FROM AFFINIAM-BOUTEM TO DAKAR:
MIGRATION FROM THE CASAMANCE, LIFE IN THE URBAN
ENVIRONMENT OF DAKAR, AND THE RESULTING EVOLUTIONARY
CHANGES IN LOCAL DIOLA ORGANIZATIONS

By

DANIEL A. REBOUSSIN

A DISSERTATION PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1995
Copyright 1995

by

Daniel A. Reboussin
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

More people helped me complete this dissertation than reasonably can be listed here. Several, though, provided help without which I could not have finished at all. My advisor and committee chair through most of this long process, Ronald Cohen, has been a true mentor in many ways, from my first contacts with him until now. He has been a strong supporter of all aspects of my work and a sensitive critic of my attempts to convey complex concepts as clearly as possible given the limitations of my writing. His persistence and success in recuperating from a severe stroke since August 1994 continue to be an inspiration to me and others. Since Dr. Cohen’s illness and subsequent retirement, H. Russell Bernard has been kind enough to serve as my committee chair. I would like to acknowledge his valuable editorial advice and professional efforts to bring this work into its present form. Each member of the supervisory committee has been in the first instance an exceptional teacher. I am grateful that each has dedicated himself to teaching, and that I have had the opportunity to have studied with him. Beyond this each has been an essential critic and advisor, greatly assisting me in bringing specific aspects of this research report into its final form. I wish to thank Arthur Hansen and Marvin Harris of anthropology, R. Hunt Davis of history, and Goran Hyden of political science. Although it need not be said, all of the errors and omissions that remain are entirely my own.

Antoine Badji also deserves special acknowledgment. He was my assistant and chief informant in Senegal, helping me to adjust to the particular difficulties of life in Dakar. He thereby exposed me to some
of the difficulties faced by Diola immigrants to the capital. He also introduced me to village life in Affiniam-Boutem, and kept me well. Through him I would also like to thank all of his family and the people of his village, who made my stay with them comfortable and informative. I reserve special acknowledgement for the women of Boutem, who constantly impressed both Antoine and me with their strength, wisdom, and kindness toward a stranger. I am honored to have spent the time I had with them.

Two sources of federal support have assisted me in this work. In 1988 I received a Foreign Language Area Studies summer fellowship, to take an intensive course in Wolof at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign. The Fulbright-IIE U.S. scholar program, along with the U.S. Embassy through its USIA American Cultural Center, also provided me with funding. Special thanks go to Jerome Faye and El Hadji Sarr, along with the rest of the Senegalese staff in Dakar. I will not forget their genuine friendship and critical support.

I would like to also thank Peter Malanchuk, who approved several leaves of absence from my position at the University of Florida Libraries. He has been a generous and tolerant supervisor, taking on quite a bit of extra work while I have been gone, and my appreciation is heartfelt. Thanks also go to Jenny Konwinski, who created a superb digital map of the village from the diverse materials I provided her.

Finally, I would like to express sincere thanks to my own family. They constantly demonstrate to me the importance of kinship. Patricia, my mother, has taken several months of her time to help with household management and domestic tasks that I have neglected while writing. My brother David and father Roland have provided me with good advice on how to proceed with quandaries of research design and statistics. My wife Ann Glowasky has provided constant emotional support throughout my research, suffering along with me since before the actual research
began. She has also taken upon herself all the financial responsibilities of income-earning during the more than six months of leave I have cumulatively taken from my job to complete the writing phase of this research. Most importantly she has been an unwavering source of emotional support despite sometimes not being entirely sure of why it is that I am doing this.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGMENTS</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES</td>
<td>ix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTERS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1  INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE MIGRATION LITERATURE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Case of Diola Women</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Migration as a Factor in Cultural Evolution</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Typological Outline of Migration</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time Period</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Boundaries and Distance</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic Issues</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degrees of Compulsion</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typological Sketch of the Present Case</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time period</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National boundaries</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic issues</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsion</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes of Migration from Various Theoretical Perspectives</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoclassical Models</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Groups as Factors in Migration</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency Models</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neo-Marxism</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions on the Causes of Migration</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consequences of Migration</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic and Social Scientific Contributions</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency Views</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neo-Marxist Approaches</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions on the Effects of Migration from the Village</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implications and Conclusions</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households and Voluntary Associations</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Women as Active and Independent Migrants</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusions</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Historical periods and associated characteristic forms of migration</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Comparison of migrants' years away from the village</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Percent of residents with given family name and quartier of origin for three residential categories, women's association membership, and interviewee status</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mean ages of all women, Dakar emigrants, association members and interviewees</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dues-payments as a percentage of membership paying in three categories of regularity</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Map showing the Casamance region and the research site in relation to the rest of Senegal</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Village of Boutem, Senegal</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

FROM AFFINIAM-BOUTEM TO DAKAR: MIGRATION FROM THE CASAMANCE, LIFE IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT OF DAKAR, AND THE RESULTING EVOLUTIONARY CHANGES IN LOCAL DIOLA ORGANIZATIONS

By

Daniel A. Rebuussin

December 1995

Chairperson: H. Russell Bernard
Major Department: Anthropology

This is a case study of rural-urban migration among the women of Affiniam-Boutem, a predominantly Catholic Diola village in the southwestern Lower Casamance region of Senegal, West Africa. It includes the results of research conducted in 1989 and 1990, employing several sources of information. Thirty interviews were undertaken in Dakar with female emigrants of the village, and oral histories of emigration and associated urban voluntary associations were collected. In the village, a census focusing on migration histories was also conducted. Migration from Boutem is best understood in terms of a modified, contemporary approach to classical social scientific migration theory. There are few opportunities for Diola women to earn money in the rural setting. Because they have cash responsibilities towards the support of their families, they have left their villages since the beginning of this century to work in wage labor. There are few social constraints on their free movement, but voluntary associations in the urban setting do restrict and direct the behavior of all emigrants to some extent. Fines are levied for members who do not return to the
village by a set date to encourage wet season agricultural activities, especially the planting and harvesting of rice.

Created among Boutem’s emigrants to Dakar as social clubs in the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties, these associations were later employed as a means of collecting money for an early crisis: the first death of an emigrant villager. Once regular dues were collected, the organizations changed, becoming increasingly formal to keep and record these dues. While they maintain some aspects of more traditional rural voluntary associations, which have helped the Diola to adapt to other forms of migration for centuries, these changes were unlike previous adaptations. They were enabled by an increasing number of formally educated emigrants. My research found that the women’s association was able to collect substantial amounts of money over a few year’s time. These funds are employed to conduct development projects in the village, such as improvements to the school and maternity clinic, and therefore they represent an important means of improving the quality of life there.
CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION AND REVIEW OF THE MIGRATION LITERATURE

The Case of Diola Women

This is a case study of rural-urban migration among the Diola of Senegal, primarily focusing on women from the village of Affiniam-Boutem. This case is particularly interesting insofar as Diola women, both single and married, frequently migrate in greater numbers to urban Dakar than do either single or married men from the same village. Diola women often travel and live in groups, without other family members. They also have achieved, on the whole, far greater success in gaining urban employment than men from their villages.

The case of Diola women’s migration is apparently unique in Africa. In this dissertation, I present the results of nine months of field research, and attempt to explain the causes and consequences of the facts they represent. In accounting for the adjustment of Diola women to the urban service sector, I apply theories of economic development, gender roles, and migration. I examine local Diola social institutions and show how they have survived in the transfer from rural Casamance to Dakar. These institutions deserve special study, because they can provide insight into the nature of state-society linkages in Africa more generally.
Migration has played a key role in the evolutionary processes that established human populations throughout the world. We have long known, for example, that agriculture spread to Europe from the Middle East during the Neolithic. The routes of specific cultigens have been traced. Recently, one study examined evidence from 26 genetic systems collected in 3,373 locations, finding that "the spread of agriculture through Europe was not simply a case of cultural diffusion, but involved significant differential reproduction of the new farmers whose origins can be traced to the Near East" (Sokal et al. 1991:143). The authors conclude that migration played a central role in the spread of agriculture to Europe.

The literature on African migration overflows with examples of how the movement of people has affected nearly every aspect of life, profoundly changing economies, politics, religions, and social organizations across vast periods of time. Archaeological and linguistic evidence documents the role of early population movements in shaping cultural, ecological, and demographic relations among African peoples (e.g., Haddon 1911; Greenberg 1963; Mabogunje 1976; Shaw 1976; Phillipson 1985; Rouse 1986; Johnson and Earle 1987; Austen 1987).


When European traders established themselves in coastal Africa, continental patterns of migration followed the changing loci of trading
activities. The commercial centers near trans-Saharan routes in the interior slowly suffered due to the exclusive growth of what often became coastal enclaves (see Hoselitz 1960:189; also Thomas 1960; Mitchell 1969a; Rodney 1970; Leary 1970; Hopkins 1973; Flint 1974; Austen 1987; and Hart 1987).

Contemporary Africa experiences ever more rapid change as migration urbanizes the continent at an unprecedented pace (Clarke and Kosinski 1982; Adepoju and Clarke 1985:6-7; Hart 1987). Contemporary migration in Africa must be considered within the context of a rapidly growing work force, low job growth, and a set of multidimensional crises that threaten the quality of life on many levels (Adepoju 1991).

With rapid change in the economic environment, migration provides a quick way for people to adjust. Historically, West Africans have actively used migration as an efficient means of adapting to changing economic conditions (Hill 1963; Berg 1965; Little 1965; Coquéry-Vidrovitch 1991). Migration continues to function as a cultural means of adjusting to economic changes in the present. The relationship between the environment and migration, however, is complex and systemic rather than causal. Migration causes urbanization to some extent, but also functions as a means of adaptation to an increasingly urbanized social and economic environment. While historically migration was used to respond primarily to changes in the ecological environment, increasingly it is used as a response to changes in the social and economic environment.

As this case study illustrates, social institutions also play an important role in this model. As I will outline in Chapter 2, certain social organizations among the Diola served one purpose in historical times, but since have been adapted to serve another purpose under contemporary conditions. In particular, voluntary associations have both affected how migration occurs and have themselves adapted to
changes in migration. The association of women migrants from Affiniam-Boutem will be one focus of Chapter 3.

A Typological Outline of Migration

The migration literature is truly enormous, extending across all world regions, academic disciplines and theoretical orientations. A review of the literature on African migration alone (including literatures on prehistory, on resettlement, on refugees, on labor migration, and for example, on migration’s role in economic development) would require a book in itself. Heberle (1955), Petersen (1958), Mangalam (1968), Du Toit (1990) and especially Byerlee (1972), Pryor (1982), and Eades (1987) offer explicit, theoretically derived typologies of migration. In order to focus on the issues most relevant to my own research, I outline some categories that I find useful for comparison between the case with which I am most familiar and other migration flows in Africa.

Time Period

First, I am concerned here with contemporary migration, not with migrations in general or with precolonial migrations. I mention several aspects of migration theory in general elsewhere in this chapter, in order to locate the discussion in the context of the literature. Several aspects of migration’s role in prehistorical Africa have been noted above, and I will consider precolonial migration patterns of the Lower Casamance region of Senegal in particular in Chapter 2.

---

For a typological essay focusing specifically on the forms of female migration, see U.N. Secretariat (1993).
Duration

Second, duration is a critical variable for understanding cases of migration. One may be absent from home for less than a single day, for many years—or one may never return. In some cases, as in pastoralist or hunter-gatherer groups, movement from place to place within a given territory is a permanent part of life (see Petersen 1955).

Most often, however, migration is defined as movement from a sedentary residence and as either permanent or temporary depending on the duration of absence.\(^2\) There is of course a certain arbitrariness in defining the length of time that separates an absence from home from a migration. Seasonal migration introduces another complication. The duration of movement is relatively short, perhaps three months, but the number of individuals involved and the routinized nature of the phenomenon may make seasonal migrations critical for the economies of certain social groups or areas. Despite this, seasonal migration often remains undocumented, especially in less-developed countries.

National Boundaries and Distance

The distances involved and whether or not migrants cross borders are also important variables for comparing cases of migration. Crossing a border in Africa may not be different in any practical sense from remaining within a single nation. Except during crises, African boundaries are often abstract concepts to all but national bureaucrats and foreign observers.

\(^2\)See Mangalam (1986:7) and Beijer (1969:13) for two useful collections of various social scientific definitions of migration; see also the well-known formulation by Lee (1966:49–51).
Economic Issues

Most contemporary writers on African economies now explicitly recognize the web of connections among rural and urban populations. A single family may send members to both smaller local towns and the capital city. There are cases where migration breaks up a community, but more often migration creates connections among localities. Among the benefits of these connections for rural dwellers are cash remittances sent from urban kin (Keely and Tran 1989; Russell 1992), although some theorists question the value of their impact on sending communities (e.g., Kmiar and Ismail 1991). These questions "relate mainly to processes of socioeconomic development per se" (Appleyard 1989:487), and are not fruitful points for comparison among cases.

Especially when poorer members of a society migrate, there is some evidence of a positive effect, relieving poverty (Russell 1992:273). Remittances, for example, can be critical to the survival of rural families and are frequently used to finance the construction of schools and health facilities (Condé et al. 1986:108). Such social investment is an important outcome of migration in the present case. Most urbanites remain strongly attached to their rural homes (Gugler 1969:148-151; Peil et al. 1988), often strengthening their ties to the home village by sending regular cash remittances.  

Purpose

From the perspective of economic development, changing one's employment from the agricultural to a non-agricultural sector of the economy may be more important than the fact of migration itself.

See also the literature on voluntary associations and their role in maintaining rural/urban ties in Africa and elsewhere (Mangin 1959; Meillassoux 1968; Reveyrand 1986/87; Peil 1981).
(Johnston 1986; Mellor 1989). Since one may be employed in either or both economic sectors regardless of one’s residence, migration research instruments cannot assume rural-urban migration and sectoral shifts in employment are one and the same (Byerlee 1972). It would be best to collect complete employment records of migrants. However, often researchers are able to gather only information on the work a migrant leaves and the job he or she gets (or hopes to acquire) at the destination of the move (see Winchie and Carment 1989).

**Degrees of Compulsion**

Finally, an important issue related to the purpose of a move is the degree to which it is voluntary. The most dramatic illustrations of this issue are found in the tragic cases of contemporary refugees and the historical Atlantic slave trade. Other examples of involuntary migration include forced labor such as corvée, and village relocations or resettlement, for which there is also a large literature (e.g., see Koenig 1986, 1987; Fall and Mbojd 1989; Echenberg 1991; McMillan 1993; Cook 1994).

Actually, much migration is not easily categorized as voluntary or involuntary. Many people migrate to get better health care and other social services, for economic gain, for better access to civil services and infrastructures, or to be near family or friends as is the case especially for many elderly women in Africa (Gugler 1989; Peil et al. 1988). Generally, Marxists tend to consider migration for economic

---

4See Brokensha and Scudder (1968); Cernea (1988); Chambers (1979, 1982); Gorman (1987); Hansen and Oliver-Smith (1982); INADES (1986); Kibreab (1985); Koenig (1986); Refugee Studies Programme (1988); Schultheis (1989); Spring (1979); UNHCR (1981); and U.N. Secretariat (1985).

benefit as more compelled, while non-Marxists tend to consider such migrations to be more a matter of choice. Underlying such contradictory interpretations is the neoclassic theorists' assumption of individual incentive and choice versus an emphasis by the collectivist thinkers on the coercive capacity of social institutions.

As with many polar differences in interpretation, identifying whether a migration is forced or chosen is insufficient. We need scalar measures, so that examples of migration may be considered as more or less voluntary rather than as either voluntary or compelled. The key to understanding degrees of compulsion in migration is in the disaggregation of the implied variables. For example, factors hindering or contributing to a particular movement can be elaborated with greater precision, and the outcomes of a move may be defined more clearly in terms of destination, purpose, economic effects, and duration.

**Typological Sketch of the Present Case**

The case of Diola women migrants is presented here briefly, to introduce it in terms of the typology suggested. We will return to this case in more detail in Chapters 2 and 3.

**Time period**

Wage labor migration became an important economic phenomenon regionally in Lower Casamance only during the 1930s, although migration for trade was a precolonial phenomenon. Historical migration patterns are discussed in Chapter 2.

**Duration**

Today, large majorities of young Diola migrate during the dry season (roughly January through June) from many villages to urban areas, primarily Ziguinchor and Dakar.
Figure 1: Map showing the Casamance region and the research site in relation to the rest of Senegal. Source: Adapted from United States Defense Mapping Agency. 1992. Digital chart of the world. (The source permits free reproduction and adaptation).

National boundaries

Migration to the regional capital of Ziguinchor, as well as to provincial towns such as Bignona, is common. Because of the peculiar nature of the national borders of The Gambia, which itself is located entirely within the borders of Senegal, overland migrants from the Casamance to Dakar must cross two international borders (see Figure 1). The Diola certainly consider this an international migration. They most frequently say "I’m going to Senegal" rather than "to Dakar" when they travel to the capital. Nevertheless, this case is most appropriately considered an internal migration, since both points of origin and destination are within the national borders of a single country.
Economic issues

The purpose of my research was to investigate economic issues. Findings from the research are presented in Chapter 3. Briefly, however, I found that cash remittances were reported to be sent home when a migrant had close relatives there. Most immigrants also bring or send cash to their families at planting and harvest time, to pay for cooperative labor groups. Voluntary associations in Dakar also organize more substantial collections in cash and in kind for projects to repair or construct schools, health facilities, and other village improvements. This latter function was particularly interesting to me.

Purpose

Most immigrants in my study, including almost all of the thirty members of the women’s association interviewed in Dakar, left family farms in Casamance to work as domestic maids in the informal sector of urban Dakar (see Lubell and Zarour 1990).

Compulsion

The question of how freely one undertakes a move from, for example, a village with very limited land for staple rice agriculture, is certainly a legitimate issue for debate. However, the village of Affiniam-Boutem, the focus of this case, is universally understood to have more than adequate arable land for both groundnuts and rice, as well as a diverse set of natural resources providing adequate and nearby fishing areas, fruit trees, and construction materials such as thatch and clay. For residents of Affiniam-Boutem, it is a cliché to insist that “we have everything we need here, except money.”
Causes of Migration from Various Theoretical Perspectives

Neoclassical Models

Neoclassical explanations of migration begin with the assumption that migration is caused predominantly by economic motives. Ravenstein (1885, 1889) was the first to systematically formulate theoretical statements about migration from this perspective. Despite their venerable age, Ravenstein's "papers have stood the test of time and remain the starting point for work in migration theory" (Lee 1966:47).

Social scientists have now applied this theoretical orientation to various aspects of migration for over a century, making it one of the longest-studied social phenomena. With such a long tradition of work on this problem, researchers have had ample time to test many elements of various theories, comparing them against both competing hypotheses and entirely different models. The neoclassical approach is by no means the only perspective garnering a substantial following in contemporary migration research. However, it retains its vitality through adaptation under sustained critique from traditional social scientists as well as from its more recent radical critics, the dependency theorists and neo-Marxists.

Economistic models within this orientation have tended to use somewhat coarse units of observation throughout its history. Some influential writers (e.g., Ravenstein 1889; Lewis 1954, 1955; Harris and Todaro 1970; Todaro 1976) began modeling by associating broad economic sectors (e.g., modern versus traditional) with whole geographic regions (e.g., urban versus rural). Such models appear simplistic in

---

"The overly simplistic concept of the fully modern city surrounded by increasingly distant and traditional villages, like the very definitions of rural and urban, has inspired long and contentious debate. For a recent review see Coquéry-Vidrovitch (1991:6-10)."
retrospect because the variability within such broad categories has since been demonstrated repeatedly throughout the literature. Scholars working within this orientation have, however, reacted creatively to valid criticism, improving the power of this approach to explain the causes of migration. For example, criticism of the 'dualism' supposedly inherent to the model has been incorporated over time as a more fine-grained approach to the observation of certain key variables has developed.

Thus, groups previously assumed to be homogeneous (i.e., peasants) are now commonly defined as members of smaller units according to a wide range of cultural and other factors such as land tenure patterns, specific economic conditions, political characteristics, and specific measures of households' labor availability in relation to cultivable land holdings (Byerlee 1972; Byerlee and Eicher 1972:4; Gluckman 1943; Gulliver 1957, 1960; Harris 1959; Hill 1970, 1986; Miracle and Berry 1970; Middrie 1954; Skinner 1960). Similarly, rural economies have been demonstrated to have many elements, both modern and traditional, as do urban-based enterprises (Byerlee and Eicher 1972:6,16) to which they are often linked.

**Social Groups as Factors in Migration**

Regardless of the issue of unit scale in data observation, some economists have argued that migration can be sufficiently explained with economic data alone (e.g., Fields 1982; Knight 1972; Todaro 1976, 1980). Proponents of this view have had to answer the criticism from their colleagues that analyses based exclusively on economic data are often insufficient to fully explain important noneconomic social phenomena (Yotopoulos and Nugent 1976:220).

A consideration of social organizational factors improves the analysis of such complex phenomena as migration. Neoclassical theory
has been modified (especially in the "new household economics" school) to incorporate measures of such diverse factors as social networks, risk aversion, stages of the life cycle, dependency ratios, and other information theoretically influencing migration decisions (see Bender 1967; Caldwell 1970; Epstein 1969, 1975; Goldstein and Goldstein 1981; Hammel and Laslett 1974; Leslie and Richardson 1961; Sandefur and Scott 1981; Sanjek 1982; Speare et al. 1982; Stark and Levhari 1982; Stark 1984a, 1984b; Tuma et al. 1979; Uhlenburg 1973).

Another challenge to the neoclassical approach involves studies of the experience of individuals rather than of larger-scale (economic or cultural) processes. The focus is on changes in the attitudes or values of individual migrants. Scholars in this tradition assert that non-traditional attitudes and values cause the breakdown of traditional authority in addition to increasing the incidence of migration. Such studies essentially challenge neoclassical assumptions by adopting alternate presuppositions. They do so, however, in an abstract fashion without providing any empirical support for their choice of assumptions. To conclude from variant rates of migration across social groups that one must study only individual migrants lacks sufficient basis. The causes of migration in a given context cannot be established through intensive studies of individual migration experiences. Rather, research should be directed toward controlled comparisons of migration among different groups and contexts. Case study work may be a necessary step toward such comparative research goals.

Gugler (1968, 1969) provides an excellent discussion of the differences resulting from a focus upon the individual incidence of migration as opposed to an emphasis on the rate of migration in a given population. He credits Mitchell (1959) with the earliest elaboration of this distinction. While Mitchell considered the variables determining migration to be either economic or personal, there are in fact many non-
economic factors that can be considered as political, social, or domestic, among other categories (e.g., see Winchie and Carment 1989). Examples include bottlenecks in labor availability, tax collection intervals, domestic or life cycles, and dependency ratios. Variant rates of migration among groups are most likely to be explained by multidimensional variables including economic, cultural, social network, household or family, and personal (e.g., demographic) factors.

While an atomistic approach to migration studies was common in the 1960s, it was challenged in the 1970s by models that used macro-level units of analysis. The most popular of these new models was dependency theory.

Dependency Models

As it does for other issues, the dependency approach to migration stresses that the bifurcated rural/urban division, like the categorical division of modern versus traditional, is a misguided attempt to depict contemporary Third World societies simply. Writers from this perspective emphasize the interrelatedness of rural and urban economies, with migrants carrying labor value out of the 'periphery' to the 'core' of the world economic system.7

The value of the dependency critique was that it popularized important inadequacies of the 'dual sector' model (e.g., see Lewis 1954, 1955). The dependency critique also established the importance of international market factors more generally, emphasizing the effects of the inequitable 'distortions' of market transactions undertaken between Third World enterprises and those of the developed world (Emmanuel

7Shoemaker (1976) was the first writer to apply the dependency perspective to migration theory (Kearney 1986:339).
1972). Nevertheless, the dependency critique was itself rather simplistic.

A key theoretical oversight of dependency models was their reproduction of the dualism of which they were so critical. In retrospect, this dualism was probably a result of utilizing the very coarse units adopted by both dependency models and the neoclassical models that were targeted for criticism by this popular academic school.

The core/periphery division is no more successful as an analytical tool for social science than the labeling of modern and traditional factors. Empirically, these tools divide societies in very similar ways. Without a successful analytical method capable of innovative analyses of existing data, social research might still produce new data through fieldwork guided by innovative theoretical insight. Unfortunately, however, the dependency approach provides no theoretical guidance for empirical research.

There is little detail even at the abstract level regarding the mechanisms underlying the flow of labor and value in ways assumed by the dependency theory. As Booth explained, the theory “could not specify the mechanisms by which what capital ‘needed’ was translated into reality at the local level” (Booth 1985:768). The ‘core’ economies cause migration from without by means of the same vague mechanisms that subject ‘peripheral’ areas to unequal economic treatment on international markets.

**Neo-Marxism**

Interestingly, some of the most thorough and convincing critiques of the dependency school have come from within the same tradition that spawned it (e.g., de Janvry 1981; Brenner 1977; Warren 1980; see also Palma 1978). Essentially, other Marxists have challenged dependency models for their attribution of external causes for change in
'peripheral' society. Economic growth (and consequently, migration) is explained only in negative terms by a "law of underdevelopment" (Frank 1967; Sweezy 1972; Amin 1974b).

The neo-Marxist ('modes of production' or 'articulation') orientation is more convincing and withstands more intense criticism, focusing on 'class' divisions within societies outside the developed world and how these have influenced changes from within these societies. This perspective emphasizes the diversity and vitality of rural production, inquiring how the tenacity of indigenous organization is maintained in the face of political and economic encroachments by capitalist firms (see Goodman and Redclift 1982; Binsbergen and Geschiere 1985).

Much important empirical research was undertaken in response to the neo-Marxist French anthropologists working in Africa (e.g., Rey 1973; and Meillassoux 1972, 1981), particularly regarding social patterns observable within villages and even households. The wider social and political influences of such patterns upon women's roles, their utility in explaining certain other gender-related patterns (migration among them), and the effects of dense rural-urban linkages are major emphases within this literature. Because of the attention it places on interrelations between rural and urban economic activities this approach is sometimes referred to as 'articulationism' (see Kearney 1986), but this term is jargon and offers no additional clarity.

Neo-Marxist writing has theoretically identified the household as the pivotal locale from which individuals can be observed working, consuming, and engaging in their own 'reproduction' as well as that of their social structure. Rural areas maintain the structures of states in the Third World first of all by subsidizing urban industry with artificially low producer prices (Bates 1981). Additionally, these areas provide services to laborers who can migrate to live temporarily
in urban areas without placing expensive demands on state distributions for social services and welfare (Meillassoux 1972; Wolpe 1975). These services are instead performed in rural areas, often by women in unpaid roles within the household or by others in the village and throughout the depressed rural economy, which benefits little itself in terms of development (Schmink 1984; Mamdani 1985).

The focus on domestic, social 'reproductive' contexts in relation to local political structures and economic production has proven a fertile ground for research, cultivating vigorous debate relative to issues of migration (e.g., Burroway 1976; CNFNA 1983). The popularity of this literature is due in part to the fact that dependency theory failed to gain any significant empirical support through field research. Another important alternative to dependency theory is the literature on women and inter-household relations in the Third World. The atomism of neoclassical economic models and the macro-level approach of the dual-sector modernization and dependency models obscured the local contextual determinants of migration. The latter became more visible through the adoption of middle-range units of observation, largely inspired by research and critiques from the neo-Marxist perspective.

Conclusions on the Causes of Migration

A valid critique of classical theory notes that broad economic conditions cannot provide an adequate explanation of migration patterns on the local level. There are nonrandom, measurable differences in the rates of migration across social groups at this level. Individuals do not react to economic conditions as atomistic units, as the classical

\[\text{For some examples from a burgeoning literature on the household, see Chayanov (1966); Meillassoux (1972); Guyer (1981); Wood (1981); Netting et. al. (1984); Schmink (1984); Leacock and Safa (1986); Moock (1986); Boyd (1989); Bullwinkle (1989); and Pedraza (1991).}\]
libertarian economic theory assumes. Rather, theoretical explanations of variability in the rates of migration among different social groups and categories provide satisfactory means of understanding why general economic conditions do not affect everyone similarly. This challenges the applicability of the assumption of rational and knowledgeable individual decision making units (e.g., Harris and Todaro 1970). Economists such as Todaro (1981) and Harris (1978:110) have recast the problem of migration in terms of behavioral adaptations to inequalities in the structure of markets, responding to an essentially valid critique from the left (see Kearney 1986:335-336).

The categories adopted by dependency writers were as monolithic and cumbersome as the dualistic concepts used by the modernization writers. Moreover, the dependency school has failed to adapt successfully in the face of theoretical and empirical challenges. So-called conventional theory, in contrast, has adapted well to intermediate units of analysis.

The decade of the 1980s saw the development of an increasingly sophisticated view of social organization by researchers interested in economic and migration variables, among other research areas. As noted above, economists incorporated concepts of household, small consumer group behavior, and empirical 'distortions' in the marketplace from other social science fields. Investigations into local social organization and behavior were successful at disaggregating coarse, monolithic categories such as 'rural', 'urban', 'modern,' and 'traditional' into more meaningful variables and observable units. The resulting intermediate-level units often have complex interactions among them. In some sense, these improvements also were due to pressure from Marxist-derived critiques of classical economic theory.
Consequences of Migration

Economic and Social Scientific Contributions

From the point of view of the receiving community, the effects of migration are depicted most often in terms of the labor market. High rates of migration reduce the cost of (especially unskilled) labor to urban industry. Related food policy issues, such as whether governments should subsidize consumer staples, are also important from this primarily urban perspective (see Bates 1981; Timmer et al. 1983).

The literature on African urbanization points to many other issues relevant to the communities receiving large influxes of migrants. These include problems related to rapidly growing needs in housing, urban infrastructure, and public services such as health and education, as well as the difficulties of incorporating formerly rural peoples into multi-cultural urban settings (see Mangin 1959; Gluckman 1961; Kuper 1965; Little 1965; Plotnikov 1967; Mayer 1969; Hance 1970; Middleton 1979; Hannerz 1980; Peil 1981; Coquéry-Vidrovitch 1991).

The effects of migration on sending communities were rarely considered prior to studies conducted by the British social anthropologists during and after World War II (see the exceptional early work by Thomas and Znaniecki 1927; Sorokin et al. 1932; and Thomas 1938). In British colonial Africa, a seasonal or “circulatory” pattern of migration was the dominant means by which labor was supplied to urban enterprises in many of the white settler economies.

This “circulatory labor” phenomenon appeared to damage rural welfare, as in some cases there were not enough men left in rural areas to grow the amount of food needed by consumers there (Richards 1939; Wilson 1941). The survival of traditional authority and culture seemed to be at risk (Schapera 1947). For the administrators of indirect colonial
rule, this was a threatening possibility (Eades 1987). Fortunately, however, the improved worldwide economic climate after 1945 averted rural disintegration and the crisis it would have created for rural peoples as well as colonial governments (Eades 1987; see also Hart 1987; Hopkins 1973).

In the years since World War II, most non-Marxist anthropology research has supported a moderately positive view of emigration from rural areas. In Africa, rural households often receive half their total incomes from remittances returned by members employed in urban areas (Schapera 1947:62; Hyden 1980; Keely and Tran 1989; Russell 1992). Empirical studies undertaken throughout Africa have demonstrated that migration may in some cases strengthen traditional forms of authority by providing resources to senior members of rural households, supporting economic growth and innovation in rural agriculture (Read 1942; Watson 1958; Van Velsen 1961; Hill 1963). Such work did much to weaken the atomistic assumptions of neoclassical economists regarding rural Africa.

Early models of African migration assumed that labor was abundant to the point of surplus, though unproductive in rural areas (Harris and Todaro 1970; Lewis 1954; also see Ravenstein 1889). Field studies of rural labor undertaken during the 1960s demonstrated instead that most African countries face both seasonal labor peaks and bottlenecks during different points in the agricultural cycle (de Wilde et al. 1970; Cleave 1974). Thus, rural labor was not plentiful and unproductive as it appeared in such models, but instead faced constraints associated with severe seasonal fluctuations in demand.

By concentrating people into areas that can both more efficiently use labor resources and provide goods and services to increasingly large conglomerations of consumers, migration plays a key role in the development process (Caldwell 1969:204; Todaro 1976, 1980, 1981; Knight 1972; Harris 1978; Southall 1979). West African history contains
numerous examples of migration serving as an efficient adaptation to changing economic conditions in both urban and rural areas (Berg 1965:161; Hill 1963; Little 1965).

Dependency Views

Writers in the dependency school have been particularly uninspired with regard to research on the effects of migration on rural areas. The model assumes a net loss in value for sending areas in the 'periphery.' It provides no theoretical support for empirical research in the context of these points of origin. These facts together have resulted in a distinct lack of dependency research on this topic. With little empirical research spawned by this orientation, there is a correspondingly small need to discuss any contributions of dependency theory toward understanding the effects of migration on rural sending communities.

The dependency literature has provoked research on the effects of so-called 'free trade zones,' with an almost singular focus on 'runaway shops.' A relatively recent phenomenon in some Third World areas, this term refers to contracts with large multinational firms that sponsor satellite assembly operations for the garment and electronic industries. Because these firms once operated only in developed economies, they are called 'runaways.' Relocations from developed areas are often encouraged by favorable government policies in the Third World as well as international trade treaties such as NAFTA. Another factor drawing such firms to less developed countries is a plentiful supply of cheap (often primarily female) labor for such operations in parts of East Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean (see Lim 1978; Frobel et al. 1980; Nash and Fernandez-Kelly 1983; Sassen-Koob 1983; Safa 1986; and Pedraza 1991).

Notwithstanding important work on this phenomenon, statements by dependency researchers often over-generalize from such specific cases. An example is the following assertion: "Modern labor migration is a
very highly organized State-controlled movement of workers" (Kamiar and Ismail 1991:562). Only a very specific and overly restrictive definition of "modern" could make this a reasonable statement in light of the numerous and highly variant cases of migration to urban areas throughout the Third World.

Neo-Marxist Approaches

The neo-Marxist literature, in contrast, has supported a great deal of research on a variety of specific local effects of migration from rural areas. It demonstrably is more open to debate on the issue of the net effects of emigration from rural areas than the dependency school has been (Kearney 1986; e.g., see de Jonge et al. 1978). One of the important aspects of this debate has been whether or not return migrants contribute positively to the local economy. Do such individuals invest in productive growth either directly or through remittances to relatives in the rural area? Or are they more apt simply to improve their own families' level of consumption, without spreading benefits more generally within the local economy?

The issues of return migration and remittances are related, in that an evaluation of the role each plays in the home village often signals an evaluator's attitudes toward migration and economic development in general. Evaluations ostensibly weighing the economic outcomes of diverse case studies instead often appear simply to use such cases as evidence cited in support of a prior position on development.

Kearney summarizes the literature, primarily Latin American (1986:346), and suggests a lack of empirical support for the thesis that local economic benefits are a likely outcome of return migration (see Mines and Massey 1985; Reichert 1981; Rhoades 1978, 1980; Stuart and Kearney 1981; Swanson 1979; Wiest 1979). Indeed, studies undertaken from diverse theoretical orientations suggest that expenditures by
returnees are more likely to be made for the purchase of consumption goods for the family, including housing, land, and the education of the return migrants’ children (Cornelius 1978; Dinerman 1982; Chilivumbo 1985). However, as Gmelch (1987) argues, returning students and professionals may bring more benefits back to their rural home areas than migrant laborers (see Miller 1984). Furthermore, levels of productive investment appear more significant if expenditures for such ‘necessary’ costs as housing are excluded from the analysis (Gmelch 1987:137). Finally, expenditures for so-called consumptive purposes can have important, positive effects in economically depressed rural communities.

The debate is not focused on the issue of whether (or how much) money returns to the home village either through remittances or returns. An enormous sum, representing an international financial exchange second only to the trade in crude oil, is estimated to return annually to villages worldwide through remittances (Russell 1992:269). Rather, at issue is whether or not these monies represent a positive contribution to economic development, either locally or nationally. Responses to this question often have more to do with how individual writers evaluate economic development itself than to analysis of remittance data (Appleyard 1989:487).

Many writers disregard the value of local consumptive expenditures to economic development. Nevertheless, particularly in the Sahel, these have been “crucial to financing expansion of educational facilities in rural areas” (Russell 1992:275; see Condé and Diagne 1986; Gould 1988:4.1.49; and Bradshaw 1988). Such expenditures, including the construction of health care facilities and relying heavily on remittances, represent an important investment in human capital. The migrants I studied in my own research actively invested in just these kinds of facilities in their home village. More generally, it has been
noted that especially when poorer members of a society migrate, while "there is no automatic mechanism by which... migration and remittances result in development... limited available evidence suggests a positive effect on poverty" (Russell 1992:273).

**Conclusions on the Effects of Migration from the Village**

The question of whether rural areas experience net material losses or in fact gain from migration is an important research topic, ripe for further empirical inquiry. Relatively few data have been collected to clearly indicate actual capital flows in and out of specific rural areas (Eicher and Baker 1982:226).

Notwithstanding the important issue of net capital flows, empirical research on the diverse effects of rural emigration has documented such dependent outcomes as the growth and expansion of markets serving small urban centers (Southall 1979, 1989; Middleton 1979; Nicolas and Gaye 1988), increased national integration (Paden 1980; Skinner 1985), improvements in rural family consumption and education levels (Chilivumbo 1985; Condé and Diagne 1986; Russell 1992), and changes in the gender composition of the rural labor force (Staudt 1975; Chaney and Lewis 1980; Palmer 1985).

Dependency writers often claim that modernization and classical social science theories assume that change, such as an increased rate of rural-urban migration, is good (see Lipton 1980; Swanson 1979). In fact, this is an often-repeated (but false) depiction of much of the social science literature of the first half of this century. As noted before, some colonial British anthropologists in fact argued that migration was destructive of traditional African culture (e.g. Richards 1939; Wilson 1941; see Eades 1987). Reacting to such conclusions, others have countered that it is wrong to assume that migration is harmful to rural welfare (Read 1942; Watson 1958; Van Velson 1961).
Dependency models themselves generally consider certain outcomes as foregone conclusions. An example is the assumed loss of value in rural areas due to urban migration (Kearney 1986:354-355; see also Griffin 1976; cf. Amin 1974a; Böhning 1975; Swanson 1979). Empirical evaluation of specific outcomes is not supported by the theoretical model. The value of empirical social research is instead that the costs and benefits of such a phenomenon can be measured and weighed against one another (Miracle and Berry 1970).

Only in subsequent academic generations have Marxist collectivist traditions begun to actively support empirical research. Field researchers in the neo-Marxist school have since observed migration in its local context and gathered data concerning the functions of diverse household strategies, including migration. It is no surprise that empirical field research challenges the validity of outcomes that were assumed in the dependency literature. Empirical work from the neo-Marxist school has recently demonstrated that migrants may bring significant benefits to their rural communities of origin (Wood 1981, 1982; Schmink 1984; Hart 1987; Griffin 1976).

Implications and Conclusions

Households and Voluntary Associations

A focus on village and inter-household social organization has proven an innovative and useful way to consider specific local causes of migration. In my view, the most useful aspects of this perspective owe more to 'conventional' anthropologists than to Marxists. Certainly, though, the interaction of these traditions has heightened interest in this fertile research area. The household focus successfully provides a means to combine macro- and micro-level analyses, as well as both
structural and individual approaches to the study of the causes and consequences of migration.

The concept of the household as a basic domestic unit of production and consumption remains difficult to operationalize, since it cannot be defined similarly for all places and times (see Yanagisako 1979). However, in any given context it can be a heuristic intermediate-level model for reconciling problems encountered with analysis at the structural or individual level. The household provides a context in which various migration situations or circumstances can be interpreted.

Processes operating at the highest levels of social analysis, such as urbanization, international trade, economic development, and the like, have important consequences that affect individual choices to migrate. At the same time, individual variables, including demographic characteristics and personal migration experience for example, have also proven to be important determinants of migration. At an intermediate level of analysis, meanwhile, “the control the productive unit in the rural economy is able to exert over the timing and length of the migrants’ absence can be crucial” (Gugler 1969:476).

At another, also intermediate level, as we have discussed, voluntary associations often have an important effect on members’ contributions in support of basic needs in the home village. To understand the role of these intermediate level institutions requires location- and context-specific research in the field. However, this focus promises to elucidate, for any specific case, causes of variability in migration rates left unexplained by either macro-level or individual variables. Households and voluntary associations have important influences on their members, as has been demonstrated in the migration literature (Mangin 1959; Little 1965; Plotnikov 1967; Meillassoux 1968; Mitchell 1969b; Peil 1981, 1988; Wood 1981; Speare et al. 1982; Schmink 1984; Traeger 1984; Boyd 1989; Lambert 1994; Woods
1994). Thus, studying the household as well as voluntary associations
and their influences upon members can provide important insights into
the determinants of specific migration patterns.

African Women as Active and Independent Migrants

Empirical research on women’s roles as migrants anywhere in the
world remains uncommon and certainly is not yet well represented in the
literature. Research in Africa frequently has focused on women left
behind in rural villages, managing homes and farms alone, while men
undertake urban migration (e.g., Richards 1939; Wilson 1941; Cooper
1979; Chaney and Lewis 1980; Wilkinson 1983; Hirschman and Vaughan 1984;
Palmer 1985). Much of the research that does address women as migrants
assumes they are “associational” movers, accompanying husbands or
families, rather than undertaking to move independently. This notion is
largely outdated (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik 1992) but persists in the
literature just the same.

Some research on female migration per se has been published in
recent years, although there are still few examples of any kind (see
Diner 1983; and Lee 1989 for two historical examples; and Pedraza 1991
for a general review). In the past those that considered women in the
migration stream itself often focused on normative issues, rather than
questions chosen to advance theoretical or contextual understanding.
For example, unmarried or independent migrant women were frequently
assumed to be prostitutes (e.g., Nadel 1942; see also Little 1965, 1973;
Sudarkasa 1977). While this role does exist for African women migrants,
the presumption is distorted and accentuated by cultural bias both
within some African cultures and by Western observers (Pittin 1984;
There is still a need for more case studies focusing on women as migrants (Byron 1994), and particularly as independent migrants seeking legitimate work. The image of the woman migrant as either a prostitute or the dependent of a migrating man, while not entirely baseless, certainly is not indicative of the important role many women migrants play in contemporary Africa. In West Africa, for example, commerce has provided an important attraction for women to leave their rural homes: “Most of the millions of women involved in internal migration within the various countries [of West Africa] would fall under the category of commercial migrants” (Sudarkasa 1977:183). While this may overstate the case, it indicates that the role of women as commercial migrants is important in this continental sub-region. Other important research on African women as independent migrants and important economic actors in the urban setting includes Little (1965), Schuster (1979), Hansen (1985), Moran (1990), and Bozzoli (1991). Hansen (1985) and Bozzoli (1991) are concerned most directly with female migrants as domestic servants, the focus of my own research.

Stichter (1985) asserts that relatively high rates of female migration in Asia and Latin America indicate the greater economic subjugation of women in these regions, calling them “free laborers.” Meanwhile, the general lack of female mobility in Africa indicates a low social status for women, where in precolonial times their “status was not dissimilar to that of slaves or serfs” (Stichter 1985:148). A view of African women as entirely dependent on men for their mobility is not without precedent nor is it entirely false in certain cultural contexts (see Nadel 1942; Thandi and Todaro 1979, 1984; Cock 1980; Shah 1983; Brydon 1987; Boyd 1989). However, African women migrate in surprising
numbers’ where there are the combined conditions of independence at home and opportunity abroad, while remaining quite distinct from the Marxist notion of a landless ‘free laborer’ (for West Africa see Caldwell 1969; Hamer 1981; Oppong 1983; Sanjek 1976; Sudarkasa 1977; Yacoob 1983; Zachariah and Nair 1980; also see Ochollo-Ayayo n.d. for evidence of migration for East African single women; and Wells 1982 for the same in South Africa). My own research supports the view that under certain circumstances, “gender differences in the division of labor may favor migration of women more than men” (Boyd 1989:657). In this case, the reasons have more to do with the gender division of labor than with issues of women’s social status.

As elsewhere in the undeveloped world, high quality migration data for Africa are scarce (Adepoju and Clarke 1985:17). It is rare to find any data set in which gender variables are associated with valid indicators of migration. National level census data are even less likely to be adequate for investigating women migrants. Male migration in Africa has been relatively well documented over a substantial period of time, but information on women migrants is almost totally lacking. Among other things, because women are more likely to work in the informal sector, data on them are especially difficult to collect (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik 1992; see Lubell and Zarour 1990). In particular, specific “evidence on the determinants of female migration in Africa remains virtually nonexistent” (Brockerhoff and Eu 1993:561; see Thadani and Todaro 1984).

African women increasingly are migrating, both internationally and alone (Adepoju 1991). If historical data from elsewhere are indicative of the future trends in Africa, women’s migration rates there will

[Brydon’s (1987) data indicate that in Ghana, Avatime women leave for the same reasons as men, and for those women under the age of thirty, leave in much the same numbers as men.]
continue to increase over time (see Byerlee 1972; Byerlee and Eicher 1972; Caldwell 1969; Connell 1984; Easterlin 1980; Fawcett et al. 1984; Khoo et al. 1984; Melville 1978; Orlansky and Dubrovsky n.d.; Singh 1978; Roy 1983; Thadani and Todaro 1979; Thomas 1970; Traeger 1984; Whiteford 1978; Lee 1989). Therefore, documenting female migration and (perhaps more importantly) discovering the relationships between male and female migration in Africa will become increasingly important.

Empirical data collected in Africa on women indicate that they generally migrate at a younger age than do men. They are constrained from migrating by such things as high fertility and marriage (Bilsborrow and Zlotnik 1982; Brokerhoff and Eu 1993; U.N. Secretariat 1993). Interestingly, women also are less likely than men to return to their home villages once they move to an urban setting. This leaves many African cities with predominantly female populations, especially among the older age groups. Among the issues deserving of further research attention are the feminization of older urban populations, inter-household relations among migrant families, and the economic roles women migrants play in rapidly changing African cities. Migration also can have important effects on gender relations, fertility, and the division of labor in rural areas. "Internal migration, and particularly its rural-urban form, is inextricably linked with other demographic phenomena, as in the case where regional fertility differentials essentially reflect the age-sex selectivity of migration" (Pryor 1982:25; see Farber and Lee 1984; Brokerhoff and Eu 1993).

Historical evidence on coastal areas of West Africa during the early twentieth century indicates that women were demonstrating an economic independence from men in both the commercial arena (Brooks 1976) and in wage employment. The latter case is supported by the fact that at least some Diola women in Casamance were being employed as dock workers (seasonally, after the groundnut harvest) in Bathurst (Banjul)
as early as the 1880s, and in Ziguinchor by 1910 (Mark 1985:74; Roche
1976:316; Snyder 1978:240). Such opportunities would not be sufficient
to cause migration from a given community. However, this would require
a social environment that both supported the participation of women in
the cash economy and allowed their movement independent of men.
Presumably, this also indicates a need for cash among Diola women at
that time. This particular aspect will be discussed in Chapter 2.

In my own research, I focused on contemporary Diola women
originally from the Casamance region of Senegal. Many of them were
seasonal migrants, earning wages in the urban service sector, working as
domestic maids. I was interested in whether or not their migration
functions as a means of attaining capital for agricultural and other
productive investments in their village of origin. Women are prominent
in the migration flow from Casamance, and are particularly successful at
gaining urban employment. In the village, the division of agricultural
and other labor has undergone extensive change through time,
particularly since the colonial era (Linares 1970, 1981, 1985). Subse-
quent expenditures in their home village, including a repair of the
school roof and the construction of a maternity clinic, were financed
through dues and other contributions to one of several voluntary organi-
zations. Some funds, either sent as remittances or brought with them on
their return to the village, were used to hire cooperative labor groups.

Conclusions

No general theory of migration exists to integrate multiple and
competing models successfully. Because they often operate at different
levels of analysis, they are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Massey
et al. 1993). Several have benefitted from critical interaction with
their academic competitors. The models that have benefitted most from
continual modifications are able to operate effectively at intermediate
levels of analysis. The household concept provides one means by which both macro- and micro-level data can be integrated and considered within a given cultural context. However, it remains a heuristic device, without promise of integrating diverse theoretical models.

Perhaps there is no need for an integrated theory of migration, except in terms of its role in economic development. Migration patterns diverge greatly depending on a great number of contextual situations and variables. Careful case study work remains to be done to adequately describe the full range of contexts in which women migrate. But if there is no need for a separate theory of migration, there certainly is no more reason to develop a separate theory of the female migrant. In the case of Diola women, as we shall see in Chapter 2, women began to use migration as a means of acquiring cash in the newly transformed economy soon after Casamance was integrated into the colonial state of Senegal. They were affected by economic changes differently from men because of their social position in the agricultural economy. Diola women’s migration from the Casamance does not indicate that they were targeted for exploitation. In fact, their status in traditional society was relatively strong. They owned land and could divorce their husbands, for example (Pelissier 1966:687). However, because of the changes introduced by the colonial administration, their role as rice producers was inadvertently devalued. As cash became increasingly necessary, they sought access to the cash economy and found no opportunities for earning wages in the rural setting. Thus, they sought work in town, first nearby in Ziguinchor, but eventually further afield in Dakar.

If we are to understand the causes and effects of migration in the truly complex context faced by African women, more data are needed on historical as well as contemporary economic opportunities at home and abroad. These data need to be understood within the specific social
context of the source community, with its network of connections to individuals and groups at the destination. Nevertheless, this is a neglected aspect of migration research overall, and the particular context of female migration may vary a great deal from that of men in the same cultural setting. This situation requires specialized research agendas and a particularly focused attention by researchers if good, valid data are to be collected for women migrants. Similarly, while there is no need for an "African theory of migration" (Byerlee 1972:17), migration research in Africa is a specialized task requiring preparation in a diverse range of background material. Wage-earning opportunities have been generally unavailable to African women, perhaps due in some degree to the colonial legacy. Some exploration of the cases in which these opportunities have existed over time is therefore warranted.
CHAPTER 2
A PERIODIZATION OF DIOLA HISTORY

Introduction

Any discussion of the history of Diola migration before the twentieth century must acknowledge the constraints implicit in the scarcity of relevant, valid data. The available data are insufficient to support the construction of a complete history of Diola migration, and my goal is decidedly not to predict trends. It is nevertheless both possible and useful to synthesize what data are available, interpreting them in the light of comparable cases. The goal of this chapter is to identify particular periods in Diola history during which the rates of change were sufficiently slowed and sustained to permit a generalized description that is applicable during a relatively long, rather well-defined span of time.

The result of any such exercise is necessarily limited in its usefulness as history. However, it may provide a useful characterization of long term historical trends for a chosen cultural phenomenon, in this case the changing patterns of Diola migration. The goal of describing such long term trends in the patterns of Diola migration will be pursued systematically in this chapter by first introducing the criteria used to identify particular historical periods. The identification and characterization of these periods will be the focus of the second section of the chapter. The third section will outline and describe the general characteristics of Diola migration during each of these periods. Finally, the characteristics of Diola
migration during each period will be summarized in a table at the end of the chapter.

What we know about the history of Diola migration is determined, largely although not completely, by the limited availability of information on the Diola before the twentieth century. Epistemological issues are fundamental to the evaluation of scientific work, as they are for all claims to knowledge (Kaplan 1964; Lakatos 1970). Such issues are merely highlighted in a case such as this, where sources of data are particularly scarce. In light of this scarcity, the criteria used to identify generalized periods of Diola history are provided explicitly below. They form relatively (not absolutely) stable periods within the long history of dynamic change characteristic of the area. These periods are emphatically heuristic categories. That is, they are useful for my purposes—the study of Diola migration—but of unknown utility for particular historical research, whether within or between identified periods.

Periods of Diola cultural history are defined here in several ways. For example, archaeological data indicate that important changes in Diola subsistence patterns were taking place during the earliest period. Because such patterns are theoretically associated with certain types of migration, the first period is defined to separate the time before such a change from the time after it. Thus, the first criterion for defining a period is evidence for a theoretically important subsistence change. In this instance, local evidence is considered significant because we can infer changes in the dependent variable, migration, based on observed changes in the independent variable, subsistence.

The second way periods are defined is based on a change in broader regional conditions that is hypothesized to act as a selective factor influencing specific local outcomes. For example, historians of the broader region have documented the influx of other ethnicities into the
local area. Evidence of such large-scale population movements is also observable in local archaeological data. The establishment of political organizations that defended particular trade interests and transportation routes in the local area restricted Diola territorial expansion. This restriction, in effect, would have selected for certain subsistence strategies, specifically for economic intensification and increased sedentism.

Finally, a period may be identified by historical events having a known effect either directly on the group itself, or on a range of groups that may be compared with the Diola and its effects inferred based on known cultural similarities and differences among these groups. A relevant example is the effect of the Atlantic slave trade on the Diola. While little specific information on Diola groups in particular is available (e.g., see Bowser 1974; and Bühnen 1993), historical documentation does exist regarding the effects of slavery on neighboring groups such as the Balanta and Manjaku. Particular cultural characteristics of these groups may be compared and contrasted with the Diola in order to infer how they were affected by this important historical process.

To summarize the criteria used to define each period of Diola history in this chapter, I have focused on three kinds of evidence. First, archaeological evidence of change in local subsistence patterns is the best means of defining the earliest period. Second, historical evidence of change in broad regional conditions, such as the establishment of new trading patterns or states, has been used to define the second period. Third, indirect evidence of change inferred from documented changes in similar, nearby cultural groups is used to define the third historical period. Finally, direct historical evidence is available for the most recent period. For the purposes of this chapter, I consider evidence for rapid cultural change based on these sources as
sufficient for separating historical periods. In the second section of this chapter I will identify and define four historical periods using the above criteria. In the third and final section, I will characterize the forms of migration that are associated with each period.

**Periods of Diola History**

**Early Sedentism and Early Circumscription**

Linguistic, archaeological, and oral history data indicate that Diola peoples originated along the Upper Guinea Coast of the Atlantic, somewhat further south than their present location. A long-term, large-scale movement of Diola populations northward brought them to the southwestern corner of the present day Lower Casamance area of Senegal as early as A.D. 200 (Linares 1971:41-43; Mark 1985; Baum 1986). This trend continued until the eighteenth century when Diola advances into the Fogny district to the northeast (primarily at the expense of the Banyun ethnic group) were reversed by the Mandinka, whose own large-scale, state-reinforced migration from the interior succeeded in pushing the Diola back south and west of the Songrougrou River (Lauer 1969:59; Quinn 1972:25; Brooks 1993).

Archaeological data for the description of this period come exclusively from the work of Olga Linares (1971).¹ Linares' evidence suggests that the Diola were coping with subsistence stresses due to persistent population growth as early as the second century A.D. Her analysis is based on the changing frequency distribution of shellfish species in the shell midden strata of the part of Lower Casamance longest occupied by the Diola. Linares interprets these changes as the

¹This is the only article I know of reporting Diola archaeological evidence. The limitations of a view based on a single source apply, although its findings are consistent with other data sources.
result of particular shellfish resources, important foods at the time, becoming scarce due to over-exploitation. Thus, new resources—different shellfish species—had to be located where familiar ones could not be exploited more effectively. Smoked oysters, for example, continue to be an important protein source for many Diola in the present.

The earliest evidence of Diola culture in the Lower Casamance indicates a reliance upon mixed agriculture as well as these foraged marine resources. The arrival of Diola peoples in the Lower Casamance probably was the result of groups moving northward to exploit new lands suitable for paddy production, and toward more abundant supplies of preferred marine resources. There is evidence, already deposited in the archaeological record by A.D. 200, of rice cultivation and animal husbandry in the area. The presence of cattle bones in the record suggests an early trade in cattle. Other domesticates such as pigs and dogs, common in contemporary Diola villages, only appear in the record about the time of European contact (Linares 1971:43).

Mixed agriculture was probably becoming an increasingly important means of subsistence throughout the period. A population that continued to rely extensively upon gathering dwindling natural resources would have faced increasing nutritional deficiencies and disease. The Diola, however, were already familiar with the benefits of a subsistence strategy that included agriculture. From the second through about the twelfth century, various Diola groups spread throughout the tidal ecological zone of southwestern Lower Casamance (see Adams 1993). As

---

3West Africa may represent an independent point of origin for irrigated rice (see Dresch 1949; Portères 1956, 1970; Johnny et al. 1981).

3Herds of trypanosome-resistant N'Dama cattle are maintained in the Lower Casamance, but their rates of reproduction are very limited. Trade is the only feasible means of expanding herds (see Starkey 1984).
this occupation became increasingly complete, eventually villages could no longer simply fission to maintain a balance between people and natural resources (see Cohen 1978:35,53). Instead, they had to rely increasingly on subsistence resources for which production could be intensified through management, primarily through the increased application of manual labor in agriculture. Irrigated rice production is particularly responsive to this strategy.

In summary, during this first period, the primordial process of village fissioning or “hiving off” most familiar among foragers and horticulturalists continued alongside the intensification of rice agriculture and other relatively newly-introduced economic strategies, such as cattle trade and husbandry. Increasingly then, the Diola pursued sedentary strategies as populations expanded relative to marine and forest resources, and as less territory was available for exploitation in the coastal ecological zone. Archaeological evidence from this period indicates that single Diola villages expanded in population and area over the course of up to four hundred years in some cases. This process required a substantial intensification of inhabitants' subsistence activities, through such enterprises as land reclamation from the saline mangrove marshes and the artificial irrigation of these new rice paddies (Linares 1971:41-43; Vieillefon 1977; Loquay 1981; Pellissier 1966). While large scale population movements into new areas were becoming a less important means of maintaining the balance between people and resources throughout this period, groups within these new sedentary villages continued to fission from them and to diffuse throughout the Lower Casamance. Eventually, these groups established new villages in some of the most remote delta plateaus to the north of
the Casamance River¹ by the late seventeenth century (Roche 1976:24; Baum 1986:74; Linares 1983).

**Early States in Casamance (Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries)**

Given the evidence of cattle bones in the archaeological record, as well as the limitations of trypanosomiasis, the Diola were presumably involved to some extent in cattle trade from the time of their earliest occupation of Lower Casamance. Even if trade was not undertaken until much later, it remains clear that relations with the indigenous states of the western Sudan were well established by the Middle Ages. Mande population expansion and migration² from the interior westward facilitated contact between these states and the stateless peoples of the Atlantic coast.⁶ This migration was therefore an event of great regional significance.⁷ Archaeological data support historical sources, indicating that Mandinka peoples expanded from the interior westward and southward toward the Upper Guinea Coast during the Middle Ages through about 1700 (Lauer 1969:59; Leary 1970:39-43; Rodney 1970; Quinn 1971:9-10, 1972:25; Mark 1985:11; Baum 1986:80). They had organized trade there sufficiently to be exporting kola nuts, “that eminently perishable product,” to North Africa by the twelfth century (Person 1984:304).

---

¹Sapir (1965) provides a map of about fifteen Diola dialect differences, illustrating the linguistic effect of fissioning and the subsequent separation of groups into many remote locales.

²Brooks (1993:87) attributes this migration to an extended dry interval in the interior climate from about 1100-1500, approximately concurrent with this second period.

³The Diola, Balanta, and Manjaku ethnicities all speak languages in the Bak group of the West Atlantic family, and therefore probably are of similar origins (Lauer 1969:7-8; Sapir 1971:45-112; Fivaz and Scott 1977:17-18, 309).

⁶Person (1984:318) compares its importance with the nineteenth century Zulu migrations in southern Africa.
The Mande peoples are particularly important to the early history of the western Sudan, as they built the powerful Mali empire during the 1200s. Mali controlled trans-Saharan trade in gold, kola, salt, and slaves for four centuries, surviving until the mid-1600s. Indigenous populations of the Upper Guinea coastal region were contained or circumscribed (Carneiro 1970) by the fragmented population expansion from the interior and by the growing Mande states, established in the area from about the thirteenth century. The arrival of small states in the area surrounding the Lower Casamance marks the beginning of a second historical period. Early 'colonists' from the interior were traders with ties to North Africa as early as the eighth or ninth century, leaving no archaeological evidence of subsistence activities adapted to the coastal environment (Person 1984; Linares 1971:38). Among the peoples moving westward from the interior were the Banyun, who played a particularly important role vis-a-vis Diola migration during the third period. Thus, the four major ethnic groups occupying the area between the Gambia and Geba Rivers today, as they did prior to 1500, are Diola, Balanta, Manjaku and Banyun (Lauer 1969:3-7).

---

The Banyun originated in the area that is presently northeastern Guinea, as indicated by linguistic evidence, and were probably pushed westward by the Mande expansions (Lauer 1969:7-8). While they call themselves "Iagar" or "Ihadja", they are known by various names, including Bainunk, Bagnun, and Banhun, all derived from Portuguese Creole. The Banyun language is a member of the Eastern Senegal-Guinea group of the West Atlantic family, along with Tenda and Biafada, among others (Westermann and Bryan 1952; Greenberg 1963:6-41; Lauer 1969:6-8; Sapir 1971:45-112; Fivaz and Scott 1977:18-19, 309). The Bassari of southeastern Senegal also speak a language in this group (see Person 1984:306). By local tradition the Banyun are considered autochthonous to the Lower Casamance (Niane 1989:9; Baum 1986:102-103), although the ethnic origins of the area's original inhabitants are far from clearly established (see Baum 1986:46-57).
The Mali empire reached the Atlantic coast from its core on the Upper Niger by the thirteenth century. The trade of goods between coastal Casamance and the interior consisted primarily of salt, but included rice, slaves, dried or smoked fish, and even perhaps smoked oysters in return for iron, horses, and small amounts of gold (Lauer 1969:26; Person 1984:313; Niane 1989:10). In order to control similar trade, the Mandinka founded states all the way to the Atlantic on the north bank of the Gambia River. Significantly, however, on the south bank these states reached only to the Vintang Creek, the terminus of the Banyun trade network (Brooks 1980:6). This network, dominated by the primarily Banyun state of Kasa, flourished over the long term (Mark 1985:14-15), eventually linking all peoples of the Lower Casamance. Over time, its traders forged communications and exchange ties from the Lower Casamance to the south bank Gambia state of Geregia to the north, the Mali and Kaabu empires to the east, and south to the Portuguese commercial enclaves by means of the "most important commercial channel to Cacheu until the nineteenth century" (Mark 1985:11-15; also see Brooks 1980:6, 1993).

These Banyun trade routes were controlled by the small Kasa state, oriented toward the interior from its location in eastern Lower Casamance. This state, sometimes referred to as Cassanga, was itself originally an outlying vassal province of the Mali empire (Lauer 1969:61; Baum 1986:80). Over time, however, this formerly peripheral region began to assert political control as Mali's power waned in the

---

'Lauer (1969:25) estimates a Malinke arrival in the lower Gambia by the early fourteenth century, while in Brooks' (1980:6) judgement Mandinka trade routes were established there during the eleventh or twelfth century (see also Person 1984:304).

'Note 81 on the cited page refers to the following historical sources: Rodney (1970:109-113); Pereira (1971:88); Boulègue (1972:6); Monod et al. (1951:57-58); and LeBlanc (1649:28-31).
fifteenth century. An indication of this westward shift in the relative center of political power was the incorporation of the Kasa state into the Mandinka Kaabu empire (Brooks 1980:7; see also Quinn 1972:33; Person 1984:313; Forrest 1992:9; Girard 1992).

The existence of the Kasa state was first documented by European writers between 1580 and 1669 (Mark 1985:25). Parenthetically, Mansa is the Mandinka term meaning kingdom, thence the generally recognized origin of the regional name of Casamance. The subjects of this kingdom were known as Cassanga, although the term has also been used variously to refer to a Banyun clan and a purportedly independent ethnicity (see Baum 1986:46-57; Person 1984:314; Brooks 1980:13; Lauer 1969:25). The Cassanga were apparently an ethnically diverse people, incorporating Diola, Balanta, and Banyun peoples, as well as Luso-African lançados after European contact (Mark 1985:17; Brooks 1980).

To summarize the most influential features of this second period, trade grew in importance from the time that Mande population expansion brought the trans-Saharan trade network as far west as the Lower Casamance. While this expansion brought with it new trading opportunities, it also circumscribed the Diola, limiting opportunities for continued territorial expansion as well as for political and economic independence. Most importantly for the Diola, the state of Kasa controlled a Banyun trade network that linked them with the other states of the region, including the Mali empire until its decline during the fifteenth century. Kasa’s political organization, economic functioning, and ethnic composition are all rather poorly documented in the historical record. Diola were noted by early European observers to form one part of its citizenry (Mark 1985:14-15). Most probably, however, the state was composed primarily of Banyun, and organized along the
lines of other Mandinka states founded on the exploitation and defense of valuable trade resources and transportation routes.\textsuperscript{11}

**Early European Trade, Slavery, and "Legitimate Trade"**

More so than the second, this third period (dating from about the fifteenth to nineteenth centuries) is defined by the activities of political organizations far removed from the Diola themselves. Specifically, the arrival of European merchants was a critical factor in catalyzing and speeding changes already taking place. The Banyun, for example, had already demonstrated the economic and political power of Kasa by preventing powerful Mande states from encroaching on their territory. Banyun economic strength was, however, increasingly linked to the fortune of European merchants (especially the Portuguese) as the importance of the Atlantic slave trade grew. This was to play a central role in the eventual failure of the Banyun to predominate in their territorial conflicts with the Diola in Lower Casamance.

The introduction of new trading opportunities with European merchants had the effect of raising the stakes of competition among the various political groups of the Lower Casamance. However, other factors were as important as the increased economic value of the early European trade. For example, trade with Europeans oriented African economic activities toward their coastal enclaves, rather than toward the overland routes controlled for centuries by the states of the interior.

---

\textsuperscript{11}The Banyun developed a strong reputation as traders among newly arrived Europeans (Lauer 1969:7-8), and were noted as the sponsors of large market fairs every eight days, for example (Mark 1985:12). Later, the Banyun were most often hired for extensive periods as navigators of trading craft, *compradores*, and the like (Brooks 1980:5). In contrast, the Diola, Balanta and Manjaku groups were noted by Europeans during the fifteenth century as generally avoiding extensive involvement in trade relations (Lauer 1969:32-35). They "excluded Portuguese and Luso-African traders from their territories and restricted commercial exchanges to places and arrangements of their choosing" (Brooks 1980:5).
(Hopkins 1973:79). This economic and geographic "about face" had profound effects on the relative political strengths of many groups.12

The nature of the slave trade in particular also had penetrating effects on the societies among whom slaves were captured, and indeed perhaps more so among those who participated in raids for the capture of people for sale. There is evidence that those societies most intimately tied to and benefitting from this trade in human chattel were also those most devastated by it.

Finally, the vastly increased availability of iron due to the European trade was a remarkable fact in itself, as it was a critical resource in both warfare and agriculture. The Diola were "pre-adapted" (see Cloak 1986) or best suited to take advantage of this profound change in the environment. This was due in part to the fact that the Diola, unlike the Banyun, used iron not only to trade or to fabricate effective weapons, but also to make agricultural tools. Iron enabled further intensification of their agricultural economy (Lauer 1969:62). The increased availability of iron through trade allowed them eventually to succeed in gaining a relative political advantage over the Banyun that was never relinquished. Today the Banyun have largely been incorporated into Diola communities (Mark 1985:19-20,31).

While the effects of the slave trade and the increased availability of iron had an importance independent of their economic value, the value of these trade activities is well documented and does provide an indication of the general importance of European trade in the Lower Casamance during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. For example, by one estimate between fifteen and twenty-five metric tons of iron were imported to the Lower Casamance annually during the late sixteenth

12The effect of such changes in geo-economic orientation will not be discussed here, but see Austen (1987:81-108); and Hart (1982).
century (Mark 1985:29). This large amount of iron was exchanged for
slaves in addition to material goods. Slaves in particular were being
exported from the area in very large numbers during this period; in
1676, for example, documents indicate that 220,000 people were sold into
slavery from Lower Casamance (Baum 1986:154).^{13}

The dramatic expansion of trade that accompanied the establishment
of European outposts in the Lower Casamance gradually drew Diola
participation. This is indicated by an increasing Diola population in
the south bank Gambian state of Geregia (Mark 1985:24). Nevertheless,
the Diola continued to maintain their noted distance from direct trade
with the Europeans. The export trade in goods such as beeswax, ivory,
hides, and eventually captives, although undertaken within Diola vil-
lages, was most likely conducted by Banyun traders, who traveled among
many Diola villages at the time (Mark 1985:24; see also Coelho 1953:30).

A combination of political, economic, and ecological factors
increasingly supported a Diola advantage over the Banyun. Early in the
seventeenth century, the Banyun were at the peak of their political and
economic power. They were preying on the Diola for captives to sell to
the Portuguese slave trade, and had recently gained their independence
from Kasa (Lauer 1969:55-56; Mark 1985:24-25). However, the Portuguese
trade itself was in decline by mid-century. The Diola, particularly
north of the Casamance River, were able to continue their access to
trade through British and French posts (Mark 1985:53). Furthermore,
they could use the trade in iron greatly to their advantage. As noted,
iron was a key factor supporting an intensification and expansion of

^{13}This sort of precise information on trade reflects the substantially
improved historical sources available for the late seventeenth century
(Mark 1985:22): see Coelho (1953); Teixeira da Mota (1977). Cultru
(1913) describes the voyage of de la Courbe in 1685, an account later
plagiarized by Labat (1728); see also Froger (1698).
their staple rice agricultural system, as well as an important resource for their military power (Lauer 1969:62).

While the slave trade along the Gambia River continued through to the nineteenth century, it peaked there during the late seventeenth century (Quinn 1972:8). Quinn attributes this relatively early decline in comparison with elsewhere in West Africa to the high prices that Senegambian suppliers began demanding during the eighteenth century. The Diola appear to have begun the seventeenth century with a defensive posture toward the slave trade (Quinn 1972:10). However, by the eighteenth century at least some Diola groups participated heavily in it. Raiding among Diola villages became commonplace (Mark 1985:25-31; Baum 1986:157).

Other ethnic groups in the area apparently suffered more during this period, perhaps due to an earlier participation in slave raiding. Internal factors such as greater social stratification, as well as external factors such as vassalage to politically dominant states, were also important differences between the Diola and many neighboring groups. Lauer (1969:32-33) notes that large numbers of Manjaku and Biafada have been reported in studies of some New World slave populations. He attributes their relative over-representation in the Americas to these factors.\(^\text{13}\)

The Diola reaction to slave raids against their villages was primarily defensive at first. Houses in the affected areas, in Fogny for example, were often surrounded by pikes and thick walls to defend against raids from the Mandinka and Banyun (Pelissier 1958; Thomas 1968; Quinn 1972:10; Linares 1983; Mark 1985:26; Baum 1986:96, 184-185). By

\(^{14}\)See also Curtin (1975).

\(^{15}\)But see Baum's (1986:155) reference to Bowser's documentation of 387 Diola slaves being taken to Peru in 1605 (Bowser 1974:40-42; also see Bühnen 1993).
the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, the Diola had begun trading with Europeans more fully (Lauer 1969:35). This included participation in the Atlantic slave trade, albeit rather late in its history, and often through African middlemen rather than directly (Baum 1986:155-156). Eventually many Diola communities saw exhaustive participation in the slave trade as both victims and aggressors, including raids between Boulouf and Bandial (north and south shore) Diola groups (Quinn 1972:26; Mark 1985:25-31; Baum 1986:159-163). By way of confirming the extent of their participation Baum (1986:164-175) reports a set of detailed rules among the Esulalu Diola regarding the capture and sale of slaves. Baum reports an "increasing frequency of raids for captives during the second half of the eighteenth century" (1986:184).

As the Atlantic slave trade declined and legitimate forms of trade with Europeans increased, a new set of opportunities arose for young Diola men in particular. Like the slave trade, the legitimate trade had profound effects on the structure of Diola society. At the same time, Europeans were experiencing great difficulties with trade in the highly factionalized and competitive West African economic environment (Hopkins 1973; Austen 1987). Unfortunately for the historian, the decline in Portuguese trade in Lower Casamance left fewer sources for the eighteenth century than are available for the seventeenth century. The sources that do exist, however, confirm earlier accounts regarding the transition of political power in Fogny from the Banyun to Diola, and the disruptive effects of the slave trade (Linares 1983; Mark 1985:53).

From the northernmost districts of Fogny and Combo the Diola had access to British trading posts along the Gambia (Mark 1985:65-66). There, the exchange of wild rubber and palm kernels became a popular means of acquiring cash and consumer goods in the late nineteenth century (Leary 1970:223; Mark 1985:70-74). Men could incorporate some
of this newly introduced form of trading activity with their traditional dry season migrations for fishing or collecting palm wine (Thomas 1958-1959:495-498). Further south, the Banyun maintained a better commercial position relative to the Diola and Mandinka around Ziguinchor (Mark 1985:55). South of the Casamance River in Esulalu, warfare between the Diola and Banyun, "the Koonjaen wars," continued until the early eighteenth century (Baum 1986:101). A notable decline in commerce at Ziguinchor slowed the establishment of Diola trade in forest products and rice on the south bank until the French opened their first post in the area, at Carabane in 1836 (Mark 1985:55).

The nineteenth century saw a general decline in trade as a result of difficulties associated with the transition from the Atlantic slave trade to economic colonialism, including a decline in the barter terms of trade (Leary 1970:225; Hopkins 1973:135, 142-155). As a result of the decline in Portuguese commercial fortunes, the French were able to pursue an aggressive and successful policy of expansion in the Lower Casamance from 1800-1880. This expansion was marked by the establishment of a trading post at Carabane Island in 1836, which was successful at halting trade between the Portuguese and Diola and Banyun groups in the area (Mark 1985:55-57). Sedhiou, further up river in Middle Casamance, became an important comptoir (trading post) for the newly introduced trade in groundnuts\textsuperscript{16} by 1850 (Mark 1985:55-57; Baum 1986:203-266). Groundnuts had only been introduced from Brazil during the 1840s (Quinn 1972:9), but gained an immediate acceptance as a cash crop with the Mandinka, who accounted for much of the trading activity at Sedhiou. Interestingly, the increased demand for cash-cropping labor in the

\textsuperscript{16}Known as peanuts in the U.S., this term is considered derogatory by Anglophone West Africans. Therefore, I use groundnut here.
Middle Casamance spurred raiding for slaves in the Lower Casamance (Mark 1985:55).

During the 1870s through about 1900, the French as nominal colonial authorities attempted to fund their local military operations through lower prices offered at their trading posts in Lower Casamance. Diola traders north of the river simply responded by transporting their goods to British posts in The Gambia (Mark 1985:65-66,94). This experience led to an increasing emphasis by the French upon tax collection as a means of supporting their colonial operations in the area during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Mark 1985:93). Several means of establishing an institutionalized monetary economy were available to the officials of Afrique Occidentale Française (A.O.F.). Corvée (a form of taxation in kind through forced, unpaid labor) and regular in-kind tax collections of rice proved the most brutal and effective means of all (Geschiere 1985; Fall and Mboj 1989). In Lower Casamance between 1910 and 1916, while cash payments were being required of individuals rather than the former village payments in kind, the threat of military coercion had to be invoked directly against each village in order to enforce its compliance with this new demand (Roche 1976:187,311). The expense of such an ad hoc enforcement of colonial policy was too great to sustain for long.

In summary, indigenous states of the western Sudan were probably trading with the Diola for salt, dried fish, and rice, as well as raiding for domestic slave markets before the beginning of this third period. These activities all continued throughout the period, but the arrival of European merchants vastly increased the scale of the markets

---

17Where, for example, French troops were indirectly drawn into fighting associated with the Marabout-Soninké wars and conflicts resulting from the Islamic revolts led by the Fulani against Kaabu, as well as direct conflicts associated with Diola "pacification" (Leary 1970:153-155; Roche 1976:91-96,180-187).
and qualitatively changed the nature of trade in many ways. Perhaps the most important example of this is the slave trade, which became incorporated into a plantation complex that spanned the Atlantic Ocean (Curtin 1990). As a result of this enormous increase in the demand for slaves, many African states established direct ties to European merchants and began intensive slave raiding on a much larger scale. Eventually the Diola were involved not only as victims, but as agents and captors as well.

Clandestine slavery continued into the nineteenth century in the Lower Casamance, well after the official abandonment and condemnation of the trade. However, as the overseas demand dwindled and enforcement of new anti-slavery laws became more effective, the relative profits attainable in the legitimate trade increased. European merchants reacted with a vigorous pursuit of the sources of beeswax, gum, rubber, and other forest products, all of which the Diola would provide in exchange for iron, guns, and cloth. A strong competition among buyers of these natural products of the forest, combined with relatively uncontrolled access across the nominal borders introduced by the European states, worked in favor of Diola suppliers.

Unfortunately for many Diola, the French reaction was to invoke military and police powers in order to force them to support the imposition of a colonial state organization in Lower Casamance through taxation, forced labor, and artificially low rice prices. At first, threats of force were insufficiently certain to induce widespread compliance. Actual military attacks were rare. The Diola also were notoriously evasive, and tax collection from them was totally inadequate (from the colonial point of view) until the 1920s, after the implementation of an integrated, systematic means of control was finally instituted.
The third period of Diola history, exemplifying quantitative increases in European mercantile influence over the Lower Casamance, and the fourth period, representing qualitative changes from that influence to actual political control there by the French, are best divided about 1930. In my interpretation, the historical division between these two periods can be established only after the A.O.F. administration successfully implemented its Brunot plan in 1917 (see Roche 1976:339-345). In fact, French control was not firmly in place until the late 1920s or early 1930s in many remote villages. The Lower Casamance remains relatively isolated to this day (Linares 1992:211-212), and a violent secessionist movement has caused serious trouble for the current government in the 1990s (Cormier-Salem 1993; DaCosta 1993; Marut 1994). The trend toward relative political control and the institution of a cash market, however, began in earnest for much of the area about 1930.

Characterizing the sixty-five years from 1930 to present as a single historical period may require some justification. However, it is by far the shortest period in this schema. Because it is relatively shorter than the other periods, one could reasonably expect greater justification be offered to divide this relatively brief span of years into shorter periods. Nevertheless, the convention for Africa has been to consider the colonial and independence years as separate for most purposes. Therefore it is appropriate that we briefly direct our attention to this issue.

As is true for much of Africa, an important continuity exists for Senegal from colonial times through the present. As with previous periods, our characterization of the fourth period is directed at identifying relatively consistent conditions. Among these are a politically dominant, centralized state power, the use of its political
power to insulate strategic economic domains from market forces, a
growing civil service sector,11 and the general isolation and exclusion
of the Casamance region from the benefits of the political system.
Thus, the thirty years from the implementation of effective colonial
power in Casamance about 1930 until national independence in 1960, are
considered here together with the thirty-five years from independence
until the present.

The continuity of colonialism and independence throughout Africa
is not simply an academic issue. Of course it runs counter to
nationalist ideology and teaching by independent governments, as is the
case in Senegal. The Diola themselves express this continuity, however,
when they say "Inje bei Senegal" ("I’m going to Senegal") instead of "I’m
going to Dakar."12 They demonstrate a lack of identification with the
national culture too when they complain about the increasing use of the
Wolof language (and the power of Wolof traders) in Ziguinchor: "Içi on
est trop colonisé par le Wolof" (Julliard 1991:48). The fact that a
secessionist movement exists in Casamance today, and that it is
perceived as a continuation of the anti-colonial struggle, lends further
credence to my categorization of colonialism and independence together
in this fourth period. Before elaborating the reasons for the
incomplete integration of the Lower Casamance region into the
independent state of Senegal, we first need to consider the history of
its incorporation into the colonial state.

11Rapid and sustained civil service sector growth has fostered increased
urbanization in Senegal from the time Dakar was the administrative
capitol of A.O.F., and is one result of a clientelistic governing
strategy (Diop 1981). Only recently has this growth been checked by
structural adjustment policies dictated by international donor agencies.

12Linares (1992:212) has published this example, but use of the phrase
is ubiquitous among the Diola.
By the time it initiated serious efforts to integrate the Lower Casamance, the French colonial administration had been consolidating its hold over the rest of Senegal for many years. During the 1800s, for example, French administrators successfully established an economy based upon the large-scale cash cropping of groundnuts, most famously in the Sine-Saloum region, but elsewhere as well (see Klein 1968). By 1852, for example, primarily Mandinka farmers in Middle Casamance were producing one quarter of the national output of groundnuts (Roche 1976:87). This fact implies that an important economic change had already occurred in a neighboring region by then. The Mandinka were traders rather than farmers until the French essentially forced them to accept the cash cropping of groundnuts. They had been the Diola’s longstanding source for cattle, for which they exchanged their indigenous varieties of rice.²⁹

Since just after the turn of the century, the French colonial authorities had used tax collection and artificially low prices at their comptoirs in the Casamance as a means of supporting local military operations. The Brunot plan of 1917 had as its goal the full incorporation of Lower Casamance into the Colony of Senegal. At the same time it would reduce the cost of establishing colonial authority. From 1910 until 1916, administrators had to enforce their authority to collect taxes there through annual military operations in each village where they wanted to collect cash payments (Roche 1976:311). Such direct and ad hoc coercion was too expensive to maintain; Brunot’s plan proposed to make it unnecessary. It was successful largely because it

²⁹As noted earlier, some varieties of West African wet rice are probably indigenous in the sense that they were not imported from Asia even prior to European contact (see Dresch 1949; Portères 1956, 1970; Johnny et al. 1981).
implemented an integrated strategy that incorporated many of the most successful tactics already operating elsewhere in the colony.

The plan had as a primary objective pacification, or the imposition of complete political-economic control throughout Casamance. It would establish a cash economy in Lower Casamance and create a free circulation of labor. Once individual men were wrested from their traditional labor obligations, they could grow cash crops and use their earnings to pay taxes. To meet these objectives, colonial authorities employed the use of political power to prevent market forces from operating freely in several economically strategic areas, notably the cash cropping sector and in particular the groundnut market (see Geschiere 1985). Until then, Diola traders often traded at British posts in The Gambia (Mark 1985:65-66,94). Thus, borders had to be more effectively controlled.

Other efforts to introduce a cash economy included the devaluation of traditional exchange goods (primarily rice), the institution of corvée to initiate a free circulation of labor, and universal adult male taxation. Among the tactics employed were an aggressive military recruitment, the installation of non-Diola chiefs at the village level, the suppression of some still-continuing inter-village slave raids, and increased control over the power of Mandinka traders. All of these together represented an effective, integrated effort to support policies of total disarmament, universal tax collection, and broad price controls over the sale of cash crops (see Roche 1976:339-345).

---

21 Though its use was more limited in Senegal than in Guinea or Sudan, corvée labor was responsible for all road construction in Senegal up until 1936. Defined as a demand on tax payers for a fixed number of days labor in addition to taxes paid in cash, eight days were required annually of adult men in 1926 (Fall and Mboodj 1989: 256-260).

22 Previously, there had been no political integration at the village level (Linares 1992).
Colonial initiatives to establish control operated to undermine traditional Diola political authority in several ways. First, rice was imported from Indochina for exchange with groundnuts. The Mandinka were more receptive to farming groundnuts than were the Diola, contributing to the production in Casamance of one quarter the national output of this crop in 1852 (Roche 1976:87). French imports were cheaper than Diola rice, undermining the position of Diola seniors who had relied on this trade with the Mandinkas as a primary means of controlling benefits in their villages. By 1906, rice was the most valuable import to Casamance, further eroding the Diola position in traditional exchange relations (van der Klei 1986:85; Pelissier 1966:762; Roche 1976:317).

Second, male labor was consequently redirected away from its traditional employment (especially during the dry season) in maintaining irrigation dikes and in preparing the rice fields. Instead, an increasing number of men engaged in commercial trade or produced cash crops, particularly groundnuts (Linares 1981:568). By the 1920s, labor migration, a simple way to earn cash wages in order to pay the newly instituted individual cash taxes, had become a pervasive dry-season activity among the Diola (Thomas 1958-1959; Mark 1985:49).

Diola senior men for centuries had relied upon Mandinka trade networks to exchange locally-produced rice for cattle. These long-established trade ties were critically weakened as the Mandinka began favoring the purchase of cheaper French rice imports from Indochina with the proceeds of their groundnut crop sales. Thus, the price of indigenous Diola rice was undercut during the early part of this century, its external market value essentially destroyed by subsidized imports. The enforcement of cash tax collection (Roche 1976:341) created political pressure for men to earn a regular cash income. This began to force an acceptance of groundnut cultivation among most Diola men during the mid-1930s. At the same time it encouraged many young men
to enter into more extensive dry season trade activities away from their home villages.\textsuperscript{23} The exchange of rice had been the principal means by which Diola seniors controlled access to the main prestige good, cattle\textsuperscript{24} (Pelissier 1966:760-762). Thus, the loss of the indigenous rice market removed the basis for their legitimate authority and their control over labor was rendered impotent (Pelissier 1966; Roche 1976; van der Klei 1986).

Many Diola men gained their first experience farming groundnuts by migrating to Mandinka farms as agricultural laborers (Thomas 1958-1959). By the 1920s, Diola men were beginning to appreciate the benefits of the new cash crop on their own fields. They were further encouraged to adopt groundnuts after 1921, when the newly established Sociétés de Prévoyances (early marketing boards, later replaced by ONCAD) began to provide seed on credit in the Casamance, to be reimbursed in kind upon harvest (Robinson 1950; Mark 1985:105). This institutional encouragement combined with the significantly lower labor requirements of groundnuts relative to the arduous inputs necessary in the indigenous rice farming system (Loquay 1981:98) did much to encourage the adoption of groundnuts and, importantly, of the cash economy as a whole.

Again, these activities were outside of lineage elders' control. Cash was earned individually through trade or wage labor, unlike traditional economic activity, which was developed and maintained communally under senior male control. Wealth was becoming, increasingly, an individual characteristic. In a sense, the control of

\textsuperscript{23}This economic conversion was, interestingly, synchronous with a widespread religious conversion from the Diola indigenous religion, known as kawasen, to Islam, primarily north of the Casamance River (see Leary 1970; Mark 1985; Linares 1986).

\textsuperscript{24}The religious importance of cattle beyond simple luxury should not be overlooked. "A man without cattle is not just poor; he is without the ability to protect himself spiritually against calamities and sudden twists of fate" (Baum 1986:365; see also Mark 1988).
prestige itself was being wrested from its traditional source. The influence of the French colonial state upon Diola political society was perhaps unintentional, but nevertheless direct and pervasive. From the point of view of young Diola men, this was a liberating experience. As a result of this weakening in traditional authority, young men became free to pursue economic activities on their own. These changes, of course, had a powerful effect on Diola women as well.

As young men continued to migrate out of the village during the dry season, either to trade or earn wages, and as those who remained in the village put more effort into cultivating groundnuts, staple rice agriculture was relatively neglected. Traditional late dry season activities for men included the preparation, maintenance, and expansion of irrigation dikes, and the preparation of nursery beds for rice seedlings (Pelissier 1966; Linares 1970, 1981; Loquay 1981). A general movement away from these activities both slowed the expansion of the most productive form of staple rice agriculture, and over the long run probably has reduced the productivity of those paddy lands that were already actively in production. The Diola continue to cultivate rice, but because men in particular pursue cash-earning opportunities during the dry season, the former long-standing expansion and intensification of rice paddies has been reversed.

These changes in men’s labor practices have had an important impact on the traditional division of household responsibilities for Diola parents (Hamer 1983:75-78). Fathers were expected by tradition to provide rice for their children during the wet season, while mothers did so from their granaries during the dry season. As staple rice production has fallen relative to population, women are often unable to grow enough rice for their children’s needs, requiring their own cash to buy imported rice when their granary supplies are low. The most important result of this introduced difference is that women began
migrating to the urban areas to find work for wages. In contrast, men can still earn a cash income growing groundnuts or perhaps vegetables in the transformed rural economy.

Groundnut cultivation not only excludes women from the production process, it also alienates men from rice production; its influence goes even further than the sexual division of labor. By eroding rice production, growing groundnuts undermines the very rituals that insure overproduction, reciprocity, and redistribution of paddy at the village level. It encourages the abandonment of paddy fields—especially the deep fields in the mangrove swamps that required a great deal of work even before the 1970s drought—and makes it increasingly more difficult for the Jola to shift resources between the subsistence and money sectors of the economy when conditions demand it. (Linares 1985:92)

While both men and women continue to work the rice fields to the present day, productivity cannot be maintained at traditional levels without extensive labor inputs in soil preparation and dike repairs. Since the 1920s and 1930s, women’s labor has been unavailable at sufficient levels to replace the efforts formerly contributed by men. With this trend toward lower yields due to insufficient labor availability, women have increasingly left the rural areas of Lower Casamance for wage labor during the dry season (Hamer 1981). As has been previously noted, the precedent for female wage labor is old in Lower Casamance: women were noted as exclusively comprising the labor force on the docks at Ziguinchor in 1910 (Roche 1976:316; Journet 1976:197).25

These economic trends, the need for cash incomes among both men and women, and the resulting popularity of wage labor migration, have been sustained and reinforced consistently in the Lower Casamance since the 1930s. Political circumstances have also remained relatively consistent since the incorporation of Casamance into the colonial state of Senegal. In order to strengthen my assertion that a political

25Linares (1992:79) attributes their association with this work to the heavy lifting activities Diola women perform in agriculture.
continuity exists from about 1930 through the present, I will now turn my attention to issues of governance.

A loose style of control was typical of African colonial governments, which often were required to rule under difficult circumstances and with limited administrative budgets. In the absence of broad political legitimacy, a patrimonial strategy of governing often was pursued (see Foltz 1969; Lemarchand 1972; Flynn 1974; Eisenstadt and Lemarchand 1981; Colvin 1986; Fatton 1987; Young and Kanté 1990). Benefits were distributed to those few subjects who could demonstrate relatively strong influence over civil groups. Often the only benefits available for distribution by administrators were prebendal offices. Thus, a tax collector or village chief might not be so closely supervised that corruption and graft for his personal benefit would be prevented. A chef de canton judging a dispute might rule in favor of businesses that could reward him directly for his trouble. In this manner, as they grew in power, local fiefdoms could develop into regional political forces that could exert certain influences over the central government. Civil service jobs might be exchanged for political support, for example. Senegal's civil service, seated in the capital of Dakar, was swollen under colonialism to administer the entire A.O.F. territory until independence in 1960. After five years of independence, the civil service budget amounted to a staggering 47.2 percent of total government expenditures. It continued to grow into the 1980s, and continues to be an especially burdensome and sensitive issue today (see Cruise O'Brien 1971:271-272; Zecchini 1984).

The key to understanding the incomplete integration of the Casamance region into the state of Senegal lies not only in its

---

geography, but also in the nature of patrimonial politics. Under patrimonialism, a delicate balance must be maintained between support for regional patrons who can deliver votes to the central government's leadership and suppression of broader regional movement that threaten the government's control. Regional political movements and their centrifugal potentials in particular are feared by the central authorities who govern weak states; often, therefore, radical strategies are employed against such unities. As independent Senegal's first president from 1960-1971, Leopold Senghor was widely noted to be a master of this style of rule. He was able to play regional and other political coalitions against one another in a way that maintained just enough instability in his opposition to maintain his own relative political strength.

The Mourides and other locally-dominant Islamic sects have for many years garnered the majority of political support throughout rural Senegal north of the Casamance River. Through their religious institutions, and through their control of many important economic firms, they have proven themselves the most influential leaders in Senegalese civil society. They have been the primary power to be reckoned with for every government from colonial times to the present regime of Abdou Diouf, a follower of Mouridism himself (see Cruise O'Brien 1971; Diop 1981).

To a large extent, this is the source of contemporary conflicts between the Lower Casamance and the Independent state of Senegal: regional politics there, because they threaten the integrity of the

---

The following studies draw a "remarkably consistent portrait" of post-Independence politics in Senegal (Boone 1990:346): Behrman (1970); Zuccarelli (1970); Adamolekun (1971); Barker (1973); Cruise O'Brien (1975); Schumacher (1975); Coulon (1981); and Jackson and Rosberg (1982).
state, are suppressed through policies that disfavor it economically as a region:

Casamance particularism is explained by the geographic isolation of the region, the poor quality of its infrastructure, and more generally by the neglect of the region from Dakar. It also stems from the growing presence of merchants and bureaucrats from the 'North' who tend to impose their language and their religion... as the only legitimate ones. Faced with this 'internal colonialism', a strong sentiment of frustration produces the search for a distinctive identity (Coulon and Cruise O'Brien 1989:159; see also Darbon 1984, 1985; Benoist 1991). (Linares 1992:211-212)

**Characteristic Patterns of Diola Migration for Each Period**

Migration is in constant flux because it changes dynamically with change in the environment, although the relationship is not direct. It is a cultural means by which people adapt to change in the environment. Because migration is used by people, who perceive and react to different aspects of their environment at different times, what the environment is (in terms of any model of migration) must be flexible enough to reflect such changes. Each particular characterization of a period here defines what is meant by or interpreted as environment for that particular time. Linares (1992) focuses on the physical environment for her model of Diola migration. I find her model convincing, but she tends to exclude the social environment and contemporary forms of rural-urban migration among the Diola. Migration is a long-established aspect of Diola culture, rather than a modern introduction. It cannot correctly be labeled as a simple indicator of social disintegration in the face of colonialism and the encroachment of Western culture (see Thomas 1960). Certainly, however, the forms migration has taken have changed over time. For example, under colonialism Diola men were subject to conscription into foreign military service. These new experiences of forced migration (and, at times, the avoidance of them) led some to undertake voluntary migration, at times to urban areas, in search of
wage labor. Women soon followed the village men to Dakar, eventually overtaking them in terms of their predominance in the migration stream. By 1961 there were 100 Diola women for every 60 men in Dakar.\textsuperscript{28}

Certain cultural institutions pre-existed this new form of migration, providing the basic structures that contemporary urban migrants have manipulated to suit their needs in this relatively new setting. Such institutions, in this case voluntary associations, may be considered as serendipitous "pre-adaptations" to cultural ecological changes (see Cloak 1986). The pre-existence of these associative institutions has allowed Diola culture to adjust more rapidly to a situation that, while it has had important negative effects, has also provided villagers with opportunities that might otherwise have remained unfulfilled.

Because migration has had a long history of full integration into Diola culture, it exists as one aspect in a nexus of cultural adaptations, an "adaptive tradition" common to many Diola groups. Some other aspects of this tradition include: a diverse set of associations, social institutions that mediate relations between various cultural categories; an established means of incorporating foreigners or strangers more or less completely into the life and functioning of the village; an ethic of treating strangers as guests;\textsuperscript{29} and finally, a flexible set of kinship and land tenure rules and social regulation thereof that can accommodate and adapt to large-scale movements of individuals over time.\textsuperscript{30}

\textsuperscript{28}Hamer (1983:250) citing this figure, refers to Martin (1968:368).

\textsuperscript{29}See Baum (1986) on how this was broken down during the slave trade, but also how shrines were established to protect people from the threat of this tradition's dissolution.

\textsuperscript{30}See Linares (1983); see also Girard (1969); Snyder (1977, 1981); and Hamer (1983).
Linares (1992) provides a model of the historical changes and geographical movements of Diola groups that illustrates the cultural adaptations these groups have made to accommodate the conditions challenging them in the historical past. Her model adopts three villages in three different parts of Lower Casamance, illustrating the cultural differences in each setting. The cultural differences are, she argues convincingly, the result of each group's adaptation to the different cultural ecology in each of these three areas.

As Diola groups migrated north across the Casamance River from about the sixteenth century, they encountered a physical environment that was quite different from the one that they had left further south (e.g. savannah rather than forest, lower average annual rainfall, and much less land on which rice could be cultivated). They also found themselves in a new cultural environment. They were faced with a majority of neighbors, ethnic Mandings, who followed Islam, a very different religious tradition from their local kawasen religion. Linares has chosen one village to study in each of the three zones to represent "pre-change," "transitional," and "post-change" periods of time. She presents a descriptive analysis of land tenure, kinship, and labor practices, among other things, in each of the three villages. These differences are the result, she asserts, of the specific cultural ecological conditions present in each of the three settings. She makes it clear, however, that all of these groups continue to change in observable ways, even during the relatively short period of her study.

She also argues the importance that ideological changes have played in mediating material aspects of the transitions. Traditional associations functioned, among other roles, to mediate conflicts among genders, generations, residential wards or quartiers, families, and other potentially fissive categories and groups via the kawasen spirit shrines. These associations served a cohesive role, socially cementing
together people who might otherwise have a tendency to break away from the group. Associations achieved this cohesive function by establishing patterns of labor sharing, for example, among all women who have married into the village (see Linares 1988, 1992:50).\footnote{Hamer (1983) and Reveyrand (1986-87) elaborate some other functions of rural women’s groups in particular.}

That these sorts of associations existed as traditional institutions was a fortuitous circumstance for urban Diola migrants, who were able to adapt traditional forms of associations quite rapidly into institutions that could help to serve important new functions in this new environment. Associations rapidly evolved into what became perhaps the most important means of cementing group relations in the city. These associations now act to assist new urban migrants in fulfilling their needs, but eventually are often also successful in re-directing their attention back to the village, at least during important periods of the agricultural cycle.

In order to understand contemporary Diola migration, it is important to consider how and why migration patterns have changed over time. Linares is convincing in her model of the changes necessitated with the move north across the Casamance River. My goal here, though, is to take a broader view of history, presenting changes in migration that have taken place over a longer span of time. Having elaborated four periods of Diola history in the previous section, I will present the forms of migration associated with each period. Then, in Chapter 3, I will present the data I collected on contemporary Diola migrants to Dakar.
Period One: Early Sedentism

In cultural evolutionary terms the most important change in migration accompanies the transformation from reliance on a nomadic or hunting and gathering subsistence strategy to dependence on sedentary agriculture. I call the pre-sedentary form "carrying capacity" migration, because groups move, generally, toward higher concentrations of natural resources upon which the group relies most for its subsistence. The primary factor determining migration in this setting is the relationship of population to subsistence resource availability.

Period one marks this division for the Diola. At the beginning of this period the Diola began to rely less directly and exclusively on foraging for marine and forest resources. Instead, they began to rely more on rice production. As populations grew, the Diola developed a mixed agriculture economy, relying less on gathered shellfish, for example, and more upon cattle trade and husbandry as time progressed. Throughout the period one would expect an increasing trend towards agricultural intensification, although expansion into new areas continues into the present (Linares 1992).

As the Diola began to settle permanently and as they relied more substantially upon agriculture, their movements were increasingly determined by the availability of cultivable paddy land. Migration was determined by more complex circumstances through period one, including the relationship of village populations to cultivable land, perhaps political rifts within villages causing fissioning, the viability of current technologies to intensify production on available paddy land, or even the ability of labor managers to induce others to work harder. As the amount of land suitable for rice cultivation became more scarce, an increasing reliance had to have been placed on the intensification option. Linares presents archaeological evidence that these processes
were in fact occurring in Casamance from about the second century A.D. (Linares 1971).

**Period Two: Early States**

The large-scale population movement of Mande peoples from the interior westward provided new trade opportunities for the Diola. As I have discussed in previous sections, they eventually developed an economic system that relied to an important extent on the exchange of locally-grown rice for cattle. The presence of small states in the region from the thirteenth century also had other consequences for the Diola. While they provided opportunities for trade, these states also circumscribed the Diola, limiting their ability to continue historical patterns of territorial expansion. As populations grew in Diola villages, agricultural intensification was much more a necessity than an option during this period and into the next.

It is during the second period that early patterns of seasonal trading were probably established. These fit well into older patterns of dry-season migration directed toward the collection of forest products and fishing for consumption. These were forms of migration and not simply another off-farm economic activity, because they often involved periods of several months away from the village. However, they were migration and not simply a continuation of a hunting and gathering subsistence strategy because individuals lived in sedentary villages, cultivating crops for much of the year.

**Period Three: Early European Trade**

The third period, spanning the fifteenth through nineteenth centuries, is the least stable of this schema. Nearby Mande states vied during this time for control over lucrative trade routes, expanding warfare and slave raiding activities. North of the Casamance River, the
Diola and Banyun were often at odds over the same territory and consequently in a constant state of war. The Diola eventually gained an advantage over the Banyun in the early seventeenth century, partly due to the way they employed the iron received in trade with Europeans. During the second half of the eighteenth century the slave trade gained in importance, further extending this long period of conflict and uncertainty. Many Diola responded by withdrawing from contact with outsiders, defending their villages but retreating from trade activities. During periods of conflict, capture into slavery (a form of forced migration) was a constant threat to those who ventured away from the confines of the village, so voluntary migrations were severely limited.

While the Diola were generally noted by Europeans to be uninterested in trade, they had for centuries exchanged a number of forest and coastal products with other Africans. After the abolition of slavery, the European legitimate trade emphasized exchanges for wild rubber and palm kernels. In Casamance, this trade was greatly expanded between the French and Diola after the establishment of the trading post at Carabane in 1836. Earlier, some Diola traders had crossed into The Gambia to get the better prices offered by the British posts there.

Despite a general decline in European (particularly Portuguese) trade during nineteenth century, the French maintained an aggressive trade expansion in the Casamance from 1800-1880. Groundnuts were introduced during the 1840s. The post at Sedhiou in Middle Casamance became important as a trading center by 1850, due to the extensive adoption of this cash crop by the Mandinka there. This date therefore marks the earliest possible beginnings of Diola male wage labor migration, widely initiated to harvest groundnuts on Mandinka farms in order to pay the cash taxes imposed by the French as early as 1910.
Period Four: Twentieth Century Colonialism and Independent Senegal

Each successive period of this schema illustrates the addition of one or more forms of migration overlying the continuing patterns that existed in previous periods. Subsistence foraging, the basis of the economy prior to period one, was incorporated during the first period as an additional activity pursued along with sedentary farming. These forest and marine resource collecting activities were very similar to, and most likely continued alongside migration undertaken for trade in the second period. During the third period, with the beginnings of the slave trade in the Casamance, forced migrations into slavery were an additional (albeit undesirable) possibility, although other forms of trade continued to exist together with new forms introduced by Europeans.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but most commonly during period four, military conscription and corvée labor were imposed by the French colonial government on Diola men. A less clearly forced form of migration, though still indirectly imposed by the colonial administration, was male wage labor migration to Mandinka groundnut farms. Further removed from forced migrations, but still indirectly caused by colonial impositions was the female wage labor migration noted at the docks at Ziguinchor early this century. These forms all preceded the more contemporary form of rural urban migration that has become increasingly popular since the 1950s.

Wage labor migration began among the Diola well into the present century. It grew in popularity as a means of earning cash, which was needed primarily to pay newly-imposed taxes. Migration to Dakar in particular began with the first military conscriptions, but expanded with the growth of the civil service sector there. Temporary dry-season wage labor was available for men in Ziguinchor, too: examples of men
working as carpenters and masons were documented during the ethnographic interviews I conducted in 1990. The growing A.O.F. bureaucracy in Dakar also created a demand for technicians, soldiers, police, and other salaried positions.

A large, seasonal "rural exodus" of young Diola to Dakar dates from about the 1950s. From soon after the earliest migrations from rural Casamance to urban Dakar, women have represented a high proportion of these movers (see Martin 1968:368). The reasons for this unusual situation are complex, but can be explained within the context I have provided in the description of the fourth period. To summarize my discussion of twentieth century events, French colonial policies diminished the value of Diola rice with Indochinese imports. This was part of a deliberate systematic effort to replace the indigenous economy with one based on cash, which would allow taxation. Men were targeted for taxation and cash earning opportunities in the rural areas, particularly the promotion of groundnuts as a cash crop, were effectively provided only to men.

These colonial policies were an important cause initiating Diola women’s migration. However, they would not have necessarily had this particular effect if Diola social organization, specifically the social division of labor, were different (see Hamer 1983:75-78). Women’s roles in rice agriculture are essential and preeminent but, as rice was devalued, men diverted their efforts to the favored crop, groundnuts. Women did not have the same opportunities to grow this cash crop as men. This was due in part to colonial efforts to target men as workers and taxpayers, but also to traditional Diola practices. Women own and work lower fields suited to rice, but not rainfed fields in which groundnuts are cultivated (Pelissier 1966:687). Without the former level of male labor inputs into the intensive cultivation of rice, productivity in
this traditional staple crop dropped and could not be maintained by women alone.

At the same time, women in the modern economy are expected to provide for themselves and their families, and their monetary obligations have expanded over time (Hamer 1983:76). Without access to cash earning opportunities in the rural setting, women tended to migrate to urban areas to find wage employment. I noted the case of Diola women working the docks at Ziguinchor early in the century as the earliest example of rural-urban migration. This job in particular fits with traditional women’s agricultural work, which includes the transportation of water and wood to the home, and cow manure to the rice nurseries. These tasks all involve heavy lifting. Most importantly, however, this case demonstrates that women were seeking cash earning opportunities quite early in this century. As opportunities developed in other areas, Diola women were willing to travel, and in fact since the nineteen-fifties they have been in particular demand as maids in Dakar.

There are a number of reasons why Diola women in particular found it to be relatively easy to find employment in Dakar. There was a growing demand in the market of the colonial capital for maids, in part due to the number of expatriate men (with or without their families) working in the colonial government there. More local Wolof families were also earning cash wages at the time, and they too were interested in having domestic workers to cook, clean, and care for their children. At the same time, the French, most of whom were Catholics, preferred hiring Catholic maids. This is perhaps simply a matter of prejudice, but is probably also attributable to a sense among expatriates of alienation from the majority Muslim community of Africans in Dakar. Furthermore, the Mandinka and Wolof societies were based upon a caste system that discouraged women in these groups from seeking work in domestic service. The majority of Diola from south of the Casamance
River are Catholic, and being from a relatively egalitarian society, see no stigma attached to domestic labor. On the contrary, they view such work as quite honorable.

In the following chapter I will present the data I collected in thirty ethnographic interviews, conducted in Dakar in 1990. In particular, Chapter 3 is focused on the history of the women’s association. However, as a whole the chapter provides a sense of what migration from Casamance to Dakar entails for the women who undertake it.

Table 1: Historical periods and associated characteristic forms of migration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period and approx. dates (A.D.)</th>
<th>Data source</th>
<th>Evidence characterized</th>
<th>Inferred changes in migration patterns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 200-1100</td>
<td>archaeological evidence on subsistence</td>
<td>early sedentism and mixed agriculture</td>
<td>population expansion through ecological zone, then intensification of agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 1100-1400</td>
<td>regional history of Western Sudan</td>
<td>encroachment, circumscriptio by states of Mali and Kasa</td>
<td>trade, dry season migration patterns established</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 1400-1800</td>
<td>history of related groups, some local history (least stable period)</td>
<td>early European trade, wars and slavery, then establishment of legitimate trade</td>
<td>expansion of trade migration, but withdrawal in times of war; evasion and “exit” from control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. 1930-present</td>
<td>direct historical evidence</td>
<td>cash markets firmly developed, colonialism and independence</td>
<td>wage labor migration patterns established</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 3
RESEARCH METHODS AND ORAL HISTORY OF MIGRATION FROM BOUTEM

Introduction

In this chapter I begin to present the data I gathered during field research conducted in Senegal, both in Dakar and the Casamance region. I use a case study approach to illustrate this example of twentieth century West African rural-urban migration, focusing on the recent history of migration from the village of Affiniam-Boutem, known simply as Boutem. While the historical importance of slavery and warfare should not be disregarded as limiting factors, urban migration represents the most important change in the pattern of migration among the Diola since they first began to rely on agriculture for subsistence (see Table 1). Because of the gender division of agricultural labor in Diola society and because of the way that the Diola and the Casamance region have been incorporated into the economy of Senegal, Diola women migrate from the Casamance in particularly large numbers (see Hamer 1983:74-78). The case study approach of this chapter provides some insight into the nature of this migration for the residents of and emigrants from Boutem.

I first report briefly how I conducted various aspects of the research, including interviews, a census, and an analysis of the membership of the women’s association. Then I describe the recent history of migration from the village of Boutem, as it was told to me by residents and emigrants. The final section describes Diola voluntary
associations more generally, and provides a short history of several Diola associations in the urban setting of Dakar.

**Methods**

The data presented in this chapter and in Chapter 4 were collected during field research in Senegal, conducted during the nine months from December 1989 through August 1990. The core of the data collected consists of two parts. First, thirty directed, open-ended interviews with emigrant women from the village of Boutem were conducted at their residences in Dakar. Second, I completed a census, including the migration histories of all individuals in each household of four quartiers (wards) of Boutem.¹ Many of the data presented here were gathered during these two activities.

I also gleaned much additional information through daily conversations with my principal informant and research assistant, Antoine Badji, himself an emigrant from Boutem. Together we attended general meetings of the village and women’s associations, steering committee meetings with the officers of these associations, and met with individuals he considered to be particularly knowledgeable about specific aspects of the research. Several conversations with Émile Djiba, the former president of Boutem’s youth association in Dakar, were particularly fruitful, and he was kind enough to lend me documents relating to the historical boundaries of the village. The officers of the women’s association also eventually allowed me to copy information from their official record book, and I was able to interview the president. I am especially grateful for their trust in lending me their

¹No census data were collected from either the Bougafou or Boutoupa quartiers. For the purposes of this aspect of the research, these quartiers are not considered as part of the village.
records, because this book included three years of dues payments records and was closely guarded. It was a unique and invaluable source of documentation for my work.

Later, during about ten weeks spent in Casamance, we met with the village women’s association, separately with its officers, and with the members of its maternity clinic committee. We also gathered a focus group of emigrants resident in Ziguinchor for a discussion of the costs and benefits of migration. Regular visits with many members of Antoines’ family, friends, and relatives in the village, Dakar, Ziguinchor, and elsewhere, as well as attendance at his family association in the Ouakam neighborhood of Dakar, rounded out the diverse set of information sources I was able to draw upon.

Interviews

Interviews with emigrant women were arranged through the village women’s association in Dakar. I first arranged to meet with the Boutem women’s association soon after my arrival in Dakar in December 1989, when I attended a village association meeting at a neighborhood Catholic church, the Martyrs de Louanda. At the first meeting I attended, on January twenty-first, after members completed old business, I was invited to present my project to the group. I explained my research purpose, goals, and desire to work with them. Their response was favorable, and I was asked to attend their next meeting to present my work in further detail to the rest of their membership. The following week I met with the group’s officers. Together we agreed that, in exchange for members’ cooperation and help, I would help the association to pursue funding for their current project, the construction and equipping of a maternity clinic in Boutem.

After these meetings with the membership of the group, and after some disagreement over the nature of the exchange among the members,
this arrangement was finally approved. Members agreed to meet with me and answer my questions, while I would help the group to plan and fund the building of a maternity clinic in the village. I would donate what money I could afford to the project upon completion of my research. I insisted the amount of my donation would be quite limited, less than fifty U.S. dollars. However, I promised to look for and indeed was able to locate a funding source, a small-projects development fund at the U.S. embassy. The application I helped Antoine to complete was eventually approved after my return home, and I have since received news that the clinic itself has been completed and inaugurated. Meanwhile, no individual compensation for interviewees was requested or offered.

I met with the entire women’s association three more times, attending their monthly meetings in the Benn Tali neighborhood in March, April, and May. These were held outside the small concession or group of homes inhabited by two interviewees and their families. I missed two of the monthly meetings scheduled during the time I was in Dakar. I tried to find the meeting place alone for the second meeting and was unable to locate it, and I was sick the day of one other meeting. However, I considered meeting with the women’s association important, and did my best to attend each monthly meeting. I also met with the officers at their monthly executive meetings twice, in January and March, when I was invited to discuss specific issues with them.

I attended all of these meetings with my principal informant and research assistant, Antoine Badji, who translated my presentations, which I made in French, into Diola. He also would translate questions and answers, at times with added input from younger women who were more fluent in French. The treasurer of the association was particularly helpful in this regard. Antoine’s credibility with the group was an essential part of the success of our arrangement to work with the women. While most members understood French, often using it at work, they were
not generally comfortable with a presentation conducted in French. Antoine was also able to clarify issues that came up, since he was familiar with the research goals and procedures of the research.

Initially I believed we could interview every member of the women's association. I was told that we could acquire a list of the entire membership early on, but this took longer than expected. I also thought that we could conduct interviews more quickly than we, in fact, could. It often took several days to successfully meet with potential interviewees, and we often had to make several attempts to meet with a woman at her home, either after work or during her day off. Once it became clear that we would have to limit ourselves to interviewing about thirty of the 100 or so members, interviewees were selected for questioning based largely on convenience. However, we planned interviewee inclusion to provide as wide a range of representation from as many families, ages, neighborhoods of Dakar, and quartiers of the village as was possible in the time we had. I targeted employed women for inclusion, in part because several studies of migrant women have already focused on the youngest and most vulnerable populations (e.g., see CNFNA 1983; Philpott 1986). We avoided interviews with more than a few of Antoine's relatives, friends, or close neighbors from the village. I often had other contacts with them, and used informal conversations in family settings to ask questions of them as they occurred to me.

Interviews themselves were conducted in Diola. Although most interviewees used French to communicate at work, they generally were uncomfortable with using it outside of that context. Because Diola is not taught in the U.S., before undertaking this research I studied Wolof in an intensive study program for eight weeks at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Wolof is Senegal's lingua franca, and I developed some conversational ease with it in the field. However, the
Diola do not speak Wolof natively. I therefore studied Diola in Senegal, but lost my tutor after only a few weeks of formal lessons. I progressed enough on an informal basis to exchange greetings and make simple statements about, for example, such common topics as eating, who I was, where I was from, and what I was doing.

In order to conduct the interviews, I developed a schedule of questions after much discussion with Antoine. I then translated it into French and analyzed it with him point by point. We discussed the goals of the work together, and modified the presentation somewhat before he translated it into his native Diola. We worked on back-translating it several times before beginning our first interview. Finally, we made a few changes after certain questions required explanation to several of the early interviewees. I kept longhand notes of each interview, recording it on audio tape as Antoine posed questions in Diola according to our schedule. Many interviews included some responses made directly to me in French, often when a particular point interested the interviewee, or during more informal conversation as we closed the session.

After each interview, Antoine would translate from the tape, orally and (after the first five or six sessions, which were translated more loosely in the third person) verbatim into French. I would transcribe his translation in longhand, writing in English. This was a cumbersome process: after pouring over my own translations from his French, I would read them back to him in French to confirm or correct my interpretations. We generally had to listen to audio taped interviews a second time. It was often a very difficult and frustrating task for the two of us to fill-in for my benefit much information that was implicit in an exchange between two Diola speakers. I did, however, learn much about village life in Boutem from these intense exchanges. Finally, I would write out a corrected translation. This entire process often
required three or more hours of work around the kitchen table for every
recorded interview of perhaps forty-five minutes. In the end it took
seventeen weeks, averaging about one interview every four days from
February through May, to complete thirty interviews.

Census

The village census was organized in conjunction with the officers
of the village youth association in Boutem. Forming six teams, we
contacted one member at each residence in four quartiers in the village
during the first week or so in July. Each team filled out a simple one
page questionnaire for each household. It requested information on the
name, gender, age, relationship to the household head, and the migration
history of each household member. I recorded each response in my notes,
and then questioned team members if I found inconsistencies or any
missing information. After my return to the U.S., the data were entered
into a computer file for analysis.

The village-based phase of the research design was intended in
part to confirm interviewees' responses regarding plans to return to
Boutem during the current rainy season. I asked each respondent if she
planned to return for the 1990 season. Almost every interviewee said
she did. However, most often this response was qualified, with "God
willing," or "If I can possibly do so." Therefore, I decided that as
well as censusing the entire village, I would list all of the
interviewees who actually returned before the beginning of the
agricultural season. This seemed to be a particularly simple and
convenient procedure, because the village association sets a date after

3The census and interview instruments are translated and reproduced in
Appendix A, while the codebooks for each are included as Appendix B.
which, if a member has not returned, he or she is fined.¹ I would simply count returnees on that date, at the village association meeting itself. I had been told that everyone attends, so we could set up a table in the meeting hall and record returnees, perhaps tracking down the few who remained home that day for one reason or another.

Unfortunately, the August fifteenth meeting of the village association was a complete disaster. The officers were drunk well before noon (the president literally fell off of his stool), attendance was low, and one young woman, whom I had interviewed and visited with socially several times in Dakar, was informed during the meeting that her son, about eight years old, had suddenly died. The fact that attendance was so low despite reports that everyone would be there was the first disturbing event that day. It prevented me from completing an important part of my work. Antoine was visibly upset at the poor attendance and behavior at the meeting. This annual meeting was not being taken as seriously now as it had been just five years ago, when he last attended. In a relatively short time, the village young people apparently had lost interest and involvement in their local government. This change is another indication that their attention is increasingly focused away from the home village, toward the cities and migration.

I never completed the list of returnees, but did witness a dramatic set of events that day, including the stricken child’s wake, funeral and burial. He reportedly had not been ill before the meeting. These events were punctuated with loud disagreements and witchcraft accusations. One of the first storms of the season added to the human drama. A thunderstorm produced threatening clouds during the wake, poured cold rain on the procession to the village church, and pounded

¹See Snyder (1978) for a description of what he calls a village police. I also recorded a set of Boutem’s village association laws.
its corrugated roof so loudly that the short funeral service was nearly inaudible. The rain subsided for the burial itself. The mother of the dead child left the grave side wailing, in tears, and accompanied by the women who had attended with her the wake, funeral, and burial. After they had left the small cemetery, a clearing in a small but dense stand of forest near the church, several men engaged in a loud argument. As they lowered the shrouded body down into the muddied earth, one man was shouting and standing in the grave itself. I later learned that they were arguing, among other things, over who had the right (normally reserved for a close relative) to take the cloth used as a shroud.

The next day, as I was leaving Boutem for the last time, I passed by a home behind which a teen-aged girl was screaming. A daughter of the attendant of a spirit shrine¹ at which we had several times paid our respects, was fully entranced and writhing on the ground, in the midst of voicing a witchcraft accusation regarding the child’s sudden death the previous day. This was an aspect of village life I had not sought out, but events associated with witchcraft and its suppression confronted me on several occasions. Witchcraft, its prevention and related intrigues are important aspects of village life. I was shaken up by the experience, but also felt gratified to have witnessed these dramatic events. However, my list confirming those emigrants who actually returned never was completed.

Women’s Association and Analysis of Dues Paying Records

Construction of this data set was begun from a list of all women’s association members compiled from the association’s record book, which was lent to me to copy with the explicit approval of the association

¹The particular shrine (chin) is devoted to kajumo, “the renowned.” The general term for such spirits is bokin (pl. inaati) (see Mark 1985:32-33).
officers. Sixty-nine members who could be identified in the village census were included in the first phase of constructing the data set, leaving sixty-four individuals for whom dues paying data was collected but who could not be linked to census information. While these members were included in an earlier, preliminary analysis of dues paying behavior, they were dropped from the present analysis because their dues payments could not be associated with any other characteristics. The association of dues information with data collected in the village census was of critical importance, because it enabled the comparison of dues paying behavior with the member's age and, for example, her migration history information collected in the village census.

To complete the construction of the data set, nine additional cases were added from information gathered in my interviews with individual members of the association, some of whom no longer had relatives in the village to report on them for the census. While complete census data for these individuals were not available, in all but a few cases they did provide me with complete information on their income and duration of residence in Dakar, to which I could add their dues paying records from the association book. The other twenty-one interviewees had already been identified in the census, and were included among the original sixty-nine cases. About half of these women self-reported a different number of years residence in Dakar than had been recorded for them in the census by family members resident in the village. In these twelve cases the length of residence in Dakar was corrected to match the self-reported figures.

Seventy-eight cases were therefore made available for analysis in this data set, although every case did not include all of the types of information gathered. The representativeness of this sample can be best assessed by comparing a description of its characteristics to that of the other sub-groups and categories of the relatively more complete
Population as censused in the village. Such a description is provided in the discussion of the association members, based primarily on the sixty-nine women for whom I have census data available.

_Oral History of Migration from Boutem_

It is difficult to gather oral histories among the Diola that cover the time before contemporary adults' personal memories begin. Unlike many Senegalese and other West African (especially Muslim) groups, the Diola do not recite genealogies or exhibit much interest in their family or cultural past. Elders generally do not discuss their own lives with their children either, as I discovered during many of my interviews with migrants to Dakar: "My parents never spoke about their life, so I don't know if they ever migrated" (Interview 12). Many other respondents also told me they had no idea whether their parents had ever migrated or not: "I wonder if [my mother] even knows her way around Ziguinchor!" (Interview 9). "They never told me about that, and I was never curious enough to ask them" (Interview 30).

When one elicits them successfully, however, local oral accounts generally agree with the migration history of the area as presented in Chapter 2. Everyone I spoke with on the subject agreed that Diola migrants into Boulouf had originated south of the river. It is likely, given this and other evidence, that a general migratory movement northward brought individuals just north of the Casamance River to villages such as Affiniam and (probably somewhat later) to Boutem. Oral accounts also point to Affiniam as the parent village of Boutem: among other indications, it was referred to me as the "old village" at one
point. From there, people likely moved further north to other Boulouf villages such as Thionk-Essil. "Boutame" is one subward of Thionk-Essil (Hamer 1983:289). This fact, in particular, is interpreted by the villagers of Boutem as proof that Thionk-Essil was founded by emigrants from there. Hamlets such as Bodé and Djilapão, located nearby the relatively larger village of Boutem and sitting on either side of it, most likely were founded or expanded as a result of fissioning from the larger villages, as Boutem probably split off from Affiniam. Violent disputes over agricultural land continue to break out at times in the area. Boutem was actively "at war" with Diatok, to its north, during the mid-1970s; its residents do not consider the dispute settled to this day. This dispute led to the dissolution of the village association comprising Affiniam, Boutem and Diatok, as is elaborated in an oral history of the women's association presented later in this chapter.

In Chapter 2, we considered various forms of migration that predominated during each of a set of four defined historical periods (see Table 1). Several forms of migration characteristic of the earlier periods can be observed in contemporary Lower Casamance. For example, men still leave their villages to fish during extensive dry season expeditions (diapang). This form of traditional rural-rural migration, which can extend through an entire six-month dry season, consists of camping and trapping fish along the rivers and marigots. It was

---

1The name Affiniam originates from village residents who tried to sell fruits in Ziguinchor. When they failed to negotiate successfully they would complain "Attiñam" (literally, "You ate me") or, "you tricked me". They were so ill-suited to commerce, the story goes, that they became known in town by a corruption of this phrase, Affiniam.

2Hamer (1983:230) dates the origin of Thionk-Essil at about 1720, based on an oral history of named circumcision ceremonies, which among the Diola occur at more or less regular intervals of about twenty years.

3Interestingly, the residents of Thionk interpret the historical sequence precisely in the reverse, and this is the basis for a joking relationship between the two groups.
mentioned in only one of my interviews when I asked whether a migrant’s parents had ever migrated themselves:

My mother never went to the city, she always stayed in the village until she became old. She never went to the city. If she traveled, it was to other villages. She stayed in the village and did agricultural work. My father only went fishing, he’d go diapang. (Interview 28)

Alternatively, contemporary village residents, men in particular, may undertake similar journeys to collect palm wine. These collecting trips are often taken into Muslim areas, where the demand for this alcoholic product is clandestine, if present at all. Selling the collected product of such expeditions can represent a significant portion of a rural resident’s income. Furthermore, as Linares (1992) demonstrates for another form of migration that was particularly important in the past, the expansion of Diola communities northward into areas where they did not reside previously, far from being only a historical process, continues to this day.

In contrast, the forced migrations common only a few decades ago are not directly observable in present day Lower Casamance, although as elaborated above, older forms of rural-rural migration remain common. Men who experienced corvée labor, military conscription into the colonial armies, or who migrated to The Gambia in avoidance of these still live in the village, and therefore their experiences are accessible to contemporary researchers. As discussed in the previous chapter, corvée labor was required by the French colonial administration as a form of direct, in-kind taxation. The imposition of corvée was pervasive throughout Lower Casamance, as it was elsewhere in Senegal, during and after the conquest of individual Diola villages. I was told that “many” local men died as a result of the terrible conditions

---

5Fall and Mboj (1989); see also Hamer (1983:240-241) for a consideration of its effects in the nearby village of Thionk-Essil.
imposed upon them during their corvée service. The French used whips to force them to work beyond their normal capacities. Crews of Diola men, using their long-handled traditional shovel, the kayendo, built many of the roads that continue to be used today throughout the Lower Casamance. They also built many bridges along the river, using the trunks of local ronier palms. They were required to construct these bridges over deep water, which was particularly dangerous.

One of the themes of my interviews with migrants to Dakar was the history of migration among their parents. As I noted above, many respondents simply did not know if their parents had ever travelled to the city. Furthermore, short term events were apparently not regarded as “real migration” by the interviewees themselves. If a parent travelled to urban areas in search of health care, or for example if a woman’s mother came to Dakar to stay with her daughter for a few weeks while she sold lemon juice, interviewees tended to discount these events as too short to be considered migration. This was so even when such incidents were explicitly cited and successfully elicited in interviews. These events, like military service or corvée labor, were not generally perceived as migration per se by contemporary emigrants from Boutem, and therefore are likely to remain unreported, even when one asks specifically about a parent’s history of migration.

My mother said migration didn’t begin in her generation, but this work started with her younger sisters. She said that her younger sisters went to work in Ziguinchor for a few months. My father never migrated, except perhaps for...military service....
(Interview 20)

Interestingly, although this information never came to light by other means, including the census, Antoine volunteered during one conversation on this topic that his father had served time performing

---

*The first road constructed in Lower Casamance, from Bignona to Tobor, was completed in 1921 with corvée labor (Mark 1985:106-107).*
corvée labor. At that moment, and later, when this man and his wife so generously shared their home in the village with me, I was struck by the immediate accessibility of this unfortunate but nevertheless important aspect of migration history. In a very real sense, the men who served in corvée labor groups represent the first modern migrations out of Boutem and many other Diola villages. Nevertheless, despite the real hardships they represent, these migrations were quite temporary: they were confined to a week or two during the dry season, and appear to have had little acculturative affect on participants, as much victims as pioneers. Perhaps it is because of this lack of permanency and acculturative affect that current migrants tend to discount the importance of this form of migration, undertaken only a generation or so ago.

Corvée caused some men to leave the village for the first time, so on one hand (in a limited sense, because as I’ve explained above, the acculturative effect was minimal) it may have increased the integration of the village of Boutem into the rest of Senegal. On the other hand, I was also told by villagers that as a result of corvée they learned to flee at the first sight of whites heading toward their borders. Therefore, I was told, when missionaries first came into Boutem to try and open its first school they were left alone, sitting in an empty village “with nothing to do.”

While corvée labor apparently had minimal acculturative effect on the individuals forced to serve under this aspect of the colonial Indigénat, others left Casamance to avoid the imposition of its hardships. These men were among the earliest rather long-term modern migrants from the village, most often traveling north into The Gambia.

---

10Roche (1976) discusses this form of whole village desertion as a generalized form of passive resistance to colonial rule that was employed by Diola villagers throughout Lower Casamance.
One of my interviews also touched on an example of this form of migration, although it was not explicitly related to corvée itself.

My father used to go to The Gambia, when Jacques’s father was there. He’d stay until the rainy season, but he didn’t work. . . He just stayed with relatives until the rainy season. He was offered a job, but since he was an only son, and his father was old, he had to return to cultivate. The only son can’t stay away from the village during the rains. He wanted to stay, because he was asked to stay so that they could get him work, but that’s what stopped him from staying there. (Interview 27)

I was told specifically that the avoidance of corvée was what “pushed” one man, V. Manga, to go to The Gambia. Several alternate means were employed quite skillfully by others in their attempts to avoid military conscription and corvée. For example, I was told of the example of L. Djiba, a highly respected school teacher who now has retired from a long career teaching in Ziguinchor. He first went to school (probably in Ziguinchor) through the completion of his brevet. In a successful effort to avoid corvée service, he then continued his schooling at a Catholic seminary. He left the seminary before completing his studies there because, I was told, he had always intended to use it simply as a “stepping stone.”

The role of the World War II veterans (who served in the famous Tirailleurs Sénégalais) is emphasized in local accounts of early migrants from the village. This is an appropriate emphasis since, among other things, these men often were the first individuals from the village to learn French. Later, many young men became educated, migrated for some time to Dakar, and returned to the village for the rainy season. As part of the village association’s rainy season activities in the village, they organized comical skits that poked fun at the poor or incomplete French language skills of the elder veterans,

11A diploma awarded in the French school system for the completion of the first “cycle” of secondary school.
who in the village were at times called into service as translators but, apparently, were not always successful.

The acquisition of French language skills allowed Africans to enjoy increased mobility in colonial Senegal, for example opening more job opportunities to them in urban Dakar. Similarly, some of the first to leave the village also were those with the first schooling (as in the case of L. Djiba, described above). Military conscription and the introduction of mission or state primary education in the village were two aspects of the encroaching influence of the colonial state on the villages of the Lower Casamance. These interventions in village life were introduced during the 1930s in much of the area, but were delayed until later in many of the more isolated villages (Roche 1976).

"Three or four" of Boutem's World War II veterans also later volunteered for the ultimately unsuccessful, and notoriously bloody, French war against Algerian independence in 1958. The experience of military service was often quite disturbing. This is how one woman described her father's experiences during his military service. She is referring to the revolts against forced military conscription that these soldiers were called in to suppress in Benin between 1945 and 1949.

My father went with the army to Benin. After Independence in 1960, my father "took his own independence" [i.e., he deserted] from the army and returned to the village. When I was eight years old, the army needed him, and came to the village to call him back into service. He said he couldn't go back because everything he saw over there was too strong, too much for him. He said that sometimes when they went into battle they saw so much blood that you'd say it had rained blood, and they had to walk through it. (Interview 21)

Earliest Migrants to Dakar

Immediately following the Second World War, the colonial government bureaucracy in Senegal was expanding very rapidly. Dakar was the administrative center of the entire territory of French West Africa.
There was therefore a growing demand in Dakar for technical and bureaucratic workers in the government itself, as well as a rapid expansion of demand for domestic goods, services, and the other consumer needs of its employees. Wage work opportunities for Africans were made available on an unprecedented scale. A few Diolas from Boutem, most of them among the first to be educated in mission schools, began leaving the village in search of work in the capital. At first only a few villagers made the trip, led by a few war veterans, men who had been drafted by the French military during World War II.

F. Badji was one of the first of these men to leave Boutem and settle in Ouakam, just outside of Dakar. He was a military veteran of the war in Algeria (1954-62), although he must have served there well after settling in Ouakam. He and a few other early migrants housed and helped to finance the migration of many family members and fellow villagers (an example of chain migration). This is recognized by others from Boutem as having helped to expand and speed the flow of migration from there to Dakar. A small community of emigrants from Boutem developed over time, centered in what has become the Ouakam neighborhood of Dakar.

Early examples of chain migration from Boutem were relatively easy to locate. Two such cases are brothers, L. and J. Badji, whom I met separately at their current homes in two regional towns a few hours drive along the Atlantic coast north of Dakar. Both of these men stayed with F. Badji in Ouakam when they first undertook urban migration. L. Badji was an adult when he first migrated, and began work as an appren-

---

12After 1950, African employees were entitled to the same civil service benefits as their French counterparts (Lambert 1994:54).

13The former village of Ouakam was one of the original Lébou villages of Cap Vert, the peninsula upon which Dakar was built. It now is a suburban neighborhood of Dakar, located near a French military base.
tice carpenter, as did another emigrant from Boutem, B. Badji. A fourth early emigrant was R. Badji, who did radio repair work. All of these men are now quite old. The majority of them had received at least some primary education. As young men they generally had just completed their primary certificate when they left the village. All of them stayed with F. Badji in Ouakam when they first migrated.

**Early Women Migrants**

Interestingly, some of these men also are reported to have provoked the first female emigrations from Boutem to Ziguinchor and Dakar. They had left their girlfriends behind for a longer time than the young women considered acceptable. Presumably other villagers concurred with this assessment, at least in retrospect, as the men were described to me as having "divorced" or betrayed their girlfriends. L. Badji, the carpenter mentioned above, was one of the men who had run away on his girlfriend. Some of the affected women subsequently "ran off" to Ziguinchor to find work. For example, C. Djiba was one of the first, if not the first woman to leave Boutem under such circumstances. I was told that she was old enough to marry by the time she left. Like C. Djiba, I was told she left for Ziguinchor. L. Badji's former girlfriend married there, while C. Djiba eventually migrated to Dakar.

According to E. Djiba, this earliest group of female emigrants, the victims of such "treasons," left Boutem between the 1930s and 1943. He explained that they wanted to go to town themselves to learn a trade. Like some of the men, several village women migrated to Ziguinchor or other regional towns for short periods of time, perhaps a month or two, or at most, during those early years, up to the six months or so of the dry season (January to June) following the rice harvest. I was able to
hear about a number of such cases from the daughters of these early dry
season emigrants.

My father told me that he went to Ziguinchor and worked as a
fisherman, he sold fish in the market. He'd spend three or four
months, then come back to the village and work there. My mother
worked one month as a bonne and doing laundry in Ziguinchor.
(Interview 13)

My mother migrated during a short time. She went to Ziguinchor
for two months, returning to the village for agricultural work.
She used to earn 200 CFA a month or maybe 300 CFA. But my father
never migrated, he always stayed in the village. (Interview 19)

My father told me a bit about his life: he used to go to
Ziguinchor and work as a plumber, rethreading pipes. He'd earn 50
CFA a month, but only worked in the dry season, after the
agricultural work. (Interview 16)

My mother told me that she worked with the first brigade of French
gendarmes to be posted at Bignona. She worked there until she got
married. When she got married, she came to Dakar to stay with her
brother, but she didn't work here. My father went with the army
to Benin. (Interview 21)

My mother was [working] with the nuns in the convent. They taught
her how to keep house, do laundry and iron, to cook and sew. [How
long?] I don't know. My father stayed in Ziguinchor as a tailor.
He also did the same work in Kaolack. He didn't say how long but
I know he was a tailor in Ziguinchor and in Kaolack. (Interview
22)

My parents never told me the story of their lives, but I do know
that my father was a teacher, and my mother is a midwife
[therefore she had training outside of the village]. My mother
told me that she stayed in Elana, working with the nuns as a
midwife. My father was a teacher at Elana and Kolda, but I don't
know where else. (Interview 26)

I was told that eventually women "leap-frogged" men in terms of
their numbers as migrants to Dakar (see Martin 1968:368). They also
began to leave for the city at younger ages than did the men. I was
told that as soon as they had just enough school to read, write, and
speak some French, they began to leave the village to look for work.
Once in Dakar, early women migrants had opportunities to meet men from
other African countries. Some of them were soldiers, who had what
seemed like a lot of money at the time. There are several examples of
village women who were "lost" to such foreigners. They married Congo-
inese men, left the country with them, and have never returned. Other women found work in Dakar and stayed for their entire careers. Women who worked for Europeans earned more money than any of the emigrant men could make in Dakar. The early women migrants who stayed in Dakar, in turn, funded the migration of other villagers; E. Djiba told me that he himself is a good example of this. They would house and feed, buy clothing, pay for health care, transportation, association dues, and provide everything for those they supported in Dakar. Two examples of women who sponsored many other migrants are C. Djiba and M.-T. Manga.

**Diola Associations**

Among the Diola peoples of the Lower Casamance, rural traditional associations are formed on an extremely diverse set of membership criteria. An individual married woman typically may belong to as many as seven or eight associations at one time, based on membership in, for example, her mother’s family, her father’s family, her husband’s family, the general village association, residence in a quartier, the village women’s association, a choir or other Catholic church group, a group associated with one of several spirit shrines, or perhaps a cooperative labor group.\(^\text{14}\) In particular, Hamer (1983:186-196) emphasizes the role of fertility associations among rural Diola women who have married into their husbands’ villages. The Gaemaelene group functions to nurture and protect childless married women from the possible causes of their infertility. Other rural women’s associations function as mutual aid societies for agricultural labor (Hamer 1983:203).

\(^{14}\)These examples apply to a hypothetical village resident of Boutem. Other rural membership possibilities are elaborated in Reveyrand (1986, 1986/87, 1987). I also elicited a number of other possibilities for the village of Boutem myself.
Contemporary urban Diola associations are of the voluntary "self-help" type that is common throughout West Africa and elsewhere (Little 1957, 1971; Taylor 1964; Meillassoux 1968; Acquah 1974; Barnes 1975; Kerri 1976; Barnes and Peil 1977; Schutz 1977; Kerr 1978; Wunsch 1978; Barkan 1991; Peil 1984; Keirn 1970; Woods 1994). Membership is somewhat less voluntary than in other West African self-help groups. Peculiar to the Diola form of such associations is the fact that, like their traditional rural forms, they are founded upon a diverse set of membership criteria. As in the contemporary rural setting, in Dakar one may be expected to pay monthly dues to three-to-five associations. For example, Antoine paid monthly dues to his "nuclear family" (which included his second cousins), to his "big family" (all emigrant Badjis from Boutem), and to the village association.

In another situation Antoine might also have been obliged to pay dues to the village association's youth section. He also explained that his mother's family does not require dues of him, although they could. He explained that they recognize the difficulty of maintaining monthly dues payments to the many groups that require these in the already difficult economic conditions many migrants face in Dakar. In contrast, a close friend of his, who was about the same age and grew up in the neighboring house in Boutem, pays dues to both his father's and mother's family associations.

Many individuals I interviewed in Dakar complained bitterly that the burden of paying monthly dues to several groups was at times over-

---

15 For example, the women's association investigated habitual absentees, expelling those who could not account for their behavior. Reminders of past due payments were sent to members as well.

16 See Linares (1983:139-141) for a discussion of these social categories: the eluhol is a broad group, a patrilineage of those sharing the same patronym; the buayu is smaller and generally de-emphasized, an extended patrilineal family.
whelming in their tenuous financial circumstances (see Chapter 4). Some of my interviewees explained that they would at times feel compelled to avoid attendance at meetings (some of which may require more than one bus fare to reach, as well as a good part of what may be her only free day of the week). If she does attend without having the dues money available, she may at times request that a friend or family member pay her dues for her, or her husband may provide them. Others told me that they would carefully manage their dues payments, for example making only a single payment each month in succession to each association to which they belong. The long term result of such a strategy, however, is that she remains in arrears on all payments with every group, with the likely result that she is left feeling ashamed. Related to such guilt feelings is a strong ethic of independence and self-sufficiency in Diola culture, associated with a rather well developed system of private property ownership (Linares 1992:36; also see Snyder 1981).17

I was interested in what benefits might make all these payments worthwhile, and if I could gather any information about the pattern of who pays dues in the context of the one organization to which I had good access, the women’s association. Furthermore, I became interested in the process by which these traditional rural associations were transformed in the urban setting. As I have mentioned before, emigrant associations organize projects in the home village, providing some benefits to residents there. But as far as individual benefits to urban members, I was curiously unable to discover any that seemed to me entirely compelling. Emigrants are dispersed widely in the urban setting, and communication among former village residents is difficult.

1When one travels, for example, it is expected that one will bring enough rice to feed oneself for the duration of the trip. The church choir association, for example, maintained a plot of rice to provide its members with their own food during singing tours throughout the area.
Monthly meetings provide some means of maintaining social contacts, supplemented by holiday dances that elicit even greater participation. I will discuss the benefits of associations more in the following chapter. In the sections below I discuss the history of Boutem's emigrant associations in Dakar, as their usefulness was probably greater in the recent past.

The Village "Men's" Association: "We Had No Big Brothers Here."

The first urban association in which migrants from Boutem participated was probably the combined village association of Affiniam and Boutem. According to E. Dhiba, the membership consisted primarily of the few educated young men who had come to Dakar at the time, about fifteen members. I was told that while its structure was based on traditional (rural) associations, its purpose was to "channel" its members, keeping them informed of potential problems they might encounter in the city, to help them find work, and to teach them where they might discover important resources that were available to them, such as night courses. They had "no thoughts" of turning their efforts back toward the village at the time. Later, during the 1960s, as migrants came to have a higher level of education, they began to have more structured meetings, to keep written records, to meet on a regular basis, and to write rules. It was only later that they began to consider projects that would be directed at the development of their village. But back then, the role of the association was focused upon urban needs, because "we had no big brothers here."

The migrant "youths" (unmarried men) had to organize together in order to help themselves out. At that time, new arrivals in town stood out to previous migrants. These newcomers were easily located, so they could be brought into the group as soon as they arrived. They were
introduced to a means of assistance, and would be integrated immediately into a system of information sharing on family and village problems. As far as activities, they organized dances and, importantly, pooled their resources via dues payments for expenses of “primary importance” such as funerals and baptisms. Monthly dues were originally set at 100 CFA (about thirty U.S. cents at 1990 rates) for the employed, and 50 CFA for students and the unemployed. At that time, E. Djiba explained, this was expensive: he compared the dues to a few consumables, such as a tomato can full of groundnuts, which then cost 5 CFA, and a kilo of bread, which was 30 CFA. One generation of officers would pass on their records to the older members of the next age group, following their initiation at the bukut ceremony held in the village about every twenty years.

Individual informal associations from the same local area eventually gathered together in an attempt to create a larger organization. In about 1958 an organizational meeting was convened of what became known as the Regroupement des Associations de Boulouf. The individual village associations, however, had been formed “well before 1958.” I didn’t learn whether or not this combined organization still exists, or what eventually happened to it. Because I never heard about it except in this historical discussion, I assume that as individual village associations incorporated larger numbers of migrants over time, the need for a combined association diminished.\textsuperscript{19} Certainly the difficulty of paying dues to many groups was mentioned by many people, and perhaps over time there was less reason for such a large group to remain active. Members from a larger, more dispersed set of villages

\textsuperscript{19}See Lambert (1994:92) for a summary of the history of associations related to another village in the Boulouf region. He dates the break-up of the larger regional association “some time in the early 1960's.”
may have felt less empathy for individuals from distant communities when they faced family or personal crises.

In fact, after some time, the combined village association of Affiniam and Boutem also broke up into two separate associations. This resulted from an attempt to incorporate Diatok, a third neighboring village, into the group. Diatok and Boutem were traditionally enemies, fighting over the control of agricultural land, and have yet to settle their dispute (see Hamer 1983:63-64 on other such conflicts in Boulouf). Boutem thus established its independent association. The actual name of Boutem's village association, stamped onto its official documents, is Association des Rassortisans de Boutem.19

I. Badji recounted that the Boutem "men's" or village association formed as a result of the women's organization activities. At another time, E. Djiba explained to me how the women's association developed as a result of the activities of the village organization. To be fair, they are probably both correct, simply seeing the same facts somewhat differently: he apparently dates the origin of the village association to the time before Boutem had an independent association, while she refers to its founding after it broke apart from the group incorporating its neighboring villages, Affiniam and Diatok. The historical importance lies not with the question of which group formed first, but rather with the fact that both groups developed at about the same time, out of the common conditions and experiences of the early migrants from Boutem in Dakar.

Men were first invited to join the women's association after an Easter holiday dance in 1963, according to I. Badji. This is the event

---

19This is best translated as the Association of Boutem Natives. The French verb used in the title means "to reunite that which belongs together," and conveys a certain poetic meaning. I believe, however, that the original intent was to use the more common French term, rassortisans meaning "natives."
that, although the date appears rather too late for me to report it with confidence, inspired the origin of the independent Boutem "men's association" in Dakar. When the people of Boutem found out that the villagers of Diatok had been invited to this dance, they left both the dance itself and the larger association en masse.

You know, before, there was no association. Beyond that, we didn’t even know what an association was. Our association began when the people from Bagand [Affiniam] asked us to form an association together with them. After a dance party there was an argument and this association that included both villages was disbanded. The cause of the argument between us was that they had asked people from the village of Diatok to join the association. They were our enemies. Throughout history there has been a war between our two villages, which has not been settled to this day.

The association of people from Boutem, Bagand, and Diatok was broken-up on the day of a banquet. We had decided to have a party. The women and men of Boutem had decided beforehand to go to the party, but that later they would celebrate separately, at Ouakam. If at any time there would be something preventing them from being together with their brothers from Bagand and Diatok, just then they would turn back and that’s what they did. They left the place as a group and went back to Ouakam on foot, to [F. Badji’s] house. That’s where they continued their party for two days before breaking up, when everyone went back home. It was from that day on that the men formed their (independent) association. (Interviews 5/27/90 and 5/29/90).

History of the Boutem Women's Association in Dakar

The Boutem women’s association was originally founded in Ouakam with seven members. Most likely, this was during the late 1940s or early 1950s. Two more women, including I. Badji (who provided me with most of the information I gathered about the history of the women’s association), joined the group soon after its original formation. These two women lived further away, closer to the center of Dakar, in the Koloban neighborhood. I. Badji told me that the original function of the group was to organize dance parties for the Christmas and Easter

---

3 These interviews, otherwise conducted as described above in the methods section, were translated from the audio tapes into French by Antoine Badji and mailed to me after my departure from Senegal.
holidays, but I was told in other contexts that Boutem’s migrants first felt the need for such cooperative associations in the urban setting when a maid, who had worked at the Ouakam French military base, died. The original function of Boutem’s urban associations was thus based on the need to collect enough money to pay for one woman’s funeral expenses in Dakar. This was the reason the associations were originally formed, I was told in several contexts, although I. Badji never touched on this point in her own account.21

E. Djiba referred to the maid who died at Ouakam as the first “victim” (or death of a migrant villager). The same term was applied to her case and that of several other deaths away from home in conversations about those early times in Dakar. Because there was no way to transport the body back to the village, what funds that were available had to be collected and used for burial there. Because nobody had any but the most menial jobs, no one from Boutem had much money at the time: “there were no government bureaucrats” among the migrants at that time. The employed women were maids, as most continue to be now, and several of the men, for example, were apprentice carpenters or mechanics. The association’s first function was to collect money for such needs.

I. Badji probably was simply avoiding discussion of this rather sad aspect of the association’s origins when she focused her remarks on the holiday dances. Dances were one way to earn money for such somber needs as funerals, but dues were also collected at monthly women’s association meetings. These were originally set at 15 CFA (five U.S. cents) per person. Perhaps the unfortunate need for such collections is

21Roche (1986:326) notes the critical emotional and spiritual impact upon the Diola when conscripts from the Bignona Company of the First Regiment of Tirailleurs died at the battle of Arras in November 1914 and were subsequently buried on foreign soil, in France.
what underlay the common feeling among the members of this rather small group that they all were facing the same difficult situation as one.

At the time there was a real feeling of solidarity among us: if your friend didn’t have the means to pay her dues, you paid it for her. These dues of 15 CFA held us for six years. After six years we saw that the association was growing, and we called a meeting to raise the dues up to 30 CFA. (Interviews 5/27/90 and 5/29/90)

The focus on dances as the group’s main function also reflects what was a conscious strategy to increase membership. The association continued to grow, and the meeting place was moved from Ouakam to the Hainoumane neighborhood. From there, it moved again, this time to Fass, where the group met at I. Badji’s home. The association then was disbanded for four or five years in the early-to-mid 1970s as a result of unresolvable disagreements about membership dues: “We decided to divide up our treasury funds, and what we finally did was each member took her money and did with it what she wanted. But I, [I. Badji], I bought an outfit of clothing” (Interviews 5/27/90 and 5/29/90).

When the women reorganized the association in about 1976, monthly dues were reintroduced at a reduced rate. By then the group was meeting in the Koloban neighborhood, its fourth meeting place. For the first time membership was opened to all women from Boutem, increasing membership greatly. By this time, more of the younger members had been educated in the village school, and the group began to keep records. A formal set of rules was adopted and recorded. As soon as a woman arrived in the city from Boutem, she now was considered a full member, and her name was inscribed in the record book. From that point, she had all of the same rights and responsibilities of the older members. Organized projects sponsored by the association were first undertaken after this reorganization of the mid-1970s, although I was told that none of these have been both independent of the village “men’s” association and also successful.
I. Badji provides a sense of the difference between the older organization and the larger, younger, reorganized group:

The first leader of our association was C., and the meetings were held at her house in Ouakam. V. took it up for a few years after that, until her husband was transferred to Kaolack. She was replaced by S., C. Djiba, and I. Badji.

Up until now, we have never elected a president. Our presidents are seated by age seniority. When the leadership changes, so does the meeting place. The association keeps a big record-book that lists all the names of the women who reside in Dakar. When there are new arrivals, we inscribe them there. We didn’t used to do this, because we were illiterate. But despite our lack of education, the membership was ruled by understanding, and all our decisions came from the hierarchical voice of seniority.

As for other problems the association has had, there have been none. Except maybe for now, the younger women have little respect for their elders. Beyond that, the dues don’t come in as they should. You are forced to shout, shout for them to pay their dues, but not at all of them. The difficulty that the association faces now is attendance, calling members to meetings. The dues aren’t working. They don’t listen to us, the older women, very well. Besides that, these projects such as the maternity clinic, the gardens, and the other initiatives that can sustain them financially. We are fighting morally and physically to build an association and to develop other projects. We are building it for the future. (Interviews 5/27/90 and 5/29/90)

As I. Badji states in the passage above, the president of the women’s association is seated according to her age seniority, rather than by election. I was therefore surprised that the scheduling of elections was taken up by the group as a whole at one meeting I attended. This inconsistency may be explained by my presumption that these elections were being organized to fill the posts of lesser offices, such as that of secretary and treasurer. These are currently held by much younger women. Another explanation may be that although elections are held for all officers, the president is elected in confirmation of her seniority, although I was specifically told that she was not elected. I was unable to verify the actual procedure for seating the president of the association.

Another statement she makes, that all meetings are held at the president’s house, also seems to be at odds with my participatory
observations. They are not now held at the home of C. Djiba, the current president. I assume they are held instead in Benn Tali because of the large amount of space available there. C. Djiba lives in a rent-free, high-rise apartment built circa 1960 as a job benefit for a set of rather elite government workers (her husband has been an officer in the secret service for his entire career). It is located in the midst of a now highly urbanized commercial area near the center of Dakar, and has no courtyard in which the group could meet.

Summary

Diola rural voluntary associations are based upon very diverse kinds of social groups and categories, such as village and quartier residence, family membership, religious groups, marriage and fertility status, work groups, age groups, and common interests, such as Boutem’s church choir. Urban associations were at first informal social gatherings of somewhat elite (they were among the first to have a Western education), often related, groups of friends and acquaintances. These were “based on the structure” of traditional rural associations, among other things insofar as they were probably headed by the eldest members. These earliest urban associations provided a means of sharing news between the capital and the village, a locus for socializing on special occasions, and eventually developed enough organization to seek out new arrivals and incorporate them into this increasingly urbane group. Among other things they eventually were able to systematically disseminate job-related information to new arrivals. The turning point in these groups is recognized as the funeral of the first villager to die in Dakar.

When the first villager died, the emigrant association in Dakar began collecting dues from its membership in order to pay for her
funeral. This was a critical moment in the history of Boutem’s emigrants, as the year 1914 had been for the families of Diola conscripts who died at the battle of Arras and were buried in France (Roche 1986:326). In taking financial responsibility for their fellow villager’s burial, and because no one had much money, the emigrants were forced to solicit their membership to raise the necessary funds. Even so, they could not afford to transport her remains back to Boutem, and her funeral was held locally in Dakar. I was told in several contexts that this is why the association formed. In fact, my interpretation is that it was this crisis that forced the association to become more formal, and why it began to collect dues from its members. Once they routinely collected dues, record-keeping and institutional formality was also increasingly bound to be favored.

Similar conditions were undoubtedly experienced by other Diola emigrants to Dakar at about the same time. In 1958, the Boutem association joined with others to form a regional group. Lambert (1994:91-92) found that, for people from the village he studied, this regional Boulouf association was the first that emigrants joined. By about 1960, though, with increasingly large groups of emigrants arriving in Dakar from each of the constituent villages, this larger group became less manageable, and broke up into smaller village-based organizations. Similarly, the interim attempt to maintain an association composed of both Affiniam and Boutem also failed. In fact, in other cases, as Lambert (1994) found, quartier associations have replaced village associations in their importance and level of activity.

Conclusions

The first section of this chapter elaborated my research methods, which included participant observation, interviews with thirty migrant
women, a village-based census of migration histories, and the analysis of the Dakar women's association's dues records. Other interviews included the current and former officers of the men's and women's associations. The second section was an oral history of migration from Boutem to Dakar. In the final section, I considered the origins of the urban associations in traditional self-help and other groups, and then outlined the changes that have occurred over time in the urban emigrant's association. In the following chapter, I will continue presenting the findings of my research, concentrating on the contemporary situation of emigrants in Dakar by analyzing interviews and the dues records of the women's association, in combination with data gathered in a census of the village.
CHAPTER 4
BOUTEM AND ITS CONTEMPORARY WOMEN EMIGRANTS

Introduction

This chapter continues the presentation of data collected in Dakar and Boutem, beginning in the first section with a description of the village itself, followed by an analysis of the interviews conducted among urban female emigrants. This analysis is intended to provide the reader with a sense of the emigrants' lives in Dakar. It begins with their career histories, considers their working conditions, and provides responses to the question of why they migrated in the first place. This is followed by a discussion of commerce as an alternative (at least under some circumstances) to finding work as a domestic maid, and by an elaboration of household expenses (including remittances to rural family members) for which emigrants must budget given their modest wages. In the third section, this presentation of the contemporary situation continues with a presentation of the results from the census I conducted there. Among other objectives, the census was designed to compare interviewees and other emigrant groups with permanent village residents. It should help to place the interview data in the context of the entire village, as the census itself should be understood in the historical context presented in Chapters 2 and 3. An analysis of the women's association dues records follows. Finally, there is a discussion of the findings presented in the rest of the chapter.
The contemporary village of Boutem

The village of Boutem is located north of the Casamance River, fifteen kilometers west-northwest of Ziguinchor, the regional capital of Casamance (see Figure 1). Older parts of the village are marked by thatched banco (mud brick) houses under the trees of the forest and more closely situated to the rice fields. Newer neighborhoods are closer to the road, surrounded by open groundnut fields, with their houses more often roofed in corrugated metal (see Figure 2). A relatively small village, its permanent population was only 345 men, women, and children in 1990, when I was there and conducted a census. More than this number are gone, either permanently in Dakar, for example, or like many others, away for the dry season. The latter will return by August to animate village social life and undertake to produce a harvest from its groundnut fields and expansive rice paddies.

The village is located at the base of a narrow six kilometer long peninsula jutting south towards the river. This provides it with easy access to abundant rice fields and other natural resources. Boutem is noted for its possession of ample agricultural, and especially rice paddy, land. The hamlets of Elora and Djilapão are located on the southern tip of this peninsula, across the longest expanse of Boutem’s rice fields.

Boutem is notable from a cultural point of view in that it is the only Diola village entirely without Muslim families in Boulouf (see Hamer 1983:141-142). The strength of Catholicism (and the traditional kawasen religion) there makes it more like villages south of the Casamance River. The church is built at the north-eastern edge of the village, prominently visible from the road. Approaching from the south via the river and marigot, however, the main footpath leads one by the
spirit shrine, an unassuming rustic wood frame tall enough only to sit under, covered with enough palm fronds to shed a light rain while one offers libations to its inhabitant, Kajumo. Residents often travel back and forth to Ziguinchor this way, making use of large commercially operated canoes. These are powered by small outboard engines (the two boats I took had fifteen and forty horsepower), carrying up to about fifty people with their luggage as well as commercial freight (often mangoes or other locally-grown fruit). They take about two hours to travel the distance down the Casamance River from Ziguinchor and up the winding mangrove-lined marigot that leads to Boutem, charging 600 CFA (at the time, about U.S. $2.00) for each passenger.

The actual boundaries of the village of Boutem are difficult for an outside observer to discern. Like other Diola villages, it extends toward its neighbor, Affiniam, about eight kilometers to the East. It seems that there is always a nearby house as one walks along the road from one village to the other. Boutem is comprised of six quartiers, named Bougafou, Elegnande, Sambousoulier, Bafikan, Boutoupa, and Boukiak. Unlike Lambert (1994:148-163), I found no evidence that these divisions were given any social significance in the urban setting. However, they were clearly important in the village. Even there I saw little evidence of their social significance; they were primarily used to indicate geographical locations.¹ I constructed the map of the village below from a sketch drawn from memory by Boutem’s former school teacher, A. Dion. While I was able to associate many individuals with their residences, the map includes only four of Boutem’s six quartiers, and one of these is only partly represented.

¹My understanding of village quartiers is incomplete. They have some physical coherence, but I found no clear borders when I tried to map households according to quartier membership. Lambert’s (1994:148-163) discussion of social organization in a village north of Boutem is useful.
Figure 2: Village of Boutem, Senegal. From a map drawn by Jenny Konwinski.
My own impressions of Boutem are based on about ten weeks residence there between June and August of 1990. We travelled several times between Ziguinchor and Boutem on the commercial motorized "taxi-canoes" to conduct business and replenish supplies in Ziguinchor. Their schedule varied, but villagers were able to detect the sound of their small motors long before I could hear them. At this sound, they would hurriedly gather their belongings and make their way to the landing in time to catch the boat. For the most part I enjoyed these river trips, with the chance they provided to spot wildlife, including a crocodile, a large flock of flamingoes, and many other birds. Arriving for the first time from the marigot at the village landing, marked only by a large Baobab tree and an eroded bank, we scampered up and began to walk across a wide expanse of rice land, along the raised furrows between small individual plots. I remember wondering where the village was as I covered the mile or so between the marigot and the trees in the hot sun, not seeing the homes nestled under the large trees that were themselves clearly visible, though fairly distant from the landing. As we approached more closely, a few houses on the southern edge of the village, one of its oldest areas, became visible under the trees. Once we were under the welcome shade, we passed a well and the main spirit shrine along the wide footpath. Still, houses were so dispersed that I didn’t realize we were walking through the very heart of the village, rather than what I imagined at first were its outskirts. On the far north side of the village, along the road, were the school, church, and youth foyer.

From the cool shade of the grove of trees that marked the southern edge of the village it was not a long walk to our destination, Antoine’s parent’s home. Like all of the buildings in the village, it was made of banco, a compressed mud brick that I compare to adobe. These are
impressive structures, strong and comfortable, although more modest than
the larger impluvium and even two-story buildings constructed in a more
grand and traditional style as tourist hostels (campements de touriste).
I enjoyed living in the village, where the pace of life stood in such
stark contrast to the bustle of the city. Many of its pathways led into
relatively dense forest, where I enjoyed taking stock of the many
unfamiliar trees, and encountering the sights and sounds of many birds,
such as hornbills, as well as chameleons, tree snakes and even once a
large monitor lizard six feet or more in length. Although the climate
in Casamance was more humid than that of Dakar, I found myself more
comfortable there, where at night we slept under a cool thatched roof
and during the day we walked most often in the shade below large mango,
kapok, and other tropical trees.

Although the village is divided by a road, linking it most
directly with Bignona and Affiniam (an eight kilometer walk that is not
infrequently undertaken by residents), it is not heavily used by
motorized traffic. The few times in a week that a vehicle does pass are
easily noticed by residents from anywhere within its boundaries; in this
quiet setting noise travels far, even through the trees. All water is
gathered by women from one of two wells in the village, and cooking is
done in open fires with fuelwood, also gathered uniquely by the women of
a household. Latrines were being dug by a few young men about the time
I was leaving the village, apparently in preparation for the heavy rains
that were expected. There is no electrical or other such utility
service in Boutem, and even battery powered radios or other devices were
uncommon. The youth group did organize to transport and charge a car
battery in Ziguinchor, in order to power their speakers and music
equipment for the dances. Commercial activity, as described in the
following section on interviewees work, was very informal and not at all
obvious. Affiniam, in contrast, had a small store that was easily recognizable along the footpath into town from the road. In Boutem, a small church is the most prominent visible sign of the village as seen from the road; behind it are the school and the youth foyer (a dance hall and meeting place). In the newer parts of the village, some houses are close to the road, and a few more are visible across the open groundnut fields. Older parts of the village are not visible from the road.

Because we arrived before the first rains, the pace of life was indeed slow in the village during the first few weeks we were there. Most of the people that had remained there during the dry season were relatively old or quite young. The children spent their days either fishing or gathering fruit high in the trees, while many of their elders seemed to spend much of their time doing little else but drinking bunuk, palm wine. As time passed, though, household and other groups of villagers began to clear fields in preparation for the groundnut planting season, then moved on to clear nursery fields for rice seedlings, which would later be transplanted into the open paddies closer to the marigot.

I amused Antoine’s family by attempting to assist in the creation of the large furrows upon which seeds are planted, wielding the kayendo, a long handled Diola shovel. It does not take long to appreciate the difficulty of such work, and I did not do more than scratch a small amount of soil with one of these truly beautiful teak and iron implements. Other important work included the building of livestock enclosures and the herding of animals into them, the only way to protect fields from damage by wandering goats, pigs, and cattle.

Once the migrants began to return, there was an even more marked change in the nature and level of farming and other activity. I was
impressed with the ostentation of many young returnees, who often sported new hair styles, costume jewelry, flashy clothes, and shoe styles. These all seemed to be more urban than their own habitual style of dress in Dakar, and even more out of place in this quiet rural village. The celebration of their return included dance parties that ran throughout several nights as well as special church services, drumming and singing occasions, and finally the big meeting of the village youth association that signaled the end of my stay.

Women Migrants to Dakar: “Work Is Not for Finding Happiness”

The amount of time that women I interviewed had lived in Dakar ranged from less than one to more than twenty-five years, but all had grown up in the village of Boutem. Importantly, each had made the transition from the rural setting to an urban life more or less on her own. Many had first left the village, whether many years ago or just recently, after finishing only a minimal amount of formal education (perhaps including a few years of secondary school in Ziguinchor). After some amount of time in practical training, often with family “tutors,” these women began working in the homes of foreigners, largely cut off from their own families and culture. Frequently a younger woman may share time with friends and family for only one day a week before returning to her employer’s home for another week of work. There, it is not unheard of for her to be mistreated, and it is fairly common to face a certain amount of prejudice and humiliation.

Clearly, these women face many hardships. They are employed within other people’s homes and out of the public eye, often by people with much more wealth and a higher social status. When they are mistreated, they have little recourse. They generally remain stoic, however, and persevere in difficult jobs until they are able to improve
their working conditions and pay by taking another position. Over time, many women do find better jobs, although such positions as a whole are not secure for long periods of time.

Their stories are best told in their own words, with all of their individual circumstances and qualities more in evidence. In this section, I first present some background on patterns of career histories and examples of the working conditions they face. Then I present their own explanations for why they began to migrate. This is followed by a few descriptions of commercial endeavors, as these are sometimes used to supplement or replace income from "the work of the migrant," that of the domestic maid or bonne-ménagère. A presentation of the women's household expenses follows the concentration on their work. They describe their household budgets for such things as rent, food, utilities, association dues, remittances, clothing, health care, school fees, and transportation.

Career Histories of Women Migrants

While many of the women I interviewed did not follow a career pattern of first working for African families followed by employment with Europeans, this seemed to be an expected progression. Nearly twenty percent of the migrants I interviewed noted that they first worked for African employers before finding work with Europeans. For example, F. Djiba, who has worked for twenty-five years in Dakar and began migrating at age fifteen, told me she "left the village, [and] began working for a Wolof family the first year, but the next year [I] began work with a French family who wanted to take [me] to France" (Interview 1). J. Manga has been in the capital city eleven years. "I began working for some Senegalese [Wolof] as a young girl. I have grown up since then. I have worked with Europeans" (Interview 6). Other emigrants from the village told me much the same story, despite the fact
that they had the presumed advantage of having trained "with the nuns," in a technical school home economics course in either Dakar or Ziguinchor.

That first year I went back to the village [after training with the nuns in Dakar]. I came back again after the harvest in 1979. Then I worked for a Senegalese [Wolof] family. . . . Since coming back this time, on March thirtieth, 1985, I've been working with Europeans, and haven't been back to the village since. (Interview 9)

I first worked for a Toucouleur, then for a Portuguese, and then for a Frenchman. Frankly, the Toucouleur was very nice to me. He bought me clothes in addition to my salary of 15,000 CFA. The Portuguese was nice, but just paid the 15,000 CFA salary. (Interview 10)

When I was old enough my cousin said, "OK, now you're ready to look for work." She looked for a job for me for 2,000 CFA a month with a Serawhollie [this was more than twenty years ago]. He was very good to me, I can't lie about that. He was a relative of my cousin, and he treated me like family. (Interview 11)

In other cases, young women told me that they were successful at getting jobs with European employers right away: "[My] first job was at 5,000 CFA with a French employer. This was a lot of money at the time, when a sack of rice [100 kilos] cost 1,500 CFA, and [I] could afford all [my] expenses with this salary. [I] never worked for Africans, [and] never got any vacations" (Interview 4). A. Manga has worked for thirteen years in Dakar, first migrating in 1977. "I went to a nun I knew in the village, who works with a placement service for maids, and quickly got work with whites" (Interview 7). O. Diatta, has been in Dakar for four years, and also found work with a European on her first season migrating, but points to one of the insecurities of this kind of

---

2At the time of my research in 1990, the U.S. dollar was worth about 300 CFA. Common salaries for maids ranged from 20,000 to 50,000 CFA, or from U.S. $70 to about $165 a month. This interviewee has been in Dakar more than twenty-five years, so her salary at that time was very good indeed.

3Again, this figure represents salaries from a long time ago, as she continued to explain she'd worked for twenty-six years in Dakar.
work. "I worked for a Frenchman the first year, but he left without notice or paying anything" (Interview 8).

Africans [generally, Wolof] often employ younger, less experienced maids (European habits and cooking skills, for example, are not one of the qualifications), but also tend to pay less than European (the Wolof word is toubaab, and Americans are considered within this category) expatriates. They are reputed to be harsh with their employees, although as the case above demonstrates, difficulties may be encountered with any employer. Because of the difference in work skills and experience that African and European employers demand, many women find their first jobs in African households. Later, with some luck, they may find work with Europeans, although a range of experiences and salaries are possible within this potentially more lucrative market. Working for unenlisted French military personnel is apparently the bottom rung of employment with Europeans.

There is no guarantee, of course, simply because one has worked for Europeans, that a woman will never again have to work in an African (most likely a lower paying) household. Although she was working for a Wolof woman at the time of our interview, M. Diatta mentioned that "when I was working for whites, I was registered [with the Inspection]" (Interview 22). The issue of registration is important to maids, who work in a capricious environment far from home, out of public view within the homes and families of foreigners. It is accepted that African employers will not register their maids with the Inspection de la Main d'Oeuvre, or other federal employment-related agencies. Although some European employers may do so as a matter of course, particularly official agencies, among most Europeans it is still, apparently, a rare practice. Even employers with altogether good intentions often fail to undertake the registration of their domestic
workers. It is certainly true that employment rules are complex, the process of registration is bureaucratic and heavy on paperwork, and maids often admitted to me that they would quit one job for another better opportunity without a second thought.

In the end, domestic employees must rely on the good will of their employers to undertake the difficult process of registration. Unfortunately, the willingness of her employer to suffer the inconveniences of registration is necessary before a woman can be assured of unemployment benefits and the like if she does encounter difficulties at work. Therefore, the issue is rarely broached in employment negotiations, and once conditions turn bad the women have no hope that they will become registered. However, the women are generally stoic about job conditions, saying that they don’t work to have a good time, but must simply tolerate whatever difficulties they encounter until they can find better. Furthermore, a number of women pointed out that they were treated quite well by African employers, although others made it clear that Africans (and probably the Wolof in particular) were very difficult to work for. It is also worth pointing out here that a few migrant women do get other jobs; not all are maids, as we shall see later as well.

Very commonly (it was mentioned in the career histories of forty percent, or twelve out of the thirty interviews) women migrants are “tutored” or “sponsored” by relatives, for whom they either work without pay or for very low wages while they learn the “work of migration.” In some cases this training is as difficult as working for employers that the women do not know, though several rationalized their harsh treatment by attributing it to a kind of toughening technique:

[I] first came to Dakar in 1975, found work right away with an aunt as a bonne. [My] aunt was very severe, harsh with [me], although not mean. [I] realized that this was training for [my] work, so [I] tolerated it, withstood the stress despite [my]
anger. It was very hard work, but [I] put up with the difficulties. [I] was lucky to be with [my] aunt, as [I] even considered returning to the village several times, and probably would have if this job were with a Wolof family. (Interview 5)

My first year was hard, I worked very hard. But the most difficult time was when I lived, with my "tutor" [her maternal aunt]. I was treated poorly and had to sleep on the floor. It really didn't seem worth it to stay in town, and I asked myself why I was there. (Interview 13)

In other cases, the relationship with tutors is apparently more convivial, with the young women accepting their lack of pay with the understanding that they will eventually leave their relative's homes to find employment, using the skills that they have gained there among family. M. Badji, who is thirty-two years old and has been in Dakar about twenty years, has since boarded many of her own younger relatives, putting some of them through school. "My first year here I was under the care of my father's younger brother. I just took care of his children" (Interview 19). A few more examples help to illustrate the range of experiences interviewees encountered with tutors.

Before coming to Dakar to work, I worked two years for a cousin, a year in Brin and a year in Mlomp [Diola villages south of the Casamance River, nearby Boutem]. She's a teacher, and I watched her children. At the end of the second year, I said that I want to go to Dakar to look for work, because now I've learned how to cook, etc. here. I've been in Dakar ever since, but I can't say how long it's been--more than twenty-five years. (Interview 10)

I don't remember when I first came to Dakar, but I was young ["I didn't have breasts yet."] I was brought to watch the children of my cousin. Here is where I grew up and learned how to work. When I was old enough, my cousin said, "OK, now you're ready to look for work." (Interview 11)

When I left the village I went to the daughter of my maternal aunt in Ziguinchor. She told me to watch her children and paid me 3,000 CFA a month. After her husband was sent to Kolda [a job related transfer], they all had to go there. I asked her, "If I go to Kolda, would you pay me 5,000 CFA a month?" She said, "No," she couldn't afford that. So, I went to work elsewhere. (Interview 22)

I came to Dakar when I was ten years old for [primary] school. I was in school for five years, and left to go to work. As soon as I left school, I went to watch after my older sister's children for three years. I wasn't paid. [Her husband interjects, "She bought you clothes every month."] Yes, she bought me clothes. At
the end of the third year I went to the village for summer vacation, during the rainy season. After that, I came back to Dakar. On arrival, I told my sister that now I’m big and can’t watch children, I’ve got to work like my friends. (Interview 23)

R. Manga was an interesting person, though more difficult to interview than most of the other women. When we were unsuccessful at completing our questions on the first day, we tenaciously returned the following day to finish. Although she told me that she had never worked, she later admitted that she did sell beer, and apparently she also took in laundry. I will return to the issue of commerce as a means of support later. She also explained the circumstances of her tutelage. "I was in my older sister’s care until I got married. I cooked for her, did dishes, and sometimes I ironed although I didn’t know how until I learned from her bonne. Now I can launder and iron" (Interview 25).

R. [not a relative, but from the village] took me to watch, to babysit, her children within a few weeks [after my arrival in Dakar]. She had twins. Her little sister was there, and didn’t have a job, so I cooked and cared for the kids. That’s where I learned how to do housework. (Interview 26)

When I came in 1979, I didn’t have anything to do for the whole year. After the rainy season in 1980, I came to babysit. The work wasn’t hard, just watching the baby. I’ve been here eleven years. (Interview 29)

As several of the passages above illustrate, it is also common (seven interviewees, about twenty percent, mentioned this) for emigrants to work in one or more of the smaller regional towns of Senegal (often with their tutors) before looking for work in Dakar: "[I] was in the village until [I] was about fourteen years old, worked in Ziguinchor, then before Independence [1961] came to Dakar for [my] third year of work" (Interview 3). "First [I] worked in Marsasoun, in the Departement of Velingara" (Interview 4). "We were only the second generation [age-group] to go to the city. We didn’t know what we were doing. I went to Ziguinchor for two years before coming to Dakar" (Interview 16).
L. Coly grew up in Boutem, during the time that her mother was a midwife there. She worked in Rufisque and Kaolack before making the move to Dakar. “When I left school, I came here [actually Rufisque, but she considers that the same]. In 1981-82, I went to Kaolack. In 1983, after the [rice] harvest I came here to Dakar, but didn’t stay long” (Interview 26). The most recent arrival I interviewed had only been working in Dakar for a month and a half. “I went to stay at Louga for two years, and then went back to the village before coming to Dakar” (Interview 30).

V. Sagna, a forty-two year old, explained to me that she never planned to work in Dakar. She had been “a temporary worker in the Justice de la Paix [regional courts] in Ziguinchor.” But then she became ill, and came to Dakar in 1972 “for health care, but I had no money. I was obliged to work to get the money to pay for my health costs. I enjoyed the work, so I kept on doing the ‘work of migration’” (Interview 20).

An alternative to living with a tutor to be trained as a maid is to work “with the nuns” in the home economics courses they offer, either in Ziguinchor (at Saint Sacrement), in Dakar (at the rue Vincent in Karack), or both. Several of the women I interviewed had done this. While some attributed their later employment to the help of nuns, either as a placement service or through this training, not everyone did:

After primary school, I went to Ziguinchor to a three year training program and took courses in cooking, sewing, and ironing. After that, I came to Dakar and worked sewing for the nuns at Karack, after spending some time without work. They said they’d help me find a job, but didn’t, and never paid me, so I finally decided to leave. (Interview 9)

In contrast, one interviewee directly attributed her success at finding a European employer for her first job to her training: “When [my son] learned to walk I left [him] with my mother, here in Dakar, so
I could look for work with the nuns of rue Vincent. They found me a job with a toubaab [European]." (Interview 17).

I was at the Center [Catholic technical school in Ziguinchor]... for four years. Usually it's three years, but I stayed for four. From there they sent me to the rue Vincent [in Dakar] to continue my training, but when I got here there was no more room. (Interview 21)

Other women attended secondary school in Ziguinchor, sometimes followed by training in either a technical or a professional school. These kinds of schools are relatively expensive, and no women from Boutem that I recall meeting had finished secondary school.

When I got to the end of primary school, I went to Sacre Coeur de Ziguinchor for two years of secondary school. But for going any further, I had nobody to pay my fees. You know how it is in the village, if you don't have the money for school you have to choose what you'll do yourself. So that same year, in 1979, I went to Dakar after school [was out] from June to September, working as a bonne and stayed with my brother. In October I told my brother I was going back to the village, but didn't have the money to go to school. He gave me my tuition fees for three years of technical school, 10,000 CFA a month for three years at St. Sacrement de Ziguinchor. During my vacations I came to Dakar to work, and returned for courses afterwards. After finishing, I really enjoyed working and it's been good for me. (Interview 12)

Nineteen seventy-four was the first year I knew in Dakar. I came when I was in the sixth class [six years before graduating] of secondary school. In 1975 I did fifth, and in 1976 I changed [transferred] to secretarial school until 1977 [attending for two years]. Toward the end of 1977, I had my first pregnancy and "left the benches" [quit school]. (Interview 17)

I left to go to Ziguinchor to continue my studies, not to work. I didn't intend to work, but when I got my CEP [finished primary school] I decided to continue at Sacre Coeur [with the sixième, or beginning of secondary school]. While I was there, I worked in the mornings as a bonne, and went to school at night, in order to pay the fees. I didn't have anyone to pay them for me. I saw that I wasn't progressing because of my job, I didn't have the time to study. So, I said, "I'll leave school." At the place where I worked, there was an office next door that I could see into as I went downstairs. I didn't know what they were doing, since it was my first time in the city. Every time [I went by], I found girls hitting the machines with their fingers. I thought that looked like good work, and asked what it was called. I asked my uncle A., and said that I wanted to learn that job. He said, "I'll see a friend of mine to see if he can take you to learn this work." He agreed to take me, and he taught me the work. I waited a year before doing this. I was in school in 1976, and began
before the end of 1977. I began in November to learn to type. (Interview 27)

I will return under the following heading to this typist because her case provides an example of how job security and working conditions are largely uncontrolled, even in an office setting. It is rare for young women from the village to attend secondary school at all not only because of the expensive fees, but also because their parents don’t believe that they can benefit from schooling. A woman with an aptitude for education may direct her efforts toward learning a professional skill. Others simply migrate and begin work as maids.

Working Conditions

Interviewees were asked to describe for me the conditions they routinely encounter in their work. “Working for Africans was very difficult. I put up with a lot of problems, but I won’t talk about them. These are my own memories.” (Interview 6). “Some days work isn’t good, but there are always some days when [the Americans she works for] are not in a good mood. They don’t talk to me then, but I’ll just wait and when they speak I respond.” (Interview 8). As I noted above in the discussion on registration, the women are generally dispassionate about their work and its difficulties: “Work is not for finding happiness, one must tolerate the difficulties that come with being a bonne” (Interview 9).

I spoke with only one woman who had migrated internationally. Beginning in 1978 A. Diatta, now thirty-four years old, worked for five years in Italy. I believe that the family she had worked for in Dakar asked her to return with them to their home, so that rather than leaving the country seeking work she left with a specific position in hand. Once there, she found the cultural differences she encountered to be the most difficult aspect of her job:
Life there was very difficult. I stayed in the house, worked very hard, and above all didn’t have much freedom. . . . That was difficult, it was really hard work. . . . and I wouldn’t go back. The houses are big there, and it was hard. We’re not used to being all closed up in the house, inside all the time. It was boring, all of the time in the house. I spoke Italian, which was hard at first, but I learned. (Interview 7)

Several women referred to what might be generously described as uncomfortable meal arrangements: sometimes nothing is provided for them to eat where they work, or perhaps they get only the leftover food their employers presumably won’t eat, or they are humiliated by being made to eat apart from their employers. “I don’t even get meals there, I have to find my own breakfast and lunch. I get nothing from them, as I said I’m there despite myself” (Interview 16). “I worked for a Senegalese family. At lunch, I always got last night’s rice, [eating] apart from the family.” (Interview 9). None of the women I spoke with mentioned that they had ever been physically abused, but in one case this possibility was raised.

I was told the first four [maids sent from the vocational school] to try had been sent away, the fourth having been beaten. . . . I really stood up to it there. I didn’t even get breakfast there. For lunch I got maybe a potato or a carrot, and if I got there at 8:05 AM I had to stay until 6:05 PM. They told me that he was mean, but since I knew I had no choice, I had to go. . . . I took this for ten months, and his contract ended, and then he left. He gave me nothing for severance pay [“mes droights”] or anything. (Interview 17)

There, [at the military camp] you don’t have the right to eat breakfast or lunch. If you want to eat breakfast, you buy your bread, sugar, butter, and coffee and bring it to work to make it there. [Even those working full days have to bring their own lunch]. The person we sent to make an official complaint about this, we don’t know what he’s done with the papers. (Interview 14)

I stay over nights from Monday to Saturday, at 6:00 PM I come home. I’m not paid [a supplemental wage] for the nights, because the woman is divorced and lives alone with her children. I work six days a week, and go back [begin] on Sunday night. I speak Wolof with my boss. She doesn’t talk much; when she comes home, she changes her clothes and comes to eat dinner. If she speaks to you, you know she has something for you to do. I don’t eat with her, but apart with the children. (Interview 22)

It was very hard work, and sometimes they would have me eat apart from the family. The husband once asked his wife why we don’t eat
together. This caused quarrels but finally she said I should eat with them. But this isn't important, the essential thing is making the salary. Any little problems like this, you just need to tolerate them. Even if you get angry, you need to remind yourself why you're there. (Interview 10)

The latter cases seem to represent a symbolic importance regarding the maid's social status vis a vis her employers. I found the significance that migrants place on this aspect of work, whether or not they eat together with their employers, to be particularly interesting. In the village, families eat their meals in a manner that is not at all communal. Rather, they take their meals as smaller groups within the household. Young adults, for example, eat together in a separate room from their elders. Regardless of their habits at home it is clear that the maids understand the meaning of being placed apart at meals in this setting and that they resent the implied status difference it represents. To the extent that maids become acculturated into the urban setting they may be ambivalent of their status in the workplace without their employers intentionally evoking status differences. For example I found it quite difficult to get Antoine's sister, who I paid to cook and launder for us in Dakar while we were busy interviewing, to eat her meals along with the two of us. Another case supports the notion that some maids are ambivalent about eating with their employer.

Sometimes things are good and sometimes they're not so good, but the husband is nicer than the wife. They've asked me to eat with them, but I prefer to eat separately [she adds, "but I'm ashamed to do so"]). I don't feel right eating with them, I'm more at ease and have an appetite if I eat alone. (Interview 11)

In other cases, maids expressed real satisfaction with their work. "I have never had problems with them, they even would invite my husband or my children over for dinner. Any time I ate with them I was served first. They liked me so much that I was taken in like a member of the family" (Interview 13). "My first year of work was very good: I left at eight and worked until nine, ate well, and they treated me well. It's my current job that's not so good" (Interview 14). "I was treated
well. . . . He treated me like his own daughter, and gave us everything we needed. . . . There was no problem, we were well served, we ate with the family, and everything was fine” (Interview 16).

Two women in particular told me more detailed stories than the other interviewees, representing the kind of difficulties emigrants may encounter. These provide valuable insight into the nature of this kind of work in Senegal, and the lack of job security that emigrants face throughout their careers. In the first case, the interviewee had just quit her job the week we spoke, the events were clear in her memory, and she was quite emotional in recounting them.

[I] used to make [my] boss coffee in the morning as part of [my] job. [I] would prepare the coffee-maker at night, and again for a Thermos in the morning. [I] forgot to do this on Friday night, and as [I] began to set it up Saturday morning, [I] saw that it was late. [I] was supposed to wake him up at 6:45 AM, and went up to do so. Seeing that he was already awake, [I] went back down to continue [my] work. His wife was the first one downstairs, and greeted [me]. Next, the man came down without greeting [me], and began shouting at [me] right away. [I] didn’t respond, except to say that [we] could talk when [I] was done with [my] work. He told [me] to answer him, but [I] argued that [I] “[am] not a slave,” and that he hasn’t the right to tell [me] when to respond. He said “shit,” and called [me] “stupid” (bête) as was his habit. [I] said that he wouldn’t appreciate [me] speaking to him in this manner. Then he said that [I] was fired. [I] told him that [I] am tired of his job, his insults, and that [I] am ready to leave. Then [I] asked for [my] pay, and asked him if he knew the value of [my] staying overnight to serve guests as [I] had done. [For a long time she had done this without the official supplementary pay of 3,000 CFA per night, but she was now demanding payment since he was firing her without just cause. She also demanded her severance pay].

[We] argued for a long time, and the wife told him that he was simply blaming [me] for his own oversights. [I] said [my] former employers would say he is lying if he were to say that [I] talk back. [I] asked him why he insults [me], that [I] am there to work, but that he has no right to insult [me]--he is not [my] relative, after all. “If you’ve got a problem, say so and we’ll work it out,” [I] said. He came to apologize later that day, but [I] refused to accept this, or even to look at him. He then began to argue with [me] again, saying that he didn’t insult [me]. [I] explained that, in fact, he had, and told him that [I] was busy and couldn’t argue with him. He told [me] that he’d have to let [me] go. [I] told him that [I] am not a slave. [I] told him that if [I] wake him in the morning, [I] do this because [I] want to, and that it is not a part of [my] job. [I] said that [I] will have to quit. He then paid [me], but didn’t give [me] the receipt that [I] normally get once [I’ve] signed it. [I] was sure that he was
doing this to keep it off the books. Then [I] went to the Inspection de Travail. [I am] entitled to [my] salary, 3,000 CFA per night supplement for overnight work, vacation pay, and a severance payment of 300,000 CFA according to the work law [Code de Travail]. [I] had never gotten paid vacations up until then, so these would amount to 500,000 CFA or more. [I’ve] contacted a lawyer to file an official complaint. . . . (Interview 5)

In this case, the employers’ infractions do not seem terribly severe. Rather, the poor relations between he and his maid seem to have finally built up to a level that she was unable to tolerate. The second case is quite different. I found it particularly shocking, because it seems to demonstrate the length to which even a relatively educated woman is [perhaps naively] willing to go in expectation of receiving a regular salaried position. Job insecurity seems to be at the root of many emigrants work problems, as in the case of the typist mentioned under the previous heading.

I was a secretary. That’s where I learned secretarial work [in Ziguinchor], so I was there since 1977. I stayed there until 1986. The training usually lasts three years, but when I finished that, there was an open position. . . . I was told to take it, to wait to be permanently hired [in civil service]. They told me that they would help me out until I could be permanently hired. . . . I was never paid, there was nothing. When I was working, I was happy, thinking that I would stay there. I thought that maybe by my own conscience that I was now saved. But in the end, I saw that while I had confidence, I couldn’t see any value in it. So, I left it. I wasn’t even paid 5 CFA, nothing. People would bring me invoices and bills [to type for them], they might give me 500 CFA or something [as a favor, she insisted, not as pay]. Maybe 1,000 CFA. You know, not every day. . . . I worked 8:00-12:00, and 3:00-6:00 there. . . . I worked every day but Sundays and holidays. We spoke French and Wolof. The work was fine, but you never heard anyone say, “Take this money.” That’s what was hard. I know I was learning, but I also needed to be paid something. The distance I had to get home was also long. I had to walk home, since I didn’t have the fare.

[Were you registered?] Our boss did nothing, we had to register ourselves at the Inspection. If they have something, they’ll call you. We got a certificate of registration. For the Inspection de la Main d’Oeuvre, we had to do that ourselves ["by our own heads"]. We brought in our papers to be hired, but they sent these to the Ministry [in Dakar]. The first boss didn’t submit them. When the second boss came, he sent them to the Ministry, and confirmed that they would keep them until the hiring was confirmed. Since he was here in Dakar to submit the papers, while he was away [from Ziguinchor] his [substitute or superiors] replaced me, and put someone else in my position. To tell the
truth, they never told us, they said “go and come back tomorrow.” They knew that you can’t bring a person to work without paying her.

My first year was very hard, I cried all the time. [The typing teacher] told me that he would be very severe with me. If he was nice, he said, I couldn’t learn. The first year he never even looked at me, as if he didn’t know me. If you were even a bit late he’d shout at you. I cried a lot that year. If I spoke with him, he wouldn’t respond. I cried during the finger exercises. . . . The work was good [in Ziguinchor]. They knew they weren’t paying me, so they had to be “soft” with me so that I would do the job. But the problem was when they would renew housing lists. There were many lists: Kaolack, Ziguinchor, etc. You’d type until you couldn’t stand it. Sometimes [because the platen was small] you couldn’t get the paper out without tearing it, and you’d have to re-do the whole page. If you get mad, you’ll have to start over again. The boss would give us work, and find a mistake when it was half done, so we’d have to start all over again. For me, it wasn’t too bad, apart from the training and [the fact that] I wasn’t paid. [For how long?] About ten years. When my first boss left to go to the factory, he gave me the job of registering all the outgoing and incoming mail. He didn’t show me how, I just had to figure it out myself. I finally learned, but I got discouraged because nobody thanked me for my work. They’d give me work and I’d refuse after a while, or I’d stay home if I felt like it. Finally, I began to forget how to register the mail, and my typing speed slowed. I became completely disinterested. Even before [that], I’d ask permission to go to the village and I would stay a month or two weeks before coming back. (Interview 27)

Why Migrate?

As two women explained in the passages above regarding their work histories (see interviews 12 and 27), they left school either to undertake “the work of migration” or began work to pay their secondary school fees. Others say, in what is (among the Diola) a stereotypical response to the question of why they began to migrate, that they left school in order to dress well (see Lambert 1994:153).

[Before migrating] I was in school. I saw that my friends who migrated were all dressed and I didn’t have anything to wear. So I left school to work in the city. That was my motive for leaving school. It wasn’t because my parents could not pay my fees, but because I wanted to go to the city and make enough to dress myself. (Interview 22)

Understanding individual migrants’ motivations for leaving the village is a different issue from that of the cause of migration more generally. My own analysis of the causes of modern female rural-urban
migration among the Diola (see Chapter 2) agrees with that of other writers. Once married, women need cash to contribute to their household according to cultural expectations, while they have relatively few opportunities for earning of any kind within the rural economy. Before marriage, women clearly think about training themselves for migrant work, and they are expected to compile a trousseau prior to marriage. Butem is widely regarded as having an abundance of natural resources, so that its people are said to only ever need leave to the village in order to earn cash. Many people told me that the only reason they leave is to earn money, because they have "everything else" in the village. While men may earn money from groundnut sales without leaving the village, women have extremely limited cash-earning opportunities within the rural economy.

Interestingly, however, if one asks an individual why she left the village, she is likely to say that it was to earn money to dress herself. "[I] had to leave for Dakar to look for work after primary school [at about age fourteen] when [my] father couldn't provide for [my] clothing" (Interview 2). Alternatively, a number of young women left the village to attend secondary school in Ziguinchor. But unfortunately they face a certain amount of discrimination from their parents. "When I was old enough to go to school I went through the third year [of primary school] and my father said, "It's not worth paying school fees for a girl."

I left the village first in 1968, not to work but for secondary school, which I attended in 1968, 1969, 1970: up until 1971, when I no longer had anyone to pay for my courses and I was obliged to work as a bonne. (Interview 15)

Some of the women themselves seem to have internalized this kind of discrimination against educating women, as in this example:

I first came on the migration in 1986. In the village I went to school up to the quatrième [secondary school]. I saw that even the parents who were rich had trouble paying the fees, and as the
daughter of a peasant, I got discouraged and figured that I couldn’t succeed when even they have trouble. I decided it was a waste of time, that I’d migrate and earn what I can. (Interview 8)

In the following case, the interviewee was quite specific about considering marriage and the economic situation she would face then.

When I decided to quit school and look for work in the city, I firmly held on to my work. I told myself I’d have to stay, since school wasn’t going well: I’d better go to the city. It’s not to earn anything, but just to make enough money to dress myself and take care of my little needs. I knew that sooner or later I’d get married, so I kept working since I had to feed and clothe my children and look after their needs. . . . In the village I was in school, but I saw that my father was getting old and couldn’t afford my fees. I saw that the groundnut prices were falling, and he earned all of his money from groundnut sales. I decided to go look for work and leave him more to spend on my mother, I could dress myself. He died two months after I left, and I went back to the village, so that’s why it took me four months to get a job. (Interview 14)

Commercial Endeavors

A few of the women I spoke with support themselves (often, apparently, as a last resort, but in a few cases by predilection) in whole or in part by means of commerce. For example, one woman had a small stall in her home’s detached garage, facing the street. Her children were selling matches and other small convenience items there when we arrived to interview her (Interview 13). She was unemployed at the time of our interview, while her husband had a salaried position as a school principal. These circumstances surely meant that the market stall was supported by her husband’s income. I will consider two other cases of commercial enterprises operated by women from Bouteum below. Following these, I will discuss a more common (and less directly commercial) practice, the support of rural relatives in Dakar to sell produce from the village. Very limited commercial practices (requiring only a small capital investment), such as reselling food in the market, or taking in laundry or ironing, is another apparent means of getting by when other work is not forthcoming. Following these examples, I support
my contention that commercial activities are not commonly undertaken by 
Boutem emigrants by briefly describing the very limited extent of 
commerce I observed in the village itself.

In a second instance of rather substantial commerce, C. Djiba 
sells frozen sweetened baobab fruit "ices" in small plastic bags. These 
are consumed by biting off the lower corner or the bag and sucking at 
the sweet ice inside. She was making these during our interview, 
ladling the milky liquid into the bags as her daughters tied them with 
sewing thread. She told me that they "mostly support [my] girls' 
expenses, especially clothing" (Interview 3). This was more of a 
capital enterprise than all but one of the other cases, requiring the 
use of a freezer (itself costly, but especially so when the continuing 
expense of electricity is considered). Her success was facilitated by 
the proximity of her apartment to the downtown Sandaga market. As with 
both the previous and following cases, her ability to initiate this 
business was largely dependent, I believe, on her husband's employment. 
As he was an enlisted officer with an entitlement to a wholly subsidized 
apartment near the downtown, they had both a good salary and fewer 
expenses than many women with whom I spoke.

The third case that apparently depends to some extent on the good 
fortune of having a husband in a well-paid salaried position is that of 
J. Manga. She purchases cases of locally-manufactured beer to re-sell 
from her home, which also is located near a market. Unlike most of the 
other women, and villagers from Boutem in general, she seems to enjoy 
her commercial sales. Nevertheless, although she apparently also takes 
in laundry (or at least ironing) to do at home, she did not mention this 
latter activity.

---

'I have noted elsewhere that the name Affiniam, at least apocryphally, 
derives from its residents' lack of commercial savvy.
For my drink [beer] sales, I don’t use that for food. It’s for me, my little needs apart from the house... All the money I earn from the sales is for my clothes and other such things.

(Interview 25)

The final substantial commercial enterprise that I observed among Boutem’s migrants to Dakar was unique in the size of its capital operation, an apparently thriving bar. Although I didn’t interview the proprietor, she was a close relative of Antoine’s and I did meet her at a number of family social occasions. She, too, was married to a government officer, in this case in the customs service. Again, I believe it was his well-paid position that allowed her the large amount of capital that was clearly necessary to initiate such a large enterprise. Her bar was the only occupant of a building in a popular neighborhood on the far north side of the city. The one time that I visited it was crowded with beer and wine drinking patrons, some snacking on grilled fish.

More often than not, however, commerce was conspicuous in its absence from the discussion during the section of our interviews concerning income. While only the following two examples are presented here, they (along with the cases where no commercial activity was observed at all) represent the norm as I observed it. If any single commercial activity was most commonly brought out by questioning, it was the sale of lemon juice in Dakar, often undertaken by the mothers of village emigrants, who were boarded for a few weeks in Dakar by their daughters. “My mother... just arrived from the village on Saturday” one woman explained, she had brought lemon juice to sell in the city. I was surprised at the amount of juice she had been able to bring with her, about ten seventy-liter drums for which she paid about 3,000 CFA each to transport. I was told that she would stay with her daughter for two or three months while she sold the juice, returning to the village for the planting season (Interview 6). In another case the interviewee
had two visitors staying with her from the village (her older sister’s daughter and her older brother’s wife) for one or two months, again selling lemon juice. By the time we conducted the interview, I was told that they had sold it all, and were now collecting on their bons (credit). They planned to leave at the end of the month, after their clients get paid (Interview 18).

Again, despite these few cases of relative commercial success, most residents and emigrants from Boutem think of themselves as being particularly unsuited to commerce. My observation was that few individuals participated in any commerce at all. In what seemed more typical of Boutem emigrants attitudes, several women who were involved in commerce seemed to accept it only as a means of getting by if they could not find other work.

[I] no longer work full time, [but I] do laundry for the École Normale Supérieure [teacher’s college] on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Fridays, since losing [my] earlier job in September. Since then [I] got this job to make ends meet. (Interview 4)

Even now that I lost my job, I still contribute [to household expenses] by going to the beach and buying about 5,000 CFA worth of fish. I sell these at the market and earn about 5,000 CFA profit. Or else, I sell peanuts or other things in the neighborhood. (Interview 10)

In the village itself, I only was able to observe commercial activity in a few cases. For example, one small enterprise was run from a family’s house located adjacent to the road and ceremonial center of the village, where the church, school, and youth foyer are located. They sold beer, wine, and matches, doing a particularly good business when I was in Boutem in August, a time when several dances were held at the foyer. Another family sold wine on a less formal basis, closer to Antoine’s family’s home in the older part of the village. When we had to find wine quickly for a libation at the spirit shrine, that was where we went (I would not otherwise have known it was available there). Others sold palm wine (Interview 9), but this was a much less formal
activity, limited to the dry season. Children apparently sold fruit
grown in the village (there were a quite a number of very large mango
trees, in groves throughout the village) to a young Wolof merchant who
circulated the villages in the area on the commercial “taxi” canoe for
this purpose during the harvest season.

Household Expenses

Emigrants face a complex economic situation in Dakar, where they
must budget both urban and rural based expenses with their modest
incomes. One of the most interesting comments that I heard regarding
household expenses indicates the difficulty of planning in this
environment: “The biggest expenses I have are for unforseen things”
(Interview 19). Or, “[I] find it difficult to save for unpredictable
needs, and just have to manage if they get beyond [my monthly expenses]”
(Interview 3). Other women told me that they simply cannot budget or
plan their expenses, they just “make do” with what they have. “There’s
just not enough money to cover everything” (Interview 14). In some
cases a woman’s monthly pay covers rent and food for her family, for
example, but she is unable to pay for any other family needs without the
help of others in the household. Several women took the opportunity of
our interview to vent their frustrations: “My responsibility is too
heavy: nobody helps me out. I’m the only one who takes care of all
these children of my siblings and aunts” (Interview 19).

My budget is always tight. With 35,000 CFA a month and the kids
to maintain it’s really tight. When I just had one kid it wasn’t
bad. I was alone and I could do my night courses for secretarial
school. When I got the certificate, though, I couldn’t find work.
So, I kept on with migrant work [as a bonne], otherwise I couldn’t
make ends meet. I saved for [remittances], but I’ve used it all
[“tourn bouffé.”] Every month things were tight, I found that I
was taking money out of the bank instead of putting it in.
There’s the balance book. Look: it’s completely empty.
(Interview 7)
Other women appear to live relatively well, perhaps because they have a well-paying job themselves, sometimes because their husbands earn good salaries, or because both work. In many cases, though, women were unaware of the earnings of other members of the same household.

Rent and food

In the newer, popular suburban shanty town neighborhoods on the northern edge of Dakar, rent for housing is relatively cheap. These are entirely unplanned areas on the outskirts of the city with poor access to transportation and other services, undeveloped streets thick with dusty sand that shifts in the winds and makes it difficult to walk any distance at all. There is no garbage service, so piles of trash and other waste are common along these streets. These areas support a very large, dense, and particularly young population.

One such neighborhood, Xare Yalla, was quite nearby the SICAPs, rent-controlled, subsidized areas in which I found an apartment. In 1990, rent for rooms in Xare Yalla was invariably set at 8,000 CFA a month (at the time, just under U.S. $27). I was told that it got its name because the original inhabitants had been evacuated from their previous shanty neighborhood to make room for a project similar to the one that developed the area where I lived. In Wolof, xare yalla means "waiting for God," and these residents were said to be waiting for Him to move them on again. On one route we often walked to get to various Diola homes there, we passed a large advertisement for the development that would signal the end of their wait. A brightly colored map painted on a whitewashed wooden billboard indicated where the roads, houses, and other new construction was to begin in the near future.

Neighborhoods such as this are often where groups of young Diola women pool their resources to share a room, which may in fact sit unoccupied for the work week until they get their night off on Saturday
and eat a collective meal among friends Sunday before returning to their live-in jobs for the rest of the week. As a member of one such group, composed of three friends, told me, “we pay 8,000 CFA for our room.” They each “contribute 500 or 300 CFA for Sunday [dinner, keeping the meal modest], since there are so many contributions to make” (Interview 22). As another, older woman familiar with European eating habits through her years of work explained, “Diola food isn’t the same as European food, it’s simple: just rice, oil, and fish” (Interview 3).

It is common for young Diola emigrants to share inexpensive rooms and simple meals during their days off, and to pool their resources to cover other larger expenses. By working hard and spending carefully, a small group of young working women with modest incomes can take care of their needs, and at times even save some money.

My sister gives 20,000 CFA. . . . I put in 25,000 CFA, and with this we rent the room [including electricity] for 8,000, pay the water bill (1,000), and buy food. (Interview 10)

These situations can be difficult, however, when one or more participants in the group lose their jobs or for other reasons fail to contribute to the group’s expenses. Without any job security, such problems are rather common, and sometimes create tensions.

The three women [living together in this room] each put 15,000 CFA into a pool for expenses [for a total of 45,000 CFA]. Rent is 13,000 CFA, water is 1,500 CFA, electricity varies from 1,500-2,000 and 8-9,000 CFA since the meter is common to the entire apartment building [utilities are paid every two months.] When there are problems with this, [we’d] rather pay the extra for those who don’t contribute in order to avoid being cut off. (Interview 5)

When I get paid, I spend everything. The salary is not real “strong.” You’ll use it all without saving anything. You just can't save anything after rent, food, school fees. . . . I use it all. I pay 11,000 CFA for the room. I take out 20,000 CFA for food and [the two friends she shares the room with] don't contribute anything for this. Even to get anything from them is hard. I never see them with any money and I don't know what they earn. (Interview 19)

In other neighborhoods, generally older and closer to the city center, rent is somewhat higher. “The main expense is food; 15,000 CFA.
Rent is 15,000 CFA. Water is 1,000 CFA every two months" (Interview 6).

One woman, whose husband is relatively well paid, indicated a somewhat higher budget to feed her family of four. "For food, I spend 25-30,000 CFA" (Interview 12). "My biggest expenses are rent, 15,000 CFA, and food. For the food I just pay what I can" (Interview 7). And as I indicated earlier, some government positions may provide a wholly-subsidized apartment: "There is no rent for this apartment [living in this building is a benefit for government employees of her husband’s rank]" (Interview 3).

For a married woman with an employed husband, it is common for him to pay the rent, and at times pay for the food as well. "My husband has always paid the rent, and he never said what he pays [the buildings in this area, I was told, rent for about 60,000 CFA, or U.S. $200 a month]. I never paid for food either, my husband does this" (Interview 13). "I don’t worry about the house, my husband knows what he pays for his house" (Interview 28). "My husband buys the rice. If he’s not having any problems buying it, he buys fifty kilos, but if he’s got problems that month he buys twenty kilos" (Interview 23).

Our rent here? I don’t know well, I think it’s 10,000 CFA. That doesn’t count water or electricity. These are separate. We don’t buy [a whole] sack of rice, we take thirty kilos. I have a box to keep my market money in, I use it for the market or for my own needs in town. I can’t say how much is there. My husband may give 1,000 CFA, and I’ll put it in, or maybe 2,500 when he gets home. So I can’t say exactly what’s there, I just put in whatever I have. Water is sometimes 1,000 CFA, since we get bills every two months, and we divide the water bill with the owner [of the house where they rent a room]. The electricity is sometimes 3,000 CFA. (Interview 27)

Water and utilities

Managing utility services for my own apartment in Dakar was unpleasant. For example, when I first moved in, I had to repeatedly return to the electric utility office to avoid being charged for the arrears payments of the previous tenant. I therefore understood how difficult it was for other residents to maintain their own utility
service. The offices and staff were extremely bureaucratic, inefficient, and unhelpful in my own experience, as they were by reputation and in every other case I observed. Unexplained service cut-offs were common, at times without cause. Almost any time I passed by the office in my neighborhood when it was open I could see long, slow lines of patrons waiting to pay their bills or restore service. Even with active service, there were daily periods of service interruption, leaving the neighborhood without water or electricity. Understandably, a number of women I interviewed had been living without either electricity or water service for long periods of time.

Given the inefficiencies of service, the condition of the infrastructure, and the inherent expense of providing utility service, I was impressed by its relatively low cost and presume it is subsidized by the government. Nevertheless, with a limited income and insecure job, the expense is significant for most residents. “Water is about 3,500 CFA [every two months], electricity 2,000 CFA [it was cut off at the time of the interview]” (Interview 7). “Water is sometimes 1,000 CFA, since we get bills every two months, and we divide the water bill with the owner [of the house where they rent a room]. The electricity is sometimes 3,000 CFA” (Interview 27). These costs can increase dramatically if one operates any appliances at all. “For electricity, I have a television and a ‘fridge, so it’s between 16-18,000 CFA” (Interview 12). With some frugal use of their power, others can easily pay less: “I pay 1,750 CFA for electricity each month. They cut off the water last year; it’s been a year since we’ve had any water, so I get it from a neighbor and every month I pay 1,500 CFA” (Interview 19).

5Until the hydroelectric station at the Manantali dam on the Senegal River comes on line, all electricity in Senegal is generated by diesel turbines.
As the passage above indicates, however, there are a number of cost saving alternatives to purchasing utility service for one’s home. Many people simply did without the public utility services, using other means such as kerosene lanterns for light, charcoal braziers or bottled gas for cooking (and the former for heat in the winter), and the public taps for their water.

For electricity, we don’t pay for it. We have no electricity in our room. We don’t pay for water either. If you need to do laundry, you get a boy [in this context the English word is commonly employed in Dakar] to bring you a basin of water for 10 CFA [for about three U.S. cents he carries the water, paying the guardian of the public tap for it from this fee]. (Interview 22)

My husband takes care of the electricity, but since we moved the power has been cut-off. For water, I get it at the public tap. The dues depend: you might have to pay 100 CFA for the whole month or maybe 250, it depends on the person responsible for the faucet. (Interview 23)

**Association dues**

A number of women expressed strong feelings (some positive, others negative) about the women’s association and the demands for dues by other associations as well. “The dues for associations are one of my most important expenses, because when you go to meetings you’ll be ashamed if you haven’t paid. I put aside 5,000 CFA for the women’s association, village association, and family association” (Interview 12). After rent and food, dues for the variety of associations one may belong to can be one of the largest monthly expenses for an emigrant. While the women’s association dues are 200 CFA, this same 5,000 CFA figure was reported for all monthly dues in at least one other case (Interview 21), and similar amounts reported in others confirmed the expense of contributing regularly to all the associations to which most emigrants belong. “At the end of the month, I set some aside for association dues. At one time it was 4,500 CFA, but now the family dues are less” (Interview 8).
Because of the burden of such a large expense, some interviewees told me they simply don’t attend association meetings. “I never went to the women’s association meetings, and have never paid dues. I don’t have the fare to attend [the trip is long and inconvenient, and requires two kaar rapit fares each way]” (Interview 29). Many other women told me that they manage dues payments by rotating their contributions from one association to the next.

I can’t pay my dues regularly, since with 20,000 CFA [salary] I can’t take out a fixed amount. I pay dues to the women’s association from time to time, one month to the village and the next to the family, but it’s not every month that I can do this. During all the years that I didn’t have a job, I had trouble since I couldn’t afford to pay my dues to the family association. I was obliged to go ask for money to pay my dues. My husband couldn’t afford to pay rent, buy food, and pay the dues all alone. It’s too much for just one person. This came up at the women’s association meeting, since those who can’t afford the dues are ashamed to come to the meetings. We’re obliged to go and ask each woman why she doesn’t attend. They either aren’t working themselves, or their husband isn’t working and they just can’t afford the dues. (Interview 17)

For my association dues, I take out 300 CFA for the village, for the women’s association I take out 300 CFA, for my family association it’s 200 francs, for the women’s association of my husband’s village I pay 500 francs and for the second [her husband’s] village association I pay 200 CFA [a total of 1,500 CFA per month if she were to pay all these each month]. So what I do is to put aside 5,000 CFA to use for these dues, but if I need this in an emergency I can use it, since I don’t pay all the dues every month. (Interview 16)

Without explicitly referring to this strategy of rotating payments, many respondents indicated that they pay what they can, when they can. “For the women’s association, if I have 1,000 CFA I keep it to pay dues” (Interview 28). “I can’t save for dues, but if I have a meeting when I get paid I contribute what I can” (Interview 19). “For all my dues I set aside 2,500 CFA, for the village [“grand association”], the family, and for the women’s association each end of the month [payday]” (Interview 18). “I don’t save for dues, but each time I go to a meeting of the family I pay 300 CFA, for the village association I pay 300 CFA, and for the women’s association I pay 200 CFA
each month” (Interview 22). “All the dues, I don’t save for. Each meeting I go with 500 CFA and contribute something, although I’m behind [dues are 200 CFA per month]” (Interview 24). “I save out 2,500 for dues to the women’s association, the family association, and for my mother’s family association. [When I asked him what this meant, Antoine told me she is referring to her mother’s husband’s family]” (Interview 20).

In other cases, as with other household expenses, a woman may get money from her husband for dues payments. “All of my dues are paid by my husband” (Interview 26). Even then, in many cases a woman can’t afford to keep up with the demands of all the associations. “I don’t save for dues. If there’s a meeting, I tell my husband and he gives me the money for the dues. I don’t pay these every month. It depends on whether or not he has the money” (Interview 27).

In one interesting exchange, one of our interviews touched on a topic that came up rather frequently in discussions of informal organization finances. In this case, the respondent had been avoiding the women’s association meetings, perhaps because of her bad experience regarding the embezzlement of her family association’s treasury.

For the women’s association, I just became integrated [joined, or was pressured to do so], so I’ve never paid dues. I never paid dues to the village association, my husband told me that he gives 600 CFA per month, but I don’t know. I’ve never seen it, and I never went to a village meeting. [Family dues?] Which, Manga? [Wherever you attend.] The Mangas of Bandiale? I paid dues to the Mangas of Bandiale, I went to the meetings. But one of the members stole all the money and we don’t meet anymore, the family has dispersed. (Interview 23)

During our translation of this passage, Antoine volunteered that this is the reason that his own family association recently demanded a 5,000 CFA lump-sum contribution from each of its members. Although I had attended these meetings and asked many questions about events there, this was the first time I had heard this story. The details were not elaborated, but I was told that one family member, a watch repairman, embezzled the
group's funds after being assigned the job of delivering them to a third party, presumably for a project. Later, the man died, leaving the association without any recourse for recovering their treasury.

Similar stories became familiar in discussions of various group and individual interactions between Dakar and the village. For example, Antoine was loathe to participate in the hand delivery of letters, a common means of communication back and forth, because he was familiar with instances where money had disappeared from envelopes in the course of such transactions. In one case he told me how a writer referred to an enclosed contribution, but in fact forgot to include it. This embarrassing situation was only cleared up much later and after a great deal of tension, when the writer was reminded of his omission.

Remittances

A number of women alluded to the possibility of theft when they told me of their practice of sending remittances to relatives in the village, saying they prefer simply to bring money when they themselves travel back home.

For the village, I don't send money every month. Besides, before sending them anything, you have to have someone that you trust. And I know if I send someone money, he'll "eat" it. I don't trust them. When I go for the rains, I'd rather bring it with me and give it to them directly. (Interview 23)

I don't send anything to my relatives, but when I get ready to go to the village, I buy clothes for my mama, and I bring some money for them and give them it when I get there. But I don't send money for them from here. (Interview 28)

Of course, this could be an excuse for inattentiveness to the needs of their families, or for their simple inability to send more regular payments given their other responsibilities. Still, my impression was that most respondents were sympathetic to the needs of the family members they had left behind, and were willing to sacrifice in order to help them out in times of need, even if they were unable to send regular remittances. "I don't save for remittances, but I manage whatever I can
if they write and ask for help” (Interview 12). “I send remittances to
the village, although not regularly. For example, if I send 10,000 CFA
this month, and nothing for two or three months, then the next month
I’ll send 15,000 CFA, like that” (Interview 16).

I remitted 5,000 CFA to my relatives last month. I usually save
something to send my relatives in the village. I used to do it
every month. I just began working on February twelfth, and they
wrote to me and asked me to send them money for my children’s
health care. What we had contributed there was all spent. I’m
obliged to save here because I can’t send them something every
month. (Interview 22)

Many women told me that they only send remittances for the rainy
season, when the main cash expenditure for their rural relatives is the
hiring of clubs or associations of young rice cultivators and
harvesters. “When I was working I used to send them [relatives in the
village] money during the rainy season, when they needed cultivators.
I’d send my mama 15,000 CFA for harvesters. But now I can only do this
occasionally” (Interview 24). In this second case the respondent speaks
in the past tense, because she is currently unemployed and therefore
unable to send money home. “Usually I saved for when I went back for
the rains, and brought them money then. If they. . . write to ask for
money, I’ll send them what they ask for. . . . I’d also send whatever I
could afford to them in the village” (Interview 26).

Remittances are a whole other issue. I can’t, often. You know my
father lost my mother, so each harvest I must send money so he can
pay women to harvest the rice, gather firewood, transport and
harvest groundnuts. If I have months with fewer expenses, I send
what I can. But I can’t say that I send so much per month, say
10,000 CFA or whatever, no. (Interview 7)

Sending some basic necessities in kind along with cash remittances
to relatives in the village was a common practice for this time of year.

[I] manage to remit to relatives in the village. Every rainy
season [I] send a carton of soap, 20 liters of oil, a 100 kilo
sack of rice, and 10,000 CFA for [my] mother and father to divide
in half, along with 20 liters of kerosene. (Interview 5)

At times, for example if a woman can’t manage to remit on her own,
family members will pool their resources to send something home. “At
the end of the year, [my sister and I] put together what we can to help out the family for the rainy season" (Interview 8). Or perhaps her husband is able to provide for this need as well.

Since I don’t work, I can’t save anything to send my relatives. But [my husband] can sometimes; if he has money he gives me it, and says, “take this to send to your relatives.” He also sends money to his father. He might give me 10,000 CFA, but it depends. If they ask, he might do it, or even if they don’t he might just give it to me for them. He has to see what he can do, he does it if he can. (Interview 27)

Others in more difficult circumstances can’t afford to send anything. “I don’t have enough to send to my relatives. I can’t set aside anything” (Interview 19). “I can’t save enough to send to my parents” (Interview 14). “I don’t have enough to send to my relatives. I can’t set aside anything” (Interview 19). Or perhaps, as in some cases, a migrant has few or no close relatives left in the village.

Who would I send money to? My father died when I was young, I never even knew him. My mother is dead, and my aunt [mother’s younger sister] who took me in after my mother died, she died right after I was married. Maybe my older sister, but I just don’t earn enough to send her anything [Antoine tells me that her sister was one of the first migrants to Dakar]. . . . (Interview 17)

A few women told me that, because their financial circumstances are better, they are able to send money back home every month.

I do send something to my relatives. My boss gives me an extra 3-5,000 CFA each payday. When he gives me this he says, “I’m very pleased with your work, and I’ve never seen you in a bad mood toward me. Even if there’s too much work, and I tell you to leave it you say, “All big things get done, one must work.” Even when I have guests you receive them well and say you work hard, you need to work.” I say, “No, these are our guests and I have to work to please them.” He even sometimes gives me 5,000 or 7,000 CFA when there are guests. With all this extra [money] I add what I can and send this to my mother in the village. (Interview 18)

I send them something every month. If it weren’t for this, I’d be rich. [Antoine notes that she built them a big house with a corrugated roof, and paid the school fees for all her siblings through their graduation from secondary school]. If there were anyone else in the family who worked as hard as I have, we’d go far. I paid my brother’s fees and everything for his Gendarme training, his uniforms, etc. (Interview 13)
Because of the different markets in which Diola emigrant men and women compete for jobs in Dakar, women are generally able to secure employment more easily. Men, although they tend to have to look harder and wait longer to find a position, are more likely to secure salaried positions that pay more. Therefore, it has become a cultural ideal among older, rural Diola to have a daughter be the first emigrant to Dakar (Lambert 1994:204-205). She can begin remitting early, although perhaps less regularly and in smaller amounts than a son, who although he begins to remit later will be more regular in sending larger amounts of money back home to his parents. I only encountered a single migrant who indicated to me that she had fulfilled her part of this reported ideal and passed the responsibilities on to her younger male siblings. “I used to send remittances to the family, but now all of my younger brothers work, so it’s their responsibility to do this now” (Interview 20).

**Clothing**

Many migrants cited the need to clothe themselves as one of the main reasons for coming to Dakar in the first place. Therefore, as one might expect, interview respondents who could afford to do so at times spent relatively large amounts of money on clothing. Even for the less well-to-do, clothing is a major expense. “We mothers can’t save easily for clothing, but normally I save 5,000 for cloth and 3,000 for the tailor” (Interview 22). “I save 5,000 CFA for clothing, without counting tailoring” (Interview 29). This woman, who is well established in town, indicates that these expenses can be quite a bit higher than that if the fabric and design are more extravagant. “I buy clothes to dress myself [when I get paid]. It depends on what fabric I buy. If it’s expensive, I spend more, up to 25,000 CFA for everything [e.g.
cloth, fasteners, tailor)” (Interview 28). Tailors generally charge their fees based on the value of the fabric they are hired to work with.

I don’t save for clothing. It comes “tic-tac” [on impulse]. If I’ve got money, I’ll buy six meters. [How much do you pay for it?] You know SOTIBA Lagos [locally manufactured prints] cost 500 CFA per meter, so six meters cost 3,500. [Seven meters, then?] Yes. [What to you pay for tailoring?] One thousand, five hundred. (Interview 23)

For my clothing, each payday I put 1,500 CFA in a little wooden lock-box. I only buy clothes right before holidays so I put this in the “safe” every month and if I have any other needs I can take out of there. [For example to go to the village, as she had the previous week for a relative’s funeral]. (Interview 18)

This latter passage indicates an obvious point, that many women cannot afford new clothes every month. Instead, they often save their money for purchasing new clothes on special occasions, such as holidays. In some cases a special Easter or Christmas outfit may be a woman’s only new clothes purchase for the year: “I bought new clothes once this year” (Interview 6). Other occasions may require similar clothing expenses. When the women’s association organizes a celebration, for example just before the expected return to the village, members may be required to dress uniformly in the same print. Spending on clothes may be considered less discretionary in (urban) Diola culture than our own, although there is clearly a discretionary factor involved.

I try to take out enough for clothes, health costs, etc. or else I can’t make ends meet. For clothing, it depends if I have something left over, then I’ll buy some clothes for myself and the children. It just depends on the month’s expenses. (Interview 7)

Another means of pooling resources, used especially for clothing, is the tontine, a group composed of members who contribute a given amount regularly, then draw in a kind of raffle for the right to take home the resulting “pot.” Antoine told me that “all the women” do this.

For clothing, I can’t save a sum apart for it. When I was in the village, my husband had a monthly tontine with 12 people. . . . Each month each [person] one would draw twice. The rest of the money [if he won], he used that to buy clothes. If someone is sick, my husband takes care of it. (Interview 27)
For clothing, during the whole year I buy three outfits, but I pay into a tontine at 5,000 CFA each, so when it’s my turn I get 45,000 CFA and I use this for my three outfits, even if there’s some left over. (Interview 20)

When I get paid, I take out 15,000 CFA for a tontine. The rest I bring back home, take out for the children’s clothing. . . . When I have something, I buy clothes for the children or other little things. I don’t save specifically for clothes. . . . (Interview 13)

As with the other expenses discussed above, some individuals get by without buying any new clothing. “I don’t have enough to set aside for clothing, I don’t have enough. It’s all spent” (Interview 19). As with other expenses, however, a married woman may rely on her husband for clothing as well, if he is able to afford this expense from his own salary. “As you know, the Diola buy clothes for the holidays. If [I] don’t have the money when the women’s association asks for everyone to wear uniform dress, then I ask my husband for this” (Interview 12).

This year, I have no money. I can’t save for clothes. For Easter [my husband] gave me some money to buy clothes, but at Christmas I was in the village. (Interview 26)

“When I was working, I used to save for clothes, but now I rely on my husband. Sometimes he gives me 10,000 and says, ‘here, go buy some clothes’” (Interview 24).

Merchants also offer credit to their regular clients, another way of making clothing expenses, like those of other household needs, more manageable. “I have a dealer that accepts 5,000 CFA as a guarantee for cloth, so I can pay off the rest over several months [for a total of about 15,000 CFA]” (Interview 16).

For clothing I have a Toucouleur cloth seller who will give me five or six meters, which I can pay over time and when it’s done I can buy more. But I can’t afford to save enough in one month to do this [each month]. (Interview 17)

**Health care**

Generally, expenses for health care were considered among the most unpredictable, and sometimes largest, parts of a household budget. Many women told me that they simply could not maintain an amount of savings
devoted solely to covering these costs. “Health expenses, etc. [I] don’t save for, either for [myself] or [my] relatives, but [I] try to manage as things come up” (Interview 5). “I can’t save for health care costs, etc. I just manage as I can when things come up” (Interview 8).

If someone gets sick near the end of the month I can pay for health care. . . . Health is like I told you, I can only pay for this when I get paid. Otherwise, I have to borrow for health care costs. (Interview 19)

In a number of other cases, women discussed health care in terms of maternity costs and problems in pregnancy.

I’ve spent a lot on health care since having my first son, and now this second pregnancy is causing more health problems. . . . I’ve got lots of health expenses, for my pregnancies and for my son. (Interview 12)

For the hospital, I save 2,000 CFA. For maternity, it depends when I get pregnant. If its time to give birth I take a taxi and go to the maternity, and when I get there I pay 2,500 CFA. But I don’t save for this. (Interview 23)

In one case, however, a thirty-one year old mother provided me with the only evidence I found of planned, Western-style preventative health care for her children. “I can’t save up for health costs, but every three months I take the kids to a doctor for check-ups, which costs 6,000 CFA. Prescriptions can cost anywhere from 3-7,000 CFA” (Interview 7). Another unique case was elaborated to me in the following passage, in which a woman told me that she received health insurance as a benefit of her (former) employment.

My husband takes care of maternity and health costs, but if he has problems I try to help out although I don’t budget for this. Myself, I got health insurance at work, so my husband never had to pay for this [in the last ten years]. (Interview 13)

School fees

For mothers with school-aged children, fees for their education can be another significant expense. “For school, I pay 3,500 CFA per month. I pay for one child” (Interview 23). “I pay school fees for my one child, I pay 5,500 CFA a month” (Interview 19). The fees are much less for a traditional Muslim education (very popular in Dakar), but
Boutem is a Catholic village. Nevertheless, there were several cases where women from there had either married (or had children with) Muslim men. "My son goes to Koranic school for 500 CFA per month, plus 25 CFA on Wednesdays" (Interview 8).

In other cases, the children's fathers pay for their education, regardless of their marital status. "I don't pay for my child's school fees; their father pays for these [she is unmarried, about twenty-one years old]" (Interview 6). "School, I don't pay for. I have an older son in the village but I don't know if my father pays his school fees or not ['it's not my problem']. . . . (Interview 7).

Transportation

Transportation costs can vary largely, depending on such factors as where one lives in relation to where one works, if one's employer covers these fees in the monthly salary, and such things as the number of association meetings one attends, where these are held, and if one attends these on a regular basis. Some women are able to walk to work. "[I] walked to work [before quitting a few days ago], in Point E, since it was fairly close" (Interview 5).

Others are paid for their transportation to and from the job. "The boss gives me my transportation fees separately from my salary" (Interview 22). "For my transportation and meals at work, the boss gives me this on top of my salary: every noon he gives me enough for the restaurant, and for the round-trip fare to work when I go home" (Interview 19).

Some respondents, although their transportation fees to and from work are covered by their employers, prefer to walk back and forth in order to save this extra money for more pressing needs. "My salary includes 8,500 CFA for transportation. They figure it in, but if I use
this for transportation, then it wouldn’t leave me with enough, so I walk to work” (Interview 7).

Summary

From the thirty interviews I conducted in Dakar, I gained a sense of a range of living conditions for emigrants in Dakar. Many of the women had suffered significant hardships in their lives, and some complained bitterly about the difficulties they encounter. More often, however, these women were stoic and resolute, represented by one woman who told me that if she did not want to be in Dakar she would have returned to the village long ago.

Women prepare themselves for their work as maids in a number of ways: by working with family tutors, by training more formally in one of the Catholic technical schools, or by first taking jobs in the smaller markets of regional cities and using this experience to establish the skills and confidence necessary to find more demanding and higher paying work in the capital. Similarly, many women first work for an African family before finding a job with European employers.

Domestic work in either setting can be difficult, with the lowest-level positions often requiring women to live away from others for all but one night a week. I was told many stories about how maids were required to work after hours, serving their employers’ guests for example, without compensation as required by law. Few labor laws are enforced in these domestic service positions, where work conditions remain out of public scrutiny. Even in more public office positions, as one case illustrated, work rules are at best weakly enforced or at times entirely ignored and flaunted. Still, over time, a migrant woman may be able to find better paid positions with fewer restrictions on her personal time.
Household expenses, of course, reflect a wide range of personal and family circumstances. Interestingly, even when a husband and wife share expenses, they frequently are unaware of each other’s level of contribution or income. I was told that this was related specifically to the tradition of spouses maintaining separate granaries and having separate responsibilities for its consumption in the rural setting. Some younger women migrants to Dakar pool their incomes with friends, siblings, or other relatives to cover shared expenses for a room, meals, and utilities, for example. Many people can make do without public utility service at their home by getting water at a neighborhood tap, using only kerosene lamps, or by cooking with charcoal instead of bottled gas. Others are able to operate electrical appliances for convenience (e.g. a refrigerator), entertainment (television) or commerce (as with the deep freezer for making ices).

Census Results

The census I conducted in July 1990 counted a total of 739 Boutem villagers, with 394 away during at least one previous dry season (about January through June) and 345 individuals resident during the entire year. Only four of the six quartiers were successfully censused and mapped, as noted above in the description of the village. No census data were gathered for Bougafou or Boutoupa, nor were these quartiers included on the map. Only a few homes in Boukiak are visible on the map. Further social categories are recognized within the village, as well. For example, some distinct sub-quartiers or concessions (loose groups of homes here, rather than fenced enclosures as in other villages such as Affiniam) are recognized. The brevity of my stay prevented me from including these categories in the census.
Forty-seven percent of those censused (345 people) live in the village permanently, during the dry season when emigrants are most likely to be away. Most of the 394 emigrants from Boutem, about 32 percent of the total village population, reside in Dakar. Another 12 percent of emigrants live in Ziguinchor, and 9 percent live in a wide variety of other places. Interviewees provided some examples, but the census elaborated a wider range of possibilities. Some currently reside in other villages and towns of Casamance, in several regional cities of Senegal, in other African countries, in France or elsewhere in Europe. A single individual was reportedly living in Mexico. Of those currently living in the village, a large majority (89 percent) reportedly had never migrated to live elsewhere. Of those current residents who had at one time migrated, 65 percent had gone to live either in Ziguinchor or Dakar (2 and 5 percent of the total resident population, respectively). Clearly, once a village resident has left to migrate, he or she is unlikely to again become a permanent resident, by remaining in the village throughout the dry season, again.

There is an apparent trend for current emigrants to stay away from the village for longer periods of time than past migrants did. For the 66 current village residents who had migrated in the past, the length of time they spent away from Boutem averaged 8.7 years (see Table 2). There was a large variance in the time they spent away, indicated by a standard deviation of 6.9 years. The maximum reported duration away from the village among this group was 30 years, but there was some apparent rounding of reported time spent away. While current migrants may have visited or returned for one or more agricultural seasons in the village during this period, they have been dry-season residents else-

“Especially for the longest periods reported, durations were rarely reported as anything but periods rounded to five-year intervals such as 20, 25 or 30 years.”
where for a mean duration of 9.8 years. Those who now live in Dakar exhibit both less variance and a longer mean time away from the village than either the category of all current migrants or the set of current Boutem residents who once migrated. While the average duration of absence for current emigrants is only 1.1 years longer than past migrants, they also have not yet permanently returned to the village (as has the first category), and some can be expected to stay away for many more years.

These findings, as summarized in Table 2 below, make intuitive sense and agree with my observations and interviews in Dakar. Current village residents who at some time in the past had migrated represent a category of migrants accumulating the shortest absences from the village. The category of all current migrants has, as a whole, been away the next longest period of time. Some members of this emigrant category currently live in Ziguinchor or other small regional cities and represent the next likely set of future Dakar residents. Current Dakar residents have, on average, been away for an even longer time. The set of all women’s association members, defined by the group in part by age, has been absent longer than the set of all Dakar residents, which includes infants and children. Finally, the group of interviewees was selected in part to represent a more established set of emigrant women, so it makes sense that they represent the longest mean time away from the village.
TABLE 2: Comparison of migrants' years away from the village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>mean - σ</th>
<th>mean</th>
<th>mean + σ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Current village res.</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 66)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All current migrants</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 257)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current Dakar res.</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 146)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's assoc. mb rs.</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 54)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewees</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>13.7</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(n = 19)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Interestingly, fewer current Dakar residents were reported to have previously migrated to destinations other than the capital than current village residents. It is important to note that this finding is suspect, as it is based on responses to the census by village-resident family members. Current village residents apparently do not remember (or did not feel it was important to report) each absent family member’s residential history. Ninety-five percent of current Dakar residents reportedly had no other previous migration destinations, and only three individuals reportedly had migrated to Ziguinchor, two to Dakar on previous occasions, and six to other destinations. This finding seriously under-reports previous migration destinations as reported by interviewees. As noted in the previous section, they often told me that they had previously lived in Ziguinchor or other regional cities before finally arriving in Dakar. I therefore question this census finding, and consider it invalid.

I was curious whether or not villagers would support emigrants in their anecdotal reports of returning for the rainy season and its heavy agricultural labor. I therefore asked census respondents how many times in the past five years each emigrant had returned for the rains. For all current emigrants, it was reported that close to half (48 percent)
had not returned to the village for the agricultural season in the last five years prior to 1990. Of course, the converse fact is relevant too, 52 percent of current emigrants have returned at least once in the past five years, with 39 percent returning for each of the past five seasons. These findings appear valid, given the responses I gathered from interviewees in Dakar.

I did not collect family name and quartier membership data with the specific intention of comparing family representation in Boutem’s quartiers. Later, during the analysis phase of my research, I realized that I might improve my understanding of these social-geographic units by relating census data on quartier of residence with family names. Twelve family names are represented in Boutem, although not all are Diola. For the purposes of analysis, I grouped the least common names together as “other” (these are Bassene, DaCosta, Mané, Diagne, and Niang). In fact, family names are quite strongly associated with particular quartiers. Each family has at least forty percent of its members originating from a given quartier of Boutem. As many as 68.3 percent of the Djibas and 41.8 percent of the Diattas are associated with a household located in Sambousoulier. All Diedhious (100 percent) and 54.7 percent of the Mangas are associated with Bafican. Eighty-nine percent of Sagnas and 45 percent of the Badjis are from Boukiak, while 59.3 percent of the Sambous are from Elegnande (see Table 3).

Because of the way this question was presented, the total of 39 percent returning every year of the entire five year period is somewhat inflated. It includes some individuals who had not been away for an entire five year period.

Together these represent only three percent of the censused population. The family named Bassene, equivalent to Badji among Diola south of the river, represents a single household in the Bafican quartier, accounting for ten of the twenty-one individuals comprising this “other” category.
Representativeness of Interviewees

Analysis of the census data also provides a means of gauging the representativeness of interviewees. Because women's association members were not selected at random for interviews, I was concerned that I should include women from as broad a range of families and from as many village quartiers of origin as was feasible. This section is intended to evaluate the success of these attempts to represent a number of groups and categories for inclusion in the set of interviewees.

The results of this analysis are rather mixed. In terms of families, two names were over-represented in the interviews with respect to their proportional representation in both the village population and among Dakar migrants. Two families also were under-represented in interviews with respect to both of these groups. Two families were quite closely representative of one group, but not of the other. Finally, two families were closely represented in terms of their proportion of both the village and the Dakar population in our interviews (see Table 3).

As far as the extent to which interviewees reflected the quartier origins of the village and Dakar migrant populations, the results were also mixed. One quartier was under-represented as compared to its proportional make-up of both the village and Dakar groups. The second quartier was closely represented in relation to its proportionate make-up of both groups. The third quartier's representation among the interviewees was closely matched in terms of its proportional makeup of the Dakar population, but was over-represented in terms of its proportional makeup in the village. Finally, the fourth quartier is represented among interviewees in close proportion to the village population, but greater than its proportional makeup of the Dakar group.
TABLE 3: Percent of residents with given family name and quartier of origin for three residential categories, women's association membership, and interviewee status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Total (n=739)</th>
<th>Boutem (n=345)</th>
<th>Ziguinchor (n=86)</th>
<th>Dakar (n=146)</th>
<th>Assc (n=54)</th>
<th>Intvwes (n=19)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Djiba</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badji</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manga</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sambou</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diedhiou</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diatta</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagna</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quartier</th>
<th>Total (n=739)</th>
<th>Boutem (n=345)</th>
<th>Ziguinchor (n=86)</th>
<th>Dakar (n=146)</th>
<th>Assc (n=54)</th>
<th>Intvwes (n=19)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elegande</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sam'soulier</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bafican</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boukliak</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given the conditions under which the research was conducted, and given the goals and methods by which interviewees were chosen (see Chapter 3), the representativeness of the various village family names and quartiers is reasonably close among interviewees. Importantly, the census of the population originating from Boutem was conducted after interviews were conducted. I did not know the actual distribution of family names, or of quartier of origin among the village or Dakar populations prior to choosing interviewees. Our goal was to choose interviewees from as wide a cross section of families and quartiers as possible, in order to identify variances that might have been associated with these factors. Finally, we targeted individuals for interviews who were from different family and quartier origins than Antoine, my research assistant. In my estimation, this was proper in that we
avoided over-representing those groups most closely associated with his personal background.

Another dimension along which interviewees might differ from other emigrants is age. Because older women appeared in general to have found more economic stability, it is important to consider interviewees ages relative to other members of the emigrant population. If their ages differ significantly from other emigrants, they cannot be considered representative of the population from which they were selected.

The youngest mean age reported in the census was for men in Ziguinchor, where it is 22.3 years or about 7 years less than the mean age for the entire censused population. This may be the result of village families sending a disproportionate number of boys to be schooled in Ziguinchor, where there is a secondary school (Sacré Cœur de Ziguinchor) and where many families have relatives who can board these youngsters. Interestingly, the mean age of both men and women residing in Dakar falls within one year of the population mean.

Boutem is the location with the greatest variance in mean ages, with a standard deviation of 24.68 for women and 23.80 years for men. These figures are close to twice the level of variance reported for any other location, and probably are the result of a phenomenon common to rural African villages, where the oldest and youngest members tend to stay while young adults leave to maximize their potential for wage labor earnings.

I also compared the mean ages (for those individuals I could positively identify and link to data gathered in the village census) of members of the Dakar women's association (56 total members were identified in the census) and of the set of interviewees (21 identified in the census). I found that the mean age for each of these groups is somewhat higher than that of the entire censused population, of all
women censused, and of all female residents of Dakar. The mean age of women's association members is 30.7 years, and that of interviewees is 35.2 years. This is probably explained by my targeting of employed women for interviews, as they are likely to be older than the general population, which includes infants and girls too young to work. The range of interviewee's ages is almost an exact match to association members and in fact doesn't appear significantly different from other subsets of the censused population, other than that their minimum ages reflect the fact that this is an adult working population (see Table 4).

| TABLE 4: Mean ages of all women, Dakar emigrants, association members, and interviewees |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
|                                | mean - 0| mean    | mean + 0|
| Entire fem. pop. (n=293)       | 10.7    | 30.9    | 41.1    |
| Dakar fem. res. (n=84)         | 17.8    | 28.7    | 39.6    |
| Women's assoc. (n=56)          | 22.0    | 30.7    | 39.4    |
| Interviewees (n=21)            | 25.9    | 35.2    | 44.5    |

**Dakar Women's Association: The Contemporary Situation**

As I noted in Chapter 3, I am unable to point to any clear benefits of association membership for contemporary individual urban residents. Their social role as a meeting place persists from their earliest days. Both the women's and village associations were formalized to provide funeral insurance. Later, the village association in particular strove to initiate and train new arrivals to the city, but this role has now completely disappeared. Most migrants now have plenty of family members to rely upon for similar help. If individuals are willing to pay regular dues, one would think that there must be
something they get in return. As I will demonstrate, though, most members of the women's association only pay dues infrequently. Still, most women contribute something during the year, perhaps once every two or three months. The main benefit I found is the opportunity for social interaction with other village emigrants. Without telephones, with few villagers who are functionally literate, with poor postal services, and with most urban residents spread across many of the very large suburban neighborhoods of Dakar, communication is difficult at best. Many people spend their evenings visiting friends and family in nearby neighborhoods and weekends are often spent attending church, village association meetings, family association meetings, and meeting with the women's association. With a large proportion of urban residents attending at least some of each of these regular meetings, one can maintain regular contact and can be fairly certain to keep up with news of the family, the village, and fellow emigrants.

According to several women at the meeting I attended in January 1990, there were between ninety and 100 members in the women's association, although not all were active. I was unable to confirm this figure as accurate until the last few weeks of my field research, when I was given access to the association record book. With this source, I confirmed that an average of 103 members (not necessarily active or regularly attending) were officially recorded for the three years it covered. Membership depends on residence, age, and origin. That is, if a woman lives in Dakar and she (or her parents) comes from Boutem, she is considered a member of the Dakar women's association at about age fourteen. Therefore, for various reasons, some individuals inscribed in the membership book have never attended meetings or contributed dues.

The association record book lists membership and dues payments, but not attendance.
It is possible to be disassociated from the group, but I did not elicit the circumstances that would have provoked this. Tolerance and leniency seemed to be the rule in these matters.

During this three year period, dues payments were set at 200 CFA (66 U.S. cents) per month, collected only during the eight months of the dry season migration (from January, after the rice harvest in Casamance, through June). Of the 100 or so members present in Dakar during a given year, 62 percent (191 of 310) never contributed dues to the organization during the year. Thirty-eight percent of the membership paid dues at least once (119 of 310), providing a total of 624 “dues units” over this three year span of time. This represents a total membership contribution of 124,800 CFA (U.S. $416) over three years. More than half of this amount, 56 percent, was collected from those members who always pay their dues. To encourage payments, member families compete for recognition as contributing the most at a given meeting. Each family’s members encourage one another to contribute, as the total collected from each family is announced to the rest of the members. I calculated the rate of participation for each family group over the three year period, finding that it ranged from about 26 percent to nearly 49 percent, with an average rate of participation (the percentage of a family’s members who contributed something at least once per year) of about 38 percent overall. A woman may also make her dues payments in a lump sum, making good on overdue payments or paying in advance for future months. For example, at the January twenty-first meeting I witnessed a single contribution of 6,000 CFA (U.S. $20.00), a sum equivalent to 30 months of dues payments in a single contribution.

10For the analysis, I calculated percentages in terms of a total of 310 “person years” (individual names listed multiplied by the number of years that name is recorded) in the record book from 1988-90. Data for 1990 are incomplete, since only seven months had been recorded at the time the records were made available.
Table 5: Dues-payments as a percentage of membership paying in three categories of regularity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1988 (n=58)</th>
<th>1989 (n=65)</th>
<th>1990 (n=59)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paid no dues at all in year</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paid from once to all but once</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paid dues every month</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Combining the data from the three years, with the final month of 1990 missing, the mean "payment behavior" was to pay dues for eight of the total possible 23 months recorded. This can be expressed as an "average" member, who would have paid her dues about every third month. This picture fits quite well with what many of the interviewees told me, that they simply don't feel they can afford to pay dues to every association each month. Instead, they "rotate" dues payments, paying dues for one or two groups every month, and skipping payments to others until the next meeting. Thus, a group defined as having contributed from two to fifteen payments over the three years (including members paying dues as often as one standard deviation more and as infrequently as one standard deviation less than the mean), would include 28 members, or about 62 percent of the membership. A larger group of 32 members, 71 percent, paid anywhere from once a year through all but one month per year, from 3 total payments through 20 out of 23 months. Only four percent of the membership paid dues for every month of the period, and 18 percent of the group never paid any dues during that time (see Table 5).

Fining members not conforming to the association’s rules provides another means of increasing the funds available to the group. This
right to fine members is similar to that of the village association, which acts much like a local government in terms of formulating laws, settling disputes, and fining residents for transgressions. In one case, I was told of a 3,000 CFA fine levied against an officer of the association for not attending the end of the year celebration just prior to the agricultural season (she was specifically fined for not notifying the others of her absence beforehand). This was despite her seemingly legitimate excuse, that she was assisting in the transportation of a friend’s deceased father’s remains to the village and attending his funeral there. Those who did attend the celebration for which she was fined were required to contribute one liter of beer, a chicken, and 500 CFA each. She told me that the members showed up at her apartment en masse, drinking the remainder of her bottle of whiskey, several bottles of Coca-Cola, and demanding an immediate 500 CFA payment. There is also a fine levied to those women who don’t return to the village for the rainy season by August ninth.

Antoine told me that both the village men’s and women’s associations control a significant amount of money in their treasuries; each of two or three members in the group may keep a bank account of perhaps 100,000 CFA (U.S. $333) for the association. The division of funds is intended to protect against embezzlement. Given the total amount of dues collected by the women’s association, these amounts appear reasonable; they represent what a group could accumulate through dues (without counting fines) in one year. He brought up this point later, to confirm for me that these amounts were a reasonable estimate, in a conversation with the women’s association treasurer. She made it clear that the sum resting in the women’s group treasury is a secret, and refused to discuss it any further. In any case, a combination of continuing dues obligations and fines levied for specific infringements
could add up to a significant treasury, worth perhaps U.S. $500 U.S. after a few years. These funds, much more than most individuals ever had at one time, were available to the group to undertake village development projects or to assist with emergency costs for its membership, as long as they were safely protected.

Description of Women's Association Membership

I created a data set, as described in the methods section of Chapter 3, by combining census data with data gathered from interviews and the association record book. The number of cases included was therefore limited by the individuals who could be identified (and for whom data were successfully collected) in each of several sources. Nevertheless, the variety of information thus combined was useful, and provides more breadth to the analysis of women's association members than otherwise could have been accomplished.

Seventy-eight women were eventually identified and included in this analysis. These women represent forty out of a total of seventy-one village households censused. As a check on the representativeness of this group, I compared the distribution of their quartiers of origin with the set of all women's association members identified in the village census. Twenty percent were from Elegnande, twenty-six percent from Sambousoulier, thirty percent originated in Bafican, and twenty-three percent had lived in Boukiak. This distribution, as expected, matches closely the distribution of fifty-four women identified as association members in the census (see Table 3). This is at least one indication that the data set is representative of the targeted population.

Inclusion in the data set was based, among other things, on an individual's name being recorded in the Dakar women's association record
book between 1988 and 1990. Thus, all were either current (a total of 62) or former (an additional 14) members. Twelve of the fourteen former members were currently permanent village residents, while one was a resident of France. Only one current Dakar resident is not a member of the women's association.\textsuperscript{11} This supports my impression, gleaned from the census and interviews, that while movement back and forth between the village and Dakar is common, only a small number of emigrants return to live permanently in the village. The mean age of association members included here is just under 30 years old (29.8 years). Eighty percent of the group is under the age of 35, and only six percent are aged 45 years or older. Based on the average age of these association members and the career histories of interviewees, it is likely that several of the fourteen former Dakar residents will eventually return there from the village, perhaps after giving birth or for other reasons simply remaining there for a few years.

In all but three cases, this data set records the women's duration of residence in Dakar, making this one of the most completely recorded variables included. The mean length of residence there is just over twelve years (12.33). The majority of women, 26 individuals, have lived in Dakar from six to ten years. Sixty-eight percent of the group have been in the capital from five-and-a-half to 19 years. About 10 percent of the women have been in Dakar more than 20 years. A related question, intended to establish how many years it has been since individuals last returned to the village, was included in the census. Fifty-six percent of those living outside the village had returned in the last three years, and almost half, 46 percent, had returned the previous year. The

\textsuperscript{11}Interviewee 25 discussed her membership status with me in her interview, saying that she had been sick for a number of years. One other person told me that she had not been sick, but simply did not want to attend meetings.
mean length of time it had been since these women had returned was about six years (5.96), and only 8 percent had returned sixteen or more years ago.

Information about a person's salary is generally considered a secret among the Diola, a fact associated with agricultural societies (Diola granaries are hidden inside their homes, and if one moves residences, belongings are transferred only at night). In several cases, the woman I was interviewing told me that no one else knows what she makes, including her roommates, her sisters, or her husband (as noted above, this is associated with husbands and wives keeping separate granaries). When I asked about this, other people familiar with Diola practices told me that this was normal, and some expressed doubts that the women would tell me what they earned. Nevertheless, all but two of my interviewees, a total of 28 women, told me the amount of their monthly wages. Their responses fit well with the range of wages that employers told me they paid, and seemed to Antoine and me in keeping with each respondent's level of experience. In several cases, as was noted in the interview section above, women earned extra money by selling goods in the market, income that was not accounted for here. In a few other cases, women had recently lost their jobs. If an interviewee was employed within the last four months, I considered her employed for the purposes of this analysis, and included her wages at that time. Six women (21 percent) had been unemployed for longer than four months. The mean monthly wage was 28,710 CFA, the equivalent of about U.S. $95.70 at the time. Eighteen percent were currently employed with monthly incomes from 20,000 to 29,000 CFA per month (U.S. $66.67-$96.67). More than half of the women (54 percent, or 15 individuals) earned 30,000 CFA (U.S. $100) or more per month, and five women (18 percent) earned a monthly income of 50,000 CFA (U.S. $166.67) or more. Given the local context, these women are earning relatively high
salaries, and many may well earn more than their husbands and brothers make, although I did not collect information on men's employment and incomes.

Finally, when I plotted a regression of the logarithm of a woman's salary with the duration of her residence in Dakar, I found that 20 percent of the variance in these salary data was explained by how long a woman had been living in the capital. For each year of residence in Dakar, a woman may expect her salary to increase by 3 percent (slope=.031). This finding was significant at the .05 level (p=.042). Thus women who continue to work in Dakar generally earn more money. A new arrival to the city could expect to earn an average of about 25,000 CFA (U.S. $83) in her first year of employment. If she were to remain in the city for twenty-five years, she could on average expect to earn 47,000 CFA (U.S. $157) per month, with no inflation factored in. This represents an 88 percent salary increase over the twenty-five year period.

The correlation is probably best explained by the factors I have mentioned before. Women who continue to work as maids tend to garner skills considered important in this particular marketplace: a working knowledge of the French language, the ability to cook European foods, an ease and familiarity with Western habits, and other domestic housekeeping skills. Other factors might include the documentation of one's work history, either by certification with the Inspection de Travail or by individual letters of recommendation. Less formal factors that might increase a woman's chances of finding a top-paying employer might depend on personal connections, a wider network of family and friends, former employers, or others with a knowledge of open positions. Many women also mentioned that they had found work with their employer's "replacements," for example in cases where a business, government
agency, or NGO cycles its personnel through foreign positions on a regular (often two-year) basis. In jobs where this is possible, having held a position with one employer is often sufficient to find a job with another from the same office. As the interviewees indicated, personal contacts are essential for finding this or any other kind of work. Increased experience in the city certainly provides a woman with the means to expand her network of acquaintances with the potential to tip her off to open jobs when she needs work.

The average per capita income in Senegal as a whole is U.S. $400 annually, about a 10,000 CFA monthly salary. In these terms, these women are earning relatively high incomes even rather early in their working careers. Equally important, though, are the facts that unemployment is high and job security is low. Still, the Diola women I interviewed rarely complained of long periods of unemployment, while it was clear that Diola men had to expect years to go by without getting work if they migrate to Dakar.

Discussion

This chapter began with a description of the village of Boutem, the original home of all the emigrants I interviewed. These interviews were presented in the second section of the chapter, beginning with a consideration of career histories, working conditions, commerce, and reasons for migrating (all related to earning an income). Following these was the presentation of a range of common household expenditures. The third section presented the results of a census of the village, concentrating on issues of migration for current residents and emigrants. These data were also used to evaluate the representativeness of interviewees in terms of several variables. Finally, a short section on the women's association was included, using data gathered from all
available sources to describe its membership in terms of age, income, emigration history, and dues-paying behavior.

The goal of this chapter was to describe the contemporary situation of emigrants from Boutem. Because all of the women I interviewed grew-up in the village, it is important to know something about it. I lived in Boutem for ten weeks, and described something about the life residents live there. However, my main purpose there was to collect census information, and I was not resident long enough to provide an ethnographic description. I was able to confirm what many people had told me, that few income-earning opportunities exist there for women. As I noted in the methods section of Chapter 3, my other goal, to confirm the number of emigrants returning for the agricultural season, was not achieved due to circumstances beyond my control.

The process of interviewing emigrant women represents the main body of my research efforts. I conducted enough interviews to gain an adequate sense of the range of conditions encountered by emigrant women in Dakar. I spoke with thirty individuals, who had lived there between less-than-one and twenty-five or more years. These women all shared the experience of leaving the village after little schooling, training themselves for work as (in most cases) domestic maids, and learning to cope with the difficulties of life and labor in the capital, a foreign city in all but the legal sense, from their point of view. These women most often begin their working careers as live-in maids, with only one day off a week, in low-paying jobs with African employers. As they gain experience, and through the network of contacts they develop over time, they work (and are generally successful) at finding better, higher-paid positions. These are most often with European employers, who generally pay more, but who also require more developed skills, such as European cooking, a working knowledge of French, and generally more Western domestic skills.
The village census, aimed primarily at the gathering of migration histories, confirmed that emigration is an important phenomenon. More than half of those included were away during the 1990 dry season. Most of these emigrants reside in Dakar (their mean age is within one year of the population as a whole). The census indicates that regular urban migration is still in a rather early stage; it only began within the life-spans of older living residents. This was also indicated by interviewees, who most often told me that their parents had not migrated, or, if they had, that they had only worked for short periods in Ziguinchor, the closest city. Oral histories reported in Chapter 3 also support this point, indicating that the earliest migrants from Boutem to Dakar left in the nineteen-thirties and nineteen-forties.

Large numbers of migrants probably did not leave the village until the nineteen-sixties. Current emigrants stay away from the village for longer periods of time than did returnees, who numbered only 66 out of 345 current permanent village residents.

The census was also employed to collect information on emigrants in general, whom I compared with the set of interviewees in order to evaluate their representativeness. Interviewees tended to be older and had been away from the village for a longer time than had other emigrants I compared them with, but they represented family and quartiers of origin reasonably well. The higher age and emigration duration measures are likely the result of both the population itself (working adults, rather than all emigrants) as well as my own selectivity for interviewees. I generally targeted emigrants who had been in town for more than a few years.

The chapter concludes with a description of the women’s association membership. The main benefit of attending regular association meetings seems to be that this is a means to maintain contact and communication with other emigrants. About 100 members are
inscribed for any given year. The mean age of members is just under thirty, and their mean duration of residence in Dakar is over twelve years. About half returned to the village for the previous agricultural season. Their mean monthly earnings are just under 30,000 CFA, about U.S. $95. They contribute dues an average of every three months, as suggested by the interviewees themselves, who told me that they can not afford all of the dues they are expected to contribute to each association. They therefore rotate payments from one organization to the next as their finances permit. The associations are nevertheless able to amass significantly large treasuries by collecting fines in addition to these modest dues, which I counted as totaling U.S. $400 over three years.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSIONS

Migration Theories

In Chapter 1, I began by reviewing the migration literature, with a particular focus on West African women. Migration is an important factor in cultural evolution, and the contemporary importance of the rapid urbanization of African cities was noted. Africans have adapted to changing economic circumstances by means of migration throughout history. The role of social institutions, such as emigrant voluntary associations, was also judged to be an important factor in mediating individual migration decisions, and in assisting migrants to adapt to urban conditions. A typology of migration was constructed and the present case outlined in these terms to briefly introduce it to the reader before considering various theories for the causes and consequences of migration.

I have been impressed with the success of the “classical” social scientific approach to migration theory. While early models were often simplistic, the field has been very productive of modifications and on the whole models have become finer-grained and less rigid, incorporating a broader range of social variables in addition to economic factors over time. Many critiques, by dependency theorists and other Marxists as well as other writers, have been incorporated into new models when they are found to be valid and useful. Meanwhile, the “dependentistas” were particularly unproductive of empirical research. In particular, the neo-Marxist writers were successful at forcing changes in “economistic”
models, and have inspired a good deal of research into the role of households and other mid-level social units.

There has been a similar debate through the years about the consequences of migration. So-called "conventional" academics were often characterized by the academic left as supporting or encouraging migration. In fact, a number of the colonial British anthropologists argued that wage labor migration in Africa was jeopardizing traditional authority and communities. Migration plays a key role in the process of economic development by concentrating people into areas of increased economic activity, making possible a more efficient delivery of goods and services. On this point migration researchers of all political persuasions can probably agree, although not all would evaluate the results of such changes in the same way.

Migration highlights the changes that occur in a society as people move from work in one to another economic sector. Such a change may involve many other changes in individual lives. More than anything else, migration represents people's adaptability to changing economic conditions. Often empirical issues of migration are clouded by writers' attempts to evaluate the costs and benefits of economic development itself. It is easy to see that some of the effects of migration dilute what is valuable in traditional society. Certainly I am not the first anthropologist to be embarrassed by the seeming inappropriateness of urban returnees, walking through their home village wearing ultra-chic urban clothing and hair styles. But the emigrants themselves told me that they leave the village to dress well, so it should be no surprise that their success is demonstrated so openly.

Many observers of (especially female) emigration from rural Diola villages since the 1950s have argued that it should be stopped. This is commonly heard in the villages themselves, and was the unanimous opinion of a focus group I organized in Ziguinchor. Clearly, migration to Dakar
in particular has played an important role in diminishing the productivity of rice production in the Lower Casamance. However, this emigration is the result of larger economic changes that were initiated well before current emigrants left their home villages. In fact, as I have explained, female emigration from the Casamance is the result rather than the cause of lowered productivity in rice agriculture. Women leave the villages because they are expected to provide for the daily needs of their families. Soap, oil, kerosene, and the like must be purchased, and women have few opportunities for earning cash within the rural economy.

Through emigration, a woman is able to meet her obligations to her family. If she does well in her search for urban work, she may also be able to do more than that. Perhaps she can gain prestige among her peers when she returns to the village, demonstrating her success by wearing a new set of elegant clothing with an urbane flair. If she does well and obtains a secure, well-paid job, she may send home regular remittances to her family, helping them to hire essential labor for planting and harvests even when she cannot come home to lend a hand herself. Furthermore, through her participation in the emigrant women’s associations in Dakar, she may help to bring concrete benefits back to her village through one of the organization’s cooperative projects. One could speculate about whether or not village residents would have been better off if they had not been incorporated into the state of Senegal (and thereby into the larger international economy). However, there is no way to ‘undo’ this incorporation or disengage from the larger economy. Given the benefits of remittances and other funds that returnees bring with them when they do return to the village, migration can be valued as beneficial.

Migration allows individuals who happen to originate far from centers of economic activity and growth to participate in development.
Through remittances and return migration, rural villages receive some of the monetary benefits of economic development. This process represents more than a mere trickle of superficial benefits, but rather has been estimated to represent a significant international financial exchange. Rural villages benefit with schools, clinics, and increased levels of consumption as a result of these flows of cash back from the cities to which their emigrants have left to find work.

Women in particular have been somewhat ignored in the academic literature on migration. Often considered only as associational movers, they are frequently depicted as following their families or husbands rather than moving independently themselves. Other studies focus on the effects on women “left behind” on rural farms when their husbands migrate to urban centers. When women as migrants are the focus of some studies, normative issues frequently overshadow questions of theory or context. Commercial migration is an important factor in the economic lives of many West African women. However, I explored this issue, and found that commerce plays a relatively small role in this case. I do not support the view that there needs to be some kind of separate theory of women migrants. Women migrate for the same reasons as men, when conditions allow and do not impede their independent movement.

As I have discussed above, the division of rural labor and household responsibilities among the Diola create a context in which women need cash, while few opportunities exist for their earning money in the rural setting. They also enjoy a social status elevated enough to allow their free and independent movement, an important cultural factor that enables them to migrate. These conditions have existed in some Diola communities since the turn of the century, when women were hired as seasonal stevedores on the docks of local ports. This case is particularly interesting because it represents an unusual set of conditions, where women migrate for wage labor in numbers similar to or
greater than their male counterparts. It provides the opportunity to consider the independent migration of women, along with the causes and context of their movement from a rural to an urban environment. The study of similar cases elsewhere should help to improve our understanding of the causes and consequences of migration more generally.

**Historical Patterns of Diola Migration**

The historical background of Diola migration was the focus in Chapter 2. Diola cultural history was divided into four periods, and the characteristic patterns of migration associated with each were detailed. These periods of Diola migration history were based on conditions that would have supported relatively stable patterns of migration within each. The first period, from 200-1100 A.D., was characterized by the expansion of Diola populations into Lower Casamance, their initial sedentization into villages and the intensification of rice agriculture through irrigation. Period two spanned the time up to about 1400, and included the encroachment of the state societies of Mali and Kasa into the Lower Casamance. These states influenced Diola trade and patterns of dry season migration in particular.

The third period, from 1400 to about 1930, was the least stable of the four defined periods. Early on during this period, trade expanded with the new opportunities introduced by Europeans, but also fluctuated with changes in security, slowing during the frequent outbreaks of warfare associated with slave raids and territorial disputes. Later in the third period, legitimate trade was established, and some Diola migrated to collect forest products such as rubber or palm kernels, which they could trade (particularly for iron) at local comptoirs.
Colonial efforts to establish cash markets in Lower Casamance were only seriously pursued at the end of this period. The fourth period was defined as 1930 to the present. From this late date, cash markets and individual taxation were successfully introduced among the Diola, and the regular wage migration that continues into the present began.

Migration is not simply an indicator of social disintegration or Western cultural encroachment, but has been an important means for Diola economic adaptation throughout history. Because of this long precedent, certain institutions within Diola culture have developed to assist in the social integration of newcomers or outsiders. A flexible approach to kinship and land tenure rules further supports this accommodative cultural stance. In particular, a diverse range of traditional voluntary associations among the Diola provides a number of cultural or institutional precedents that can be adapted to changing conditions.

Once a significant number of Diola had migrated to urban Dakar, voluntary associations were created there to cope with the particular difficulties people faced in this new setting. Based on traditional associations, the new organizations adapted to the changing demands of urban residents. They provided a means of maintaining social contacts and communication among the emigrants and their home village. Over time, they began to collect cash dues and keep formal records, and to exert a degree of social control through the creation of rules and fines to enforce them. These associations, with the significant sums of money they can maintain in their treasuries, are also now an important conduit for returning funds to the village, where they organize such projects as maintaining public buildings like the school, clinic, and youth foyer (a public meeting and dance hall).
The Case of Boutem

I present the data collected during my field research in Chapters 3 and 4. I first discussed the research methods employed during various phases of my fieldwork in Chapter 3. Then I presented an oral history of migration from the village of Boutem to Dakar. Interviewees explained that the earliest emigrants from their village during the 1930s and 1940s were often veterans, and were among the first to have received a formal Western education. I detail some of their stories, and then consider the nature and development of the urban emigrant associations they formed.

Chapter 4 continues this presentation, with a description of the contemporary village as I experienced it in the Summer of 1990. There I observed that, in fact, few income-earning opportunities exist for women in the rural economy. All of the interviews I conducted in Dakar were with individuals who had grown-up there. The results of these interviews were presented in the second section of this fourth chapter. I considered the career histories of emigrants, along with their working conditions in Dakar. I discussed the limited commercial activities emigrants engaged in there, and described the few informal examples of commerce I observed in the village. Emigrants were asked why they migrated, and their responses were included here. After this presentation on matters related to income, I went on to discuss a range of common household expenditures. As interviewees elaborated on the financial demands they face in Dakar, I gained an appreciation of the difficulty and insecurity of their lives in the urban setting, and hope that I conveyed it adequately here.

In the third section of this chapter I provided the results of the village census I conducted. These data were used to describe migration among all villagers, and to evaluate the representativeness of
interviewees. Finally, the members of the women’s association were described in terms of age, income, emigration history, and dues-paying behavior. The census and interviews, along with information provided from the women’s association record book, allowed me to analyze the situation of emigration more broadly than was possible with any single source. I was also able to compare the results from one source with another, as in the case of emigrants’ previous destinations (where interview data were judged more reliable than census responses).

Emigration from Boutem to Dakar is a relatively recent phenomenon. The earliest migrants are recalled by name among young adults, and some are still alive and available to interview personally. Interviewees were often among the first emigrants in their own families, although a number of respondents were able to point to examples of the kinds of wage migration their parents had engaged in. Most often, their parents migrated only a few times or for only short periods, for example to Ziguinchor, which is easily accessible from the village by boat. That current emigrants stay away from the village for longer periods of time than returnees was also confirmed in the census. Interviewees were not selected at random, and tended to be older and had been gone from the village for longer than had the set of all Dakar emigrants. They were, however, judged to represent emigrants from their village relatively well in terms of family and quartier of origin.

Women migrants from Boutem, like other Diola women, seek relatively unskilled work in Dakar (although as the interviewees explained, they do spend a certain amount of time training themselves for their work as domestic maids). They therefore are able to find work more easily than men from the village, who compete in a different job market. Men’s work, career histories, incomes, and contributions to household expenses were not among my research topics, but it would
certainly be interesting to more fully explore the differences in men’s and women’s experiences in this context.

Relative to the national per capita income, the emigrant women I worked with earn fairly good wages. Over time, their incomes rise (on average) making it particularly worthwhile for experienced women to remain in the urban setting. They use their earnings, in part, to remit to their families in the village, and also contribute to the women’s association. As a group, this association (like the men’s or village association) is able to collect a significant amount in its treasury over time. Since the mid 1970s, these associations have planned and conducted small projects in the village, thereby returning more benefits to their place of origin, as for example they did while I was there with a project to repair the school roof, and to repair and refurbish the maternity clinic.

Discussion

In summary, I believe that this case can be best understood in terms of a modified, contemporary version of classical social scientific theories of migration. Migrants leave the village, where few economic opportunities are available to women in particular, to seek a cash income in the highest-wage environment in which they can reasonably find accomodation and employment. More young men than women have the benefit of a secondary education, and they more often seek government and other salaried positions. However, on the one hand, Diola men are competing for such jobs with a larger number of individuals, many of whom have better family and ethnic ties to established brokers. Women, on the other hand, are looking for work with employers who favor their cultural (Catholic, more often French-speaking) background. They also do not compete with local Dakar (primarily Wolof) women, who most often view
domestic service work as beneath their social standing. Therefore, women are more likely, it seems, to get work rapidly upon arrival in the city. While men may eventually get better jobs, they must wait longer to find them. Ideally (as reported by Lambert 1994:204-205), the family "back home" hopes for their daughters to provide early remittances followed later by sons more substantial and regular offerings.

Diola migrants to Dakar are supported by urban voluntary associations that were developed first to serve more or less as social clubs, but were then used as a means to provide emergency aid to individuals needing relatively large sums of money to pay for funeral services. These associations are sometimes resented for their demands for dues or fines (which, as in the village, are levied to enforce a variety of laws), but they also provide a minimal safety net when real disaster strikes someone living far from home and at times without nearby family support. Having developed out of traditional forms, these urban associations have become formalized as a result of collecting and recording dues (and the participation of an increasingly well-educated membership). They are an important locus for social interaction and a means of communication among emigrants and their home village. They command substantial treasuries, which they now use to implement village projects in addition to their function as a kind of social security. The interaction of various associations, the village emigrants, women's, Dakar-based, Ziguinchor-based, and village associations is an interesting topic for further research. When different groups express their priorities for projects, a negotiation among these civic organization follows. To some extent, these represent a dispersed multi-local form of representative government, and their role could be analyzed in political terms.
APPENDIX A
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FEMALE RESIDENTS OF DAKAR AND QUESTIONNAIRE FOR VILLAGE CENSUS OF BOUTEM

I. Interview schedule for women’s association members in Dakar

Household
Who lives in this house, room or apartment?
   How many people eat here? (Lunch, dinner)
   How many sleep here?
   Are any members of the household currently away?

Employment
Are you currently employed?
Are any others in the household currently employed?
   What kind of work do you and the others do?
For how long have you worked at the same job?
Will you remain working in this same job (do you feel secure in this position)?
How much are you paid per month?
   What about others in the house?
Do you sleep and/or eat where you work (Do you receive room and board)?
How many days per week do you work?
What language do you use to communicate with your boss?
Are you satisfied with the working conditions?
Have you been enrolled with the Inspection de Travail? At what level?

Expenses
What are your largest monthly household expenses?
   How much do you pay every month for rent, food, transportation, utilities, association dues, clothing, remittances, school fees, health expenses, maternity?

Migration history
What year did you first emigrate from the village?
How long was it before you got your first job?
Describe your earliest jobs after migrating.
What kind of work were you doing before you first migrated to Dakar?
Describe any times that you were unemployed in Dakar.
Have your working conditions improved since you first migrated?
Did your parents ever migrate?

Return
This year will you return to the village?
   When? For how long? What will you do? What expenses will you have there?

II. Census questionnaire for the village of Boutem

Questionnaire number__
Date__
Quartier__
Interviewer__

Name of household head:
Have you ever migrated? ____________________________
To which town? ____________________________
For how much time? ____________________________

181
For each member of the family resident during this dry season, write the name, age (approximate), and relationship to the head of the household. If he or she has migrated, indicate the town and duration of absence in each place.

For each member of the family absent during this dry season, write the name, age (approximate), relationship to the head of the household, and indicate the current town of residence.

For each, respond to the following questions:
   Number of seasons absent
   Did he or she return during the past rainy season?
   If not, how long has it been since the last return?
   How many times has he or she returned during the last five rainy seasons?
### APPENDIX B

**CENSUS CODEBOOKS FOR THE VILLAGE CENSUS AND FOR FEMALE DAKAR RESIDENTS**

I. Codebook for July 1990 census of the village of Boutem, Senegal

Note that the range and value labels for all variables are indicated below variable labels and definitions in section II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Columns</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caseid</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>individual case ID number 001-739</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qustno</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>questionnaire number (one per HH, mostly) 01-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quartr</td>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>village &quot;quartier&quot; or ward/neighborhood 01 'Eleagnadi' 02 'Sambousoulier' 03 'Bafican' 04 'Boukiaj' 05 'Bougafou' 06 'Boutoupa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intvwr</td>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>interviewer code 01 'David Diatta' 02 'Augustein Diatta' 03 'Dominique Djiba' 04 'Frederic Diatta' 05 'Self' 06 'Self w/D.Diatta'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilmap</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>HH recorded on map of village? 0 'HH not on map' 1 'HH on map'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhnumb</td>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>ID number of village household 01-71 (71 separate HHs identified)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gender</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>male or female 0 'female' 1 'male'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>21-22</td>
<td>family name 01 'Djiba' 02 'Badji' 03 'Manga' 04 'Sambou' 05 'Diedhiou' 06 'Diatta' 07 'Sagna' 08 'Bassene' 09 'Dacosta' 10 'Mane' 11 'Diagne' 12 'Niang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yearbn</td>
<td>24-27</td>
<td>year of birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dryres</td>
<td>29-30</td>
<td>current residence during dry season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastmg</td>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>destination of previous migration 00 'Boutem' 10 'other vlgs in Dept.' 11 'Bignon' 12 'Thionk-Essil' 13 'Bobor' 21 'Ziguinchor' 22 'Oussouye' 23 'Karabane'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
24 'Cap Skirring'
31 'Marassoum'
32 'Sedhiou'
34 'Velingara'
41 'Tambacounda'
42 'Kedougou'
52 'Kaolack'
53 'Thies'
54 'St. Louis'
57 'Mboro'
60 'Dakar'
81 'Gambia'
82 'Ivory Coast'
84 'France'
85 'other Europe'
86 'Mexico'
90 'various not Dakar'
91 'can t find placename'
92 'various incl. Dakar'
93 'Military/various'
98 'reports no past migrtn'

todrtn 35-36 yrs. absent migr. in past (vill. residents)
nodrtn 38-39 duration current migration (non-vill. res.)
lstret 41-42 last returned to village X years ago
pcptrt5 44-46 percent returns in last five years
intvwe 48 indiv. was interviewee in Dakar?
  0 'not interviewed'
  1 'interviewed'
fmascn 50 member of women's association in Dakar?
  0 'not in assoc'
  1 'current member'
  2 '88 or 89 member'

II. Age, dues, and salary data for female residents of Dakar

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Columns</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>caseid</td>
<td>1-3</td>
<td>individual ID no. (from village census)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quartr</td>
<td>5-6</td>
<td>village quartier of origin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vilmap</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>is village HH of origin on Boutem map?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hhnumb</td>
<td>10-11</td>
<td>ID number of village household</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>age</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>calculated from &quot;year born&quot; census data</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dryres</td>
<td>16-17</td>
<td>current residence during dry season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pastmg</td>
<td>19-20</td>
<td>previous migration destination</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nodrtn</td>
<td>22-23</td>
<td>duration of current migration (self report)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lstret</td>
<td>25-26</td>
<td>last returned to village X years ago</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pcptrt5</td>
<td>28-30</td>
<td>percent returns to vill. in last five years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intvwe</td>
<td>32-33</td>
<td>interview number (if interviewed in Dakar)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fmascn</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>current member of women's assoc., or 88/89?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dues88</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>no. times indiv paid dues (200 CFA) in 1988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dues89</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>no. times indiv paid dues (200 CFA) in 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dues90</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>no. times indiv paid dues (200 CFA) in 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>family</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>family name (fewer than in village census)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salary</td>
<td>42-43</td>
<td>monthly wage earnings in 1,000s of CFA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Value labels
QUARTR
  01 'Elegnande'
  02 'Sambousoulier'
  03 'Bafican'
04 'Boukiak'
05 'Bougafou'
06 'Boutoupa'

VILMAP
0 'not on map'
1 'HH on map'

FAMILY
1 'Djiba'
2 'Badji'
3 'Manga'
4 'Sambou'
5 'Diedhiou'
6 'Diatta'
7 'Sagna'

DRYRES, PASTMG
00 'Boutem'
10 'other vlgs in Dept.'
11 'Bignona'
12 'Thionk-Essil'
13 'Tobor'
21 'Ziguinchor'
22 'Oussouye'
23 'Karabane'
24 'Cap Skirring'
31 'Marassoum'
32 'Sedhiou'
34 'Velingara'
41 'Tambacounda'
42 'Kedougou'
52 'Kaolack'
53 'Thies'
54 'St. Louis'
57 'Mboro'
60 'Dakar'
81 'Gambia'
82 'Ivory Coast'
84 'France'
85 'other Europe'
86 'Mexico'
90 'various not Dakar'
91 'cant find placename'
92 'various incl. Dakar'
93 'Military/various'
98 'rprt no past migrtn'

INTVWE
00 'not interviewed'

FMASCN
0 'not in assoc'
1 'current member'
2 '88 or 89 member'
MISSING VALUES
family vilmap, fmascn, dues88, dues89, dues90 (9)
quartr, hhnumb, dryres, pastmg, salary, nodrtn, intvwe, lstret, age (99)
caseid, pctrt5 (999)
GLOSSARY

A.O.F.: Afrique Occidentale Française, the colony known as French West Africa comprised Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Senegal.

Affiniam: Neighboring, perhaps parent, village of Affiniam-Boutem.

Bagand: Residents of Boutem call Affiniam Bagand. An apparent reference to its status as a quartier of the “same village.”

Balanta: Ethnic group of the Casamance region.

Banco: Adobe or mud-brick construction, the material for traditional thatched homes among the Diola.

Bandial: Region of Senegal South of the Casamance River.

Banyun: Ethnic group of the Casamance region.

Bathurst: Colonial name for the capital city of The Gambia, Banjul.

Benn Tali: Neighborhood in Dakar, the name means “one street” in Wolof.

Bignona: Town in Casamance, Northeast of Boutem.

Bokin: Diola word for spirits (pl. inaati).

Bonne-ménagère: Domestic maid, also known simply as a bonne.

Boulouf: Region North of the Casamance River, called Djugut in colonial times.

Boutem: Officially Affiniam-Boutem, the subject of this case study.

Brevet: French degree for the first cycle of secondary school.

Brin: Diola village near Ziguinchor.

Buayu: Extended patrilineal family, de-emphasized among the Diola.

Bukut: Diola male initiation and ritual circumcision.

Bunuk: Palm wine.
Tourist hostels. In the Lower Casamance, these are often built in a traditional Diola construction style, either in the form of a ring (impluvium) or at their most impressive, in two stories.

French primary school diploma.

French secondary school diploma.

Communauté Financier Africaine, a financial organization issuing the currency of many of the francophone West African countries. The “franc CFA” is the name of the currency.

Hook-shaped peninsula on which Dakar is located, also the region of Dakar.

Island in the Casamance River, an early French comptoir.

Neighborhood of Dakar.

French primary school diploma.

French colonial district officer.

Diola word for a spirit shrine.

The Diola male initiation ceremony, bukut involves the circumcision of initiates.

Environmentally, economically, or politically surrounded.

Former region of Casamance near The Gambia.

Luso-African middlemen between European and African traders.

Trading post.

Form of in-kind taxation requiring a certain period of labor.

Neighborhood of Dakar.

Diola village near Affiniam-Bouim.

Neighboring village of Affiniam-Bouim.

Former region of Casamance North of the River.

Neighboring village of Affiniam-Bouim.

Neighboring village of Affiniam-Bouim.

Broad Diola kin group with the same patronym.
Esulalu: Former region of Casamance South of the River.
Fass: Neighborhood of Dakar.
Fogny: Former region of Casamance bordering The Gambia.
Groundnuts: In West Africa what Americans call peanuts are known in English as groundnuts; the term peanut is considered derogatory.
Hainoumaine: Neighborhood of Dakar.
IPRES: A Senegalese social security and family welfare agency.
Indigénat: Colonial laws requiring, among other things, corvée labor.
Inspection: Either the Inspection de Travail or Inspection de la Main d’Oeuvre. The agency controlling employment conditions in Senegal.
Kaar rapit: Private commercial van, running relatively scheduled routes in competition with busses and other transportation.
Kajumo: A spirit to whom one of Boutem’s shrines is devoted, the name means “the renowned.”
Kaolack: A city South and East of Dakar, known as a commercial center.
Kawasen: The Diola name for their indigenous religion.
Kayendo: Long-handled iron-tipped traditional shovel used by the Diola in agriculture.
Koloban: Neighborhood of Dakar.
Lançaços: Africanized Portuguese (Luso-African) traders.
Lébou: Wolof sub-group, the original inhabitants of Cap Vert.
Manjaku: Ethnic group of the Casamance region.
Marigot: A winding estuarial waterway.
Mbøré: Small city located North of Dakar along the Atlantic coast.
Mbóur: Small city located North of Dakar along the Atlantic coast.
Mourides: Shi’ite Islamic sect or brotherhood, predominant in Senegal.
Ñari Tali: Wolof phrase meaning “two streets.” Neighborhood in Dakar bordered by a large boulevard.
O.M.V.S.: Organisation de Mise en Valeur de Vallée de Senegal, the Senegal River Valley Development Organization.


Ouakam: A neighborhood of Dakar, original Lébou village at Cap Vert.

Parcelles Assanies: A neighborhood of Dakar, on the North coast of Cap Vert.

Peul: French word for the Fulani ethnic group.

Prebendal: Feudal system of distributing political offices.

Quartier: French administrative division, similar to neighborhood or ward, having kinship meaning in West Africa.

Ronier palm: Similar to the palmetto.

Sedhiou: Casamance village, site of an early French comptoir.

Serawollie: Ethnic group in Senegal.

Sociétés de Prévoyances: Precursor organization to ONCAD.

Tendouk: Diola village near Affiniam-Boutem.

Thionk-Essil: Casamance village, considered the largest in Senegal.


Tontine: A common West African savings group that organizes a regular drawing or raffle among its informal membership.

Wolof: Majority ethnic group of Senegal, and the lingua franca of the country.

Ziguinchor: Regional capital of the Casamance.
LIST OF REFERENCES


191


Chaney, Elsa M. and Martha W. Lewis. 1980. "Women, migration and the
decline of smallholder agriculture." Washington, DC: Office of
Women in Development, International Development Cooperation
Agency, USAID.

Chayanov, A. V. 1966. The Theory of Peasant Economy. Homewood, IL:
R. D. Irwin.

Chilivumbo, Alifeyo. 1985. Migration and Uneven Rural Development in
Africa: the Case of Zambia. Lanham, MD: University Press of
America.

Clarke, John I. and Leszek Kosinski (eds.). 1982. Redistribution of


general theory." Oxford Surveys in Evolutionary Biology 3:132-
186.

CNFNA. 1983. "Les femmes migrantes Casamançaises a Dakar." Vol. 3 of
Role Socio-Economique des Femmes de Basse Casamance; Les Femmes
Migrant es Casamancaises a Dakar; La Femme Casamancaise dans son
Milieu Socio-Economique. 3 vols. Dakar, Senegal: USAID/Conseil
National des Femmes Noires Americaines, Division Internationale.

Cock, Jacklyn. 1980. Maids and Madams: a Study in the Politics of

Coelho, Francisco de Lemos. 1953. Duas descrições seiscentistas da
Guiné: Manuscritos ineditos publicados com introducao Peres.
Lisbon, Portugal: n.p..

J. M. Claessen and Peter Skalnik (eds.). The Early State. The
Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.


---. 1981. "Evolution, fission, and the early state." in Henri J. M.
Claessen and Peter Skalnik (eds.). The Study of the State. New
York: Mouton.

(eds.). State Formation and Legitimacy. New Brunswick, NJ:
Transaction Books.

Anthropology of Political Evolution. Philadelphia: Institute for
the Study of Human Issues.

Colvin, Lucie G. (ed.). 1981. The Uprooted of the Western Sahel:

Condé, Julien and Pap Diagne. 1986. “South-North international migrations, a case study: Malian, Mauritanian and Senegalese migrants from the Senegal River Valley to France.” Paris: Development Centre of the OECD.


---. 1969. *Genèse du Pouvoir Charismatique en Basse Casamance (Sénégal).* Dakar, Senegal: IFAN.


Monod, Th., Avelino Teixeira da Mota, and Raymond Mauny (eds.). 1951. *Description de la côte Occidentale d'Afrique (Sénégal au Cap de Monte Archipels) par Valentin Fernandes (1506-1510).* Bissau, Portuguese Guinea: Centro de Estudos da Guine Portuguesa.


Ocholla-Ayayo, Andrev B. C. [1986?]. *Female Migration and Wealth Dissipation among the Patrilineral Exogamous Communities in Kenya: With Special Reference to the Luo of Nyanza Province.* Nairobi, Kenya:
University of Nairobi, Population Studies and Research Institute, Division of Anthropology and Social Demography.


BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The author was born in Lawrence, Kansas, in 1961. Attending primary and secondary schools in Beloit, Wisconsin, he graduated from Beloit High School in 1979. Undergraduate studies were undertaken at Grinnell College, in Grinnell, Iowa. He graduated from the college with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology in 1983.

His graduate studies have all been in the Department of anthropology at the University of Florida, where he earned a Master of Arts degree in 1986. His minor was in farming systems research. He was awarded a Certificate in African Studies in conjunction with the M.A. Prior to dissertation fieldwork, the author completed a summer intensive language course in Wolof at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign with funding from the Foreign Language Area Studies program. The present research was undertaken in Senegal during December, 1989, and completed in August, 1990. It was supported with a Fulbright-IIE dissertation research award.

He is currently employed at the University of Florida George A. Smathers Libraries, in the collection management Department. His duties are associated entirely with the support and development of the Africana collection.
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

H. Russell Bernard, Chair
Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

R. Hunt Davis, Jr.
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Arthur Hansen
Associate Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Marvin Harris
Graduate Research Professor of Anthropology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Goren Hyden
Professor of Political Science

This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Anthropology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

December 1995

Dean, Graduate School