An Intimate Rebuke

Grillo, Laura S.

Published by Duke University Press

Grillo, Laura S.
An Intimate Rebuke: Female Genital Power in Ritual and Politics in West Africa.

For additional information about this book
https://muse.jhu.edu/book/65094

For content related to this chapter
https://muse.jhu.edu/related_content?type=book&id=2290486
Ababio, Nanan Kossua Prao, Queen Mother of the Abron, 121

Abidji people, 1–2, 21, 54, 117–19; age set system of, 70; Akan culture of, 123, 119–30; alliance with Adioukrou of, 142–51, 250n18, 250nn22–25; alliance with Dida of, 165, 250n22, 251n2, 251n11; Earth Priest (chef de terre) of, 27–28, 241n11, 242nn14–16; geography and territory of, 129; governance of, 118, 248n12; intermarriage with Adioukrou of, 142; marriage customs of, 132–33, 142; matrifocal principles of, 131–33; Ogbru clan of, 248n11; origin myths of, 26–31, 57, 119, 124–25, 129–33, 241n10, 242nn15–18, 242nn20–21; origins of, 128–29; patrilineal organization of, 117, 122, 130–33. See also Dipri; Egbiki

Ablé, F., 207–8

Abubakar, Abdusalami, 108

Adioukrou people, 21, 117–19, 240n1, 241n6; age set system of, 122; Akan culture of, 123, 129, 133, 135–36; alliance with Abidji of, 143–51, 250n19, 250nn22–25; coming-of-age celebrations of, 137–38, 241n16; Festival of Yams of, 21, 36, 143–46, 242n23; geography and territory of, 129; governance of, 118; intermarriage with Abidji of, 142; legal and spiritual guidance of, 136–38; Lowe ceremony of, 242n22; matrilineal organization of, 117, 122, 133–38, 142, 249n7–8; motherhood celebrations of, 137; oral tradition of, 163; origin myths of, 119, 124–25, 133–38, 143–45, 242n18; origins of, 128–29; origins of sékè among, 142–43, 146–48, 248n6, 249n14, 250nn20–21; rival confederations of, 143–45, 249–50nn15–18; spiritual source of power of, 134–35, 142–43. See also Dipri; Egbiki

African Union, 253n5

age set system, 69–73, 75, 77–79, 122, 246n14–16, 248n1

Agwa, 129. See also Adioukrou people

Aidoo, Agnes A., 245n8

AIDS, 182–83, 185, 198

Adler, Alfred, 55–56, 244n1, 245n3

Adya (Abidji ancestress), 130–31

The African Frontier (Kopytoff ), 122–23

“ African Traditional Thought and Western Science” (Horton), 239n4

African Union, 253n5

age set system, 69–73, 75, 77–79, 122, 246n14–16, 248n1

Agwa, 129. See also Adioukrou people

Aidoo, Agnes A., 245n8

AIDS, 182–83, 185, 198

Akan societies, 123, 129–30, 133, 135–36, 188; Festival of Yams of, 146; matrilineal traditions of, 157, 160, 178; slave trade and, 123, 251n7; statelessness of, 249n13. See also Baoulé people

Akpa Akpess, Paul, 51–52

Al-Kassim, Dina, 214–17

Amadiume, Ihi, 242n20; on conflated associations of female essentialism, 90; on essentialist feminist theory, 84; on neuter gender, 111; on stateless societies, 63–64; on West African matriarchal societies, 15, 65–66, 75–79, 127, 244n16, 246–47n19–20; on West African women’s essentialism, 84–85, 111; on women’s spiritual power, 66–67, 75

Amina, Queen of Zaria, 59

amnesia. See post–civil war memory
Amnesty International (AI), 175–77, 179, 182, 191, 201
Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS), 103
animal sacrifice, 28, 32–33, 41, 241n13
Anlu ritual, 96–97, 247n8
anticolonial activism, 81–82, 94–99, 105–6; Adjanou ritual in, 2–3, 188–89, 221; in Cameroon, 94–97, 247n4, 247n8; Grand-Bassam Women’s March of 1949 in, 207–8, 211–12, 215, 221; in Nigeria, 87–90, 95, 247n4; sexual violence and, 17–18, 112–13
Antoine, Gnamien M’Bandama Kouakou, 194
Anyi spiritual mediums, 147
Appadurai, Arjun, 233
Ardener, Shirley, 85–86, 94–97
Article 4 of Additional Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions, 253n5
Association générale des élèves et étudiants de la Côte d’Ivoire (AGEE-Cl), 180
Augé, Marc, 37
Axial Age thesis, 239n4
Bahida, Marthe, 113
Bakayoko, Anzata, 228–30
Bal, Mieke, 216
Banny, Charles Konan, 202–3
Baoule people, 24, 123; Adjanou ritual of, 2–3, 74–75, 186–88, 195; civil war and, 155–57; gender inversion performances of, 101–2; language of, 2, 4, 51, 241n8; origin myths of, 130–31; as targets of sexual violence, 181.
See also Akan societies
Bayart, Jean-François, 230–31
Bédié, Henri Konan, 158
Begré Kofi, 35, 44, 49–50
Bertin, Gnangra N’Guessan, 27–29, 34, 53, 241n12
Bété people, 74, 149, 155–57, 161–62, 181, 251n3, 251n5
Béth, Homi, 11, 19, 218, 226
Bidyo myth, 26–31, 57, 146, 241n10, 242nn15–18, 245n13
bilateral filiation, 136–38
Bindé, Jérôme, 171
blood pacts, 149–50, 165, 250nn22–25, 251n3
Boone, Sylvia, 247n6
Bro-Grébé, Geneviève, 72–73, 186–90, 252nn8–9
Burkina Faso, 157, 158–59
cannibalism, 182–83
castration, 56
Centre de Commandement et de Sécurité (CECOS), 193
ceremonial nakedness, 1
Chauveau, Jean-Pierre, 145
Chia, Mr., 96–97
childbirth posture, 59, 224, 229, 234, 244n14
Chirac, Jacques, 191
Christianity, 16, 79, 209, 254n10; fundamentalist practices of, 3, 232; gender ideologies of, 52, 81, 103–6, 215–16, 232; on nakedness and sexuality, 104–5; official privileging of converts to, 106, 248n10; on witches and witchcraft, 38–39; women’s resistance to, 66
civil society, 18, 230–31, 238
civil war, 10, 20, 26, 53–149; amnesty and amnesia policies after, 198–208, 253n12; Black Tuesday at the Hôtel Ivoire of, 190–92, 252n10; Duékoué massacre of, 184, 201, 233n4; Eburua rebellion of, 157; FGP and moral rebuke of, 3, 16–17, 53, 154–69, 205, 209–10; first eruption of, 159, 175, 198–99; foreign mercenaries in, 183; French role in, 159, 161, 188–92, 252n10; human rights abuses of, 175–77, 181, 190–92, 198–201, 233n12; identity politics of, 11, 125, 159, 162–65, 168–69, 250nn11; intergenerational tension in, 159–61, 168–69; intrawar period of, 161, 175, 181–83; land politics in, 154–61, 164; Ouattara’s opposition forces in, 158–59, 171, 179–81; peace agreement (MLA) in, 159, 175; peacekeeping forces of, 175, 181, 183, 191, 201; political factions of, 155; postponed elections and, 159, 171–72, 175, 183–84; rhetoric of, 155; role of women elders in, 113, 160, 165–69; second (postelectoral) eruption of, 169, 171–72, 175, 183–85, 193–96, 231, 251n1; sexual violence of, 17–18, 161, 171–88, 208, 228–30. See also contemporary uses of FGP; post–civil war memory
civil wars (in general), 152–53, 260n1
Claverie, Danièle Boni, 197
citoris, 93–94. See also genitalia
Collectif des Mouvements des Femmes Patriotes, 186

collective memory, 210–15, 218; of Ivoirian youth, 220–21, 254n11; official state versions of, 210–15, 218, 254n18; remembering to forget in, 204–7, 253n6. See also cultural memory

Collective of Women Victims in Côte d’Ivoire (cvci), 228–30

colonial occupiers, 250n18; constructions of ethnicity by, 155–56; economic policies of, 88–89; on fgp rituals, 81–82; Grand-Bassam Women’s March against, 207–8, 211–12, 215, 221; invisibility of women’s agency to, 63–64, 79, 81, 88–89, 94–95, 154, 180, 247n8; reification of traditional culture by, 211; sexual violence of, 112–13; uprisings against, 2–3, 81–82, 87–90, 94–97. See also strategic essentialism

Commission Dialogue, Vérité et Réconciliation (cdvr), 202–6, 214–16

Compagnie Républicaine de Sécurité (crs), 193


cosmopolitans, 6, 219–21


Csordas, Thomas J., 40

cultural memory, 212–21; alternative heritage discourse in, 212–14; postmodern disruptions of, 223–25; semiotic signs of, 219–20; subjugated archives of, 225–27. See also collective memory

Dan people, 155

Darwinism, 4

de Guise, Robert, 99

De Jong, Ferdinand, 210

Delafosse, Maurice, 2, 74–75

Democratic Union of Cameroonian Women (udefec), 113

Derrida, Jacques, 213

Désiré, Nanan Awoula Tanoé, 203

Dida people, 129, 165, 250n22, 251n2, 251n11

Dduk, Susan, 111

Dikeble, Joséphine, 130, 152

Diop, Cheikh Anta, 15

Dipri (definition), 31

Dipri (Kpol), 1–2, 14–17, 117–19, 142, 240n11

Dipri (Kpol) (continued)
  consecration in, 1–2, 21–24, 29, 31–32, 2.41n15, 2.43n24, 2.43n31; interethnic participants in, 31, 117–18, 145–51, 2.41n18; official oversight of, 27–28, 36–37, 2.41n11–12; preeminent power of women in, 33–36, 2.43n27–30; protection of women in, 32–33, 2.43n26; sékè (genie’s power) in, 22–24, 33–38, 41, 49, 134, 146–48, 2.40n4, 2.48n6, 2.49n14; spectators of, 21; symbolic elements of, 31–32. See also witches/witchcraft

Eb, 156–57, 2.49n17. See also home

Ebeb festival, 33

Ebere society, 68

Eburnea rebellion, 157

Economic Community of West African States (ecowas), 107–8, 175

Egbiki, 1–4, 14–17, 24–29, 40–53, 147–48; evolving terminology for, 50–52; expulsion of witches in, 24–25, 28–29, 31, 38–41, 135, 2.41n8, 2.42n19; magical potion in, 25; ritual components of, 47–53; taboos against observation of, 1, 24, 25, 46–47, 95–96, 217–18; transformative potency of, 44–53, 2.44n35–39; uncanny embodiment of witchcraft in, 41–47, 2.44n32. See also Abidji people; Adioukrou people; spiritual warfare

eggs and eggshells, 1, 22–23, 30, 32, 34–35

Ejikpaf patricalan, 142, 147–48. See also Adioukrou people

Ekpa-Atu society, 93, 109–10

Eliaïde, Mircea, 1

Emilienne, Low Agnime, 36–37

Erung Ok, 31. See also Dipri

essentialism, 82–83, 2.47n1. See also strategic essentialism

ethics (as term), 2.40n7

ethnic identity, 152–53, 250n1; autochthonous privilege and, 152, 158–59, 168–69; constructions of, 124–38; in Côte d’Ivoire’s civil war, 11, 125, 159, 162–65, 168–69, 250n1; in stateless societies, 162–65. See also interethnic alliances

ethnopornography, 222, 2.54n12

Evans-Pritchard, Edward, 85

Fafwê Women’s Song, 175

Fearon, James D., 152

Fédération estudiantine et scolaire de Côte d’Ivoire (fesci), 180, 2.52n13

female genital mutilation/cutting (fgm/fgc), 239n1, 2.46n12

Female Genital Power (FGP), 1–14, 239n1; as adaptive strategy, 9–10, 13–14, 16–18, 20, 52, 150–51, 154–69, 173, 228–38, 2.40n9; anticolonial work of, 2–3, 94–99, 105–6, 207–8; founding knowledge of the Mothers and, 55, 126–38, 146–51, 164–69, 250n20; genealogical history of, 8–9, 15–16, 118–19, 158–51, 2.40n5; Internet postings of, 221–26, 228–30, 234; Muslim women’s use of, 114, 2.48n12, 2.53n11; transformative potency of, 41–53, 2.44n35–39; ubiquity in West Africa of, 7, 16–17, 62–63, 71–72, 232–34; wordless self-representation of, 8, 235–38; youth awareness of, 221, 2.54n11. See also Adjanou dancers; civil war; contemporary uses of FGP; Egbiki; matrifocal morality; strategic essentialism

Femen, 2.40n9

Feminism without Borders (Mohanty), 237

feminist theory, 84, 111–12

Festival of Yams, 21, 36, 143–46, 2.42n13

Festivals of Generations, 70–71, 138

el-Fettach, Tarickh, 59

Fofana, Loséni, 201

Fonchingong, Charles C., 108–10

Force Licorne, 191

Forces de défense et de sécurité (fds), 194, 195–96

Forces Nouvelles, 181, 183, 191, 201, 2.54n14, 2.54n2

Foucault, Michel: on contested land, 172; genealogical method of, 15, 26, 85, 128; on knowledge and power, 2.49n9; on subjugated knowledge, 85, 206
founding knowledge, 126–51, 154, 164, 249n9; of Abidjis, 128–33; of Adioukrous, 133–38, 249n7–8, 250n20; in interethnic alliances, 138–51, 165–69, 249n11; primacy of female power in, 146–51, 164–69, 250n20
François, Amany Goly, 186–87
Freedom House, 202
Freud, Sigmund, 12, 42–43
frontier model of mobility, 122–23, 127, 129, 138–40, 143
Front Populaire Ivoirien (fpi), 158, 202
Gbagbo, Laurent: blanket amnesty policy of, 198–201; Christian community support of, 209; contestation of 2010 election by, 183–84, 194–96; destruction of monuments representing, 208–10; opposition activism of, 157–58; presidency and civil war under, 155, 158–59, 161, 167, 171, 179–80, 190–93, 208–10; removal from office of, 184; war crimes trial of, 158, 200, 253n3; women’s manifestations against, 195–97; women’s support for, 186, 188–90
Gbagbo, Simone, 167–68
Gbowee, Leymah, 107–8
gender inversion, 101–2
gender troubles, 15–16
genealogical inquiry: into constructions of ethnic identities in, 124–38; into matrifocal morality, 8–9, 15–16, 128, 139–42, 240n5; into spiritual basis of interethic alliances, 138–51, 249n9; uncovering of subjugated knowledge through, 26, 118–19, 206, 216–18
Geneva Convention, 253n15
genies, 146–47, 240n4. See also sékè
genitalia: curse of the childbirth posture and, 59, 224, 229, 234, 244n34; power of ritual exposure of, 35, 62, 74, 85–86, 115–16, 229, 234–35, 247n3–4; supernatural power of, 93–94, 189, 247n17; taboo against male looking at, 95–96, 194–96, 217–18, 238
gerontocratic hierarchies, 122, 144, 160–61, 168
Geschiere, Peter, 42
Gilbert, Michelle, 245n8
globalism, 5–7
globalization, 26, 79; alternative heritage discourse and, 213–14; cultural preservation and, 211–15
Gnassingbé, Eyadéma, 99, 114–15
Gnassingbé, Faure, 99, 114–15
Gommon, 29–31, 142–44, 242n21, 243n31, 248n1, 248n6
See also Abidji people
Goudé, Charles Blé, 191, 252n3
Grand-Bassam. See Women’s March in Grand-Bassam
great talking drum, 35
Guéré people, 155, 181, 184, 200
Guro people, 155
Guyer, Jane, 232
Haumant, Stéphane, 252n10
Hellweg, Joseph, 252n6
hermaphroditism, 56, 244n1
Hiba, Madeleine, 130, 152
HIV/AIDS, 202–83, 185, 198–99
home, 6, 19–20, 41–43, 159; matrifocal morality of, 54–80; strategic essentialism of FGP and, 81–116. See also unwomeliness
Hommel, W. L., 247n6
Horton, Robin, 239n4
Human Rights Watch (hrw), 176, 178, 180, 183–84, 200–201, 251n1
human sacrifice, 28, 241n13, 242n15
Hunt, Nancy, 86
Hunting the Ethical State (Hellwig), 252n6
identity. See ethnic identity
Ifeka-Moller, Caroline, 68, 89–92, 100
indigenous religion, 2, 232–34. See also matrifocal morality
“Initiation, Royalty and Femininity in Black Africa” (Adler), 55–56
International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 184
International Criminal Court (ICC), 184
International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), 201, 251n1
International Women’s Day, 197
Internet postings of FGP, 221–26, 228–30, 234
The Intimate Enemy (Nandy), 223–24
Islam, 3, 248n4, 254n11; in Côte d’Ivoire’s north, 162, 183, 252n2, 252n6; FGP practices and, 114, 248n12, 253n11; gender ideologies of, 232
Ivoirian Association of Women Patriots, 233–34
Ivoirian League for Human Rights (LIDHO), 201
Ivoirian Movement for Human Rights (MIDH), 201
Ivoirité, 125, 158–59, 168–69
James, Wendy, 76–77
Jaspers, Karl, 239n4
Jeunes Patriotes, 179–80, 191
Jones, Adam, 73, 101–2
Jung, Carl Gustav, 239n3
Kamenan, Adjoba, 45, 47, 49, 52
Kankurang masquerade, 211
Kano Chronicles, 245n15
kaolin clay, 31–32
Kobri, Monique, 198–99
kodjo, 189–90, 233–34, 254n1
Koffi, Akissi, 38
Koffi, N’goran, 187
Komian priestesses, 203
Koné, Bintou, 114
Kopytoff, Igor, 117, 121; on cultural coherence of southeastern Côte d’Ivoire, 126–27, 140, 141; frontier model of, 122–24, 127, 129, 138–39, 143; on kinship groups, 127, 248n4; on stateless societies, 249n12
Kouame, Affoue, 187
Kouamé, Yvonne, 194
Kpol. See Dipri
Kporu, 26, 28, 31–32, 142. See also Genies
Kragbé, Didier, 193
Kru (Krou) people, 122, 184, 251n2, 251n5
Kuu Dungmbrou myth, 29–31, 242n18, 242n20–21
Kwa people, 122
labia, 93–94. See also Genitalia
Lafargue, Fernand, 30, 31; on Abidji marriage customs, 133; on Baoulé incantations, 241n8; on Bidyo and the genie, 241n10; on the origins of sékè, 142–43, 248n6; on ritual use of pestles, 244n17; on sékè and angré, 37, 241n12; on sokoryibè, 50, 241n6, 244n18–19, 246n13
Laïtin, David D., 152
Laplantine, François, 51
Lawrence, Benjamin, 98–99
“Let’s Save Togo” Collective (CST), 114–15
Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien, 239n3
Liberia United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD), 107–8
localism, 5–7
Lodz myth, 133–34, 144
logocentrism, 7–8
Lonsdale, John, 27–28, 241n11
Lossi, N’zue Jacqueline, 187
Maasai warrior performance, 211
Making War in Côte d’Ivoire (McGovern), 124, 154
Male Daughters, Female Husbands (Amadiume), 65–66, 242n20
Manding people, 122, 153, 162–64
Manisa Musa, king of Mali, 56, 245n2
masking societies, 67–69. See also Sande society
maternity, 43–45, 75–76, 86–87
matriarchies, matriclans, and matrilineal organization, 18, 48, 54–66, 122, 127–28; Amadiume’s conclusions on, 15, 65–66, 75–79, 127, 244n36, 246–47n19–20; Christian missionary restructuring of, 52, 81, 103–6, 215–16, 232; dependence on fertility
of, 132, 137, 141, 248n5, 249n8; in dual-sexed collective self-rule systems, 63–66, 92;
exogamous marriage in, 141–42; female rulers and queen mothers in, 59–63, 178, 245nn5–8, 249n10; founding knowledge in, 133–38, 146–51; impact of modernization on, 9, 55; invisibility to colonial occupiers of, 63–64, 79, 88–89, 94–95, 154, 180, 247n8; lineage of male rulers in, 55–59, 60, 244n1, 245n4; matricentric bonds in, 65–66; ownership of land in, 160. See also Adioukrou people; matrifocal morality
memory. See post–civil war memory
memory crisis, 204, 214–16. See also post–civil war memory
memory-work, 218–19, 226–27
menstrual blood, 32, 137; kodjo as symbol of, 189–90, 233–34, 245n1; as pollution, 34–35, 45, 74, 150; power in sacred oaths of, 149–50
Mickel, Gérard, 253n1
Mmobomme, 73–75, 90
modernity: eclipse of indigenous traditions by, 3–5, 239n3–4; impact on women of, 9, 55; orientalizing binarism of, 5; situating the local in, 5–7
Mohanty, T., 237
moral (as term), 240n7
moral authority. See matrifocal morality
Moran, Mary H., 107
the Mothers. See Female Genital Power
Mouvement Patriotique de Côte d’Ivoire (MPCI), 181, 183, 186–88, 253n4
Mouvement Populaire Ivoirien du Grand Ouest (MPIOGO), 181, 183, 252n4
Mouvement Pour la Justice et la Paix (MJPR), 181, 183, 252n4
Muslim Brotherhood, 232
Muslim women, 114, 248n12, 253n11
myths: of the Abidji people, 26–31, 57, 119, 12.4–25, 129–33, 241n10, 242n15–18, 242n20–21; of the Adioukrou people, 119, 12.4–25, 133–38, 143–45, 242n18; of the Baoulé people, 130–31; of Bidyo and the origins of Dipri, 26–31, 57, 144–48, 241n10, 242n15–18, 242n20–21; of the Dogon ancestress, 144; enmity between men and women in, 247n9; genies in, 27–32, 57, 133–34, 144, 146, 241n10; “genii-ology” and, 133, 142, 148; history (mytho-history) and, 12.4, 130, 133, 143, 238n3; of Kuao Dungmbrò and the origins of sékè, 29–31, 146, 242n18, 242n20–21; of Nri and Igbo origins, 242n20; role of yams in, 26–27, 30–32, 146, 242n20; of women’s power, 245n3; of the Yoruba people, 57
Nahibly camp massacre, 200, 253n4
Nandy, Ashis, 223–24
National Commission for Reconciliation and the Indemnification of Victims (CONARIV), 228–29
National Day of Remembrance and Forgiveness, 203
INDEX @ 281
Index

neuter gender, 111
Neyo people, 231n3
N’Guéssan Edouard, 28–29, 242nn14–15
Niangoran-Bouah, Georges, 30–31, 242n19
Nigerian Women’s War, 87–90, 95
N’Zi, Serge-Nicolas, 189

Oduduwa, 57
Olupona, Jacob Obafemi Kehinde, 54, 58
Ondo-Yoruba. See Yoruba peoples
Orbaff, 241n5, 250n19; Egbiki in, 25, 47, 52; knowledge of fgp in, 221; Kpol in, 117, 143–45; sékè in, 23, 32–33, 36. See also
Adioukrou people
Ouattara, Alassane, 158, 171, 183–84, 195–97; Commission Dialogue, Vérité et Réconciliation (CDVR) of, 202–6, 214–16; compensation of victims under, 203; destruction of Gbagbo-era monuments under, 208–10; extra-judicial reprisals under, 200–201, 253n4; prosecution of sexual crimes under, 180, 251n1; prosecution of war crimes under, 199–202
Ouérémi, Amadé, 201, 253n4
Ousmane, Chérif, 253n2
Oywéumi, Oyérónké, 11, 59, 246n19
Oyo-Yoruba. See Yoruba peoples

Parti Démocratique de Côte d’Ivoire (PDCI), 157, 188
patriarchies, patriclans, and patrilineal organization, 77–79, 122, 136–38; royal succession in, 2,491n10; titulary genies of, 142. See also
Abidji people
Pechoux, Laurent, 188
Pentecostal Christian Church, 253n6
pestles, 1–2, 24–25; ritual use of, 46–49, 62, 71, 2,44n17; spiritual power represented by, 66, 74, 87, 147, 2,46n17
Pin, Jérôme, 251n10
Piot, Charles, 5, 7
Pokou, queen of Akan, 130–31, 2,44n8
political uses of fgp. See contemporary uses of fgp
Poro society, 68–69
post–civil war memory, 18, 198–227; accounts of traumatized victims in, 214–18; alternative native discourse in, 212–14;
Commission Dialogue, Vérité et Réconciliation (CDVR) and, 202–6, 214–16; destruction of Gbagbo-era monuments in, 208–10; Internet postings of fgp in, 221–26, 228–30, 234; of Ivorian youth, 219–20; monuments to women’s power in, 207–8, 211–12, 215, 254n7; nation-building and omission of the Mothers, 203–8, 227, 253n6; state-controlled collective memory of, 210–15, 218, 254n8; state policy of forgetting in, 198–201, 207–8; timeliness of fgp rebukes and, 206–10, 216–20, 226–38; youth knowledge of fgp and, 220–21, 254n11. See also cultural memory postcolonial politics, 234–38. See also contemporary uses of fgp; post–civil war memory
power associations, 66–69, 2,45–46n10–13
primitivism, 4
Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa, 253n5
Pupupu, 57
queen mothers, 59–63, 121, 178, 2,45n5–8, 2,49n10
Radhakrishnan, R., 234
rape and sexual violence, 17–18, 112–16, 161, 171–88; by colonial occupiers, 17–18, 112–13, 180; compensation of victims of, 228–30; criminal prosecution of, 180, 201, 251n1; fgp as response to, 172–73, 178–79, 185–88, 216–18, 228–30; impact on survivors of, 185, 198–99, 214–18; international conventions prohibiting, 176, 201, 253n5; international documentation of, 175–83, 191, 199, 251n1, 253n1; notions of shame and ruin in, 185; official amnesty and amnesia policies toward, 198–208; of the postelectoral period, 171–72, 175–76, 184–85, 231, 251n1, 2,52n6–7; rates of, 176, 177, 181; ritual responses to, 178; victim accounts of, 214–18; as a weapon of war, 172, 176–79. See also civil war; post–civil war memory
Rassemblement des Républicains (RDR), 179–81, 202
Rattray, R. S., 60
Reinventing Africa (Amadiume), 75–76, 78
Remote Global (Piot), 5
Republican Guard, 195–96, 199–200, 201
Republic Forces of Côte d’Ivoire (FRCI), 200–201
Réseau Ivoirien des Organisations Féminines (RIOF), 186
Richards, David, 14
Richards, Paul, 145
Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court of 1998, 253n5
Rowlands, M. J., 210
Sahuyé, 130, 242n21; Egbiki in, 1, 44, 49; FGP in, 35–36. See also Abidji people
Said, Edward, 10, 12–13, 198, 240n6
sanankuya, 164. See also Tokpè
Sande society, 68–69, 239n1, 245n10, 246n12; aggressive ritual appeals of, 100–103, 247n9; Sowo-uwi mask of, 93, 248n6
Sangroh Esaïe, 36
Sarkozy, Nicolas, 189–90
Schelling, Friedrich, 42
sékè, 22–24, 30–38, 41, 49, 240n4; origins of, 124–25, 134, 142–43, 146–48, 248n6, 249n14, 250nn20–21; protection of women from, 33, 243n26; witchcraft compared to, 36–38; women’s possession of, 34–36
Séképuone, 23–24, 34, 41, 147, 241n12, 250n17
seniority systems. See gerontocratic hierarchies
Sikinsi, 130
“Sitting on a Man,” 87–88
slavery and the slave trade, 123, 141, 160, 165, 251n7
sokoryibè, 50–52, 241n6, 244n38–39, 246n13
Soro, Guillaume, 186
South African Truth and Reconciliation model, 202, 214–15
spiritual power, 8–9, 66–67, 118–19. See also Female Genital Power
spiritual warfare, 73–75, 135, 150, 160, 194–95, 246nn17–18; of anticlonial uprisings, 87–90, 96–97; contemporary uses of, 160–69; female aggression in, 101–3, 247n9; traditional forms of, 73–75; use of pests in, 74, 87, 246n17. See also Egbiki
Spivak, Gayatri, 7, 14
stateless societies, 65–66, 122, 141, 249nn12–13; history and identity among, 162–65; warfare among, 160–61
Stoeltje, Beverly J., 245n5
Strobel, Margaret, 63
subjugated knowledge: genealogical inquiry into, 26, 85, 118–19, 206; reviving the archives of, 198–227. See also post–civil war memory
Takembeng society, 92–93, 108–12, 248n11
Taky, F., 175
Tanga, Pius T., 108–10
Tano, Nanan Kolia, 186
Tanoh, Marie-Claire, 49
Taylor, Charles, 107–8
Tchimu, 130–31
Thomann, G., 149
Tokpè, 165, 251n7. See also sanankuya
INDEX @ 283
Touré, Aya Virginie, 195–96
Touré, Samory, 251n7

tradition, 3–7; as a body of knowledge and practices, 4–5; as fossilized imperialist construct, 3–4, 239n3–4; situating local and global realities in, 5–7, 13–14
translocals, 6
Traoré, Moussa, 113–14
Traoré women-kings, 55–57
Truth and Reconciliation model, 202, 214–15
Turner, Victor, 76
Tutu, Desmond, 202

unESCO World Heritage Convention, 210–14
un High Commissioner for Human Rights, 176
un Operation in Côte d’Ivoire (onuci), 175, 183, 201, 252n6

unhomeliness and the uncanny, 10–12, 14–16, 19–20; embodiment in intimate spheres of, 41–47; Freudian interpretation of, 42–43; in postmodern disruptions of cultural memory, 223–25; sexual violence and, 112–16; supernatural power of genitalia in, 93–94, 189, 247n7; in witchcraft and sékè, 11–12, 21–53, 235, 240n4, 244n32. See also Dipri; home; witches/witchcraft
Union générale des victimes de guerre de Côte d’Ivoire (uvgci), 198–99

urine, 23, 25, 46–47, 96

vagina, 93–94. See also genitalia
van Allen, Judith, 87–89
Villepin, Dominique de, 188–90
Visonà, Monica Blackmun, 70–72, 249n14
Vodou, 98–99
vulva, 93. See also genitalia

Wawr, 137, 249n8. See also Adioukrou people
We people, 155
Werbner, Richard, 204
Wezza, Queen of Songhay, 59

witches/witchcraft, 11–12, 21–53, 150, 235; African connotations of, 21–22; ambiguous power of, 36–41; Egbiiki expulsion of, 24–29, 31, 38–53; political violence and, 16; of sékè (genie’s power), 22–24, 33–38, 41, 49, 240n4; soul-eating power of, 39–40, 244n32; uncanny embodiment in the Mothers of, 41–47, 244n32; Western constructs of, 38–39. See also Dipri
womb, 93. See also genitalia
women. See Female Genital Power; matriarchies, matriclans, and matrilineal organization; matrifocal morality
women-kings, 55–59, 61, 244n11, 245n4
Women of Liberia Mass Action for Peace, 107–8
Women’s Council of Nnobi, 67
Women’s March in Grand-Bassam, 188–89, 193; deployment of Adjanou in, 2–3, 189, 221; official monument to, 207–8, 211–12, 215, 244n11; youth awareness of, 221, 244n11
Women’s War, 87–90

World Heritage Convention, 210–14

worldliness of FGP, 10, 12–13, 16–17, 117–19; in Côte d’Ivoire civil war contexts, 154–69, 205, 209–10; in interethnic alliances and founding knowledge, 126–51, 165–69, 249n11; localized applications of, 150–51

Yaa Akyaa, Queen Mother of Asante Empire, 59

yams: Adioukrou Festival of, 21, 36, 143–46, 242n23; in origin myths, 26–27, 30–32, 146, 242n20. See also Dipri
Yao, Adjoua, 187
Yao, Amoin, 187
Yao, Flondoh, 187
Yao, Kouadio, 187
Yassap, 46. See also Adioukrou people
Yedoh, Edouard, 33
Yésone, Mme, 220
Yoko, chief of the Mende, 68

Yoruba peoples, 43–46, 244n34; on cooling female domination, 100–101; Edì celebration of Mọrèmi of, 45–46; Gelede festival of, 43–44, 244n39; gender fluidity in, 59; origin myths of, 57; political uses of FGP among, 59, 222–25; on supernatural power of female genitalia, 93, 247n7; women-kings of, 57–59, 245n4
Youe, Yvonne, 35

Zeka, Togui, 228