Androcentric Memories of Enslavement, Social Reproduction, and Racial Capitalism in North-Western Senegal

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Abstract

In eighteenth and nineteenth century Senegal, women constituted most of the enslaved population. Despite this demographic overrepresentation, contemporary memories of enslavement are predominantly androcentric. This article highlights this androcentrism and ties it to changes in labour and gender that occurred under racial capitalism. A study of 100 newspaper articles published in Senegalese and French media during the last decade reveals that 55 percent of them were biased towards describing enslaved people as masculine figures, versus only 11 percent representing them as women. This androcentrism of memories can be attributed to the conflation of the trans-Atlantic trade with the local indigenous trade, the patriarchal nature of the Senegalese state inherited from colonialism, and the transition to racial capitalism under which women's labour was rendered invisible. Today, these memorial processes hide the negative socio-economic legacies of enslavement on racialised working-class women and children. These findings illustrate the necessity to centre gender dynamics in studies of the memories and archaeology of enslavement.

Introduction

In north-western Senegal, most of the enslaved population throughout the late modern period was composed of women. In 1773, about 67 percent of the enslaved population in Saint-Louis (fig. 1), the main French trading post in West Africa other than Gorée, were women (Searing 1993). In 1845, there were still 4241 adult women for only 2809 adult men among the enslaved population in Saint-Louis and Gorée (SEN XIV 13, ANOM) (fig. 2). Despite this overrepresentation of enslaved women within local slavery, an analysis of 100 articles

related to enslavement published during the last decade in Senegalese and French newspapers reveals that enslaved persons are today mostly described as masculine figures. This research therefore echoes the first lines of Robertson and Klein's (1983: 3) *Women and Slavery in Africa*: "Most slaves in sub-Saharan Africa were women. But many accounts of African enslavement are written as though the slaves were exclusively men".

The archaeology, memory, and heritage of enslavement in Africa has been the focus of an increasing number of publications over the past two decades (Akyeampong 2001; Apoh 2020; Araujo 2010; Frith and Hodgson 2015; Gqola 2010; Kusimba 2004; Lane and MacDonald 2011; Ly and Thiaw 2021; Marshall and Kiriama 2017; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Schramm 2007; Thiaw 2011; Thioub 2012). In Africa, and Senegal in particular, archaeological studies of enslavement have often been conducted with great attention and sometimes in response to the ways enslavement is memorialised in society (Lane and MacDonald 2011; Thiaw 2011). Although historical and archaeological accounts have dealt with enslavement and gender in Africa (Campbell et al. 2005 ; Candido 2020; Croucher 2007; Jordan 2005; Paton and Scully 2005; Robertson and Klein 1983), gender has often remained a side note in studies of the memory and memorialisation of enslavement (see Hill-Yates 2012 for an exception).

Using a Marxist, Black, and decolonial feminist framework, this article will demonstrate and analyse the androcentrism of memories of enslavement in Senegal, tying it to historical changes in labour relations. Here, androcentrism means that these memories tell masculine-centred stories or universalise the masculine experience, a frequent issue which has been discussed in heritage studies and archaeology (Conkey and Spector 1984; Engelstad 2001; McAtackney 2018; Smith 2008; see Battle-Baptiste 2011 and Franklin 2001 for Black feminist perspectives). Social reproduction theory, which comes from Marxist feminism, will enable us to tie these androcentric memories to a discussion about changes in labour and gender under racial capitalism. Social reproduction refers to the activities often performed by women—preparing food, washing clothes, taking care of children, and so on—necessary to create and maintain all workers' labour power. Under capitalism, while productive labour realised by men is officially recognised, reproductive labour performed by women is rendered invisible (Bhattacharya 2017; Federici 1975; Mohandesi and Teitelman 2017; Sow 1986;

Vergès 2021).

Androcentric memories of enslavement, and their relation to the invisibility of social reproduction under racial capitalism, will be analysed within the context of the imposition of a 'colonial/modern gender system' (Lugones 2007; see also Oyewumi 1997) in West Africa. This does not mean that patriarchy did not exist in pre-colonial societies, but rather that European colonialism imposed new gender norms as well as a specific gendered division of labour suitable to racial capitalism. This had consequences for both the organisation of labour and its memorialisation, which will be analysed in this article.

The example of the historical region of Saint-Louis and its hinterland will be taken to illustrate this research, which relies on archival work undertaken in the Archives nationales d'outre-mer (ANOM) in Aix-en-Provence, France, and on the analysis of 100 newspaper articles about enslavement in Senegal published between 2011 and 2022 in the Senegalese and French press.

Predominance of women among the Senegalese enslaved population

Between the sixteenth and the twentieth centuries, there were three main slave markets in Senegambia with differences in gender ratio. The first was the trans-Atlantic slave trade, through which 498,500 Senegambians were enslaved across the Atlantic (Eltis 2001) and where between 61 and 64 percent of enslaved people were men (Geggus 1989; Lovejoy 1989). The two other markets were the trans-Saharan and the indigenous market (Robertson and Klein 1983). Through the trans-Saharan trade, about 98,000 people were extracted from Senegal between 1400 and 1900 (Nunn 2008), most of which were women and children (Robertson and Klein 1983). Finally, regarding the indigenous market, Klein (1998) estimates that about 35 to 40 percent of the total population of Senegal during the nineteenth century was enslaved, and that in some areas up to two thirds of the enslaved were women. The data from Saint-Louis and Gorée cited in the introduction illustrates these gender dynamics as well. This last form of enslavement, with enslaved Africans in service to African or Euro-African enslavers, boomed in response to the European trade, but adhered to a local caste system. It has been described as 'African', 'internal' (Robertson and Klein 1983), 'indigenous' (Kankpeyeng 2009; Thiaw 2011) or 'domestic' (Klein 1998). Enslavement was eventually forbidden in Saint-Louis and Gorée in

1848—although the illegal trade continued for several decades—and in the rest of French West Africa in 1903-1905. In some areas, indigenous enslavement still has deep legacies today with the continued existence of a lower social status and stigma associated with people of enslaved descent (Ames 1953; Bayart 2007; Klein 1998; Rodet 2010; Thioub 2012).

Saint-Louis and its hinterland are a good illustration of the indigenous enslavement system. Its economy relied, since its foundation, on enslaved labour. In 1845, for example, enslaved people and indentured labourers accounted for about 54.6 percent of the total population, of which over 60 percent were women (SEN XIV 13, ANOM). Similarly along the Senegal River, enslaved people represented about 50 percent of the population in the region of Dagana (north of Saint-Louis) and 26.2 percent of the population in Podor (east of Dagana) (Klein 1998: 256), again, mostly women. Enslaved men in Saint-Louis were craftsmen or *laptots* (sailors), while enslaved women were *pileuses* (pounders of millet) or *blanchisseuses* (laundry women). In the countryside, both genders practised agricultural work (Klein and Roberts 2005) but women remained in charge of the majority of socially reproductive labour. This situation presents many similarities with the documented condition of enslaved women in other regions of Africa. For instance in Cape Town, South Africa, enslaved women tended to be domestic servants. Jordan (2005) has excavated a washing place associated with these enslaved servants, showing how the various artefacts retrieved can be analysed as the material traces of enslaved women's labour, and discussing how the location of this washing place outside the enslavers' house allowed the washerwomen more freedom.

The reasons for the predominance of women among the enslaved population in West Africa has been debated by historians since the 1970s-80s (Miers and Kopytoff 1977; Robertson and Klein 1983). Meillassoux (1983: 49) hypothesised that "in slavery, women were valued above all as workers, mostly because female tasks were predominant in production". Moreover, while enslaved women could perform labour considered to be traditionally masculine, the opposite was seen as humiliating.

Klein (1983) elaborated on Meillassoux's interpretation by arguing that enslaved women produced less wealth for their enslavers than men because they

also had to take care of domestic tasks, and so were preferred for their ability to create domestic units that integrated enslaved men. I believe this criticism to be partly biased and to rely on a distinction between productive (which would directly produce wealth) and socially reproductive labour that was not as present in pre-capitalist societies, as the sociologist Fatou Sow (1986) has, for instance, noted. The arguments of Klein and Meillassoux form two sides of the same coin: that is, enslaved women were valued because they performed tasks similar to those allocated to enslaved men but additionally, they were also the ones in charge of most of the socially reproductive labour (preparing food, washing clothes, taking care of children, and so on).

Life and agency of enslaved women

Legal cases from the archives are incredibly revealing about the harsh life and physical conditions endured by enslaved women in north-western Senegal. These include frequent cases of gender-based violence against captive women, including sexual violence and beating (SEN VIII 13, ANOM). Many enslaved people also ended up in colonial prisons in Saint-Louis, such as Niacoura in 1843, an enslaved woman and mother of a young child, who was sentenced to five years in prison for minor theft (SEN VIII 13, ANOM). Women—some still very young and recently enslaved during conflicts on the mainland—were also overrepresented in the post-1848 illegal trade in Saint-Louis. An 1875 case tells the story of Diama Thiam, a woman born into the blacksmith caste, who had been enslaved during the Kajoor War and was sold several times before arriving in Guet-Ndar (a neighbourhood of Saint-Louis). It is mentioned that her enslaver in Guet-Ndar mostly used her for domestic work and that she also faced violence from him. However, she eventually found relatives in Saint-Louis who encouraged her to seek freedom (SEN XIV 16, ANOM). Another case from 1875 concerns Kounadi Diara, a 12-year-old girl enslaved during a raid in Kaarta (modern Mali) and brought to Guet-Ndar by Hassaniya Darmanko traders (SEN XIV 15, ANOM).

As shown by the case of Diama Thiam seeking freedom in 1875, most enslaved women were central agents in their own emancipation. In 1848, the French governor of Saint-Louis reported that enslaved people in the city were very organised and could express their collective power (Searing 1993). In the

Moniteur du Sénégal, which reported all liberations happening in Saint-Louis, mostly resulting from slave flights, almost 60 percent of the adults listed as freed between 1868 and 1888 were women (Klein and Robert 2005). Research such as that undertaken by Duke-Bryant (2019) on the case of liberated minor girls in the 1890s-1900s also shows the variety of strategies employed by freedwomen to build themselves new lives and new identities after emancipation, including by forming kinship ties and marrying outside of their enslaver's households. Klein and Robert (2005) similarly show how some formerly enslaved women used colonial tribunals to their advantage to obtain divorces.

Androcentrism of memories

To assess whether the history of enslaved women is publicly remembered, and their roles recognised, I analysed 100 newspaper articles related to enslavement in Senegal. These articles were published between 2011 and 2022, mostly in the Senegalese press (in the newspapers *Nouvel Horizon, Ndarinfo, Le Soleil, Sene. News, Le Quotidien*) but some also in the French or international press (in the newspapers *Le Point Afrique, Jeune Afrique, L'Obs, Libération or Le Monde*).

Articles with a masculine bias focused on traditionally-masculine enslaved occupations such as that of *laptot* (enslaved sailor) or *ceddo* or *tiédo* (enslaved soldiers of the crown). Otherwise, they directly named enslaved men, or they used 'il' (he) or 'un' (masculine indefinite article) to refer to the figure of the enslaved. The rare articles with a feminine bias mostly focused on specific individuals or historical episodes, such as the resistance of the women of Nder who in November 1819 preferred suicide to enslavement (five of the 11 articles with a feminine bias focused explicitly on this episode). Articles categorised as 'neutral' did not mention gender, while articles categorised as 'mixed' mentioned both enslaved men and women. A link to the full list of articles, with their categorisation and comments justifying it, can be found in the 'Primary Sources' section of this publication.

To give a precise example, between 2011 and 2012 in *Ndarinfo* (a Senegalese magazine published in Saint-Louis), seven articles regarding enslavement in Senegal were published. Two were about the trans-Atlantic trade, four about indigenous local enslavement, and one mentioned both. Of these articles, four had a masculine bias: they all used masculine articles or pronouns, three mentioned

specifically enslaved soldiers of the crown, and one mentioned the existence of cells for both enslaved men and women in Gorée but then went on to repeatedly refer to enslaved people as masculine. One was mixed, mentioning occupations traditionally performed by enslaved women and by enslaved men. Finally, the last two were focused on feminine figures: one remembering the episode of the resistance of Nder and one briefly mentioning a fictional enslaved woman.

The result of this analysis, presented in Figure 4, shows that 55 percent of all articles presented enslaved people in masculine ways, compared to only 11 percent presenting them as women. Articles were therefore five times more likely to represent enslaved people as masculine rather than feminine. The remaining 34 percent of articles were either mixed or neutral. These results contrast dramatically with the historical reality of local Senegalese enslavement where most of the enslaved were women. This significant androcentrism of mainstream memories of enslavement reveals a widespread process of silencing the history of enslaved women.

Thiaw (2011) and Thioub (2012) have argued that the focus of governments exclusively on the commemoration of the trans-Atlantic slave trade participates in hiding the deep legacies of local slavery and caste systems in West African societies, as will be further discussed below. Following the same logic, it is easy to argue that the exclusive and over-focus of contemporary Senegalese memories on enslaved men hides the negative impact of the legacies of enslavement on women, and particularly racialised working-class women.

These dynamics also permeate archaeological studies, where women and their labour are too often silenced, this situation being even worse for racialised women (Battle-Baptiste 2011; Croucher 2007; Franklin 2001; Kent 1998). Some archaeologists working on the African continent have tried to address these issues to varying extents (Croucher 2007, 2011; Jordan 2005; Thiaw 2003, 2008, 2011), but this has often led them to come into direct confrontation with either official narratives or the limitations of the archaeological record itself.

Croucher (2011) for instance discusses the difficulty of identifying archaeologically forms of enslavement associated with women, such as enslaved concubinage in nineteenth-century Zanzibar, and therefore the need to complement archaeology with other sources such as oral history.

On Gorée Island, Senegal, Thiaw (2003) has conducted an archival and archaeological project which has led him to challenge national narratives that have little interest for the everyday life of the enslaved, and consequently keep quiet on the historical overrepresentation of enslaved women. In particular, his archaeological research has demonstrated how in the post-eighteenth-century period enslaved women likely played a central role in the diffusion of European trade goods on Gorée (Thiaw 2008), making them critical agents in changes in the local material culture.

Archaeologies of enslavement that attempt to re-centre women in their interpretation therefore often come up against the androcentrism of official memories evidenced above, challenging decades of silencing enslaved women's history.

Patriarchal society and conflation between trades

In the case of Senegal, two factors can initially be discerned to explain the androcentrism of memories of enslavement: the patriarchal nature of the state, and the conflation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade with indigenous slavery.

The roots of the presentation of enslaved people as masculine figures can be traced back to colonial times, because of the patriarchal assumptions of both male colonial officials and African elites. For instance, an inquiry into questions of enslavement and freedom in Senegal undertaken between 1842 and 1844 by the Commission of Colonial Affairs, later crucial in debates about emancipation, interviewed over 40 enslaved persons along the Senegal River (SEN XIV 13, ANOM). Of these, all were men, mostly *laptots* (sailors), despite the overrepresentation of enslaved women in the region. The voices of enslaved men were therefore already centred in colonial documents, echoing the ground-breaking analysis of Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) on how the making of sources and archives already begins the process of silencing certain voices.

The "masculine and patriarchal dimension of the [Senegalese] state" (Sow 1997: 12)—heritage of these French colonial policies and of the imposition of the colonial/modern gender system (Lugones 2007), which is reinforced by the conservative views of part of the religious hierarchy (Creevey 1996)—perpetuated this ideology through the present day. Moreover, both the people writing on enslavement (academics or journalists) as well as the people asked to remember

the enslaved (oral history interviewees) are most often men. For the 58 articles analysed in this study for which a gender could be assigned to the author, 53 were written by men (i.e., 91 percent, with some authors having written up to five articles) against only five that were written by women. History being written by men, the misogynistic erasure of enslaved women, and the construction of androcentric memories, is far from surprising in this context.

Finally, the conflation of the trans-Atlantic slave trade with indigenous slavery has been noticed by numerous researchers and heritage specialists across Africa (Lane and MacDonald 2011: 12; Thiaw 2011; Thioub 2012). However, men were demographically more represented within the trans-Atlantic trade than within the indigenous one. Men constituted about 64 percent of the enslaved population shipped from West Africa by the French (Geggus 1989; Lovejoy 1989), potentially because the preference of the African market for women and children meant that men were the ones sold to European traders (Klein 1983). The demographic overrepresentation of men within the trans-Atlantic trade, and the fact that this form of enslavement is today conflated with indigenous slavery and is the principal one commemorated (Thiaw 2011; Thioub 2012), partly explains the androcentrism that extends to the memories and narratives concerning indigenous enslavement.

Invisibilisation of women's labour under racial capitalism

In addition to the two factors mentioned above, a third reason appears when one analyses today's androcentric memories of enslavement within the historical context of the transition from an indigenous slave mode of production to a 'racial capitalist' one. Under capitalism, the (socially reproductive) labour of women is rendered invisible, having consequences for memories about past women's labour. The term 'racial capitalism' was put forward by Cedric Robinson (1983) to emphasise the centrality of ideas of race in the functioning of capitalism. Racial order, he argues, plays a central role in the organisation of labour under capitalism, and was one of the key forces behind its expansion into a world-system.

Some research has been done on this transition to a capitalist economy in Senegal, but most has been written from an androcentric standpoint. Babacar Fall (1993) has presented the labour transition that happened during the twentieth century as a triptych: slavery – forced labour – wage labour. Forced labour ex-

isted officially from the early twentieth century until 1946 and is often described as a way for the colonial metropole to obtain cheap labour and prolong enslavement under a derivative form (Fall 1993). However, the recruitment of women for forced labour was forbidden, although women and children were present on forced-labour sites to perform domestic tasks (Tiquet 2019). Women, who were a majority in slavery, became therefore (officially) absent from forced labour, and are today on the margins of wage labour. In 1979, only 2.67 percent of wage earners were women, of which more than half were underpaid domestic workers (Sow 1986). In 2020, the situation had improved but women still represent only 39.4 percent of the labour force (ILO 2020). The triptych 'slavery – forced labour – wage labour' therefore hides the disappearance of half of the labour force (i.e., women) from a group seen as central to production (enslaved women) to one conceptualised as having little relation to it, despite this being false, and obfuscating the centrality of socially reproductive labour, care, and domestic work to the functioning of society.

The existence of unwaged, unrecognised socially reproductive labour, mainly performed by women, is indeed essential in any capitalist system for surplus to be produced by men (Federici 1975). This is why after the abolition of slavery, men were able to integrate more rapidly than women into capitalist relations, as more waged jobs were open to them (Robertson and Klein 1983). Instead, domestic work, mostly performed by racialised and overexploited women throughout the world, was made invisible and disposable by capitalism (Vergès 2021).

The Senegalese sociologist Fatou Sow reached similar conclusions in 1986. Sow traced the current exploitation of Senegalese women to the disruption of the precolonial self-productive economies by the colonial capitalist economy. In the former, she argues, agricultural and pastoral production was performed at the family-level, and the labour of women was recognised as equally important to that of men. However, after the advent of the international specialisation of labour and colonial or racial capitalism, women's labour became proletarianised and unrecognised (Sow 1986). Similarly, Paton and Scully (2005: 1) have noted that the "transition from slavery to regimes more compatible with free wage labor ideologies was crucially dependent on the gendered organization of 'free' labor which made women's work invisible".

Even today, the labour of social reproduction, necessary for the survival of the whole family unit, falls disproportionately on women. Moreover, just as in the times of slavery, wealthy Senegalese families can delegate part of this domestic work onto exploited working-class women, such as the *mbinaanes* ('domestic workers' in Wolof). When this continuity of legacies of exploitation appears in newspaper articles, specifically when contemporary occupations are compared to the condition of being enslaved, virtually all these occupations are realised by women and children. An article published in March 2021 in *Nouvel Horizon* denounced the manslaughter of a 17-year-old *mbinaane* by her employer, mentioning how *mbinaanes* are often treated like slaves (Nhnews 2021). Another article published in the same newspaper in October 2020 mentioned two examples of what the author considered forms of 'modern slavery' in Senegal (Ndiaye 2020). These were the housemaids or *mbinaanes*, and the *talibés*—young boys from poor families sent to study with a marabout (Muslim religious teacher) but often ending up being exploited and facing abuse (Einarsdóttir and Boiro 2016; Manzo 2005). Mainstream media can therefore reveal how forms of un-freedom still disproportionately affect women and children, while at the same time masculinising the figure of the enslaved. This androcentrism of memories enables the continuity between contemporary forms of un-freedom and past forms of enslavement, both disproportionately affecting women, to go unchallenged.

In summary, racial-capitalist gender norms, common to both the Senegalese colonial and post-colonial states, built an image of the man as worker and the woman as mother and housewife. This logic then penetrated contemporary memories, creating an erroneous image of the enslaved worker as essentially masculine.

Future possibilities and conclusion

Numerous groups and campaigns fighting for women's liberation have denounced Black and African women's continued oppression and economic exploitation. We can think of feminist groups such as *Yewwu-Yewwi* in Senegal in the 1980s, emerging from the early Senegalese women's liberation movement of the 1970's, which self-defined as fighting against the patriarchy (Kane and Kane 2018). We can also think of groups among the Senegalese diaspora in France such as the *Coordination des Femmes noires*, created in 1976 which ad-

dressed discriminations faced by Black women both in Africa and as immigrants in France (CdFn 1978), or the more contemporary afro-feminist group *Mwasi Collective*. Senegalese and African feminisms have gained increased traction in the last decades, successfully campaigning for the adoption in Senegal in 2010 of a law on gender parity in political elections (Tøraasen 2019), and resulting in positive memorialisation, such as the Women's Museum Henriette-Bathily in Dakar (fig. 5).

On a final note—and building upon the bridges of solidarity built by activist groups of Senegalese women and women from the Senegalese diaspora in France—it is worth noting the similarities that have emerged between androcentric memories of enslavement in Senegal and androcentric memories among the Senegalese diaspora in France. Most West African migrants to France come from the Senegal River basin, in the historic hinterland of Saint-Louis. The first to arrive were the *tirailleurs* (i.e., colonial infantry, recruited mainly among formerly enslaved people) from the First World War onwards. They were later joined by their families and wives, who often became domestic workers (Gonin 2001; Petit 2002; Remy 1977). Vergès (2021) notes how the comfortable life of French white bourgeois women today is possible because thousands of exploited and racialised women, whose work is made invisible, maintain this comfort. It is therefore interesting to note how the 1996 *sans-papiers* movement, which entered into discussion with the French authorities to demand the regularisation of undocumented migrants, reclaimed itself from the debt owed by France to the *tirailleurs* (Bayart 2007). The history of the mass of Senegalese women whose labour enabled the building of the French empire, and who today still work as domestic workers in France, was therefore kept silent. This is just another illustration of the emphasis put on androcentric memories during dialogues between people of Senegalese descent and the French authorities.

The androcentrism of memories of enslavement therefore hides the disproportionate socioeconomic impact of the legacies of enslavement and colonialism on women, and especially Black and African working-class women. Contemporary memories of enslavement should be reframed to centre the labour history of women. As described above, some of the factors behind this androcentrism include the patriarchal nature of the Senegalese state and the conflation between the trans-Atlantic trade and indigenous slavery, but above all the role of racial

capitalism in rendering Black women's labour invisible.

These findings, although here limited to public memories, have implications for the constructions of narratives in archaeology, history, and heritage studies. Authors must be wary of not reproducing mainstream androcentric biases, and should actively challenge them to avoid presenting accounts which would not reflect the historical reality as well as hide its potential contemporary legacies. Jordan (2005: 218), studying enslaved washerwomen in Cape Town, offers a promising path noting how "the triple burden of race, gender and class has rendered slave women all but invisible", but that archaeology, relying directly on material traces rather than archival documents, can offer "a partial solution to this problem of sources." If anchored in the work of activist collectives currently fighting the oppression of Black and African women—and if coupled with material and systemic changes, including for instance wealth reparations from France to Senegal—critical perspectives from heritage, memory studies, and archaeology could play a role in revealing and challenging the contemporary ideological bases of the oppression of racialised women and of contemporary forms of un-free labour.

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A file containing the research data is available here: https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.95044 . It contains the links to the 100 newspaper articles analysed, as well as the categorisation of their gender bias and comments justifying it.

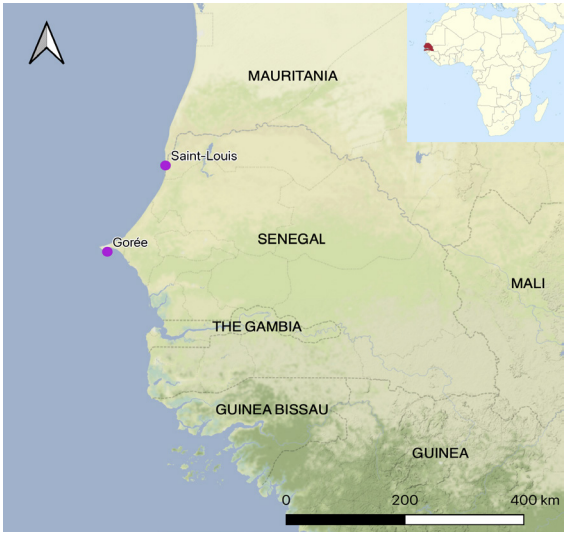

Fig. 1. Location of Saint-Louis on a map of West Africa (© Google Earth).

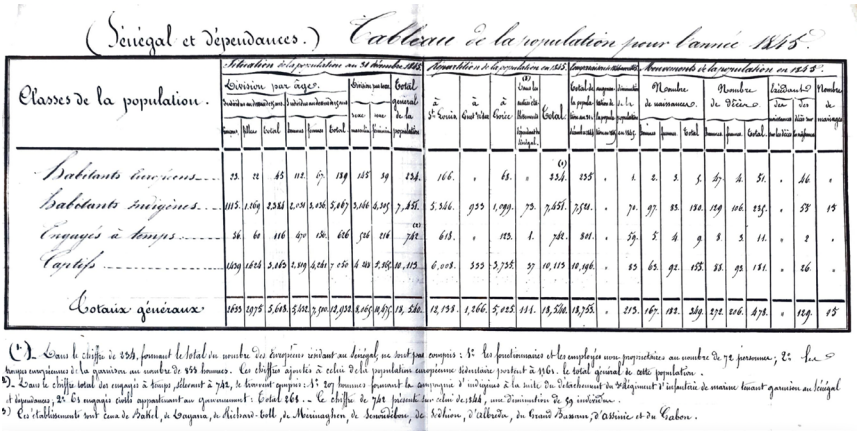

Fig. 2. Demographic table for Saint-Louis and Gorée from 1845, including the number of enslaved people by gender (SEN XIV 13, ANOM; scan by Elias Michaut).

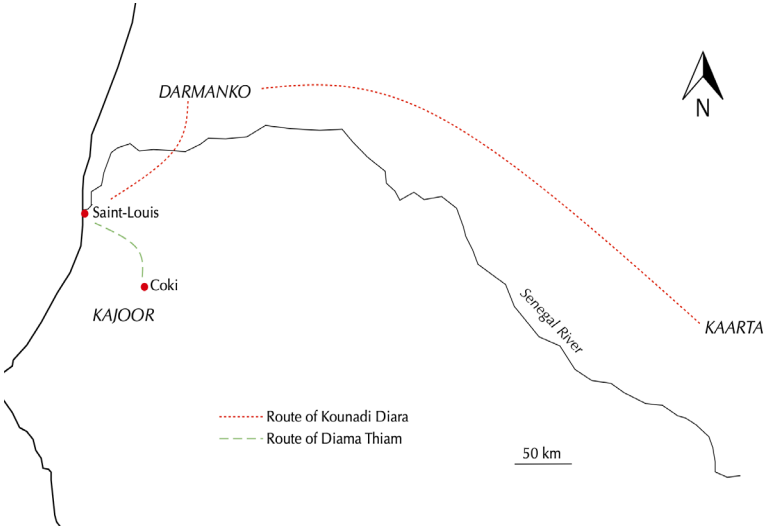

Fig. 3. Map showing the routes taken in the early 1870s by Diama Thiam and Kounadi Diara, from their enslavement to Saint-Louis (drawn by Elias Michaut).

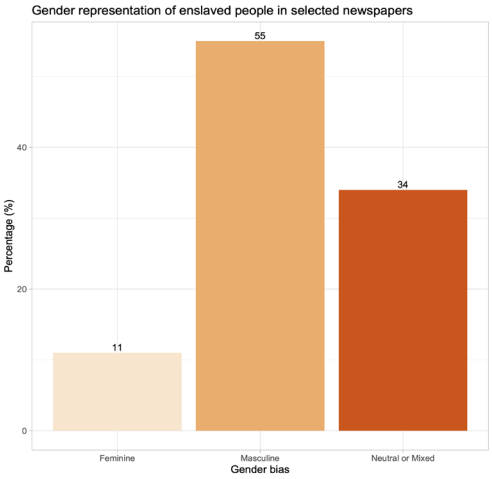

Fig. 4. Bar plot showing the biases in gender representation of enslaved people, from a hundred articles published in selected Senegalese and international newspapers.

Fig. 5. The Women's Museum Henriette-Bathily in Dakar (photograph by Elias Michaut).