

# Migration, Remittances and Gender-Responsive Local Development

## The case of Senegal



**The United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW)** promotes applied research on gender issues, facilitates knowledge management, and supports capacity-building through networking mechanisms and multi-stakeholder partnerships with UN agencies, governments, academia and civil society.

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**Migration, remittances and gender-responsive local development: The case of Senegal**

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# PREFACE

The feminization of migration is a phenomenon that stresses not only the moderate increase in the numbers of women migrating, but also the ways in which women participate in migratory processes. In the past, most female migrants moved as dependants of husbands or families, whereas today a greater variety of women are leaving autonomously to work and live abroad as primary income earners. Growing interest in the study of the feminization of migration has created a knowledge base of experience and tools that lend themselves to the integration of gender equality into migration-related interventions.

Meanwhile, remittances – another significant feature of migration – are gaining international attention. The monies sent from migrants in destination countries to families and communities in countries of origin are an important motivator for working abroad. Although individual migrants generally send relatively small sums of money, the accrual of remittances amounts to considerable financial flows.

Recognizing remittances' impact on national economies and the global financial world, governments and international organizations have taken interest in their potential to affect development. However, this potential to support and enhance human and local development has yet to be fully understood. A gendered approach to studying this phenomenon highlights how gender affects migrants' experiences and how migrant women in particular can contribute to dialogues, policy planning and interventions for sustainable development.

The study of remittances is an important aspect of the United Nations Development Programme's work on human development and poverty reduction, as well as its work in assisting governments to seek novel ways to harness remittances' development potential in achieving the Millennium Development Goals. Remittances are the only means of survival for millions of poor households worldwide; remittances allow them to afford not only the basic necessities that are otherwise lacking or inaccessible, but also a degree of economic empowerment. Building on this topic, UNDP dedicated its 2009 Human Development Report, *Overcoming barriers: Human mobility and development*, to applying a human development approach to the study of migration. While not a substitute for broader development efforts, migration can be a vital strategy for households and families seeking to diversify and improve their livelihoods.

Since 2004, the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) has sought to understand the gender dimensions of migration, remittances and their potential for development. The Institute utilizes a gender perspective to analyze how factors such as gender inequalities in access to work and divisions of labour determine the relationship between migration and development. Within this framework, remittances serve as a key component to comprehending and facilitating sustainable solutions.

This series of studies, 'Migration, Remittances and Gender-Responsive Local Development', focuses on the sending, transfer, receipt and utilization of remittances, and affirms that gender influences and shapes the movement and experiences of migrants and their communities in both origin and destination countries. The mapping of key actors and the discussion of historical and current migratory patterns and remittance practices in each country provided a useful background that allowed for an analysis of collective and social remittances. Utilizing a gender perspective and an emphasis on human development, this project adds another layer of necessary investigation that builds on the migration-development nexus.

With this publication, UN-INSTRAW and UNDP are committed to producing applied research that promotes the facilitation of gender-responsive policies and practices related to migration and development. The recommendations generated from the research serve as key guides for national level policy dialogues attended by key stakeholders, including migrant organizations, government agencies, financial intermediaries and NGOs. These dialogues are important platforms where research results can be translated into action plans that highlight co-development. Over time, the inclusion of gender analysis into the formulation of effective and sustainable migration and development strategies will contribute to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals.

UN-INSTRAW and UNDP present this global series on gender, remittances and development in order to facilitate the development of policies and practices that incorporate the needs and contributions of migrant women, their households and communities into development agendas, thus bringing about gender responsive local development and sustainable livelihoods and futures.

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## Executive Summary

# SENEGAL

The complex links between globalization and development have made contemporary migration a key area of investigation. It is estimated that over 200 million women and men have left their countries of origin to live and work abroad. Occurring simultaneously are equally intensive internal movements, primarily from rural to urban areas. Demographically, many country-specific flows have changed, both in terms of numbers and composition by sex. Studies on the feminization of migration<sup>1</sup> have revealed women's significant role and impact as actors in the migration process. Despite the rapid increase in the volume and diversity of knowledge on the migration-development nexus, research and debate on the gender dimensions of this issue, including the role of women within migratory flows, continues to be scarce.

In 2007, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (UN-INSTRAW) began a joint project entitled "Gender and Remittances: Building Gender-Responsive Local Development." The project has sought to enhance gender-responsive local development by identifying and promoting options for utilizing remittances for sustainable livelihoods and for building social capital in poor rural and semi-urban communities. The research phase of the project has been implemented in six countries: Albania, the Dominican Republic, Lesotho, Morocco, the Philippines and Senegal.

The strategic aim of the project is to generate action-oriented research that will be used to:

1. Increase awareness and improve access of women-headed, remittance-recipient households to productive resources, while augmenting their assets and strengthening their capacities;
2. Provide relevant information to local and national governments to identify and formulate policies that will optimize remittance utilization for sustainable livelihoods and for building social capital; and
3. Contribute to enhancing key stakeholders' capacities to integrate gender into policies, programmes, projects, and other initiatives linking remittances with sustainable livelihoods and building social capital.

The six case studies aim to narrow the knowledge gap on the gender dimensions of migration and remittances through an interlinked analysis of migration and development. Particular attention is paid to the impact of remittances (financial, in-kind and social) on gendered development processes in countries of origin and amongst transnational households spanning the origin and destination countries.

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1. "In addition to the net increase in the proportion of women among migratory flows, primarily to highly-developed countries in the North – the term feminization denotes an important qualitative change in the composition of these flows, that is the sustained increase in the proportion of women migrating independently in search of employment, instead of as "family dependents" that travel with their spouses or reunite with them abroad. In other words, over the last two decades, a significant amount of women – who now migrate independently, assuming the role of economic provider – have joined the migratory flows that were previously dominated by men" (Perez et al 2008).

This case study research examines the gender dimensions of migration and remittances in the context of Senegal and the destination country of France. This study is based on a literature review, a mapping of actors involved in the migration process, and field surveys conducted in Senegal and France from both a quantitative and a qualitative perspective. The selected survey area in Senegal straddles two administrative districts that once formed the single territorial unit of Saint-Louis and Matam. The areas studied in France belong to Ile-de-France and include Mantes-la-Jolie, Étampes and Montreuil. Data collection in both France and Senegal took place from May to August 2008. Quantitative data was collected through a questionnaire that was administered in ten villages of the River Valley to 401 members of households that have at least one migrant in France and that receive remittances. The sample included 256 women and 145 men. The qualitative data collection — which consisted of interviews, life stories and focus groups — was conducted in Senegal from 20 to 25 July 2008 and in France from 8 to 18 August 2008.

Migration from the River Valley first began with the onset of the World Wars: the Senegalese migrated in support of France's war effort. Migration first occurred on a large scale in the 1970s as a result of drought and poverty in rural areas. This trend continued in the 1980s due to structural adjustment policies that left many unemployed; unemployment due to economic liberalization still affects the country today. Migration was and is predominantly male. Until recently, Senegalese society, notably the Haalpular culture, was an impediment to the movement of unaccompanied women, particularly to distant destinations. International migrants from the valley generally have little or no education: 85 percent of female migrants and 77 percent of male migrants interviewed had no schooling. Migration is primarily labour-oriented; the first migrant workers were salaried employees, mainly in the automotive industry. Although migrants from the River Valley are increasingly creating their own businesses, they are still primarily employed as salaried workers. Some women work in catering, hairdressing or selling jewellery.

Migration has led to significant changes both in the country of origin and destination, improving living conditions and social relations. The study reveals that as a result of migration, households are relatively well-equipped with basic services: 90 percent have telephones, 96 percent have access to drinking water, and 86 percent have access to electricity. However, communities often lack the infrastructure to reduce women's workload in terms of domestic responsibilities (e.g., taking care of children and the sick).

At the social level, relations between men and women have also been changed as a result of migration, primarily in France. Social laws in the destination country, including those relating to polygamy, have had different impacts on men and women. Migration has not fundamentally changed the concept of marriage for men and the prohibition of polygamy in France does not prevent them from taking a second or third wife in Senegal. However, the study found that migration has helped Senegalese women in France renegotiate gender relations, if only within households. Because the destination country offers a different option with respect to rights, some women have claimed independence and have been able to challenge existing social hierarchies between men and women and re-negotiate the social order. In the country of origin, migration has improved their living conditions, either through remittances or through being married to a (relatively) wealthy man, a new and sometimes enviable effect of migration. However, migration has resulted in little change in terms of gender relations in Senegal.

Finally, relationships among children and between parents and children have changed. The right to family reunification disrupted the lifestyle of migrants who were living alone in worker compounds. When reunited with their children, it was challenging for parents to figure out how to enrol them in a new educational system. Children of migrants, particularly boys, have difficulty finding their way between two cultures. Girls have less trouble finding employment and usually work in relatively low-skilled labour, primarily in the healthcare and service sectors. It should also be noted that some migrants have been able to guide and educate their children in such a way that they were able to complete university



studies and enter the workforce. Senegalese children with French nationality generally do not plan to return permanently to Senegal, a country with which they have little attachment. However, periodic returns to Senegal drive young people to develop emotional relationships with their country of origin. Some choose to invest in Senegal, if only in a symbolic way. This second generation drives migration through marriage, as young Senegalese men and women living in France prefer to marry young people from Senegal.

In Senegal, remittances that pass through official channels were estimated at more than 500 billion CFA francs (around US\$1 billion)<sup>9</sup> in 2007. This represents between 15 percent and 65 percent of the income earned by the migrant, and from 30 percent to 80 percent of the income of Senegalese recipient households. It is difficult to get an accurate picture of cash flows associated with migration, but the proliferation of wire transfer operators (e.g., Western Union, Money Gram or Money Express) serves as an indicator of the increased flow of money. Several studies confirm that the estimates based on official remittance transfers significantly underestimate the magnitude of these capital flows, since a large part of remittances are sent through informal, varied and sometimes inventive channels.

In the villages studied, remittances from migrants in France are estimated to average around €240 (US\$344)<sup>10</sup> per month for households headed by women, and about €210 (US\$284) per month for households headed by men. Much of the cash flow is used to cover basic needs such as food, ceremonies, health, and housing.

Eighty-two percent of migrants interviewed said they receive remittances on a monthly basis. They are usually received a few days after the migrants receive their monthly salary. The research shows that the 'private fax' is the primary means of money transfer, and is used by 31 percent of migrants, followed by formal systems of remitting such as Western Union or Money Gram, which are used by 25 percent of migrants. Seventeen percent of those sending remittances use the postal system, followed by 11 percent who send via family members that are travelling to the village.

Migrants, either individually or collectively, have invested in social projects such as mosques, morgues, the repatriation of the dead, health facilities, payment of medical personnel, and the construction of post offices or schools. To a lesser extent, remittances have also promoted the development of economic activities in agriculture. Some of these achievements have been financed by migrants' associations and supported by development partners. Because remittances generally do not cover an entire family's needs, households are also forced to find other sources of income. 69 percent of men and 35 percent of women who manage remittances supplement household income. Thus, women in remittance recipient households are more dependent on remittances than men. The role that remittances play in the local economy, apart from consumer spending, is negligible. Only 13 percent of those surveyed reported that their households received remittances to finance productive investment projects.

The River Valley has enormous economic potential, particularly in agriculture, livestock, real estate, and the service sector. However, local people usually cannot afford to invest in these areas. Most migrants choose to invest in projects outside of town, and often invest in real estate in Dakar. The wives of migrants work in many areas, though their projects are less ambitious than men's. Women entrepreneurs tend to succeed in business management, though they often face difficulties accessing credit or land.

Senegalese migration policy aims to address many different issues, but few programmes initiated in relation to migration affect the region (Fouta). Also, due to the economic crisis, migration flows are not renewing, which will likely mean fewer remittances in the future. This will have important social consequences for the region, which relies heavily on remittances to sustain basic infrastructure, and points to the need to develop alternative mechanisms for the region's economic development.

Research shows the importance of agriculture and livestock to creating income-generating activities such as milk production, cereal processing, meat productions, and vegetable cultivation. Audiovisual and information technology-related service provision is a sector with high potential to develop in the region, as is vocational training in construction, particularly in trades such as masonry, electrical work and welding. Remittances, despite their great volume, assure only the survival of the family. It is therefore necessary to find new ways to finance private initiatives for local development. Although family budgets are very low, additional resources (e.g., a system of credit with reasonable interest rates) could serve as a starting point for productive investment.

Retired migrants can be potential investors. Because of their monthly pensions of up to €1,000 (US\$1354) and/or the return on their property investments, they can be key actors in entrepreneurship programs developed in the valley. Women have assets that may add value to the establishment of productive activities: they have excellent organizational capacity, and through the courses offered by the various development projects in the valley, they have acquired expertise in different areas. Migrant associations have also been successful investors, particularly in building village infrastructure. However, the transition from investments that are social and collective in nature to those that are private requires, among many other things, technical and organizational support and a great ability to persuade.

The implementation of a new approach to development based on expressed needs and proven local capabilities can be made possible through the organization of a political dialogue between all actors involved — including local populations, migrants, local authorities, members of the private sector, and development partners.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

The complex links between globalization and development have made contemporary migration a key area of investigation. It is estimated that over 200 million women and men have left their countries of origin to live and work abroad. Occurring simultaneously are equally intensive internal movements, primarily from rural to urban areas. Demographically, many country-specific flows have changed, both in terms of numbers and composition by sex. Studies on the feminization of migration<sup>1</sup> have revealed women's significant role and impact as actors in the migration process. Despite the rapid increase in the volume and diversity of knowledge on the migration-development nexus, research and debate on the gender dimensions of this issue, including the role of women within migratory flows, continues to be scarce.

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This study aims to narrow the knowledge gap on the gender dimensions of migration and remittances through an interlinked analysis of migration and development. Particular attention is paid to the impact of remittances (financial, in-kind and social) on gendered development processes in countries of origin and amongst transnational households spanning the origin and destination countries. This case study research examines these dynamics in the context of Senegal and the destination country of France.

The free movement of men and women across long distances has served as an alternative means to maintain the reproduction of households affected by deteriorating living conditions; as such, it has become an interesting and highly debated topic in the North and South. Such is the case of Senegal – a former flagship territory of the French colonial empire in Africa – which became an emigration country due to multiple problems such as the drought in the 1970s, structural adjustment in the 1980s and massive poverty in the 1990s and 2000s. The most current statistics indicate that out of a total population of approximately eleven million inhabitants, the number of Senegalese living abroad is estimated to be two million people (Eurosat 2000).<sup>3</sup>

The attention accorded to migration is linked to the important role migrants play as agents of change, both in their countries of origin and destination. Money transfers to countries of origin are one of the most visible benefits of migration. They are at the centre of the recurring debate about the contribution of migrants to the development of their countries of origin. In this sense, it is important to examine ways to improve the use of remittances, particularly with respect to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Therefore international migrants are wooed by the governments of their countries of origin who have great hope in their role of potential investors. Indeed, a widely shared perception is that remittances may be a way out of poverty.

Today, the fundamental question in the context of international mobility is that of its linkage with sustainable development, and more precisely, how co-development can gradually take precedence over development aid. This has attached value to the role of migrants who essentially contribute to development at the grassroots level.

This study's focus on gender analysis aims to improve the understanding of the transfers of remittances at the informal level as well as to develop a participatory and inclusive apprehension of interventions with regards to the creation of business opportunities. On the one hand, this approach examines key research issues and on the other hand, identifies the dimensions of gender relations that have to be taken into account when looking at remittances. The goal is to encourage a greater inclusion of women and to strengthen their rights to enjoy the benefits of migration and policies in place. Finally, it is important to note that recent world-wide developments related to the global financial crisis present new facts that this study cannot ignore as they will certainly have an impact on remittances.

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3. Despite the fact that Africa has been the principal destination for Senegalese migrants, with approximately 58% of those abroad, southern Europe and North America have become increasingly popular among Senegalese migrants. Fuente: Center of Migration and Urbanization of West Africa, survey on migration and urbanization in Senegal (EMUS) 1992-1993. National descriptive report, Bamako, August 1997.

This report consists of five parts. Section 2 deals with migration between Senegal and France. It describes the places of origin and characteristics of the Senegalese population in France. It also explains the evolution of this migrant population over time, the increasing visibility of women, transnational networks and the effects of migration on social capital of migrants. Section 3 describes and analyses individual and collective remittances, both in the form of money and goods. Section 4 evaluates the fieldwork findings in order to understand the impact of remittances on the local development of the rural Senegalese communities that were the subject of this study. It discusses the role of women, the second generation, retired migrant men, the form and role of associations in France and Senegal, the types of investments made and the obstacles and challenges identified. Section 5 focuses on the role of key actors in the process of co-development, public policies, and projects on migration and development. Finally, the last section deals with recommendations that were developed by the research team and validated by key stakeholders.

# 2

# MIGRATION FLOWS AND REMITTANCES BETWEEN SENEGAL AND FRANCE

## 2.1 Characteristics of migrant communities of origin in Senegal

The middle valley, the area of this study, corresponds to the central part of the Senegal River Valley. Commonly known as Fouta, it stretches from Dagana to Dembankane, covering the area populated by the Halpulaar group, formerly known as the Tukulors. Straddling the Saint-Louis and Matam administrative regions, the middle valley is made up of the historic lands or provinces of Lao, Hirilaabe, Ebyabee, Bosseya and Nguenar (see map). This biogeographical region is crossed by the Senegal River, which has its source in Upper Guinea and flows into the Atlantic at the end of its 1750 km journey. It is made up of two hydrogeographical zones: Waalo, or the floodplains, and Dieri, the area where the lands are never flooded by the river. The Senegal River serves as a border with Mauritania. Located in the northern part of Senegal, in historical terms, the region studied is the oldest centre of human settlement in the country and the site of the first Senegalese kingdom, Tekrur. Fouta was also the gateway of Islam,

Map No. 1: Senegal



Map No. 2: Study region in Senegal



which shaped the local culture. The French presence in Saint-Louis from the 17th century onwards had a considerable impact on the region, especially through the development of cash crops to the detriment of subsistence crops. Combined with the continued decline in rainfall, desertification is having a negative impact on the Sahelian environment, which has already suffered greatly from drought. With a view to solving this terrible problem, Mali, Mauritania and Senegal created the Organisation pour la Mise en Valeur du

Sénégal (OMVS – Organization for the Development of the Senegal River Valley), which has built two dams, among other things. Although this is not the place to question the development of the river basin, there is no denying that the populations of the middle valley benefit very little from it. Furthermore, they are always quick to denounce its harmful effects, such as the loss of farm lands linked to changes in the river regime, or frantic competition for land, which often results in the expropriation of indigenous peoples and/or dramatic conflicts. Faced with the degradation of environmental conditions, the Foutanke (the local population) saw migration as a survival strategy very early on. Spatially confined to the peanut-producing areas, the Tukulors initially worked as farm workers in order to pay their taxes, before joining the exodus towards the large cities of Senegal or to foreign countries.

Analysing the population profiles of the areas studied reveals their profound attachment to traditional values such as marriage, which plays a key role in traditional life. These populations have a very low level of education and literacy, and difficult living conditions, which have nevertheless improved thanks to investment by migrants. The low level of education is one of their main characteristics, particularly for women, who have higher rates of illiteracy. Data collected in the places of departure indicate that 82% of the population has never been to school. Only 11% of the people questioned had been to primary school, 5.2% had attended secondary school and 0.2% had reached university. Women are less well represented overall in education, as only 10.5% go to primary school, compared to 13.8% of men, and 4.3% go to secondary school, compared to 6.9% of men. There are no women in higher education. The study also reveals that thanks to migration, the places of departure are fairly well equipped in terms of basic services, such as telephone, water and electricity. Only 1.7% of the households surveyed do not have a telephone. However, due to a lack of infrastructure, internet access is very low: less than 1% of the population interviewed has access. Just 4.2% of families have access to water from wells and rivers. Improvements in the quality of water supply have helped to release women from arduous tasks such as fetching water for personal use or for home-reared animals. Finally, the majority of the people interviewed have access to street lighting (85.8%).

The region depends mostly on farming, cattle rearing and, to a lesser extent, on crafts and trade. Access to land – especially for women – and water, along with the withdrawal of State funding for agriculture, are serious obstacles.

## 2.2 Characteristics of the Senegalese population in France

Although detailed information as to the spatial and social characteristics of migration exists, the size of the population living abroad remains unknown as no accurate census has been conducted. Due to the recurrent confusion between migration flows and stocks, some highly contradictory statistics exist regarding Senegalese migration in France. However, the number of Senegalese migrants may be in the range of 80,000.

### 2.2.1 Geographical settlement areas and community-type organization

The villages of the Senegal River valley that have historically fed the migration flows to France are made up of populations belonging primarily to two major ethnic groups: the Soninke and the Halpulaar. For this study, the research focused mainly on the Halpulaar groups, who come from three



Migrant hostel in Etampes: the migrants who have not yet found work

historical provinces: Lao, Bosseya and Nguenar. These migration source areas are characterized by demographic homogeneity, a distinctive feature of Fouta. In all the places visited, the population is mainly comprised of Pulaar speakers, who sometimes live alongside a Soninke minority. The important ties based on kinship, geographical origin and ethnicity facilitate departures and influence both the strategies adopted and the destinations selected (Findley 1990; Condé and Diagne 1986; Lanly 1998). In France, migrants from the middle valley are thus largely concentrated along the valley of the River Seine, especially in the Ile-de-France region and in Normandy. The major

Halpulaar villages in France are: Mantes-la-Jolie in the Yvelines department, Etampes in the Essonne department, Le Havre in Normandy, and also Marseille in the Bouches-du-Rhône department, which used to be the main port of entry for African workers.

## 2.2.2 Housing

Many research studies show that the first waves of migration, especially those of the 1970s, were made up of single men who lived in migrant hostels.<sup>4</sup> In addition to the French authorities' real or supposed plan to keep migrants separate from French people, their lifestyle obliged them to keep contact with the host society to a bare minimum.<sup>5</sup> This choice was also explained by their migration project, which was intended to be temporary and which aimed above all at meeting the needs of family members left behind in the village, or contributing to the development of their areas of origin (Coulibaly 2002). Indeed, life in the



Since the migrant hostel in Étampes is outside the city, migrants must either own a vehicle or take the train.

4. The Foyer de travailleurs migrants (FTM – Migrant workers' hostel) is a type of social housing that was systematized in France by the State in the mid-1950s, during the Algerian War, in order to house North African workers. A successor to the policy of employer or philanthropic housing for isolated workers, but also of colonial rule over the "indigenous" populations, the hostels then served as the preferred type of accommodation for isolated immigrants from the former colonies of North Africa and then Sub-Saharan Africa (Mali, Senegal) in the 1960s and 1970s. Criticized for having institutionalized and fuelled housing discrimination concerning certain immigrant populations, but also denounced by the republican and nationalist right wing in France as "no-go areas," and as a supposed refuge for illegal immigration and various forms of trafficking, the migrant workers' hostels – renamed "social residences" – now house a wide range of vulnerable occupants, including a high percentage of French people. These establishments are currently subsidized by the public authorities in order to encourage the integration of their residents through the provision of housing and "social support," but they are struggling to adapt to this new mission: many are in bad repair and unfit for habitation, or awaiting renovation, and conflicts regularly arise between residents and managers.

5. The Aubervilliers tragedy in 1971 revealed the terrible conditions in which immigrants lived. This had two consequences. First, it stirred up racism towards these populations, who were considered impossible to assimilate. Second, solidarity networks were formed and new hostels built. These hostels nevertheless maintained the social isolation due to their geographical marginalization.



hostels enabled migrants to “make ends meet,” as it allowed them to save, given the low rent and limited spending on food and services. It thus made it possible to meet three major obligations: paying back the debt contracted for their departure or sending money to the family members still living in the village; meeting community obligations, such as monthly contributions to migrant associations; and saving with a view to their triumphant return (Poiret 1996).



Individual accommodation in Aubervilliers

Since the hostel in Etampes is outside of town, migrants are obliged to have cars to get into town or to take the train.

The 1980s saw a shift from individual migration to family reunification, marked by the arrival of women. This change was mainly prompted by the closure of French borders, one of the consequences of which was the long-term settlement of migrants who, in response to their low level of mobility, brought their family members to be with them (Fall 2002). The right to family life, also known as family reunification (Wihtol de Wenden 1999), largely encouraged the feminization of Senegalese migration in France, greatly altering the migrants’ way of life and their relationship with the host country. Thus, the decision to live as a family led migrants to leave the workers’ hostels and to find accommodation in workers’ housing developments, such as the Val Fourré district in Mantes-la-Jolie.

### 2.2.3 Sectors of activity and types of employment

If the arrival of African workers was greatly desired and encouraged, this was because France needed them for the reconstruction of the country, in the sectors with the worst working conditions. Indeed, these populations worked in sectors where foreigners outnumbered French people. They generally occupied the lowest rungs of the employment ladder, and were confined to specific sectors or assigned the least safe tasks, especially in the automobile industry. On this subject, Assouline and Lallaoui (1996c) note that in the 1970s, over 70% of refuse collectors in Paris were from the Senegal River valley. In addition to their lack of professional qualifications and the illiteracy that hindered their career advancement, African workers were also victims of racial prejudice, a holdover from French colonial ideology (Barou 1978).

Even now, the migrants from the Senegal River valley are mainly blue-collar workers. However, migrants are increasingly setting up their own businesses and sometimes employ their wives and children legally. Mainly migrant men have gone into selling “ethnic” products, while the women work in catering, hair-dressing and selling jewellery, etc.

### 2.2.4 Composition of households: transnationalism and gender tensions

It appears on more than one account that the Senegalese migration destination area in France is an integral part of the villages of origin, but this does not mean that migrants are willing to abandon the values of their society or to adopt the French family model. Despite resistance to the adoption of the family model prevalent in the host society, changes have occurred in migrants’ lifestyles. Where men are concerned, relations still correspond to a patriarchal model. Indeed, it should be remembered that the concept of obedience has often been a source of conflict and of violence towards women. It

is clear from the accounts given that the migrants of the 1970s and 1980s were real tyrants, and that their wives suffered from this situation. Some husbands refused to allow their wife (or wives) to go out to work or to study. They did the shopping themselves and used the family allowance for their own purposes. This was what sparked the rebellion of the women, who complained to social workers and sometimes to the legal system in order to get the child benefit their husbands were pocketing, which was theirs by right. Today, women are increasingly leaving the family environment to work or study. However, the rebellion of the women, who have had to adopt new patterns of behaviour in order to gain their independence and the right to work or to divorce, is a source of extreme annoyance to the men. The same applies to the freedom of young women, who decide to live with men of their own choosing. This is why many migrants think that in France, women and children have too many rights. However, it is not unusual to see men who are close to retirement allowing their wives to work. Indeed, as the children get older, income is considerably reduced as the parents no longer receive family allowances. It thus becomes necessary for women to work in order to provide for their family, or to enable the men to pursue personal projects (such as prolonged trips to Senegal).

Migration has not fundamentally changed the conception migrants have of marriage. The multiple-wife model has remained ingrained among men. However, some migrants admit to being “forced by their parents to take a second wife when their first wife leaves the village to join them in France.” The wife who remains in the village guarantees regular remittances and also has to look after the parents of the son who is away. The polygamy ban has led some migrants to divorce in the civil courts, but the marriage remains valid at the religious level. The French authorities’ attitude toward polygamy has nevertheless had important consequences for family relations. The people interviewed mentioned cases of wives denouncing their husbands when they took a second wife. There are parts of Senegal where the people we spoke to stressed that all the migrants – with a few exceptions – had become monogamous in response to the French law. However, our investigations have revealed that polygamy among retired people is an increasingly widespread practice in the villages of origin, such as Fonde Gande and Kobilu. Migrant men, when they retire or are about to retire, take a second wife upon returning to Senegal if the first wife does not want to go with them. Some men claim they marry a second wife in Senegal with the consent of the wife living in France, to whom they hand over the family allowances, but almost all the women interviewed in Paris deny this. K. N.<sup>6</sup> retorts:

That’s what they [the men] say back home, but it’s not true... As the children have grown up, they have nothing left, so they go back. Some migrants take their debit cards with them and don’t take care of their family in France. For the whole six months the husband is away, the wife pays the bills, otherwise she gets thrown out of her house. Some mothers are helped by their children, who are against their father remarrying.

As for young migrants, they claim to have opted for monogamy. The reasons, however, have less to do with a change in mentality than with practical considerations, such as job instability and the lack of financial means.

Be that as it may, “the majority of migrants go back once a year or, at worst, every two to three years.” Like A. B., “they stay in Senegal for between one and four months if they are married.”

With regard to pensioners, they often “divide their time between Senegal and France: six months in each.”

As for regular migrants, especially those who do not have stable employment, they may remain in France for longer periods or return to their country of origin more frequently than those who have a steady job.

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6. The names of all persons interviewed for this project have been changed or abbreviated in order to protect their privacy.

Those who have opted for family reunification return home less often than the others. According to the president of the 4S association, “they may stay for two or three years without going back because of the expense: transport costs and also gifts.” This social obligation puts a serious strain on their budget and drives them to borrow money in order to go on holiday.

When families have children who are studying, they do not spend long periods in Senegal because of academic constraints or the renewal of residence permits.

When the children grow up, they pay for their tickets themselves if they want to spend their holidays in Senegal. According to Mrs. T., a housewife: “If you go to Senegal once, every year you do what you can to go back and if you go there, you build a house if you can.”

According to K. S., migrants never return for good: “Like a lot of migrants, I spend six months here and six there – the six summer months in Paris and the six winter months in Senegal.” According to him, it is in fact impossible to stay in Senegal all year round: “I come here to have a rest, to see the doctor and for my pension. They say I have to turn up here every two years so they know I’m still alive, to sort out my residence permit and to see the social services, which pay the retirement pension.”

### **2.2.5 The difficulties of the second generation**

The high level of academic failure among the children of migrants is a major concern. Due to their illiteracy and their difficult living conditions, the parents are unable to keep a close eye on their children’s studies. According to many of the people interviewed, “almost all the children have had poor results in their studies. This failure at school affects boys more than girls, who have less trouble finding work, even if this work is relatively low-skilled, especially in the health and service sectors.”

Criminality also concerns boys more than girls. Indeed, by reproducing the Senegalese model of upbringing in France, parents allow boys more freedom. Thus, girls, who are kept at home to do domestic chores, have a more traditional upbringing, characterized by censure and tight control, which actually works in their favour. Boys, on the other hand, are left to themselves and exposed to petty crime. For some parents, the reasons for this academic failure are due to the educational system, which tends to confine the children of migrants to vocational courses, even when they have the potential for other pursuits. According to them, the behaviour of their children is a protest against the system’s tendency to channel them into thankless employment sectors.

On an exceptional basis, cases of academic success do exist. Some youngsters have gone on to higher education before starting work. Other strategies have been implemented to prevent juvenile delinquency. This is the case of a child currently working in France, whose father chose to pay for a Quranic education for him in Senegal. In Etampes, Islam has enabled some youngsters to escape crime. They cannot identify with the fundamentalist Islam from the East, and are part of a North African-inspired Sufi brotherhood, or Tijaniyya. The migrants who turn to the Muslim religion seek their parents’ blessing and obey them, unlike the youngsters who have lost all reference to their own culture.

## **2.3 Description of the migration process**

The Ministry of Senegalese Abroad estimates that in 2007, over two million people were living abroad. France, which was long the main host country after other African destinations, began to lose ground in the early 1980s to Italy and Spain (Thiam 2000), then in the 1990s to the U.S. Africa remains the chief destination, with the favourite countries being Côte d’Ivoire and Gabon. However, emigration towards African countries is diminishing, whereas the number of migrants heading to southern European countries is increasing.

### 2.3.1. Migration history of the Senegalese population in France

Senegalese migration towards France, and more specifically that of the river valley populations, is part of a tradition of population exchange between two countries with very long-standing relations. This goes back to the first days of colonization, which led the French explorers along the African coast and opened the way to cooperation of different kinds. The participation of African soldiers in the two World Wars marked the beginning of African settlement in France. The soldiers who stayed in France after the First World War were thus – particularly in port towns such as Marseille – a foothold for the reception and integration of members of their communities of origin. The same was true after the Second World War, in which “French citizens of Africa” and also “black subjects” participated, as a result of the scale of the Allied defeat in the 1940s. The role that nationals from African colonies played in both conflicts gave them a sense of having contributed to the historical continuity of France, which, they asserted, gave them inalienable rights. This is why the Senegalese can neither understand nor accept the restrictions placed on their freedom of movement, first by the French State and, more recently, by the European Union, with the Schengen Agreement. Far from causing a rift, when the country gained independence in April 1960, a new kind of relationship began involving bilateral cooperation characterized by mutual aid and complementarity.

Between 1947 and 1960, with the gradual installation of the rainfall deficit, agricultural food products for consumption and those intended for sale became scarce, thereby driving the population to emigrate to the large towns of Senegal and the neighbouring countries. These movements came at a time when the pioneers of long-distance migration were leaving for Central Africa and Europe, in this case France.

From 1960 to 1969, a great wave of departures took place among the Halpulaar from the Senegal River valley to Europe. They took advantage of the facilities for travelling to and entering France in order to settle there temporarily (for between six months and two years) and to return to their villages at regular intervals with resources enabling them to pay their tax<sup>7</sup> and to improve their living conditions, etc. The early 1960s saw an unprecedented increase in labour migration to France among the populations of the Senegal River valley. There were two main reasons for this:

- in 1963 and 1964, France signed agreements with Mali, Senegal and Mauritania, allowing workers to “freely” enter the country;
- with Algerian independence in mind, employers requested that the French government facilitate the arrival of black workers to replace the Algerian workforce, should the need arise (Traoré 1994).

Legal migrants thus signed an employment contract with the French national immigration office (ONI), which controlled the entry and residency of foreign workers in France for several decades. However, the local ONI offices were also responsible for limiting the entry of migrants who were “difficult to assimilate” or “incapable of adapting to western life” (Assouline and Lallaoui 1996b). Furthermore, over the years the barriers to entry into France of this workforce were regularly reinforced. This led candidates for migration to use illegal means to enter France. It should also be noted that attempts to select foreign workers according to their origin and skin colour foundered in the face of economic growth, which called for a flexible, low-cost workforce. This situation led the authorities to turn a blind eye to illegal entry, or even to encourage the regularization of those who found work (Assouline and Lallaoui 1996c).

The Halpulaar were among the first Senegalese workers in France. They certainly arrived after the First World War, following the lifting of the ban on sailors going ashore<sup>8</sup> in the ports of registry for transatlantic ocean liners

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7. It was the colonial system that imposed the per capita tax, which required each head of family to pay the tax for all the members of his household in cash. Farmers were therefore forced to go to areas where they could find paid work in order to pay this tax.

8. French policy was that the captains of ships were prohibited from disembarking foreign sailors or employees recruited elsewhere onto French territory.

(Diarra 1968), but the major migration waves from the Senegal River valley date back to the 1970s. This migration trend may have been linked to certain important events, which enable us to identify three broad periods:

- Flows caused by droughts and the impoverishment of rural areas;
- Movements resulting from structural adjustment policies that are characterized by the employment crisis in urban areas;
- Mobility resulting from economic liberalization, which has caused the destruction of sectors such as fisheries and production companies.

In the 1980s, the consequences of the structural adjustment programmes, which plunged Senegal into an unprecedented economic crisis (downsizing in development companies and private companies, voluntary redundancy incentives for civil servants, graduate unemployment, etc.), combined with other difficulties in rural areas to considerably boost departures to other countries. Seen as a buffer against the economic crisis, migration began to attract more and more people.

### **2.3.2. From circular migration to family reunification**

The monopoly migrants from the valley had in precarious jobs, along with their good reputation among employers, enabled them to establish a replacement system: those who lived in France were replaced by their younger brothers or by relatives from their village. It was this circular system, or work time management method, that enabled migrants to return home for varying lengths of time. Indeed, when a migrant wanted to go back home, he gave his job and accommodation to a family member who came specifically to replace him (Barou 1993). The valley populations thus succeeded in establishing a migration pattern that was punctuated by trips back to Senegal for around one to six months every two to three years (Lanly 1998). One of the merits of the circular replacement system was also that it encouraged the permanent presence of men in the village and maintained agricultural activities. Since migration was motivated more by community and family reasons, relatives played an important role in the functioning of the circular system. The time spent abroad thus depended on the individual objectives set by the migrant, but also, and above all, on those set by the community (Gonin 2001). Consequently, the departure and time spent abroad were based on a balance between individual choices and family and community constraints.

In France, one of the responses to the economic crisis that followed the Arab-Israeli conflict of 1973 was to close borders to labour migration, as per Prime Minister Jacques Chirac's bill of 3 July 1974. In response to the increasingly draconian entry and residency requirements, migration projects began to change. Since they were no longer free to circulate as before, migrants reconsidered their mobility and adopted new integration and installation strategies. The tightening of entry and residency requirements in France by no means put an end to arrivals and installations, but it led Halpulaar migrants to opt for family reunification.

Migrants today are undoubtedly faced with many obstacles, such as difficulty obtaining papers or their parents' refusal to allow their wives to leave, but the accounts given indicate that many migrants still choose to bring their wife (or wives) to France. Rejection of the French family model is the main reason family reunification may be refused. Migrants note that "some men do not want to bring their wives over because of past experiences with social workers, who intervene on behalf of women, but also because of Western culture, which rubs off on the children, who become impossible to control or even get caught up in crime."

### **2.3.3 Towards greater visibility for women**

One of the main characteristics of migration in the survey area is that it primarily concerns men. Indeed, until recently, Senegalese society and especially the Halpulaar civilization did not encourage women to

travel unaccompanied, especially if this migration was long-distance and there were no family members or close relatives in the host country. International migrants from the valley are therefore mainly men (aged between 15 and 34 years) who leave as bachelors, or without their wife (or wives). They generally have little education, if any, although recent years have seen greater participation among people with a good level of education. It should nevertheless be noted that recent research on the place and role of Senegalese women in international migration reveals greater visibility for these women. Studies distinguish two categories of women participating in international mobility:

- women who are involved in migration through their status as a dependent, based on marriage, kinship, etc. These women are known as “accompaniers”;
- women who move as principal actors, or in other words, those who take the initiative to join the long-distance exodus.

With regard to the second category, more and more Senegalese women are emigrating for economic reasons. They use their own resources and leave with their employers or with the help of a relative who already lives abroad. Other women take their chances with networks they come across along the way. They usually use a tourist visa and find themselves in an illegal situation when the visa expires (Coulibaly-Tandian 2008). In the current state of Senegalese migration, women’s mobility is varied and complex, motivated by different reasons. Migration practices where women are concerned combine migration for family, work, academic and commercial reasons. Women, therefore, are no longer limited to “following their husbands,” nor must they remain in one area (Coulibaly-Tandian 2007). However, as regards the women from Fouta, they are mainly companions, although we did meet some Foutanke women in the Ile-de-France region who had emigrated on their own initiative and married in the host country.

Once included in French society solely for their economic utility, migrants emerged from obscurity thanks to family reunification. New relationships were thus established with academic, medical and social institutions. The image of migrants as visiting foreigners and/or simple economic agents gradually gave way to that of a cultural minority ordered to assimilate (Poiret 1996). It was from this point on that migration began to be presented as “a problem to be solved.” The rise of the Front National, especially from 1983, did nothing to ease the situation for the successive left- and right-wing governments in France. It was precisely to remedy the concern caused by the presence of foreigners that the concept of migrant integration – which originally dates back to the *Trente Glorieuses* (the thirty-year boom period following the Second World War) – began to take shape in political debate and academic research.

With regard to women from the Senegal River valley, studies have focused more on identifying the cultural or religious obstacles that hinder their integration as well as highlighting their social and professional isolation during their first years of migrant life. Indeed, since their societies of origin give them little leeway, the women found themselves socially and professionally isolated and under the control of their husbands, who refused to allow them to work. In addition to the weight of traditions and religious obstacles, illiteracy, the language barrier and unfamiliarity with French cultural codes all fostered their inactivity and economic dependence on their husbands. Quiminal and Azoulay (2002) rightly note that this situation increased their isolation and their feeling of loneliness. On top of the cultural factors behind the isolation of women, there are also the consequences of migration policies, which often overlook women. The law has in fact reinforced their dependence on men “in that they may lose their residence permit in case of divorce or separation from their husband” (Wihtol de Wenden 1999).

The areas of residence along with the type of housing occupied by migrant families have also contributed to the isolation of women; segregationist strategies led the public authorities to place migrant workers in housing developments that had been abandoned by the French. Residential seg-

regation and the concentration of foreign populations in the same areas caused their ghettoization. Not only were immigrant families cooped up in small spaces, but they were also faced with numerous socio-economic, sanitary and educational difficulties. This did nothing to facilitate their personal development, and even less to end the isolation of the women.

Women's associations, which have enabled many women to leave their isolation, are a means through which women have been able to enter local spaces in order to invest in the public sphere. As a result, these associations became places for acquiring new knowledge, for embracing other populations and for developing new kinds of citizenship (Quiminal 2000). They succeeded in changing their status as women and calling into question certain practices and thought systems from the migrants' cultures of origin.

Changes in the social condition of women took different forms, but were mainly instigated by a real desire for independence: literacy classes, the creation of women's associations, job-seeking, etc. The "rebellion of migrant women" caused concern and fear among the men who, according to Azoulay and Quiminal, saw it as a threat to their power.

Many pensioners return home without their wife (or wives). These women are "still working and want to get their pension, or have young children who are still in school." Very often, the wives of retired migrants are obliged to stay in France because "the elders want to live their lives and don't want to take care of the youngest."

### 2.3.4 Existence and creation of transnational migrant networks

A number of studies have stressed the predominant role of African community values in the maintenance of close links with the country of origin. It has been shown widely that in order to get by, migrants have developed solidarity mechanisms that transcend borders, based on shared values. These associations have served to help their areas of origin, based on community funds set up in the foreign country, into which migrants from a particular area deposit money on a monthly basis.

Analyzed in terms of Halpulaar migration, we see that the redefinition of relations with the village of origin has been largely influenced by factors of varying degrees of importance:

- the growing dependence of emigration areas on remittances;<sup>9</sup>
- the increasing solicitude of political authorities in the countries of origin, which rely heavily on the contribution of migrants;<sup>10</sup>
- the support of left-wing political formations and civil society, which are strongly attached to humanitarian action;
- the opportunities provided by legal arrangements concerning associations and the interest shown in organized groups by public and municipal institutions;



Women in a square in Mantes-la-Jolie. Women have become more prominent in the Senegalese migratory flow to France through family reunification policies.

9. In a study conducted several years earlier in the Soninke region, Quiminal (1991) observed that "by meeting 30 to 80% of family needs, Soninke migrants have put their villages in a position of assisted self-sufficiency."

10. This is the spirit behind decree n° 95-154 of 9 February 1995, on the creation of the Conseil Supérieur des Sénégalais de l'Extérieur (Authority for Senegalese Abroad). For further information, see decree n° 4380/MAESE/DES of 24 April 1997, which established the election process and composition of delegates along with the way the authority is organized and functions; and organic law n° 98-48 of 10 October 1998 on the election of the (three) senators representing the Senegalese abroad.

- the arrival within associations of leaders with sound knowledge of the administrative machinery in the host country, who were previously kept out of community associations for socio-cultural reasons (the caste system or the elders' authority over young people); and
- the need to relieve the strain on the meagre budgets of migrants, who have to not only think about their plan to return, but also cope with ever-increasing expenses, such as housing and transport.

The pooling of efforts and consultation within a community that is divided between distant lands, but connected by flows of all kinds (Rouse 1992; Riccio 2001), gives transnational associations a new dimension to their aim to build an area of reference or a place of convergence, as well as to their desire to offset the absence of the State. The goal of setting up structures that meet the demands of development partners is the main vehicle for the restructuring of the association model.

At the organizational level, one important change is that migrants no longer replace local populations in the choice of development projects. This trend has led to the creation of local branches of associations in the places of departure, which are set up in the host countries. Based on the multi-partner context of development aid and on the progress of decentralization, two significant changes have marked migrant associations:

- the enlargement of the member recruitment area, reflected in a shift from village associations to inter-village associations and, more recently, to the creation of federations that include several associations; and
- the establishment of links with NGOs and public institutions in the host country.

In its current form, the structure of the association movement involved in local development can be outlined as follows:

- each village has a parent association that brings together local initiatives. This acts as a superstructure that includes all the associations in a village, along the lines of the ADS (Sedo Development Association), which has boys' sporting and cultural associations, women's groups, economic interest groups and other organizations, such as dahiras and age groups;
- the village association, or parent association, is the guarantor of the coordinating body for the associations that bring together international migrants in their respective host countries, as with the Association of Sedo citizens living in Italy or the ARSRF (the Association of Sedo Citizens Living in France).

The division of association structures between the two poles of migration is accompanied by the distribution of roles: the migrants living in one or several countries<sup>11</sup> raise the material and financial means needed, while the people still living in the village provide their knowledge of the area and their labour – and are paid for the work carried out – in order to accomplish collective projects. The decision-making process where village ventures are concerned is the result of an increasingly democratic debate:

- the association's general assembly, which includes the different structures at the village level, approves the projects that migrants have presented to the population;
- the chairman of the village association communicates the assembly proceedings to the representative of the international migrants association, who undertakes to raise the means necessary for implementing the project; and
- once the material means have been found – with or without the help of development partners – the people living in the village join forces to get the work done, voluntarily providing their physical efforts.

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11. Mainly concentrated in the coastal towns of West Africa and in France, Soninke migrants are now moving to new areas, such as the United States, Southern Africa and Saudi Arabia.



Specific groups, such as groups of women or young people, may request the support of international migrants for events that require considerable village participation.

In spite of the decline of solidarity networks and the emergence of competitors, such as NGOs, which have greater resources, migrant associations remain more committed than ever to local development in their country of origin. Indeed, the isolation of the Nguenar villages in the river valley and their remoteness from the political decision-making centres foster the local initiatives led by village associations, whose objective is local development in terms of better living conditions.

Closely linked to the difficulty of renewing flows, one strategy adopted by international migrants, grouped in “village of origin development associations” is to invest in community projects (Daum 1993; Quiminal 1994; Libercier & Schneider 1996). Over the years, these associations have proliferated and diversified. They play an important role in the survival and development of the areas of exodus. In some places, these associations have far outstripped the State to become the primary agents of sustainable and endogenous development (Daum 1995). Indeed, the progressive dependence of villages on remittances, the solid community organization and the control the villages of origin have over migrants, have combined with changes in the migration context in the host country and in the areas of departure, to make village associations increasingly responsible for the development of the areas of origin (Lanly 1998).

On the historical level, the Francenaabe pioneered the creation of region of origin development associations. The process that emerged in the early 1980s<sup>12</sup> was the result of protectionist immigration policies in the main host country, in this case France. It was based on both the difficulty of renewing flows and the need to prevent villages from becoming overly dependent on remittances.

It was between 1969 and 1973, with the great drought, that migrants began to organize themselves in both their villages of origin and in France. They thus set up the first migrant associations or village committees, which, like the Diawara renovation committee (COREDIA), made the first investments in the fields of education and health care, etc. At the beginning of the 1990s, over 400 associations of nationals from the Senegal River valley were recorded in France (Daum, 1993).

Far from dwindling, the association movement was reinforced through the capitalization of experience gained.

### **2.3.5 Migration and the formation of migrant social capital**

One of the major changes in the management of migration by its actors was the arrival of a new kind of leader at the head of migrant associations. These leaders, who some call the “children of the crisis,” came from the most successfully integrated fringe of the community. They were young intellectuals – who were previously kept out of community associations for socio-cultural reasons – with sound knowledge of the administrative machinery in the host country, enabling them to tackle the demands of their fellow citizens. The emergence of these new leaders had two important consequences:

- it introduced a change in the definition of links between the host country and the country of origin;
- it marked the beginning of the democratization of migrant organizations, the most visible signs of this being the way in which the caste system or the authority of elders over youth was challenged.<sup>13</sup>

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12. The year 1981 marked the beginning of a new era for the associations of migrants living in France. They now enjoyed official recognition thanks to the repeal of laws forbidding foreigners to set up their own associations.

13. In the hostels, which were real ghettos, or “communautés-bis” (Condé & Diagne 1986), the associations had until then reproduced the organizational model found in the village of origin.

Although the new generation of leaders has not obtained any conclusive results in the fight for better integration of immigrant communities, its appeal has resulted in recognition and legitimacy that have enabled it to modify the initial choices of migrant associations.<sup>14</sup> By highlighting the non-productive nature of financial transfers (Lipton 1980) and the evident impossibility of allocating a large part of their modest income to the family still living in the village, they decided to invest their money in sustainable development projects. Thus, from the 1980s onwards, the new approach for migrant organizations was the creation of local branches of their associations in the areas of departure.

When the Senegalese migrant networks set up in different parts of the world were connected, a genuine web was created. Although Senegal remains a strong link in this virtual space, exchanges between the members of this web may bypass the home country. This explains why village associations, such as A4S from Sadel, receive money from several different countries (especially Italy, Gabon, Congo, the United States, Spain and France).

## 2.4 . Remittances

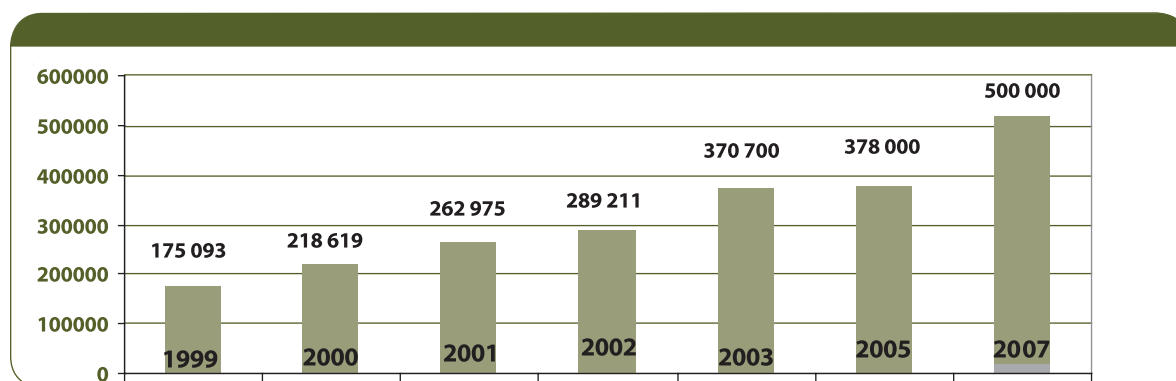
The importance of the funds injected by migrants into their country of origin now goes without saying. As stressed by the International Monetary Fund, “migrants are the primary source of external funding for developing countries” (Follorou 2006).

Remittances are sent by married migrants who must respond to their family’s household needs in their country of origin. Women’s presence among remitters is notable. They are often sisters, daughters, mothers and sisters-in-law, and send 13% of remittances to women and 6.3% to men.

### 2.4.1 Characteristics of remittances: frequency, amounts and channels

In Senegal, remittances travelling through official channels were estimated at over 500 billion CFA francs in 2007. They represented 15 to 65% of migrant revenues and 30 to 80% of the budget of the Senegalese families receiving the remittances.

**Graph 1: Changes in remittances to Senegal (in thousands of CFA francs)**



Sources: BCEAO and SANDERS C. & BARO I., 2000, *Étude sur le transfert d’argent des émigrés au Sénégal et les services de transfert en micro-finance*, Geneva, ILO (Social Finance Programme), Working document n°40: 50p.

14. Until then, the aim was only to help members who were in difficulty and to meet the specific demands of the village hierarchy using community funds, into which migrants from a particular area paid money on a monthly basis.

It is difficult to get a precise idea of the financial flows linked to migration, but the growing number of Western Union, MoneyGram or Money Express branches has, over the years, become an indicator of the increase in financial flows. Nevertheless, several studies agree that estimations based on the international banking system considerably underestimate the scale of these financial movements, given that a large proportion of migrant remittances still travel through varied and inventive informal channels.

In many cases, the migrants carry the money themselves when they return home, or they give it to someone they know. "Telephone deposits" remain one of the most commonly used methods among migrants from the middle valley. This involves depositing a sum of money with a non-migrant – often a shopkeeper – and giving disbursement instructions from time to time by telephone.

The use of informal systems makes it impossible to accurately measure the volume of financial flows transferred to Senegal by international migrants. However, despite the difficulty quantifying informal transfers, there is no doubt that the remittances sent by migrants are a substantial financial godsend for the communities of origin.

In the villages studied, the average annual remittances sent by migrants living in France are estimated at 156,300 CFA francs (around 240 euros) per month for female-headed households and 137,500 CFA francs (around 210 euros) for male-headed households. Thus, with 20% of the volume of remittances for the year 2005, France ranks second of the top 10 remittance-sending countries for Senegalese migrants.

Analyzing the frequency of transfers indicates that migrant remittances are sent monthly in 82.8% of cases. They are received a few days after salaries are paid, as migrants are mainly salaried workers who receive monthly payments.

#### **2.4.2 Methods for receiving and sending remittances**

In most of the Fouta villages, the informal remittance system remains important despite the considerable development of formal channels, so much so that it is more successful than the Post Offices that the migrant associations helped to build.

Changes in methods for sending remittances are often recounted by migrants, who stress the difficulties encountered when trying to provide for their families. Informal networks were therefore created. Interviews with migrants indicate that they now have a wide range of solutions: Western Union, private faxes<sup>15</sup> and informal senders, which are banned in France. It is clear from our surveys in the middle valley that the "private fax" is the most common method for transferring money. It is used by 31.2% of migrants. This method mainly concerns remittances to women, as it is considered to be "easier, especially when you can't read or write."



**In Fouta, the presence of credit institutions reflects the democratization of the banking system thanks to international migration.**

15. The "private fax" method consists of giving a sum of money to an operator living in the host country who has a reserve of money in the village. The amounts to be given to the receiver are communicated by fax. This person may collect the money as soon as he or she is informed.

Formal systems for sending money, such as Western Union or MoneyGram, are in second position, with 25.4% of senders. The postal system only comes third, with 17.2% of remittance senders, followed by transfers via family members returning to the village (11.5% of operations).

In spite of the guarantees they offer, bank transfers remain marginal, particularly because of the limited number of banks in remote areas.

The reason for choosing a particular method for transferring money is justified by speed for 60% of the people interviewed, reliability (10.4%) and user-friendliness (10.9%).

### **2.4.3 Main uses of remittances, investments and productive use**

Remittances are intended to cover basic family requirements (food, health care, housing, etc.) and social investments (family ceremonies, help for those in need, etc.). These budget items occupy the bulk of migrant savings. Remittances intended for economically productive investments are therefore negligible or little known.

#### ***Household spending***

A large part of these financial flows is aimed at covering the basic needs of the family of origin: food, ceremonies, health care and housing. This is one of the key functions of remittances. In this respect, the sums transferred by migrants may be seen as a response to the survival needs of the household and as repayment for an initial contribution: the household's support when the migrant left or the money given to cover travel expenses.

Health care spending heads the list, and is fairly similar between women and men. Next come important celebrations and parental responsibilities, but with a difference in the order of priority: women (54.3%) prioritize parental responsibilities, whereas men (43.4%) give preference to celebrations of important events. Likewise, men (22.8%) invest more in farming than women (19.5%), who prefer to first pay back any debts that are unrelated to migration. This ranking reveals the difficulty women have making ends meet: they are sometimes obliged to borrow money to ensure the smooth running of their household.

Celebrations of important events, such as weddings, funerals, births or religious festivals take third place in spending by both men (44.8%) and women (52.7%), with a higher proportion of women. Women invest in transport, but this is sometimes on behalf of their husbands.

#### ***Investment in farming activities***

The money invested in farming goes toward mainly input rather than means of production, in particular the purchase of fertilizers, seeds, food, cattle, etc. It should be noted that more women (48%) than men (39.4%) invest solely in these types of input, whereas men also include other types (39.4%). Only 26% of women include other types. Finally, pump costs are mentioned by 13% of the people interviewed.

If the money from remittances is not enough to meet family needs, households are obliged to find other resources to cover their domestic requirements. This is practiced by 69% of men who manage the money received and 34.8% of women, who are more dependent on remittances.

As for land use, this continues to follow traditional rules despite the national domain law approved in 1964. This law made the State the owner of almost all the land; it has the right to grant land to those who can exploit it, but this has not really changed the rules of the game. Land is still allocated according to traditional rules, and women therefore have very few possibilities. Furthermore, there are hardly any land transactions for the moment.

**Table 1– Income from any activity according to the sex of the recipient**

Income	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
No income other than remittances	167	65.2%	167	31.0%	212	52.9%
Other income in addition to remittances	89	34.8%	89	69.0%	189	47.1%
Total	256	100.0%	256	100.0%	401	100.0%

Source: Surveys 2008



The main income-generating activities are farming (42.4%) and trade (33.8%). Given that women have less land than men, they tend to opt for trade (40.4%), whereas men prefer farming (50.0%).

#### 2.4.4 Other remittances

Sometimes, within a family, there may be a number of members living in France or in other countries, but 52.4% of the people interviewed only receive money from the migrants who live in France.



If remittances from countries other than France are considered, female-headed households receive more than male-headed households. However, this share is small compared to the money sent by migrants living in France.

#### *In-kind remittances*

Migrants do not tend to send remittances in kind. Only 12.2% engage in this practice, sending clothes, jewellery, medicine and some electronic goods. The survey revealed that female-headed households receive the most goods: 13.7% compared to 9.7% for male-headed households.

In Fouta, women seeking income-generating activities sell fuelwood or vegetables they have grown.

**Table 2 In-kind remittances, according to the sex of the recipient**

Transfer	Women	%	Men	%	Total	%
Yes, do receive	35	13.7%	14	9.7%	49	12.2%
No, do not receive	220	85.9%	131	90.3%	351	87.5%
Unspecified	1	0.4%	0	0.0%	1	0.2%
Total	256	100.0%	145	100.0%	401	100.0%

### **Collective remittances**

Even if they have limited incomes, migrants never miss the opportunity to invest either individually or collectively in social projects, such as the mosque, the morgue, the fund for repatriating the deceased, health care structures, payment for medical workers, building a post office or a school, etc. These “social” investments have often been criticized, but migrants insist that they also create jobs for villagers.

The survey conducted in the villages in question shows us that migrants’ fields of intervention are a good indicator of requirements in the area. At the local level, efforts focus – in order of importance – on water supply (wells or boreholes), educational facilities, health centres, services and market gardening areas reserved for women.

The importance of these transfers is such that O.G. declares that “nobody helps Fonde Gande except for the association of migrants living in different countries: France, the US, Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, England and Germany.”

The migrants interviewed spoke of difficulties reaching agreement on objectives, cases of embezzlement and the politicization of activities, which are the cause of a number of failures. To overcome these difficulties, migrants from Fonde Gande send their contributions to the imam, assisted by the village headman. This money is used to complement the village contributions provided to finance local projects.

In Mantes-la-Jolie, the only association that has survived is the Lao Fund, which dates back to the 1960s and includes all the migrants from the Podor department. According to M. B., who was chair of the association for six years, “The fund has no problems, but all the other development associations created have failed. Now we don’t talk about associations any more, we talk about personal projects.”

Some villages demand that all migrants send remittances; failing to do so means that sanctions and reprisals can be expected from the family still in Senegal. In many villages, the money sent by the migrant associations is used for community needs rather than those of the migrant’s family. According to O. G., “Nobody dares to cut themselves off or to refuse to participate. We have laws. If somebody won’t participate, we write to the village headman who, in turn, complains to the family of that person and, finally, the migrant is forced to return to the association.”

Community solidarity initiatives are an important aspect of migrant remittances. They play a key role in poverty reduction. Indeed, recent studies have shown that thanks to the scale of remittances, the regions of Louga, Matam, Saint-Louis and Dakar have much lower levels of poverty than regions with no tradition of migration. The latter, despite having more natural possibilities, suffer greater hardship.

Although the process is still a tentative one, the populations of the Senegal River valley now seem to be aware of the need to establish inter-village associations that are capable of being in charge of costly investments, such as highways and the development of irrigated zones, etc. In addition to securing the means of subsistence, for the last few decades migrant associations have also played a part in solving the basic problems of their villages. A number of research studies have revealed the domino effects and the crucial role of international migrants in the construction of their country of origin. The most visible achievements of migrants are community facilities: schools, health centres, wells or boreholes, mosques, and market-gardening areas for women, etc.

# 3

## THE IMPACT OF REMITTANCES ON LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

For the population, migration is seen as the most effective means of achieving better living conditions. The kind of development made possible by remittances nevertheless has considerable limitations in terms of the empowerment of women and sustainable development.

### 3.1 Gender equity: women as heads of households, yet robbed of power

The consequences of migration in terms of gender relations have not been sufficiently analyzed, but it is clear that remittances have considerably improved women's living conditions and social status. It should nevertheless be noted that migration has not fundamentally changed the social position of women in relation to men.

#### *Economic responsibilities*

In general, international migration has increased women's responsibilities. With the husband away, the wife takes on the role of head of household, in that she helps to supply food by means of her economic activities, while at the same time providing for her children. Many women claim that they contribute to the daily household expenses, without this being fully appreciated. In spite of their considerable contribution to family life and community matters, women's status has not notably changed.

Women contribute financially to the construction of community facilities, such as the digging of a well, the building of a mosque or the purchase of mills to grind millet. They have also developed economic activities such as farming, trade and cattle rearing. At the level of each village, the women have created mutual aid mechanisms and solidarity networks that provide group members with material and moral security, especially through access to credit.

#### *Family responsibilities*

It should nevertheless be noted that even when the man is away, the woman does not automatically become the head of household (Fall 2004). In fact, this role is often filled – against a backdrop of recurrent tension – by a close relative of the migrant: his father, mother or brother, etc. In reality, in societies where patriarchy remains the norm, the wives of migrants do not always have a great deal of room for manoeuvre, since their married life is managed from afar by a third party, very often the father-in-law. Although couples living in France have more disagreements, married life is not always easy for the women left behind in the village either. Contrary to the social and legal procedures implemented in France, in Senegal, conflicts linked to the absence of the husband are almost always dealt with by the family, rather than by the courts. Living with the family-in-law “often leads to power struggles, as wives are tempted to say

that this is their husband's house and that it is their husband who supports the family," says a man from Medina Ndiathbe. Other people interviewed said that the mother-in-law may try to control everything as the money is her son's.

### ***Children of the second generation: an engine for the renewal of migration***

Interviews with children of the second generation show that the girls and boys have little contact. They have very tense relations that dictate specific behavioural codes. They thus constitute an engine for the renewal of migration, on account of marriage. The girls prefer to marry young men living in Senegal, just as the boys prefer to find their soul mate in the home country rather than marry a "mad cow," meaning a girl born in France. Both the girls and the boys look for partners in their village with the blessing of their parents, who are traumatized by the idea of mixed marriages. In fact, it is with a heavy heart that a parent sees their child "marry a white person or a Christian."

However, as explained by the young Senegalese people in Etampes, "When a [male] migrant marries a girl from home, there is a higher chance of divorce than if it is the woman who goes back home to find a husband." In both cases, the spouses see this kind of marriage as an opportunity to leave Senegal. They may, moreover, use strategies to separate from their wife or husband as soon as they obtain their residence permits. In fact, families cleverly use the opportunities provided by marriage to achieve their migration project. It was from this perspective that the migrants interviewed mentioned – somewhat comically – that homosexual unions, which are not recognized in Senegal, "could be used as a strategy for bringing over brothers or cousins."

## **3.2 Remittances and entrepreneurship**

The role of migrants in providing for family needs other than everyday consumption is negligible. Only 12.5% of the people interviewed indicated that their households benefited from remittances intended for financing individual projects, and this applies to both women and men.

**Table 3 – Family member benefiting from remittances for personal affairs, according to the sex of the recipient**

Benefits	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
No	225	87.9	126	86.9	351	87.5
Yes	31	12.1	19	13.1	50	12.5
Total	256	100	145	100.0	401	100.0

Source: Surveys 2008

The sums invested by women within the framework of projects backed by migrants was 434,185 CFA francs. However, this only represents a quarter of the average amount invested by men, evaluated at 1,798,235 CFA francs. Both men and women give priority to investment in trade. Other activities are developed based on experience acquired in a particular field. The men go into transport, followed by the women, who prefer dressmaking.



**Table 4 – Type of investment, according to the sex of the recipient**

	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
Trade	14	45.2%	9	47.4%	23	46.0%
Transport	3	9.7%	3	15.8%	6	12.0%
Dressmaking	4	12.9%	1	5.3%	5	10.0%
Hardware	2	6.5%	2	10.5%	4	8.0%
Market gardening	2	6.5%	1	5.3%	3	6.0%
Rice cultivation	1	3.2%	1	5.3%	2	4.0%
Bakery	0	0.0%	1	5.3%	1	2.0%
Embroidery	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
Haberdashery	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
Fishing	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
Tailoring, electrician	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
Dyeing	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
Weaving <i>pagnes</i> (sarongs)	0	0.0%	1	5.3%	1	2.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Surveys 2008

In terms of job creation, we see that 46% of the projects set up using remittances have created no jobs, 30% of the activities launched employ just one person, and 14% function with two employees. It should be stressed that in this respect, the agricultural investments are more productive as they employ over 60 men.

**Table 5- Number of people employed by the investment, according to the sex of the recipient**

Job	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
0	18	58.1%	5	26.3%	23	46.0%
1	8	25.8%	7	36.8%	15	30.0%
2	1	3.2%	6	31.6%	7	14.0%
9	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
10	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
62	0	0.0%	1	5.3%	1	2.0%
Unspecified	2	6.5%	0	0.0%	2	4.0%
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: Surveys 2008

In terms of recruiting workers, it is important to note that men (57%) tend to choose a member of their family, more so than women (19.4%). In fact, the wife of a migrant very rarely has members of her own family in the place where she lives. However, there are many male migrants who do not employ any members of their family.

**Table 6 – Family members working in the business, according to the sex of the recipient**

Members	Female	%	Male	%	Total	%
No	24	77.4%	8	42.1%	32	64.0%
Yes	6	19.4%	11	57.9%	17	34.0%
Unspecified	1	3.2%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%
Total	31	100.0%	19	100.0%	50	100.0%

Source: Surveys 2008

It should be noted that neither men nor women call upon female family members to run the business. This is the reproduction of the idea that only men are entitled to work and earn money, since they have to start a family.

### **Additional loans**

The information provided by the people interviewed indicates that the vast majority of activities developed by villagers have not benefited from additional loans (for 80.6% of women and 100% of men). In this respect, it is necessary to examine loan access and approval mechanisms at the local level, as 56.9% of recipients plan to start up businesses.

Analysis of investment projects by activity sector shows that trade is the highest priority for 54.4% of the people interviewed. Apart from trade, which comes first for both sexes, women and men do not have the same investment preferences. For women, first place goes to trade, with 61.5%, market gardening and farming (13.8%) and dressmaking (8.2%). For men, the ranking is as follows: trade (38.9%), farming (16.7%), transport (11.1%) and cattle rearing (5.6%).



**This hardware store in Senegal is the fruit of a migrant's investment in his community of origin.**

It is striking to note that in Agnam-Goly, no activities deriving from remittances were observed. Nor are there any migrants working alone or in partnership in the fields of transport, farming or cattle rearing. However, in almost all of the villages, migrants have at one time or another invested in farming, the food trade, hardware or mills to grind millet, etc. In fact, the populations report that the migrants who set themselves up in trade, cattle rearing or farming went bankrupt. They deplore the fact that most of the failures noted were linked to the misappropriation of funds by the people appointed to manage these businesses.

As for the local tradespeople, in almost all the villages they face serious competition from the Wolof people from Baol (the central region of Senegal), who have moved into Fouta, to the extent that they now control small-scale distribution.

We have seen that migrants from one village may join together in order to invest in their home country. In Medina Ndiathbe, for example, a shop was opened by the migrants from an association called Soninka Kafforo, which has a capital of around five million CFA francs.

## ***Influence of gender relations on entrepreneurship and investment***

The wives of migrants who stay in the country are active in a number of fields, but face financial and land access constraints. Consequently, their projects are less ambitious than those of men, but the women are nevertheless more pragmatic and more successful in managing businesses.

### ***Access to credit***

Where cooperative banks are concerned, we observed that women are more likely than men to pay back the loans they take out and to meet the deadlines set. The real problem, according to the mayor of Thilogne, is that “women are not organized in such a way as to make the money they are given work for them. They use it to go and sell cloth or milk.”

### ***Access to land***

In Thilogne, women work in market gardening rather than farming, as men are very reluctant to give them land. In E. K.'s opinion, “There is no point giving them land in this case, especially as they would be less hard-working than their ancestors as they don't want to go into the fields or to work without equipment... I am against giving women land as I know they will do nothing with it.”

The words of the mayor of Thilogne tie in with the rationale behind the way Halpulaar society works, described here by one of the female advisers from the rural community of Agnam Civol: “We have our traditions; as among the Halpulaar, women are beneath men. Even if we women may exercise political functions – working as advisers, leading women's organizations and taking part in development – it's unthinkable that we could go above men or interfere in land matters. Women are submissive, and even if we chair a particular group, we still need our husband's permission before going ahead.”

Although it is not unusual in France to come across associations that have female members, Y. D. points out that the two components of society are not compatible: “Men and women do not really work in partnership, and being represented by men, having no say in the matter and not being allowed to attend meetings, make women frustrated; since they no longer want to be represented by men, they create associations that have their own development projects.”



**Improvements in living conditions due to remittances.**

## **3.3 The impact of remittances on local social and economic development**

The accounts given show that migration is a source of many expectations, and that it often fulfils the hopes invested in it. Migration is a way to make money or to gain access to financial resources in the land of plenty, such as France. At the end of the process, the social success of not only the migrant, but also the entire family, is expected. O. K. says that “migrants leave not just for themselves, but also for their family. Either they themselves make the decision to emigrate, or their parents – father or mother – finance their departure with a view to improving their living conditions.”

In Fouta, the populations are convinced of the benefits of migration, which are now seen to be more worthwhile than academic success. This leads N. D. to say that "to be a migrant, you don't need qualifications: emigration brings in lots of money."

According to the mayor of Thilogne, "If migration is stopped, Fouta will be plunged into great difficulties. The area is gradually becoming repopulated thanks to State investment, of course, but especially thanks to investment by migrants. Investment, even without any return, creates jobs. If it were not for the migrants, the people would have left the village. Remittances are, however, less profitable than before, as the cost of living has increased."

For the village headman in Agnam-Goly, migration is the driving force behind development in Fouta: "Someone who goes abroad will stay there for several decades, until retirement, and he alone will provide for a family of 30 people."

# 4

## THE FOUTA VALLEY: DIASPORA, MIGRANT ASSOCIATIONS AND LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS

In the past, migration was seen as conferring prestige on the person concerned and taking him/her further up the social ladder. Being surrounded by an admiring crowd on trips back to the village and having international stars such as Aicha Kone sing about them have long been some of the aspirations of migrants.

Convinced that the “social status of the individual is linked to his ability to divest himself of his worldly goods rather than to his capacity to accumulate them,” migrants invested large sums in traditional festivities, such as religious hymns or family ceremonies. But that time is past, if we are to believe B. F., who says that “many immigrants scrimp and save in order to be able to invest large sums in Senegal. Sometimes they work until they are 55 years old.”

### 4.1 Investment profiles

Foutanke migrants have launched several projects and programmes, either independently or within the framework of bilateral or multilateral partnerships. We noted different types of investment which, depending on the case, are made by retired people, young people, women or village associations.

Investment by retired people

In Agnam Thiodaye, O. N. let his children continue their studies in France in order to dedicate himself to tree cultivation in his home village. As one of his children is an agricultural engineer, he chose to invest in this sector. His son proudly recalls that he was the first to build a masonry house in his village and to install modern toilets in it. People came from all the neighbouring villages to see them.



Mr. N., a retired soldier who came back home, is creating an orchard.

#### ***Investment by children of the second generation***

The children of the second generation now invest in Senegal, as they are aware of the instability of their situation. This choice is partly explained by their desire to have a house in the country they love, and to “do things differently from their parents, who didn’t think of it.” According to Y. D. from FARFAD, “young people don’t necessarily contribute to development, but they have easier access to finance.”

### **Collective investment**

The associations are backed by development partners, which finance them and help them to set up their projects. Y.D. from FARFAD notes that “the success rate is very low when it comes to setting up businesses, as those who can both start up and invest with considerable resources are not assisted.” Actions have been brought against the French authorities, to no avail. Y.D. continues: “We were at the origin of the co-development savings account that France set up, except they didn’t give us what we asked for.” FARFAD had in fact requested a development plan with savings, projects and access to credit in France, but they got a co-development savings account that entitles them to tax exemptions if they have savings and a project. There is no mention of any financial assistance.

### **Investment by women**

In Mantes-la-Jolie, the dream of many women is to acquire a house in Senegal or to go into farming, “in response to the President of the Republic’s appeal.” Mrs H. D. stresses that “Senegalese women have organized themselves in associations and have paid a 2,000 euro deposit to the SICAP in order to have access to housing that is rented out.”

The wives of migrants who stay in the village develop many different economic activities with very limited resources. They are often part of an economic interest grouping, or EIG, whose activity is hairdressing, dyeing, dressmaking or the production of soap or pomade for hair. Unfortunately, these activities bring in little money because of the low purchasing power among the local populations. This fact often discourages the most entrepreneurial women and causes projects to fail.

In Sadel, the women have set up an EIG and grow bananas, which are easy to sell. Today, they are ready to diversify their crops by introducing okra or melons. However, according to the village social coordinator, the fact that the women do not follow the instructions given by advisers has a negative impact on production. Some women also grow onions on their allotted plots and manage to sell them in Mauritania.

The chairwoman of the Group for the Promotion of Women in Sadel does not hesitate to condemn the attitude of young people, highlighting “the laziness of young girls, who refuse to go into the fields and prefer dressmaking, dyeing or cattle rearing... As for the young boys, they only offer their services if they are paid.” Comparing the way women in Agnam Godo and those in Sadel manage their projects, she notes that “here [in Sadel], if you don’t have enough to eat, you take what you need, you buy some rice and you cook for your children. But there [in Agnam], even if you have a fortune, you daren’t touch it because it belongs to everyone.” This explains why women in Sadel are more present on the farms than those in Agnam.

In Fonde Gande, the women have land that they have inherited from their parents. This is the case of M. G., who has a lot of land but lacks the means to exploit it: “We want someone to help us as we have hectares of land. Mechanization and infrastructure would encourage people to stay.”



The women of Medina Diatbe have specialized in the craft of dyeing for generations.



This banana plantation in Sadel is a successful example of women’s participation in an economic interest grouping (EIG).

In Kobilou, women were granted one-tenth of developed land areas as part of the rice-growing scheme set up using funds from the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa. They form one of the eight EIGs assisted by the SAED, and make substantial profit from their farming activities. As stressed by the sub-prefect of Agnam Civol, women “have access to land, but more often than not the weight of local traditions and customs is such that they don’t even think to ask for it.” Women’s groups often have land. Y. S., manager of the Pete co-operative, notes that “collective investments are less problematic... Individuals are more likely to have this kind of problem.”

In Golere, we observed that land and water were available, but that there were no hands to take care of the garden that was already established. In M. B.’s opinion, “the women don’t want to go into the fields; they don’t farm the market gardening projects as they should... The youngsters don’t want to farm, they only think about going to the US or to France. If you tell your son to go and work on the farm or to set up a business here, he will think you are his enemy.”

In Agnam Goly, the populations are willing to develop farming projects but, as they all reply, “We’re counting on the State or on organizations; we’re waiting for them to come here so we can show them we don’t have enough water.”

In Agnam Civol, the local authorities are prepared to give land to women, “as long as they have the equipment needed to farm it.”

In Thilogne, the mayor explains that “the women are the only ones who work to mobilize funds from international organizations. Today, we can only count on women here to develop things. The youngsters just think about leaving. They have no work, even if some of them have qualifications.”

## 4.2 Obstacles and challenges

According to the mayor of Thilogne, many projects fail as they are not adapted to Senegal or to their environment. Lessons must be learnt from past and present experiences in order to foster the potential of people and groups that have initiatives.

### **Finance**

Despite being very limited, family budgets may be a starting point in terms of investment, as long as additional resources make it possible to lay the foundations for lucrative activities. Indeed, it proves necessary to set up a credit system with reasonable interest rates.

In this study, it was found that migrants only count on their own revenues. However, they can have access to credit in their host country, especially through the banks in which they place their savings: the Société Générale and the BNP have branches in Dakar. In reality, migrants do not have a tradition of borrowing. They may therefore take five to ten years to build a house for rent, when they could have taken out a bank loan, which they are frequently offered.

### **Fostering sustainable development**

Few migrants are aware of the need to foster sustainable development in their regions by means of investment, however limited. The accounts given on this subject are very revealing: “People want to do things, but don’t have the money. Migrants who have the means don’t trust them; they fear that the business will fail and they will lose money. They don’t think about creating jobs, for the same reason.” The result is that instead of helping

their wife (or wives) to invest, most migrants choose to develop projects outside the village, especially in Dakar, as confirmed by interviews with villagers: "In the whole district of Orkadiere, only Wendou Bosseya has something, and that is just one migrant who has dug two boreholes in addition to his fields. The wives have started farming and are earning some money. All of our villages live off this" (interview with D. N. and A. S., July 2008).

### ***Security of investment***

There is not a shadow of a doubt that migrants are able to mobilize considerable sums. One migrant stressed that "we set up a development project in Golere with a total cost of 19 million: we created a garden and we invested 5 million in the renovation of the health centre and the maternity clinic. Now it's done, the work is finished. We called on all the women in Golere" (Interview with M. D., Mantes-la-Jolie, August 2008).

It is true that migrant investment may be held back by problems of different kinds. The need to secure their investments means migrants turn to building. As stressed by the local populations, they "build for their families and for themselves with the help of builders from Dakar. Few migrants let these houses to foreigners; that works better in Dakar, which is more densely populated."

The main obstacles to investment by migrants from the middle valley are:

- difficulties gaining access to land, mentioned by one of the A4S members interviewed in Montreuil. He explains that "the Diops don't want anyone to touch their potato fields";
- problems of access to water, mentioned within the framework of new State projects: "we want the GOANA,<sup>16</sup> but it depends on water. If there is no water, we will not succeed in implementing the GOANA" (interview with D. N. and A. S., Etampes, August 2008);
- in reality, it was the withdrawal of State funding that dealt a serious blow to agriculture, the main activity of the valley populations, and/or often their only source of monetary income. Thus, the lack of agricultural input "has meant that for over 10 years, women have not really farmed the fields as crops are not abundant."

### ***NGO support***

Many local projects have benefited, or still benefit, from support from development partners, such as the NGOs that are prominent in the middle valley. It is clear, however, that the different projects have had too many weak points to produce the desired effect. The willingness of local development associations has been demonstrated. It is nevertheless important to re-examine the initiatives carried out over the last few decades by ALDA, ADOS, A4S, Bural/TAD, etc., in order to draw lessons from them and thereby make a fresh start.

### ***Project coordination at the local level***

Although there has been some real success in improving living conditions for the populations, the lack of complementarity between the projects launched in neighbouring villages is illogical and must be rectified. Indeed, rivalry between village associations is reflected by a wide dispersion of resources and en-

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16. On 18 April 2008, the President of Senegal created the GOANA (the Great Agricultural Offensive for Food and Abundance) in order to put an end to the structural food crisis the country is suffering. This programme is the subject of debate within the country.



# 5

## LINKS BETWEEN MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT (CO-DEVELOPMENT AND PUBLIC POLICIES)

Much has been written and said about the “migration-integration-return assistance” triptych by the political authorities in the host country and by legally established migrants.

Brought up to date by Samir Nair’s 1990 report, co-development is intended as “an instrument for active solidarity with migrants’ countries of origin and for creating the social conditions needed to help people to live in their own country.” It should be noted that the concept of co-development emerged in the early 1980s under the guidance of Jean-Pierre Cot, the then Minister for Cooperation under François Mitterrand. His goal was to “achieve a shift from classical cooperation links to relations aimed at common and sustainable development.”

The debate took a new turn when the time came to appoint the interlocutors and technical operators for the programmes financed by the host countries. Was it best to deal with States, migrant associations or NGOs (in both the host countries and the areas of departure)?

### 5.1 Key actors

A large number of actors play a part, at different levels, in the field of Senegalese migration. From research to civil society, several organizations work on the issues of gender, migration and remittances.

#### • *Actors*

**Research:** Certain academics and researchers specializing in migration issues are playing a greater and greater part in intellectual life (18 researchers, 6 research centres or institutions).

**International agencies:** The IOM (International Organization for Migration) carries out initiatives linked to migration. United Nations agencies are also present (UNDP, UNFPA, UNIFEM, ILO), along with the European Commission Delegation, COOPI (Italian international cooperation organization) and the ANAEM (French agency for the reception of foreigners and migration), which has become the OFII (French office for immigration and integration).

**Government agencies and departments:** Following on from the work of the Department for forecasting and statistics, the Senegalese National agency for statistics and demography is now the repository for any data collected in the field of population mobility.

**Non-governmental organizations:** Special mention should be given to the Senegalese Red Cross, which, in the name of its humanitarian mission, provides assistance to migrants, such as the young peo-

ple repatriated from Spain. The Senegal-Italy assistance institute (IASI), supported by the left-wing Italian trade union, the CGIL, has also provided valuable assistance to Senegalese people who have chosen to return home by recovering their social security contributions. This organization helps the families of migrants engaged in family reunification procedures and provides Italian language training free of charge.

**Private sector:** The BCEAO (Central Bank of West African States) centralizes the circulation of currency and has data on all migrant remittances, especially those that move through formal rapid transfer agency “channels”, such as Western Union, MoneyGram and Money Express, etc. Two banks have shown unprecedented dynamism in accompanying international migrants: the Banque de l’Habitat du Sénégal (BHS) and the Société Générale de Banques au Sénégal (SGBS).

• **Gender**

Key actors	Description
<p>Government departments and agencies</p>	<p>The Ministry for the family, national solidarity, women’s entrepreneurship and microfinance is responsible for government policy on gender issues. It coordinates some major programmes structured around the equality and equity of male-female relations.</p> <p>Eight programmes and projects have been recorded: gender, assistance and training, entrepreneurship, credit, poverty reduction, economic development, the prevention of female genital mutilation and AIDS.</p>
<p>Civil society</p>	<p>The number of civil society associations is constantly growing. Today, it stands at 551 organizations, of which 395 are national and 157 are international. Among the associations listed, 304 have the status of non-governmental organization.</p> <p>Civil society organizations (CSOs) have numerous projects to their name. The main issues in the field of gender over recent years include the fight for equality and the campaign to recognize parental authority for women.</p> <p>Two CSOs are particularly prominent in the field of women’s rights:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The Federation of women’s associations in Senegal (FAFS), created in 1977, which includes over 400 associations and women’s groups throughout the country, with one unit in every region. The FAFS is engaged in the fight against the marginalization of women and the non-recognition of women’s rights, and in the protection of children’s rights.</li> </ul> <p>For many years, the FAFS has been working in the social sphere by means of donations for hospitals and the needy, equipment and training for rural women’s groups, and support for the socio-economic reintegration of domestic workers in their areas of origin.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The African network for women’s entrepreneurship (RASEF/Senegal), created in 1995 following the fifth African regional conference in preparation for Beijing, in Dakar. It has 65,000 members and contributes effectively to reducing poverty, which particularly affects women. Its programme focuses on the collection, preservation, processing and marketing of agricultural and fishery products.</li> </ul> <p>Three projects have been recorded: access to land, local development, management and micro-enterprises.</p>

• **Migration, remittances and development**

Key actors	Description
International agencies	<p>The International Organization for Migration (IOM) has implemented the largest number of initiatives where migration is concerned. It is increasingly becoming the preferred interlocutor for institutions working in this field, and is looked on as the travel agency of the United Nations system, to which it does not, however, belong.</p> <p>In addition to support for local development projects, a considerable part of the work done by development partners is based on support from the European Union – through the Spanish government – to combat illegal immigration.</p>
Government bodies	<p>The Presidency of the Republic, the Prime Minister’s cabinet, the National Assembly and six ministries have units, directorates or appointments linked to the issues of migration, remittances and development.</p>
Civil society	<p>The recent involvement of civil society organizations in migration issues is unquestionably linked to the tragedies involving illegal migration to the Canary Islands that have been in the news since 2006. Three associations are prominent in this field: the Women’s collective to combat illegal migration, the Council of NGOs to support development (CONGAD) and the Co-development Association (ASCODE).</p> <p>Among the many CSOs that are active in the field of migration, the key role played by migrant associations stands out. Indeed, the non-renewal of migration flows due to protectionism in the host countries has led international migrants to put a lot of effort into the development of their regions of origin. This practice is particularly widespread among populations from rural areas, who have become aware of the need to prevent the increasing dependence of the people remaining in the village on remittances.</p> <p>The dynamism of associations from the Senegal River valley, which have a long tradition of supporting their community of origin, has combined with that of the new areas of migration to improve living conditions in rural areas. The main fields of intervention for international migrants are water, which remains one of the primary concerns in the Senegalese countryside, and support for women’s groups. A total of 18 associations, including 6 migrant women’s groups, have been recorded among the most dynamic.</p>
<p>In total, 19 projects have been recorded.</p>	

## 5.2. Public Policies: Migration, integration, voluntary return policy and co-development

A number of cooperation programmes have been signed by the Senegalese government with the host countries, especially those in Europe. Known as co-development projects, in the sense that they are the outcome of negotiations between the parties concerned, these programmes propose to support States or local authorities in implementing development initiatives and/or accompanying the projects of migrants who choose to return to their country of origin.

Migrant associations such as the Sadel Sahel Senegal Solidarity Association (A4S) have launched high value-added projects, such as the extension of the water supply network. At a total cost of over 20 million CFA francs (around 30,534 euros), this project has benefited from subsidies from the French solidarity fund's "co-development initiatives," the support of the NGO Aquassistance and the Ile-de-France regional council, and the help of the regional water supply directorate. It involved laying nearly eight kilometres of pipelines and connecting all the houses in the village to the mains. Today, 500 households equipped with individual meters have drinking water inside their homes, in addition to the 10 public water fountains in the village.

In the very short term, an initiative of this kind will help to improve the living conditions of the inhabitants, especially the women, who will have time for activities other than fetching water. In the longer term – within three years – durable access to drinking water should result in a 75% drop in the incidence of waterborne diseases, such as hepatitis, gastroenteritis or dysentery.

Individually or as part of the "co-development initiatives" programmes managed by the ANAEM (French agency for the reception of foreigners and migration), Senegalese people in France can obtain financial support with a view to their economic integration in their country of origin.

Two programmes stand out:

- the "assisted voluntary return programme" managed by the ANAEM and negotiated in the host country by the migrant, who will be given the appropriate advice;
- the "assisted humanitarian return programme," which is open to migrants who have stayed in France for at least two years and who returned to their village less than six months ago by their own means;

The Senegalese government has also set up return programmes based on the provision of means aimed at supporting migrants who want to invest in Senegal: following on from the REVA (voluntary return to agriculture) plan, which was largely based on Spanish assistance to compensate for the fight against illegal migration, the GOANA (Great agricultural offensive for food and abundance) offers land and farming machinery to migrants who want to invest in agriculture.

To get the most out of the time Senegalese migrants spend abroad, especially from the viewpoint of their contribution to development, the public authorities have set up different institutions and developed strategies aimed at encouraging the return and reintegration of migrants (Mbaye 2000).

For many migrants, reintegration in the country of origin is an important stage of the international migration process. It is often part of the migrant's initial project and is closely linked to a successful reinstallation, which is itself dependent on a sustainable and productive economic reintegration. For the individual, this implies establishing a profitable economic project that will allow her/him and her/his family to ensure their well-being, so that in the future, s/he (or her/his family) will no longer feel the need to emigrate. The return may be autonomous, of the migrant's initiative and with no support from backers, or it may be part of an

assistance programme developed either by international organizations or through bilateral agreements established between the host country and the country of origin. In both cases, the effective launch of the project often determines the migrant's return to her/his country of origin.

### **5.2.1. The creation of public institutions for the management, promotion and protection of Senegalese abroad**

The credit lines extended to Senegal by France in 1987 resulted in the creation of the Office for the reception, orientation and support of migrants (BAOS) within the Ministry of State to the President of the Republic. The BAOS was in charge of: giving migrants any useful information regarding the conditions of their reintegration upon return; implementing and monitoring the framework of incentives for better integration in the different production sectors; applying policy on the promotion, mobilization and transfer of migrants' savings; facilitating the technical and financial organization of individual and collective reintegration projects, in collaboration with public and private institutions and the competent technical and financial departments; and providing advice on the technical management of projects.

#### ***Credit lines from the French central fund for economic cooperation***

The first credit line, amounting to 150 million CFA francs (around 228,000 euros), was granted by France on 23 November 1983 through the French central fund for economic cooperation (CCCE). This sum was deposited in the National Development Bank of Senegal (BNDS), chosen as the agency that would implement this credit line. Within this framework, a retrocession agreement was signed between the Senegalese State and the BNDS. This agreement set out the practicalities of applying the terms of the convention between the Senegalese government and the CCCE. The conditions for granting credit were: a deposit of 10% of the loan amount, 9-year repayment period, 2-year grace period, interest rate of 4%, commission for the BNDS of 2%, and an obligation to deposit profits from the project into the BNDS and to take out life insurance.

This credit line only financed 10 projects, for a global amount of 147,700 CFA francs, in sectors seen as a priority at the time: farming, fisheries, cattle rearing and services. The remaining 3.3 million were to be used to finance assessments of this credit line.

On 27 July 1987, a second credit line was signed with the CCCE for a total of 500 million CFA francs this time, but still aimed at financing new projects by migrants who were legally established in France and who wanted to return to Senegal for good. To remedy the shortcomings encountered in the implementation of the first credit line, some of the money – 12.5 million – was held to finance feasibility studies, 7.2 million went into a guarantee fund, 25.5 million was budgeted to cover the running of the BAOS, 30 million served as an unexpended balance primarily intended to supplement the BAOS investment and operating budget, and 360 million were used to finance the projects submitted by migrants.

This credit line was initially granted to the Sonaga-Sonabanque, which had considerable experience in the field of reintegration through the “Master's degree” operation,<sup>17</sup> before being ceded to the Caisse Nationale de Crédit Agricole du Sénégal following the restructuring of the banking system in Senegal. This second credit line financed around 30 projects in sectors such as: agriculture and cattle fattening; automobiles, maintenance and transport; fisheries and the fish trade; and commerce and services.

However, the repayment of loans granted by the CCCE posed enormous difficulties. An assessment of the implementation of these two credit lines by chartered accountants highlighted the difficulties

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17. In response to the student protest of July 1982, the State launched the “Master's degree” operation, in which a public institution, the Société Nationale de Garantie et d'Assurance (SONAGA), provided funds to unemployed people with a Master's degree in order for them to create a business in the commercial or artisanal sectors.

caused by, inter alia, the excessive length of procedures for effectively setting up financing and the poor estimation of the real costs of projects. These problems led to several promoters going bankrupt, causing a very low repayment rate for the loans granted. Of a total loan portfolio of 562,754,852 CFA francs, only 56,714,372 CFA francs were actually repaid.

Many migrants benefiting from loans found it impossible to pay them back on time. Some of them have started out again, while others have ceased operations due to a lack of working capital to keep their business going.

Reintegration via CCCE loans has certainly not had the desired effect, but it has nevertheless revealed the real problems of migrant reintegration. The conclusions drawn from these experiences show that in the future, reintegration projects will have to take into account the migrant's family situation as well as the socio-psychological and cultural environment in the place where the project will be implemented.

### ***Reintegration of migrants through French government aid***

Finance provided by French government aid is intended for immigrants who have a residence permit and are either unemployed or working in companies that are in difficulty, especially in the automobile industry. The beneficiaries of this funding are migrants who volunteer to return permanently to their country of origin. To be eligible for this aid, migrants must agree to return their residence permit when leaving France. Some 600 Senegalese migrants have taken advantage of this programme.

The Local migration development programme (PDLM) has two goals:

- ensuring the reintegration of migrants returning from France by helping them to finance economic microprojects in their country and providing them with support for one year;
- participating in the emergence of sectors that foster local development.

Each microproject is the subject of a preliminary study conducted through government-regulated support structures, which then help to launch the projects and monitor them for one year. Some 20 microprojects were financed in this way in Senegal between 1994 and 1999.

### ***The contract of reintegration in the country of origin (CRPO)***

The CRPO is a variation of the PDLM, in that it combines training both before and after the return to the country of origin. Through this contract, 11 Senegalese migrants have benefited from general and technical training in France and in Senegal, to help them implement an economic reintegration project. The projects financed primarily concern the transport, food trade and catering sectors.

These programmes are open to immigrants in an irregular situation in France who volunteer to return to their country of origin. The average amount of funding for a project under the PDLM or the CRPO is 2,250,000 CFA francs.

### ***Reintegration through NGOs***

Some NGOs specialize in return assistance and the reintegration of migrants. They provide support in preparing projects, training promoters and seeking funding (loans, donations or subsidies in general).

## ***French migration policy***

According to Patrick Weil (1991), France has implemented specific rules regarding the entry, residence and potential return of immigrants, which were not drawn up on a whim, but formed an interface between economic and social requirements and the founding principles of the Republic. Surprising though it may seem, this policy is consensual and goes back a long way. It was not defined by a political class, one which under pressure from the extreme right suddenly decided that it could not accommodate all the misery of the world and proceeded to set up the instruments that France had been awaiting for many years. According to Weil, this policy was progressively established from the late 1930s onwards, based on decisive choices that were finalized at the end of the war:

- In legal terms, should political refugees be distinguished from economic immigrants?
- Should immigrants be selected according to ethnic criteria, or, on the contrary, should any national discrimination be refused in the name of the principle of equality?
- Should immigrants be kept in a precarious legal situation, which necessarily implies their presence is provisional, or, on the contrary, should they be stabilized in order to integrate them and integrated in order to stabilize them?

These debates were settled in accordance with republican ethics. However, according to the author, all of the miracle solutions presented today as if they were new have actually already been implemented and abandoned because they were inappropriate.

Weil's study provides an important contribution to the definition of immigration policies. The value of his analysis lies in the fact that it stresses that immigration policies are defined only in the host countries, and not in the countries of origin. The host countries establish draconian measures, but do not collaborate with Southern countries to find solutions that could retain and stabilize these populations, which have no choice but to emigrate. The key conclusion that should be drawn from this work is the total failure to take women into account.

### **5.2.2. Programmes underway**

Very few of the programmes set up where migration is concerned involve Fouta. However, a number of projects have been launched in the area of housing:

- The creation of migrant women's associations for access to housing;
- The housing exhibition, which after New York in 2003, Padua in 2004, Dakar in January 2005, New York, Cincinnati and Atlanta in September 2005, Spain in 2006 and France in 2007, was held in Italy. This was the second time that Italy hosted the travelling housing exhibition, this time for its seventh edition, from 18 October to 2 November 2008; and
- The Senegalese migrants' exhibition: with the aim of promoting products and companies, Senegalese migrants living in Europe and the US, along with the Office for the support of Senegalese abroad (BASE), a department of the Co-development association (ASCODE), took part in the 17th edition of the Dakar international trade show, from 30 November to 11 December 2006.

### **5.2.3. Implementation and assessment of co-development policies**

Signed in Dakar on 23 September 2006, the agreement on the concerted management of migration flows is the basic framework for French-Senegalese cooperation regarding the movement of men and women. Article 7 of this agreement sets out the framework for cooperation: "considering the priority Senegal gives to reducing poverty and unemployment, France and Senegal agree to consolidate their

partnership in these fields, particularly with a view to providing young Senegalese people with new employment prospects and settling them in Senegal through the implementation of credible projects. Within the framework of its cooperation with Senegal, France undertakes to provide further resources for these objectives, under conditions that shall be set out by agreement between both parties.”

At the initiative of development partners such as the NGOs based in Dakar or the international institutions, a number of programmes based on capacity building among local populations have been conducted. These programmes are particularly aimed at limiting the propensity of youngsters to emigrate. Some of the most important ones are:

The MIDA programme (Migration for Development in Africa), managed by the International Organization for Migration, is a credit line available to Senegalese migrant associations in Italy that want to contribute, through local projects, to the development of their regions of origin using the skills acquired by the diaspora (Fall 2007).

The co-development association (ASCODE) is an organization that was set up in 2002 to serve as a framework for discussion and action with a view to mobilizing members’ efforts for development in Senegal. ASCODE was created to support the Senegalese populations, while fostering a development effort that fundamentally involved Senegalese migrants. The association aims to assist the authorities in rural and social development issues, particularly in the fields of health care, education, training, culture, environment and rural development.

The Thilogne Development Association promotes solidarity initiatives at the international level. In addition to Thilogne, which is the village of origin in Senegal, “branches” of this federal structure exist in Africa (Cameroon, Côte-d’Ivoire, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Burkina Faso and Gabon), Europe (France and Italy) and North America (New York). They attempt to ensure the well-being of the migrants, the village and the region of origin.

The Agnam Development Association (ALDA) includes 12 villages from the Agnam rural community. Representing all the migrants of the river valley, the diaspora has opened branches on several continents, taking the association to the transnational level. Its main objectives are improving living conditions and maintaining links with the community of origin.



# 6 RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this research have given rise to some enriching debates and discussions that were included in the expert panel's report, and which have resulted in the following recommendations.

## ***Political dialogue***

- Involve all the partners who are likely to play an important role in implementing the programme: technical departments, local authorities (regions, councils, rural communities), technical partners, migrant associations (host countries), financial institutions, decentralized technical services, and grassroots communities in areas of departure, etc.
- Consolidate and extend partnerships with all potential backers in order to involve them in financing the programme.
- Always respect the principles of gender equality and equity in all political exchange and dialogue processes leading to the implementation of the programme.

## ***Entrepreneurship***

- Launch projects that are adapted to different areas by following the advice of the competent technical departments and using the findings of the study on promising opportunities.
- Prioritize value-added projects, such as community gardens, multifunctional cattle farms or processing and marketing units. At this level, it is important to start from previous experience in order to define a strategy that takes into account both the advantages and disadvantages of adopting either a collective or an individual approach.
- Implement strategies for mobilizing the funds of migrant women, who spend a lot of money during family festivals (baptisms, weddings, etc.).
- Consolidate action funds to enable young people and women from the areas of departure to launch bigger projects than the microprojects to which they are currently limited, and which do not make a lot of money.
- Inform people of the fact that the government has opened credit lines that are managed by ministries such as the Ministry of Senegalese Youth or the Ministry of Senegalese Abroad.
- Improve the coordination of the implementation of individual and collective projects in order to avoid pointless competition that may be detrimental to the whole community.
- In the same vein, federate or coordinate the work of associations that often become embroiled in the field.
- Review the role and organization of decentralized financial institutions (co-operatives, savings and loan associations, savings and credit banks), especially with regard to the interest rates applied to the loans granted and the specific conditions for obtaining credit. This credit must go beyond the micro level in order to trigger a sustainable increase in purchasing power for the women and men who use it.

### ***Support/assistance***

- Strengthen State and/or NGO structures for receiving, supporting, advising and assisting migrants in order to encourage them, through information and awareness programmes, to devote a larger part of the funds transferred to productive projects.
- Create or develop State services for in-house advice and training to help migrants to launch their business projects in their home country (coaching, guidance, formalization and development).
- Develop information, training and capacity building for the young entrepreneurs already in operation in the areas of departure.
- Launch credit lines to finance migrants' projects (whether fully or partially).
- Work with local authorities and other partners to develop support infrastructure, which is essential to the success of companies in the migration source areas: roads, tracks, telecommunications, points of sale, etc.

### ***Other recommendations***

- Keep in mind the social side of migration. The push to create productive companies should not mean the families left behind are neglected, especially the young people.
- Remittances should be used to support the family and to encourage the young people to stay. The young therefore require the means to ensure their personal development: schools, training structures, entertainment, and employment, etc.

To lose sight of these aspects is to push these young people to emigrate in turn.

### ***Strong recommendation:***

- Take the necessary measures to return this study to the people interviewed (populations in the survey area, migrant associations and local representatives, administrations and partners).

This will provide an opportunity to raise awareness among local and national decision makers, development partners, NGOs and the private sector, which has an important role to play, especially in the field of entrepreneurship.

## 7 | CONCLUSION

For generations of African migrants in general, and those from the middle valley of the Senegal River in particular, the former colonial metropolis has always symbolized the place of work to which people head to make money, before returning home to get married, build a nice house, and so forth. This resulted in such a strong connection between the villages of migrants and France that the latter was seen as an extension of the area of origin.

The protectionist immigration policies in place in Europe, and specifically in France, from the early 1970s onwards led to considerable changes in the organization and management of Halpulaar mobility. Indeed, the new situation inherent to the restrictions placed on the freedom of movement of men and women – and not of goods or capital – led the “river people” to rethink their migration strategies and head to hitherto unpopular migration destination areas, such as Southern Europe or North America. They were also obliged – often in lieu of State authorities – to set up community projects such as water delivery or schooling for children.

Given that the financial resources that were previously injected into the areas of departure are gradually drying up as the migrants slowly approach retirement age, the families are now finding themselves in a difficult and unanticipated position.

Our research has also shown that settlement migration and trade circulation, which do not require permanent residence in France, have diverse effects on gender relations and depend on the categories of women in question.

For some women, in addition to the material and immaterial resources it provides, mobility is a means of renegotiating social gender relations, albeit only within their own household, seen as a place representing the “appropriation of women” by Colette Guillaumin (1992), “women’s subordination to men” by Christine Delphy (1998) and “the reproduction of male dominance” in the words of Pierre Bourdieu (1998). Thanks to the opportunities provided by the host country in terms of rights, some women are becoming more independent and are disrupting the conventional hierarchy for men and women. The result is that migrant women are succeeding in replacing the established social order by a renegotiated social order. However, for the women who remain in the village, although migration improves their living conditions thanks to remittances, and/or may give them an enviable status in the eyes of those who do not have “well-off” husbands, migration has very little impact on gender relations.

As regards the continuing debate about migration and development, the reality of the study area is such that despite their considerable volume, remittances only ensure the survival of families. Although it is true that the Senegalese government seeks to channel and direct the savings of migrants towards income-generating activities, as well as to encourage them to return and to facilitate their integration in the fabric of the local economy, it is important to examine the real investment options open to migrants.

As Halpulaar workers generally have no professional qualifications, they are restricted to sectors that barely pay the minimum wage. It is nevertheless true that the efforts and sacrifices made to develop social infrastructure could also be mobilized for sustainable economic initiatives. This would therefore imply determining the avenues and methods that would enable a shift from a social or collective type of investment to private investment. This requires, inter alia, a high capacity for persuasion as well as technical and organizational support to encourage migrant associations, for example, to agree to take out bank loans rather than depending solely on the modest contributions of their members.

Due to their monthly pension, which may be as much as 1,000 euros, and/or considerable rental income, retired migrants are potential investors. They may therefore be key actors in the entrepreneurial programmes that could be developed in the middle valley.

As for women, they have some considerable assets that could be an advantage in the development of lucrative activities: excellent organizational skills and expertise gained during the many training courses provided by the different projects implemented in the valley, etc.

Finally, research conducted in the middle valley indicates that it is important to use local potentialities, especially farming and cattle rearing, to encourage the creation of income-generating activities such as milk production, cereal processing, cattle fattening, and market gardening, etc. The needs expressed by the populations could be supported by finance programmes: the provision of services in the information technology and audiovisual sectors, but also and especially vocational training in the building and public works sector – whose vitality now goes without saying – in particular for builders, electricians and metal workers, among others.

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