

A Collective Struggle: Cotton Production by and for a Fulbe Sufi Brotherhood in Postcolonial Southeastern Senegal

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Abstract: By presenting the understudied history of Médina Gounass and its offshoot, Madina Hudda, two Pulaar-speaking Sufi brotherhoods in southeastern Senegal, the article contributes to the scholarship on postcolonial cotton production, on Sufi orders and the secular state, and ethnic relations in Senegal. Whereas cotton industry practices in West Africa turned “brother against brother,” farmers at Madina Hudda used cotton production to sustain their brotherhood. Yet this community ultimately coalesced around ethnicity, a phenomenon discordant with Senegal’s reputation for cultural pluralism. The case thereby contrasts with the better-known history of peanut production, ‘Wolofization,’ and the Sufi Murid order’s longevity and financial and political success. The literature on Senegalese brotherhoods considers the Umarian Tijani order of Médina Gounass peripheral to and isolated from the Senegalese state, but my research finds that they have profound connections to the state and privatized parastatals. The Umarian community of Upper Casamance produced remarkable quantities of cotton. Scholars questioned whether and how that production undermined the order’s cohesion. The article argues that cotton was one reason for the schism, but more significantly, that for the members of Madina Hudda cotton represents the importance of collective struggle for a brotherhood. This case suggests that the cohesion of a Sufi order relies on disciples’ sense of belonging to a community in which they share a concern for a common endeavor, earthly and/or divine. Not meekly deferential to their religious authorities, disciples defended their economic and political interests collectively. Although their actions could be interpreted as fighting for individual freedoms, they insisted that their efforts were centered on their shared identities as first-settlers, as essential workers, and most importantly as Sufi adepts.

Keywords: Sufi, Fulbe, labor, neocolonialism, parastatal

Introduction

Studies of commercialized cotton production in colonial and postcolonial Africa have found that it often impoverished and weakened families and communities while it sometimes enriched certain individuals. Given “the healthy play of individual initiative found in West Africa,” some men and women profited from growing cotton for export.¹ Yet the industry has also produced unhealthy competition and social conflicts.² The 1980s *caution solidaire* [surety] system, in which companies took unpaid debts from village associations rather than the indebted individuals, turned “brother against brother.”³ This article considers a case in which cotton production contributed to a communal schism in the 1970s, before the surety policy. In the 1980s, despite the system, a new community formed and supported itself by producing

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cotton. Unlike their Senegalese counterparts, farmers of Madina Hudda insisted that cotton represented their brotherhood. While they hoped to ingratiate themselves with the cotton company, they also sought to assert their political claim to the town of Médina Gounass based on their labor and that of their forefathers.

From the 1960s to early 1970s, the Umarian Tijani Sufi community of Médina Gounass in Upper Casamance produced remarkable amounts of cotton. But for some reason they stopped in 1972 or 1975—depending on the source and the explanation—which will be assessed below. In 1978 the community divided violently and clashes have continued. Scholars have disagreed on why exactly the community split, particularly the extent to which cotton production was a factor. This article argues cotton was a reason for the schism but that cotton serves as a proxy for other socio-economic, ethnic, and political factors. Most notably cotton stands for a sense of communal belonging built on labor. In interviews about the history of cotton cultivation, farmers and current members of Madina Hudda, the offshoot of Médina Gounass, spoke of their hard work to belong to a Sufi community. Even though cash-cropping can be individuating, they contended that it was grounded in collective action. Cotton production promoted the establishment of their new brotherhood. The article discusses how these producers explained their experience in a global commodity chain in local terms. While outsiders described them as “poor farmers,” these men spoke of their successes, despite their sufferings, thereby making claims of belonging to specific religious, political, and economic groups.

The violent political, ethnic, and religious schism of Médina Gounass—which began in 1978—has not yet tarnished Senegal’s image as a peaceful and “good” Islamic (i.e. secular) nation, in part because the literature has considered the community isolated from and peripheral to the country’s core.⁴ My research finds however that the community was profoundly connected to state institutions and therefore serves as a useful contrastive case to the remarkable cohesion and continuity of the Muridiyya, which is well known for its economic and political integration with the state.⁵ This article thereby contributes to scholarship that challenges Senegalocentrism and Muridocentrism.⁶ It shares affinity to West Africanist literature on migration. The residents of Médina Gounass first came from elsewhere to settle the area in 1936, and many moved there since. This case speaks to the ways West African migrants have struggled to form virtuous lives in new places.⁷

Researchers have disagreed on why Médina Gounass split. Journalist Moriba Magassouba did not see Senegal in 1985 as a strong example of “good Islam” and feared the repercussions of the 1979 Iranian Islamic Revolution. In particular, he “exaggerated the hostility of the Umarians” as had the French in the nineteenth century.⁸ He depicted Mamadou Seydou Ba (the founder of Médina Gounass) as a despot who sought to curtail his disciples’ economic independence in 1975 by banning cotton cash cropping despite having originally led his disciples to undertake it in 1964, thereby instigating a “veritable tribal war” between the “*Peul*” (Fulbe/Pulaar-speakers) disciples who grew cotton and the recently arrived “*Toucouleur*” (Futanke/Pulaar-speakers from the former kingdom of Futa Toro on the Senegal River) disciples who did not.⁹ Historian Abderrahmane N’Gaidé acknowledged that “many thought” the dispute was over cotton, but he instead attributed it to a disagreement over the 1978 election for a new *communauté rurale* [rural council] that would administer land tenure. N’Gaidé rejected the notion of ethnic conflict and argued that it was a struggle over land and political

representation.¹⁰ However, scholar Ed van Hoven suspected that “there was more at stake than just a dispute over economic resources.”¹¹ Indeed, what was at stake was farmers’ sense of belonging to and influence in the community. As dutiful disciples and hard workers, they believed they were entitled to political representation and religious higher education.

This research on Senegalese cotton production began at the cotton company headquarters in Tambacounda, *Sénégal Oriental* (Eastern Senegal), but the retired *encadreurs* (extension agents) interviewed in French suggested a visit to Médina Gounass because it had produced memorable quantities. Most interviewees were men, though a few were women. The article therefore concentrates on men’s fellowship but addresses women’s communal participation to the extent possible.

Investigating cotton production in Médina Gounass in 2008–9, 2013, and 2016 embroiled the research in tensions between the town’s two religious congregations and political factions that had clashed violently multiple times between 1978 and 2003.¹² We were initially unable to arrange interviews with individuals and had to do separate group interviews with representatives and leaders from each side, although some individuals from both sides later approached us to talk privately or anonymously to clarify or counter their group’s answers. Cotton company agents, religious community leaders, and disciples each told their own version of history to assert moral and political claims. This article assesses the interviews’ “insider” or “outsider” perspectives, their possible motivations, and relates their ethical arguments.

Admittedly, current issues—especially dissatisfaction with the contemporary cotton company—stimulated the interviews more than older events. Nonetheless, archived documents highlight and date the interviews’ historical aspects. References to Médina Gounass exist in reports by state officials and cotton company agents from 1945 to 1987, though post-1959 documents were difficult to obtain, as were specific figures of cotton production by town and prices by year. For that information, interviews were conducted with retired cotton company agents in Senegal and in France in 2010. Academic texts written in French and English from 1964 to 2010 also include translations of writings in Arabic and sermons in Pulaar by Mamadou Seydou Ba, the founder of Médina Gounass. As David Robinson observed, even though Senegalese historiography understates ethnicity, it is sometimes relevant.¹³ Taking the disparate sources seriously, the article focuses on the key moments interviewees emphasized: the founding of Médina Gounass in 1936, the following era of communal solidarity, the cotton boom of the 1960s, the challenges of the 1970s, and the new associations of the 1980s.

Founding a Sufi Brotherhood: Religious Authority versus First-Settlers’ Claim

Origin stories and historical narratives underpin the legitimacy of authority and political claims. Médina Gounass is considered a serious religious center because it was established by Mamadou Seydou Ba who was taught by El Hadj Ali Thiam whose father had been a follower of the famous Al Hajj Umar Tal. Academics remark that Ba’s apprenticeship with Thiam and his own *baraka* (divine grace/blessing/spiritual power) attracted followers.¹⁴ Yet Peul residents now claim that they built the town not just physically but morally.¹⁵

Scholars of Sufi Brotherhoods strive to portray the nuanced relationships between *marabouts* (Muslim holy men/guides/teachers/leaders) and *taalibe* (disciples/members of Sufi orders) accurately. The classic, if caricatural, model held that marabouts ruled their disciples’ religious, economic, and political lives absolutely. Scholars now recognize that disciples’ insistence on their obedience to marabouts reflects the importance of submission as a Sufi virtue

more than it reflects their actual obedience.¹⁶ Disciples choose which marabout to follow and when.¹⁷ This tension envelops the founding and the division of Médina Gounass.

In interviews, the men who represented the cotton farmers and members of Madina Hudda and the representatives of Mamadou Seydou Ba's successor Amadou Tidiane Ba, the current leader of Médina Gounass, all traced their origins to Middle Casamance. At Médina El Hadj, outside of Kolda, El Hadj Ali Thiam had by the 1920s established classic Senegalese Sufi principles and practices: cultivation and obedience.¹⁸ He taught disciples to "pray, study, and farm," particularly to "respect authority" and to "toil the soil" of the *ngessa ceerno* (teacher's field) one morning a week on *dawol ceerno* (the teacher's morning) to fill the treasury to feed the needy.¹⁹ Mamadou Seydou Ba continued these practices at Médina Gounass through the 1960s. But by the 1970s, practices changed and so did the historical narrative.

During the first group interview with cotton farmers at Médina Gounass one farmer yelled "this is Madina Hudda!" to emphasize the distinction.²⁰ Since the schism, the town and especially the central neighborhood, Madina, go by two names: officially Médina Gounass, but the Peul residents call it Madina Hudda (Medina proper).²¹ After that first interview, another farmer explained that the current second imam, Abdul Hayi Diallo, who had arranged the initial group meeting, should have succeeded Mamadou Seydou Ba because it was his father, Ibrahima Diallo, who was the real founder. The farmer's story started in Kolda when Ba left with a hundred and thirteen household heads, and another marabout, Ibrahima Diallo, also left Médina El Hadj, following the death of El Hadj Ali Thiam in 1935, with many more *Fulakundaabe* (transhumant agropastoralists autochthonous to Casamance). "Their leader in Kolda—presumably Thiam on his deathbed but with foresight—instructed Ba to stay with the Fulakundaabe when they set out to find a new place to live. He told Ba, 'if they stop, go no further; stay with them.'" On their journey eastwards, the Fulakundaabe with Ibrahima Diallo stopped at a village, but Ba continued onwards. The Fulakundaabe built shelters, cleared land, sowed fields, and the seeds had even started to sprout when they heard that Ba was calling them to another village called Gounass. The men obeyed Ba's summons, abandoning everything they had done. Moving to and establishing Médina Gounass was difficult for them since they had to start all over late in the rainy season.²² This narrative portrays the Fulakundaabe followers of Ibrahima Diallo holding the moral high ground since they made sacrifices to obey Ba's call, while Ba had supposedly disobeyed Thiam's instructions. Their hard work settling the area established their descendants' claim to the town.

Both the individual's and group's narratives of suffering and obedience reinforced the legitimacy of their new brotherhood of Madina Hudda. Though their fathers had decided to follow Ba in 1935, the cotton farmers did not in 1978.²³ Scholars recognize African Muslims as "demiurgic subjects consciously engaged in reshaping their own history."²⁴ Hanretta noted that the "use of suffering and martyrdom as a key element of group distinction is widespread among West African Sufi orders" and that a "sacred narrative of salvific suffering" in his study "provided the impetus for the community's cohesiveness."²⁵ Any interview in Médina Gounass about cotton farming could not be separated from issues of belonging to and suffering for a brotherhood.

The disciples who joined Ba in 1936 were Pulaar-speakers. A few, like Ba, were Toucouleur (*Futanke* from Futa Toro on the Upper Senegal River in the north); some were *Fulakundaabe*; and many were *Gaibunke* (sedentary agropastoralist Fulbe originally from the Kaabu region in

Portuguese Guinea to the south). More of the settlers were of slave than noble heritage, following the demographics of Senegambia, and thus had fewer animals and were accustomed to agricultural work, though even nobles had to adjust to farm labor since French conquest. Fulakundaabe society, divided simply between the minority descended from nobles (*Rimbe*) and the majority from slaves (*Jiyaabe*), was not as stratified as was Toucouleur society which had numerous castes.²⁶

Men came seeking educational opportunity and social support, particularly an environment free from social antagonism as was promised by initiation into Médina Gounass. Like the well-known Sufi Murids in central Senegal, they “aspired to be a part of a community bound by mutual trust, fraternity, and solidarity.”²⁷ Ba hosted a new arrival for a probationary period and then asked him to introduce himself and his geographic origins to the community. Ba welcomed him if he submitted to Ba as the arbiter of Islamic law and to the community’s discipline, if he attended the mosque, would never wrong others, would “not involve himself in matters that did not concern him,” would “stay in his place,” and would “stay equal to others.”²⁸ By submitting, the disciple promised to avoid village squabbles. He then chose which neighborhood to live in and his neighbors built him a home and fed him until he could feed himself. In the early decades, every able-bodied man received land to cultivate and could also clear the surrounding forest and claim that plot as his own.²⁹ Disciples worked for each other, for themselves, and specifically not in competition. As in other Senegalese Sufi orders, taalibe chose a spiritual guide to follow and a community in which to participate. Taalibe volunteered to serve not only God and the marabout but also each other. Together they created a new system of solidarity even while it had a hierarchical social structure.³⁰

At Médina Gounass, disciples were attracted to the community’s religious camaraderie. In town, similar to the Sufi Murid *daara tarbiya* (place of soul education) that secluded male disciples to improve “their bonds,” Ba expected disciples to pray together publically and aloud every day, not just on Fridays.³¹ Outside of town at the *Daaka* (gathering; annual retreat in the wilderness), disciples left worldly attachments for days or weeks to get closer to God. There each disciple was to recite the Surah Al-Fatiha (the opening prayer) from three to twelve thousand times according to his capability. Such effort was interspersed by sermons, readings, and the Sufi rituals of *zikr* (rhythmic prayers), *hadra* (collective celebration), and polite visits between the different pilgrims. Through these bonding exercises, they were to develop *tahābub* (mutual love among disciples).³²

There were limits to this amiability, however, especially concerning marriage. If a new disciple did not already have a wife, Ba arranged for him to be married and paid a small amount of bride wealth if necessary. The majority of Gaabunke and Fulakundaabe marital unions however were endogamous so that the groom and bride came from the same sub-ethnic group and social class, if not within the same extended family. Later exceptions would prove disconcerting to some noble Peul brides’ fathers who discovered after the fact that their daughters’ Toucouleur or Mauritanian husbands were of slave descent. Yet Ba maintained that he respected fathers’ authority over their daughters more than did other marabouts.³³

Indeed, Ba and his male disciples respected each other’s authority for decades. Since the founding, “the Peul exercised their right of *jargaya* (chieftancy). Ba entrusted the collection of state taxes to the *jaarga* (traditional chiefs) of each of the town’s “villages” (neighborhoods) who took shares of the levies.³⁴ Coulon remarked that Sufi marabouts avoided commanding their disciples by delegating brotherhoods’ organization to “ministers” suggesting that the

brotherhoods functioned as a kind of government.³⁵ In 1968, Wane wrote that the Senegalese state “had the good taste not to ignore but to recognize the autonomy” of Médina Gounass, which in turn had accepted the state’s agrarian services. Rather than assess whether Médina Gounass was “practically independent” and acted as a “state within a state,” this article considers disciples’ sense of political representation within the community. Wane described Mamadu Yoro Jallo (Diallo), the jaarga of the main quarter, Madina, as the “Minister of the Interior” who relayed Ba’s directives.³⁶ But by 1984, Sall Sidi Mouhamed Diop remarked that the town’s organization was only “pseudo-decentralized” and that “jaarga” had been reduced to an honorary title. After the 1978 schism, “Mamadou Diallo, an old Peul, [...] was replaced by a Toucouleur named Abu Bakri Ba.”³⁷

Accommodating the State

The community’s original cohesiveness had attracted disciples and the state. In April 1948, colonial agents from the *Société Indigène de Prévoyance* (SIP) [Native Provident Association] arrived to distribute peanut and cereal seeds in advance of June sowings and thereby imposed taxation.³⁸ Whereas scholars have characterized Médina Gounass as isolated and independent from the state and considered the SIP and state taxes minor exceptions to that isolation, they are nothing of the sort.³⁹ For most Senegalese, their main interaction with the colonial state was forced cultivation for the SIP.⁴⁰ Given this colonial context, disciples sought out the education and social conditions at Médina Gounass, even if fieldwork was required, as Searing argued was the case in earlier Murid settlements.⁴¹

Mamadou Seydou Ba accommodated colonialism as had previous Senegalese Sufis.⁴² In 1956, Ba allowed French officials to set up polling places in Médina Gounass for the legislative election in which the once colonial subjects voted for representatives. Médina Gounass was the only *bureau de vote* in Vélingara, the administrative area, where the *Section française de l’internationale ouvrière, fédération sénégalaise* (SFIO), the party the French administration favored, did better than the *Bloc Démocratique Sénégalais* (BDS), which won overall and sent Léopold Senghor and Mamadou Dia to the National Assembly in Paris.⁴³ This first election suggests that the older colonial regime, Ba, and the Médina Gounass voters, however few in number, were in alignment.

After independence in 1960, Ba continued to work with the state that looked to his followers’ collective labor to contribute to nation building. Development experts considered the “industrious population” of Médina Gounass an asset for the Upper Casamance region.⁴⁴ The government put up a warehouse for the *Comité Régional d’Assistance pour le Développement* (CRAD) adjacent to the town’s main mosque. The CRAD warehouse was the only government building in town—it symbolized the state’s presence and its offer of agricultural material to citizens. From 1945 to 1964, the holy city’s population had almost tripled from 1,350 residents to 4,000. Fifty-five percent were Gaabunke from Portuguese Guinea, twenty-five percent were Toucouleur from the Senegal River, and the remaining twenty percent were Fulakundaabe from Casamance or other.⁴⁵ From 1964 to 1975, these agriculturalists worked together along with the state and a French company to produce spectacular economic results.

Cotton by and for the Community

In the 1960s, cotton production in France's former West African colonies soared, most notably in Senegal, and especially at Médina Gounass. From 1964 to 1975 Senegal had one of the "most modernized" cotton industries in sub-Saharan Africa and produced the highest yields in francophone West Africa.⁴⁶ The "unexpectedly rapid expansion" and "remarkable development" of cotton production in southeastern Senegal demonstrated the "cotton vocation" of Vélingara, the administrative home of Médina Gounass.⁴⁷ In 1965, the governor reported that the town's marabout achieved one of the best yields.⁴⁸

Contrary to the assessments of marabouts as slave drivers and of cotton cultivation as euphemistically "disciplined" labor, interviewed cotton farmers—including Hamadou Abderahmane Baldé (b. 1940) and Amadou Tidiane Amadou Mbalo (b. 1942)—stressed that the community had grown a notable amount from 1964 to 1971 not because of coercion, technical instruction, prices, or good soils and rains, but because "everyone worked together." Including "Ceerno (teacher) Ba" who dealt with the cotton company to ensure the community's interests.⁴⁹ The cotton boom coincided with the last years of unity and collective effort, as did memories of both. Recounting the early days of cotton production reminded farmers of when everyone in the community, including Ba's "Toucouleur ministers," engaged in agriculture and respected each other's authority, in contrast to the social divisions that developed over the 1970s. By the 1980s, residents fought over prices. But considering the earlier years, interviewees argued for the virtuousness of their voluntary collective labor, to which they would later reference to support their political claims.

In 1963, an agent from the *Compagnie française pour le développement des fibres textiles* (CFDT) asked Mamadou Seydou Ba to conduct cotton trials at Médina Gounass given its geographic location and labor organization. Ba agreed and delegated the project to Ousmane Thiam, the son of his teacher El Hadj Ali Thiam. Ousmane was Ba's "Minister of Finances and Minister of Foreign Affairs" who collected communal, religious, and state taxes and who dealt with the government, including CRAD.⁵⁰ The trial succeeded and in 1964 the dutiful disciples of Médina Gounass sowed ten hectares of cotton, the largest surface area of any single locality in CFDT's operation zone in Senegal, as the governor boasted.⁵¹ They had added cotton to the community's plots of millet, peanuts, rice, and fruit orchards.⁵² Most of the cotton fields belonged to Ba, were overseen by Ousmane Thiam, and were cultivated by Ba's taalibe. Some of the cotton fields, however, belonged to individual householders, including Ousmane Thiam who worked a couple himself with his youngest brother, Mohamadou Ali "Baaba Galle" (Father of the House) Thiam, their father's namesake. Through 1971, acreage and production increased dramatically. Former CFDT agents remembered Médina Gounass as the largest producer in francophone West Africa in 1971.⁵³

Despite CFDT's record of coercion in Mali and Côte d'Ivoire, the men in the community chose to grow cotton to serve the brotherhood and themselves because it was profitable.⁵⁴ The interviewees' depiction of cotton production as cooperation and of Ba as their intermediary with the company corresponds to portrayals by both Searing and Villalón of Murid peasant peanut cultivation as simply collective cash-cropping rather than religious compulsion.⁵⁵ Disciples quickly saw benefits despite initial doubts. For example, when Malick Kandé had sown CFDT's seeds, his neighbors asked him what he was going to do with the crop since it was inedible. He replied that he "believed the man [a CFDT agent] who had promised to buy it." The price, between fifteen to thirty francs per kilo, was higher than the prices for peanuts or grains that had to go through either Ousmane Thiam and the government or informal and

illegal markets. The expected yield for cotton was also more dependable because CFDT provided all the inputs locally and directly. There were no delays or shortages of seed, fertilizer, or other inputs as there sometimes were for peanuts, which Thiam had to bring from distant Kaolack to fill the warehouse. In the 1960s, Kandé did most of the work himself since his sons were young, although organizing a *kilé*, in which his wife prepared his male neighbors a meal in return for their help, was sufficient when he needed extra labor. After several years, Kandé was able to pay a few young men to cultivate a hectare for him. Thus, the neighbors' solidarity paid off for all of them.⁵⁶ Today, farmers outside of Médina Gounass recall the CFDT agents as the "white men with cash" who "weighed and paid" the same day, rather than making farmers wait weeks to redeem vouchers, as was the case for peanuts.⁵⁷

The interviewees of Madina Hudda, however, remembered problems with the French—Messieurs Coulier, Robert, and Blain—and that "Cerno" Ba stood up to them. They spoke of "black solidarity" against the "whites," which parallels a brotherhood's unity against corrupt forces. In one story, Ba learned that the French supervisor was unjustly sending an *encadreur* (Senegalese extension agent) away. Ba told the "white man," "if you transfer him elsewhere, then you all can pack your bags and go."⁵⁸ Ba threatened to stop cotton cultivation if the company mismanaged it. While the story reflects broader colonial experiences of distrust, retired *encadreurs* corroborated it.⁵⁹ The Madina Hudda farmers emphasized that Mamadou Seydou Ba had once protected them from the untrustworthy French.

Yet economic opportunity tested the community's Sufi foundations, particularly Ba's paradigm of poverty. Ba preached that the "poor [with] very small incomes" were usually the best practitioners of the faith because their "poverty encouraged them to persevere."⁶⁰ Interviewees of Madina Hudda did not admit cotton's profitability as immediately and directly as had interviewees in other towns and instead emphasized the merit of their work.⁶¹ Perhaps they did not want to be seen as motivated by temporal goods or as less than dutiful Sufis. Though Sufism recognizes that one cannot act as "if the world does not exist" and that *zuhd* (ascetism) is the "privilege of a small elite," it does recommend one "detach from the world" and its "false joys."⁶² Sufism condemns *nafs*, the "animal instinct . . . that lures people's minds and bodies to an immoderate search for worldly pleasures," and thereby separates people from God.⁶³ Community members had come together to work hard at Médina Gounass in order to get closer to God.

Cities present distractions and so marabouts led their followers to remote areas. At Médina Gounass, Ba banned drinking, smoking, and dancing as well as expected residents to request permission to leave town and to obey a curfew. A road built for international truck traffic in 1957, however, had increased temptations.⁶⁴ In 1968, Ba chastised his disciples for frequently "wasting" their millet harvests and other "riches" on celebrations due to their "egoism." Ba preached that God would punish such wastefulness by ruining the following year's crops and he called for thrift.⁶⁵ Interviewed cotton farmers of Madina Hudda failed to mention any such issues, but outsiders did not.

Cotton production did further temptation. With their earnings, men purchased bicycles not only to ride to distant fields, but also to Vélingara to shop or to watch films at the cinema, sometimes after curfew.⁶⁶ In 1964, the fine for riding a bike after eight o'clock was 500 francs, a significant sum that paid for prayer rugs.⁶⁷ Undeterred, young men used their profits to throw parties where they danced to forbidden disco and reggae music with young women who wore

imported blue jeans. Magassouba portrayed these violations of Ba's rules as the reasons he banned cotton cultivation. Wane however, presenting a somewhat more favorable portrait of Ba, found that Ba had accepted years before that not everyone would obey every rule. In 1968, Ba lamented that some women did not cover their heads when they did laundry in the nearby river where men bathed half-naked. The women were supposed to keep themselves separate and veiled. He told the women several times to do laundry in their homes, but he admitted, "I can only advise them, I can't constrain them. Happily, some of them listen to my advice and stay home. [...] In this era, we can't bully women."⁶⁸ He referred to the days when Umarian women stayed in seclusion weaving cloth, and could be beaten for rebelling.⁶⁹ Ba knew there were now limits to his power, as did his followers, male and female.

Most residents lived as agriculturalists and expected their children to follow their example and build homes in town, but cotton profits enabled them to envision alternative futures. For example, Kandé used some of his revenue to send one of his sons, Oumar, who at age fourteen in 1972 did not like agricultural labor, to Dakar to find new opportunities. Other parents would soon want their sons to pursue higher Islamic education in Futa Toro and their daughters to get French schooling by living with relatives in other cities. In hindsight, the descendants of the first-settlers had begun to resent Ba's restrictions on education.⁷⁰ Nonetheless these disciples still obeyed Ba and worked for their religious community, even though the town's multiple taxes began to "inconvenience a lot of farmers." The first was the *sappobal* (tenth/*asakal*/tithe) in which the jaarga took one-tenth of harvested peanuts and of each food crop from each household. After keeping his portion, the jaarga passed the *sappobal* onto Ousmane Thiam, who sold it to fund the community's treasury. CRAD and state taxes were separate. Another "tax" was the *muud* (a measure of cereals/tithe) given at the end of Ramadan to the indigent for the *zakaat* (a pillar of Islam: the annual income tax for charity), which Ba argued was the most important religious requirement. Ba expected farmers to pay the *zakaat* with a percentage of their revenue from any produce, including cotton.⁷¹

Lest the cotton boom overshadow Ba's religious mission, the community took the opportunity to build the third largest mosque in Senegal, after those in Dakar and Touba. The robust treasury paid for the materials and craftsmen, but a Peul man, Mounirou Diao, asserted that they did the general labor.⁷² The jaarga organized three shifts that worked around the clock. According to Diao's story, when the hired masons told Ba they needed more iron bars to hold the minaret up straight, Ba told them "no, the Peul are the iron bars."⁷³ Diao, speaking as a member of Madina Hudda and a cotton farmer, claimed moral rectitude and the main mosque of Médina Gounass on the basis of the Peul's labor and obedience to authority. Diao asserted that the first-settler Peul were responsible for the community's moral and structural integrity in the face of gravitational forces and socio-economic pressures. Currently, there are two main mosques in Médina Gounass which have been sites of violence. The large mosque is attended by the followers of Amadou Tidiane Ba, Mamadou Seydou Ba's successor, and the newer mosque is attended by the followers of Amadou Tidiane Baldé of Madina Hudda. At Médina Gounass during the Tabaski holiday in 2008, gendarmes kept the peace by directing traffic so that the "Peul" and the "Toucouleur" would not pass by each other's mosques.⁷⁴

Cleavages

The cotton boom coincided with drought in the Sahel and the Guinean war for independence from Portugal. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Toucouleur individuals from the Senegal River

in northern Senegal and Mauritania and *Peul Jeeri* (transhumant agropastoralists from the once-rainfed uplands of the Senegal River) came to Médina Gounass seeking assistance, while Gaabunke individuals from Portuguese Guinea, including combatants, sought refuge from war. The town's population tripled to over 12,000 in 1971. Old and new residents then had to compete for fields and pasture. Some interviewees related the common critique against cotton and downplayed its profitability. They claimed that, given the increase in immigrants, Mamadou Seydou Ba warned of the risk of food shortages and asked farmers to sow more food crops than cotton.⁷⁵

But not everyone grew food, as was the case when the community began. By the 1970s, Médina Gounass was urbanizing and Ba had created a "network of shops" across the Kolda region that his descendants expanded to The Gambia, France, and Congo-Brazzaville. They formed a *bourgeoisie maraboutique* who purchased tractors and Mercedes. Ba's youngest son, Abdoul-Aziz, started a bakery, not a field. Additionally, due to economic problems along the Upper Senegal River, the number of Toucouleur shop owners and retired civil servants increased remarkably.⁷⁶ According to an encadreur, these "Toucouleur spent their days circled around the marabout," while the Peul toiled in the soil. Considering other Senegalese Sufi orders, Khadim Mbacké described similar "urban" and "well-off" disciples who made "direct contacts with the Caliph" as "more influential within the *tariqa*" (brotherhood) than were "rural disciples."⁷⁷ At Médina Gounass, communal harmony degenerated as Ba aged. According to the encadreur, "some Toucouleur called the Peul swine that dig in the dirt."⁷⁸ Violence followed such dehumanizing and anti-Muslim insults.

Whereas Magassouba asserted that Ba's cotton ban initiated internecine conflict, two members of the extended household of Mohamadou Ali "Baaba Galle" (Father of the House) Thiam, now the third imam of Médina Gounass, and several retired cotton company agents countered that Ba stopped growing cotton in order to stop violence. The former depicted Ba as prescient and the latter described the farmers as hot-tempered. Their memories may have been distorted by the "war of stones" in which at least one person died following the 1978 election for the *communauté rurale*, according to a newspaper article that described the latter violence as an ethnic clash.⁷⁹ According to interviews, however, after a scuffle at cotton marketing in 1972 left Baaba Galle Thiam bloodied on his temple, Ba was appalled and decided that cotton was not worth such trouble. The interviewees relayed that cotton marketing had piqued some disciples and that Ba decided to quell the enticement. They thereby presented Ba as a responsible marabout who protected disciples from corrupting forces.⁸⁰ They offered a flattering portrait of the marabout, yet the history also implied problems with either religious authority, the cotton company, and/or the Sufi farmers themselves.

The community had produced so much cotton in 1972 CFDT could not buy it as quickly as it did elsewhere, and spent a month purchasing at the holy city. CFDT's *chef de secteur*, Abdou Diedhiou, brought cash to a private room with Baaba Galle who was representing his brother Ousmane Thiam, Ba's "Minister of Finances and Minister of Foreign Affairs." A couple of encadreurs claimed that Thiam took the *sappobal* (the tenth, the brotherhood's tax) before giving farmers their net earnings. Diedhiou and other CFDT agents countered that farmers had not always understood that CFDT deducted the costs of inputs from their gross earnings.⁸¹ Some Peul interviewees speculated that CFDT agents had not followed the community's "principles," and either judged some farmers' cotton of lesser quality and value or had recorded the weight

inaccurately.⁸² In any case, one farmer left the room vexed and tried to reenter but an encadreur barred him as instructed. They wrestled and Baaba Galle came out to calm them as the farmer hurled a rock at the encadreur, but hit Baaba Galle. When Ba learned of the altercation one encadreur claimed that he said, “no one has ever attacked a marabout before.”⁸³ The blow was accidental, but it struck what Baaba Galle represented: the teachings of his namesake and father El Hadj Ali Thiam to respect religious authority, and Ba’s teachings not to wrong others, to avoid egoism, and to give a tithe. The story portrays the farmer as hotheaded, provoked by, depending on who tells it, either the religious leadership for taking a tenth or CFDT for misleading him. The story explains that Ba sought to restore peace by removing tinder. It suggests that Ba protected the community from temporal temptations. Other explanations however assert that there were no such temptations.

Baaba Galle denied any such incident. He countered that by 1973 cotton had lost value and so his brother Ousmane oversaw the return to more remunerative peanuts and food crops.⁸⁴ The current president of the *Groupement des Producteurs de Coton* (GPC), Hamadou Abderahmane Baldé, now a member of Madina Hudda, also agreed that Ba stopped growing cotton because the price dropped and believed that the story about the scuffle was only a “pretext.” Hamadou Baldé heard that a Frenchman had originally promised to pay a certain price but that after a few years, when he saw how much cotton the community grew, he reneged. The marabout could not tolerate someone who “refused to respect his promises.” Cotton farmers explained that they followed Ba’s cotton stoppage (as would obedient disciples) and grew peanuts and food crops for several years.⁸⁵ Rhetorically, they recognized Ba’s authority but they did not forget their own interests. Though records of exact prices in the early 1970s have not been located, the explanation is nevertheless supported by agricultural reports that note that in Eastern Senegal cotton prices were “becoming less competitive” compared to peanut prices and that cereal production challenged cotton production in Upper Casamance in the mid- to late 1970s.⁸⁶

By dating the cotton stoppage to 1972, interviewees avoided implying any conflict with the Senegalese government that nationalized the Senegalese branch of CFDT in 1974, renaming it *Société de Développement des Fibres Textiles* (SODEFITEX). Van Hoven has questioned whether a 1975 ban, as Magassouba reported, might reflect Ba’s reaction to the “continuing proliferation of the state in domains that were hitherto thought to belong to the religious order.” Van Hoven suspected that SODEFITEX’s “contracts signed with individual[s]” that “by-passed local agencies of control” would challenge the marabout’s authority. CFDT, however, originally signed individual contracts, and despite that policy, Thiam was present at CFDT’s marketing. SODEFITEX maintained CFDT’s policies and practices until circa 1980 when it began a new system.⁸⁷ Van Hoven’s suspicion was driven by a claim that Ba told his followers that “cotton cultivation would lead to a serious reduction in women’s fertility.”⁸⁸ My research into this claim was inconclusive.⁸⁹ Ba may have yet again admonished women to seclude themselves from men. According to an encadreur, some women violated his prohibition against doing hard work in distant fields whenever their menfolk needed help.⁹⁰ Ba may also have sought to discourage women—whose incomes were limited to selling handicrafts—from harvesting cotton to earn money as women did elsewhere. Or he may have reiterated the common knowledge and scientific warnings that pesticides hindered birds’ reproduction.⁹¹

In any case, a ban in the 1970s corresponds to broader tensions between the postcolonial state and powerful marabouts. Tellingly, Prime Minister Mamadou Dia had invited CFDT in order to diversify the nation’s revenue, to support Senegal’s textile mills, and to challenge the

elites, including Sufi Murid leaders, who dominated peanut production.⁹² Regardless of whether Ba cared about Dia's motives, Ba agreed to work with CFDT, as had Murid leaders to accommodate the peanut economy. The low prices of peanuts during the droughts of the 1970s, however, undermined the relationship between marabouts and the government. The Murid caliph, Abdou Mbacké, advised farmers to stop peanut production because the government's system bordered on usury.⁹³ Coulon remarked that such willingness to censure the state and to uphold honorable conduct made both Abdou Mbacké and Mamadou Ba of Médina Gounass "true heroes."⁹⁴ Indeed, cotton farmers claimed to have followed Ba's stoppage for years. However, while the government "nearly doubled the price" for peanuts, Ba was unable to get the cotton company to raise its price.⁹⁵ Whereas the Muridiyya served in part as a "peasant union," Médina Gounass did not for cotton farmers.⁹⁶ Cotton production in Senegal fell in the face of peanuts' higher price, preferences for cereals, and "poor rains" in the late 1970s.⁹⁷

The Peul's relationship with Ba was tested during the 1978 election for the new rural council. For years, President Senghor had sought to replace French land tenure policies with "African socialist principles" by having popularly elected local officials manage land claims. Two-thirds of each rural council were elected every five years and one-third were appointed by state agrarian cooperatives. Unfortunately, the rural councils squandered their "democratic credibility." Disguised as "decentralization," they actually imposed state centralization and disregarded local desires.⁹⁸ The rural councils became "new arenas of confrontation" between the political parties, which held meetings in Médina Gounass in 1977. Hoping to maintain some distance from the state, Ba ordered his disciples to vote for the opposition *Parti démocratique sénégalais* (PDS). But Ba then visited Senghor in Dakar, changed his mind, and asked his disciples to vote for the *Parti socialiste* (PS) instead.⁹⁹ They did not however. One interviewee speculated that the Peul feared that the PS candidates would privilege the maraboutic and Toucouleur bourgeoisie's land claims over theirs. When their interests were threatened, the disciples did not follow Ba with meek deference. The Peul rejected the rural council's authority and refused to pay taxes to it. Ba labeled the disobedient disciples "no longer good Muslims" and told them to leave town.¹⁰⁰ The "war of stones" between the Peul and Toucouleur ensued.¹⁰¹

Most marabouts supported the governing party to protect their own interests, but as they aged, groups of younger disciples with different desires started to vote for the opposition.¹⁰² Moreover, Hill found that sometimes "conflicts between disciples who [were] not close kin" resulted in "village schism." Nonetheless some Sufi leaders, when faced with challenges to their authority, managed to dissipate violence and "avert communal rupture."¹⁰³ Violence, unfortunately, escalated at Médina Gounass despite that it "did not conform to [Ba's] recommendations."¹⁰⁴ Ba was elderly and died in mid-1980.¹⁰⁵ Earlier that year, violence had broken out on the edge of the daaka retreat. People fired Kalashnikovs and killed over ten. In 1983, the "cotton war" between Peul and Toucouleur residents of Médina Gounass killed another man.¹⁰⁶

After Ba disowned the disobedient disciples in 1978, many of the Peul who stayed in Médina Gounass chose a new marabout, one of their own who had returned home. Amadou Tidiane Baldé was the son of one of Ba's first confidants—his "gatekeeper" who had held the keys to important rooms and warehouses. Yet the gatekeeper had challenged Ba's authority by sending his son north to the Senegal River for higher religious education.¹⁰⁷ After the war of stones in 1978, Baldé was accused of having sown hate, but he retorted that the Peul had the

same Quranic education as the Toucouleur and yet were asked to remain followers of the Toucouleur.¹⁰⁸ To assert their autonomy, the Peul designated their own jaarga and renamed their community *Madina Hudda* (Medina proper).¹⁰⁹ Since 1978 the followers of Ba who live in Médina Gounass have followed his ban and not cultivated cotton. The crop therefore symbolizes the collective struggle of Madina Hudda, a religious, political, economic, and ethnic association headquartered in the center of Médina Gounass.

New Associations

Circa 1980, SODEFITEX instituted *Associations de Base de Producteurs* (ABP) to loan credit for inputs collectively rather than individually through a system called *caution solidaire* (surety) and to transfer encadreurs' responsibilities to "peasants."¹¹⁰ SODEFITEX also offered a higher price, which began to interest the interviewed farmers who chose to disregard that Amadou Tidiane Ba maintained his father's interdiction against cotton cultivation. They were not alone. In 1982 Senegal's cotton production rebounded to a record 48,000 metric tons from a mere 22,805 tons in 1979.¹¹¹ The ABP (the predecessor of the GPC) stored SODEFITEX's inputs at the home of the jaarga of Madina Hudda which they claimed was the first house built in Médina Gounass in 1936.¹¹²

Some neighbors, however, tried to stop them. In 1982, an Agricultural Service agent, accompanied by eight armed policemen, visited Médina Gounass to investigate a burned cotton harvest. When he measured the field's surface area to estimate how much had been destroyed, he overheard "a Toucouleur threaten a Peul that if he made more money than he did, he would kill him."¹¹³ The interviewed GPC representatives charged the Toucouleur with also setting fire to their storeroom that was part of their jaarga's house. Moreover, on the 1983 *Korité* holiday, the "Toucouleur village chief, Abu Ba, shot Peul youth who were growing cotton for 200 francs per kilogram." The cotton farmers "fought back." They also petitioned the Minister of the Interior, Jean Colin, who then spoke to Amadou Tidiane Ba to quell the violence. They had to appeal not only to the government but also to a Frenchman (though a naturalized Senegalese citizen) to protect them from their former religious brothers. The Peul farmers thus began a new relationship with the state and each other: "Since then, we have continued to grow cotton. There were skirmishes from each side, but afterwards they have let us continue. For we are like what one says about soldiers. 'You may kill us, but you do not dishonor us.'"¹¹⁴ With this last phrase, the GPC representatives professed the motto of the Senegalese army. Like honorable soldiers, they had fought righteously, in their case for economic opportunity, not out of hate or greed.

They hoped in particular that SODEFITEX would honor their valiant struggle. They complained that the company did not pay them bonuses and had not recognized any of them as a "cotton king" as it had another man at a 1992 Cotton Festival, which paid for the man's *haji*. Van Hoven contends that since the 1970s the state sought to "counterbalance maraboutic power" by using Islamic themes to better connect with its citizens. SODEFITEX, to teach peasants in the ABPs to do the work of encadreurs, offered Pulaar literacy classes. The textbooks called on farmers to make work their primary concern so that in turn Allah would give them long life. SODEFITEX's appeal to a Muslim work ethic copied the way marabouts counseled disciples. In 2003, SODEFITEX was privatized but it continued to invoke Islam and called its sustainable development initiatives the "Five Pillars of Development."¹¹⁵ As Coulon argues, both the establishment and the marginalized use Islam to assert power.¹¹⁶

By 2008, Senegalese cotton farmers were frustrated that the purchase price had not kept pace with the rising costs of inputs. Many others complained that the ABPs and *caution solidaire* had indebted them and turned “brother against brother.” Many stopped growing cotton unless forced by debt.¹¹⁷ One GPC member grumbled *Mi tampi!* [I’m tired!]. The GPC president, Hamadou Abderahmane Baldé, framed their community’s history within this context: “If we have spoken of these sad events, it’s that we judged it necessary for you to know all the truth. [...] Now, we would like to ask you to tell SODEFITEX to stop forgetting about us, that we also contribute to its development.”¹¹⁸ Their experience with SODEFITEX thus mirrored their experience with Mamadou Seydou Ba. Their foundational labor was forgotten, disrespected, and needed to be recognized. SODEFITEX knew of these problems and addressed some of them. In 2010, director Bachir Diop announced the end of the “perverse practice” of the *caution solidaire* system.¹¹⁹ But it was too little, too late. As the Peul had left Ba for Amadou Tidiane Baldé, the marabout of Madina Hudda, they also left SODEFITEX for privatized SODAGRI (*Société de développement agricole et industriel*) to grow rice. In 2013, Amadou Tidiane Baldé called on everyone, including SODAGRI’s “leaders and bureaucrats [to] come down and farm the land.” Every season the marabout of Madina Hudda sweats in his own fields and expects all Senegalese to do the same.¹²⁰

Many, however, have left Senegal for opportunities abroad. Southeastern Senegal was a crossroads for centuries and cotton production enabled families to finance migration. Thanks to the cotton production of his father, Malik Kandé, Oumar Kandé traveled and worked in Congo-Brazzaville, Libya, and Germany and went on hajj. Some Peul have become like the Toucouleur bourgeoisie—long-distance businessmen who travel along transnational maraboutic networks—but not all have been as successful.¹²¹ In 2015, young men from southeastern Senegal “accounted for an alarming number of deaths in the Mediterranean.”¹²² In spite of such tragedies, the members of Madina Hudda find strength in their community.

Conclusion

The realignments of Madina Hudda and Médina Gounass vis-à-vis each other and agricultural institutions demonstrate the agency of farmers and Sufi disciples, categories of individuals who were once presumed to be exploited and oppressed. While they may lack the opportunities and power they would prefer, they made and asserted their choices. More than victims of a global commodity chain, the cotton farmers organized collectively under a new religious leader before an official union was formed.¹²³ They also sought political representation. Contrary to the generalization that “among the *Halpulaaren* [Futanke and Fulbe], there is a disassociation between the marabouts and the structures for social assistance,” both Mamadou Seydou Ba and Amadou Tidiane Baldé worked with agrarian agencies to facilitate their disciples’ livelihoods.¹²⁴ Yet due to historical socio-economic legacies, ethnic tensions overwhelmed political life at Médina Gounass. In 2016, some Peul accused the Toucouleur of locking them out of the newly built hospital.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, the members of Madina Hudda have accessed economic resources and higher religious education.

This history complements scholars’ efforts to bridge the divide between religious studies and political-economic analyses of brotherhoods and challenges the “monistic religious-secular dichotomy” by examining Sufis’ “pragmatic pluralism.” Not only was cash-cropping, like commerce, “one of the few ‘paths’ to success,” but labor itself held a “spiritual meaning.”

Additionally, depending on particular political disputes and “potentially violent conflicts,” Sufis have chosen to appeal to either Islamic or state authorities. Furthermore, as Hill argues, Sufi engagement with “neoliberal development projects” serves “religious projects founded on Islamic notions of truth and authority.”¹²⁶ Madina Hudda’s relationship with privatized agricultural agencies suggests a Sufi worldview in which the mundane and the divine can overlap. Sufi disciples work here on earth in order to live as dutiful Muslims. Not only do Sufis struggle to improve their souls individually, they also do so collectively, hoping that a brotherhood will help them balance their worldly and sacred goals.

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Notes

- 1 Curtin et al. 1995, p. 458.
- 2 Berry 1984; Feierman 1985, p. 85; Isaacman and Roberts 1995; Bassett 2001.
- 3 Interview with Ibrahima Samora, interpreted by his son-in-law Sellou Seydi, Saré Bourang, Vélingara, May 14, 2009; Moseley and Gray 2008.
- 4 Magassouba 1985, p. 48; van Hoven 1999; Smith 2008, p. 25; Diouf 2013, pp. 28-29, 110-16, 147-49, 240.
- 5 Copans 2000, p. 26.
- 6 Triaud 2014, p. 11.
- 7 Manchuelle 1997; Peterson 2011; Whitehouse 2012.
- 8 Robinson 2000, p. 150.
- 9 Magassouba 1985, pp. 50-53, 136; Smith 2008, p. 22; I use the problematic ethnonyms of "Peul"

- and “*Toucouleur*” to stay consistent with my sources. In the 1850s, French General Faidherbe borrowed the Wolof word *Tukulor* to label the Pulaar-speakers of the kingdom of Futa Toro on the Senegal River *Toucouleur* and the Pulaar-speaking pastoralists of the Ferlo uplands *Peul*, although *Peul* came to refer to all Pulaar-speakers outside of Futa Toro. Scholars now use *Futanke* to refer to people from Futa Toro. In Pulaar, an individual of the ethnicity is a *Pullo* (pl., *Fulbe*). Al Hajj Umar Tal’s movement built on a growing sense that God had elected the Fulbe as a chosen people. Robinson 1985, pp. 81, 89; McLaughlin 1995, pp. 153-68; Pondopoulo 1996, pp. 280-89, 294; Amselle 1998, pp. 43-45.
- 10 N’Gaidé, “Les marabouts,” 2002, pp. 618, 629-32.
 - 11 van Hoven 2000, p. 241.
 - 12 Interview, anonymous, Vélingara, June 2016; N’Gaidé, “Les marabouts,” 2002, pp. 617, 632, 641; Moussa Diop 2000, p. 2; Magassouba 1985, pp. 49-53.
 - 13 Robinson 1997, pp. 134-35.
 - 14 Ba 1964, p. 247; N’Gaidé, “Le royaume,” 1998, p. 207; Smith 2008, pp. 22-23.
 - 15 Moussa Diop 2000.
 - 16 Cruise O’Brien 1974, pp. 84-85; Soares 2005, pp. 161-62; Mbacké 2005, pp. ix, 9, 10, 11, 73, 76, 90, 94-95.
 - 17 Villalón 1995, pp. 120-21, 261.
 - 18 Searing 2002, p. 251; Mbacké 2005, pp. 9-11, 76, 90, 94-95, 117.
 - 19 N’Gaidé, “Le royaume,” 1998; N’Gaidé, “Stratégies,” 1998; N’Gaidé, “Islam,” 2002; N’Gaidé, “Les marabouts,” 2002, pp. 620-21.
 - 20 Interview, *Groupement des Producteurs de Coton* (GPC) representatives, interpreted by Souleymane Diallo, Médina Gounass, 6 April 2009.
 - 21 A cotton farmer, Amadou Tidiane Amadou Mbalo, showed me a document that spelled it “*Madinatoul Houdda*” [*la Médina imperméable correcte*; the impenetrable Medina proper (Translation by Ousmane Seydina Sene)] Médina Gounass, 6 April 2009; N’Gaidé spelled it as “*Madina Al hudda*” and “*Madina hudda*,” in “Les marabouts,” 2002, pp. 634, 643.
 - 22 Interview, anonymous, Médina Gounass, April 2009.
 - 23 Interview, GPC representatives, interpreted by Moussa Sembène and transcribed by Keba Mané, 18 May 2009.
 - 24 Babou 2010, pp. 497-99.
 - 25 Hanretta 2009, pp. 160, 172, 183.
 - 26 Interviews, Ali Bocar Anne, Dakar, 20 May 2016; Abdoulaye Mballo, Vélingara, 23 May 2016; N’Gaidé, “Stratégies”, 1998, pp. 185-87, 189; N’Gaidé 1999; Fanchette 1999; Bellagamba 2015. 27 Babou 2007, pp. 91-92, 177.
 - 28 Wane 1974, p. 678.
 - 29 Interviews, Thierno Barro Babou Seydou Ba, Abdulaziz Thierno Belli Ba, Amadou Gollo, Médina Gounass, 10 December 2008; Ousmane Seydi, Tambacounda, 15 April 2009; Sall Diop 1984, pp. 62-64.
 - 30 Coulon 1983, pp. 36, 43, 54-55; Villalón 1995, pp. 120-21, 261; Mbacké 2005, pp. 10, 98; Searing 2002, pp. 231-233, 237; Babou 2007, pp. 90-92, 94, 177.
 - 31 Wane 1974, pp. 676-77; Sall Diop 1984, pp. 60, 85; Babou 2007, p. 107.
 - 32 Sall Diop 1984, pp. 99-102.

- 33 Wane 1974, pp. 678-79, 686; Fanchette 1999, pp.178, 189; Interview, anonymous, Vélingara, May 2016.
- 34 Ba 1964, p. 142.
- 35 Coulon 1983, pp. 36, 41.
- 36 Wane 1974, pp. 673-674; Ba 1964, pp. 89, 119, 141, 173; Coulon 1983, p. 53; Personal communication, David Glovsky, November 2018.
- 37 Sall Diop 1984, p. 52.
- 38 Archives Nationales du Sénégal (ANS), 2G 48-140, Vélingara, *rapport trimestriel des activités générales, deuxième trimestre, 24-26 April 1948*.
- 39 Magassouba 1985, p. 48; Smith 2008, p. 25.
- 40 Sow 1984, pp. 104-06.
- 41 Searing 2002, p. 233.
- 42 Robinson 2000.
- 43 ANS, 11 D1/0279, Affaires politiques et administratives (APA), Elections, Vélingara, 'elections results', 1956-1958.
- 44 'Rapport Général sur les Perspectives de Développement du Sénégal', Vol. 2 (Dakar: GEHA, J. et Ch. Bompard S.A., 1960), 14.
- 45 Ba 1964, p. 201; ANS, 2G 45-93, Vélingara, annual general political report, 1945.
- 46 *Bulletin de l'Afrique noire* 1968, p. 10420; *Africa* 1977, p. 59; Compagnie Française pour le Développement des Fibres Textiles (CFDT) 1969, p. 25; CFDT 1999, p. 112.
- 47 ANS, Documentation Center, Henry-Charles Gallenca, Président de la Chambre de Commerce, d'Agriculture et d'Industrie de Dakar, Allocution, à l'ouverture du Congrès Régional de l'Union de Groupements Économiques du Sénégal à Tambacounda, "Le développement économique du Sénégal-Oriental," 4 Nov. 1967; *Bulletin de l'Afrique noire* 1970, p.p. 12291-95.
- 48 ANS, 2G 65-22, *Région du Sénégal-Oriental, rapport économique 1er trimestre*, letter from the Governor of Eastern Senegal to the President of the Republic of Senegal, 9 Mar. 1965, p. 4.
- 49 Interviews, GPC representatives, interpreted by Moussa Sembène and transcribed by Keba Mané, 18 May 2009; Searing 2002, pp. 231-33; Zimmerman 2010.
- 50 Interviews, GPC representatives; El Hadj Mohamadou Ali 'Baaba Galle' Thiam, interpreted by Moussa Sembène, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009; Ba 1964, pp. 143-145; Wane 1974, p. 673; Sall Diop 1984, pp. 53.
- 51 ANS, 2G 65-22, letter, 9 Mar. 1965, p. 6.
- 52 Wane 1974, pp. 673-74.
- 53 Interviews, El Hadj Mohamadou Ali 'Baaba Galle' Thiam, Médina Gounass, 6 April 2009; Boubacar Khamissokho, Tambacounda, 27 November 2008; El Hadj Samba Racky Seye, Tambacounda, 15 April 2009; Aye Baldé, Linkéring, 25 May 2016; *Bulletin de l'Afrique noire* 1970, pp. 12291-95; ANS, 2G 72-28, *Sénégal Oriental, Rapport économique, première trimestre, 1972*, p. 1.

- 54 Bassett 2001, pp. 108, 110.
- 55 Searing 2002, p. 233; Villalón 1995, pp. 119-20.
- 56 Interview, El Hadj Oumar Kandé, Vélingara, 26 May 2016.
- 57 Interviews, Demba Sow and Mamadou Boye Sow, interpreted by Souleymane Diallo, Bidiancoto, 13 March 2009; Mamadou Goyel Baldé, Bati, 19 May 2009.
- 58 Interviews, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 6 April 2009, 18 May 2009.
- 59 Interview, Amadou Ndila Sow, Vélingara, June 2, 2016.
- 60 Wane 1974, pp. 686, 694-97.
- 61 Interviews, Demba Sow and Mamadou Boye Sow, Bidiancoto, 13 March 2009; Mamadou Goyel Baldé, Bati, 19 May 2009; Meta Egge Baldé, interpreted by Thiedo Baldé, Bounang Magal, 1 June 2009.
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- 63 Babou 2007, p. 83; Sall Diop 1984, pp. 48.
- 64 ANS, 11 D1/1070, APA, *Affaire des transporteurs guinéens*, Tambacounda, October 1957.
- 65 Interview, Thierno Barro Babou Seydou Ba and Abdulaziz Thierno Belli Ba, Médina Gounass, 10 December 2008; Sermon by Mamadou Seydou Ba, Wane 1974, pp. 694, 697.
- 66 Interview, anonymous, Vélingara, May 2009.
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- 69 Robinson 2000, p. 149.
- 70 Interviews, El Hadj Oumar Kandé and Marième Baldé, Vélingara, 27 May 2016.
- 71 Interview, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009; Ba 1964, pp. 143-44; Sermon by Mamadou Seydou Ba, Wane 1974, pp. 673, 685-86, 694-95; Sall Diop 1984, pp. 53.
- 72 Sall Diop 1984, pp. 53.
- 73 Interview, Mounirou Diao, interpreted by Aminata Kaba, Médina Gounass, 26 May 2016.
- 74 Personal communication, members of El Hadj Mohamadou Ali "Baaba Galle" Thiam's household, Médina Gounass, 7-10 December 2008.
- 75 Interview, Thierno Barro Babou Seydou Ba and Abdulaziz Thierno Belli Ba, Médina Gounass, 10 December 2008; Ousmane Diallo, Tambacounda, 7 May 2009; Abdoulaye Mballo, Vélingara, 23 May 2016.
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- 77 Mbacké 2005, p. 76.
- 78 Interview, Mamadou Diao, Vélingara, 11 July 2013.
- 79 Moussa Diop 2000.
- 80 Interviews, unnamed members of Thiam household, Médina Gounass, 2008-2009.
- 81 Interviews, Abdou Diedhiou, Dakar by phone, 27 June 2010; Mamadou Soumboundou, Vélingara, 19 May 2009; Mamadou Diao, Vélingara, 23 May 2016; Aye Baldé, Linkéring, 25 May 2016.
- 82 Interviews Mounirou Diao, Médina Gounass, 26 May 2016; Mamadou Bayo, Linkéring, 29 May 2016.

- 83 Interview, Mamadou Diao, Vélingara, 1 June 2016.
- 84 Interview, El Hadj Mohamadou Ali 'Baaba Galle' Thiam, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009.
- 85 Interview, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009.
- 86 Dubois et Milleville 1975, p. 104; ANS, 2G 76-26, Ministère du Développement Rural et de L'Hydraulique, Projet F.E.D., Devis Intérimaire, Convention de financement no. 1025/SE, 'Rapport sur la culture cotonnière au Sénégal, campagne 1975/76', (Dakar: Société de Développement des Fibres Textiles (SODEFITEX), 1976), p. 20; In 1978, peanut production increased while cotton production decreased. ANS 2G 78-22, Ministère du Développement Rural, 'Rapport sur la culture cotonnière au Sénégal, campagne 1977/1978', Project F.E.D., (Dakar: SODEFITEX, 1978), p. 17.
- 87 In 1976, the price for first rate seed cotton was 47 francs per kilogram and 22 f/kg for second rate seed cotton. The costs of inputs were deducted from the price. ANS 2G 76-26, 'Rapport sur la culture cotonnière au Sénégal, campagne 1975/76', (Dakar: SODEFITEX, 1976)', p. 39.
- 88 Van Hoven 2000, pp. 239-41.
- 89 One cotton farmer claimed that Mamadou Seydou Ba predicted that the "poison would kill the young people, would reduce women's fertility, and would leave only the old people remaining." Interview, anonymous, Médina Gounass, Apr. 7, 2009.
- 90 Interview, Mamadou Diao, Vélingara, 11 July 2013.
- 91 One woman outside of Vélingara explained that in the 1960s 'to protect themselves from the products [pesticides]' they began to wear panties under their skirts when they harvested cotton. Interview, El Hadja Kadiatou Diao, interpreted by Aminata Kaba, Kandia, 21 May 2009; Carson 1962/2002, pp. 108-09.
- 92 Interview, El Hadj Samba Racky Seye, Tambacounda, 15 April 2009; Mamadou Dia, 1985, *Mémoires d'un militant du Tiers Monde: Si mémoire ne ment* (Paris: Publi-sud), p. 121, quoted by Mamadou Diouf 1997, pp. 301-02, 316fn17-18.
- 93 Cruise O'Brien 1979, pp. 222-25.
- 94 Coulon 1983, p. 137.
- 95 Linares 1992, p. 219.
- 96 Coulon 1983, pp. 59, 134, 137.
- 97 Cotton production fell in 1976, briefly recovered in 1977 to 45,208 metric tons, but fell again in 1979 to 22,805 metric tons. Dubois et P. Milleville, 'Opération'; ANS, 2G 76-26, SODEFITEX report, p. 20; ANS 2G 78-22, SODEFITEX report, p. 17; *Bulletin de l'Afrique noire* 1978, p. 18543; *Renaissance Cotonnière* 2005, p. 20.
- 98 Galvan 2004, pp. 128-129, 190, 211.
- 99 N'Gaïdé, "Les marabouts," 2002, p. 631-2; Magassouba 1985, p. 50.
- 100 Interview, El Hadj Oumar Kandé, Vélingara, 27 May 2016.
- 101 Moussa Diop 2000.
- 102 Mbacké 2005, pp. 98-100, 110.
- 103 Hill 2013, pp. 110, 116.
- 104 Sall Diop 1984, p. 87.

- 105 van Hoven 1999.
- 106 Moussa Diop 2000.
- 107 Interview, El Hadj Oumar Kandé, Vélingara, 27 May 2016; Coulon 1983, p. 92.
- 108 N'Gaide, "Les marabouts," 2002, p. 635.
- 109 N'Gaide, "Les marabouts," 2002, p. 643; Interview, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009.
- 110 Bachir Diop 1987.
- 111 *Renaissance Cotonnière* 2005, p. 20.
- 112 Interview, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009.
- 113 Interview, anonymous, Vélingara, May 2009.
- 114 Interview, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2009.
- 115 van Hoven 2000, pp. 225-27, 239; *Renaissance Cotonnière* 2005.
- 116 Coulon 1983, pp. 8, 48-9.
- 117 Interview, Ibrahima Samora, Saré Bourang, 14 May 2009; Demba Sow and Mamadou Boye Sow, Bidiancoto, 13 March 2009; Texier 2008; Moseley and Gray 2008.
- 118 Interview, GPC representatives, Médina Gounass, 18 May 2018.
- 119 Agence de Presse Sénégalaise (APS) 2010.
- 120 APS 2013; Interview, El Hadj Oumar Kandé, Vélingara, 27 May 2016.
- 121 Kane 2010.
- 122 All Things Considered 2016.
- 123 Between 1989 and 2001, the *Fédération Nationale de Producteurs de Coton* (FNPC) was formed by, depending on whom you ask, Senegalese cotton farmers to protect their interests, or by SODEFITEX to give the appearance that farmers could act independently of the company. Interview, Moussa Sabaly, President de la Fédération national des producteurs de coton (FNPC), Kolda, Jun. 2, 2009; Interviews, anonymous, Tambacounda, 2009.
- 124 Cruise O'Brien, Diop, and Diouf 2002, p. 36.
- 125 Interview, El Hadj Oumar Kandé, Vélingara, 27 May 2016.
- 126 Hanretta 2005, pp. 479-91; Hanretta 2009, pp. 32-36, 117, 234; Hill 2013, pp. 100-02, 108.