12. Dubois, "Les Sérères et la question des terres neuves," Figure 2.
14. IDÉM map drawn according to statistics from the list of villages, 1972.
17. Touba was established by Cheikh Amadou Bamba at the end of the nineteenth century.
18. Dubois, "Les Sérères et la question des terres neuves," gives for 1968 an average of from 1,000 to 2,000 Serer navetans for an autochthonous Serer population of about 6,000 people. This number is very high because the author's survey zone is in what we have called the pioneer zone, around Dioum Guente.
19. In 1977 and 1976, respectively, the heads of the village of Go tö (department of Thiès) and Ndiamane (department of Bamby) told us that because there was not enough land to cultivate, most of the young married men were forced to leave, and some took their wives. The head of the village of Ndiamane gave the additional information that it was the younger brothers who had to leave because the older brothers had priority to the land. This concerned Serer villages.
22. Without doubt, the colonization of the New Lands of Senegal Oriental, begun in 1972, has enjoyed, despite all its inadequacies, a lot of success so far as the Serer peasants from the Sine are concerned. But this is just a drop in the ocean and will in no way be able to balance the overpopulated departments of the peanut basin. Personally, we believe that the present people in Senegal Oriental and Upper Casamance have a claim on almost all the cultivable land.

7
REGIONAL MIGRATIONS IN SOUTHEASTERN SENEGAL. INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL
Moussa Soumah

Studies of migratory movements in West Africa have multiplied rapidly in recent years, especially concerning those regions most disturbed by the unbalancing effects of colonial development. In Senegal such migrations affect particularly the so-called 'peripheral' administrative regions, including the Upper Casamance and southern Senegal Oriental, areas that are the subject of this chapter. There, in the southeast part of the country, two characteristic migratory patterns have been identified: seasonal labor migrations originating from within the region itself and directed toward other regions in Senegal and international migrations, which involve crossing two major borders in both directions. One border extends 600 kilometers east-west, separating Senegal from two neighbors, Guinea Conakry and Guinea Bissau. The other border, serving as the line of demarcation between the Gambian enclave and the Upper Casamance, extends from the Pata Forest to the Kanora Forest, northwest of the confluence of the Gambian and Koulountou rivers.

Both migratory patterns are well-known in Senegal. Therefore, this study investigates the impact these migrations might have on the habitation patterns and land use in the region.

Our research, which was of necessity limited, was conducted during two separate weeks spent in the field, the first time from December 23-30, 1977, and the second time from March 24-31, 1978. It primarily involved Upper Casamance, with particular attention paid to the department of Kolda. Organized on the basis of very simple questionnaires, direct investigations involved 30 village centers in Kolda's "cotton belt," located on two major axes that meet in the center of the town of Kolda: the Kolda-Medina-Yoroufoula axis, which runs northward into Bensang, in the Gambia;
the Kolda-Dabo-Velingara axis, which winds northeast to the old federal road from Tambacounda to Koundara; and direct investigations also involved the city of Kolda and its immediate surroundings: Faraba, Saré Kéno, and Gada Para, among other communities within the new extensions of the city. These new communities seem to be able to accommodate recently settled immigrants. Kolda itself was chosen because its location on the Tambacounda-Ziguinchor axis, so vital to the southeast, renders the city and its environs a principal economic center for Upper Casamance. This capital of the Fouladou has experienced even greater economic vigor since the opening in 1974 of the renowned "Southern Route," with its 200 kilometers of paved road.

We worked with a team of hal pulaaren (pular speakers), originally from Futa Jallon as were the majority of people surveyed. (Hal pulaaren comprises two major ethnic groups who share the pular language, Fulbe and TuKulor. Other terms for Fulbe include Pél, Peuhl from the Wolof, and Fula, from the Mandinka.) This linguistic ability enabled productive exchanges to take place between team members and farmers. Although there were cases of reticence (in Missira Mamabou, district of Dabo), there were also instances when the ease of communication provoked revealing debates, such as in Dioulaye, district of Dioufandé.

This research project received considerable support from the staff of the Company for the Development of Textile Fibers (SODIFTEX), active in the sectors of Dabo and Medina Yorofoolu. They not only grudgingly furnished statistical information, but often provided contacts without which interviews with seasonal workers would not have been possible. In addition, most village chiefs willingly shared their own fiscal censuses that, despite some gaps, made possible a reasonable estimation of the number of seasonal migrants on the tax rolls and of the number of former migrants, seasonal or nonseasonal, who had decided to settle, and the duration of their stay.

Bibliographical material must complement those direct sources, which are both limited and difficult to utilize quickly. There is very little material concerning Upper Casamance. There are more reports by experts commissioned by development organizations or ministries than there is university-based research. Numerous small monographs (diaries of trainees from large national schools) offer some diversification.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

The southeast region encompasses the eastern part of Casamance plus slightly more than one-third of Senegal Oriental (Eastern Senegal), and it is part of that vast portion of the country classified as "peripheral" in relation to Senegal Occidental (Western Senegal). It covers Lower Casamance and slightly more than one-third of Senegal Oriental, or about 50,942 square kilometers. It is a geographic region whose mountains relieve the characteristically flat landscape of Senegal. The northern foothills of the Mali Range (1,538 kilometers at Mt. Lou) extend into southern Senegal Oriental, forming a line of low hills (average height of 800 meters) very similar to those dominating the Sénégal and Lower Futa-Djakarand and upper Yoff river basins, west of the Gambian River. Whereas the average elevation further north is 150 meters, the ring of buttes at Kédougou reaches heights of from 300 to 400 meters. On the other hand, Upper Casamance, like the rest of Senegal, is relatively flat.

The climate of the southeastern region is as unusual as its topography. The annual rainfall of this region corresponds to that of the "Sudano-Guinean": an average of from 1,000 to 2,000 millimeters annually (see Map 7.1), spread out rather evenly over the five months of the rainy season (June-October). This rainfall average could be considered to be a "safety factor" in that the regions of the Fulahé and Upper Casamance have enough water to sustain rainfed crops even in periods of severe drought. Naturally, annual variations in rainfall or fluctuations in the distribution of rain during the five rainy months can negatively affect the growth of these crops (cotton, for example, may take up to 100 days).

However, this unreliability is mitigated by the relatively early onset of the rainy season at the end of May and the long duration of the season into October when, at times, there is appreciable rain. This condition has been documented by two stations in the cotton bowl, which measured monthly rainfall during the years 1931-60, in millimeters, based on the 1963 meteorological standards of the Agency for the Security of Air Navigation (ASECNA).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Velingara</th>
<th>Tambacounda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>28.1</td>
<td>18.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>137.2</td>
<td>130.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>223.6</td>
<td>288.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>327.5</td>
<td>288.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>275.8</td>
<td>231.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>98.1</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In fact, the "somewhat mountainous tendencies" noted in the extreme southeastern part of this region do not substantially affect the major climatic features of that region. Among these, rainfall
levels receive the most attention, in a country severely tested by drought in these last few years.

In that same respect, Senegal is also distinguished by its soil resources, marked by predominantly tropical ferruginous soils. These are regional soils that may normally develop in a Sudanic climate (700-1,200 millimeters of rain). In some cases, because their upper surfaces are leached, the soils are given the name soils beige (beige soils). They are known to be poor in organic matter and to have limited fertility.

Through Upper Casamance, with the exception of the Anabé basin where hydromorphic soils are found, ferruginous, leached tropical soils with concretions predominate. They may develop into soil with a very hard topsoil. They extend eastward and to the northeast (Tambacounda) into rather large expanses of consistently gravelly soils resting on ferruginous, hardened surfaces. The southeastern extremity, which consists mainly of the department of Kédougou, reveals a mixture of several soil types, in which the ferruginous, tropical soils that are leached in spots and have concretions or are of a hardpan nature predominate.

In short, the physical features of the southeast region reveal interesting possibilities within the context of the mainly agricultural economy. However, the limited fertility of the soils and the advancing "boulisation" may cause some reservation—if only to question seriously the idea that there is an abundance of vacant land—the fact remains that, despite its unpredictability, the high rainfall is a major advantage in the development of this region, especially since macroscopic agricultural development alternatives clearly favor rainfed agriculture.

**LAND USE AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION**

Southeast Senegal is sparsely populated and settled. The four departments included in this region occupy 50,932 square kilometers, slightly more than 25 percent of Senegal. According to the last national census, 420,895 people, or approximately 8.27 percent of the total population, inhabit this vast area. The average density is eight inhabitants per square kilometer.

The Upper Casamance shows approximately 15 inhabitants per square kilometer. One area of relative density is located between Kolda and Vélingara, along the two major routes joining these large towns: Kolda-Rakafourou-Leidon-Vélingara and Kolda-Daba-Doukane-Vélingara (this branch is presently little used). Another population concentration exists in the southern part of the department of Kolda, along the tributaries of the Casamance River.
From Bantoucoumou to Salifke, along the Guinea Bissau border runs a network of moderately large villages (300-700 inhabitants), which thin out perceptibly as one moves east toward Vélimgara. Even further along toward Tambacounda, the villages become even more dispersed, a pattern consistent with the Upper Gambia.

The departments of Kédougou and Tambacounda have a population density of five inhabitants per square kilometer, the lowest in Senegal. Despite population increases over the years between 1964 and 1976 the population of Upper Casamance rose from 96,800 to 225,289, a 7.1 percent growth rate, and the populations of the departments of Kédougou and Tambacounda rose from 115,700 to 195,607, a 6 percent growth rate, the region still suffers from an underpopulation that retards rapid development.

Certain factors, apart from mortality and emigration, account for the demographic depression of this region. For example, health and sanitary conditions are poor. The people suffer from such diseases as tripanosomiasis, onchoceriasis, leprosy, and the Guinea Worm, especially in localities with poor water supplies. In the department of Kédougou, all of these diseases are endemic.

Even insufficient seasonal rainfall exacerbates this problem for the populations.

Such "hygienic vulnerability" stems from a general deterioration of the region in relation to Western Senegal, which benefited much more from development by the French colonizers. That development, which was based mainly on the groundnut economy, only affected those zones near the sea or those accessible by natural routes (such as the Senegal and Casamance river valleys), resulting in a disequilibrium detrimental to entire regions. The southeast, for example, definitely evolved into a disadvantaged back country and a source of manpower for the groundnut basin.

Thus, the humanpower needs of the groundnut economy harvesting, threshing, and so on) were easily satisfied by the seasonal movements of populations coming from the distant fringes of "useful Senegal," inside as well as outside the country's borders. This "mawetana" (a Wolof word for migrations during the rainy season) was even more active because groundnut cultivation in Senegal Oriental began rather late. Thus it is appropriate to emphasize the impact of this migratory movement on the working population of Upper Casamance, especially during the 1920s and 1930s. Evidently, it is very difficult to make a viable census of these labor movements, as of the well-known migrations (and their effects) of the Fildou of Upper Casamance, in order to measure their impact on the depopulation of the area. It appears, nevertheless, that a significant portion settle permanently in the area where they go to work.

In the same line of thought, it may be surmised that the southeastern region, which has difficulties retaining its own working population, has only been able to serve as a passage zone to the groundnut basin for most of those migrants coming from Guinea Conacry and Mali.

In fact, the development efforts in the area since independence, designed to reintegrate it with the rest of the country, and the sociopolitical and economic turmoil during the same period in the two neighboring Guinea republics have combined to see this area evolve from a transit zone to a receiving area for migrants.

The biggest interest such an evolution has is that it is likely to favorably influence the development prospects for the southeast. At any rate, in the end these results could probably help to cushion the shortage of the working-age population, which is seriously handicapping the region. In any case, they will at least constitute significant aid to the attempt at organized repopulation, which does not seem to be obtaining the results expected by its promoters.

MIGRATORY MOVEMENTS

Internal Migrations

Internal migrations essentially consist of population movements from other regions toward the east and south of Senegal.

When organized, these internal migrations have an important objective: a balanced redistribution of the population between the groundnut basin and the eastern "enclaves." In that respect, it is not superfluous to emphasize the fact that the groundnut basin still remains the mainstay of the Senegalese economy. The historical and political circumstances of its organization in the Senegalese economy are known well enough that they need not be reiterated here. The results of efforts to diversify during the 1960s (and particularly beginning with the Second Plan) still fall below what is needed to diminish the "domination" of the groundnut. We agree with the World Bank's theory of a noticeable decrease of the groundnut in the added value of the agricultural sector, from 56.9 percent to 42.5 percent (current prices) during the decade of 1971/80.

However, concurrent with the continued attempts to diversify, it was necessary to make important investments in improving the conditions for groundnut production. It is incontestable that the modernization of agricultural techniques, the promotion of animal traction, the regular distribution of selected varieties of seed, and the utilization of chemical fertilizers have had a definitely positive...
effect on the yields, even if, in the last analysis, their growth remains at the mercy of the rainfall factor. It may therefore be surmised that the strategy for agricultural development, which has been in operation for more than a decade now, is ruled by the search for solutions to problems that incite the continuation and intensification of the groundnut operation.

The overpopulation of the groundnut bowl is one of the most preoccupying of these problems. In fact, this part of "useful Senegal" holds the highest records of rural density, reaching as high as, and even exceeding, 100 inhabitants per square kilometer; this is clearly above the saturation level judged to be supportable for rural Senegal. But the relative abundance of cultivable lands lying fallow has historically provided the outlet for this problem, which became inseparable from widespread groundnut cultivation speculation. Thus, the "New Lands" settlement project, based on the historic Murid pioneer front, once again allowed the decongestion of the "old groundnut lands" of Sine. The beginnings of expansion of the groundnut bowl toward the Saloum interior go back to the period between the two world wars. The relatively modest operation for expansion was mostly an administrative answer, more or less effective, for the overpopulation problem in the Sine area.

The recent "Project Koundiennou-Makao" operation, which initially allowed the transfer of 300 families from the Sine, has a similar objective: opening up the old, used-up bowl through organized migration, moving some of the surplus population from the "groundnut triangle" and settling it in the "New Lands." Naturally, the expected result for the receiving area is growth of its active population, an influx of already "trained" workers who, at least, have a deep, well-formed experience of groundnut speculations. In addition, it seems that their installment in the receiving areas does not run up against any land tenure obstacles, and, for the moment, has inelicted no social rejection whatsoever.

However, it is rather difficult to discern just how favorable the economic basis of the current operation (largely based on the groundnut) actually is to the regional complementarity between midwestern and eastern Senegal. In this regard, one might perhaps fear that the operation may be reduced to a supportive demographic role in the expansion of the groundnut basin into the lands of the Upper Gambia and the Fuladu.

In the end, the high cost of this project, with its double strategy of relieving the load and repopulating, risks becoming a decisive argument in favor of spontaneous migrations, internal and/or international.

We are particularly interested in the spontaneous international migrations, which most often borrow the form of such old

International Migrations

Today, these migrations take place within a large expanse of territory, which, for the most part, corresponds to the departure zone for newaen during the peak of the expanding groundnut economy in the 1930s-50s. The territory encompasses southeast and eastern Senegal, northeastern Guinea Bissau, northwest Guinea Conakry, and part of western Mali. This area can be called the Upper Gambia Faleme Migratory Basin (see Map. 7.2).

The portions of these four countries, with overlapping political boundaries formed in colonial days, constitute a regional geographical unity characterized by common physical and human characteristics.

In fact, only because of colonial influence was the Faleme made a line of demarcation between the eastern and northern part of Senegal Orientale (from Tambacounda to Bakel), for one part, and the region of the Malian Upper Senegal (Kayes region), on the other. The same was done with southern Senegal Orientale (around Kédougou) and the Fuladu, on the one hand, and the northern part of Futa Jallon, on the other. Furthermore, such big ethnic groups as the Fulbe (from Pita to Kolda) and the Mandinkas clearly dominate this region and so constitute another basic element of unity, which runs counter to the artificial cleavage caused by national boundary lines.

Another common characteristic of the territories comprising this region is their marginal nature, as compared with the economic centers on or near the coast from Conakry to Dakar, passing through Fria, Boko, Bissau, and Banjul, and with terminals of an old penetration route, such as Bamako on the Dakar-Niger line.

The most important consequence of this situation is the general state of deterioration observed in this region, despite more and more promising possibilities, especially iron from the Faleme. Organization of the cash economy made this region a giant "drainage basin" of products and people, to the benefit of the groundnut basin. Because of this, at the time of political independence, the region had a minimum of infrastructure, reduced to what little communication there was in the Tambacounda-Bamako branch of the Dakar-Niger railroad line and a road network strictly limited to the axes of a seasonal evacuation for groundnut depots (Kayes, Tambacounda, Velingara, Kolda). Having only an embryonic urban development, these routes served as simple relays for the big
market centers (Kaolack, Thiès, and so on) toward which they assured the passage of seasonal laborers from nearby territories.

This region has always been a stage for great migratory movements, which have undeniably influenced the settlement of Senegal Oriental and the Fouladou region. But, it is the international migrations of the seasonal workers, which were activated and organized by colonial administration, that had considerable impact on the region. This is how the term nawetanat became the term used to designate those seasonal migrations, a name now adopted by several writers.

In its old form, from the end of World War I until 1961 when Senegal officially suppressed it, the nawetanat was a migration movement systematically organized as an indispensable expansion of the groundnut economy. Quite naturally, the labor was solicited from populations in the marginal regions of the "Upper Gambia" area, which gradually opened up the cash economy. Although available statistics have to be used with reservations, it is clear that the largest groups of nawetanes were coming from Malian Upper Senegal (Kayes, Bafoulabe, Kita, Noro) and from the Futa Jallon area of Guinea.

One would be correct to pinpoint the search for money as one of the basic motivations of those populations so very interested in the "trip to Senegal."

Furthermore, one of the measures frequently implemented by the colonial administration to stimulate migration was the offer of manufactured products, notably cloth. Manipulations of the price of the groundnut were also important; for nawetanat promoters, it was clear that the workers were coming to the peanut basin in search of cold cash, which had become necessary to satisfy their many needs, taxes first of all.

Moreover, depending upon the situation, the government did not hesitate to substitute outright labor requisitioning for incentives, as was done during World War II.

But, in reality, from the 1950s on, the "free nawetanat" would predominate, develop, and survive attempts at suppression during the independence period. Today, the nawetanat is one of the main currents of migration between southeast Senegal and neighboring countries, particularly Guinea Conakry.

Whether in its old form of incited or organized cash-crop migration or in its present form of spontaneous migration, the nawetanat can evolve into permanent settlement, either directly or following a relatively long intermediate phase of multiple-year migrations. Fluctuations in the West African political and economic situation can strongly influence the migrants' tendency to install themselves for a long time, if not permanently. Such a situation can be free or organised and can become permanent.
has been considerably reinforced among the Guinean immigrants in Senegal in the last two decades.

In fact, Draconian measures of surveillance of the northern Guinean border by the militia and army, which were especially reinforced from 1970-71 until the frontier reopened in 1973, never succeeded in seriously stopping the illegal immigration of Guineans into Senegal, through Senegal Oriental and Upper Casamance.

Futa Jallon is the main departure point, just as it was during the old trading days, before Senegal nationalized peanut marketing in 1960-61. The Guinean regions of Toucouleur, Elle, Telimele, and Mali supply the biggest contingents, to which are added small Diakhanka groups coming from Goual, Kombou, and Toubou (according to field investigations in the Kolda cotton belt, December 1977).

The imbalance resulting from the recent boom of mining enclaves in coastal Guinea has helped speed up the geographic mobility of the populations from the interior, especially from the Futa Jallon, toward the coast and the big economic centers of the nearby countries: Senegal, the Gambia, Mali, Ivory Coast, Sierra Leone, and Liberia. "The absence of short-term development prospects, the chronic shortage of every kind of product, galloping inflation, and generalized smuggling were adequate to make the farmers decide to fall back on self-sufficiency or to migrate." 21

The Guinean migrant takes the road to Senegal in search of real or imagined possibilities of a job in the country or in the city and whatever financial gains may be offered him. In the tradition of voyagers to Senegal, the Fouladou especially has the reputation of being a "holy land." From the answers we collected from about 50 seasonal workers in Medina Yorofula and Dabo (December 1977-March 1979), we learned the following. By coming to Senegal, they have high hopes of saving up a little store of money by cultivating groundnuts or cotton; 70 percent chose to come directly to Upper Casamance, 25 percent came only after making a fruitless tour for prospects around the Gambia and the groundnut bowl, and 5 percent gave indefinite answers. In reply to a question about how they use their earnings, 60 percent said they plan to return immediately (after selling their yield) in order to bring back home (manufactured) products and the remainder of their money, 15 percent hope to open a little business in Kolda or elsewhere while waiting for the next farming season, and 25 percent gave indefinite answers.

In summary, as during the period of the trade navetanat, the people still continue to cross the northern foothills of the Futa Jallon in order to answer the call of the groundnut and cotton in Fuladu. In other words, they come in search of cold cash. In that respect, Upper Casamance has relatively adequate welcoming facilities for the job seekers.

THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

For lack of other basic activities (industrialization is essentially limited to two cotton-ginning plants), the development of Upper Casamance in the last 15 years has depended on the expansion of cash cropping through the modernization and intensification of groundnuts, on one hand, and the expansion of cotton, on the other.

From Kolda to Velingara, the Fouladou has provided the groundnut with an area most advantageous for its expansion. Weather conditions on the whole are clearly more reliable than in the north or west, even during periods of great drought. The abundance of fallow land suits well the soil needs of the groundnuts. Thus, the groundnut is well-represented among the dry crops cultivated on plateau land.

At the socioeconomic level, the growth of the groundnut as the main cash crop found very favorable terrain in a region with an essentially food-crop economy. 22

Despite these favorable conditions, groundnut expansion has fallen short of the production capacity of the Fouladou. The handicap of Upper Casamance’s relative isolation has not only slowed down the pace but also limited its capacity for land transformation and use. The network of medium-sized villages engendered by the colonial trading economy is not to be found here, as it is along the railroad line or the main axes of the groundnut bowl. Even the old river ports planted along the Casamance-Tankanto-Escob, Diana Ba-Diana Malari are still modest groups of villages that are only very timidly opening up to urbanization. Therefore, Kolda and Velingara remain the only true urban centers in all of Upper Casamance, probably more because of the functions they serve rather than their physical features. Thus, these two towns serve as poles to a scattering of towns of various sizes, which have evolved and still serve as a support of the geographical organization of the groundnut economy. Very often, the bigger villages regroup along the main evacuation routes. These are the "trade points," which are now village centers spread out among the farming villages. They are connected by a loose network of paths that are useful only seasonally. In short, until cotton was introduced in 1969, Upper Casamance had only one very limited program, which centered around slowly expanding groundnut speculation.

Beginning with the Second Plan (1965-69), which envisioned for Fuladu the "introduction or development of some new crops via local development projects with specialized staff," rainfed cotton together with the traditional cereals were to contribute to the expansion of commercial farming. Within a few years, it was thus possible to create a cotton basin, which covered the departments of
Kolda, Viégas, and Tambacounda (in Senegal Oriental). On the whole, results have been satisfactory. Combined with the results obtained from other crops during the same period, including the groundnut, these results can be taken as a start for the economic expansion of Upper Casamance, however limited it may be. At any rate, while waiting for these agricultural programs to reach their maximum effectiveness, they have given Upper Casamance a relative economic dynamism that has made it one of the main receiving areas for rural immigrants coming from the two republics of Guinea.

THE SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE

The insignificance of the political boundaries for the populations belonging to the same ethnocultural group was quite apparent in the answers we received (see Migration Questionnaire at the end of this chapter). Crossing the border (rather dangerous in the past few years, until its recent reopening) is part of the regular movements that individuals or groups may make, regardless of the state of relations between countries, just as much for family reasons as for motives stemming from a poor economic situation.

In addition, general working conditions for the seasonal workers are still affected by very well-established social relations which have been in effect since the times of the trade nawetana. The nawetans are bound in the contractual status of a sourga (the Wolof equivalent of nawetan, believed to be the institutional model from which nawetan-host relations are based), in which they lend their labor for from three to four days out of seven in exchange for provision by the jatjig (Wolof word for host or patron) of food, tools, and so on. In the district of Medina Yorofoola, the rate is 3.5 days; it is three days in the district of Dioulacolou. This variation in rates for the sourga from one section to another (and probably from one season to another) is the consequence of the free nature of the nawetana, no longer directly controlled by the governments.

Working conditions are determined by the parties concerned, that is, the sourga and the jatjig. But beyond material interests, the sourga is assured of feeling at home in the Fuladu, with his relatives (in a broad sense), whether they are from Futa Jallon or Ngabu. Furthermore, it is this very parentage, real or professed for the occasion, which is sealed by a common heritage to the larger group of hal pularen, the context for negotiations about working conditions. So the immigrant is welcomed by the entire village, which is related to the jatjig. And, according to the responses of the newly arrived nawetans in Dioulaye and Dingrataye...
(Medina-Yorofula district), this welcome is even more reassuring when the djati, even if he may have been born in Senegal, has been able to keep in touch with that part of the family living on the other side of the border in Guinea. Obviously, when these nattles decide in favor of a long or permanent stay, they deliberately refuse to declare themselves foreigners. This attitude is often a serious obstacle to attempts to make a statistical evaluation of the migration. As the matter now stands, one cannot hope to depend on statistics provided by the country from which the immigrants depart. Thus only general estimates may be made. 26

Immigrants who pass through Senegal Oriental (Tambacounda-Kedougou) and Upper Casamance (Vélingara-Kolda) have three means of transportation for making their move: trains, trucks or automobiles, or on foot.

The train is the mode for those coming from Malian Upper Senegal and Guinea. Guineans taking the train from Bamako follow the migratory axis and are only slightly interested in southeastern Senegal. They are headed for Dakar or the other big Senegalese stations.

Trucks or automobiles, relatively active as a type of transportation just before and after the countries attained independence, have seen many ups and downs in the past 15 years because of the instability of Senegalese-Guinean diplomatic and political relations and Guinea Bissau’s liberation war. In fact, strict, constant surveillance of the border at the Guinean outlet of the international routes (Kundara, Sambolo, Youkounkoun), as well as the authoritarian settlement project in Koundara, notably of the “rejects” from Conakry and other large towns (in the program for the control of rural exodus), have seriously hindered road connections between Senegal and Guinea Conakry. Recent revival of these connections after nearly 10 years of suspension should allow recording of border crossings in both directions.

However, we are most interested in the last decade, during which Guineans crossing into Senegal on the southeast border have mainly traveled on foot. Such movements indicate that these migrants wish to escape any sort of control, from departure to arrival, until they are safely enconced in a relative’s home in the first Senegalese frontier town. To accomplish this feat, they take to paths outside of the guarded sectors, sometimes with the effective but costly help of experienced passers who go through a complicated network that is difficult to trace.

So, the old nawentan trade route (Piita-Labe-Kifaya-Koundara-Medina Gomasse-Tambacounda), easily closed out by the army, the military, or the national guard, has been replaced by a secret route composed of detours and traversed by air baage, often at night, along with all of the dangers inherent in such an adventure. Once the crossing is made, the migrant is almost immediately caught; in Kedougou or Kolda, a “Diallo” with Guinean nationality differs very little from a “Diallo” with Senegalese nationality. Because of this, any kind of registration of such travelers, which would permit a statistical evaluation of Guinean immigration into southeast Senegal, is still a big problem, especially since any official control of the nawentan was stopped in 1963.

Under such conditions, we attempted to observe the effects of the migratory trend in the settlement areas. We chose the northern part of the department of Kolda because its relatively low human population affords great possibilities for settlement of migrants, if only in the context of the cotton expansion program, and because the migrants who chose long-term or permanent settlement have a tendency to go beyond the immediate vicinity of the Guinean border.

From censuses taken in Medina Yorofula (departmental capital) and Dinguiraye (central village and collection and marketing point for cotton), a relatively large number of seasonal workers among the taxable workers, about 30-40 percent for the 1977-78 season, and a relatively large number of recently settled Guinean migrants were observed.

For the village of Dinguiraye, for example, we polled the populations of 40 neighborhoods made up of Fulbe from Futa Jallon and Diakhankes, all of whom came from Guinea. They represented approximately one quarter of the village’s population and had settled recently. Only three neighborhood heads out of ten had been in their locality more than ten years. In the table below, the first six neighborhoods belong to the Fulbe group and the other four to the Diakhank. Most of the heads, in turn, have access to seasonal workers hired for labor during the rainy season.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Neighborhoods</th>
<th>Residents</th>
<th>Seasonal Workers</th>
<th>Length of Stay of the Neighborhood Head in the Neighborhood (in years)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

human smuggling already here!!!
Similar, quickly executed investigations have allowed us to pinpoint 25 cases of recent settlement (June 1977) of Guinean immigrants with their families in Dioulayet, a district of Dialolocoum. In Farabe, Sare Kemo, and Gada Para, which are towns located in the outskirts of Kolda, we registered 15 new homes that had been established a year before (1976-77). It appears that the reinforcement of surveillance on the Guinean side of the border as of 1970 has increased both seasonal and nonseasonal immigrants' tendency to settle down, so as not to be obliged to run the risk of return to Guinea (use of firearms by the militia). Political troubles during late 1970 made any individual who tries to cross over into Guinea from the bordering states, especially Senegal, suspect.

CONCLUSION

The recent rise of the two big cash crops have made Upper Casamance and, secondarily, Senegal Oriental immigration regions for the populations in the northern fringes of the neighboring countries, Guinea Conakry and Guinea Bissau. At present, a statistical evaluation of this migratory current is out of the question; an official silence maintained on both sides of the border risks keeping such statistics secret for many more years to come. The fact is that there is a general flow of Guineans migrating into Senegal, a situation that has very visibly been on the rise during the past decade, although some people are trying to prove the contrary.

In its seasonal form, this movement seems to prolong the trade nawetam (officially suppressed) as an outside supplier of the main labor force to satisfy the demand created by the expansion of cash crops in southeast Senegal. In the receiving areas, these international seasonal migrations are seen as a factor of economic equilibrium, which partially conditions the extent of land to be cultivated, the option of one or two crops (groundnut, cotton); seasonal workers can then mitigate the strains of the double agricultural calendar; and possibilities for increasing incomes; the presence of the seasonal workers creates an availability for certain workers who, with the agreement of the rest of the family group, free themselves to look for prime income. For those concerned, this is not just a hit-or-miss tour, but a move made to find exact information about the rainfall situation and prospects for harvests in the target areas or for monetary gain in the case of the urban centers.

MIGRATION QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire for International Migrations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Interviewer</th>
<th>Village of:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Neighborhood of:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First name, last name</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship (to head of neighborhood)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caste</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities: Main</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origin (village, town, country)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of departure from home town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date of arrival in department</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where is he staying (did he stay) prior to settling in the village?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did he travel alone or with a group?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Means of travel and itinerary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reasons for leaving home town? Main reason</td>
<td>Secondary reason</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Previous activities: Main</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What does he think of life in the town he migrated to? and his reception? his neighbors? his working conditions?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does he plan to go back to his home town?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After what length of time?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

179
In our opinion, this internal, methodical organization of labor migrations constitutes one of the factors of the survival of the Fidou movement.

In the final analysis, this immigration, which has the advantage of draining off people from the same ethnic group for the most part, is undeniably a partial solution to the problem of repopulating the "peripheral" regions, even if this is contrary to the organized current from the goundnut "triangle" toward the "New Lands."

Furthermore, in the medium and short run, major operations for development foreseen for this region (SOMIVAC, SODEFITEX) could contribute this immigrant manpower, whose installation in a rural environment, in principle, doesn't require any special investment.

Finally, it would not be an exaggeration to think that the disencagement of southeastern Senegal is getting off to a start with the help of attempts to intensify agricultural activity and with the planned improvement of the road network (the southern Ziguinchor-Kolda paved road, presently about 200 kilometers long, has recently reached Velingara). The effect on interior and international movements would be strengthened if the southeast could pass from the stage of a promising region for raw or processed agricultural products to that of an agroindustrial region (cultivation and full processing of cotton, for example). Such urban centers as Tambacounda, Kolda, and Velingara would then have enough resources to develop into economic centers capable of counterbalancing the influence of the economic centers in Senegal Occidental. The expansion of regional complements between the midwest and the south would most likely reinforce the tendency of migration from the overpopulated zones in the old groundnut basin toward the southeast.

NOTES


2. Despite this precaution, it was often difficult and/or advisable to use these questionnaires directly. The spontaneous reticence of people being questioned was reinforced by a certain "political" suspiciousness, which is understandable, after all, on the eve of a national election campaign.

3. On December 29, 1977, we took part in a passionate debate (aroused by our team) between a former peasant who had been a seasonal migrant from 1963 through 1971 and had been settled in Dakar since 1972, where he was able to find employment in fishing, and a group of peasants, apparently among the most well informed of the village. The very long discussion turned on the subtle nuances evoked by phrases such as "rootlessness" and "labor migration."


5. The phrase "Faladi region" is used here in its climatic sense, as proposed by Paul Moral in his essay defining a schema of the climatic regions of Senegal: "Le climat du Sénégal," *Revue de géographie de l'Afrique occidentale* 3 (Dakar, 1966), 86-96. The region he calls Faladi corresponds exactly to the southeastern area we are considering here. The term is also used by historians for the nineteenth century kingdom by that name.

6. Ibid., p. 34.


8. See M. Danfoukha, "Kédougou, ville originale d'une région enclavée," unpublished mémoire de maîtrise geography, University of Dakar, 1972. This author correctly emphasized the determining role played by poor health conditions in the isolation and neglect of the region.


11. J. F. Dupont considers that the function of "official center for the assembly, transit and distribution of seasonal peanut farmers" was one of the determining factors in the growth of the town of Tambacounda. "Tambacounda, capitale du Sénégal oriental," *Cahiers d'outre-mer* 6 (1964): 208.

12. Clearly there exist spontaneous migratory currents in the direction of the eastern margins of the peanut basin, as shown by J. P. Dubois, "L'Emigration des Sérères vers la zone arachidière orientale," *Dakar, ORSTOM*, 1971.

13. Several authors have attempted to define the shifting and imprecise boundaries of this peanut pole of attraction; see P. Metge, "Le Peuplement," and P. Pèlissier, *Les paysans du Sénégal, les civilisations agraires du Cayor à la Casamance* (St. Yrieux: Fabrèque, 1966), pp. 82-83.


17. M. S. Balde, "Changements sociaux et migration. . . .," pp. 102-64. This author succeeds in identifying the zones in which Guinean immigrants (mainly Fulbe from Futa Jallon) settled in Pulaar, the "liberation villages" settled by former slaves from Futa Jallon and other localities recognizable by their toponomy.


19. See, for example, Senegal, Ministry of Planning and Cooperation, *Étude d'un plan de développement régional intégré du Sénégal oriental*, 1977, Dakar.

20. Following official Guinean administrative nomenclature.


24. It is highly probable that SOMIVAC's intervention may improve the agricultural development perspectives of this region.

25. Conclusion of the debate organized between our team and a group of peasants, including both heads of households and kinwamis, with the participation of the SODIFITEX field worker, at Diolacon, December 9, 1977.

26. Longer, in-depth studies would be necessary to arrive at a statistical evaluation of these international migrations, particularly between Guinea Conakry and Senegal. The cooperation of authorities of both countries would be desirable for the success of such an enterprise. (E.N. Guinea has not taken an official census.)

27. After loosening up in the early months of 1978, road links between Senegal and Guinea opened officially following the reconciliation in Monrovia, March 1978.


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**DIOLA WOMEN AND MIGRATION: A CASE STUDY**

*Alice Hamer*

**STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

Migration has increasingly become one of the most cumbersome contemporary problems in Africa. In Senegal this dilemma is predominantly domestic in nature and falls into three different categories. One concerns the overpopulation of the central groundnut basin. Another concerns the underpopulation of some lands with marked agricultural potential in the southern part of the country. The third category concerns the overpopulation of the Cap Vert region, Dakar in particular. It is the latter two that are directly related to the seasonal migration of Diola women.

The official policy of the Senegalese government since independence has encouraged the decentralization of the industrial sector in Dakar and its outlying areas. In spite of this, industrial growth in this area has become more concentrated, accounting for approximately 85 percent of all Senegal's industry. No doubt this is the primary agent pushing many there in search of employment, contributing to Dakar's soaring 10 percent annual population increase. Population increase has been so rapid that, according to the 1970/71 census, two-thirds of Senegal's urban population is in Dakar alone. Thus the density of Cap Vert is the highest of Senegal's eight regions at 1,540 persons per square kilometer. This compares with that of the second most densely populated region, Thiès, at 94 per square kilometer, and with the least populated area, Senegal Oriental, at 5 per square kilometer. This imbalance in urban-rural distribution has resulted in a parallel economic disequilibrium. National expenditure has necessarily favored the Cap Vert region, at the expense of rural Senegal. This is expressed most clearly by the fact that urban incomes are 14 times higher than rural ones.