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**Analysis and Recommendations: Senegal**

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**Battelle**

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## I. INTRODUCTION

Sénégal commands a special locus in the politics, economics, and sociocultural aspects of Francophone Africa, an area where the introduction and development of modern day MCH/family planning modalities have conspicuously lagged behind the pace and composition of developments in African countries formerly colonized by Britain. As the first major Francophone country to publicly announce official concern for its rapid rate of population growth (post-1976 census), GOS efforts during the past several years to systematically address this concern have encountered problems related to program organization and coordination, opposition from religious leaders, and differences of programmatic approach apropos international donor agencies seeking to provide population assistance. Thus, the Sénégal assessment and analysis, the third in a series of such studies, is an important contribution to understanding the complexities of population issues and concerns within the country's boundaries.

The assessment was conducted in total by three African scholars: Dr. Sadiki Coulibaly (Upper Volta), Dr. Karim Diop (Sénégal, former director of CONAPO) and Dr. Moses Ebot (Cameroon) of Battelle HARC/IDSC staff. The team was assisted by Ms. Anne Kubisch, research specialist with the IDSC Washington-based staff.

## II. SUMMARY

The Battelle IDSC team's summary observations and implications for future USAID population assistance are outlined in this section.

### A. Observations

- Respondents were unanimous in their observation that Sénégal's population is increasing at too rapid a rate. They supplied quantitative data on growth rates and birth rates, but all such data is considered speculative, as the government has not released reliable demographic data.
- Population increases were felt to be related to expressed actions, desires, beliefs, and behaviors of the people of Sénégal.
- The most frequently cited causes of population increase relate to Islamic religious convictions. The Muslim religion says people should have as many children as possible; the Koran prohibits use of contraceptives and encourages polygamy.
- In the absence of material wealth, most people measured wealth by the number of children a couple has. Economic factors, rather than discouraging large families, have the opposite effect because children provide additional labor for this predominantly agricultural society. Also, children are seen as providing security for one's old age.
- Two-thirds of the respondents equated high fertility levels with a break-down in traditional mores which both prohibit premarital sex and encourage delayed age of marriage. While they noted a lack of sex education, there was no suggestion that such an educational program be developed.
- Due to a decline in infant and child mortality, which most respondents attributed to improved sanitation rather than improved health care, more Sénégalaise are reaching adulthood and bearing children resulting in higher fertility rates.
- GOS is seen as too lenient in allowing persons from less fortunate neighboring countries to immigrate to Sénégal. This not only increases the population but also increases demands for food and housing.
- From the tone of the respondents' comments, one surmises that many Sénégalaise are suspicious of government programs designed to "inhibit" rapid population growth.

- The economic consequences of the current population growth trends most often cited were: a failure to meet 5-year planning goals; the recent need to import rice; declining agricultural productivity (as people flee to the cities in search of employment); rising unemployment; and, a negative balance of payments as the country becomes less and less self-sufficient.
- Social and environmental consequences of rapid population growth cited mainly centered around population shifts to the cities. Urban growth has been extremely rapid and has resulted in scarce housing and the growth of shanty towns. Parks and grasslands are rapidly disappearing to make room for new roads and more houses.
- Schools are overcrowded and many under-educated youths come to the cities in search of employment. When they find they are unqualified they turn to crime, or lose confidence in the status quo and become "latent time bombs" for establishing new political structures through revolution.
- Population pressures also put undue pressure specifically on the family. When there is not enough food and clothing to go around, families break up.
- Government officials as well as other respondents seemed uncertain as to whether an official GOS population policy exists. However, they did all appear to know about various official pronouncements, such as the establishment of a National Commission on Population in December 1980, and the existence of several PMIs, government-run MCH facilities which provide family planning services.
- The GOS is concerned about the danger of rapid population growth and is looking for a realistic solution.
- Most respondents believe that population impacts on and is, in turn, impacted upon by other development components. A feasible and comprehensive population program is one that reflects both the socioeconomic and sociocultural development priorities of Sénégal.

B. Implications for USAID Assistance

- USAID's strategy for assisting the Sénégalaise to become self-sufficient in agricultural production is one that is responsive to Sénégalaise needs. Improving agricultural output will not only mean more food to distribute, but it will create jobs and keep rural Sénégalaise from migrating to the cities.
- Donors should become more sensitive to the needs and recommendations of the Sénégalaise people. For the U.S. government to push family planning ahead of (or at the expense of) food production and redistribution of the population might backfire and seriously jeopardize existing and future population programs.

- Interviewees stressed the need for programs structured systematically in phases. For instance, the first phase of a population program would focus on the creation of an awareness of the problem; a second phase would focus on the development of a socioeconomic preference for smaller families; then, in the final phase, action-oriented population assistance activities would be introduced. Such an approach could be initiated and implemented within a 5-year period. Once established, it could continue since it has the support of the Sénégalaise themselves, and is not a program imposed from the outside.
- AID should try to tap local, or at least African, talent whenever AID "experts" are not specifically needed to implement population assistance programs. When there is no alternative to bringing in "outsiders", such persons must concentrate on training counterparts and should work with the local people.
- Existing family planning facilities and supplies in Sénégal are adequate (for the present) and easily accessible.
- Procedures for applying to donors for assistance should be made simpler, less time-consuming, and less costly.

### III. PROCEDURES

#### A. Project Methodology

Battelle IDSC developed and pre-tested a number of questions to comprise an interview protocol designed to solicit the maximum amount of information on population trends, policy, and international assistance activities. At a preliminary Nairobi session, the protocol was modified to reduce the length of each interview. It was also suggested that the questions be distributed in advance, where necessary, to scheduled respondents. The modified version of the protocol was translated into French for use in Sénégal, a French-speaking country (Appendix A).

Since Dr. Coulibaly was not able to attend the Nairobi session, the translated version was carefully reviewed with him by Battelle IDSC staff. A variety of probing questions were agreed upon that would extract accurate responses from the interviewees. It was agreed not to distribute the questionnaire along with requests for appointments with GOS officials and opinion leaders, for fear a scheduled respondent might misinterpret the questions as a test of his/her knowledge on population issues and cancel the appointment. It was, however, agreed that a copy of the questionnaire should be handed to the respondent after the interview. The reporting format approved in Nairobi was discussed and adopted, and the team agreed to respect the confidentiality of respondents. Thus, in the analysis, no remark or comment will be attributed to any one individual.

#### B. Interview Process

The Battelle IDSC team conducted 30 formal interviews of 60 minutes each and various informal meetings with many of the same, and sometimes different, respondents. Although the formal interviews were generally frank and cordial, the informal meetings provided even more useful supplementary information. The interviews were successful in two ways: first, they provided an opportunity for local policymakers to express their opinion, perhaps for the first time, on population issues; and, second, some respondents were, for the first time, forced to confront and deal with population problems. We received responses such as, "I never thought of population in that way." This exercise generated increased awareness and triggered a brainstorming process about population issues among most respondents. The impact of the interviews is likely to be more manifest in the coming months.

The success of the assessment in Sénégal was enhanced by the composition of the Battelle IDSC team: two demographers who could readily interpret the responses. In addition, the respondents were more relaxed about responding to fellow Africans who were not only competent in the field, but also sensitive to the local situation.

The Battelle IDSC team had a priori decided to penetrate as much as possible the SÉNÉGALÈSE power structure. This was made possible through the efforts of Dr. Karim Diop (at that time, Executive Director of the National Population Commission, and a member of Battelle IDSC's African Advisors) who arranged key appointments. The arrangement worked out well because, in most instances, interviews were possible only after midnight (due to Ramadan observances). The Battelle IDSC team interviewed high-level officials from the office of the President, and the Ministries of Planning, Health, Rural Development, Urban Planning, and Justice. Administrative Heads of the Secrétariat d'Etat pour la Promotion Humaine et le Bien-Etre Familial were interviewed. The team conducted more elaborate interviews, even beyond the scope of the questionnaire, with members of the Bureau National du Recensement, National Population Commission, and the Association pour le Bien-Etre Familial. In order to diversify perspectives on trends, policy, and assistance activities, the team met with commercial and industrial leaders (including officials of the Société Africaine de Promotion Commerciale et Industrielle and la Banque Internationale Pour le Commerce et l'Industrie du Sénégal). In addition, interviews were organized with officials of the Association SÉNÉGALÈSE pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ASBEF) and the Clinique de la Croix Bleue. The team visited a prominent local marabout and scholar at Tivaouane, a town about 150 kilometers from Dakar. The team also decided to compare the perceptions of USAID/Dakar Mission officials and conducted the same interview with four AID officials. The Battelle IDSC team found that the USAID officials were consistently sensitive to the local problems and expressed views similar to those of local officials. The team strongly believes that if the local AID Mission officials are given a free-hand to address population problems in Dakar, as they perceive and understand them to be, their program might become a model for Africa.

Another dimension in the interview process was that the team met with faculty and students of the University of Dakar, members of the Ecole Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature (ENAM), and lay people in various walks of life (including a bartender, street hawker, and driver). This broad range of contacts provided a balanced view to the team's assessment and analysis.

The Battelle IDSC team launched its activities by briefing Dr. Mike White (Population, Health, and Nutrition Officer), USAID/Dakar, on the purpose of the Battelle visit and objectives of the Sénégal assessment project. Dr. White agreed to be interviewed and was the first respondent. The AID Mission was particularly helpful and very accommodating. The team respected the Mission's position of wanting very little or nothing to do with setting up appointments for interviews. The Mission's position and explanation was correct to the extent that protocol formalities involved in appointments between Embassy and government agencies would have reduced the scope, and perhaps the interpersonal element, of the interviews.

As mentioned earlier, Dr. Karim Diop made most of the appointments for the team. Team members attended each interview, but alternated in posing questions. Where specific probing questions were necessary, any team member was free to probe. By and large, the teams went on their own, except on one occasion to the marabout, where Dr. Diop sat in on the interview and acted as an interpreter.

At the end of each day the team worked together to summarize the responses of each interview and feed them into a matrix. The matrix provided a rough draft of the team's report for an exit debriefing for the Deputy AID Mission Director, Mr. Michael McCall.

### C Respondents and Contacts

Each of the following persons was interviewed by the Battelle team. In addition, several informal follow-up meetings were held.

#### Government Officials

Presidency:	Mr. Abdou Anta Ka (Author and Writer); Technical Adviser on Cultural Affairs; Presidency of the Republic of SÉNÉGAL, Dakar.
Ministry of Plan and Cooperation:	Mr. Alionne Fall, Directeur du Cabinet, Ministère du Plan.
Ministry of Health:	Mr. Seck Libasse, Directeur du Cabinet, Ministère de la Santé.
Ministry of Justice:	Mr. Jacque Baudin, Substitute Procureur, Tribunal, Ministère de la Justice, Dakar
Ministry of Economics and Finance:	Dr. Karim Diop, Conseiller Technique et Administrateur Exécutif de CONAPOP.
Ministry of Rural Development:	Mr. Ousmane Samb, Directeur de l'Animation Rural et Urbaine.
Secrétariat d'Etat pour le Bien-Etre Familial:	Mr. Diop Idrissa, Directeur du Bien-Etre Familial.  Mr. N'diayl Ismaila, Directeur Adjoint du Bien-Etre Familial.
Directorate of Town Planning:	Mr. Ousmane Gueye, Directeur du Cadastre, Cape Vert.
Bureau National de Recensement:	Mr. Lamine Gueye, Directeur Adjoint Tech- nique B.N.R.  Mr. Mouhamadou Gueye, Démographe/Analyste B.N.R.

Secrétariat d'Etat pour la  
Promotion Humaine:

Mr. Oumar Marone, Directeur du Cabinet,  
Secrétariat d'Etat pour la Promotion  
Humaine.

Mme. Ka, Directeur, Promotion Humaine.

Driver:

Mr. Balle Dieng, Driver, Ministry of  
Economics and Finance.

### Religious and Civic Leaders

Moslem Religion:

Marabout Sy, President of the Sénégalaise  
Moslem Federation and Spokesperson for  
the Tidjane Sect in Government, Tivaoune  
Thies.

Business Interest:

Papa N'diame Sene, Président Directeur  
Général, Société Africaine de la  
Promotion Commerciale et Industrielle,  
Dakar.

Mr. Abdoiu Thiam, Directeur, Banque  
Internationale pour le Commerce et  
l'Industrie du Sénégal (BICIS).

Mr. Mamadou Thioye, Bar Attendant,  
Independence Hotel, Dakar

Mr. Diasse Alle, Peddler, Dakar

Associations:

Mr. Thiam, Directeur, Association  
Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial.

Mme. Whest Allegre, Directrice, Clinique  
de la Croix Bleue, Dakar.

### University

Faculty:

Dr. Mamadou Niang, Professor, University  
of Dakar; Researcher, IFAN.

Students:

Kaddi Mbaiye, 1st year Law Student,  
Faculty of Law, University of Dakar.

Yade Papa Ndiaga, 4th year Law Student,  
Faculty of Law, University of Dakar.

USAID

Deputy Mission Director:	Mel McCall
Population, Health, and Nutrition Officer:	Mike White
Program Officer:	Sam Ray
Project Design Officer:	Paul Wenger
Administrative Assistant:	Christine Lyons

ENAM

Section Judiciaire:	Mr. Barbacar Kebe, Directeur, Section Judiciaire, Ecole Nationale d'Administra- tion et de Magistrature, Dakar.
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#### IV. COUNTRY BACKGROUND

##### A. Location

Situated at the extreme northern fringe of the West African Coast and south of the Sénégal River (from which the country gets its name), the Republic of Sénégal spans an area of 196,722 km<sup>2</sup> of West African land surface. It is bounded to the north, east, and west, respectively, by Mauritania, Mali, and the Atlantic Ocean, and to the south by Guinea and Guinea Bissau. The Republic of Gambia, a narrow enclave astride the Gambia River, extends 320 kilometers eastward into Sénégal from the Atlantic Ocean.

The topography of the country consists mainly of low plains interrupted in the southeast by rugged highlands with elevations of 500 meters or more above sea level. These highlands are on the northern slopes of the Fouta-Djallon mountains and are the source of the country's river system. Sénégal is drained by four river basins. The two principal ones, the Sénégal and the Gambia, are navigable by ocean-going vessels for considerable distance inland from the Atlantic Ocean. The other two are the Casamance and the Saloum. The country has four main vegetation belts: the steppe in the north; savanna in the center; forest to the southeast; and tropical rainforests and marshy swamps in the southwest. Astride the rivers are strips of mosaic forest.

The growing season in most of Sénégal runs from June to October (the rainy season); rainfall is much heavier in the south than elsewhere. During the rest of the year, the inter-fleuve regions of the country experience a long dry spell which is extremely hard on both animal and plant life. The northern Sahel area is especially vulnerable to annual variations in precipitation and often experiences severe drought. Sénégal is a member of the Inter-State Committee for the control of drought in the Sahel. The principal objective of the committee is to minimize the risk of drought in Sahel countries. This is one way by which the GOS is demonstrating its concern for the problems of millions of Sénégalese who depend on nature for survival.

##### B. Population Issues

1. Population Size and Distribution: There are approximately 5.7 million people living in Sénégal. If all these people were distributed evenly over the land surface of Sénégal, one would count about 29 persons in a square kilometer. Each individual would have only 35 square meters of land on which to build a home and farm. For a predominately agricultural population, a density of this magnitude demonstrates enormous population pressure on the land. The actual situation is, however, less menacing than the scenario portrayed by density ratio, for the following reasons.

- A little over 50 percent of the Sénégalese people (48 percent below 15 years of age and 3 percent age 65 years and above) are out of the competition for agricultural land.

- Only about 812,000 people (14 percent of the total population, but 70 percent of the total labor force) are engaged in agricultural activities.
- Varying climatic conditions in Sénégal affect agricultural production and consequently the distribution of population.

In Sénégal, population pressure and rainfall are functional correlates. Density increases as rainfall becomes more reliable and regular. Drought-prone Fleuve, Louga, and Eastern Sénégal regions have population densities of 13, 13, and 16 persons per km<sup>2</sup>, respectively--much lower than the average national density. Higher densities of up to 74 people per km<sup>2</sup> are found in the Peanut Basin Zone, surpassed only by densities in the urban-industrial areas of 2,000 people per km<sup>2</sup>.

The uneven population distribution in Sénégal stems from internal and international migratory patterns. International migration is the most significant of these movements. According to Bureau National du Recensement estimates, there were about 210,000 immigrants from Mali, Guinea, Cape Verde, and Mauritania in the country in 1977. The Technical Advisor for Cultural Affairs in the Presidency suggests that this number has increased to about 500,000, although the director of L'Association Sénégalaise Pour le Bien-Etre Familial contends that the number of immigrants from neighboring countries, where the economic, political, and social conditions are less favorable, is about one million. Whichever estimate one adopts, it is apparent that movements into Senegal from neighboring countries contribute enormously to the 5.7 million people living in the country, although most of the immigrants have never been officially counted. It is thus difficult to plan adequately to absorb this extra number of people. Most immigrants are located in and around the urban centers. Because traditional Sénégalaise culture accords status to indigenous families who host immigrants, a sizable number of the immigrants are beginning to settle in the rural areas, particularly those rural areas already pressured by the local population.

Besides immigration from surrounding countries, Sénégal also experiences emigration to Europe, especially from the Fleuve region. It is assumed that, due to the erratic climatic conditions in this region, most youths migrate to France as migrant workers. Although the actual number is a matter of speculation, it is thought to be substantial since foreign exchange transfers from these migrant workers constitute between 25 and 50 percent of the income of the people in the region.

Inter-regional migration contributes, to a large extent, to uneven population distributions in the country. The menace of drought in the Fleuve, Louga, and Eastern Sénégal regions have forced most people to move either to the cities or to neighboring regions with more reliable rainfall and employment. Cape Vert and the Peanut Basin are regions of high immigration from the rural areas.

The rural exodus and primitive migration have resulted in high rates of unemployment in the cities and Peanut Basin region. The problem was even

more acute last year when an unusually long dry season affected the cultivation of the main cash crop (peanuts), and the total production fell from 1.2 million tons a year to 200,000 tons. In order to minimize the risk of drought and further movements into the cities and central region, the government, as a participating member of the Inter-State Committee for the control of drought in the Sahel, has reclaimed some drought land and is moving families into these "Terres Neuves" (new lands). But the policy is facing very severe opposition. Families being moved from the Peanut Basin into peripheral regions oppose the displacement, and when families are eventually convinced to move, their new neighbors resent the migrants. The redistribution of families is not only expensive for the GOS but is also complicated by population dynamics (in the receiving and sending regions) not anticipated in the original redistribution plan.

2. Population Dynamics: Knowledge about population dynamics in Senegal has remained thin and unreliable for a long time. Progress toward obtaining adequate information was initiated by the first-ever modern census, conducted in April 1976. The results of the Census have not yet been officially reported. In 1978 a World Fertility Survey (WFS) was organized in Senegal. Preliminary results of the survey have provided the first useful and reliable information on population dynamics. Early estimates from WFS data suggest the population is growing at a rate of 2.6 percent per year. Thus the number of people living in Senegal increases by about 148,600 each year.

The major source of population increase is births; each 1,000 people produce 48 babies. There is significant variation in the birthrate between economic regions, and the impact of births is felt less in some areas than in others. It would appear that despite speculation on the number of immigrants, the growth rate has never included the one-half to one million alleged immigrants. This suggests an even higher rate of increase than the 2.6 percent a year. The level of fertility observed in Senegal of 48 births per thousand is characteristic of societies adopting no form of family limitation precautions (natural fertility). One can thus speculate that in the event of natural fertility, the only changes affecting the growth rate are migration and/or fluctuations in the death rate.

The death rate for Senegal is estimated at 22 per thousand. In traditional societies with a characteristic phenomenon of natural fertility, the death rate is usually at par with the birth rate. A stationary situation in the population is often the norm unless affected by some natural hazard such as famine or epidemic. The divergence between the two rates suggests a decline in one. Crude death rates for the economic regions show variations in death patterns, which range from 14.5% in the Urban Industrial area to 31.6% in the Rice Belt. It is not apparent (see Table II) what the actual explanations are for the variations and undisputed decline in death rates. Improved health care is probably an important factor in this case, as seen when Tables I and II are considered together. The Rice belt, with a growth rate of 1.6 percent, also has the highest death and infant mortality rates. The Urban Industrial area, with few persons per hospital bed and an infant mortality rate of 81 per thousand, experiences the highest growth rate. The objective of the Senegalese government is to reduce mortality rates to

reasonable levels by increasing access to health services. What is currently at issue is how to cope with the large numbers of babies and people who now have a better chance to live. Answers to questions like this have perplexed the Senegalese authorities.

3. Official Position on Population Issues: GOS is genuinely concerned about population issues which persistently threaten the welfare of the Sénégalaise. In this respect, the GOS is guided by the principle of man as a valuable producer and consumer in the modern world economic system. In the fullest sense of this principle, as expressed by various officials to the Battelle IDSC team, GOS proposes to develop the 'human value' in the Sénégalaise. Man, as producer and consumer, would become functional within situations determined by individual value judgements rather than by traditional cultural mores, natural unpredictable conditions, and government and international guidelines. The Sénégalaise must, they assert, function free of shackles imposed by over-burdening family norms and social and economic constraints as long as these respond to the fundamental needs of systematic evolution towards a comfortable and better future for the individual and his/her kin. Only the individual is capable of making this decision and all the government can do is provide an appropriate context in which the person can make the choice. To provide this context, the government has embarked on an ordering of priorities considered basic to the systematic development of the modern independent Sénégalaise. These priorities, as stated in the Sixth Five-year National Development Plan, include the following.

- GOS has established a policy which underscores food and nutrition as the fulcrum of national planning in all sectors of the country. The policy calls for increased food production to compensate for seasonal, regional, and socioeconomic deficiencies; improvement in nutritional education; and an iron-clad fortification program of detailed food consumption surveys. Since 1974, in response to the Great Drought (1967-1973), but particularly since 1977, the government has attempted a massive program of land reclamation through irrigation schemes. The "Terres Neuves" are being resettled through a program of population redistribution. Although the program is receiving opposition from various segments of the rural population, it aims at achieving this objective of increasing food production in the country and raising the per capita GNP from the current \$400 to \$600 by 1986. The GOS also believes increases in food and nutrition would reduce infant and overall mortality, lessen the demand for curative health services, and eventually reduce the demand for large families.
- Considered from a narrow perspective of family limitation, one could agree with the UNFPA Needs Assessment team's conclusions that there is no population policy. Within the broad framework laid down by the World Population Plan of Action, 1974, there is a Comprehensive Population Policy which reflects the GOS's recognition of population problems. Unfortunately, the components of the policy are not properly outlined because, according to the GOS officials, relevant

information necessary for detailed policy prescriptions is seriously thin. However, the Sixth Five-Year National Development Plan stipulates, as stated above, a policy of increased food, improved nutrition, redistribution of population, and improvements in per capita GNP.

- In the domain of precise measures to address the problems of rapid population increases and high infant and overall mortality, the GOS is putting into place the appropriate infrastructure necessary to ameliorate these conditions:

- The National Population Commission was created in 1979 with a specific mandate to develop national population policies.
- The French law of 31 July 1920 prohibiting the importation or sale of contraceptives has been repealed by the Sénégalaise legislature.
- GOS has delegated to the Secretary of State for "Promotion Humaine" the responsibility of purchasing and disseminating family planning commodities nationwide. A network of Protections Maternelles et Infantiles (PMIs) providing child and maternal health care, are being established nationwide. These same PMIs are authorized to also provide contraceptive commodities to families who request them.
- L'Association pour le Bien-Etre Familial, a private, quasi-governmental family-planning institution and IPPF affiliate, was relaunched in 1980 on the prompting of both the President and the Prime Minister. It is partially funded by and uses the facilities of GOS.
- Another private family planning organization, Clinique de la Croix Bleue, has been licensed by the government since 1964 and has provided a wide range of family planning commodities and services.
- GOS maternity hospitals and other hospitals provide postpartum IUDs and other family planning services to those who request it, or who are considered "high risk" women.

These efforts on the part of the GOS cannot be overlooked. They relate to prescribed action programs directed to addressing the pressing population problems confronting the country. But the bid to effectively solve population problems is hampered by the lack of:

- (1) basic relevant data which provides information on current trends, especially in the domain of infant and overall mortality;
- (2) applied research illustrating the actual pattern of demographic variables and their impact on socioeconomic development initiatives in the country;
- (3) applied research recommendations stipulating appropriate policy instruments to be designed for ameliorating population problems; and,
- (4) financial outlays to meet a wide range of population activities.

4. External Population Assistance: Multilateral assistance has been given to several institutions by UNFPA in recent years. The population census of April 1976, and data processing thereof, was supported in part by UNFPA, which also funded a study on laws and population and a research project on population change. They supported the creation of a bibliographic inventory and clearinghouse for all books and documents on demographic studies, population-development issues, socioeconomic determinants of fertility, and other development matters, relating to Sénégal. This clearinghouse is housed within the Planning Ministry. The Fund is considering further areas of support in the future. Other United Nations organizations assisting Senegal in population related fields include UNDP, UNICEF, ILO, FAO, WHO, World Food Programme, and UNESCO.

Sénégal is also receiving assistance from U.S.-based private organizations such as Battelle and RTI. Battelle is currently funding applied research in population and development policy through the National Population Commission. Findings of the research are proposed to be used in the development of a national population policy. Research Triangle Institute of North Carolina is also sponsoring research grants in the area of population and national development planning.

A number of bilateral sources provide assistance to Sénégal. USAID provides technical and financial assistance in the field of health, in particular in the Siné Saloum region. This effort includes training, equipment, modernization of hospitals, supply of urgently needed medicines, etc. An MCH family planning project was developed in 1978-79, but to date this bilateral agreement has not been implemented. The major area of USAID focus has been in rain-fed cropping, irrigation, livestock, and village health. In general, the strategy of USAID in Sénégal has been to assist Sénégal in attaining self-sufficiency in food production. At the present, this appears to be a most responsive and rational strategy for any sensitive agency to adopt given the current needs of the country. Stressing food self-sufficiency would stimulate agriculture and trade, and consequently provide employment on farms and in secondary industries. Through such emphasis, rural exodus could be curtailed and, with it, urban plight characteristic of most urban Sénégalaise.

Table I. POPULATION, SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS BY ECONOMIC REGION 1980

Region	Population Mid-1980 (thousands)	Area (Sq. Km.)	Density (per sq. Km.)	Per Capita GNP (dollars U.S.)	Pop. Growth Rate (Percent)	Infant Mort. (1%)*	Total Fert.*	Persons per Hospital Bed
Urban Industrial								
• Cape Verde	1,100	550	2,000	400 - 1,000	5.0	81.0	6.5	340
Peanut Basin	2,017	34,905	58	75 - 250	2.5	114.9	7.2	1,506
• Thies			107		2.9			1,491
• Diourbel			98		1.7			1,324
• Sine Saloum			42		2.8			1,703
Rice Belt	790	28,350	27	200 - 300	2.0	167.3	7.3	1,646
• Casamance								
Livestock and Cotton Zone	770	59,602	13	40 - 150	2.8	135.9	7.2	2,197
• Eastern Senegal								
Floodplain Farming Belt	580	44,127	13	40 - 80	1.7	135.9	7.2	698
• Fleuve Region								
Sylvo - Pastoral								
• Louga	460	29,188	16	30 - 80	2.0	133.0	7.0	3,591
Sénégal	5,717	196,722	29	400	2.6	116.6	7.1	887

Table II. POPULATION DYNAMICS BY ECONOMIC REGIONS 1980

R E G I O N	P O P U L A T I O N						
	Total	Increase by births	CBR (%)	Decrease through death	CDR (%)	Actual Increase	CGR (%)
Urban Industrial	1,100,000	52,800	48.0	15,940	14.5	36,860	3.3
Peanut Basin	2,017,000	96,816	48.0	40,764	20.2	56,052	2.8
17 Rice Belt	790,000	37,920	48.0	24,940	31.6	12,980	1.6
Livestock and Cotton Zone	770,000	36,960	48.0	18,322	24.1	18,638	2.4
Floodplain Farming Belt	580,000	27,840	48.0	14,345	24.7	13,495	2.3
Sylvo-Pastoral	460,000	22,080	48.0	11,460	24.9	10,620	2.3
Sénégal	5,717,000	274,416	48.0	125,774	22.0	148,642	2.6

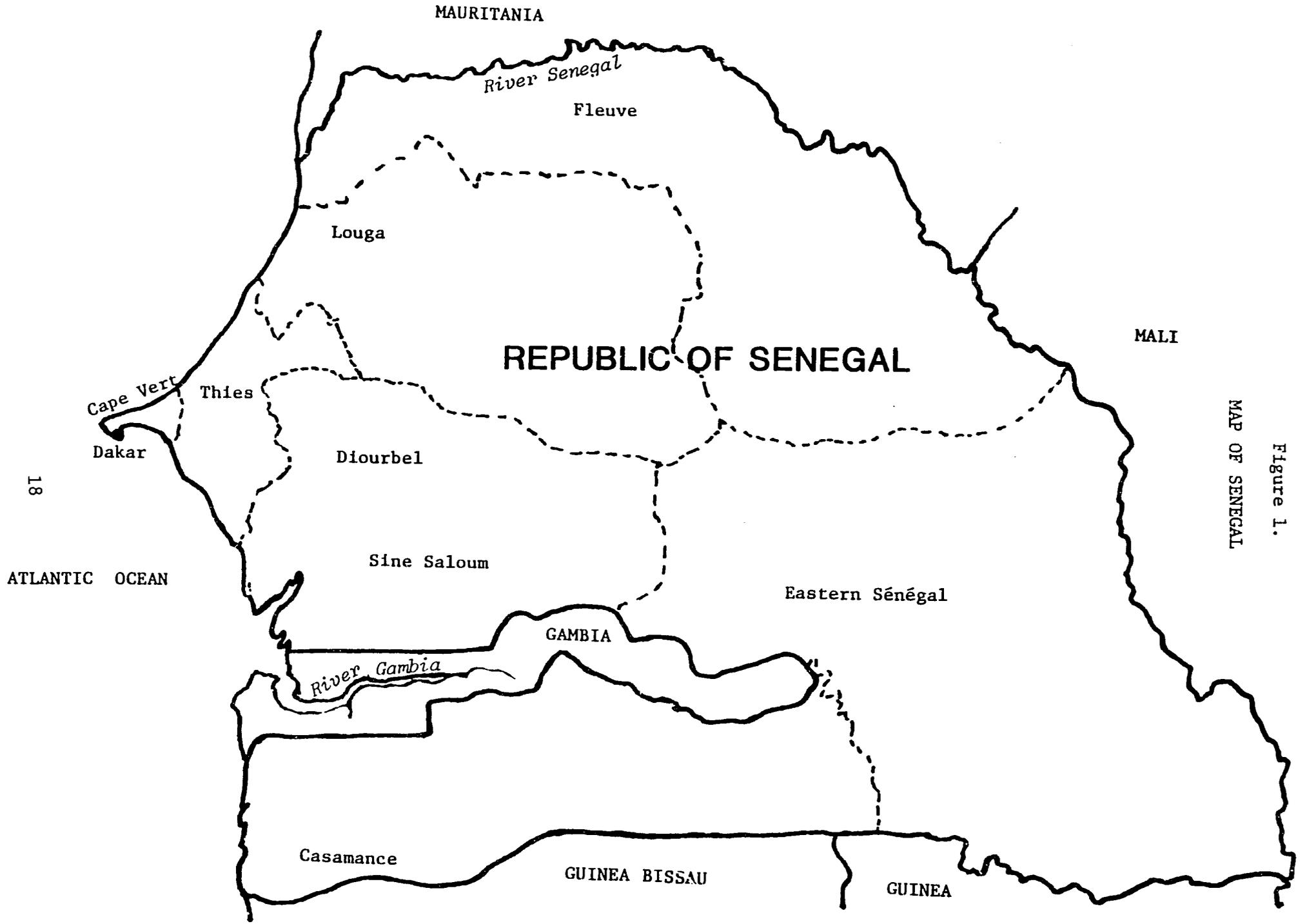


Figure 1.

MAP OF SENEGAL

18

ATLANTIC OCEAN

MAURITANIA

River Senegal

Fleuve

Louga

REPUBLIC OF SENEGAL

MALI

Cape Vert

Thies

Dakar

Diourbel

Sine Saloum

Eastern S n gal

GAMBIA

River Gambia

Casamance

GUINEA BISSAU

GUINEA

## V. PRINCIPAL FINDINGS

Main findings of the Sénégal assessment can be grouped under three headings: (A) Population Trends, Causes, and Consequences; (B) Perceptions and Opinions on Population Policy; and, (C) International Population Assistance. In keeping with basic professional research ethics, summary responses are discussed but not attributed to specific respondents.

### A. Population Trends, Causes, and Consequences

1. Population Trends: Respondents are unanimous that the population of Sénégal is increasing rapidly. Various cues are identified by the average respondent to substantiate perception of rapid growth: expansion of the city of Dakar, which a few years back was located on or around the Central Plateau; heavy traffic; scarcity of building plots; conversion of green fields into buildings; the presence, in Dakar, of more and more colleagues who used to live in the villages. From whichever narrow perspective a respondent perceived the problem, each had a specific conviction of rapid population increase. Those most attune to the increase, and who responded as if they had waited for years for such an opportunity, were representatives of the lower-income stratum, i.e., drivers, bartenders, peddlers, and university students.

Statistical information on current rate of population increase is at best unreliable. WFS data was supposed to shed some light on this but the survey did not collect information on deaths, thus growth rates could not be calculated. Growth rate is speculated at between 2.6 and 2.8 percent depending on the respondent. The team assumes the crude growth rate to be about 2.6%, and around 3% when migration is taken into account.

2. Causes of Population Growth: The team agrees that the significance of responses on the causes of population increase is not in whether or not there is general agreement on the causes, but on the fact that each respondent was actually convinced that population increase is related to expressed actions, desires, beliefs, and behaviors of human beings. Not one respondent, even when probed, was willing to concede that some force beyond human comprehension stocked Sénégalese families with children. When the traditional norm usually ascribed to traditional societies was cited, --as many children as God wants me to have--respondents of all levels described the statement as anachronistic. Even ideologues among the respondents confirmed that there is a maximum possible number of children any woman can give birth to, but that the maximum is never attained because of expressed human actions. Causes of population increase identified by respondents can be classified under the following headings in order of most often cited: cultural-religious, economic, social, and political.

a. Cultural-Religious Causes: Sénégal is about 80 percent Muslim. Thus it was not surprising that most respondents considered Muslim religious convictions as important causes of population increase. Usually in any faith there are fanatics; the Muslim faith is no exception. The responses citing Muslim religion as a principal cause of population increase through large families reflects three categories of believers:

"Muslim religion requires us to have as many children as possible..." is a response which, from the team's viewpoint, characterizes a religious free-rider who has neither the conviction nor the understanding of the teachings of the Koran and who interprets it to suit his traditional mores. These individuals seek, or believe others seek, protection behind the vague adage to breed large numbers of children. When asked if they would limit the number of children they would have if it were demonstrated that the Koran allowed family limitation, their response was "No."

Some followers of the prophet Mohammed believe that the Koran specifically prohibits the use of contraceptives. They justify their position more clearly by explaining that a true Muslim must be clean and devoid of impurities during prayer. The cleaner the individual, the quicker Allah's response to a request. Modern contraceptives are foreign, impure elements which, when introduced into the body, defile a Muslim; thus, the restriction on use of contraceptives. The restriction results in large families among ardent believers. This group of Muslims confirmed that each time a Muslim wants, or does not want a child, he/she consults a marabout who is the only one that can prescribe and purify any substance to be introduced into the body.

Muslim religion encourages polygamy (with an upper limit of four wives) and this enables polygamous households to have many children. A Muslim religious leader explained the position thus: during the early days of Islam, the faith was in close competition with other religious faiths for converts. The motivation then was to procure as many Muslims as possible, but at the same time, the health of the mother and child were also taken into consideration. To minimize the risk to the life of mother and child, polygamy was encouraged. Today, there are 900 million Muslims around the world; the desire for converts is no longer at issue.

All respondents agree that traditional Sénégalaise culture, like all other African cultures, is pro-natalist. Various rationales were cited for pro-natalism in the Sénégalaise culture: Sénégalaise by nature love children, the more the happier; there is strong desire for more hands necessary to sustain the traditional socioeconomic structure; children determine the survival of a marriage by substantiating the masculinity of males and the fecundity of women; large families ascribe social status to the father and added value to the woman. In the case of a woman deciding to remarry, her dowry

increases in value depending on the number of children she has, but most often wives with a large number of children benefit more from the estate of the male head of household. This quest for a larger portion of inheritance spurs competition among wives for many children; traditionally high infant mortality leads parents to minimize the high risk of not having enough live children by procreating without cease; and children are security for old age (although most people believe that female children are more helpful in old age than male). Each of the excuses and explanations, according to the respondents, contribute to the high fertility in Sénégal.

b. Economic Causes: "...the bed of the poor is fecund..." This was a very thoughtful response from a prominent opinion leader in Sénégal. Asked to elaborate, the leader explained that in Sénégal, as in most less developed countries, the wealth of a majority of people is children. In the absence of material wealth, most people perceive large numbers of children as a yardstick of wealth because as long as one is able to feed large numbers of children, the individual is wealthy. Therefore, economically, Sénégalaise have nothing to lose but a lot to gain by having many children. The response of the opinion leader epitomized the views held by most respondents.

All respondents also perceived that the unusually long dry season last year cut down peanut production (Sénégal's major economic crop) from 1.2 million tons to a little over 200,000 tons. In the process, several jobs were lost and unemployed individuals migrated to Dakar in search of (already scarce) alternative job opportunities. The result, they contend, has been accelerated rural exodus.

Children and many wives are a source of labor for agricultural production. Respondents perceive traditional agriculture as being labor-intensive and a system dependent on family labor. Many children, therefore, mean many hands for traditional agricultural production. Since Sénégalaise practice mainly the traditional system of agricultural production, there is motivation to have many children.

Most respondents perceive depressed economic conditions in neighboring countries (Guinea Bissau, Gambia, Mali, and others) as the cause of large-scale immigration into Sénégal where the situation is not as bad. About 500,000 immigrants from Mali, Guinea Bissau, and Cape Verde are estimated to have come into the country for economic reasons.

Everyone described the drought conditions in the Fleuve region as responsible for out-migration into France where most Sénégalaise operate as migrant workers. The system of migrant employment is the main functionally sustaining economic activity in the Fleuve region.

Income from migrant workers in France has been estimated to constitute as much as 30 percent of the income in Upper Fleuve. The interaction between in-migration and out-migration is positive for Sénégal, thus creating an increase in the population.

c. Social Causes: Respondents were unanimous that the population of Sénégal is increasing because the fertility levels are high, but they were divided as to the causes of high fertility. Two-thirds of the respondents perceived the high fertility levels as a breakdown in traditional morals. In the traditional family, they argue, pre-marital sex and births were taboo, and because of the dowry procedure necessary for marriages to be sanctioned, both males and females married at a much older age. Nowadays, the need for education is exposing girls (in particular) to early sex experience, and because most lack appropriate sex education, they soon get pregnant. Teenage pregnancies and earlier ages at first marriage result in high fertility levels.

A divergent view held by about one-third of the respondents contends that a decline in infant and general mortality assures the survival to adulthood of Sénégalaise born nowadays. Many more youths thus attain child-bearing age, and as a result the fertility levels are high. Improved sanitary, rather than health care, conditions were cited as responsible for the decline in infant mortality.

One-third of the respondents also contend that high fertility levels observed today in Sénégal have persisted over the years. These respondents argue that the fertility levels, as well as infant and general mortality levels, have always been high. Neither a decline in infant mortality nor a rise in fertility explain the rapid rate of population increase. They perceive that the population has been stationary at a high growth rate (2.6 percent).

d. Political Causes: There is general agreement among respondents that certain acts and omissions on the part of the GOS contribute to the problem of rapid population growth. The GOS adopts an open-door policy towards all its African neighbors. This approach attracts large numbers of immigrants into the country.

Some respondents think the GOS is pushing hard on family planning methods, especially in the urban areas. People resist the government legislating their sexual behavior and have children in direct defiance of government programs. The GOS is working towards providing MCH family planning services through PMIs around the country and respondents perceive that the problem of rapid population growth is more than just health services and family planning. Often cited was the role of the Muslim religious institutions in local communities. These institutions cater to all basic needs of communities on all aspects of existence: advice on morals; provisions of economic needs;

guidance on family-life; etc. For GOS actions to replace these institutional functions, and thus substitute for traditional norms, would require comprehensive government programs whose benefits can be measured in terms of community needs.

A few respondents recalled the fact that Sénégal, as a Muslim country, is aware of certain measures adopted in far-away countries like India, where compulsory birth limitation was imposed on the masses. The consequences were both political and social. Since Sénégalaise do not want to be faced with a similar situation; they are unresponsive to, and suspicious of, government programs designed to inhibit rapid population growth.

Several respondents described the phenomena of rapid population growth in Sénégal as reflecting a political view held throughout Africa. They cited the fact that Africa is sparse as a result of the slave trade and those countries who were directly involved in this vicious trade are the same ones advocating population control. Respondents perceive this to be a systematic effort to eliminate the black people of Africa. If Africa had been as densely populated as India, Japan, or China, the whites in Southern Africa ("Rhodesia" and Republic of South Africa in particular) would not have been in a position to settle, claim, and deprive Africans of their own land. These respondents believe that Africa as a whole emphasizes pro-natalist policies to prevent a possible occupation of the continent by foreign populations.

3. Perceptions of Consequences of Population Growth: All respondents agreed that current population trends impact on economic, social, environmental, cultural, and political conditions. In some respects, the effects of rapid population growth are acutely manifest; but in most cases the impact is latent.

a. Economic Consequences: On various occasions, the objectives of the national five-year development plans have not been realized because of rapid increases in the population which usually result in many more mouths to feed with the same available resources. Often cited was the view that Sénégal, which used to export rice, now imports more than half the quantity required to feed the country. Importation of large quantities of rice has resulted in a negative balance of payments and less capital is available for investment in productive activities, e.g., agriculture.

The extremely high population to land density ratio, especially in the fertile Peanut Basin, has created an adverse impact on already declining agricultural productivity. The problem of recent drought has led to a decline in peanut cultivation (main cash crop of the nation). Thus, the wetter region of the country has become densely peopled by farmers fleeing from the drought-stricken regions. Land parcels have become smaller and productivity has declined.

Unemployment is mounting both in the rural as well as the urban centers, and the continued threat of drought signals an even more serious situation in the future. Living conditions are worsening; what was once shared by a few, cannot accommodate everybody.

b. Social Consequences: The problem of drought, high population density in the central fertile Peanut Region, and a decline in peanut production has led to unprecedented rates of rural exodus. Urban centers are growing at astronomical rates and, along with them, shanty towns, bidonvilles, and ghettos are being created. Social infrastructure is inadequate to meet the needs created by such growth.

Inadequate social infrastructure cannot meet the country's growing needs in rural areas as well. For example, in rural areas where educational institutions are inadequate, there is under-education; pupils receive inadequate education because teachers confronted with pupil-class ratios of over 100:1 are unable to address the needs of each individual pupil. These under-educated youths migrate to towns to seek employment. Being under-educated they can neither find useful employment nor return to work in agriculture because they are not prepared for either. Consequently, these youths evolve into delinquents, criminals, prostitutes, etc., for lack of gainful employment.

Housing is extremely scarce in Dakar and other urban areas with a result that squatter settlements around urban areas become overcrowded, filthy breeding grounds for venereal diseases, illegal abortion, child abuse, and teenage pregnancies.

Large families subsist on meager incomes which do not show signs of improving. When many wives and children are not adequately maintained by the head of household, this often leads to family quarrels and divorce.

c. Political Consequences: Dissatisfied youths are latent time bombs for revolts and eventual revolution. When the young cannot find jobs, housing, and a future, they lose confidence in existing national institutions and seek to establish new institutions that they think will respond to their needs.

d. Environmental Consequences: Dakar, with its green parks, had been called the "green city" but, with the increases in population, the green patches are fast disappearing. Demands for building plots and transportation routes have encroached onto the green parks.

e. Cultural Consequences: Population pressures on land has led to the dispersal of family members with the result that the traditional

family is breaking up fast. Where the substitute modern sector does not respond adequately to individual needs, family hardships result.

## B. Population Policy

There were varying views among respondents on the existence of a national population policy in Sénégal. About 40 percent of the respondents think Sénégal does not have a national population policy, 33 percent say there is a policy, while 23 percent are not aware of the existence or non-existence of a policy.

Respondents who think Sénégal has no population policy explain that marabouts exert tremendous religious and political influence in the country. Since the Muslim religion is believed to prohibit any form of family limitation, the GOS is cautiously avoiding any confrontation with these powerful religious leaders. Therefore, respondents feel that the GOS purposely evades a national population policy which would trigger such confrontation.

Others who agree there is a population policy argue that the institutional infrastructures set up by the GOS suggest the existence of a national population policy. Although all acknowledge that efforts are minimal, they assert the GOS has initiated and established appropriate infrastructure on three fronts: official announcements, policy instruments, and action programs.

1. Official Pronouncements: In recognition of the dangers of rapid population growth, President Senghor, in his report on general policy presented to the Special Congress of the Union Progressiste Sénégalaise (now Parti Socialiste) held in December, 1976, warned that if the annual growth rate (which was then estimated at 2.9 percent) continued, the population of Sénégal would reach 10 million at about the turn of the century. He considered that a population of 15 million was the maximum that the country could support given current economic conditions.

President Senghor emphasized that rural out-migration must be restricted and the growth of shanty towns prevented by increasing rural incomes faster than urban ones. The President also stressed the implications of rapid population growth for increasing unemployment, for providing food, schooling facilities, and for meeting other needs.

2. Policy Instruments: On December 24, 1980, the Sénégalaise National Assembly repealed the decree of 1933 enforcing the French colonial law of 1920 which banned the importation, manufacture and sale of contraceptives, and the dissemination of material describing contraception. The portion of the law prohibiting abortion was retained.

By Presidential decree, signed on October 13, 1979, a Commission Nationale de Population was established in Sénégal. The Commission's tasks are:

- to assemble and analyze all available data on population and cultural, economic, and social aspects liable to influence demographic factors;
- to develop a population policy in perfect coherence with the standard of living and the socio-cultural characteristics of the Senegalese people to achieve harmonious social and economic development; and,
- to study the possibilities of integrating the demographic variable into the methodology of economic and social development planning.

The Secrétariat d'Etat pour la Promotion Humaine was assigned the task of procuring and disseminating contraceptive commodities. The Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial (the Sénégalaise Family Planning Association, ASBEF) was reorganized and reactivated in November, 1980.

3. Action Programs: A private family planning clinic (Clinique de la Croix Bleue) has been operating in Dakar with government tolerance since 1964. Contraceptive services are easily obtained from PMIs, the Clinique de la Croix Bleue, some government hospitals, private doctors, market stalls, and pharmacies.

Due to high incidence of illegal contraception, clandestine abortion, and infanticide, the Ministry of Health in 1976, in collaboration with Promotion Humaine and ASBEF, organized family planning services integrated within maternal and child health centers (Protections Maternelles et Infantiles, PMIs).

The family code (code de la famille) has been restructured. The code fixes the minimum age of marriage at 16 for women and 20 for men. If a man gives an undertaking, either when he marries or at any time later, to have no more wives, the undertaking is binding and women have the right to ask for divorce if the man rescinds the undertaking.

[According to the respondents, these initiatives on the part of the GOS could jointly or separately be considered elements of a national population policy. The Sénégalaise assessment team is convinced there is no official national population policy in Sénégal. The team's decision stems from the mandate of the Commission Nationale de Population (CONAPOP). The idea behind creating a National Commission on Population was concern on the part of the government to establish an institution responsible for working out a population policy. The Commission held its first meeting in May 1981. Since the Commission is charged with designing a population policy, and it has just started its work, the team concludes that:

- the Commission would not have received its mandate if a policy existed before; and,
- the Commission has just launched its activities and has not designed a policy yet.

Therefore, there is no GOS population policy. However, whether or not a policy exists, it is clear that the GOS is concerned about the dangers of rapid rates of population growth and has adopted various measures which articulate its concern and quest for a realistic solution.]

As part of this section on population policy, respondents were requested to express their opinions on the types of population programs they felt were feasible in Sénégal and on the sorts of implementation problems such programs might encounter. In analyzing the responses, the Sénégalaise assessment team realized that respondents either outlined a program reflecting a development ideology or components of what would constitute a population program. The responses did not in any way suggest a wish list, rather they were well thought-out opinions on realistic measures to ameliorate the problem of rapid population growth in Sénégal.

Most respondents expressed the view that population impacts on and is, in turn, impacted upon by other components of development. A feasible population program is therefore one which encompasses overall development tenets. Such a program would thus be comprehensive and reflect socioeconomic and sociocultural development priorities of Sénégal. Some respondents elaborated this view in the following manner: Sénégal is currently faced with the problem of declining food production due to drought conditions in the country. A feasible population for Sénégal would be one that would address the problem of declining production and drought. Elements of such a program would include some of the following.

- Promotion of full production in the agricultural sector should be designed with a view toward raising the food and nutritional requirements of all Sénégalaise.
- Promotion of awareness (sensitization) among Sénégalaise at all levels on the effects of imbalance between population and agricultural production is vital. The level of awareness should be raised to a point where individuals will perceive benefits of having fewer mouths to feed and larger food supplies for the market.
- Examination of alternative methods for improving the quality of life of the Sénégalaise people should be included. Whatever measure is adopted, all Sénégalaise should be educated on the measure and the relationship between it and better living conditions.
- Local institutional structures should be studied to determine the extent to which they could be used as the focus for such change programs.
- Initial capital outlays should be provided, but the program should be self-sustaining in the long-run.

Respondents were unanimous in believing that there were very few problems which will impede the implementation of a development program designed in the above fashion. In any case, given actual conditions in Sénégal today, some problems would be anticipated.

- A program of full agricultural production would require huge amounts of investment capital which is currently minimal in Sénégal.
- International financial assistance is significant enough to make up for the badly needed capital for investment but the assistance that comes in is not directed towards Sénégalese development priorities. Respondents therefore contend that the donor community might oppose any programs not consistent with (their) predetermined objectives.
- More important is the respondents' views that internal interest groups, such as the medical professionals (who are currently benefitting from the unofficial stance of GOS on birth limitation) and private family planning associations, do oppose, and would continue to oppose, any systematic program leading to a gradual sensitization of people to appreciate birth control practices.

#### C. International Population Assistance

Respondents were requested to make suggestions and recommendations on population assistance they perceive as appropriate and realistic for Sénégal. Responses to this section were most revealing because, for perhaps the first time, GOS officials and church and civic leaders were expressing views on population and development assistance. Their views are summarized by the team as addressing more the purpose and objectives of population and development assistance and less the mechanics of it. Three broad categories of international population assistance were identified.

- International population assistance is brought to Sénégal in response to an individual local request. For example, if the government of Sénégal thought it necessary to conduct a census, they could submit a proposal to an appropriate organization for assistance. Respondents argue that, to a large extent, such assistance meets GOS objectives but is often hampered by specific constraints imposed by the donor.
- Another form of population assistance occurs when GOS responds to a predetermined assistance package program in the donor community. Often cited as an example is the tendency for most governments in need of money to be willing to respond to AID's program design on family health projects. Without a thorough working knowledge of what the project involves, how it would work, and future implications, government officials in quest for foreign aid submit requests for assistance in the area. Often, these programs diminish in importance shortly after they are initiated; thus, they are the least successful.

- Thirdly, population assistance may be initiated by local representatives of donor organizations, for example, USAID Mission officials in Dakar, who design a project for Sénégal and seek support for it, both from the GOS and AID/Washington.

Respondents all agreed that each one of these forms of assistance is conceived usually as a means to help the local community but it often ends up not doing so. The most successful form of assistance has been that which comes in response to local authorities' requests. Furthermore, the other two forms of assistance are often coupled with the provision of "technical experts" who, to a large extent, are less knowledgeable of local conditions than the people they are advising.

The Sénégalaise interviewed by the Battelle team were of the opinion that even the most ardent Muslim marabout is aware of the problems of sustaining a large family. Under the present socioeconomic conditions, the situation becomes even more serious. Those officials interviewed advocate programs where the approach to population is integrated into a larger context aimed at improved living conditions. The interviewees stressed the need for programs structured systematically in phases, where one effort is phased out prior to initiation of the next. For instance, a population program could first focus on the creation of an awareness of the problem; then on the development of a socioeconomic preference for smaller families; and, in a final stage, on provision of facilities to sustain this improved situation. In such a case, family planning would be just a part of the process, rather than being presented as a direct solution to the problem of poor living conditions.

- International population assistance could be directed toward a systematic nationwide study of the varying regional economic potentials, with appropriate feasible recommendations on how a given regional economic potential base can be developed.
- Population assistance could be designed to inform and sensitize all Sénégalaise to the existing potential and the relationship between the economic base and the population. For example, if the Casamance region is identified as a potentially rich agricultural region, what type of crop, size of farm, labor input, and capital investment would be required to provide a family of four with a standard of living above poverty.
- Assistance could suggest various methods for encouraging smaller family size, i.e., a family of four, and in sustaining the desire for such smaller family norms.
- Assistance could be designed for long-term self-sustaining programs, managed by local experts. However, when such expertise is lacking, outside experts would need to be identified.

Respondents suggest that the activities described above should be systematic and phased on a continuous, rather than concurrent, basis. In such a case, the objectives of each assistance program should be long-term and designed so that the program is managed by locals except where such skills are lacking.

The role of foreign experts in the design, development, and implementation of assistance programs in Sénégal constituted a topic and issue of discussion that repeatedly emerged during interviews with Sénégalaise leaders and officials. Judging from the frequency with which these issues occurred, the team surmised that, perhaps, there had been problems in the past associated with certain experts, especially those working in the MCH family planning field. Therefore, the following observations and comments by respondents should be viewed within that context. Various procedures in requesting aid were also addressed.

- Experts should be assigned duties in the Dakar metropolitan area and not, under any circumstances, be permitted to work in the rural areas of the country. (The Sénégalaise contention here is that foreigners often do not appreciate cultural, social, and religious idiosyncrasies encountered in rural areas, and that the subject of MCH/family planning is introduced and discussed inappropriately, leading to an impasse and breakdown in meaningful communication.) The Sénégalaise believe that experts have often undermined local advice and counsel, thus causing conflict between AID and the GOS.
- There is a perception that black Americans are best suited to adjust to, adapt to, and be appreciative of, Sénégal and its conditions in the role of development assistance specialists and technicians. (Once again, the team surmised that past experience contributed to the development of this feeling.)
- United States personnel assigned to approved projects often absorb a large percentage of the authorized budget. This is puzzling to GOS officials, especially when they believe that competent Sénégalaise are available at substantially lower costs. Consequently, the savings could be used for program input.
- Application procedures for implementing international (AID) assistance projects should be simplified.
- The Government of Sénégal should not be bound by assistance terms and conditions which stipulate that equipment and supplies must be procured through United States manufacturers.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR U.S. POPULATION ASSISTANCE - THE BATTELLE  
HARC/IDSC PERSPECTIVE

A primary objective of the Battelle IDSC Sénégal assessment was to analyze the extent to which U.S. population assistance activities are consistent with Sénégalaise national development priorities and, if not, to solicit from Sénégalaise authorities the nature and type of population assistance that would be realistic and acceptable in Sénégal. Respondents were cautious not to identify any particular multilateral or bilateral population assistance program as being unrealistic; rather they preferred to describe the type of activities they would like to see implemented in Sénégal.

The Sénégal assessment team considers the interview exercise as having been very useful to the host country. It provided Sénégalaise of all walks of life the opportunity to express their own opinions on a controversial issue such as population. In addition, it encouraged, for the first time, a good number of Sénégalaise authorities to think about population and its relation to their development objectives and responsibilities. Thus, the greatest contribution of this exercise to the Sénégalaise was that it created empathy with the Sénégalaise population problem.

The current social, economic, and political situation in Sénégal was often directly associated to the population issue. Perceptions and recommendations of respondents were within the context of current conditions. Therefore, the recommendations of the team should be viewed from the perceived local contextual conditions.

Sénégal has a potentially serious population problem. Population growth rates are high; certain circumstances are significantly menacing; unemployment, crime, and poverty are threatening; and, to date, efforts to address these problems are weak. GOS officials and civic and religious leaders believe that these problems have been accentuated by current mass movements of people within the country (because of drought conditions which have displaced many farmers) and into the country (from neighboring states due to worsening economic and political situations there). Therefore, GOS officials and others feel the current problem of population should be tackled from two fronts.

- Since the displacement of farming communities has cut down on the amount of food production, efforts should be directed towards increasing food production to meet nutritional needs of every Senegalese.
- Population should be distributed throughout the country to ease high population pressures in cities and rainy portions of the country. This would also help solve many other perceived problems.

The Senegal assessment team, in reaction to the above recommendation, does not question the merits or demerits of the rationale since that was not part of the task. The team was charged with soliciting opinions and recommendations from the people of Sénégal. The recommendations are,

therefore, primarily of a technical nature. The whole issue of population has remained polemic over the years even among the greatest minds of our time. No one issue or approach is universally acclaimed. The cautious minds have at best examined the population issue within a given context and recommended relevant guidelines as to how the problem could be ameliorated. S n galese authorities have gone a step further in identifying the problem and a possible solution. The question now is whether or not current international population assistance activities have been directed towards solutions proposed by the S n galese. If not do the donor countries perceive a better and more acceptable solution to the current population problem in S n gal? In each case, the decision to adopt a solution rests with the S n galese, for local support is a prerequisite to the success of any population assistance activity.

Our recommendations for international population assistance are based on the need for donors to become sensitive to the needs and recommendations of the S n galese people. The team is convinced that for the U.S. government to push family planning ahead of pertinent GOS concern for general food production would mean running a grave risk that may seriously jeopardize any and all population assistance programs. The population issue is vital, and long-term broad solutions are required; therefore, whatever approach is used, the essential elements and tenets of general population stabilization should be addressed. The S n gal assessment team realized that U.S. population assistance programs in S n gal have never been systematically designed to ensure continuity. Rather, programs have been myopic, capitalizing either on a sudden pronouncement by a statesman or in response to some peripheral need with population overtones. The team therefore believes that U.S. population assistance programs should proceed in a long-term phasing-out manner and we recommend the following approach:

- Phase I - Awareness Generating Phase: S n galese of all walks of life must be made aware of the interconnections between population phenomena and basic resources. The basis for this already exists. Every S n galese interviewed recognized the pressures on economy, employment, housing, etc. Therefore, well-designed programs which demonstrate the impact of excess population on agriculture, for instance, can exert awareness on the issues. Traditional institutions should be utilized as structures for channeling awareness. The team conceives that a two-year period of systematic seminars with various communities, community leaders, and in particular, Muslim leaders, is sufficient to evolve positive thinking on the issues. The team further believes that seminars of this sort would provide GOS authority with appropriate support to make official pronouncements on population issues. Currently, Battelle has initiated a similar approach but at the level of researchers and policymakers. An extension of the exercise is to include and involve people at the village level and should yield useful results. Components necessary to accomplish this phase include: information about the actual demographic situation of the country; regional variations in demographic attributes; economic characteristics of variant regions; and a systematic grid of variant regional problems.

- Phase II: Based on official pronouncements issued during Phase I, population assistance at this juncture should aim at designing policy instruments which would guide the execution of regional programs. Under the French system (Francophone Africa), capital outlays are authorized only by Presidential degree or Ministerial arrete. Programs not based on policy instruments with specific official clout may not even be absorbed in the annual budget. Population programs should therefore be defined within a policy instrument, but care must be taken to avoid defining a vague national program. There is apt to be less friction if programs are regionally defined with precise stipulations on means of enforcing policy.
- Phase III: During this phase, population assistance activities should be action-oriented. In essence, a wide range of activities with specific regional emphasis should be introduced to cover food production techniques, population and sex education, health education, family planning, female employment programs, etc. Action programs should be part of the whole population and development program showing appropriate links. Three major recommendations suggest an approach which could be initiated and implemented within a five-year period such that, once established, it could very well be continued since it would receive support from the grass roots and the GOS.

The team further recommends the following approaches.

- Local talent should be tapped (to the extent possible) to implement population assistance programs.
- In cases where local talent is lacking, culturally sensitive U.S. experts with thorough technical competence should be sent to Sénégal to train local counterparts to take over. The expert should meanwhile work within an existing institutional structure without preference for an ideal structure of his own. More important, he should work in strict collaboration with local people.
- Experts should in no way be sent into the countryside outside Dakar unless accompanied by competent local staff who would not be overridden by the expert on sensitive issues.
- Family planning should not be pushed tactlessly at this moment in Sénégal. There are family planning facilities existing currently in Sénégal and those who need them have easy access. Therefore, attempting to push it any further could backlash and threaten the future of all population programs.
- Simplified procedures for applying for aid should be designed to make it less cumbersome and less expensive. The team was unable to determine the best approach for achieving this goal.
- AID should be given money which can support local economies other than just through provisions of jobs for local people. Certain material and equipment, where available, should be locally purchased to strengthen local economy.

- Assistance should be designed such that even after foreign aid terminates local programs could be self-sustaining. In essence, this should become one criteria for approving a project.
- Health improvements should be promoted in order to reduce infant and child mortality and to improve nutrition.

APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION I - TENDANCES DE LA POPULATION

1. Pouvez-vous nous parler des tendances de la population sénégalaise?

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2. Quelles sont les différences et ressemblances des tendances de la population sénégalaise avec celles des pays voisins ?

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SECTION II - CAUSES DES TENDANCES DE LA POPULATION

1. Quels sont les facteurs qui expliquent les tendances de la population sénégalaise?

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SECTION III - CONSEQUENCES DES TENDANCES DE LA POPULATION

1. Quels sont les effets des tendances que vous avez citées plus haut dans le pays ? Par exemple, quels sont les effets sur :

- a) la croissance économique .....
- b) l'agriculture .....
- c) l'urbanisation .....
- d) l'énergie .....
- e) l'environnement .....

- f) la santé .....
- g) l'éducation .....
- h) l'intégration des femmes dans le développement en général .....
- .....
- i) l'habitat .....
- j) les emplois .....
- k) les services sociaux .....
- l) autres ? .....

SECTION IV - POLITIQUE DE POPULATION

1. On parle beaucoup de nos jours de politique de population. Est-ce que le Sénégal a une politique de population ? Si oui, pouvez-vous en parler ?  
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2. Quel est votre opinion face à cette politique ? .....
- .....
- .....
3. Dans le cadre d'un plan de développement réel, quelles sortes de programmes de population sont réalisables au Sénégal?  
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4. Quels sont les problèmes que ces programmes pourraient rencontrer ?  
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SECTION V - ACTIVITES DE L'ASSISTANCE INTERNATIONALE EN POPULATION

1. Décrivez-nous les programmes de l'assistance internationale en population (bilatéral ou multilatéral) que reçoit votre pays :

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2. Cette assistance répond-elle à vos besoins ?

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3. Quelles sortes de programmes d'assistance internationale en population seraient les plus adéquats selon vous pour résoudre vos problèmes à court, moyen et long termes ?

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4. Selon vous, à qui doit être confiée la responsabilité de ces programmes ?

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