



Chapter 9

Individualization of Livestock Ownership in Fulbe Family Herds The Effects of Pastoral Intensification and Islamic Renewal in Northern Cameroon

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A man's herd is a complex organization of individuals tied to one another in diverse ways; quite as complex as the community of people in which he lives and in many ways reflecting that community. His herd depicts the household structure, lineage, and clan; expresses the network of social relationships as they extend to his father's father and the yet unborn son of his son; and also reflects the ties that have been established through the marriages of his aunt and his sisters and the no less tenuous ties arrived at through contractual relationships, all of which bind him to widely scattered fellow tribesmen. (Goldschmidt 1986: 80)

Not unlike the Sebei herds in East Africa (Goldschmidt 1986), family herds of Fulbe pastoralists in West Africa reflect the social relations of their households and can be read as the social biographies of the people who keep them (Bonfiglioli 1988). Some of the animals in Fulbe family herds, for example, may be descendants of a line of animals that have been in the patriliney for generations. A few may have been given to the children of the household, thereby reaffirming the sustained fertility of both family and herd. Some animals in the Fulbe family herd could be gifts or loans from parallel cousins, reinforcing kin ties between families. Others may have been inherited by wives from their parents, expressing affinal ties with the matriliney. Yet other animals are entrusted or loaned by friends and represent the current social network of the household head and other adult males. One could argue, following Mauss (1925), that the Fulbe family herd is a complete social system in the sense that the community as a whole is implicated in the herd of one family via the transfer and exchange of animals, and the obligations entailed. This means that by examining the property relations of



one family herd, pastoral social systems can be described (Douglas 1990; Goldschmidt 1969). In fact, Bollig (2000) argues that livestock exchange networks are a more accurate reflection of social structures than emic structuralist representations.

However, the social system of one of the pastoral Fulbe communities in which I conducted my research from 2000 to 2001 can no longer be reconstructed in this manner and read as the social biography of its people. The individualization of livestock ownership and disappearance of livestock transfers in this peri-urban community has resulted in more exclusive property rights and the concentration of livestock in the hands of one person, namely the household head (*baaba saare* or patriarch). As an 'invisible transformation', these changes in property rights cannot be directly observed but have far-reaching consequences for social and economic relations within and between the households (Baxter 1990: iii). The two primary causes of this invisible transformation – the individualization of more exclusive property rights – are pastoral intensification and Islamic renewal.

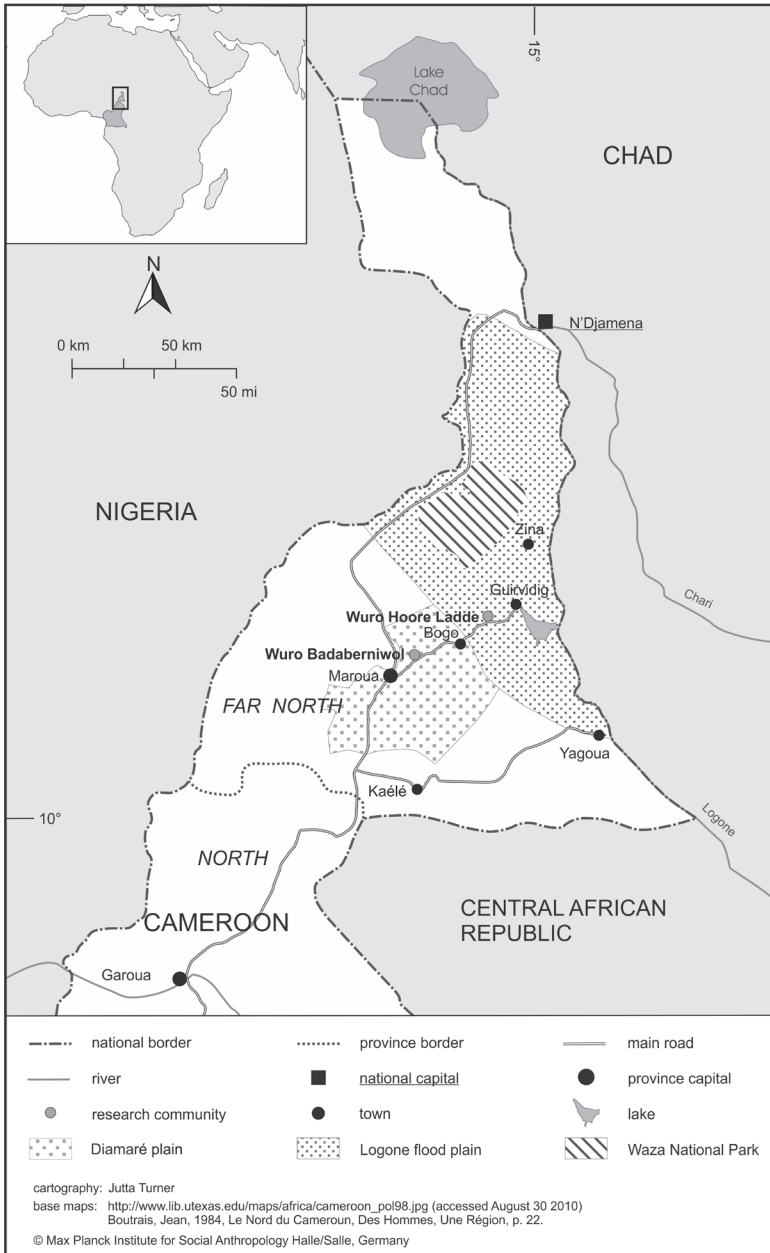
The data on property relations in Fulbe family herds was collected in a comparative study of three pastoral Fulbe communities during a year of ethnographic fieldwork in the Far North of Cameroon (Moritz 2003). All three communities represent different types of pastoral systems: peri-urban, agro-pastoral and nomadic. Here I limit my discussion to the peri-urban and agro-pastoral systems.¹ In order to highlight the changes in property relations within peri-urban family herds, I make a comparison with property relations in an agro-pastoral village located in a more rural area about forty kilometres away from the peri-urban village. Twenty-five years ago, before the simultaneous processes of intensification and Islamic renewal brought about the individualization of livestock ownership, the peri-urban pastoral system was much like the agro-pastoral system is today (Moritz 2003). I will begin, however, with a brief introduction to Fulbe pastoralists in the Far North Province and the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol in particular.

Fulbe Pastoralists in the Far North Province

The Far North Province has a semi-arid climate with one rainy season from May through to September, and an annual rainfall that ranges from 400 mm in the north to 1,000 mm in the south of the province. Two phytogeographic zones characterize the province: Sudanian (Sudano-Sahelian) in the south, including the Diamaré plains, and Sahelian (Sahelo-Sudanian) in the Logone flood plain (see Map 9.1). The traditional transhumance areas, the Diamaré plains and the Logone flood plain, form complementary resources in the pastoral ecosystem of the Far North, in which the former provide pastures in the rainy season, the latter in the dry season (Requier-Desjardins 2001: 28).

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1. The main corpus of data consists of an inventory of livestock ownership and stewardship of all members of a household, including children. I recorded data on the structure of the herd, e.g. sex, age, location of animals, and property rights over these animals. I also collected data on changes in the herd during the year 2000/2001 (e.g. births, deaths, sales, loans) and the livestock transfers people were involved in during their lifetime (Moritz 2003).



Map 9.1 The Far North Province of Cameroon. Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology.

Rangelands were never communally owned by pastoralists in the Far North Province. Fulbe pastoralists lived interspersed with agriculturalists of different ethnic

groups (e.g. Zumaya, Giziga). In pre-jihad times, pastoralists would request permission from the local chiefs of these groups to access rangelands. After the jihad, which was initiated by Sheikh Uthmān dan Fodio in Sokoto in 1804 and resulted in the establishment of Fulbe emirates in the Far North a few years later, Fulbe pastoralists negotiated with Fulbe chiefs (*laamiiBe*) over access to rangelands and security, in exchange for tribute (Moritz et al. 2002). The Fulbe emirates provided pastoralists with relatively safe access to rangelands in the Diamaré. Access to rangelands in the Logone flood plain was arranged with Musgum and Kotoko sultans following the same principle of tribute in exchange for access and security. When the Europeans conquered northern Cameroon, they incorporated the traditional Fulbe authorities into the colonial administration. The Germans, and later the French, did not directly interfere with relations between traditional authorities and pastoralists, and the independent republic of Cameroon continued the hands-off policy whereby pastoralists negotiated access to rangelands with the traditional authorities (Moritz et al. 2002).

Today the primary contacts of nomadic pastoralists continue to be the traditional authorities, that is to say, the Fulbe *laamiiBe* in the Diamaré, and the Musgum and Kotoko Sultans in the Logone flood plain. The governmental and municipal authorities, for their part, use the agents of the traditional authorities in their contact with and tax collection from pastoralists. No pastoralist is refused access to rangelands in the Far North as long as they pay taxes to the authorities. Requier-Desjardins (2001) has argued that there is some degree of regulation of rangeland access through the differential payment of taxes. Pastoralists pay taxes to governmental, municipal and traditional authorities in each municipal district. However, non-Cameroonian pastoralists and those from outside the district pay more than 'resident' pastoralists; in addition, there is a system of seniority whereby pastoralists that have practised transhumance to a particular area for a number of years pay lower taxes than recent arrivals (*ibid.*). Differential taxation is not necessarily a result of efforts by the authorities to regulate access to natural resources. As long as pastoralists pay, access is generally permitted by the authorities (and by fellow pastoralists); in practice, pastoralists have open access to rangelands with few restrictions.

Fulbe are the main pastoral people in the Far North Province, living primarily in the Diamaré Division, while Shuwa Arabs live further north in the Logone-Chari Division. The majority of the Fulbe are descendants of the pastoral Fulbe conquerors from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nowadays, many Fulbe are only peripherally involved in pastoralism, while others are agro-pastoralists and live in multiethnic villages. Fulbe identity in the Far North is based on Islam and their pastoral heritage. The Fulbe believe that they are the only true Muslims in the Far North, and the only true pastoralists. Many of them, including those in the cities who no longer deal with cattle on a daily basis, own animals, which they have entrusted to their families, friends or salaried herders. The Fulbe believe that they are the people chosen to own animals. This conviction is expressed in a number of proverbs, such as, *waagaare Pullo waalde maccuDo a yaalan a yaaltata* (a Pullo's [singular of Fulbe] sheaf of sorghum stalks, a slave's corral, you pass it on your way, you will not pass it on your return), meaning that Fulbe should stick to raising cattle and leave agriculture to others

(and vice versa). Cattle are not only of symbolic importance; for many of the Fulbe in the Far North they are still a vital economic resource.

The peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol, the focus of this chapter, is a community of Fulbe, *RiimayBe* (former slaves of the Fulbe) and Kanuri households, located about ten kilometres from the centre of the provincial capital of Maroua. The area has high population densities ranging from 100 to 149 inhabitants per square kilometre (Seignobos and Iyébi-Mandjek 2000). Over the years, the village has been incorporated into the conglomeration of Maroua, the population of which has grown from approximately 50,000 to 400,000 inhabitants in the last twenty-five years. Most household heads earn part of their income with commercial activities in Maroua, dealing in a wide range of commodities (e.g. cattle, smallstock, cereals, groundnuts, cloth, dried fish) and crafts (e.g. bicycle repair, tailoring, watch repair), or providing services as religious specialists (*maraboutage*). All peri-urban pastoralists cultivate sorghum for auto-consumption and cotton for cash. Several of the wealthy pastoralists in Wuro Badaberniwol have entrusted part of their cattle herds to nomadic Fulbe pastoralists. Other, less prosperous inhabitants have entrusted a few head of cattle to friends or their families in neighbouring villages. Here I will focus my discussion on the six pastoral households that had a daily involvement with cattle. This excludes the six households that have entrusted cattle to friends and families in neighbouring villages, and the fourteen poor households that have no cattle at all, *ko wicco* (not even a tail).

The Effects of Intensification

The Far North Province has some of the higher population densities and growth rates in the Sudano-Sahelian zone of West Africa. The population grew from 1,395,231 inhabitants in 1976 to an estimated 2,467,000 in 1995, or about 65 inhabitants per square kilometre (Seignobos and Iyébi-Mandjek 2000). However, densities in the traditional transhumance zones are much lower (10 per square kilometre) than those in the Diamaré plains (70 per square kilometre). The population growth in the Diamaré has led to a rapid expansion of agriculture and subsequent disappearance of the bush. In the densely populated peri-urban areas around Maroua there are practically no pastures left today.

This expansion of the city and subsequent pressure on pastures is the main cause for the 'indigenous intensification' of pastoral systems in the peri-urban area of Maroua (cf. Tiffen et al. 1994). Forage is almost non-existent in the peri-urban area. A biomass study showed that the grazing capacity – the number of animals that can live off the forage available in a determined period – is extremely low: 11 animals per day per 100 hectares in the dry season (Moritz 2003). Cattle in the peri-urban area cannot survive without supplementary feed. Since the 1980s, pastoralists in the Far North Province have used cottonseed cakes and hulls, by-products from the Sodecoton refineries, as supplementary food for exhausted or malnourished animals. Today, however, peri-urban pastoralists use these products as natural forage substitutes for all their animals. The extensive use of these feeds represents an intensification of the peri-urban pastoral system. Intensification refers here to the transition from a pastoral system that relies on free natural forage to a capital-intensive system that relies on expensive cottonseed cakes.

In recent decades, the overall costs of the pastoral production system have increased almost eightfold in the peri-urban area. This is due for the most part to the supplementary feed of cottonseed cakes and hulls, which constitute 62 per cent of the total cost of the pastoral production system in the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol, compared to 23 per cent in more extensive, agro-pastoral systems in the rural areas. Consequently, total costs per animal are significantly higher in the peri-urban area than in the more rural areas (Moritz 2003).²

The use of cottonseed cakes has also radically altered the daily management of cattle in the family herd. Animals are fed individually and twice daily in the dry season, once in the morning before the animals go to 'pasture' and once in the evening upon return. Feeding cottonseed cakes to cattle is thus a more labour-intensive form of production. In the rainy season, the animals are sent on transhumance to the Mindif-Moulvoudaye region to avoid crop damage in the peri-urban area during the growing season.

Unlike the agro-pastoral village, where production costs concerning the family herds (including animals of outsiders) are covered by the household head, in the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol the household head covers some but not all of the production costs. The latter have increased to such a dramatic extent that household heads have distributed some of the costs to individual owners (adult children, wives, and other resident kin). Costs covered by the household head are 'collective costs', independent of the number of animals in the herd (e.g. herding wages). 'Individual costs' can be directly traced to individual animals (e.g. veterinary care and cottonseed cakes), and are covered by their owners (Moritz 2003). The highest individual costs are those for cottonseed cakes and hulls. Each owner has to cover these costs for his or her own animals and is also responsible for the purchase and storage of cottonseed cakes for their own animals. Most men cultivate cotton because Sodecoton pays for their harvest in the form of cottonseed cakes at a reduced factory price. As a rule this is not enough, so they are forced to buy additional sacks at the markets in Maroua. Men use their income from trade or the sale of smallstock and cattle to buy additional sacks of cottonseed cakes. Women use their income from petty trade, the sale of smallstock or part of their dowry (e.g. enamelware, jewellery).

There is a growing reluctance on the part of the household head to cover the collective costs for the animals of others, including those of their kin. Household members increasingly treat their animals as personal rather than 'collective' property, using revenues from the sale of animals solely for personal expenditures. Moreover, they do not compensate the household head for his expenses. Outsiders who have entrusted animals generally compensate the household head for taking care of their animals by giving him a percentage of the sale price. Peri-urban household heads feel that the collective expenses they incur for the family herd are taken for granted by other household members. Consequently, they are unwilling to relinquish control of

2. Cottonseed cakes cost FCFA (Franc Communauté Financière Africaine) 7,552 (U.S.\$ 10) per animal in the peri-urban village and FCFA 401 (U.S.\$ 0.50) in the agro-pastoral village. The total costs per animal amount to FCFA 12,555 (U.S.\$ 17) per year in the peri-urban village versus FCFA 1,868 (U.S.\$ 2.50) in the agro-pastoral village.

the animals in the family herd by transferring ownership titles to other members of the family.

Individual owners of animals in the family herd, on the other hand, no longer regard their animals as serving collective household needs. They are disinclined to let the household head sell their animals to meet these needs, since they are already paying for the cottonseed cake fed to their animals in the family herd. When a woman sells items from her dowry, her 'security', to feed her animals, she is unlikely to let the household head sell them for collective household needs. This is particularly an issue in polygynous households, in other words, in all peri-urban pastoral households.

Although it is not clear whether individualization of ownership initially led to a redistribution of the cottonseed cake costs within the household or vice versa, both phenomena reinforce each other today. Intensification and the subsequent redistribution of costs to individual owners of animals in the family herd have strengthened the individualization of livestock ownership. This process has been further underpinned by a simultaneous process of Islamic renewal in the peri-urban areas of Maroua.

The Effects of Islamic Renewal

The spread of Islam in West Africa has been associated with the development of trade, the promotion of private property and the accumulation of wealth (Last 1979; Levtzion 1979; Lovejoy 1971). Islamic traditions have also affected economic behaviour in the domestic sphere of Fulbe households and family herds. The stricter adherence of peri-urban pastoralists to the codes of Islam plays a critical role in the individualization of livestock ownership in Fulbe family herds. It belongs to a movement of 'Islamic renewal', an umbrella term incorporating numerous changes, all of which involve an increasing commitment to a more orthodox form of Islamic practice (Watts 1999: 70). The recent Islamic renewal movement in northern Cameroon began with the change of presidency in 1982, when the Catholic Paul Biya succeeded the Muslim (and Fulbe) Ahidjo and introduced policies aimed at breaking the power of the northern Islamic bloc. The Fulbe compensated for the loss of political power and influence with a renewal movement in the religious arena, which Seignobos and Iyébi-Mandjek (2000) refer to as the 'birth of an Islamic Renewal'.

For most Fulbe, who have been Muslims for centuries, Islam is a defining feature of their ethnic identity. Each and every aspect of their society is so heavily imbued with Islam that *pulaaku* (Fulbe-ness) and Islam have merged into a single cultural ideology (see also Boutrais 1984a; Bovin 1990; Buhl 1999; VerEecke 1989). The pursuit of piety is an integral part of the Islamic renewal, and refers to the continuous endeavour of individual Fulbe to become better Muslims by actively studying, observing and applying Islamic codes to everyday life (Moritz 2003). Koranic education and Arabic literacy provide greater access to religious knowledge, which in turn affords greater piety. There is a direct link between greater access to religious knowledge and stricter adherence to the codes of Islam. This is evident in the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol, which had more educated Muslims (*mallum'en*), mosques and Koranic schools than the agro-pastoral villages in the

rural areas. Peri-urban pastoralists also follow the rules and traditions of Islam more rigorously than agro-pastoralists.

Stricter adherence to the codes of Islam played a critical role in the individualization of livestock ownership in a number of ways. First of all, Islamic legal traditions define individual rights more clearly. Islamic inheritance laws, for example, favour individual ownership, including female ownership, whereas previous pastoral Fulbe traditions prioritized the continuity and integrity of the family herds. Only sons could inherit in the past, and patrilocal residence rules ensured that sons continued to live together after the death of the household head. This meant that the family herd would remain a viable economic unit and not be divided among the inheritors (cf. Hopen 1958; Stenning 1958). Islamic inheritance codes prescribe that property must be immediately divided among the survivors, that is to say, the children, spouse(s) and parents. Sons inherit twice as much as daughters, while spouses inherit a quarter or an eighth (depending on the number and type of heirs). In the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol, pastoralists followed the Islamic codes rigidly, even when this meant breaking up the family herd into non-viable parts. Not doing so would have been a flagrant violation of the religious norms in the village and marked the individuals as more interested in pastoral wealth than religious observance.

Secondly, stricter adherence to the codes of Islam also indirectly promoted the individualization of livestock ownership through the widespread adoption of the 'urban Islamic family model' in the peri-urban area (cf. van Santen and Willemse 2004). This model is characterized by seclusion of women, polygyny, stricter separation of spouses' income and property, and shifts in the rights and responsibilities of spouses. Although the seclusion of women is the most visible change associated with the adoption of the urban Islamic family model, the impact on the economic organization of pastoral households is minimal, as Fulbe women continue to market dairy products from their compound to itinerant dairywomen (VerEecke 1989). The increase in polygyny rates and polygynous households had a greater impact on the economic organization of peri-urban pastoral households due to the associated institutional changes. The income and property of a husband and his wives is kept strictly separate in polygynous households and not pooled in a common household fund (cf. Buhl 1999; Regis 2003). This division of property also extends to livestock ownership in the family herd.

In addition, peri-urban household heads are now solely responsible for provisioning the household; women no longer contribute revenues from dairy marketing to the common household fund but instead use them for personal expenses (e.g. soap, wedding gifts, travel costs) and investments (enamelware, jewellery) (see Holtedahl 1993). This has led to a shift in the domestic economy. Fulbe men rely on the sale of animals to provide for the household, now that dairy revenues are no longer available. One consequence is the re-allocation of milk from marketing to calves. Although milk continues to be the female domain, a woman's supply of milk is still controlled by the household head, who milks and decides whether to allocate milk to nursing calves or to women. In the past, when dairy marketing revenues still contributed to the common household fund, it was in the interest of the household

heads to allocate sufficient milk to women for dairy marketing in order to avoid having to sell animals. Although peri-urban women retain their traditional usufruct rights over milk, these rights have become weaker as household heads make decisions in favour of overall herd growth by allocating more milk to nursing calves (Moritz 2003). This corresponds to another change in usufruct rights; whereas in the past women had the right to milk from specific cows (*BiriteeDi*, singular *Biriteenge*), they now have rights over a proportion of the total milk yield from the family herd.

Fulbe Family Herds

The Fulbe do not have a direct translation for the term 'family herd'. The word in *Fulfulde fuunaangeere*, the dialect of the Diamaré, that best covers the animals managed but not necessarily owned by a household, is *waalde* (Noye 1974). *Waalde* is the corral where the animals are regrouped and rest at night. In everyday use, *waalde* also refers to the animals in the corral, which makes it a good equivalent of family herd (Moritz 2003). Fulbe also use the term *saareji* to refer to the family herd. However, this term is ambiguous since it can refer to the animals in the corral regardless of who owns them, as well as to those owned by members of the *saare* (household, family), as opposed to *yaasiji* (animals owned by outsiders).³

Fulbe family herds are always amalgamations of animals over which both members of the household and outsiders have a variety of property rights and obligations.⁴ Some animals are owned by outsiders, others by individuals within the household, or by non-resident consanguineal or affinal kin. The fact that a family herd consists of animals owned by multiple people with different, often overlapping, rights over the animals is reflected in a number of sayings. *Waalde Pullo reedu waynaare* (a Pullo's corral is like a cow's third stomach [which has numerous folds]) expresses the norm that Fulbe family herds are never owned by one person only but always contain other people's animals hidden in the folds. *Waalde Pullo boo bana tummude kilaajo* (a Pullo's corral is like a blacksmith's gourd). Blacksmith gourds contain several items; some are useful, others are not, meaning that not all animals in the family herd can be used to meet household needs, since usufruct rights over the milk of animals belonging to outsiders does not imply the right to sell the animals (or dispose of them in other ways). *Dam balo non Dum luggay* (the water is dark but not deep) means the size of the herd does not indicate the wealth of the household (head). Someone might appear to be wealthy because he has a sizeable herd, but could in reality be poor because the animals do not belong to him (Moritz 2003).

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3. Depending on the closeness of kin ties, cattle from non-resident kin are generally regarded as *saareji* (cattle owned by the family), in particular when they are owned by women (daughters, sisters, mothers or aunts) or young sons. Cattle bought on the market (*coodaaDi*) are not regarded as *saareji*. As a rule, household heads have more control over inherited animals (*tawtwaDi*) than animals brought into the herd from outside through market or other exchanges.
 4. Dupire and Bonfiglioli also give detailed descriptions of property relations in Fulbe and WoDaaBe family herds (Bonfiglioli 1988; Dupire [1962] 1996; 1970). Throughout West Africa, however, there are as many differences as there are similarities in the property relations of Fulbe family herds (see also Diallo and Pelican in this volume).

Customary property rights over cattle in Fulbe family herds are complex (Bonfiglioli 1988; Dupire 1962, 1970; Stenning 1959; see also Diallo and Pelican in this volume). Different people can have different property rights over the same animal. Members of a patrilineage have moral claims over a cow called *belooye* because she is a descendant of a cattle lineage (*jabbere*) that has been in the human lineage for generations. The household head with a cow of this kind in his family herd cannot simply take the animal to market and sell it; other lineage members have the right to buy it first. The wife of the household head has use rights over the milk from this cow (*Biriteenge*), which was assigned to her by her husband's father at the birth of her first child. Her son was given ownership rights over the same animal when his father assigned it to him as *sukkilaaye* (gift of a heifer from parent to child). However, the son's ownership rights only become effective on the death of the father, who up until such time has the right of disposal over the animal. Finally, a number of animals in the herd may have been loaned or entrusted by outsiders and/or non-resident kin (*nanngaaji, goofalji, kalfiiji*), so that the household has usufruct rights over these animals but not the right of disposal.

Livestock ownership in Fulbe pastoral societies is an excellent illustration of the complexity of property described aptly by anthropologists, drawing from Maine, as a bundle of rights that can be ranked (Hann 1998a). Property rights over livestock can be held by individuals, families, households and lineages, and all these different corporate units can have simultaneous and overlapping rights over the animals. Owners never have absolute rights over an animal; neither are rights wholly specified or enforced (cf. North 1990: 33). In studying property rights, it is thus important to attend to ideals as well as to the practical outcome of institutional arrangements of property rights (Carrier 1998; Gulliver 1964; Hann 1998a). These property rights can also be regarded as property relations in that they govern the conduct of people within the household with respect to the use and disposition of cattle (Hann 1998a: 4).⁵

The parallel processes of indigenous pastoral intensification and Islamic renewal have significantly affected property relations in peri-urban family herds in multiple, interrelated ways. I have already touched upon a number of these changes above, but will discuss them in more detail below in a comparison of livestock ownership and transfers in peri-urban and agro-pastoral family herds, examining both the principles and practices of property rights over cattle.

Livestock Ownership

The increasing costs of pastoral production, their distribution from household head to individual cattle owners, and the institutional changes in the economic organization of the household have affected property relations in the peri-urban family herds. In the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol, household heads own the majority of the cattle in the family herds (78 per cent), followed by their wives (7 per cent), resident children (6 per cent), resident kin (5 per cent), non-resident kin

5. And, as discussed above, these property relations are not only affected by larger economic and cultural processes, but also have implications for pastoral production within the household, i.e. a shift from milk to 'meat' production (Moritz 2003).

Table 9.1 Comparison of livestock ownership in two villages (in percentage)

	Peri-urban Pastoralists	Agro-pastoralists
Household head	78	37
Family (undivided inheritance)	0	14
Wives	7	3
Children (resident only)	6	4
Resident kin	5	6
Non-resident kin	2	31
Outsiders (non-kin)	2	5
	100%	100%

Livestock ownership in this table concerns nominal ownership (i.e. ownership in name only). The table does not reflect property relations in the family herd; in the agro-pastoral village, for example, the household head has the right of disposal over animals owned by children, which is not the case in the peri-urban village (for a discussion on the predicament of comparing livestock ownership, see Moritz 2003). The category 'non-resident kin' also includes children of the household head who no longer live in the village. The large discrepancy between the two villages with regard to the category 'Family (undivided inheritance)' is indicative of differences in the observance of Islamic inheritance codes, which prescribe that inheritance must be divided among the heirs within three to seven days of a person's death (see Moritz 2003).

(2 per cent), and outsiders (2 per cent) (see Table 9.1). Peri-urban herds contain very few animals of non-residents (4 per cent compared to 36 per cent in agro-pastoral herds). Livestock ownership in the peri-urban village is concentrated in the hands of the household head to a greater extent than in the agro-pastoral village (78 per cent versus 37 per cent). There are several reasons for this. First, household heads are unwilling to take in animals from others, including those of their wives, because they frequently end up covering the collective (and sometimes individual) costs of animals over which they no longer have the right of disposal. Secondly, household heads are reluctant to transfer ownership rights to their children for fear of losing the right of disposal over these animals.

The patrilineal and patrilocal nature of Fulbe society makes the position of wives in Fulbe households ambiguous. Women continue to remain members of their fathers' families and households after marriage, while their children are members of their fathers' households. As a rule, a woman first becomes invested in her husband's and children's family when her sons have come of age and are old enough to defend both her and their future animals against her husband's claims. Only then does she transfer her cattle from her father's herd to that of her husband. The majority of animals owned by women remain in the family herd of their fathers. When a woman keeps her animals in her father's herd, she does not have to contribute to the cost of cottonseed cakes, since her animals are part of the family herd (*haa nder saare*). However, this also means

that her animals are more likely to be sold by her father (or brothers) to provide for the household. When a woman keeps animals in her husband's herd, on the other hand, they are regarded as outsider animals or *na'i yaasi*, and cannot readily be sold by the household head. In this case she is obliged to pay for the cottonseed cakes. Many household heads in peri-urban villages refuse to take cattle from their wives into the family herd because they are unwilling to cover the collective costs for animals they cannot sell to meet household needs. Nevertheless, the percentage of cattle owned by women is higher in the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol than in the agro-pastoral village (7 per cent and 3 per cent respectively). This may be a reflection of the fact that a woman's individual property rights are more protected under Islamic codes than under previous Fulbe traditions.

Cattle are sometimes owned by multiple people. The animal is then referred to as *nagge mardiiinge* (co-owned cow). Each owner possesses half (*baynge*), a quarter (*kosngal*, leg), an eighth (*tayre*, piece of meat), or a sixteenth (*laasol*, a hair) of the animal, depending on the number of owners. Animals generally have multiple owners when part(s) of the animal have been given away (as *sukkilaaye*, *hokkaange* or *zakat*), or sold. The transfer of animal parts occurs mostly within the household. Less than 10 per cent of the animals in the peri-urban village had multiple owners, compared to 20 per cent in the agro-pastoral village. The relatively low number of co-owned cattle in the former is another indication of increasing individualization of property rights over livestock.

Very few animals in the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol are owned by non-resident kin or outsiders (2 per cent each), primarily as a result of high costs. Entrusting animals in the peri-urban area means that owners must reimburse all costs incurred by the household head (i.e. herd manager). Moreover, in many cases it means that owners have to purchase cottonseed cakes, hulls and sorghum stalks, and pass them on to the herd manager, since unreliable access makes purchasing supplementary feeds time consuming and stressful. Herd managers are loath to take on these responsibilities for other people's animals over which they have no rights of disposal. For owners, on the other hand, it is simply cheaper to entrust animals away from the peri-urban areas, where the abundance of natural forage relieves them of the burden of having to buy cottonseed cakes.

The entrustment relationship is inherently fraught with tension, even more so in the peri-urban areas. Owners are continually preoccupied with the question of whether the herd manager (or herder) is taking good care of the animals and not selling them without permission. Herd managers, on the other hand, are concerned with the effort and the costs they expend for other people's animals. The fact that animal husbandry in the peri-urban areas is more capital and labour intensive merely aggravates the reluctance of herd managers to take in outsider animals. One way to safeguard the mutual trust indispensable to the relationship of entrustment is for the owner to have minimal contact with the herd manager, and in general avoid direct enquiries about the animals. The regular expenditure contributions or reimbursements owners have to make to the herd manager lead to more frequent contact, which is ultimately detrimental to the relations of trust between owner and herd manager.

The discussion on entrustment relations shows how livestock ownership and the changes therein are directly linked to the livestock transfers through which many animals come into Fulbe family herds.

Livestock Transfers

In exploring property rights in Fulbe family herds it is equally important to discuss how property rights are transferred and property relations established. It is through the transfer of livestock and rights that the herd becomes the nexus of social relations within the household, and with other pastoral households in the community.

Pastoral Fulbe in the Far North Province engage in a variety of livestock transfers within and between households.⁶ The main livestock transfers 'within' the household are the gift of heifer to children (*sukkilaaye*), indirect dowry (*sadaaki* – the gift of a cow to the bride from the groom's family), and inheritance of cattle (*donaaye*). There is no system of pre-inheritance gifts among agro-pastoral or peri-urban pastoralists in the Far North Province. The main livestock transfers 'between' households are loans (*nanngaaye*), temporary loans of a milk cow (*diilaaye*), entrustment (*goofalye*), guardianship (*halfinge*), gift (*hokkaange*), and purchase of an animal (*soodaaye*). These transfers can be categorized as three forms of change in property rights: ownership change (gift, purchase), nominal ownership change (gift to child, indirect dowry, inheritance), and change of holder only (loan, loan of a milk cow, entrustment, guardianship).

The parallel processes of pastoral intensification and Islamic renewal have resulted in more individual and exclusive property rights over animals, and a decrease in transfers within the household, while the increase in production costs is primarily responsible for the disappearance of transfers between households. Here I will briefly discuss these changes by comparing livestock transfers in each category in the peri-urban and agro-pastoral villages.

Gifts to Children

Sukkilaaye (plural *sukkilaaji*) is the gift of a heifer to a child from its parents, namesakes or kin, and is a livestock transfer from one generation to the next; it does not take place within generations. The *sukkilaaji* are generally given by parents to their children. Both mothers and fathers give, and both sons and daughters receive *sukkilaaji*, albeit sons more often than daughters. The child can be of any age. The *sukkilaaye* becomes the personal property of the child *huunde maako tabitinde* (his/her thing for sure), meaning that in principle the offspring of the *sukkilaaye* in the family herd are not taken into account when the inheritance is divided among the inheritors. *Sukkilaaye* is the livestock transfer that comes closest to what is described as pre-inheritance in other pastoral Fulbe societies (Bonfiglioli 1988; Dupire [1962] 1996).

One reason why parents give a *sukkilaaye* to their child is to test the latter's risku (luck, predestination). If the heifer reproduces plentifully and the child's cattle holdings grow, it bodes well for the future economic success of the child, and means

6. Following Hunt (2001), I use the term 'transfers' here because the concept of transfers covers both exchanges and gifts.

the latter has *risku*. The household head can profit from the risku of this child by giving multiple animals, which would consequently reproduce more rapidly than under the ownership of the household head. *Sukkilaaye* are given for a variety of other reasons as well – for example, the *sukkilaaye* might be born on the same day as the child; or the giver of the *sukkilaaye* is a homonym of the child; or the giver and the parent of the child are friends.

In the past, the household head retained the right of disposal over all the animals in the family herd, including the *sukkilaaji* of his children. The household head could sell them to provide for the family. He retained this right of disposal in principle until his death, although he gradually lost this right in practice as he ceded the daily management to his eldest son. Today household heads in the peri-urban village (but also in the agro-pastoral village) frequently complain that they have lost the right of disposal over *sukkilaaye*, to which children previously only had a nominal title. Children now protest the sale of their *sukkilaaye* and its offspring. In response, many peri-urban household heads no longer give their children *sukkilaaye*, which is reflected in the low percentage of *sukkilaaji* in the peri-urban herds compared to the agro-pastoral herds (0.6 per cent versus 3 per cent) (see Table 9.2).

Indirect Dowry

Sadaaki is the indirect dowry given to the bride by the groom's family. The Islamic tradition of *sadaaki* compensates women for the loss of their virginity in marriage. In the past, a bride was given a cow as *sadaaki* by her father-in-law from the herd of her husband's family. The gift did not involve the physical transfer of cattle but merely a change of ownership in the husband's family herd. The gift of a cow as indirect dowry all but vanished in the peri-urban area in the early 1960s and among agro-pastoralists in the mid-1970s. Today, fathers-in-law prefer to give the bride cash rather than cattle. In this way, the household head remains in complete control over all the animals in the family herd. The monetarization of the dowry is one example of the gradual disappearance of livestock transfers and the growing concentration of livestock ownership in the hands of the household head. Women complained that the monetarization of *sadaaki* meant that they had less (re-)productive capital and were thus more dependent on their husbands. Cash, they argued, disappears more swiftly than cattle, and even more so when the bride's parents take the money to finance her dowry.

This does not necessarily mean that women had more control over their *sadaaki* in the past. In principle, the *sadaaki* animal only remained the property of the husband's family if the woman ran away and the marriage was not consummated. In all other cases, the woman owned the animal(s). In practice, however, things were different. If a woman ran away or asked for a divorce, she lost the title to her *sadaaki* animal and its offspring (*jabbere sadaaki*). On the whole, it was considered reprehensible to ask for the return of a *sadaaki* animal, even if the husband had initiated divorce. In practice, a woman could only retake possession of a *sadaaki* animal when her husband died. In many cases, women did not even know they had been given an animal as *sadaaki*, or if so, which one.⁷ Fulbe men were always reluctant to give animals as *sadaaki*, and some joked about how women were

	Agro-Pastoral Village				Peri-Urban Village			
	Livestock transfers		Households involved in transfers		Livestock transfers		Households involved in transfers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I Loan (<i>nanngaaye</i>)	23	6.1	6	38	0	0.0	0	0
N Intergenerational gift (<i>sukkilaaye</i>)	1	0.3	1	6	0	0.0	0	0
Gift (<i>hokkaange</i>)	7	1.8	3	19	0	0.0	0	0
Loan milk cow (<i>diilaaye</i>)	0	0.0	0	0	0	0.0	0	0
Entrustment (<i>goofalye</i>)	92	24.4	10	63	8	1.5	3	50
Guardianship (<i>halfiinge</i>)	13	3.4	1	6	0	0.0	0	0
Purchase (<i>soodaaye</i>)	12	3.1	6	38	+/-100	19.2	6	100
All transfers (excluding purchase)	136	36.1	13	81	8	1.5	3	50
Total livestock/households	377	100.0	16	100	519	100.0	6	100
O Loan (<i>nanngaaye</i>)	21	5.6	3	19	6	1.1	1	17
U Intergenerational gift (<i>sukkilaaye</i>)	11	2.9	5	31	3	0.6	1	17
T Gift (<i>hokkaange</i>)	1	0.3	1	6	1.5	0.3	2	33
Loan milk cow (<i>diilaaye</i>)	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Entrustment (<i>goofalye</i>)	63	16.7	5	31	5	1.0	2	33
Guardianship (<i>halfiinge</i>)	43	11.4	1	6	396	76.3	5	83
All transfers	139	36.9	8	50	412	79.4	5	83
All transfers (excluding guardianship)	96	25.5	8	50	15.5	2.9	5	83
Total livestock/households	377	100.0	16	100	519	100.0	6	100

The table lists for the year 2000-2001 the number and percentage of animals that had come into the herd in each village via transfers (but not necessarily in that particular year). The number of purchased animals in the peri-urban village is an approximation; in some cases, the data is not conclusive on whether the animal in the herd or one of its ancestors was purchased. A few animals in the agro-pastoral village were counted twice, once as a loan given and once as a loan received. The peri-urban village includes both the village and the bush herd. 'Guardianship' is the largest category in the peri-urban village because it includes animals in bush herds entrusted to nomadic pastoralists. With the exception of the guardianship transfer, very few animals were transferred in the peri-urban village, only 2.9 per cent were given, and 1.5 per cent received (see Moritz 2003).

animal when her husband died. In many cases, women did not even know they had been given an animal as *sadaaki*, or if so, which one.⁷ Fulbe men were always reluctant to give animals as *sadaaki*, and some joked about how women were presented with a fictive animal named *koobaaye*, which comes from *kooba* (antelope), suggesting that women were given an antelope that had run away to the bush and disappeared (Moritz 2003).⁸

Loans

The *nannganaaye* or *haBBinaaye* of the WoDaaBe is the quintessential livestock loan in the Fulbe literature, and its ideology has been admirably described (Bonfiglioli 1988; Dupire [1962] 1996; Scott and Gormley 1980; Stenning 1959). The following is the basic principle of the WoDaaBe *nannganaaye*: a heifer is loaned and only returned to the owner after it has calved three times. The recipient is allowed to keep the three offspring. Loans serve as an aid for young herders to set up their own independent household and family herd, and as a means of reconstituting a family herd after a disaster. The literature often contains an implicit assumption that the WoDaaBe *nannganaaye* is a common Fulbe tradition rather than that of one particular Fulbe group (Bovin 1990: 52; De Bruijn and Dijk 1995: 323). There is no evidence, however, to support these assumptions (Moritz 2002).

In the *nanngaaye* (plural *nanngaaji*) tradition of Fulbe pastoralists in the Far North of Cameroon, for example, the recipient of the animal merely has usufruct rights over the animals, and no offspring are given.⁹ The *nanngaaye* does not involve a change of ownership. As one Pullo explained: *an kossam kanko kussel* (you [get] the milk, he [keeps] the meat). Hence the *nanngaaye* does not serve to support herders in setting up independent family herds since no offspring are given. The *nanngaaye* is given for an indeterminate period. Some owners may decide at a certain point to give a *nanngaaye* animal or one of its offspring to the recipient, that is, to transfer the ownership title. The recipient can then sell the animal he has taken care of as *nanngaaye*, and use the proceeds to cover household needs.

There are several reasons why pastoralists in the Far North give *nanngaaye*. One of the main purposes is to assist poor people with food aid. But loans are also given for practical considerations on the part of the lender (e.g. weaning of calves, lack of corral space). I found out that an additional reason for loaning livestock to fellow villagers without animals of their own is to enable them to participate in the social life of the village (Moritz 2002). Animal husbandry is a major topic of conversation

7. In some cases, the husband did not know which animal had been given to his wife as *sadaaki* either, since the latter was announced at a marriage ceremony at which neither groom nor bride were present.

8. *Hoobaaye*, on the other hand, is a genuine name for a cow. It comes from the same root, and means a cow with the colouring of an antelope. Men believe that women do not know the difference because cattle are not their domain.

9. Fulbe in the Far North Province of Cameroon use the terms *nannganaaye* (cow attached to someone) and *nanngaaye* (attached cow) interchangeably, as they both refer to the same thing, the loan of a cow. However, *nanngaaye* is also used for a variety of other animals because it literally means an attached cow (e.g. cows taken to the market are attached).

presented with a fictive animal named *koobaaye*, which comes from *kooba* (antelope), suggesting that women were given an antelope that had run away to the bush and disappeared (Moritz 2003).⁸

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There are several reasons why pastoralists in the Far North give *nanngaaye*. One of the main purposes is to assist poor people with food aid. But loans are also given for practical considerations on the part of the lender (e.g. weaning of calves, lack of corral space). I found out that an additional reason for loaning livestock to fellow villagers without animals of their own is to enable them to participate in the social life of the village (Moritz 2002). Animal husbandry is a major topic of conversation and entails a number of common everyday activities in the villages, such as herding and watering. Fulbe without animals are unable to fully participate in the social life of the village because they do not share common concerns or participate in socially meaningful daily activities. Finally, pastoralists give *nanngaaye* to reinforce and deepen friendships (*enDindirgo*). *EnDam* (love, affection) is a key component of the *nanngaaye*, even when it is given as food aid (*waalinde nyaamdu*).

Today, there are practically no *nanngaaye* in the peri-urban village of Wuro Badaberniwol (see Table 9.2). The majority of villagers did not even know what a *nanngaaye* was. Only a few absentee herd owners with close ties to nomadic pastoralists and herders who still practise transhumance knew the tradition, although they do not practise it. The main reason for the absence of *nanngaaye* in the peri-urban village is the enormous cost of keeping the animals. Whoever is too poor to own animals is also too poor to feed them. If someone were to give a *nanngaaye* to a

feeding sheep, cleaning stables). Only one and a half animals were given in the peri-urban village, compared to seven in the agro-pastoral village (see Table 9.2).

Entrustment and Guardianship

The last category of livestock transfers is the entrustment of animals. Entrustment is an umbrella term covering a variety of different livestock transfers – including *goofalye*, *halfinge*, and occasionally *nanngaaye* – that involve a change of holder but not of ownership. Here I make a distinction between loans (*nanngaaye*), entrustment (*goofalye*) and guardianship (*halfinge*), although I will also argue that there is considerable overlapping between loans and entrustment.

Goofalye (plural *goofalji*) is the temporary entrustment of one or more animals and is similar in many ways to the *nanngaaye* loan. The recipient of the animal(s) has usufruct rights over the milk but is not permitted to keep any of the offspring. There are exceptions; in some cases the herder is given an animal, compensated financially, or receives a salary for the herding (Moritz 2003).¹⁰

In fact, Fulbe sometimes use the term for loan animals (*nanngaaye*) in referring to entrustment animals. In general, one could argue that loaned animals are transferred with the goal of supporting the receiving household head, while entrusted animals are transferred to relieve the owner of the care and management of the animals. However, in many instances, the transfer of animals, loaned or entrusted, serves both purposes, making it difficult to distinguish between the two. I have argued elsewhere that the difference between loans and entrusted animals is a matter of degree, rather than kind (Moritz 2002). In either case, the owners could be kin, friends, or both, but loans are generally associated with closer friendship and kin ties. When a large number of animals are transferred, it is most likely a case of entrustment. When the benefits for the recipient are greater than for the owner, it is more likely to be a loan. When the owner compensates the recipient household head for maintenance costs (by giving an annual amount or a percentage of the sale price when the animal is sold), the animals are entrusted. However, if there is no compensation, the animals could be either loaned or entrusted. This is not the case with peri-urban pastoralists, where costs for entrusted animals always have to be reimbursed. In both cases, the recipient household has usufruct rights over milk, and the transfer is for an indeterminate period. The owner can legitimately take back the animals at any time, although it would be frowned upon (by the larger community) if this were to happen without warning or provocation, particularly when the recipient household is dependent on the milk of the animal(s).

There were few entrusted animals (*goofalye*) in the herds of peri-urban pastoralists (see Table 9.2). It was simply too expensive for non-pastoralists to entrust animals in the peri-urban area, although the costs were comparatively lower for them than for the peri-urban pastoralists, since they were not obliged to cover the total expenditure

10. This form of exchange is often associated in the literature with non-Fulbe farmers or absentee herd owners who entrust animals to impoverished herders (Thébaud 2002; Dijk 1994; White 1990). Among Fulbe pastoralists in the Far North Province the distinction between entrustment and more traditional loans is not always clear (Moritz 2002).

recipient who was poor, the owner would still have to provide supplementary feed, cover all the other expenses, and de facto continue to take care of the animal. This is incompatible with the idea of minimal contact between owner and recipient, where either loan or entrustment of animals is concerned. Some peri-urban pastoralists said that it was cheaper to sell animals than to loan them. Similarly, it was almost cheaper to buy milk at the local market than to take care of a *nanngaaye* cow. In short, increasing production costs have made livestock transfers more of a burden than a benefit for the recipient of the animal in the peri-urban areas.

Another livestock loan is that of the *diilaaye*, which is a lactating cow temporarily loaned as a form of food aid. There is some overlap between the *nanngaaye* and the *diilaaye*. On occasion *nanngaaye* animals can effectively serve as *diilaaye*, but they are not presented as such. The main difference between a *nanngaaye* and a *diilaaye* is that the former is loaned for an indeterminate period, while the latter is given only for the limited period of lactation. *Diilaaye* are generally given to families in acute need of milk. Animals in the peri-urban village were no longer loaned as *diilaaye* for the same reason that *nanngaaye* were no longer given. However, one pastoralist regularly gave milk to a poor household with an orphaned infant.

Gifts

In addition to livestock loans, Fulbe pastoralists in the Far North Province simply give each other animals with no strings attached, both within and between households. Wives give animals to their husbands and vice versa. Unlike other livestock transfers (e.g. *sukkilaaye*, *nanngaaye*, *diilaaye*), there is no specific term for this type of gift. Explaining these livestock transfers, the Fulbe simply said *mi hokki meere non* (I just gave [it] for nothing [or no reason]). They occasionally referred to the animal as *hokkaange* (the given cow). By and large, gifts within the household are primarily motivated by *enDam* (love, affection). Gifts presented to people from different households mostly serve to assist poorer kin or friends when sorghum stocks are low and/or corrals are empty. The recipient household could then either sell the animal and buy sorghum, or raise it to help rebuild a small family herd. On other occasions animals were given within the household as a form of pre-inheritance (similar to the *sukkilaaye*) or as compensation for work done in the household (e.g. feeding sheep, cleaning stables). Only one and a half animals were given in the peri-urban village, compared to seven in the agro-pastoral village (see Table 9.2).

Entrustment and Guardianship

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11. Others elaborated that the *kaliifa* arrangement is made by people before they travel when it is unclear when they will return. The *kaliifa* is then guardian of the cattle for the duration of the trip, regardless of whether it is two months or twenty years.

(*goofalye*) and guardianship (*halfinge*), although I will also argue that there is considerable overlapping between loans and entrustment.

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There were few entrusted animals (*goofalye*) in the herds of peri-urban pastoralists (see Table 9.2). It was simply too expensive for non-pastoralists to entrust animals in the peri-urban area, although the costs were comparatively lower for them than for the peri-urban pastoralists, since they were not obliged to cover the total expenditure for their animals. As a rule they only paid the 'individual' costs, while the herd managers covered most if not all of the 'collective' costs. Owners were much better off entrusting their animals away from the peri-urban area, where cottonseed cakes were unnecessary for the survival of the cattle (Moritz 2003).

The problem for many owners was to find a reliable herd manager there, who would look after the animals and not sell them without permission. This was only possible for livestock owners who had kin in the rural areas or enough animals (preferably an entire herd) to entrust to a *kaliifa* (guardian). The animals involved in these transfers are referred to as *kalfiji* (plural of *halfinge*). A *halfinge* entrustment is more formal and institutionalized than a *goofalye* entrustment. The distinguishing feature of this exchange is the involvement of a guardian or *kaliifa*, who is responsible for the animals and supervises the herder. Pastoralists often spoke of 'the book' (the Koran) when they referred to this form of exchange. Some people

argued that under the *kaliifa* arrangement, the owner always remains the owner, and that the *kaliifa* would guard the animals entrusted to him even against claims by the owner's children. The *kaliifa* is an entrustment arrangement used when the owner is absent. In such cases, the *kaliifa* replaces the owner and oversees the herder and the everyday management of the herd.¹¹ By invoking the Koran in the entrustment of cattle, where trust is essential, herd owners attempt to reduce the risk of livestock losses due to theft or sales by the herder. It is the common belief and observance of the rules of Islam, including those concerning guardianship, to which herd owners appeal to reduce the transaction costs of entrustment (see also, Ensminger 1992).

Many peri-urban pastoralists split their herds, keeping one part in the village (*cureeji*, *wurooji*) and entrusting the rest to nomadic pastoralists in the bush (*laddeji*). Most animals entrusted to nomadic pastoralists were further entrusted to a *kaliifa*, usually the leader of a nomadic camp. The *kaliifa* in turn entrusted the animals to herders, more often than not the *kaliifa*'s sons or other resident kin. The *kaliifa* has ultimate responsibility for the herd and is answerable to the peri-urban herd owners. The herders have usufruct rights over the animals and receive a monthly salary. Apart from small gifts (*gooro*, literally kola nut), there are no direct material benefits for the *kaliifa*. Most animals transferred in the peri-urban village were *kalfiji* (see Table 9.2). The main reason why peri-urban pastoralists entrust their animals to nomadic pastoralists under the guardianship of a *kaliifa* is to reduce the cost of raising animals. It is clearly too expensive to keep all the animals in the village and feed them with cottonseed cakes. Of all livestock transfers, guardianship carries the least social significance; it is primarily an economic and temporary relation. A number of peri-urban pastoralists constantly changed herders and/or guardians of their bush herds because they were dissatisfied with their herd management. In other livestock transfers (such as the *nanggaaye* and *diilaaye*), social relations are more important than the quality of herd management, and owners would not withdraw their animals for this reason.

Purchases

The individualization of livestock ownership was also strengthened by household members' investment of personal income in the purchase of cattle. On the whole, Fulbe in the Far North consider income from economic activities involving capital and/or labour investments by members of the household other than the head as private income, and not as collective income for the household. Similarly, livestock purchased with personal income is considered personal property and not the collective property of the household. This means that household heads do not have disposal rights over animals bought by other members of the household. Thus, two types of property can be distinguished within the family herd: animals bought with personal income (*coodaaDi*, singular *soodaaye*) and animals that belong to the ancestral family herd (*tawtawDi*) (see also, Hutchinson 1992: 305; Kelly 1990: 86). The household, or more precisely the women in the household, merely have usufruct rights over purchased animals, which have a similar status in the family herd to those owned by outsiders (*yaasiji*). The individualization of livestock ownership through the investment of personal income in livestock is a common phenomenon throughout the Far North;

the effect was particularly strong in the peri-urban village because far more animals in the family herd had been purchased with the income from commerce and cotton cultivation, most of them by household heads and their sons.

Conclusion

Overall, few animals in the peri-urban corrals have come there through livestock transfers (most transfers are of the guardianship type, which is primarily an economic rather than a social transfer). The disappearance of livestock transfers between peri-urban households is mostly due to the high cost and labour demands of raising animals. High production costs in the peri-urban village have rendered loans and entrustments more of a burden than a benefit for recipients and herd managers. The disappearance of livestock transfers within the households results primarily from the household heads' reluctance to transfer ownership titles in the family herd for fear of losing the right of disposal over these animals.

Finally, purchased animals are exclusively owned by individuals and do not represent social ties of any kind or obligations to others in the community. Unlike other transfers, market exchanges with 'strangers' do not create social relations (Gregory 1982). The increasing number of purchased animals in the peri-urban herds also means that the herds can be read less and less as social biographies of the respective households.