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LIST OF ACRONYMS

- **AID** The (United States) Agency for International Development
- **AOF** Afrique Occidentale Francaise (Former French West Africa)
- **ANF** Archives Nationales de France (Paris)
- **ANS** Archives Nationales du Sénégal (Dakar)
- **ASECNA** Agency for the Security of Air Navigation
- **BCEAO** Banque Centrale des Etats de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
- **BCEOM** Bureau Central d'Etudes pour l'Equipement d'Ouverte-Mer
- **BEPC** Brevet d'Etudes du Premier Cycle
- **BREDA** Bureau Régional d'Éducation en Afrique (United Nations, Dakar)
- **CILSS** Comité Inter-Etats pour la Lutte contre la Sècheresse Sahélienne
- **CNRS** Centre National de Recherche Scientifique (France)
- **ECOWAS** Economic Community of West African States
- **ENEAC** Ecole Nationale d'Economie Appliquée
- **HLM** Habitations à Loyer Modéré
- **IBRD** International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- **IFAN** Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (University of Dakar)
- **ILO** International Labour Office (United Nations)
- **ISCO** International Standard Classification of Occupations
- **MIFERMA** Les Mines de fer Mauritanienne
- **OCA** Office de Commercialisation de l'Arachide (Senegal)
- **OECD** Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
- **OERS** Organisation des Etats Riverains du Sénégal
- **OMVGC** Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Gambie
- **OMVS** Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Senegal
- **ONCAD** Office National de Coopération et d'Assistance pour le Développement
INTRODUCTION AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND
INTRODUCTION AND
REGIONAL HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Lucie Gallistel Colvin

Migration is one of the outstanding consequences of the economic and demographic transformations that have overtaken the western Sahel in the twentieth century. It touches every village and every national economy, but often in very different ways. The most commented upon trend (and rightly so) is the drift from farms to cities. Senegambian cities are growing at a record rate, unequalled in their own historical experience and unparalleled on the other continents of the world. Only in other parts of Africa are similar rates of urbanization observed. The other three major migratory trends are the movement of farmers from hinterland areas to the frontiers of cash-crop zones, the augmentation of the agricultural labor force in cash-crop zones by migrant client farmers, and the sedentarization of nomadic herdsmen.

Economically, these patterns reflect a maldistribution of wealth and economic opportunity on two levels, internationally between developed and developing countries, and internally between urban residents vis-à-vis rural, cash-croppers vis-à-vis subsistence farmers, and farmers vis-à-vis herdsmen. The rural exodus has the effect of reducing the disparity in wealth and opportunity between rural and urban populations but, at the same time, reducing overall production of both foodstuffs and commercial crops. Internal Senegambian migration, of course, does nothing to equalize international disparities. Only the tiny but rapidly growing proportion of migrants to Europe taps into the wage structure of the developed world and repatriates some of that wealth.

Demographically, the current pattern of migration reflects a bulge in population growth that began in the 1920s and accelerated rapidly in the period following World War II. Colonial and immediately postcolonial health interventions focused on epidemic
diseases, sharply reducing mortality but without introducing general health care. Fertility, which had traditionally been high and necessarily so to offset unusually elevated mortality rates, continues to be high because of cultural sanctions and continuing health insecurity.

As a result, family and village economic structures that had evolved when an average of two dependent children per wife survived are severely strained by the present average of three to four surviving children per wife. The strains are greater in the urban areas where each child represents an additional mouth to feed and school supplies to purchase out of a single salary. But they are also felt in rural areas quite severely. Where child care can no longer be met by the traditional extended family, the demand for day care centers has arisen. Rural farm women have traditionally done an important part of the agricultural labor. When extended families were larger and children more widely spaced, the older children, grandmothers, and other wives were able to share child care. But fragmentation of the family is evident in rural as well as urban areas. Rural areas with long and intense involvement in cash cropping show a smaller average family size than those on the periphery of the cash economy. Both men and women are seeking entry into the cash economy. In urban areas, they compensate by working at multiple occupations when a single salary does not suffice. In rural areas, they grow cash crops on personal plots and many migrate at least seasonally in search of cash wage or profit from petty trade. This, in turn, increases the burden of agricultural labor on the aged and on women and children. The quest for cash is the dominant theme among both rural-rural and urban migrants. In the early colonial period at the turn of the century, attempts to introduce European currency were thwarted by the resistance of a still vital traditional economy, a resistance broken only by forcible taxation, labor recruitment, and commercial monopolies. Eighty years later, the traditional economy is everywhere in decline, and the cash economy has become an element in every family’s economic outlook. Money is a necessity for taxes, clothing, transportation and customary celebrations, as well as an opportunity to earn bride price, radios, sewing machines, bicycles, and other consumer goods.

Studying migration leads one into the lives of masses of individuals and households, where policies decided in Dakar, Paris, and other Senegambian and Western capitals affect families’ ability to function. To see why people move, one must learn why they think they will be better off in one locality of a region than in another.

Urbanization is historically and logically irreversible. This book examines in detail the historical evidence and implications of that conclusion for the countries of the western Sahel. Sedentariza-

The migration is likewise inevitable over the long term, as the abundant land and fragile ecology that sustained their economy is eroded by expanding human and animal population. In both cases, it is important to slow the process as much as possible immediately, but future planning will have to look to structural alternatives.

When this research was being proposed, it was hypothesized that rural-urban drift intensified during the recent Sahelian drought and that one should measure the reverse migration and/or reduction in migratory trends that might have accompanied the return of normal rainfall. The team’s observations confirmed that there was a drought-related influx and only a minimal return movement. Instead of dissipating, urban population bulges moved slowly from outlying cities toward the regional center of Cap Vert/Thiès in the last years of the drought. However, the drought-related spurt in urbanization is small compared with the continuing high rate of rural-urban drift related to deeper causes. Research on the uprooting process, in this book and elsewhere, shows that every serious economic dislocation in the countryside contributes to permanent urban migration. Even beneficial rural development projects, in the context of present rural-urban inequalities, increase the probability of participants ending up in the city, merely by introducing them to new lifestyles. Autocratic new rural development project structures and those that provide too low a participant income—both common trends—are particularly likely to augment rather than diminish the rural exodus.

One of the dilemmas that rural-urban migration poses for development in the western Sahel is that it reduces productivity of both food and cash crops without offsetting it by a countervailing increase in productivity in urban areas. The cities of the Sahel are colonial cities and, from their earliest development on, have had a focus on administrative, commercial, and transportation functions rather than on productivity. Thus, by moving to the cities, rural residents increase their access to wealth and opportunity but decrease their productivity. New migrants’ urban consumption, meager as it is, is above that of rural residents. And while they often work harder at tougher jobs than the urban-born, the jobs they work at do not involve production. This has been a source of frustration for governments and development agencies in the Sahel.

Yet the greatest danger in migration policy is in attacking urbanization itself, instead of its causes. Policies designed to diminish migration in economically troubled countries frequently have only caused further dislocations in production. This is because it is difficult to affect the nonproductive forms of migration without affecting the other forms necessary for the functioning of
the agricultural system. Seasonal labor is essential to agriculture in large areas of Senegal, the Gambia, southern Mauritania, and western Mali. The clearing and settling by migrants of new agricultural frontiers of the peanut basin and cotton basin are also contributing substantially to agricultural productivity, in Senegal and Gambia particularly.

One important question explored in this study is whether and how the expanding frontier can provide relief to the overpopulated areas of the peanut basin and an alternative to rural urban migration. The inner frontier of central Senegal is attracting Wolof migrants from the old northern peanut basin and from those areas increasingly desertified by the recent drought. Similarly, Mandinka farmers from the exhausted Badibas/Kerowan peanut zone are settling and clearing west and east of there. The farthest frontier in Senegal Oriental and the Gambian Upper River is attracting Fulbe migrants from the declining rural economies of Futa Jallon in Guinea and the middle Senegal basin and diverse other settlers from relatively sparsely populated outlying areas of Senegal, neighboring Mali, and Mauritania.

This expanding agricultural frontier is one of the last in the world, having counterparts only in other areas of Africa, Australia, the Asian tundra, and South America. But it is rapidly coming to a close as the available fertile land will be exhausted within the next decade. The frontier has nearly closed in the Gambia, and it is rapidly extending into eastern Senegal and the upper Casamance.

Just as Africa is the last continent to have expanding agricultural frontiers, it is also the last continent to have open borders. As the agricultural frontier closes, the borders may be expected to follow. Traditional Senegambian hospitality and generosity have been nourished on a sparse population in relation to relatively generous resources. As land resources are expropriated and an awareness of scarcity becomes acute, governments and citizens of the area can be expected in the near future to reconsider policies affecting land and opportunity allocation.

Another historically and economically important pattern of migration that is currently declining rapidly in the Senegambia is nomadic pastoralism. While the social and economic impact of the sedentarization of nomads requires separate study, this book is able to confirm that it is happening in Senegal, Gambia, and, most notably, Mauritania. In the latter country, because the majority of the population only a decade ago was dependent on pastoral transhumance, the collapse of the herding economy has consequences of national scope, unique to the area. Between the 1965 census and the 1976 census, the nomadic proportion of the population of Mauritania decreased from 65 percent to 33 percent. The combined influences of drought, war, economic modernization, and the emancipation of slaves are permanently transforming the relationship of people to the land. Many of the former nomads are settling in the cities, where the rate of growth of urban population from 1965 to 1976 was 10 percent per year (compared with 25 percent for the capital city of Nouakchott and 7 percent for francophone Africa as a whole). Some former nomads have settled along roads and at deep wells, while others have settled the agricultural areas of southern Mauritania. Still others have joined the traditional emigration into commercial occupations, which takes Mauritanians throughout the western Sahel.

RESEARCH PROGRAM AND SOURCES

The team that conducted the study was interdisciplinary, comprised of three social and economic historians, two geographers, and two sociologists. The theoretical and conceptual literature on which we have drawn and our choice of methods are also interdisciplinary.

Our initial task was to describe and analyze population movements within the Senegambia in relation to the past and present economy of the region as a whole and of each zone in it. During an initial three months of weekly seminars in October through December of 1977, the team surveyed the monographic literature on each area and the theoretical literature on migration from each discipline. We divided the region geographically into zones, selected unanswered questions and problems for further research, and established research teams under the direction of each researcher. Geographer Cheikh Ba concentrated on the pastoralists of northern Senegal. Rural sociologist Jacques Faye surveyed the departure and receiving zones of the peanut basin. Geographer Moussa Soumaï focused on the far frontier of middle and upper Casamance and eastern Senegal, while historian Alice Hamer explored the rapidly expanding migration of women from the lower Casamance. Sociologist Fatou Sow, whose area was the central metropolis of Dakar, brought migration studies in that area up to date with a socioeconomic survey of the most recently settled bidonovilles (shanty towns). Historian Boubaicar Barry provided a regional economic history to the end of the nineteenth century, while Lucie Colvin, also an economic historian, traced the economic and demographic changes within the region in the colonial and postcolonial periods. She also did the research for all parts of the region falling outside of Senegal.

Although the region is multinational, problems of logistics and cost prohibited coordinated field research in all six of the countries.
concerned. We originally proposed to AID a systematic data col-
lection effort involving a uniform questionnaire and multiple pas-
sages through overlapping sampling districts. When this appeared
too costly, we were asked instead to synthesize existing data and
focus on policy questions. Nevertheless, some new field research
was in Senegal and Gambia. Monographs and recent census reports
in two of the remaining countries made it possible to do reasonably
detailed country studies for Mauritania and Mali. Since neither of
the two complete Gambian censuses included questions related to
migration, more detailed data was desired for that country. The
Senegambian Migration Study happened to fall just five years after
the last decennial census, so the migration project and the Gambian
Central Statistics Division decided on a collaborative National
Sample Census and Migration Survey. The field enumeration
was conducted in May of 1978, and the data processing was completed in
1979 by Alexander Mogielnicki, of the University of Pennsylvania
Population Studies Center, under the auspices of the Senegambia
Migration Study. A preliminary report of the results is contained in
the Gambian chapter of this book, and more complete analysis is
expected in the Ph.D. dissertation of Mogielnicki.

Census data from the 1970 round of censuses had been ex-
pected to provide the data base for the postcolonial analyses in
Senegal, Mali, and Mauritania, all of which conducted censuses in
1976. Delays in processing resulted in only global data being
available in provisional reports until the very end of this study.
Mauritania's provisional report includes some analysis of the data,
while Senegal's and Mali's provisional results included only gross
tabulations for administrative districts and regions. In Mali, use
of the data for historical trends was further hindered by the non-
comparability of the geographic units used in the 1976 census and in
the 1960/61 sample census. Census data for six rural regions of
Senegal have recently been published in unedited form, permitting
some more detailed analysis. For certain questions, comparable
data was made available to the study for the Cap Vert region, per-
mitting some urban-rural comparisons. Historical census data is
available in the archives for Senegal and Gambia, providing a good
picture of the historical evolution of urbanization and overall popu-
lation growth. Changes in the boundaries of census reporting dis-
tricts made it almost useless for rural zones. No census data and
only very rough economic statistical estimates are available for
Guinea and Guinea Bissau. This unfortunately led to their limited
mention in this study, even though Guinea has long been a major
source of migrants into its neighboring countries.

Statistical portraits of the countries of Senegambia are also
available in annual statistical summaries published by their respec-
tive departments of statistics and in official four- and five-year
plans. In most cases, however, these summaries have not yet been
corrected to reflect the much larger populations found in each coun-
try in the 1976 census. The reports of various international or-
ganizations listed in the bibliography also provided useful, although
occasionally contradictory, data. Those that generate their own
statistical estimates include the (UNFPA), the (IBRD), the (ILO),
(UNESCO), and the (UNDP).

Overall statistics on migration in West Africa have recently
been compiled in a monumental study by K. C. Zachariach of the
IBRD and Julien Condé of the Organization for Economic Coopera-
tion and Development. This multivolume study is intentionally
limited to a statistical description and does not attempt to analyze
the migratory flows. It is also limited to the nine West African
countries for which data were available, three of which (Senegal,
Gambia, and Mali) are included in our study. Recent works of in-
terpretation of migration also tend to apply to West Africa as a
whole or to the Sahel as a whole, without considering the regional
focuses that migration patterns reflect. Among the major recent
studies are the work by Samir Amin and Daryll Forde, Modern
Migrations in Western Africa; two small volumes published by the
Comité d'Information Sahel, Qui de sa nourit, de la fam and
Les migrations africaines; and John C. Caldwell's
The Sahelian Famine and its Demographic Consequences. Indi-
vidual themes within the scope of our migratory study have also been
the subject of particular studies. On urbanization, a most recent
and provocative study published by the World Bank is entitled,
"Urban Growth and Economic Development in the Sahel." The
most comprehensive works on sedentarization of nomads in this
area are the ongoing studies of Charles Toupet, a geographer at the
University of Dakar.

The economic data on which the Senegambia migration study
is based come from government statistical services, published in a
variety of forms in periodic reports. We have also used the United
Nations and International Monetary Fund trade statistics and a very
interesting compilation of price data contained in the study, "Mar-
keting, Price Policy, and Storage of Food Grains in the Sahel: A
Survey," by the working group on marketing, price policy, and
storage of the Comité Interêtats pour la future contra la Sahe et le
Sahelienne (CILSS) and the Club du Sahel.

THEORETICAL APPROACH

This study was designed to explore the policy implications of
migratory patterns in the Senegambia in the context of their unique
social and economic history, not to develop a new theoretical approach to migration. The assembly of an interdisciplinary team of six senior researchers and a graduate student working together on a common problem over more than a year's time reflects the assumption that no one theoretical approach was adequate in exploring all of the policy areas involved in migration. Previous studies of migration in Africa have primarily been the domain of economists, geographers, demographers, and, on the microlevel, of anthropologists. Economists have focused on the radical inequalities between urban and rural incomes and opportunities in explaining the causes of migration. The economic consequences include urban labor surpluses and rural labor shortages. J. Harris and R. Sabot have constructed a model for analyzing this aspect, which, however, for lack of appropriate data in Africa, proves difficult in practical application. Elliott Berg has analyzed the costs and benefits of labor migration for governments, employers, and migrants in the Senegambia. A highly debated economic issue is the economic benefit of migrants' remittances to sending communities. The most recent consensus seems to be that remittances are often substantial and even essential to the economic survival of sending zones and countries but that those left behind are rarely able to transform remittances into productive activities to stimulate economic growth.

In the present book, we explore the applicability of these theories to specific local zones within the Senegambia—some of which are receiving immigrants, others primarily sending, and others both receiving and sending different types of migrants—in relation to the needs of migrants and the local economy. We believe that in linking our study of migratory patterns to the historical evolution of public policy and to current policy alternatives we contribute a new methodological approach to the study of migration. Establishing in the abstract that income inequalities or rapid population growth stimulate migration is of limited use if there is no conceivable combination of policy alternatives or development scenarios that could alter those circumstances. More important is what geographic, economic, educational, demographic, and health policies might mitigate the negative consequences.

Similarly, in the area of demography, this study tests existing demographic theory against Senegambian realities. Demographers point out that rapid surge in growth of rural populations are accompanied by high rates of outmigration as younger sons find out that slots in the rural economy cannot expand fast enough to absorb them. Demographic methods also reveal the effect of migration on the age-sex structure of the populations in sending and receiving zones. Since modern migration has historically involved young adults, with males predominating, receiving areas benefit from the increase in active males, showing a lower ratio of dependent (younger than 15 years and older than 65 years) to active (15-65 years) populations. Sending areas, by contrast, tend to have female-dominant sex ratios and a high proportion of dependents.

John Caldwell, in a major study in Ghana from 1962 through 1964, examined both the stated motivations and results of migration for individuals and the socioeconomic correlates of variations in volume of migration. He found that the greater the distance from a rural area to the next large center, the greater the proportion of outmigrants. We discuss this same relationship in the Senegambia as an aspect of regional and national peripherality. The major exception to this pattern is that in every Senegambian country there are old cash-crop zones near the major centers that have reached a point of soil exhaustion and overpopulation, leading to intense outmigration. Caldwell also found a direct correlation between outmigration and the size of the source village, the economic condition of the household (wealthier ones having more outmigration), the presence of relatives in urban areas, the amount of education, literacy, knowledge of English, family size, and birth rank. He also found, as did we, a tendency for diversification in the traditional single young adult male predominance among migrants.

Among the geographers, pioneering work has been done by R. Munsell Prothero, who initially developed a typology of traditional and modern varieties of migration in Africa according to the purposes, distances, ecological changes, and timing involved. Akin Mibogunje has drawn on this and developed it, focusing on the Nigerian experience and on urbanization in a regional context. William Hanco, in turn, recapitulates the theoretical literature and catalogs the current African patterns on a continentwide basis.

Perhaps the most interesting overall perspective on migration and its historical variants comes from J. Beuajou-Garnier's Geography of Population. She explores the psychosocial as well as the better known socioeconomic causes and consequences of migration in a world historical context. Among the socioeconomic factors, she emphasizes the role of absolute poverty and of populations living so close to the margin of survival that any localized problem or catastrophe can set off an exodus. Such areas, throughout the underdeveloped world, are juxtaposed to attractive zones of visible prosperity. Beuajou-Garnier also notes the role of disruption of the economic equilibrium in rural areas as a result of historic changes and policies, taking her examples, however, from the agricultural revolution in Europe rather than from contemporary less developed countries.

The Western Sahel shares with the rest of Africa a unique econodemographic situation. Overall population density is still
rather low, and urbanization and industrialization are among the least advanced in the world. Fertility, mortality, overall population growth and migration rates are all higher than in other areas of the world (see Maps 1.1 and 1.2, Figures 1.1 and 1.2, and Tables 1.1 and 1.2). This book explores the determinants of these variables and their short term prospects in the western Sahel. It also considers, at some length, their policy implications. Even though theoretical models in all of the other social sciences are built on historic analysis, it has been customary in African development planning to apply these models as if knowledge of the local history were unnecessary or irrelevant. Economic and demographic theory explain, in a scientific sense, most variation in migratory rates. However, that knowledge alone provides very little insight into the policy implications of migration. It is necessary to know how related patterns have evolved historically, how and to what degree they can be changed, and the magnitude of social changes that could be expected from such policy changes. In the following chapters, we provide historical background to the many aspects of life that are altered in the process of migration, to the interrelationship between macro- and microinstitutional changes, and to the interactions between local government budgets and policies and current migratory trends. We include history of the geographic evolution of the transportation and communications patterns in the area; of occupational specialization by sex, age, and ethnicity; of labor supply in relation to such specialization; of education, health, and migration control.

There is sometimes confusion over what constitutes the region called Senegambia and why it should be chosen as the region for study. Historians of the area do not share the same confusion. Historically, it emerges clearly as a distinct economic region over the last 1,000 years, comprising the basins of the two rivers: the Senegal and the Gambia. Today, political borders creating the separate nations of Senegal, Gambia, Mali, Mauritania, Guinea, and Guinea Bissau have left the area without any organizational coherence. The only organizations that reflect the historic unity of the region today are the Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Sénégal (OMVS) and the Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du Fleuve Gambie (OMVG), that is, the international organizations created to plan the development of the Senegal and Gambia river basins. Development planning, politics, administration, and the collection of statistics on populations all take place within national borders. However, when it comes to realizing a development project, the implementers are faced with an economy that still continues to function on a regional basis.
FIGURE 1.2
The Population Explosion:
Where the People Are Likely to Be in the Year 2000

Migration patterns are just one reflection of this. By charting the ensemble of individual movements from one point to another, one can see that the tendencies are actually regional with a central focus on Dakar. What nationally based studies show as the movements of Mauritanians toward Senegal or Malians toward Senegal or Senegalese toward the Gambia in fact are part of the same flows as internal migration. Similarly, an analysis of the movement of meat in the form of animals or of slaughtered meat, or of cereal products, or of imports reflects this regional movement rather than simply a national one. Again, the focus is on Dakar. Similarly, if one analyzes communications patterns, the number of telephone calls, the number of passenger miles, the number of freight miles in particular directions, the number of passengers moving into and out of the airports and ports or along the railroads, the amount of currencies flowing in different directions and the overall directions of trade, again this regional structure appears. Yet the tendency today and since the colonial period is toward the fragmentation of this region along national lines and toward restructuring the communications and transportation patterns that served the earlier regional economy.

Regional history enables us to trace the changes in concentration of economic activity and population density—from the river valleys of the interior in the ninth through sixteenth centuries toward the coastal areas as European commerce expanded on the seas from the fifteenth century on—illustrating the evolution of this region historically and its economic roots in the period prior to the colonial conquest of the area. The subsequent chapter on the colonial era shows how the river valleys that had originally been the focus of regional integration were first supplanted by the railroads and ports and then by the road structure built during the colonial period. At the same time, the introduction of the cash economy and its peculiar migration patterns in colonial Senegambia is explored. Applying geographic theory to this historical evolution, we can see that a hierarchy of functions and size evolved among the cities of the region and show how the evolving export/import focus of the economy translated into spatial patterns. We see the evolution of a descriptio pattern of regional development early in the colonial period, with Dakar as the region’s primate city. Goods, currency, transportation networks, and people all flowed toward Dakar. The economic and demographic hinterland from which they flowed followed the contours of the precolonial commercial network around 1900, then expanded to include additional French-dominated areas as far east as Upper Volta. We have traced the growth of this hinterland from the early colonial period to its peak in the mid-1950s and the gradual fragmentation and shrinking of this hinterland since that period.
The borders of the region for each period have been traced by studying the intensity and direction of flow of goods, currency, and people, following the method of transactional analysis proposed by political scientist, Karl Deutsch. The framework for the political analysis of regions proposed by Louis Cantor and Steven Spiegel is also useful. Their analysis focuses on the contrasting political positions of the economically and politically dynamic cores of regions and their weaker peripheries. Since the areas of economic dynamism are also attracting immigration and the peripheral areas are losing population, this distinction is useful in studying population policy and the related inequalities of economic development within the region. Part II of the book is a portrait of the region today. Chapter 4 sets out the global geographic tendencies within the region, the distribution of cities, the infrastructure, both existing and planned, and the economic activities and their complementarity in the flows of people, goods, and money over the last three decades.

On a microeconomic level, the geographers and agronomists on our team also helped us to understand the changing patterns of land use. In Chapter 5, Colvin and Ba show how, in the River Valley and Foro of northern Senegal, competing patterns of land use are obliging nomads to sedentarize and are making some traditional agricultural patterns untenable. Rural socioeconomic studies allowed us to show the institutional erosion that accompanies high rates of outmigration from rural areas and becomes, in turn, a cause of outmigration. Institutional deterioration due to the absence of large portions of the men in the active working and decision-making ages must be taken into account in the formulation of economic development plans for areas such as the Senegal river basin. A similar pattern of institutional breakdown and economic stagnation is observable in other border provinces with high outmigration, including the Casamance, the hinterland areas of eastern Mauritania, the Kayes region of Mali, and Futa Jallon in Guinea.

In contrast, the peanut basin, which Jacques Faye explores in Chapter 6, shows a much more complex migratory pattern. The densely populated but deteriorating areas close to Dakar show high rates of outmigration toward Dakar, counterbalanced in part by immigration of seasonal client (and occasionally wage) farm labor. A much smaller stream of pioneers from the same area moves away from the center to settle the expanding frontier. They dominate the frontier, engaging client farmers from the more peripheral border provinces to supplement their labor supply.

In Chapter 7, Moussa Soumah examines the border provinces, Senegal Oriental and Upper Casamance, which supply the more dynamic cash-crop zones with migrant labor and themselves receive migrant settlers from still farther hinterland areas across neighboring borders. Alice Hamer, in Chapter 8, focuses on a rather unique pattern of institutionalized, seasonal, urban migration of young women from the Lower Casamance, escaping a highly authoritarian, hard-working, traditional milieu in search of cash and a few years of freedom. Again, the trend is clearly connected with the peripheral nature of the homelands. If more cash opportunities were available locally, the outmigration would probably be reduced.

The central pole of attraction in the region, Dakar, is the subject of Fitou Sow's chapter. Because of the multitude of earlier studies on the city, including some she had conducted, her research focuses on conditions in the most recently settled migrants' sections. She shows how these have been pushed to the geographic as well as socioeconomic periphery of the city by slum clearance and urban planning.

The subsequent three chapters, 10 through 12, are studies of the outlying countries of the region: Mauritania, Mali, and Gambia. In each case, a discussion of the country's geographic relationship to the regional economy is followed by a demographic profile; a portrait of migratory patterns related to the zonal, national, and regional economy; and, finally, a history of related policies and alternatives.

Part III, Chapter 13, draws together for analysis the policy implications of migratory and related economic patterns in the region as a whole. Policies directly concerning human movements (residence, citizenship, border crossing) turn out to be the least important in current circumstances. A much more urgent need is a coordinated economic and demographic growth policy, which will enable economic growth to accelerate, distribute benefits more equitably between countryside and city, and make a harmonized deceleration of mortality/fertility and overall population growth feasible for both nations and families in the Senegambia. The policy areas that most directly affect migration patterns are considered in the following order: the geography of development, economics, education, health care, rural development, urban policy, and migration policy.

**METHODOLOGY**

The methods used in this study varied from researcher to researcher, and all were discussed thoroughly in the seminar. The seminar itself was our unifying methodology. We lacked the funding for a coordinated regional survey research, and we also hoped that it would not be necessary because the censuses conducted in Senegal, Mauritania, and Mali in 1976 would provide most of the statistical
data we might have sought. We therefore selected individual questions and areas for more detailed research by each researcher and his team, which we knew not to be covered in the census questionnaires. The methods selected and their rationales are presented in each chapter.

The main data available from the censuses are place of birth as opposed to nationality or place of current residence. Those enumerated are also usually classified as "residents absent," "residents present," and "visitors." This allows some measurement of the volume of out- and immigration. However, the time limits chosen to define statuses, absent or present or visitor, varied from country to country. And in no case, except the Gambia National Migration Survey, is the destination of absentee or the origin of visitors recorded.

There were some problems with the use of census and macroeconomic data. The most fundamental of the problems with the censuses was that most of the completed analyses have not yet been published. When this study was proposed early in 1977, it was predicted that the 1976 census results would be published within that year. As of this writing in October of 1979, only provisional results are available on the national level for the three major censuses. In addition to provisional national tallies, Senegal has published crude data tables for six of its eight regions, not including the central urban Cap Vert region. Those provisional reports are very important and did allow us to update the global demographic picture of the region. What they did not allow was the kind of detailed analysis of fluctuations in the intensity of flows that we had hoped to be able to measure.

Our work with the census questionnaires and provisional reports also allowed us to comment on the potential usefulness of the as yet unpublished data. In general, the censuses in the Frenchophone countries used considerably more detailed questionnaires than those adopted in Englishophone Gambia, but they were correspondingly slower to be analyzed and published. In both areas, lack of adequate mapping and publication of maps was a serious problem to the users of the data. It was also difficult to compare data from one decennial census with the next because the boundaries of the census districts were allowed to change for administrative convenience. When this happens, the potentially valuable historical analysis of local changes is lost and historical changes can be observed only at national or provincial levels. Moreover, in some countries an individual had to move only from one small province or district to another in order to be classed as a migrant, while in others a much larger interregional movement was required. So long as the defining districts within which movement takes place vary

so enormously in size, the statistics on volume of migration are not comparable from one country to another.

The most serious problem for creating a regional picture of migratory patterns is that the migratory region's boundaries do not correspond to those of any nation. In order to see accurately the boundaries of the region from census data, one would need the data to be published at a small district level, which is usually not done. Only Mauritania is attempting this. It would also be necessary for the directions of migration to be included in the census questionnaires. A question on place of previous residence and time of last move was included in the Mauritanian census and may provide very interesting results. It was not included in any of the other censuses. Therefore, in the Gambia National Migration Survey, which we conducted in the course of this study in collaboration with the Gambia government, a five-year seasonal history of moves was collected, showing seasonal patterns of movement, longer term movements, directions of movement, and motives.

Another difficulty is that many of the socioeconomic aspects of migration, which might in theory be drawn from analysis of the census questionnaires, will probably never be published. There is no statistical analysis of the educational and occupational breakdown of migrants as opposed to stable residents. No income data were collected in any of the countries. When the question of collecting income data is raised, statisticians frequently—and perhaps rightly—complain that the data would be of poor quality. We would argue that it would nevertheless, be far better than no data on this subject. Even if the data were inaccurate, by the time the same question had been asked in a second census, one would at least see changes over time.

The occupational question on the census questionnaires might eventually provide the most useful data for the socioeconomic analysis of migration. It is not, however, currently published for migrants as opposed to stable residents. At present, all countries are using the International Standard Classification of Occupations (ISCO) issued by the U.N. International Labour Office as part of a general movement toward uniform definitions in censuses and national accounts. Unfortunately, this international classification of occupations is uniquely unsuitable for an analysis of Senegambian economies. It lump's from 70 to 80 percent of the population together as farmers and herders and ignores the sharp seasonal variation in activity found in predominantly rural populations. Some countries using it have classified homemakers as unemployed even when they farm from six to twelve hours per day in the rainy season and account for a substantial proportion of the agricultural produce. And it excludes children younger than 15 who are responsible for a
substantial amount of work in these very young populations. Moreover, milking and the sale of milk are classed as "housework" even though they are the core of the pastoral economy, apparently because they are done by women. In the Gambia National Migration Survey, we attempted to correct this by instructing enumerators to record a person's main source of income as his/her primary occupation. Nevertheless, the ISCO was interpreted differently in each part of the region. Its inappropriate categories make the census data useless as a basis for estimates of labor supply and demand in the traditional economy.

Finally, historians and sociologists are interested in the evolution of social structures in relationship to migration, specifically the sociological components of the rural exodus. Empirical observation suggests that all groups in traditional society participate in the rural exodus, although the push factors of inadequate land and/or opportunity in the village may be greater for persons of slave and caste origin. The issue is so sensitive to rural residents and policy makers alike that questions relating to social origin are excluded from censuses as they were in this study's field research. It surfaced, however, spontaneously in interviews in Mauritania and is discussed in existing sociological literature on Senegal, Gambia, and Mali.

In summary, we have used existing census data in this study and have drawn some rather startling conclusions about accelerated rates of growth, urbanization, and sedentarization of nomads from it. For the interpretation of those data, however, we relied primarily on pooling the extensive knowledge of monographic literature and the individual research of the team members.

NOTES


5. See bibliography.
2

ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY OF PRECOLONIAL SENEGAMBIA FROM THE FIFTEENTH THROUGH THE NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Boubacar Barry

INTRODUCTION

Historically, Senegambia extended far beyond the present frontiers of Senegal and included the two complete basins of the Senegal and Gambia Rivers from their sources in the upper plateaus of the Futa Jalon to their openings onto the Atlantic Ocean. It was a vast area with the northern boundary north of the Senegal river basin, the southern one at the Rio Grande, and the eastern one at the Bafing. All aspects of the region have reached their present form with the influences of history and economics, and only by considering this great geographic whole can one today understand the problems of economic integration in relation to the present frontiers of Senegal, Gambia, Mauritania, Mali, Guinea-Bissau, and Guinea Conakry. This region lies at the junction of two great historical fronts of West Africa: the Sahara and the Sudan. But it has also been strongly subjected to the effects of a third front, that of the ocean, with the arrival of Europeans at the end of the fifteenth century. This last influence, which without a doubt dominated the period of the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries, led to the establishment of European bases on the coast and to trading in slaves, gum arabic, leather, gold, and ivory. For that reason, the integration process of Senegambia into a capitalist economy was instrumental in the socioeconomic and political evolution of this area.

The Atlantic slave trade that dominated the area in this period substantially influenced mainland population trends, leading to decrease rather than growth and showing westward and southward migratory movements. The trade also contributed to the physiognomy of the states, which were very fragmented, and to a regression in