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**SENEGAL: PATTERNS OF INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL
MIGRATION IN RECENT YEARS**

by

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Recent migrations to, from, and within Senegal have had significant demographic and socio-economic consequences, not only for Senegal but also for other neighboring countries. The rates of population growth in neighbouring countries, such as Guinea Bissau and the Gambia, have been substantially reduced by emigration to Senegal; as much as 15 percent of the population of the former and 7 percent of the latter were enumerated in Senegal in 1970. Immigrants accounted for about 6 percent of the population of Senegal in 1970; certain regions had an even higher percentage of immigrants (16 percent in Casamance and 10 percent in Senegal-Oriental). Not much is known about emigration except that a number of Senegalese have moved for temporary periods to France and possibly Ivory Coast. It is estimated that their number was less than immigrants in the country in 1970. Thus, external migration made a positive, but relatively small, contribution to total population growth in Senegal during 1960-70.

Internal population mobility was also quite high in 1970-71 and appears to have been on the increase in recent years. Inter-regional lifetime migrants were 11.3 percent in 1960 and 15.0 percent in 1970. The number of such migrants increased by 53 percent, from 330,000 in 1960 to 503,000 in 1970.

In general, internal migration has been directed toward Dakar and the Atlantic seaboard. In-migrants represented 37 percent of the population of Cap-Vert in 1970 and 14 percent in thies, but less than 3 percent in Casamance. On the other hand, as much as 26 percent of those born in Fleuve and

21 percent of those born in Diourbel moved out of the region by 1970. Three regions--Cap-Vert, Senegal-Oriental, and Thies-- had substantial gains due to migration during 1960-70, while all other regions had losses.

Net rural-urban migration during 1960-70 was about 160,000 or about half the urban growth during the period. The rate of net rural-urban migration was 2.1 percent per year of the initial urban population and 0.6 percent per year of the initial rural population. The principal destination of rural-urban migrants was Dakar-- the net migration to which was more or less the same as the total net gain of all urban centers.

In 1970-71, immigrants included a higher proportion of males, while internal migrants had a higher proportion of females. The predominance of females among internal migrants was particularly obvious in rural areas and in the 15-34 age group. With respect to age composition, Senegalese migrants were similar to those in other countries with a characteristic bulge in the young adult ages.

There are few data to assess the socio-economic significance of migration in Senegal. The majority of immigrants, especially those from across the southern borders, are more or less permanent settlers in Senegal. With as much as 78 percent of them in the working ages and few of them sending remittances to their relatives in their home countries, these immigrants are making a substantial contribution to the economy of Senegal. In addition, the majority of Senegalese emigrants are young males who have migrated individually for short periods of time and are likely to return with

most of their earnings. External migration, on balance, appears to be economically advantageous to Senegal.

A large proportion of internal migration was probably not motivated by economic reasons. Nearly 50 percent of the passagers (short-term migrants) enumerated in 1971 gave "family" as the reason for movement. Another 20 percent moved because of "other motives". Only about 16 percent of the passagers moved because of work-related motives (14.8 percent found work, 1.1 percent were looking for work, and 0.5 percent had other business reasons). The low sex ratio among internal migrants in the 15-34 age group was another indication that non-economic factors were major motives causing migration. At the same time, migration to 2 of the regions appeared to be economically motivated. One was Dakar which grew by 53 percent over the decade 1960-70, with a net in-migration of at least 140,000. The other was Senegal-Oriental which, possibly because of new agricultural development projects located there, attracted about 22,000 persons from other regions during the decade.

The case of Casamance was somewhat peculiar and therefore subject to question. If the survey data are to be believed, the region should have had a natural increase of about 130,000, a net growth of about 88,000, a net immigration of about 70,000, and a net internal migration of about 16,000 from 1960-70. These figures imply that there was a net emigration of about 96,000 from this region over the period. The social and economic consequences of such a large-scale turnover of foreign-born and local-born population would be very considerable and deserve special study.

I. INTRODUCTION

In recent years, Senegal has been a country of immigration as well as emigration. It has received large numbers of immigrants from its neighbouring countries. At the same time, substantial numbers of its citizens have emigrated to other countries in the region and outside the region. On balance, these population movements do not seem to have greatly affected the population growth at the national level. However, the regions of emigration within Senegal were not the regions of immigration; and the countries sending immigrants to Senegal were not the countries receiving its emigrants. Consequently, emigration and immigration have had a substantial effect on the population growth of regions within Senegal and some of the countries outside it. Internal migration has also been quite substantial in recent periods, modifying greatly regional and rural-urban growth due to natural increase and international migration. The purpose of this study is to measure these movements, both internal and external, describe the migrant's characteristics, and assess the economic and social consequences of these movements.

Sources of Data

The first population census in Senegal was taken on April 15, 1976. Before 1976, the principal sources of migration data for Senegal were the demographic surveys conducted in recent years by the government. The first of these was carried out during 1960-61 and the second during 1970-71. As the results of the 1976 census are not yet available, the principal source of data

for this study is the second demographic survey. In this survey the universe was divided into 3 strata: (1) urban (agglomerations of 10,000+), (2) semi-urban (agglomerations of 1,000-9,999), and (3) rural (all other localities). Demographic and other information were collected through household enquiry in 3 stages. During the first stage (May-November 1970), a snapshot of the demographic situation in the country was obtained. The migration data used in this study were obtained principally during the second stage (December 1970-May 1971). The third stage of enquiry (January-November 1971) was used to collect information on the socio-economic characteristics of the population.

General Demographic Situation

Until the 1976 census, the total population of Senegal was not precisely known. The United Nations estimated the total at about 4,513,000 for April 1976, based on data from the 1970-71 survey; but, the recent census gave a total of 5,085,000 for April 1976 (Senegal. Direction de la Statistique, 1976). The underestimate was about 12.7 percent. By projecting the 1970-71 regional population figures to 1976 and comparing these with comparable 1976 census figures, it is evident that the 1970-71 survey (and estimates based on it) had particularly large undercounts in the capital city, while lesser undercounts in Senegal-Oriental, Casamance, and other interior regions.

With a total land area of 196,500 sq. km., the density of population was about 26 persons per square kilometer in 1976, which is relatively low compared to the world average in 1975 (29), but high compared to the West African level (19) or the average for the whole of Africa (13) (UN, 1975). The population was growing at a rate of 122,000 persons per year. This rate is slightly lower than the average rate for the West African region

(2.7 percent) (UN, 1975). However, the crude birth rate (46) was not very much different from that of other countries in the region or the continent. The lower growth rate was due to a higher crude death rate (22). The difference is as much as 4 points compared with the African average and one point compared with the West African average (UN, 1975).

Senegal is divided into 7 geographic regions (see Table 1 and Map 1) and the total population of the country is unevenly distributed among them. In 1976, Sine-Saloum region contained the largest proportion of the total population and Senegal-Oriental the lowest proportion. However, considering the relation of population to land area, Cap-Vert region, in which the capital city Dakar is located, is the densest (1,970 persons per km²). Senegal-Oriental region had not only the lowest proportion of the total population, but also the lowest density (less than 5 persons per km²). In general, the density of population decreased systematically as one moved away from the capital city and the Atlantic coast.

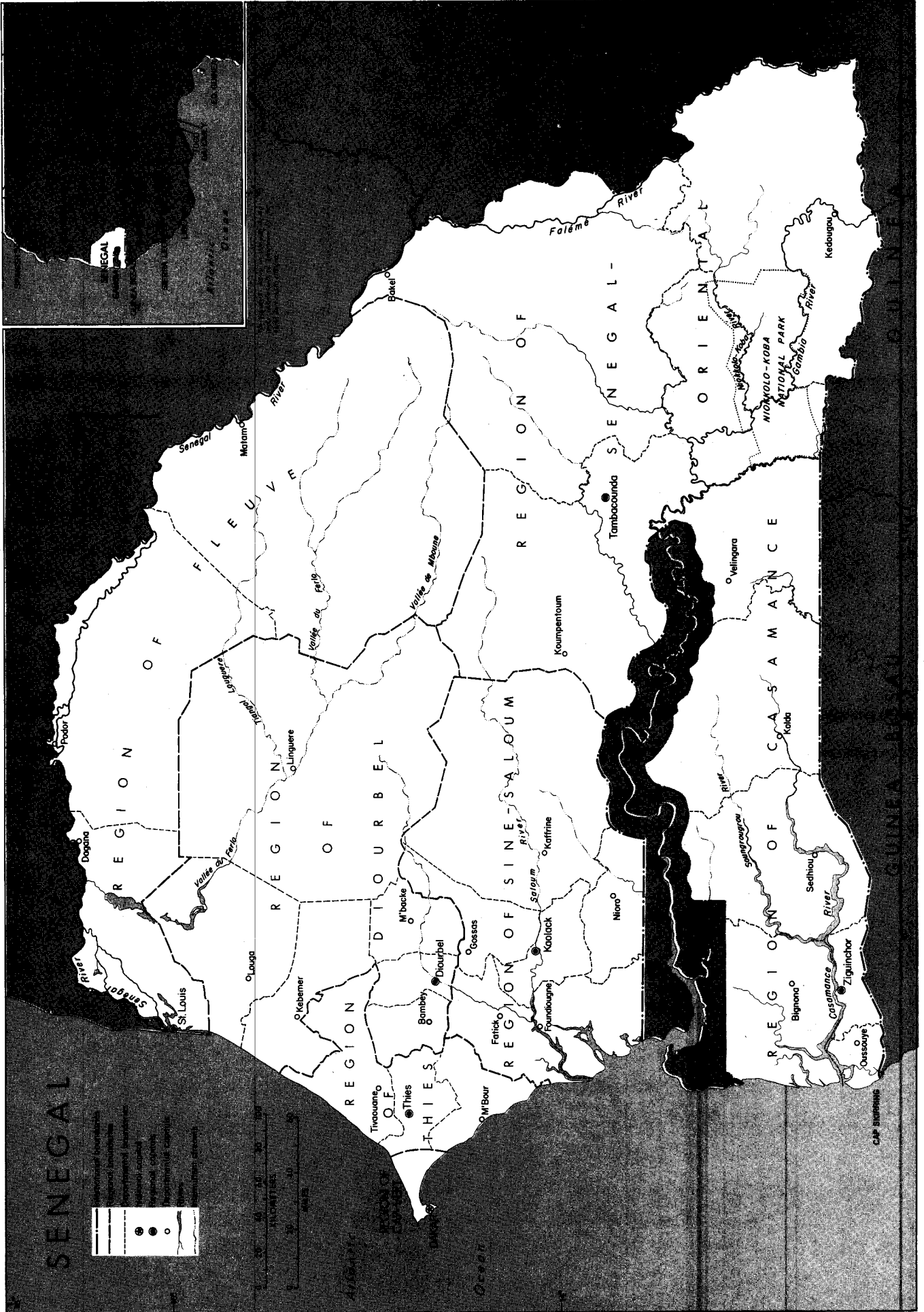
About 1,652,000 of the total population of Senegal were living in urban areas in 1976 and almost half (48 percent) of them (799,000) were living in the capital city of Dakar 1/. The level of urbanization in Senegal (32.5 percent) is relatively high compared with that in Africa or LDCs in general, but the rate of growth of the urban population in Senegal is slightly lower compared to the African average.

1/ The total population of the 8 principal towns in the 7 regions and the 20 principal towns in the departments is taken as the urban population of Senegal (Senegal. Direction de la Statistique, 1976, Tables 3.1 and 3.2).

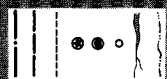
Table 1: TOTAL POPULATION AND DENSITY
BY REGION, 1976.

<u>Regions</u>	<u>Total Population (1,000s)</u>	<u>Percent Distribution</u>	<u>Density per Km²</u>
Senegal	5,085	100.0	25.9
Cap-Vert	985	19.4	1,970.0
Casamance	737	14.5	26.0
Diourbel	843	16.6	25.1
Fleuve	528	10.4	12.0
Oriental	286	5.6	4.8
Sine-Saloum	1,008	19.8	42.1
Thies	699	13.7	105.9

Source: Estimates based on Senegal. Direction de la Statistique, 1976. "Resultats Provisoires du Recensement General de la Population d'Avril 1976," Dakar: unpublished paper; and Senegal. Direction de la Statistique, 1974. Enquete Demographique Nationale, 1970-71, Resultats Definitifs, Serie A: Donnees de Structures, Dakar: Ministere des Finance.



SENEGAL



CAP BATHING

II. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

In recent years, Senegal has emerged as a country of substantial immigration and emigration. The principal origins of the immigrants are the neighbouring countries: Guinea Bissau, Guinea, the Gambia, Mauritania, and Mali, in that order; and the principal destinations of emigrants are probably the Gambia and Ivory Coast within the region (Africa) and France outside it. Tabulations from the 1976 census were not available at the time of writing this report; hence, recent information on these movements is lacking. However, a rough picture of the pattern of immigration can be drawn up on the basis of the data provided by the demographic surveys of 1970-71 and 1960-61.

The number of immigrants (including their children born in Senegal) in Senegal is estimated to be about 355,000 currently (1975), of whom 300,000 are from other African countries and 55,000 are from outside Africa, mainly France (World Bank estimates). The number of Senegalese emigrants (including their children born outside) is estimated to be about 210,000 of whom 175,000 are living in another country in Africa and 35,000 in non-African countries, principally France. This yields a net balance of about 145,000 in favour of Senegal. It must, however, be remembered that all these persons are not migrants, and that the period of migration could extend from zero to 30 or 40 more years. These figures, therefore, cannot provide a basis for measuring the impact of migration on the current rate of population growth. As is shown later, migration may have only a nominal effect on the national growth rate at the present time.

Table 2: LIFETIME AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS IN SENEGAL
BY COUNTRY OF BIRTH, 1971

Country of Birth	Lifetime Immigrants 1971	Percent of Total Immigrants	Immigrants as Percent of Population of the Country of Birth
Guinea Bissau	75,000	34	15.4
Guinea	57,000	26	1.4
Gambia	33,000	15	7.2
Mauritania	23,000	10	2.0
Mali	21,000	9	0.4
Others	13,000	6	-
Total	222,000	100	-

Sources: Senegal. Direction de la Statistique, n.d. Unpublished data from the 1970-71 National Demographic Survey.

emigrants represented a significant proportion of the population of these countries. For example, the Guinea Bissau immigrants represented about 15 percent of the population of that country; the Gambian immigrants were 7 percent of the population of that country in 1970. Thus, migration between Senegal and its neighbouring countries has been quite significant in relation to the population of the countries of origin as well as the population of the country of destination.

The immigrants are distributed unevenly within Senegal. More than 100,000 of them or 46 percent of the total settled in the Casamance region which borders Guinea Bissau and Gambia (Table 3 and Map 2); Cap-Vert region and Sine-Saloum region each received 17 percent of the total; and Senegal-Oriental, 11 percent. In relation to the 1970 population of these regions, the impact of immigration has been greatest in Casamance and least in Diourbel. The 100,000 immigrants in Casamance represented about 16 percent of the total population of the region and the 35,000 African immigrants in Senegal-Oriental region formed 15 percent of the population of that region. On the whole, the impact of immigration was greatest in the southern and south-eastern regions which border the principal countries of origin of the migrants.

The destination of immigrants within Senegal varied by their origin. Practically all (96 percent) the Guinea Bissau migrants went to the province adjoining their country; namely, Casamance. While migrants from Guinea were more evenly distributed, 27 percent in Cap-Vert, 26 percent in Sine-Saloum, 22 percent in Casamance, and 21 percent in the province adjoining their country, namely, Senegal-Oriental. The preference for the

**Table 3: LIFETIME AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS
BY REGION OF RESIDENCE, 1971.**

Region of Residence	Country of Origin						Total
	Gambia	Guinea	Guinea Bissau	Mali	Mauritania	Others	
Senegal	33,281	56,820	74,773	21,114	23,242	13,112	222,342
Cap-Vert	1,680	15,604	2,386	6,235	7,243	4,829	37,977
Casamance	15,881	12,260	71,470	1,074	355	362	101,402
Diourbel	-	519	59	568	2,140	120	3,406
Fleuve	46	398	193	648	7,346	380	9,011
Senegal Oriental	6,611	12,055	71	4,256	2,020	244	25,257
Sine-Saloum	8,657	14,816	255	6,737	1,896	6,478	38,839
Thies	406	1,168	339	1,596	2,242	699	6,450

Source: As in Table 2.

boundaries with Guinea (one of the major countries of origin of immigrants to Senegal) net immigration to this region during 1960-70 was only about

capital city seemed to be much stronger among migrants from Mali and Mauritania than any other group.

Immigration Trends

The number of lifetime immigrants increased from about 129,000 in 1960 to about 222,000 in 1970. Taking into consideration deaths of immigrants, these figures imply a net immigration of about 114,000 persons during 1960-70, or an average gain of 11,400 persons per year (Table 4). Thus, immigration contributed roughly 14 percent of the annual population growth of Senegal during 1960-70.

The greatest impact of recent immigration on population growth occurred in Casamance province where lifetime immigrants increased from 37,000 in 1960 to 101,000 in 1970, or roughly a net gain of 70,000 during 1960-70. The total increase in population in this region during the same period was only 88,000 although the expected natural increase was as much as 140,000. Thus, it appears that the region lost as much as 122,000 persons through internal migration and probably emigration of Senegal-born persons at a time when it gained 70,000 through immigration from other African countries.

It is surprising that although Senegal-Oriental showed the highest growth rate during 1960-70 for any region in Senegal and has common boundaries with Guinea (one of the major countries of origin of immigrants to Senegal), net immigration to this region during 1960-70 was only about 3,000. Similarly, Thiès province where the population increased by a third during 1960-70 had no net gain due to immigration. Thus, it appears that immigration and in-migration were not complementary; regions which gained

Table 4: LIFETIME AFRICAN IMMIGRATION
BY REGION OF ENUMERATION, 1960 AND 1971.

Region	<u>Lifetime Migration</u>		<u>Period Migration</u>
	1960	1971	1960-71
Senegal	128,540	222,342	114,000
Cap-Vert	29,660	37,977	13,000
Casamance	36,940	101,402	70,000
Diourbel	1,780	3,406	2,000
Fleuve	7,320	9,011	3,000
Senegal Oriental	26,440	35,257	3,000
Sine-Saloum	19,720	38,839	22,000
Thies	6,680	6,450	1,000

Sources: Based on Senegal. Ministère du Plan et du Développement, Service de la Statistique, 1964. Resultats de l'Enquete Demographique 1960-61: ~~Donnee Regionales~~
Dakar: Ministère du Plan et du Développement; and as in Table 2.

substantially through immigration had losses through out-migration, and regions which gained substantially through in-migration did not gain much through immigration. The motivations guiding African immigration to Senegal were probably not the same as those which prompted Senegalese migrants to move from one region of the country to another.

III. INTERNAL MIGRATION

Inter-Regional Migration

The Senegalese population appears to be highly mobile as measured by inter-regional lifetime migration; as much as 503,000 persons or 15 percent of the total population in the country in 1971 were living in a region different from the one in which they were born (Tables 5 and 6). The movement was mainly westward toward the Atlantic seaboard, with Dakar the principal center of attraction. Nearly 247,000 of the migrants, or nearly half of the total, resided in Cap-Vert region in 1971, which is only about 550 square kilometers or 0.28 percent of the total area of the country. Out-migration from this region was relatively small, and the region had a net lifetime gain of 214,000 persons. ~~The principal regions of out-migration~~ were Diourbel and Fleuve; about 241,000 people had left these regions before 1970.

Nearly 37 percent of the population of the Cap-Vert region were born elsewhere in the country, while only 8 percent of those who were born in the region had moved out before 1970 (Table 6). Next by magnitude of in-migration were Thies and Sine-Saloum regions, but the proportion of in-migrants in these regions did not exceed 15 percent, or very much less than half that in Cap-Vert. On the other hand, the impact of out-migration was greatest in Fleuve region; more than a quarter of the population born in the region had moved out before 1970. In the neighbouring Diourbel region, also, the impact of out-migration on the population was fairly substantial (20 percent). Strangely enough, the region least affected by inter-regional

Table 5: LIFETIME INTER-REGIONAL MIGRANTS, 1960 AND 1971

Region (1)	1960			1971			Net Migration During 1960-1971		
	In- Migrants (2)	Out- Migrants (3)	Net- Migration (4)	In- Migrants (5)	Out- Migrants (6)	Net- Migration (7)	Among Out-born	Among In-born	Total
Cap-Vert	133,720	21,380	+112,340	247,347	33,752	+213,595	+140,371	- 16,648	+123,723
Casamance	9,080	19,020	- 9,940	16,669	40,833	- 24,164	+ 9,405	- 25,617	- 16,212
Diourbel	21,540	112,080	- 90,540	39,304	136,236	- 96,932	+ 22,072	- 46,572	- 24,500
Fleuve	19,620	65,660	- 46,040	22,546	105,083	- 82,537	+ 6,850	- 52,555	- 45,705
Senegal Oriental	480	7,440	- 6,960	22,604	15,465	+ 7,139	+ 22,220	- 9,513	+ 12,707
Sine-Saloum	108,080	30,580	+ 77,500	81,413	77,877	+ 3,536	- 5,051	- 53,413	- 58,464
Thies	37,000	73,360	- 36,360	73,099	93,736	- 20,637	+ 43,499	- 35,048	+ 8,451
TOTAL	329,520	329,520	-	502,982	502,982	-	+239,366	-239,366	-

Note: The calculation of the net-migration is based on an estimated survival ratio of 80 percent for the period July 1, 1960 - March 1, 1971. The United Nations estimate of e_0 for 1965-1970 for Senegal is 41.0 (for both sexes; United Nations Demographic Yearbook 1970, page 712). Model West life tables of mortality level 10 indicate an e_0 of 42.5 years for females and 39.7 years for males. The values of T_{10}/T_0 in this life tables are approximately .819 for females and .812 for males. On the basis of these two survival ratios, it is assumed that a survival ratio of .80 for both sexes would be a fair approximation to the actual survival ratio (which is unknown) for the period mentioned.

Sources: As in Table 4.

**Table 6: LIFETIME OUT-MIGRATION AS PERCENT OF POPULATION BORN
IN A REGION AND LIFETIME IN-MIGRATION AS PERCENT OF
POPULATION RESIDING IN THE REGION, 1960-1971**

Region	Lifetime Out-Migration as Percent of Population Born in the Region		Lifetime In-Migration as Percent of Population Residing in the Region (Excluding Immigrants)	
	1960	1971	1960	1971
Cap-Vert	8.40	8.36	30.15	36.88
Casamance	3.8	8.23	1.71	2.90
Diourbel	18.98	20.96	4.28	6.95
Fleuve	17.25	25.85	5.68	6.68
Senegal Oriental	5.65	7.98	0.32	9.76
Sine-Saloum	4.91	11.51	14.86	11.20
Thies	16.87	17.81	9.03	14.22
SENEGAL	11.30	15.00	11.30	15.00

Sources: Table 5; Annex Tables 1 and 2.

migration was the one most affected by immigration in 1971; namely, Casamance. Only 3 percent of the population of the region were born elsewhere in the country and only 8 percent of the population born in the region were enumerated elsewhere.

The distribution of in- and out-migrants in 1960 was somewhat similar, although more even than in 1970-71. Only 40 percent (134,000) of the lifetime migrants had moved into Cap-Vert (as compared to 49 percent in 1971); nearly 37 percent (108,000) had selected Sine-Saloum region as their destination. The proportion of in-migrants increased during 1960-70 in all regions except Sine-Saloum; from 30 to 37 percent of residents in Cap-Vert, 9 to 14 percent in the neighbouring Thies region, and from 0.3 to 9.8 percent in Senegal-Oriental. The proportion of out-migrants also increased in most regions; from 17 to 26 percent of those born in Fleuve, 5 to 12 percent in Sine-Saloum, and 4 to 8 percent in Casamance. Thus, inter-regional population mobility seems to have increased considerably in Senegal during 1960-70; the ratio of all migrants to total population increased from about 11 percent in 1960 to 15 percent in 1970.

Estimates of net inter-regional migration over the period 1960-70 are given in Tables 5 and 7. Three regions had net gains and the other four had net losses. Cap-Vert had a net gain of 124,000 or 85 percent of the total gain. Senegal-Oriental and Thies were the remaining regions with gains (about 13,000 in the former and 8,000 in the latter). The region which experienced the largest loss due to inter-regional migration during 1960-70 was Sine-Saloum, with a net loss of 58,000, or 40 percent of the total loss among all regions. Fleuve with a net loss of 46,000 (32 percent

Table 7: INTER-REGIONAL PERIOD MIGRATION, RATES BY REGION, 1960-1971.

Region	In-Migration	Out-Migration	Net-Migration
Cap-Vert	28.5	3.4	+25.1
Casamance	1.9	5.3	- 3.4
Diourbel	4.2	8.8	- 4.6
Fleuve	2.1	16.0	-13.9
Senegal Oriental	13.6	5.8	+ 7.8
Sine-Saloum	- 0.7	7.7	- 8.5
Thies	9.6	7.8	+ 1.8
All Regions	7.6	7.6	-

Note: The rate is obtained by dividing the number of in-migrants/out-migrants by the average population (excluding immigrants) during 1960-1971.

Sources: Based on Table 5; Annex Tables 1 and 2.

of the total loss) experienced the next highest level of out-migration during 1960-70.

Out-migration from Sine-Saloum during 1960-70 was directed principally to Cap-Vert (25,000) and Thies (12,000). A fairly large number (9,000) of migrants from this region moved eastward to the Senegal-Oriental region. Cap-Vert and Senegal-Oriental were also principal destinations of migrants from Fleuve region (World Bank estimates based on unpublished data from the 1970-71 Demographic Survey).

Inter-Regional and International Migration

Assuming a rate of natural increase of about 24.6 percent during the inter-survey interval, a demographic balance sheet for the 7 regions is given in Table 8. For the country as a whole, the net growth during the period 1960-70 was about 797,000 of which 764,000 was due to natural increase and 33,000 to migration. Among the regions, the migration component consisted of internal and external migration. For most of the regions, net inter-regional migration was in the same direction as net external migration. Thus, Cap-Vert gained 124,000 through internal migration and 4,000 through external migration. Casamance lost 16,000 through internal migration and 26,000 through external migration; etc. Two of the regions, however, had conflicting trends. Diourbel lost about 25,000 due to internal migration and gained about 29,000 through return immigration of its former residents. A similar pattern was observed in Fleuve.

The pattern in Casamance was peculiar, and thus questionable. The population growth in the region was about 88,000 and the natural increase was as much as 130,000. Thus, the region must have lost about 42,000 through migration, both internal and external. The loss due to internal

Table 8 : COMPONENTS OF POPULATION GROWTH BY REGION, 1960-70
(in thousands)

Region (1)	Population Growth (2)	Natural Increase (3)	Net Migration (4)	Net Internal Migration (5)	Net International Migration (6)	Net Migration of Foreign-Born (7)	Net Migration of Native-Born (8)
Cap-Vert	237	109	+128	+124	+ 4	+ 13	- 9
Casamance	88	130	- 42	- 16	-26	+ 70	-96
Diourbel	127	123	+ 4	- 25	+29	+ 2	+27
Fleuve	44	85	- 41	- 46	+ 5	+ 3	+ 2
Senegal-Oriental	93	37	+ 56	+ 13	+43	+ 3	+40
Sine-Saloum	71	179	-108	- 58	-50	+22	-72
Thies	137	101	+ 36	+ 8	+28	+ 1	+27
TOTAL	797	764	+ 33	-	+33	+114	-81

(3) Assuming a growth of 24.6 percent

(4) Column (2) - Column (3)

(5) and (7) estimated from birth place data

(6) Column (4) - Column (5)

(8) Column (6) - Column (7).

Sources: Based on Annex Tables 1 and 2, and Tables 4 and 5.

migration was estimated at 16,000. Thus, external migration should have produced a net loss of 26,000. But the estimated net immigration of Africans to Casamance region was as much as 70,000. This implies a net emigration from Casamance of about 96,000 persons during 1960-70. These figures need further scrutiny before they can be accepted as representing the correct pattern of migration in this region.

Rural-Urban Migration

The urban population of Senegal was estimated to be about 1,024,000 in 1970 and 694,000 in 1960. If the urban natural increase was close to the national rate, these figures imply a net rural-urban migration of about 160,000 over the period. Thus, about half the urban growth in Senegal during 1960-70 was due to migration and the other half due to natural increase and re-classification. The rate of net rural-urban migration was 2.1 percent per year compared with the 1960 urban population and 0.6 percent per year compared with the initial rural population.

Rural-urban migration in Senegal during the 1960s was directed essentially toward Dakar. Net migration to Dakar alone was estimated to be slightly more than that for all the urban areas together (about 167,000), implying that the other towns as a group had not gained at all due to migration. If there were individual towns which had net gains due to migration, there were others which had net losses. These estimates are, however, indirect and assume that the rate of natural increase is the same in urban and rural areas and in big towns like Dakar as well as smaller towns. Some direct information on migration to urban areas can, however, be obtained from birthplace data.

Total inter-regional lifetime migration in 1971 was about 503,000. Of this, about 333,000 or 66 percent of the total moved to an urban area. The total urban population, however, was less than a third of the total population indicating that the impact of internal migration in Senegal was 4 1/2 times as much in the urban areas as in the rural areas (see Table 9). The effect on the semi-urban population was not altogether different from that on the rural population.

It is not known how many of these migrants were born in rural areas and, as a result, it is difficult to estimate how many of them were rural-urban migrants. A rough estimate can be worked out on the basis of the data from Cap-Vert region. This region was entirely urban in 1970; migrants to it constituted a very high proportion of the total migrants in urban areas and migration data for this region are available for 1960 and 1970. Nearly three-quarters of the total migrants in urban areas were enumerated in Cap-Vert and this region had a net lifetime gain of 247,000 in 1970, 112,000 in 1960, and about 124,000 during 1960-70. Assuming the same relationship for migrants in all urban areas, an estimate of the net gain in all urban areas through migration during 1960-70 is about 166,000. This is remarkable close to the estimate (160,000) derived indirectly from a different data source.

Temporary Migrants

Previous analysis of the pattern of migration in Senegal was based on data on lifetime migrants. The inadequacy of these data for revealing the pattern over a fixed period like 1960-70 is well known. The 1971 survey gave some data on fixed-period "migrants", but the period was very

Table 9: LIFETIME MIGRATION TO URBAN, SEMI-URBAN,
AND RURAL AREAS, 1971.

Area	Lifetime In-Migrants	Migrants as Percent of Total Population in the Area
Urban	333,000	31
Semi-Urban	43,000	9
Rural	127,000	7
TOTAL	503,000	15

Source: As in Table 2.

short -- six months prior to the survey -- and these "migrants" would include a large proportion of visitors and transients. In fact, in the survey they are referred to as passagers. For lifetime migrants, the period of migration is indefinite and often too long, while for passagers, the period is definite but too short. Within this constraint, the available information on the number of passagers, their direction of movement, and some of their characteristics are analysed below along with a comparison to the relevant lifetime migrants and non-migrants.

A passager is one who has been temporarily living in a household for less than six months at the time of enumeration. The place of his/her origin can be any place within the region of enumeration, outside the region of enumeration but within the country, or outside Senegal. Of the total of 323,000 passagers enumerated in 1971, 297,000 (92 percent) originated from within Senegal, and 34,000 from outside. The non-Senegalese passagers originated principally from Guinea Bissau (31 percent), Mauritania (26 percent), Guinea (17 percent), and Mali (8 percent) (Table 10). A comparison with the distribution of lifetime immigrants in 1971 indicates that in recent years the relative importance of Mauritania has increased substantially as a source of migrants to Senegal at the expense principally of Guinea, and to a lesser extent all the other neighbouring countries. As with the immigrants, most of the foreign passagers were enumerated in Casamance (41 percent) and Cap-Vert province (22 percent).

The number of internal passagers in 1971 was about 297,000 of whom 209,000 or 70 percent had moved within the same region (Table 11). Cap-Vert was the only region which showed an excess of passagers who came from other regions in Senegal over those who went out. The net gain was

Table 10: PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF AFRICAN LIFETIME IMMIGRANTS AND PASSENGERS FROM OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES, 1971.

Countries	Lifetime Immigrants	Passengers
Guinea Bissau	33.6	31.2
Guinea	25.6	16.8
Gambia	15.0	14.2
Mauritania	10.4	25.9
Mali	9.5	7.9
Others	5.9	3.9
TOTAL	100	100

Source: As in Table 2.

Table 11: INTERNAL PASSAGERS: INTER-REGIONAL
AND INTRA-REGIONAL BY REGION, 1971.

Region	Intra-Regional	Inter-Regional		
		In	Out	Net
Cap-Vert	44,981	36,769	16,168	+20,601
Casamance	28,919	5,085	6,415	- 1,330
Diourbel	26,709	8,902	19,280	-10,378
Fleuve	14,677	7,293	12,054	- 4,761
Senegal Oriental	13,581	2,833	3,099	- 266
Sine-Saloum	54,606	13,950	17,189	- 3,239
Thies	25,257	13,562	14,189	- 627
TOTAL	208,730	88,394	88,394	--

Source: As in Table 2.

about 21,000. The region with the largest loss due to this short-period movement was Diourbel, where the total net loss was about 10,000 or as much as 50 percent of the net gain of Cap-Vert. Next by magnitude of loss was Fleuve, which lost nearly 5,000 or 23 percent of the total loss for all regions. These statistics, together with those on passengers from Mauritania, seem to indicate that in 1970 there was a general increase in the movement of population from the north and the north-east to the coastal areas; that is, to Cap-Vert from Mauritania, and Diourbel and Fleuve regions in Senegal.

Rural-Urban Residence

Long-distance passagers (inter-regional) tended to move more often into urban areas than into rural areas, while short-distance passagers (intra-regional) were distributed more or less equally between the urban and rural areas in 1971 (Table 12). Relatively fewer of the international passagers were enumerated in urban places. The proportion of inter-regional migrants in urban areas was slightly larger than the corresponding proportion of inter-regional passagers. These figures, thus, do not indicate a trend toward greater concentration of migrants in urban places.

Table 12: DISTRIBUTION OF PASSAGERS
BY RESIDENT STATUS, 1971.

Resident Status	Intra- Regional Passagers	Inter-Regional		International (African) Passagers
		Passagers	Migrants	
Urban	43	63	66	33
Semi-Urban	15	13	9	9
Rural	42	24	25	58
TOTAL	100	100	100	100

Source: As in Table 2.

IV. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS

Sex Composition

The sex composition of migrants varied considerably by type and age in 1971. Only among immigrants, and most probably among emigrants also, was there an excess of males (17 per 100 females); by contrast, there was a deficit of males (14 per 100 females) among internal migrants of all types: rural as well as urban, short-duration as well as long-duration. Among internal migrants, the proportion of males was lowest among rural migrants (sex ratio of 80), highest among urban migrants (89), and intermediate among those in semi-urban areas (85). Short-duration migrants (passagers) had a somewhat higher proportion of males, though females were predominant. Among them, long-distance passagers had about 15 males more (per 100 females) than short-distance passagers (Table 13).

The overall situation described above did not hold in all age groups. For example, in the age group 15-34 years even among immigrants there was a deficit of males (13 per 100 females). Among internal migrants in the rural areas the sex ratio was as low as 50. On the other hand, at higher ages, even among internal migrants there was an excess of males, by as much as 10 per 100 females among inter-regional lifetime migrants and 30 among passagers in the age group 35-64 years (Table 13).

The different migration streams showed a fairly uniform pattern of variation in the sex ratio by age in 1971. The overall ratio among immigrants varied from 114 in Casamance (Table 14) to 73 in Diourbel, and that among out-migrants varied from 113 in Senegal-Oriental to 78 in Diourbel. One of the reasons for the excess of females among internal migrants was

Table 13: SEX RATIOS (MALES PER 100 FEMALES) OF
MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS BY AGE, 1971

Age Group	Immi- grants	Inter-Regional Migrants			Passengers			Non- Immigrants	Non- Migrants	
		Total	Urban	Semi- Urban	Rural	All	Intra- Regional			Inter- Regional
0-14	103	89	82	95	107	92	94	88	104	105
15-34	87	65	71	59	50	74	64	94	71	72
35-64	165	110	121	92	91	130	121	146	91	86
65+	205	113	103	140	114	86	92	78	118	120
All Ages	117	86	89	85	80	89	84	99	91	91

Source: As in Table 2.

that there was an excess of females in the general population itself. Another reason was marriage-related migration, as evident from the fact that the migrant sex ratio was lowest in rural areas.

The overall sex ratio of the non-immigrant population was only about 91 (Table 13); that is, there was a deficit of 9 males per 100 females in 1971. The ratio was more or less normal in the 0-14 age group but dropped to about 71 (deficit of 29 males per 100 females) in the 15-34 age group. Surprisingly there was an excess of males at ages 65 years and above. In comparison to the non-migrant population, the deficit of males among migrants was not high -- 5 per 100 females among inter-regional migrants and 2 per 100 females among passengers; but the excess of males among immigrants was as much as 29 percent. The differential pattern in the sex ratio by age among migrants remained after making allowance for differences in the non-migrant population. Among internal migrants there was a relative deficit of males in the 0-14 age group (15 percent), 15-34 age group (10 percent), and 65+ age group (6 percent), and there was a relative excess of males in the 35-64 age group (28 percent). A somewhat similar pattern held for short-duration migrants also.

The reasons for the apparent deficit of males in data concerning the general population are not precisely known; but, the effect of external migration and data deficiencies are probably the main reasons. The authors of the 1970-71 survey reports enumerated the following considerations (Senegal, Direction de la Statistique, 1973 and 1974):

- a relatively larger number of male emigrants than female;
- the exclusion in the survey of military personnel, live-in students, etc.;

- the exclusion in the survey of talibes, who are made up of men in the young adult ages working under the direction of religious leaders on large farms.

Age Composition

Migrants in Senegal resembled their counterparts in other parts of the world with respect to age composition. They included a relatively low proportion of children and a high proportion of young adults. In comparison with non-migrants, the migrants were older, on average by 10 to 11 years. The average age of an immigrant was 34 years in 1971, and of an inter-regional migrant, about 32 years. In comparison, the average age of a non-migrant was only about 22 years. The short-duration movers or passagers were close to non-migrants with respect to average age; the differences in their average age were only 0.6 years for intra-regional passagers and 2.8 years for inter-regional passagers (Table 15).

Among immigrants, males showed a slightly greater degree of age differential in 1971, but the concentration in the young adult ages (15-34 years) was much greater among females. Immigrants who settled in Casamance and Fleuve had a relatively higher proportion of children than those who moved into other regions of the country (Senegal, Direction de la Statistique, n.d.).

Among inter-regional migrants, the age distribution varied by region of origin and destination, and for a particular region by direction of movement (in-migration or out-migration) in 1971. The pattern of these differences is indicated in Table 16 where in-migrants and out-migrants are compared with non-migrants in 3 regions. In-migrants to Cap-Vert had an entirely different age composition in comparison with out-migrants from

Table 14: SEX RATIOS OF IN-MIGRANTS AND
OUT-MIGRANTS BY REGION, 1971.

Region	In-Migrants				Out-Migrants			
	0-14	15-34	35-64	All Ages	0-14	15-34	35-64	All Ages
Cap-Vert	75	71	128	89	96	79	142	96
Casamance	98	78	201	114	71	82	175	95
Diourbel	111	50	70	73	88	58	91	78
Fleuve	95	89	159	104	88	66	123	93
Senegal-Oriental	93	69	105	89	113	82	161	113
Sine Saloum	107	55	105	89	88	65	123	85
Thies	95	48	72	70	92	60	100	81
All Regions	90	65	110	86	90	65	110	86

Source: As in Table 2.

Table 15: PERCENT AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS AND AVERAGE AGE, 1971.

Age	Immi- grants	Inter-Regional Migrants				Passagers		Non- Immi- grants	Non- Migrants
		All	Urban	Semi- Urban	Rural	Intra- Regional	Inter- Regional		
0-14	16	22	20	34	21	41	32	46	50
15-34	43	38	42	28	33	40	47	29	28
35-64	35	34	34	30	37	17	19	21	19
65+	06	06	04	08	09	02	02	04	03
All	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Average Age	33.6	32.2	31.7	30.0	34.5	22.8	25.0	23.8	22.2

Source: As in Table 2.

Table 16: PERCENT AGE DISTRIBUTION BY MIGRATION STATUS, SELECTED REGIONS, 1971

PERCENT AGE DISTRIBUTION

Age Group	Cap-Vert		Casamance		Senegal-Oriental		Non-Migration
	In-Migration	Out-Migration	In-Migration	Out-Migration	In-Migration	Out-Migration	
0-14	17.3	64.6	38.9	21.8	18.1	26.5	49.5
15-34	45.0	23.1	31.8	53.8	30.2	43.7	31.4
35-64	34.2	10.0	26.1	22.5	42.4	27.0	17.0
65+	3.5	2.3	3.2	1.9	9.3	2.8	2.1
All Ages	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: As in Table 2.

the region. Nearly 80 percent of the in-migrants were in the working ages, while 67 percent of the out-migrants were in dependent ages. Thus, adults in the working ages came into the city while dependents, children under 15 years, moved out of it. The out-migrants resembled the non-migrants in age distribution, and out-migration from Cap-Vert was therefore not very age selective. An opposite situation was noted in Casamance region. Out-migration was very age selective (out-migration rate: 4 percent of those under 15 years, 17 percent of those 15-24 years, 10 percent of those 35-64 years, and 6 percent of those 65+ years), while in-migrants more closely resembled the non-migrants.

The average inter-regional lifetime migrant in Senegal was about 32 years old in 1971, while an average non-migrant was about 22 years old. The variations in average age of migrants and non-migrants by region, given in Table 17, were substantial. The oldest in-migrants were those in Sine-Saloum and the oldest out-migrants were those born in Diourbel. Although out-migrants from the northern regions, Fleuve and Diourbel, had on average the same age, in-migrants to these regions differed by as much as 8 years in average age. The differential between in-migrants and out-migrants was least in the Thies region, and at a maximum in the Fleuve region.

The age distribution of migrants showed some variation by rural-urban residence (Table 15). Migrants to rural areas had the highest average age (34.5 years) and the highest proportion in the age group 35-64 years; migrants to semi-urban areas had the lowest average age (30.0 years) and the highest proportion of children under 15 years of age; and migrants to urban areas were inbetween with an average age of 31.7 years. Urban

Table 17: AVERAGE AGE OF LIFETIME INTER-REGIONAL MIGRANTS
BY REGION, 1971.

Region	Average Age of		
	In-Migrants	Out-Migrants	Non-Migrants
Cap-Vert	32.0	27.2	15.5
Casamance	25.9	27.6	22.6
Diourbel	31.1	36.6	24.8
Fleuve	23.3	35.7	23.7
Senegal-Oriental	31.3	29.9	21.3
Sine-Saloum	36.5	28.2	23.0
Thies	32.8	32.8	23.1
Senegal	32.2	32.2	22.3

Source: As in Table 2.

to inter-regional passagers; intra-regional passagers closely resembled non-migrants in their age composition (Table 15).

Ethnic Composition

The migratory habits of ethnic groups in Senegal varied considerably in the 1971 data, with the largest group on the whole showing a higher propensity to migrate (rank correlation +0.54). The Wolofs were the largest group in 1970-71 and had a lifetime migration rate of 16.1, slightly above the average for all groups (15.0). The Paleo Negritiques were the smallest group and had the lowest migration rate (3.3 percent). Table 18 indicates the migration rates of the major ethnic groups in Senegal.

Education and Occupation

Information on education and occupation were available only for passagers in 1971, but the available data were not adequate to test the migrants' selectivity with respect to these characteristics. Nearly two-thirds of the passagers had no formal education at all. In general, there was not much difference between the passagers who came to a region and those who went out from it. There were, however, some variations according to the region of residence (Senegal, Direction de la Statistique, n.d.).

About 41 percent of the passagers were working and 15 percent were unemployed in 1971. Nearly half of the working passagers were employed in agriculture and related occupations, 21 percent in services, and 15 percent in commerce (Senegal, Direction de la Statistique, n.d.). Since the distribution of the total population by this characteristic was not available, there is no way to study the selectivity operating among passagers.

Table 18: LIFETIME INTER-REGIONAL MIGRANTS IN EACH ETHNIC GROUP
EXPRESSED AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL GROUP POPULATION,
EXCLUDING IMMIGRANTS, 1971

Ethnic Group	Total Population	In/Out Migrants	Migrants (Percentage)
Wolofs	1,441,742	232,017	16.1
Sereres	575,179	82,521	14.3
Peulhs, Toucouleurs	727,401	124,434	17.1
Bambaras, Soudan	263,968	23,383	8.9
Casamance Guinee	259,528	29,099	11.2
Maures	49,813	8,203	16.5
Paleo - Negritiques	15,674	513	3.3
Others, Foreigners	17,349	2,631	15.2
Non-determined	2,063	181	8.8
All	3,352,717	502,982	15.0

Source: As in Table 2.

migrants had the highest proportion of young adults (15-34 years) and the lowest proportion of old persons (65+ years). The dependency load among them was less than half that among migrants in semi-urban areas.

The passagers were substantially younger than lifetime migrants (average age of 24.9 years among inter-regional passagers compared with 32.2 years among inter-regional lifetime migrants), but slightly older than non-migrants (by 1.3 years). The difference, however, was confined to inter-regional passagers; intra-regional passagers closely resembled non-migrants in their age composition (Table 15).

Ethnic Composition

The migratory habits of ethnic groups in Senegal varied considerably in the 1971 data, with the largest group on the whole showing a higher propensity to migrate (rank correlation +0.54). The Wolofs were the largest group in 1970-71 and had a lifetime migration rate of 16.1, slightly above the average for all groups (15.0). The Paleo Negritiques were the smallest group and had the lowest migration rate (3.3 percent). Table 18 indicates the migration rates of the major ethnic groups in Senegal.

Education and Occupation

Information on education and occupation were available only for passagers in 1971, but the available data were not adequate to test the migrants' selectivity with respect to these characteristics. Nearly two-thirds of the passagers had no formal education at all. In general, there was not much difference between the passagers who came to a region and those who went out from it. There were, however, some variations according to the region of residence (Senegal, Direction de la Statistique, n.d.).

About 41 percent of the passengers were working and 15 percent were unemployed in 1971. Nearly half of the working passengers were employed in agriculture and related occupations, 21 percent in services, and 15 percent in commerce (Senegal, Direction de la Statistique, n.d.). Since the distribution of the total population by this characteristic was not available, there is no way to study the selectivity operating among passengers.

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Annex Table 1: NATIVE POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY REGION OF BIRTH AND REGION OF RESIDENCE, 1971

Region of Residence	R E G I O N O F B I R T H						Total
	Cap-Vert	Casamance	Diourbel	Fleuve	Senegal-Oriental	Sine-Saloum	
<u>Year 1970</u>							
Cap-Vert	369,799	28,580	59,809	57,595	3,742	37,852	617,146
Casamance	3,784	455,242	830	3,146	4,948	2,560	471,911
Diourbel	5,258	1,105	513,697	8,942	480	8,885	553,001
Fleuve	4,913	2,691	7,336	301,494	734	3,032	324,040
Senegal-Oriental	1,138	2,561	1,466	7,985	178,234	8,837	200,838
Sine-Saloum	5,899	3,776	38,480	14,825	4,958	598,668	680,081
Thies	12,760	2,120	28,315	12,590	603	16,711	505,700
TOTAL	403,551	496,075	649,933	406,577	193,699	676,545	3,352,717

Source: Senegal. Direction de la Statistique, n.d. Unpublished data from the 1970-71 National Demographic Survey.

Annex Table 2: NATIVE POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY REGION OF BIRTH AND REGION OF RESIDENCE, 1960

Region of Residence	R E G I O N O F B I R T H							Total
	Cap-Vert	Casamance	Diourbel	Fleuve	Senegal-Oriental	Sine-Saloum	Thies	
<u>Year 1960</u>								
Cap-Vert	233,280	12,180	32,560	35,640	2,660	14,840	35,840	367,000
Casamance	560	482,040	1,080	2,080	-	4,940	420	491,120
Diourbel	3,400	640	478,300	4,040	200	4,440	8,820	499,840
Fleuve	2,100	360	12,480	314,880	2,840	620	1,220	334,500
Senegal-Oriental	60	60	140	200	124,240	20	-	124,720
Sine-Saloum	7,160	4,480	53,960	14,260	1,160	592,200	27,060	700,280
Thies	8,100	1,300	11,860	9,440	580	5,720	361,420	398,420
TOTAL	254,660	501,060	590,380	380,540	131,680	622,780	434,780	2,915,880

Source: Senegal. Ministere du Plan et du Developpment, Service de la Statistique, 1964. Resultats de l'Enquete Demographique, 1960-61: Donnee Regionales, Dakar: Ministere du Plan et du Developpment.