staff might bring some improvement about without giving up the principle of freedom of trade or trying to divert a natural flow of goods.

TABLES

TABLE 1. — *Population of Yei market by sex and ethnic group*

Ethnic group	Sample 1		Sample 2		Sample 3	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Kakwa	60	107	24	83	0	6
Kuku	9	19	7	12	0	2
Fajelu	10	15	5	10	1	2
Dinka	20	3	1	0	0	0
Bari	2	2	1			
Nilote Pastoralists	101	146	37	105	1	10
Kaliko	7	9	3	6	0	2
Avukaya	7	8	2	6	0	1
Moro	4	8	2	6	0	1
Lugbari	6	2	1	1	0	0
Azande	2	3	0	3	0	1
Mundu	5	4	1	3	0	0
Makraka	4	3	1	2	0	1
Central Sudanic and E. Nigritic Agricult.	35	37	10	27	0	6
"Nubi"					1	3
"Uganda"					0	2
Unclassified					1	5
Grand totals	136	183	47	132	3	26

TABLE 2. — *Attendance of women at Yei town market*

Status	Numbers	Attendance		
		Daily	Weekly	Monthly
Married	39	35	2	2
Separated	20	20		
Divorced	5	5		
Widowed	12	7	2	3
Single	12	7	5	
Totals	88	74	9	5

Attendance does not look significantly related to marital status. Schoolgirls may be attending school and in the case of widows, the matter may be related to age.

TABLE 3. - *Yei town market, Answers to questionnaire*

- a. Distribution by sex : 28 males, 60 females
- b. Distribution by age : 20 young, 57 m.a., 11 old
- c. d^o by religion : 60 Christ., 20 Muslims, 8 traditional
- d. d^o place or birth : 50 Yei R.D., 12 E. Equat., 9 Rest Sudan, 17 foreign
- e. Residence : 40 Yei town, 44 Yei R.D., 2 Juba, 2 elsewhere
- f. Marital status : 33 married, 10 separated, 9 divorced, 11 widows, 25 single
- g. Family role : 15 financial supply, 40 domestic work and marketing, 18 both, 15 helping d.w. and m.
- h. Market attendance : 55 daily, 25 weekly, 8 monthly
- i. Reasons for attending : 20 to sell, 10 to buy, 30 both
- j. Education : 50 none, 25 started primary, 6 completed prim., 6 junior, 1 religious, 0 senior or higher
- k. Employment : 49 self, 6 unpaid family, 2 employed, 31 unemployed
- l. Occupation : 35 farming, 20 marketselling, 1 Government, 16 study, 16 ?
- m. Goods sold : 20 fruits, 20 vegetables, 18 durra, beans, 5 wood, charcoal, 7 bread, etc., 1 labour power, 2 cash crops, 15 beer
- n. Goods bought : 40 foodstuff, 8 clothes, 18 manufactured articles, 5 d^o imported, 20 intermediate
- o. Sources of goods sold : 40 family farm, 13 forest, 2 river, 25 market or local sellers, 8 ?
- p. Participation in production of goods sold : 8 individual, 45 immediate family, 10 extended family, 14 collective, 2 hired labour, 9 ?
- q. Conclusion on profitability of market trade : 35 positive, 53 negative

General comments on tables

Table 1 is made of random samples taken on three different days. It shows how women always are more numerous than men but the female majority is not as overwhelming as in production. The marketing of produce by women clearly does not stand on a par with the marketing of meat and of manufactured goods by men. Even on market places, men have a share in the business above their share in the production of goods.

The male majority among some ethnic groups (Dinka, Bari, Lugbari, Makraka) is explained by their distance from home combined, as regards the Dinka, with the fact that most meat sellers and butchers belong to that ethnic group, which is somewhat contrary to their traditional reluctance to kill cattle.

From Table 2, it appears that attendance at the market does not relate significantly to marital status. Schoolgirls may be attending school and widows may be hampered by old age.

On Table 3, the data on profitability included as much checking as possible but they have to be regarded as of higher psychological than economic value.

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