
Dangerous Speech in Central Mali

**A Critical Discourse Analysis of the Dogon-
Fulani Relationship**

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About the Project

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1. Introduction

Since 2012, the northern and central regions of Mali have been experiencing political and social unrest and increasing concerns about security. Today, contentious implementation of the peace accords that ended the 2012 rebellion in the north, combined with the recent spread of jihadism and arms in central Mali, has exacerbated intercommunal tensions and raised Mali's risk of return to large-scale conflict in general, and violence against civilians in particular. As part of the ongoing conflict, recurrent clashes between mostly pastoralist Fulani (Peul in French) and mostly sedentary Dogon ethnic groups have resulted in increasing casualties in the region called "Dogon country¹," part of the Mopti region in central Mali.

While researchers from various academic fields have investigated the conflict from different angles, the role of dangerous speech and the insight it might give into inter-group relations warrants further investigation. The focus of this pilot research project is an exploration of the usefulness of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a theoretical and methodological framework to describe and analyze dangerous/hate speech in central Mali where regular interethnic violence has been reported. Critical Discourse Analysis "is discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." (Van Dijk, 2015: 466). The study, which is based on a very limited sample size, investigates the nature and quality of the Fulani-Dogon relationship using an analysis of their discourse about each other.

This research is part of a broader effort to better understand the risk of atrocities against civilians in Mali and to inform prevention efforts (see "Regions at Risk: Preventing Mass Atrocities in Mali") Though most discussions about security in Mali focus on terrorism, armed group recruitment is often motivated by perceptions of threat between local groups rather than jihadist ideology. Understanding the intercommunal dynamics of the actors involved—which can be exhibited through the language each uses to talk about the other—can lend insight into each group's perceptions and motivations.

Given the political unrest, lack of security, and polarized social setting in Dogon country, a study of Dogon and Fulani discourse about the current situation in their area (in answers to open-ended questions), combined with word association (through multiple choice questions) is proposed to assess the nature and quality of the inter-ethnic social cohesion. Critical Discourse Analysis is used to understand how Dogon and Fulani talk about each other and how their discourse relates to their relationship, both historical and current. Ultimately, this analysis of social cohesion (or lack thereof) between communities, identified

¹ Dogon country covers Douentza, Bandiagara, Koro and Bankass circles in Mopti region.

through speech, can serve as a starting point for further analysis of the relationship between dangerous speech and violence in an area experiencing deteriorating inter-group relations and increasing conflict.

First, a diachronic outlook of the Dogon-Fulani relationship will be proposed. Then, I will present the research methodology, followed by results, discussion and limitations, and end with recommendations to mitigate the violent effects of dangerous speech and for further research.



1.1. Historical perspective on the Fulani-Dogon relationship in central Mali

The mainly pastoralist Fulani arrived in the inland Niger delta around the 14th century (McIntosh & McIntosh, 1981:73). The Dogon arrived around the same time and according to Dogon mythology, they

migrated from Mande (southern Mali) where they left their “parents” (the Malinke and Bambara, two ethnic groups in southern Mali).

During the Macina kingdom (1818-1862) and later the Fuutanke kingdom (1862-1893) the Fulani dominated the Dogon people politically, both on the plateau² and on the plains³ (Bouju, 1995: 97).

French colonialization (1892-1960) reduced Fulani dominance over the Dogon, and a switch of power occurred after independence (1960) as the Malian authorities adopted policies that promoted agriculture over pastoralism—effectively favoring the Dogon over the Fulani in terms of economics—and the democracy era (beginning in 1991), as the sedentary Dogon are more likely to participate in elections and thus could formally consolidate control over political power.

Pastoralist Fulani in Dogon country encountered difficulties coping with harsh climatic conditions (droughts) and animal diseases, unlike Dogon farmers who developed new farming strategies, whose youth started migrating to urban centers in the south of Mali to look for seasonal work, and who sent their children to school. These decisions helped switch the power balance in favor of the Dogon who became economically and politically influential and more powerful than the Fulani (see Nijenhuis, 2013 for a detailed analysis of the relationship between Dogon farmers and Fulani herders).

When Mali’s era of democracy began in the 1990s, ethnic associations emerged (Ginna Dogon for the Dogon, Tabital Pulaaku for the Fulani etc). The aims of these associations are to defend the languages and cultures of their communities and promote their social and economic welfare. Since their creation, these two associations have also been involved in Dogon-Fulani conflict management. Conflicts between Dogon farmers and Fulani herders are very common in the area as the groups clash over shared resources (i.e. access to pasturage, water, etc.). Every year at the beginning of the rainy season, killings of farmers and herders are reported, however, recently the scale and severity of these conflicts has increased.

De Bruijn (2000) reports that there is gender bias in the ways Fulani perceive Dogon (Fulani women have stronger negative perceptions of the Dogon than Fulani men, at least in the plains), also that the nature of the relationship is different depending on the area (plateau vs. plains). She argues that while on the plateau the relationship between the two communities is very conflictual, on the plains the Dogon-Fulani relationship is less violent. The two research areas (Douma and Jamweli Kessel) are near the border between the plains and the plateau.

² The plateau covers Bandiagara circle.

³ The plains cover south-east of Douentza, Koro and Bankass circles.

2. Methods

2.1. Data collection

I have identified two villages based on the following criteria: the inhabitants of one must be mainly Fulani and herders near a village where most of the inhabitants are Dogon and farmers. The two villages must be located around the border between the plateau and the plains. Following those criteria, I chose the villages of Douma for the Fulani and Jamweli Kessel for the Dogon.

Unlike other villages in Douentza (Mopti region, central Mali), Douma and Jamweli Kessel have not yet experienced large-scale inter-communal violence. However, they are on the border between the more violent plains vs. the less violent plateau. The factors influencing conflict throughout the region are equally present here, thus the following discourse analysis can provide insight into the ideologies of each group in an area at risk before conflict occurs.

Douma is a small village with 1467 inhabitants, with 729 men and 738 women (RGPH, 2009 personal correspondence with Mr. Dao in Douentza/Prefecture), located about 20 kilometers south-east of Douentza. To carry out the field research I worked with B. Tamboura, a Fulani from Nokara who has an MA (maîtrise) in Law from Bamako University, and has extensive experience of data collection with researchers and NGO staff in Douentza as well as local networks for recruiting participants. Five Fulani (three men and two women) were recruited for the interviews to take place on a weekly market day in Douentza (Sunday). It was too risky for the interviewer and the interviewees to do the interviews in Douma, which is thought to host a group of jihadists. On the interview day, two Fulani withdrew from participating, so B. Tamboura interviewed the three Fulani (two men and one woman).

All the Dogon interviewed are from Jamweli Kessel, a Dogon village located about 10 kilometers east of Douma. Jamweli Kessel has a larger number of inhabitants (3459) but the ratio of men to women is much the same in the two locations (about 50/50). The interviews were carried out in participants' compounds in Jamweli Kessel. For the Dogon interviews, I worked with A. Guindo, a Dogon from Douentza who holds a maîtrise in Sociology (Bamako University), who has long experience of collecting sociological data for many researchers in Douentza and has local networks through which he recruited the Dogon participants. He recruited five Dogon (two women and three men) and interviewed each in his/her own family home.

In total, five Dogon and three Fulani were interviewed, three women and five men in total. Given the small size of the sample, the findings in this pilot paper cannot be generalized. Participants' names were anonymized using two letters D (for Dogon) and F (for Fulani). (See Appendix A, Table 1.)

The questionnaire used for the interviews is made up of two parts: the first part is an open question, "Tell me whatever you know about what has been happening in your region recently," and the second part is about lexical association through multiple-choice questions. The questionnaire was written in French,

then each interviewer conducted interviews in the local language—Jamsay and Fulfulde—then translated the participants’ responses into French. See Appendix C for full questionnaire.

2.2. Data analysis

Four linguistic realizations/strategies were identified following Van Dijk (2006):

- Overall interaction strategies (positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation).
- Macro speech act implying our ‘good’ acts and their ‘bad’ acts, e.g. accusation, defense.
- Local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g. statements that prove accusations.
- Local meanings our/their positive/negative actions (be general/specific).

AntConc, a text/discourse analysis software, was used to retrieve the occurrences of these four linguistic strategies. To do this, I searched the first part of the questionnaire for the word “Fulani” in the Dogon corpus and the word “Dogon” in the Fulani corpus. Occurrences of the word “Fulani” were found in the Dogon corpus, whereas no occurrence of the word “Dogon” was found in the Fulani corpus. I checked the Fulani data and found that instead of “Dogon” the Fulani used the personal pronoun “They.” The occurrences of “They” were then retrieved and analyzed.

3. Results

3.1. Answers to the open-ended questions

3.1.1. Overall interaction strategies

Positive self-presentation

D3 describes members of her ethnic group (Dogon) as peaceful people who avoid conflicts. She gives a positive representation of her ethnic group: “the Dogon always avoided conflict between the two communities.”

As regards the Fulani, none gives a positive representation of the Fulani. The absence of positive self-representation in the Fulani data could be explained by the fact that the Fulani moral code (Pulaaku) does not recommend talking about oneself.

Negative other-presentation

Both in the Fulani and the Dogon data, negative other-representation instances are found. For example, in the Dogon data, D1 uses very negative lexicalization and description of the Fulani: “they are thieves and

backstabbers. He [Fulani] is capable of changing word (i.e, saying ‘yes’ today and ‘no’ tomorrow). He is always the first to betray [...]. So, in conclusion, he is not good.”

She calls Fulani “gugnogugno” (“thieves”), “jambagine” (backstabbers) and “amanasaara” (people who do not honor their word). According to a popular belief held by various sedentary ethnic groups, when people entrust their animals to a Fulani, the animals never thrive because the Fulani takes all of them and tells the owners that the animals died. D3’s “thieves” could be understood as an expression of this popular belief. As regards the accusation according to which Fulani do not honor their word, it is important to note that in an area where “speech” is sacred for almost all ethnic groups, being called “a person who does not honor his word” is a grave offense. A Fulani proverb says: “dimo e konngol mun, diimaajo e golle mun” (a literal translation: noble is with his word, slave descendant is with his work). This means that a noble is the one who honors his/her word, while a slave/slave descendant will not be blamed if he does not honor his word. In their class conscious society, the social distinction between nobles and slaves is very important.

The Fulani use extremely negative words when describing the Dogon, with a focus on both moral and physical qualities, as illustrated by F3: “They are black people who are short, fat, unintelligent and ugly.”⁴

3.1.2. Macro speech act implying our ‘good’ acts and their ‘bad’ acts, e.g. accusation, defense

D2 thinks that the Fulani look down on the Dogon and were the first to kill in the Fulani-Dogon conflict, “And the Fulani tend to minimize the Dogon. That is what brings conflicts. It is also the Fulani who started killing the Dogon.” D1 adds that the Fulani are also the first to betray the Dogon, thus the Dogon are just defending themselves against the Fulani who attacked them: “He (Fulani) is always the first to betray.”

This linguistic strategy is not found in the Fulani corpus.

3.1.3. Local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g. statements that prove accusations

The Fulani are associated with “jihad” in Dogon discourse. For D5, Fulani are jihadists and the argument to support this claim is that jihadist preaching—prevalent throughout Mali and other countries in the region and exchanged generally via mobile phones—is in Fulfulde, the language spoken by the Fulani. D5 says, “They have also integrated the jihadists because the preaching is done in the Fulani language.”

3.1.4. Local meanings our/their positive/negative actions (be general/specific)

⁴ « Baleejo » (a black), « baleeBe » (black people)

The popular belief about the Fulani is that the Fulani are all nomads and thus have no land/home village. D2's following statement shows this popular stereotype which has been generalized: "The Fulani, wherever he is, is not owner of the land so there is no village that belongs to Fulani alone."

Understanding negative other-presentation, as observed in the speech from either side, can indicate types of existing hostility to outside analysts, as well as reinforce that hostility between the Dogon and Fulani. The belief, as exhibited by the Dogon, that the Fulani are the ones to start conflicts, are untrustworthy, and that they don't belong to the land could be interpreted as justification for the Dogon to cast all Fulani as "bad" actors, one step towards the dehumanization that is common in inter-ethnic conflicts. On the Fulani side, they use extremely negative language to describe their close neighbors, suggesting that the dislike and dehumanization is mutual.

3.2. Word association

To check the robustness of the findings in the first part of the questionnaire (which studies the answers to the open-ended question), word association through multiple choice questions was used in the second part of the questionnaire.

3.2.1. Inter-ethnic relationship through time

As one of the aims of this pilot study is to assess the quality of the Fulani-Dogon relationship through the respondents' perceptions, and how those perceptions have changed in light of the recent rise in intercommunal conflict and violence, we asked participants what the quality was of the Fulani-Dogon relationship in the past and today. (See Appendix B for all survey result data.)

All respondents (Fulani and Dogon) said that their relationship in the past was good, but four of the five respondents stated that the current situation is bad. Responses to the question of the relationship today indicate that the Dogon perceive a deterioration of inter-ethnic cohesion. The Fulani perception is different, as two of the three respondents said that the situation is still good while one Fulani respondent said that the current situation is very bad.

3.2.2. Inter-ethnic cohesion and language

Inter-ethnic marriage and inter-ethnic joking relationships are good markers of mutual consideration and social cohesion as they are viewed as means to maintain social stability and avoid inter-ethnic conflicts. The joking relationship is common in Mali and is a social institution in most parts of West Africa. It is meant to create and consolidate inter- and intra-ethnic cohesion (Fouéré, 2005). It exists between Dogon and Bozo, between Fulani and blacksmiths, but not between Fulani and Dogon.

In order to assess the participants' perception of Fulani-Dogon social cohesion, questions were asked about inter-ethnic marriage, inter-ethnic joking relationships, the languages they speak, and words and expressions used to talk about the other ethnic group.

In response to the question, "Is there any marriage between Dogon and Fulani?", all respondents (Dogon and Fulani) said that there is not interethnic marriage, indicating that none of the participants know of a case of a mixed ethnic Fulani-Dogon couple in their social network.

When asked, “Is there a joking relationship between Dogon and Fulani?”, four of the five Dogon respondents said there is not a joking relationship between Dogon and Fulani, whereas two of the three Fulani respondents said yes. This could be explained by the fact that Fulani use more offensive words when talking about Dogon than Dogon do when talking about Fulani. Thus some Fulani are perceiving their words as joking, but the Dogon do not take it as such, increasing the likelihood for the Dogon to take offense.

When asked whether they speak the language of the other ethnic group, all Dogon respondents said yes, they speak Fulfulde, whereas all the Fulani respondents said no, they do not speak any Dogon language.

Offensive words and phrases were investigated and respondents were asked, “What do you call the Fulani/Dogon people? What does it mean?”

Table 2 (see Appendix A) shows that one phrase was given by the Dogon: “Sune bane” (red ears), and two words by the Fulani: “Kado” (potash) and “Kadam” (sour milk). The list shows that the words used are not new (i.e. they have not emerged during the current conflict). The words used by the Fulani (the word “Kado” in particular) have been used since the time of the Macina and Fuuta kingdoms, but since the 1990s and the era of ethnic associations the Dogon no longer accept the exonym “kado.” They prefer the endonym “Dogo’in.” As regards the Dogon phrase “sune bane,” it is used by the Dogon to name all people of light skin and even white people, thus it is possible that it dates back to the first time the two communities met.

3.2.3. Inter-ethnic cohesion and security issues

Ideological constructs are investigated to look for information about what/who is perceived as the threat/enemy and jihadist. As Fulani were associated with jihad in the first part of the questionnaire (open-ended question) by D5, the following questions are meant to check whether all the participants share D5’s perception.

Researchers asked, “Who is a threat to your ethnic group?” (Rephrased as “Who does not like your ethnic group?”), followed by a second question: “Who is jihadist?” Results show that Dogon consider Fulani to be the sole threat. All the Dogon respondents said that Fulani are a threat to their ethnic group, and four of the five respondents said that Fulani are jihadists. Unlike the Dogon participants, Fulani respondents perceive a diffuse threat where various ethnic groups are named.

When asked, “Who likes your ethnic group?”, the Dogon answer Bambara and Songhay. Bambara and Songhay also appear in the Fulani data too. It is difficult to interpret this finding.

When asked about who is a herder and who is a farmer, all participants (Dogon and Fulani) think that cattle herding is exclusively a Fulani work. All Dogon participants and one Fulani think that Bambara and Songhay as well as Dogon are farmers. The two other Fulani said that all ethnic groups do farming, including Fulani, Dogon, Bambara and Songhay.

A general belief holds that Fulani are herders and Dogon are farmers. Yet this has never reflected fully the reality on the ground. Although the majority of Dogon are farmers and Fulani are herders, this labor division on the ethnic group divide has changed. There are more and more Fulani who farm, as herding alone is not enough to live on, and more and more Dogon buy animals (cows, sheep and goats), which are used as investments as their economic conditions have improved in the last decades. Thus, the two ethnic groups have more in common than they realize.

4. Discussion

The participants' ideology, as reflected in their discourse, is disconnected from reality. The Fulani discourse does not reflect that there has been a switch in power and that the Dogon are economically more powerful than they are. They still speak about Dogon as if this ethnic group is inferior to them with some Fulani thinking that the Dogon are all farmers, inferior to Fulani as regards beauty and intelligence, and that they work for them. In fact, the opposite relationship is now common in the area, but is not reflected in their discourse. For example, some Fulani who lost their cattle now take care of cattle that belong to Dogon.

According to the Dogon, Fulani society is still based on slavery and herding, Fulani do not speak Dogon languages, and they are associated with invaders, colonizers, jihadists and people who do not honor their word. The three Fulani in this study do not speak Dogon, nor do most Fulani. This could be explained by (1) the historical dominance of Fulani over Dogon in the area and (2) a sociolinguistic setting where Dogon languages are not mutually intelligible and there was no dominant Dogon lingua franca before, during and after the Macina and Fuuta kingdoms. Nowadays, Bambara is playing more and more the role of lingua franca in Dogon country.

5. Limitations

Working with communities who speak local languages requires thorough knowledge of these local languages and their cultures, or having well-trained local interpreters and translators. Often there is not an exact equivalent across languages, yet the issue of concern (social cohesion and security) requires clear and accurate translations in order to grasp the detailed semantic of each word, each phrase, each sentence used by the respondents. I acknowledge that I may have lost some nuances as information was translated from the respondents' L1 (Jamsay and Fulfulde) to French and later from French to English. I tried to

lessen the impact of translation shortcomings by discussing the formulation of each question in the questionnaire with the interviewers before they started doing the interviews. After the interviews, and before the interviewers wrote the answers to each question in French, I discussed translation (terminology) issues with both of them.

The fact that the study is based on data collected from only eight participants makes the findings weak and no generalization must be made until it is replicated with a larger dataset. More Fulani participants and more women would be needed to reach sound conclusions.

6. Recommendations

Though the findings from this study cannot be generalized due to the small sample size, the following recommendations are proposed to address deteriorating inter-group relations and in particular the recurrent Fulani-Dogon conflicts:

Promote Fulani-Dogon complementarity to emphasize social cohesion

Most Malians listen to the radio at least once a week, making radio programming an effective means to reach diverse populations across Dogon Country. To encourage social cohesion across communities, radio programs should promote Fulani-Dogon complementarity. For instance, comic figures could joke about the two ethnic groups' flaws and to call for unity, solidarity and social cohesion. Radio programs should invite Fulani to speak Dogon languages on the radio, and Dogon to speak Fulfulde and interview Dogon herders about their daily lives as herders and Fulani farmers to do the same to bring awareness of the similarities between groups. Programs might also invite historians to talk in a dispassionate way about the Macina and Fuuta kingdoms and their negative impact on the Dogon people. Indeed, recognition that some Dogon suffered slavery and exploitation during the two Fulani led kingdoms will help reconcile the two communities.

Encourage inter-communal events focused on peaceful coexistence

Invite local authorities to have a special day to celebrate Fulani-Dogon/herder-farmer peaceful coexistence, using Fulfulde and Dogon languages in all activities. Initiate and support Dogon-Fulani twin villages' cooperation, and as part of an effort focus on supporting youth and women's associations with Dogon and Fulani from different villages.

Foster local conflict management and prevention activities

Set up early warning systems in villages and try to involve village chiefs and local religious leaders in conflict prevention and management.

Additionally, linguists might build on this study or replicate it in other countries or regions. To do so, I recommend they:

- Use the same criteria to identify villages at risk – that each village is generally ethnically homogenous and that the villages are near one another.
- Work with research assistants who speak local languages and who are familiar with fieldwork methods.
- Increase the sample size to at least 30 participants from each village.
- If possible, carry out interviews within home compounds for safety and comfort of participants, ideally in the local languages.
- To continue this work in Mali in particular, I recommend identifying 2 villages in Koro circle (the plains) and 2 villages in Bandiagara circle (the plateau) based on the criteria used in the current study to extend the reach of the assessment. The inhabitants of one must be mainly Fulani and herders near a village where most of the inhabitants are Dogon and farmers.

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8. Appendices

Appendix A

Table 1: Interviewees

Ethnicity	ID	Gender	Spoken languages	Place of birth
Dogon	D1	F	Jamsay, Fulfulde	Jamweli Kessel
	D2	M	Jamsay, Fulfulde	Jamweli Kessel
	D3	F	Jamsay, Fulfulde	Jamweli Kessel
	D4	M	Jamsay, Fulfulde	Jamweli Kessel
	D5	M	Jamsay, Fulfulde	Jamweli Kessel
Fulani	F1	M	Fulfulde	Douma
	F2	M	Fulfulde	Douma
	F3	F	Fulfulde	Douma

Table 2: Offensive words and phrases

Ethnicity	ID	Word(s) used	Meaning(s)
Dogon	D1	Sune Bane	Red ear
	D2	Sune Bane	Red ear
	D3	Sune Bane	Red ear
	D4	Sune Bane	Red ear
	D5	Sune Bane	Red ear
Fulani	F1	Kado, KaaDam	Potash, sour milk
	F2	Kado	Potash
	F3	Kado	Potash

Appendix B: Survey Data

Respondents (N=8; Dogon = 5; Fulani = 3)		
	Dogon	Fulani
What was the quality of Fulani-Dogon relationship in the past?		
Very good	0	0
Good	5	3
Bad	0	0
Very Bad	0	0
What is the quality of Fulani-Dogon relationship?		
Very good	0	0
Good	1	2
Bad	4	0
Very Bad	0	1
Are there any marriage between your two ethnic groups (Fulani/Dogon)?		
Yes	0	0
No	5	3
Is there any inter-ethnic jokings between you and the [Fulani/Dogon]?		
Yes	1	2
No	4	1
Do you speak the language of the other ethnic group?		
Yes	5	0
No	0	3
Who is a threat to your ethnic group?		
Bambara	0	1
Fulani	5	0
Songhay	0	0
Dogon	0	1
Bambara+Songhai	0	0
All of them	0	0
None of them	0	0
Don't know	0	1
Who is jihadist among these groups?		
Bambara	0	0
Fulani	4	1
Songhay	0	0
Dogon	0	0
Bambara+Songhai	0	0
All of them	1	1
None of them	0	0
Don't know	0	1
Who likes your ethnic group?		
Bambara	3	0
Fulani	0	0
Songhay	0	1
Dogon	0	0
Bambara+Songhai	2	1
All of them	0	1
None of them	0	0
Don't know	0	0
Who is a herder?		
Bambara+Songhai	0	0
Fulani	5	3
Who is a farmer?		
Bambara+Songhai	5	1
Fulani	0	2

Appendix C

Entretien avec un Peul (L'entretien se fait en fulfulde. L'agent note les réponses)

Nom :

Prénom :

Village/quartier :

Ethnie (endonymie+exonymie):

A. Discours continu

1. Raconte moi tout ce que tu sais sur les dogon (faire parler le participant pendant 2 minutes)

B. Perception des relations inter-ethniques

2. Qu'est-ce qui différencie votre groupe ethnique des Dogon?
 - a. Traits physiques
 - b. Traits vestimentaires
 - c. Professions
 - d. Difficile de nos distinguer
 - e. Rien ne nous distingue
3. Existe-t-il des mariages entre vos deux groupes ethniques (peul/dogon) ?
4. Dans le passé quelles étaient vos relations avec les dogons ?
5. Est-ce qu'il y a un cousinage entre vous et les dogons ?
6. Quelle est la qualité de la relation que votre ethnie entretient avec les dogons ?
 - a. Très bonne
 - b. Bonne
 - c. Mauvaise
 - d. Très mauvaise

C. Connaissances sur le conflit en cours

7. Connais tu des cas de conflits qui ont opposé des Peuls aux Dogon ?
 - a. Quelles étaient les causes ?
 - b. Qui avait raison ?
 - c. Qui avait tort ?
 - d. Que faut-il faire pour éviter ces conflits ?
8. Savez vous où vivent (où se trouvent) les dogons dans votre région ?
9. Etes vous armés ?
10. Les Dogon sont armés (fusils/coupe-coupe) ?
11. Est-il possible de tuer des centaines de Dogon ?
12. Que faut-il faire pour éviter ça?

D. Répertoire langagier/attitudes linguistiques et discours de haine

13. Tu parles jamsay?

- a. Oui
 - b. Non
14. Tu aimes le jamsay?
- a. Oui (Qu'est-ce que tu aimes dans cette langue ?)
 - b. Non (Qu'est-ce que tu n'aimes pas?)
15. Quels sont les mots que vous utilisez pour désigner les dogons? (datation)
16. Que veulent dire ces mots ?
17. Si un membre de l'ethnie dogon est présent et vous n'êtes pas sûr s'il parle fulfulde comment le nommez vous dans vos conversations pour qu'il ne comprenne pas que c'est de lui qu'il s'agit ? (datation)
18. Connaissez vous des chansons peules dans lesquelles on parle des dogons? (datation)
19. Si oui, que dit cette chanson ?(datation)
20. Savez vous si les dogons ont des chansons dans lesquelles on parle du bien ou du mal des peuls ? (datation)
21. Si oui, donnez un exemple (datation)
22. Connaissez vous des expressions ou des proverbes en fulfulde dans lesquels on parle des dogons? (datation)
23. Si oui, donnez un exemple (datation)
24. Savez vous si les dogons ont des chansons dans lesquelles on parle du mal ou du bien des peuls ? (datation)
25. Si oui, donnez un exemple (datation)
26. Comment appelez vous les membres de l'ethnie dogon? et quel est le sens de ce mot ? (datation)
27. Y a t-il un autre nom pour désigner les dogons ? si oui quel est ce mot et quel est son sens ? (datation)
28. Comment les dogons vous appellent et quel est le sens de ce terme/mot? (datation)
29. Tu parles une langue dogon?
- a. Oui
 - b. Non

E. Associez les expressions suivantes (Plusieurs choix sont possibles)

- | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>30. Qui est djihadiste parmi ces groupes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun <p>31. Qui est capable de tuer les Peuls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun | <p>32. Qui aime les Peuls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun <p>33. Qui n'aime pas les Peuls</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

34. Qui est l'ennemi des Peuls
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
35. Qui est « coupeur de routes »
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
36. Qui est voleur
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
37. Qui est animiste
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
- Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
38. Qui est éleveur (berger)
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
39. Qui est agriculteur
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
40. Qui est donso
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun

F. Sources de revenus

41. Quelle est votre principale source de revenus (vous vivez de quoi ?) :
- a. Agriculture
 - b. Elevage
 - c. Les deux (si oui lequel domine ?)
 - d. Commerce (si oui quelle est l'ethnie majoritaire de vos clients)?

Entretien avec un Dogon
(L'entretien se fait en Jamsay. L'agent note les réponses)

Nom :
Prénom :
Village/quartier :
Ethnie (endonymie+exonymie):

G. Discours continu

42. Raconte moi tout ce que tu sais sur les peuls (Faire parler le participant pendant environ 2 minutes)

H. Perception des relations inter-ethniques

43. Qu'est-ce qui différencie les dogon des peuls ?
- a. Traits physiques
 - b. Traits vestimentaires
 - c. Professions
 - d. Difficile de nos distinguer
 - e. Rien ne nous distingue
44. Existe-t-il des mariages entre vos deux groupes ethniques (peul/dogon) ?
45. Dans le passé quelles étaient vos relations avec les peuls ?
46. Est-ce qu'il y a un cousinage entre vous et les peuls ?
47. Quelle est la qualité de la relation que votre ethnie entretient avec les peuls ?
- a. Très bonne
 - b. Bonne
 - c. Mauvaise
 - d. Très mauvaise

I. Connaissances sur le conflit en cours

48. Connais tu des cas de conflits qui ont opposé des dogons aux peuls?
- a. Quelles étaient les causes ?
 - b. Qui avait raison ?
 - c. Qui avait tort ?
 - d. Que faut-il faire pour éviter ces conflits ?
49. Savez vous où vivent (où se trouvent) les peuls dans votre région ?
50. Etes vous armés ?
51. Les peuls sont armés (fusils/coupe-coupe) ?
52. Est-il possible de tuer des centaines de peuls ?
53. Que faut-il faire pour éviter ça?

J. Répertoire langagier/attitudes linguistiques et discours de haine

54. Tu parles fulfulde?
- a. Oui
 - b. Non
55. Tu aimes le fulfulde?

- a. Oui (Qu'est-ce que tu aimes dans cette langue?)
 - b. Non (Qu'est-ce que tu n'aimes pas?)
56. Quels sont les mots que vous utilisez pour designer les peuls? (datation)
57. Que veulent dire ces mots ?
58. Si un membre de l'ethnie peule est présent et vous n'êtes pas sûr s'il parle jamsay comment le nommez vous dans vos conversations pour qu'il ne comprenne pas que c'est de lui qu'il s'agit ? (datation)
59. Connaissez vous des chansons dogons dans lesquelles on parle des peuls?
60. Si oui, que dit cette chanson ?(datation)
61. Savez vous si les membres de l'ethnie peule ont des chansons dans lesquelles on parle du bien ou du mal des dogons? (datation)
62. Si oui, donnez un exemple (datation)
63. Connaissez vous des expressions ou des proverbes en jamsay dans lesquelles on parle des peuls? (datation)
64. Si oui, donnez un exemple (datation)
65. Savez vous si les peuls ont des chansons dans lesquelles on parle du mal ou du bien des dogons? (datation)
66. Si oui, donnez un exemple (datation)
67. Comment appelez vous les membres de l'ethnie peul ? et quel est le sensé de ce mot ? (datation)
68. Y a t-il un autre nom pour designer les peuls? si oui quel est ce mot et quel est son sens ? (datation)
69. Comment les peuls vous appellent et quel est le sens de ce terme ? (datation)
70. Tu parles fulfulde?
- a. Oui
 - b. Non

K. Associez les expressions suivantes (Plusieurs choix sont possibles)

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>71. Qui est djihadiste parmi ces groupes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun <p>72. Qui est capable de tuer les dogons</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun <p>73. Qui aime les Dogon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun <p>74. Qui n'aime pas les dogons</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella ▪ Tous ▪ Aucun <p>75. Qui est l'ennemi des dogon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Bambara ▪ Peul ▪ Songhay ▪ Dogon ▪ Bella |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

- Tous
 - Aucun
76. Qui est « coupeur de routes »
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
77. Qui est voleur
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
78. Qui est animiste
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
79. Qui est éleveur (berger)
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
80. Qui est agriculteur
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
 - Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun
81. Qui est donso
- Bambara
 - Peul
 - Songhay
- Dogon
 - Bella
 - Tous
 - Aucun

L. Sources de revenus

82. Quelle est votre principale source de revenus (vous vivez de quoi ?) :
- a. Agriculture
 - b. Elevage
 - c. Les deux (si oui lequel domine ?)
 - d. Commerce (si oui quelle est l'ethnie majoritaire de vos client)