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FINAL COUNTRY REPORT: SENEGAL

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Human Affairs Research Centers

2030 M Street, N.W. Washington, D.C. 20036

FINAL COUNTRY REPORT: SENEGAL

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## SUMMARY

Although Senegal has not yet formulated an official population policy, several major advances are being made in that direction. The Final Report on Senegal prepared by Battelle's Population and Development Policy (PDP) Program highlights the progression of events toward population policy formulation and implementation, within the context of general socioeconomic development, as complemented by the numerous, relevant contributions of the PDP project in Senegal, from December 1981 through May 1983.

The project implemented by Battelle in Senegal closely followed the guidelines for a model PDP core project. The initial visit to the country resulted in identification of appropriate individuals and institutions for collaboration. The Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPOP) was selected as the principal collaborative institution because of its potential impact on population policy formulation and its strategic role in integrating demographic variables into national development plans. Researchers were then selected to author papers on significant topics specifically focused on the general theme of the formulation and implementation of a population policy, eventually intended to constitute the basis of discussion at symposia. Various dissemination activities were planned to extend over 1982-83, including one symposium for each of the three research themes: Islam and Family Planning: A Senegalese Perspective; Legal Support for a Policy to Reduce Fertility; and Women's Attitudes Toward Family Planning.

The symposia represented a crucial component of the core project approach in that they effectively brought together recognized authorities from many fields, e.g., law, economics, sociology, religion, demography, geography, and medicine, including researchers, government bureaucrats, and policymakers. The press and media coverage of these symposia facilitated the diffusion of knowledge at regional and community levels. Finally, symposia proceedings were published, and their distribution remains an on-going process.

A spirit of cooperation and mutual respect was fostered by frequent interaction between Senegalese and Battelle staff to identify and prioritize development problems prior to proposing appropriate solutions. It is through these activities that Battelle's project has produced an impact, primarily in making the Senegalese aware of how a population policy can simultaneously address many of the development needs they consider to be important, e.g., helping to reduce high infant mortality levels; altering the pronatalist thrust of certain laws governing the family and society; and ultimately by improving the standard of living. It is felt that the timing and frequency of project monitoring, as well as the diversified nature of the technical assistance provided, at least partially account for the progress made in recognizing the importance of a population policy and realizing its eventual implementation in a country where many projects initiated by international donors fail.

## GLOSSARY OF INSTITUTIONS\*

1. AFARD	Association des Femmes Africaines pour la Recherche sur le Développement
2. ASAFED	Association Africaine pour l'Education et le Développement
3. ASBEF	Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial
4. BNR	Bureau National du Recensement
5. CONAPOP	Commission Nationale de la Population
6. CREA	Centre de Recherche Economique Appliquée
7. CREDILA	Centre de Recherche, d'Etude et de Documentation sur les Institutions et Législations Africaines
8. DBEF	Direction du Bien-Etre Familial
9. ENAM	Ecole Nationale de l'Administration et de la Magistrature
10. ENDA	Environnement et Développement du Tiers Monde
11. ENEA	Ecole Nationale d'Economie Appliquée
12. FAFS	Fédération des Associations Féminines du Sénégal
13. IDEP	Institut pour le Développement Economique et la Planification
14. IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire
15. IFORD	Institut de Formation et de Recherche Demographique (Yaoundé)
16. IGN	Institut Géographique National (Paris)
17. IID	Institut Islamique de Dakar
18. INED	Institut National d'Etudes Démographiques (Paris)
19. MPC	Ministère du Plan et de la Coopération
20. ORANA	Organisme de Recherche sur l'Alimentation et la Nutrition Africaine
21. ORSTOM	Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer (Paris)
22. PDS	Parti Démocratique Sénégalais
23. PH	Secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion Humaine
24. PMI	Protection Maternelle et Infantile
25. PNAT	Plan National d'Aménagement du Territoire
26. PS	Parti Socialiste
27. SONED	Société Nationale d'Etudes du Développement

\*All institutions are located in Dakar except when otherwise specified.

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. PDP Objectives

Foreign assistance funds are limited, and those that are allocated to a given country must be invested in activities and organizations that show the greatest promise of meeting country needs and fulfilling donor objectives. The design of effective development assistance programs for LDCs therefore requires thorough knowledge of the problems to be addressed, the social, cultural, economic, and demographic contexts, and the status of past and present efforts to find workable solutions.

The principal objective of Battelle's Population and Development Policy (PDP) Program was to assist selected LDCs to improve their population policies in the interest of promoting socioeconomic progress. To accomplish this objective, Battelle established subcontract agreements with LDC institutions for the conduct and dissemination of research designed to increase LDC leaders' awareness and understanding of relationships between population dynamics and socioeconomic development, and to clarify needs and options for the improvement of national population policies.

This document is one of a series of PDP Final Country Reports. Each report provides an account of the rationale, procedures, and outcomes for PDP activities in a given country. These reports have evolved through several stages. Following initial discussions among Battelle staff, indigenous researchers and policymakers, USAID Mission and AID/Washington officials, a draft country strategy was prepared. That initial strategy provided a rationale for the selection of research topics and collaborating institutions, as well as a description of relevant country background conditions. Over the course of PDP work, the country strategy was revised as necessary, reflecting additions to the original project scope, progress toward completion of scheduled activities and events, and newly acquired background information. This country report constitutes the final revision of the PDP strategy. It adds to previous versions the results of the research undertaken, the organization and outcomes of dissemination efforts, and the effects of these activities on policymakers' understanding of population and development relationships and on national population policies and programs.

These country reports are intended to serve several purposes. First, they give a concise description of each country's demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. Second, they summarize the current status of population policies and programs, and provide an inventory of indigenous organizational and human resources for work in population. Third, each report presents substantive and policy-related results of one or more research projects. Finally, these reports offer practical guidelines for increasing awareness of population issues and strengthening the linkages among researchers, policymakers, and planners.

## 2. Chronological Overview of PDP Activities in Senegal

Senegal is one of the most important countries in West Africa and is a priority USAID country. Moreover, considerable attention has been given to population questions within Senegal in the wake of the results of the 1976 census. Relevant developments and circumstances which resulted in efforts to develop a PDP project in Senegal are described in more detail later in this document, particularly in sections A-4 and B-1.

The Battelle PDP Project in Senegal extended from December 1981 through May 1983 and produced three seminars. The seminars were devoted to Islam and Family Planning; Legal Support for Implementing a Policy to Reduce Fertility in Senegal (including Women's Attitudes Regarding Fertility and Family Planning in rural and urban areas), and Women, Fertility, and Contraception in Rural Senegal. As shown in the work plan on the next page, support was provided by Battelle staff to develop research projects, present findings in written form, organize symposia, and diffuse and publish seminar proceedings.

### A. BACKGROUND

#### (1) Adequacy of Population and Development Information

The availability of valid and reliable population and development data is an important component of the population policy formation process. In Senegal, the first modern census was conducted in April 1976. It was closely followed, in 1978, by the Enquête Sénégalaise sur la Fécondité (WFS). Prior to these data collection efforts, a National Demographic Sample Survey (NDSS) was undertaken from 1960-61, to cover such demographic and socioeconomic characteristics as sex, age, fertility, marital status, migration, spatial distribution, ethnic composition, religion, educational attainment, and occupational status. During 1970-71, a Fertility Survey was conducted, which responded to critical unmet needs to measure fertility levels. It also collected information on topics similar to those covered in the NDSS, but based on two visits to each household rather than one.

Prior to April 1976, nearly all statistical and demographic data collection activities were centralized in Dakar. Since that time, however, data have been collected at the following four levels (excluding civil registration as discussed above):

- the central level, by the Direction de la Statistique which has been in existence since colonialization and is the only national body responsible for data collection and processing;
- the ministerial level, encompassing different governmental offices which collect and publish statistics on specific topics;
- the regional level, by regional statistical offices, and

Work Plan and Schedule of Activities: Senegal, December 1981- April 1983

TYPE OF ACTIVITY	TIME														
	1981				1982										1983
	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN-MAY	
<u>Research</u> 1. Proposal Development	Islam														
	Legal														
	Rural														
	Urban														
2. Review of Literature and Development of Outlines				Rural											
				Urban											
3. Research Activity and Writing				Islam											
				Legal											
				Rural											
				Urban											
4. Finalized Version of Paper(s) for Publication					Islam								Legal		
													Rural		
													Urban		
<u>Deliverables</u>															
1. Outline of Research/ Analysis Plans					4/16 Rural Urban										
2. Progress Report I (statement describing research activities)					4/16 Islam		8/30 Legal Rural Urban								
3. Progress Report II (with initial draft of paper(s))									9/1 Legal Rural Urban						
4. Final Report (summary of project accomplishments and final version of paper(s))							6/30 Islam							1/31 Legal Rural Urban	
<u>Symposium</u>															
					Islam								Legal Rural Urban	Women	
<u>Country Visits</u>															
1. Development of Core Project Activities	Islam Legal Rural Urban		Islam Urban												
2. Project Monitoring/ Technical Assistance			Legal Rural		Legal Rural Urban		Legal Rural Urban			Legal Rural Urban					
3. Attendance of Symposium					Islam								Legal Rural Urban	Women	

Code:

- Islam = Islam and Family Planning
- Legal = Legal Support for Implementing a Policy to Reduce Fertility in Senegal
- Rural = Women's Attitudes Regarding Family Planning
- Urban = Women's Attitudes Regarding Fertility and Family Planning
- Women = Women, Fertility and Contraception in Rural Senegal

- the town/city level, i.e., the registration of births, marriages, and deaths which is theoretically compulsory. Unfortunately, however, the registration of vital events is far from complete. Reasons such as ignorance of the legal requirement for registration of events, confusion as to the location of the nearest registration center, inaccessibility of registration centers, and lack of personnel and forms can be cited to account for the prevalence of incomplete registration. Measures are being taken by the Direction de la Statistique to render Senegal's registration more efficient, e.g., the organization of a mass information campaign, and increasing the number of secondary registration centers and personnel.

Generally, with respect to availability and quantity of its population and development data, Senegal is not unlike most African countries. One serious constraint to analysis is the lack of adequate historical statistics prior to 1976. There is a particularly acute dearth of mortality data, including data on infant and child mortality. Macro-data are urgently needed to measure per capita income, dependency ratios, the availability of health services, and to determine educational, housing, and nutritional requirements of the population. Progress is slowly being made to supplement these weaknesses in the area of data collection, primarily through expansion of administrative structures and the assistance of international donors. Clearly, until such efforts are made to optimize accuracy in the measurement of population and development parameters, it is unlikely that effective and appropriate policy measures can be taken.

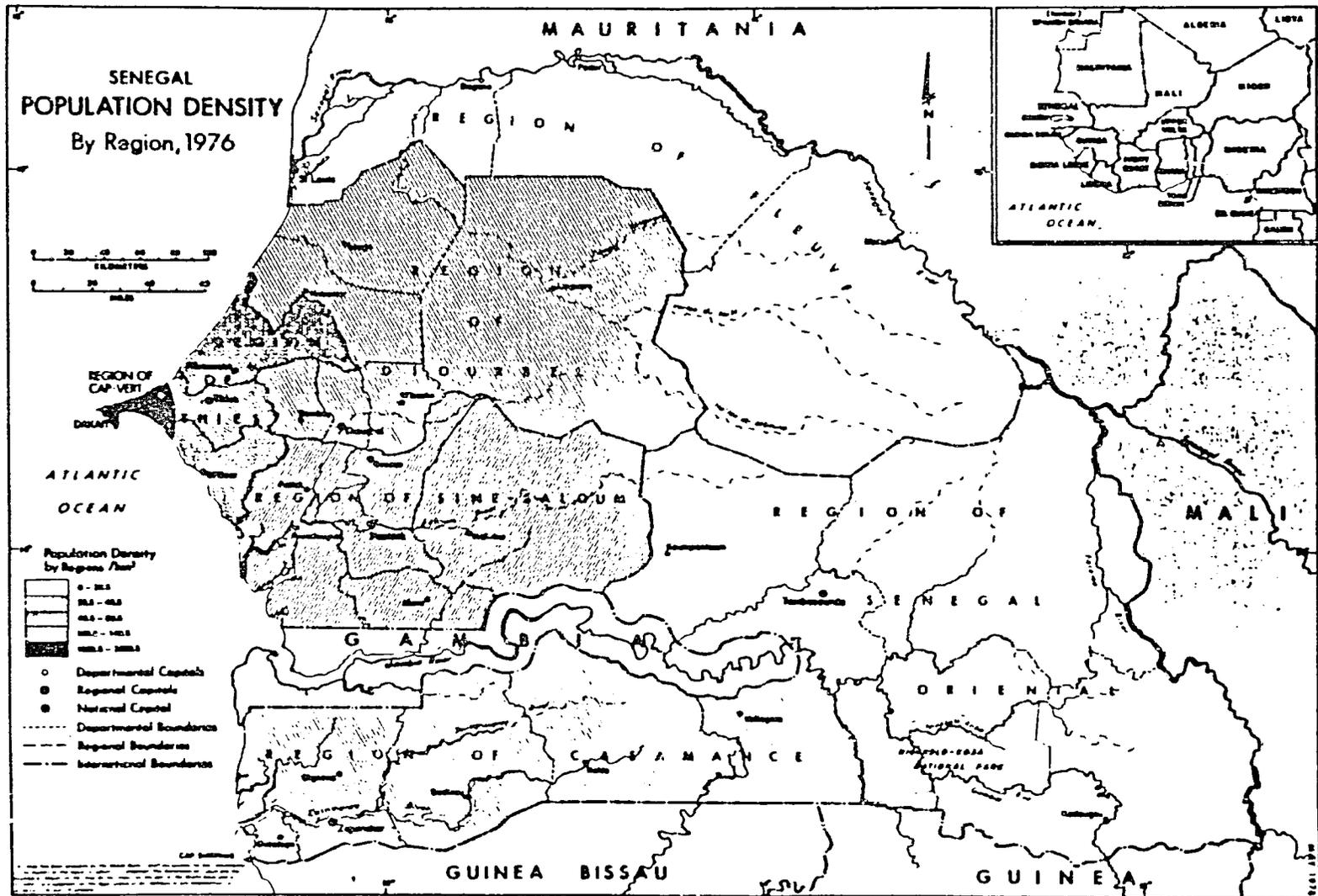
## (2) Population Characteristics and Trends

### (a) General Characteristics

The Republic of Senegal is named after the Senegal river which delineates the country's northern border with Mauritania. It is the most westerly state of Africa and has an extensive Atlantic coastline. The Falene River defines the eastern border with Mali, and Guinea and Guinea-Bissau bound it to the South. Gambia, now part of the Sene-Gambia Federation, forms an enclave of 10,000 square kilometers along the Gambia River in the Southern part of Senegal. Senegal covers a total land area of 196,192 square kilometers which range in topography from flat, arid Sahelian plains characterizing most of the country, to intensively cultivated river-basins and tropical rain-forests. Dakar, its capital, is located on the Atlantic and serves as the country's center of economic and administrative activities.

According to Senegal's first modern census, the population size in April 1976, was 5.1 million. It is a young population in that 48 percent is under age 15 while only 3 percent is over age 65. Senegal is one of the most highly urbanized countries in Africa, with more than 30 percent of the population living in urban areas. The extremely uneven regional distribution of its population is illustrated in Table 1. While the population density for the country as a whole is 26 inhabitants per square kilometer, this figure reaches a high of 1,970 inhabitants per square kilometer in the Cap-Vert region in

Figure 1. Population Density in Senegal by Region: 1976



Source: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank. 1978. Cartography Division. Washington, D.C.

TABLE 1  
TOTAL POPULATION AND DENSITY  
BY REGION IN SENEGAL, 1976

Region	Total Population (thousands)	Percent Distribution	Density per Square Kilometer
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
Sénégal Oriental	286	5.6	4.8
Siné-Saloum	1,008	19.8	42.1
Thies	699	13.7	105.9

Source: Zachariah, K.C., Julien Condé, and N.K. Nair. 1980.  
Demographic Aspects of Migration in West Africa. Vol. 2.  
World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 415.  
Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. Page S.5

(Based on Sénégal. Direction de la Statistique. 1976.  
"Resultats Provisoires du Recensement Général de la  
Population d'Avril 1976." Dakar. Unpublished paper.)

which Dakar is located. Senegal Oriental has the lowest population density with less than five persons per square kilometer. In general, the density of population decreases as one moves away from Dakar and from the Atlantic Coast.

Senegal's population is characterized by ethnic and linguistic diversity. The 1976 census reveals that Senegal's major ethnic group, the Oulof, represents 40 percent of the population, followed by the Serere (19 percent), the Peul (12 percent), the Toucouleur (9 percent), and the Diola and the Mandingue (together totaling 15 percent). While French is the official language used in government, education, and communication, it is by no means the national language since only a minority of the population understands or speaks it, and only 10 percent are literate in that language. On the other hand, Oulof is spoken by one-third of the Senegalese and is frequently used in public and ceremonial occasions.

Contrasting with the ethnic and linguistic diversity, religious beliefs and practices are relatively uniform in that 90 percent of the Senegalese are Muslims, with the remaining 10% composed of Christians (6 percent) or Animists (4 percent). While state and religion are officially separate (Senghor, the first President of Senegal, was Christian) the Muslim religious leaders (Marabouts) possess considerable traditional political authority and have a significant impact on cultural and social norms.

#### (b) Population Parameters

(i) Population growth rate. That Senegal's population is growing rapidly is not contested. How rapidly is the question that has been debated for some time by national and international demographers and was addressed most recently at a meeting of the Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPO) during 17-18 February, 1982. The debate began when the 1976 census results demonstrated a total population size about 15 percent larger than that anticipated from estimates derived from earlier surveys. Indeed, the Demographic Survey of 1960-61 suggested a population growth rate of 2.2 percent, and the Fertility Survey of 1970-71, a rate of 2.7 percent. The 1976 estimate of 2.9 percent is currently used by the Ministry of Plan. Other official and unofficial Senegalese estimates range from 2.6 percent to as high as 3.3 percent. The figure most often cited in the international literature is that of 2.6 percent which is based on the 1978 WFS data. Given an annual growth rate of 2.6 percent, the estimated population size of Senegal in 1981 would be 5.8 million. It would take 27 years for the population to double and its projected size for the year 2000 would be 9.7 million (see Table 2).

(ii) Fertility. According to the 1978 Enquête Sénégalaise sur la Fécondité (WFS), the crude birth rate in Senegal is 48 births per thousand population. Comparing this figure with the results from previous surveys indicates that fertility has remained more or less constant over the last thirty years. Fertility levels do not vary much among socioeconomic classes. Urban-rural differentials are small, urban fertility levels are slightly lower than those in rural areas. Fertility does, however, vary across ethnic groups, with the Peul women having lower fertility than women from other groups.

TABLE 2

SELECTED DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL INDICATORS  
FOR SENEGAL, CIRCA 1980

1.	<u>Population Size</u>	
	Population Estimate, mid-1982 (millions) <sup>a</sup>	5.9
	Population Projected for 2000 (millions) <sup>a</sup>	9.7
	Average Annual Rate of Natural Increase, 1975-80 (percent) <sup>b</sup>	2.6
	Number of Years to Double Population (at current rate) <sup>a</sup>	27
2.	<u>Fertility</u>	
	Crude Birth Rate, 1979 (per 1,000) <sup>c</sup>	48
	Total Fertility Rate, 1979 <sup>c</sup>	6.5
	Net Reproduction Rate, 1980 <sup>d</sup>	1.97
3.	<u>Mortality</u>	
	Crude Death Rate, 1979 (per 1,000) <sup>c</sup>	21
	Infant Mortality Rate, 1978-79 (per 1,000 live births) <sup>e</sup>	160
	Average Life Expectancy at Birth, 1980 (in years) <sup>d</sup>	
	Females	44.1
	Males	40.9
4.	<u>Migration</u> - (see Table 2.)	
5.	<u>Nuptiality</u>	
	Mean Age of Women at First Marriage, 1978 (in years) <sup>l</sup>	16
	Percentage of Women in Union, Aged 15-19 Years <sup>m</sup>	42
	Percentage of Women in Union, Aged 15-44 Years <sup>m</sup>	79
6.	<u>Age Structure</u>	
	Percentage of Women in Reproductive Age Group, 1980 (aged 15-49 years) <sup>f</sup>	45
	Population Under 15 Years of Age, 1978 (percent) <sup>g</sup>	45
	Population Over 64 Years of Age, 1978 (percent) <sup>e</sup>	3
	Total Dependency Ratio, 1980 (per 1,000) <sup>d</sup>	879.1
7.	<u>Spatial Distribution</u>	
	Urban Population, 1980 (percent) <sup>d</sup>	30.8
	Urban Population Living in Metropolitan Areas (500,000 persons) <sup>m</sup> 1980 (percent) <sup>c</sup>	65
	Population Density, 1980 (per square kilometer) <sup>d</sup>	25
8.	<u>Labor Force</u>	
	Percentage of Population Aged 15-64 Years Who Are Economically Active, 1980 <sup>n</sup>	
	Female	54
	Male	89
	Percentage of Labor Force in Agriculture, 1979 <sup>c</sup>	76
	Women as Percentage of Total Labor Force, 1980 <sup>h</sup>	38
	Average Annual Growth Rate of Labor Force, 1970-80 (percent) <sup>c</sup>	1.9
9.	<u>Education</u>	
	Adults Literate, 1975 (percent) <sup>i</sup>	
	Female	1
	Male	10
	Percentage Enrolled in School, 6-11 Years of Age, 1975 <sup>j</sup>	
	Female	21
	Male	35
	Percentage Enrolled in Higher Education, 20-24 Years of Age, 1977 <sup>k</sup>	2
10.	<u>Health and Nutrition</u>	
	Population per Nurse or Midwife, 1980 <sup>m</sup>	1.393
	Per Capita Calorie Supply as Percentage of Requirements, 1977 <sup>o</sup>	95
	Percentage of Population without Access to Safe Water Supply, 1975 <sup>p</sup>	63
11.	<u>Religion</u>	
	Percentage of Population which is Muslim <sup>n</sup>	90

Notes for Table 2

- <sup>a</sup> Population Reference Bureau. 1982. World Population Data Sheet. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau. (Based on recent census or most recent official Senegalese or UN estimate. Current estimates prepared by PRB.)
- <sup>b</sup> Ibid. (Birth Rate minus death rate. Birth and death rates refer to 1975-80 period, as employed in the medium variant projections and estimates assessed by the UN in 1978).
- <sup>c</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank. 1982. World Development Report. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- <sup>d</sup> United Nations Fund for Population Activities. 1978. Senegal--Report of Mission on Needs Assessment for Population Assistance. Report Number 4. New York: United Nations. (Data from medium variant of population projections.)
- <sup>e</sup> World Population Data Sheet. Op.cit.
- <sup>i</sup> Population Reference Bureau. 1980 World Women's Data Sheet. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau. (Data from UN 1978 Assessment.)
- <sup>h</sup> Ann Larson. 1981. Fertility and the Status of Women. Washington, D.C.: Population Reference Bureau. (ILO labor force estimate for 1980.)
- <sup>l</sup> World's Children's Data Sheet. (Data from UNESCO Statistical Yearbook for most recent year available, could refer to a date prior to 1975.)
- <sup>j</sup> World's Women Data Sheet. Op.cit. (Data from UNESCO, Office of Statistics.)
- <sup>k</sup> International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank. 1981. Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa.--An Agenda for Action. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.
- <sup>l</sup> République du Sénégal. Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances. Direction de la Statistique. 1980. Enquête Sénégalaise sur la Fécondité--1978. Dakar: Ministère de l'Economie et des Finances.
- <sup>m</sup> Ann Larson. Op. cit.
- <sup>n</sup> Ferry, Benoît. 1981. "The Senegalese Surveys." In Hilary H. Page and Ron Lesthaeghe (eds). Child-Spacing in Tropical Africa. London: Academic Press.
- <sup>o</sup> World's Children Data Sheet. Op. cit. (Based on UN FAO estimate.)
- <sup>p</sup> Ibid. (Data from WHO.)

In his analysis of the Senegalese Surveys, B. Ferry (1981) qualifies the lack of significant urban-rural differentials by noting differences in the age patterns of fertility for rural and urban women. Age-specific fertility rates tend to be higher in rural than in urban areas for younger age groups but lower for the older age groups. Ferry hypothesizes that this pattern is determined by the younger age at first intercourse characteristic of rural areas.

Fertility levels such as those found in Senegal, where the total fertility rate is 6.5 children per woman, are typical of countries where modern contraception is used infrequently. Indeed, only one percent of the women included in the WFS sample mentioned having ever used a modern contraceptive method. Traditional birth spacing practices, particularly prolonged breastfeeding, are more prevalent. According to WFS data, the average lactation duration for the country as a whole is 20 months. However, a trend away from breastfeeding is implied by the emerging positive relationship between mother's age and lactation duration. The average nursing duration in urban areas is 17.6 months as compared to 21.1 months for rural areas. (Nursing duration is also negatively related to level of education of the mother.) These changes in nursing patterns could potentially lead to an increase in fertility levels if the loss in natural fertility control is not compensated by increased use of more modern birth spacing mechanisms. Changes in breastfeeding patterns could also lead to increased infant and child mortality if mothers switch to bottle feeding.

(iii) Mortality. While Senegalese fertility has been studied systematically, national level data on mortality are almost nonexistent, and those which are available are inconsistent and considered unreliable by most demographers. In spite of these obstacles to exact measurement, all evidence points to high levels of infant and child mortality. The former is estimated for the whole country at 160 per 1,000 live births for 1978-79, a figure comparable to that found in neighboring nations. As can be seen in Table 2, the average life expectancy at birth for 1980 is estimated at 44 years for women and 41 years for men. The crude death rate is estimated at 21 per 1,000 population for 1979. There is some indication that infant as well as crude mortality rates vary regionally and are lower in urban areas.

(iv) Migration. While the Senegalese population has always been very mobile, recent climatic disasters have exacerbated the rural exodus creating subsequent problems of urbanization. Table 3 clearly indicates that, for the period 1960-70, the main receiving area was Cap-Vert, with Dakar now growing at an annual rate of 7 percent. As three-fourths of the economically active population is employed in agriculture, the bulk of the population is highly vulnerable to environmental and climatic variations portending a continuation of high rates of rural-to-urban migration. The upward trend of interregional lifetime migration is documented. In 1960, 330,000 people moved permanently, compared with 503,000 people in 1970, an increase of 53 percent. Unpublished census data indicate that this pattern continued in the 1970's; Senegal exhibits an unusual but significant pattern of population movement. The new agricultural projects located in Senegal Oriental attract a considerable number of both national and foreign migrants.

TABLE 3

NET INTERNAL AND INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION  
BY REGION IN SENEGAL, 1960-70  
(in thousands)

Region	(1) Net Internal Migration	(2) Net International Migration	(3) Net Migration (1) + (2)
Cap-Vert	+124	+ 4	+128
Casamance	- 16	-26	- 42
Diourbel	- 25	+29	+ 4
Fleuve	- 46	+ 5	- 41
Sénégal Oriental	+ 13	+43	+ 56
Siné-Saloum	- 58	-50	-108
Thies	<u>+ 8</u>	<u>+28</u>	<u>+ 36</u>
TOTAL	-	+33	+ 33

Source: Zachariah, K.C., Julien Condé, and N.K. Nair. 1980. Demographic Aspects of Migration in West Africa. Vol. 2 World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 415. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank. Page S. 19.

- (Data from: (1) Sénégal. Ministère des Finances et des Affaires Economiques. Direction de la Statistique. 1974. Enquête Démographique Nationale 1970-71. Resultats Définitifs. Serie A. Vol 1. Dakar: Direction de la Statistique Page 4. (First round results.)
- (2) Sénégal. Ministère du Plan et du Développement. Service de la Statistique. 1964. Résultats de l'Enquête Démographique 1960-61. Données Régionales. Dakar. Service de la Statistique. Table 0.
- (3) Sénégal. Direction de la Statistique. n.d. Unpublished data from the 1970-71 National Demographic Survey.)

With regard to international migration, Senegal seems to be a receiving rather than a sending country, owing to its relatively favorable employment opportunities. The number of non-African immigrants, which rose steadily until 1960 (the year of Independence), has been declining over the last two decades. Immigrants, which represent only 6 percent of the 1971 population of Senegal, are distributed unevenly within the country. Forty-six percent are settled in the Casamance region which borders Guinea Bissau and Gambia, 19 percent are in Cap-Vert and Sine Saloum, respectively, and 11 percent are in Senegal Oriental.

At the same time, a number of Senegalese leave the country to work elsewhere in West Africa (principally in the Ivory Coast) or in France. The majority are young males who migrate for short periods of time and are likely to return with most of their earnings. Therefore, on the whole, external migration appears to be economically advantageous to Senegal and does not seem to have greatly affected population growth at the national level.

To summarize, there are three main population problems that adversely affect development in Senegal today: (1) rapid population growth mainly caused by high levels of fertility, (2) high levels of infant and child mortality which are related to high fertility, and (3) the uneven spatial distribution of the population.

### (3) Development Characteristics and Trends

#### (a) The Economy

A recent publication of the World Bank, "Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan Africa" (1981), analyzes in some detail the current economic crisis that has been crippling the vast majority of African countries during the past two decades. The study points to slow economic growth, deteriorating agricultural production coinciding with rapid population growth, balance of payment deficits and other fiscal crises as the main indicators of Africa's deep economic difficulties. Senegal is no exception to this grim picture of current economic status and development prospects in Africa (see Table 4). The causes of the poor economic performance of African countries in general, and Senegal, in particular, stem from both internal/structural and external conditions. In part, Senegal's economic growth between 1960 and 1977 (only 2.6 percent per year) can be explained by its paucity of natural resources. Indeed, Senegal has a very limited economic base which consists primarily of the cultivation of groundnuts for export. Other resources include excellent fishing potential, limited phosphate deposits and some iron ore deposits that could become exploitable in the late 1980's. Moreover, there is potential for large-scale irrigation.

Thus, Senegal's economy is basically agricultural even though, by African standards, it is a semi-industrialized country. Whereas the direct contribution of agriculture to GDP is only 29 percent, secondary (24%) and tertiary (40%) sector activities are very closely related to agricultural production. In a normal year, agricultural exports account for more than half of the total export earnings. Moreover, 75 percent of the labor force is employed in the agricultural sector, 10 percent in industry and 14 percent in services.

TABLE 4  
SELECTED ECONOMIC INDICATORS  
FOR SENEGAL, CIRCA 1980

1. <u>Gross National Product</u>	
Per Capital Gross National Product, 1979 (\$US)	430
Average Annual Growth of GNP per Capita, 1960-79 (percent)	-0.2
2. <u>Gross Domestic Product</u>	
Gross Domestic Product, 1979 (millions of \$US)	2,480
Average Annual Growth of GDP, 1970-79	2.5
Percentage of GDP in Industry, 1979	24
Percentage of GDP in Agriculture, 1979	29
Percentage of GDP in Services, 1979	47
3. <u>Average Annual Growth Rate of Production</u>	
Average Annual Growth Rate of Total Production of Agriculture per Capita, 1969-71 to 1977-79	
Food	-0.7
Nonfood	0.5
Total	-1.5
Average Growth Rate of Volume of Agricultural Production, 1969-71 to 1977-79	
Food	1.0
Nonfood	11.3
Total	1.1
4. <u>Structure of Imports and Exports</u>	
Share of merchandise exports, 1978 (percent)	
Fuels, minerals and metals	13
Other primary commodities	80
Manufactured goods	7
Share of merchandise Imports, 1978 (percent)	
Food	23
Fuels	12
Other primary commodity	21
Machinery and transport equipment	18
Other manufactures	26
5. <u>Debt</u>	
Public and Publicly Guaranteed Private Debt Outstanding and Disbursed, 1979 (millions of \$US)	
Official sources	477.0
Private Sources	261.5
Total	738.5
6. <u>Inflation</u>	
Average Annual Rate of Inflation, 1970-79	7.6
7. <u>Energy</u>	
Average Annual Growth Rate of Energy Consumption, 1974-79 (percent)	12.4
Energy Consumption per capita, 1979 (kilograms of coal equivalent), 1979	266

Source: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/  
The World Bank. 1981. Accelerated Development in Sub-Saharan  
Africa - An Agenda for Action. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Due to the slow expansion of its economic base, the Government of Senegal (GOS) has had to depend largely on income from groundnut cultivation to support the other sectors of its economy. The resulting monoculture became a serious problem when groundnut production fell after 1968 because of the Sahelian droughts (1968-73) and because the export of groundnut products lost the protection which had been enjoyed in the French market. Moreover, competition from such substitutes as palm oil and soybeans increased at that time. Thus, annual groundnut production fell from an average of 960,000 tons during 1961-68 to 740,000 tons in 1969-74, an annual decline of 2.7 percent. Meanwhile, the rural population increased at 2 percent per year which independently affected the volume of exports as more and more of the groundnut production was consumed locally. Another set-back was the tightening of trade restrictions imposed by developed countries to prevent aflatoxin contamination of groundnut cakes. These measures raised the cost of groundnut production and processing. Even though these problems have been further exacerbated by other droughts in the late 1970s and early 1980s, resulting in a negative rate of export growth (from 1.2 percent for 1960-70 to -0.8 for 1970-79), the groundnut sector remains the most profitable large-scale production in Senegal today.

Because it inherited an unevenly developed and dualistic economy, the GOS has until recently accorded higher priority to modifying the economic structure of the country than to accelerating its economic growth. The GOS has, to a large extent, successfully "Senegalized" modern trade and industry. In addition, the GOS has promoted industrialization based on import substitution and processing of domestic raw materials. Measured in world prices, however, production in Senegal has been too expensive to allow exports to compete successfully in the world market, thereby discouraging investment by the private sector. As a result, the public sector has become severely overextended, particularly considering the limited financial resources available and the lack of skilled labor.

Analogous to the situation prevailing in many developing countries, the principal externally-induced economic problem relates to energy. As an oil-importing country, Senegal was hit especially hard by the drastic energy price hikes that occurred in the 1970s. Its balance of payments deficit, which in 1970 was \$14 million, increased in 1979 to \$436 million, or 51 percent of exports. Senegal reached an important turning point in 1979 when the GOS, in the face of economic crisis, introduced before the National Assembly a major reform plan aiming at financial improvement and accelerated growth through the transformation of key sectors of the economy. Overall, the reform will entail the progressive disengagement of the government from the economy and therefore an increase of private sector activity. In addition to macroeconomic measures, the plan proposes major reforms in agricultural institutions and policies in order to increase and diversify production and trade. Senegal's Sixth Five-Year Plan (1981-85) is in direct support of the reform. These new measures were formulated after consultations with the major donors, i.e., France, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and the United States, and received strong, immediate support from the donor community, thus ensuring extraordinary international economic assistance, at least for the first few years.

## (b) Human Resources

The vast majority of Senegalese are poor. Although the poverty line annual income defined by AID is \$400 (1969 dollars), 75% of the incomes of Dakar's residents fall below that line, and 65% of the rural population has an annual per capita income of \$150.

High infant mortality and low life expectancy are evidence of the low nutritional and health status of the population. Per capita daily intake in rural areas is estimated at 2,000 calories which is 15-20 percent below international standards. The caloric intake drops an additional 10-15 percent during the rainy season between June and October. In the past, nutrition problems were viewed within a narrow public health perspective rather than as a key issue in planning policies to increase overall development potential. The Fifth National Plan (1977-81) acknowledges the importance of nutrition as a target for overall development plans by proposing a series of measures which are further detailed in the GOS Food Investment Strategy covering the period 1977-85. It should be stressed that such a strategy is a pioneering attempt among the Sahelian countries to integrate nutrition requirements into national development policies.

Reaching self-sufficiency for food has become a long-range goal for Senegal since the Sahelian droughts of the late 1960's and early 1970's. High population growth rates have exacerbated the problem of food shortage to the point that Senegal is now importing annually 300,000 metric tons of rice and 100,000 metric tons of wheat. Food represents 23 percent of Senegal's imports. Past efforts of the GOS to increase local food production have had mixed success. With significant shifts in approach and emphasis, the GOS is indicating a new commitment to achieving food self-sufficiency and raising nutritional and health standards.

Lack of public funds resulting from sluggish economic growth partly explains the decreasing level of expenditures on health care during the 1970s: annual expenditures went from 9 percent of the total 1970 budget to 6.2 percent of the 1979-80 budget. Meanwhile, health care in Senegal remains insufficient, especially outside of Dakar where about 80 percent of the population has no access to health services. Infants and children are generally the most vulnerable to diseases because of malnutrition during the pre-harvest season when food is scarce. Diarrheal diseases are major causes of death among children, particularly during the rainy season. Malaria is another leading killer which affects about 70 percent of the population at any given time. River blindness or schistosomiasis is also endemic in the southern river valleys. The GOS is currently developing a Primary Health Care strategy with a stated goal of providing health care to all by the year 2000.

In contrast with health care, education has been a top priority for the GOS since independence. Total expenditures for education currently represent about 25 percent of Senegal's total budget. Between 1963-64 and 1975-76, recurrent expenditures for education increased at a rate of 10.4 percent per year, rising from 14 percent of total recurrent expenditures to 22 percent, which remains the current level. With this spending effort, the government has created a public education system of relatively high efficiency and good

academic standards. However, despite GOS efforts, primary school enrollment ratios are falling in most rural areas. This trend was uncovered only recently; the 1976 census revealed that the number of school-aged children had been vastly underestimated in previous surveys. There are two main explanations for this trend. First, the primary school curriculum is not very relevant to rural life. Secondly, public schools are competing with Koranic religious education which is widely available throughout the country. The number of adult Senegalese in rural areas who have received only Koranic education is about ten times higher than those with some public school education, a ratio which still prevails among school age children in some regions. The GOS has also attempted to emphasize post-primary education to meet the needs of the modern sector. However, because of lack of funds, the government now aims to achieve universal primary education in one generation.

#### (4) Status of Population Policy Formulation and Political/Social Climate for Population Policy

There was no official concern about population pressure in Senegal until the results of the 1976 census revealed a much more rapid rate of population growth than had been expected. Population issues then began to be recognized as integral parts of socioeconomic development planning. Throughout his report on general policy presented to the Party Congress held in December 1976, President Senghor emphasized the implications of rapid population growth for structural unemployment, food production and consumption, school facilities and other social needs, and recommended the adoption of a family planning program focused initially on urban areas. He also stressed that rural exodus could be reduced by increasing rural incomes at a faster pace than urban ones. The growing concern over population issues prompted the GOS to identify in the Fifth Economic and Social Development Plan (1977-81) infant, child and maternal mortality, uneven regional population distribution, and rural outmigration as constituting major obstacles to Senegalese development. However, the Plan does not recommend the formulation of an official population policy.

Institutional arrangements for the integration of population within development planning emerged in October 1979 when an Executive Order of President Senghor established the Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPOPOP) within the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation. CONAPOPOP is composed of representatives of nearly all ministries, various women's organizations, and other paragonovernmental institutions. The Minister of Planning and Cooperation serves as the President of the Commission. CONAPOPOP's mission is twofold: (1) to promote the integration of demographic variables into the economic and social development planning of Senegal and (2) to formulate an official population policy. The Executive Secretariat of CONAPOPOP has undertaken the task of promoting, encouraging, and coordinating the research necessary to accomplish this goal. The Ministry of Finance and Public Affairs is also directly involved in population policy research, since it encompasses a Statistics Division which carries out most government sponsored demographic studies.

One of CONAPOP's first endeavors was a report on population and development in Senegal prepared for its first meeting in May 1980 by the researchers appointed to the Executive Secretariat. The document was subsequently revised for the second meeting of CONAPOP in February 1982. The report examines in some detail the impact of population growth on education, health, housing needs, employment structure, and GDP. The analysis leads to the specification of population-related recommendations that would alleviate the adverse effects of population growth on development. A second document, prepared for CONAPOP's 1982 meeting, focuses more specifically on the formulation of a population policy for Senegal. Policies aimed at lowering fertility and monitoring migratory movements are proposed. However, issues related to mortality are not addressed. While these two reports take a comprehensive approach to population policy by including a variety of measures to affect fertility and migration, the discussion of the reports at the February 1982 meeting of CONAPOP focused on family limitation and family planning programs.

The very recent establishment of a Division du Bien-Etre Familial (DBEF) within the Secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion Humaine (SEPH) represents another official endorsement of population-related activities. The GOS has given Madame Maimouna Kane, the Secrétaire d'Etat à la Promotion Humaine, primary responsibility for all family planning initiatives, including the development of a National Family Planning Program. The Ministry of Health (MOH), on the other hand, exercises direct control over the majority of clinical facilities where family planning services will be delivered.

In addition to the establishment of CONAPOP and DBEF, two other significant changes in the official position on population policy have occurred. The 1979 repeal of the French colonial law of 31 July 1920 prohibiting abortion and dissemination of contraceptives was essential to the implementation of population programs. Soon after contraceptive distribution became legalized, the GOS reactivated the Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ASBEF), an IPPF-affiliated institution which promotes contraception throughout Senegal and manages, in Dakar, two pilot clinics where family planning services are delivered.

Last but not least, the USAID-sponsored Family Health Care Bilateral Project, originally designed in 1979, is finally being implemented after an extended delay. The main goal of the program is to assist, over a period of five years, the GOS in integrating medically sound and culturally acceptable family planning services in Senegal's existing maternal and child health program. A senior official from SEPH will be directing the project management team which will include technicians from the MOH and a USAID-financed contract team.

#### (5) Population Intervention Programs

Until December 1979, the French Law of 1920 forbidding the sale and publicity of contraceptives prohibited their large scale distribution and use. Even so, during the late 1960s and 1970s, contraceptives were distributed unofficially at the Croix Bleue Clinic, Le Dantec Hospital, the Medina dispensary, and other maternity clinics and dispensaries. Furthermore, contraceptives were sold at pharmacies and were prevalent on the black market. Therefore, prior

to 1980, official population "intervention" programs were concerned primarily with maternal and child health care, pre-natal consultation, delivery, post-natal care, and midwife training.

Since the repeal of the law, the Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familiale (ASBEF) has initiated family planning service delivery with the help of international donors (IPPF, USAID, etc.). The Secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion Humaine is also taking an active role in promoting family planning programs. Maternal and child health clinics, dispensaries and hospitals are continuing to distribute contraceptives and may expand their efforts considerably now that the government has, in effect, allowed family planning activities. It is essential to keep in mind that, although contraceptive distribution programs now exist and will no doubt be expanded, rural women have had no access to modern family planning methods. Thus, any overall assessment of existing population intervention programs leads to the conclusion that, regardless of the status of current efforts, they have as yet had no impact on national fertility rates.

Just as in the case of family planning, intervention programs also have been implemented in many population-related areas, e.g., for a more even spatial distribution of the population. Especially since colonialization by the French, certain western zones have been prime receiving areas for immigration. During the 1960s, high population densities in the bassin where groundnuts are cultivated began to seriously restrict agricultural output. This situation contrasts with trends noted in Senegal Oriental where much arable land is underpopulated, in some cases with densities as low as three persons per square kilometer. To deal with these problems, the Direction de l'Aménagement du Territoire proposed certain "colonialization" projects for Senegal designed to attract immigrants over a period of 15 years. The first such project, "Pilote de Colonialisation MAKA", was included in the third national economic and social development plan. It was implemented in 1972 by the newly-formed Société des Terres Neuves (STN) and extended over three years. Its goal was to examine possibilities for developing new agricultural "villages." The second Terres Neuves project immediately followed the project Pilote de Colonisation MAKA and resettled 600 families.

The STN, a public entity under the direction of the Ministère du Développement Rural, currently holds responsibility for designing and executing internal migration projects in Senegal. STN's objective to control internal migratory flows is based on the observation over time that spontaneous migration leads to overworking of agricultural land, arbitrary upheaval of rural land tenure systems, and dangerously high population densities in the groundnut basin. With the aid of the press and radio, many migrant families were recruited for the two Terres Neuves projects described above, thereby improving agricultural practices and output, as well as creating new jobs. These successful results offer encouragement for further efforts in integrated rural development.

## (6) Activities of Donor Organizations

### (a) Bilateral Assistance

United States Agency for International Development (USAID). USAID supports several health and population projects in Senegal. The principal population

project is the five-year Family Health Project, although the Food for Peace program, the Sine Saloum Rural Health project, and the Casamance Regional Development project all have strong population- and health-related components. For three years, implementation of the Family Health Project was delayed by institutional conflicts between the two participating implementing agencies, the Ministry of Health and Promotion Humaine. The purpose of the project is to assist the Government of Senegal to establish a comprehensive family planning program in rural and urban areas by improving the availability and quality of services and by training selected health personnel in family planning techniques and service delivery. The program is to begin in the Dakar-Cap Vert region with the introduction of services in hospitals and MCH centers. The general strategy revolves around assessing, upgrading, and expanding current family planning service delivery. Considerable contraceptive support is anticipated, including condom distribution. Training of midwives, nurses, motivators/communicators, and other health service providers is a major component. Leadership and management training are also included.

#### (b) Multilateral Assistance

United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA). In 1979, a \$5.5 million budget for four years of UNFPA activities in Senegal was allocated. In general, UNFPA program support is not service oriented. Major UNFPA assistance has been provided to carry out three large-scale demographic surveys. The first modern population census was taken in April 1976 with UNFPA financial and technical assistance. UNFPA also contributed to the Senegalese Fertility Survey of 1978 and, more recently (October 1981) to a seminar where the survey results were presented to representatives of various government and private agencies. A third survey on population, migration and the labor force was carried out by the International Labor Office in 1979 with some UNFPA support. The UNFPA office in Dakar is promoting the distribution and utilization of the survey results. Also related to migration and labor force is a UNFPA project associated with the Direction de l'Aménagement du Territoire which attempts to promote the welfare of the population through improvement of population distribution and human settlements throughout the country. The project includes a variety of studies as well as mapping the changes in spatial distribution of the population.

An important component of overall UNFPA assistance to Senegal is the Unité de Population. A permanent resident advisor works with the Executive Secretariat of the National Population Commission (CONAPOPOP) to assist in the incorporation of population and other socioeconomic variables into the national development plan. Whether the Senegalese Unité de Population should be affiliated with CONAPOPOP or the Ministry of Planning has been a controversial issue. UNFPA has also initiated two projects which deal more directly with health service provisions. One, which has had difficulty moving forward, will provide training in family life and population education to community development agents. The second, the "CHODAK" project, is a more fully integrated community development project in a marginal suburb of Dakar (with a current population of 45,000) which is growing rapidly as a result of internal migration. In this pilot project, the community members themselves determine priority projects for development of the area, primarily in the areas of

health, nutrition and population. Currently, activities revolve around three major themes: improvements in living conditions of women and children, improvement of general living conditions, and improvement of resources. Finally, UNFPA supported a study of law and population by a sociologist and a lawyer which concluded with a seminar in November 1981. This study comprised the background for any detailed examination of the legal aspects of population change in Senegal.

(c) Non-Governmental Organization Assistance

1. Family Planning International Assistance (FPIA) provides various health institutions with family planning commodities.
2. The International Planned Parenthood Federation (IPPF) has recently established affiliation with the Association Senegalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familiale (ASBEF). Since Senegalese law now allows the distribution of contraceptives, ASBEF will become increasingly involved in family planning service delivery systems.
3. The Pathfinder Fund, in the past, provided funding for clinic renovation, equipment purchase, and staff training. Although there are no ongoing activities in Senegal, Pathfinder is considering two projects. One will add a family planning element to the "CHODAK" project currently funded through UNFPA, while the second will initiate income generating activities, such as animal husbandry, for rural women.
4. The Program for the Introduction and Adaptation of Contraceptive Technology (PIACT) has provided short-term consultants to Senegal to determine strategies for adaptation of appropriate contraceptive methods for the Senegalese population.
5. The Futures Group has given RAPID presentations which consist of a statistical video display of the future of various development sectors under alternative fertility and other assumptions. Two presentations have been made. The first was given in 1979 and the second in February 1982 at the meeting of the National Population Commission.
6. The Sahel Institute is undertaking a dual purpose survey to study economic activity and to collect fertility, nutrition and migration data.
7. The Research Triangle Institute is sponsoring research in the area of population and national development planning.

(7) Host Country Research Capabilities

In February and March 1981, the USAID team which traveled to Senegal to prepare the Multi-Year Population Strategy for USAID/Senegal undertook an in-depth survey of research institutions and capabilities. In effect, the team accomplished the activities normally undertaken by Battelle PDP during the first stages of work in any country. Because the strategy for Battelle PDP activities was based upon the assessments and findings of that report, the

following description of research capabilities in the population and development field in Senegal is drawn largely from the team's strategy document.

(a) Government Institutions

Bureau National du Recensement. The Bureau National du Recensement (BNR) is a department of the Division des Enquêtes et de la Démographie of the Ministry of Finance and Public Affairs. The BNR has been responsible for the 1976 Census, the 1978 Senegalese Fertility Survey and other smaller surveys, including the labor force survey undertaken in conjunction with the UNFPA and the ILO. The staff of the BNR is well trained and they have the capability to design, carry out and analyze most surveys. The BNR has, on many occasions, worked closely with the Ministry of Planning but, as yet, there is no established system for the BNR to encourage incorporation of population variables into the national planning process.

Commission Nationale de la Population. The Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPOPOP) was created, by presidential decree, in 1979 as a division of the Ministry of Planning and Cooperation. The purpose of CONAPOPOP is essentially two-fold: to assist in the incorporation of demographic and socioeconomic variables into the development planning of the Ministry and to formulate a national population policy for Senegal. The staff of CONAPOPOP is small, but they have access to other government research divisions and to government statistics. As such, CONAPOPOP can carry out some small-scale research projects with its own staff, but also has the capability and the mandate to collaborate with other public and private entities in order to conduct population-related research endeavors. Furthermore, CONAPOPOP has the capability to reach high level decision makers. All relevant ministries are members of the Commission and are therefore fully informed of the results of population research carried out by CONAPOPOP and other related institutions. Although the Commission is newly formed and its staff small, it is quite clearly the most appropriate institution for the Battelle PDP core project.

L'Aménagement du Territoire. The office of l'Aménagement du Territoire is a division of the the Ministry of Urban Affairs, Housing and the Environment. Regional planning takes place in this office and, as such, regional population projections are a key element of its activities. As pointed out in the USAID team's report, however, this office is a consumer rather than a producer of basic data, and is concerned primarily with village population concentration and demographic changes resulting from population movements. Although the UNFPA currently has in place a data analysis project with the office, it is one which limits attention to population distribution rather than studying all elements of population dynamics.

(b) Non-Governmental Institutions

University of Dakar. The University of Dakar is the most important private institution in Senegal with regard to social science research. The University has computer facilities and the best library in the country. However, like many university research centers in developing countries, it does not have a tradition of applied social science research and is rarely called upon to

undertake studies for policy makers in Senegal. Within the University, however, are several related research centers. The first, and certainly the best established, is the Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire (IFAN). Members of IFAN have been key participants in two recent population research projects. Mamadou Niang recently completed a study on law and population (funded by the UNFPA and described above). His report served as the starting point for the "Legal Studies" project supported by Battelle PDP. A prominent sociologist, Fatou Sow, made key contributions to the recently published extensive study on Senegambian migration. Although both of these studies have important implications for population research and policy, they are not representative of IFAN's traditional research which is primarily associated with social and cultural issues.

The Faculty of Economics has also contributed some population-related studies through its Centre de Recherche Economique Appliquée (CREA). In collaboration with the University of Michigan, the Centre carried out a migration survey in the Fleuve region of the country. Again, however, applied studies related to population and development are not priorities among the Economics Faculty.

Ecole Nationale d'Economie Appliquée. The Ecole Nationale d'Economie Appliquée (ENEA) is a consortium of five smaller schools with some emphasis on applied research. ENEA has undertaken studies on migration in certain areas of the country, but its contribution to overall knowledge of population dynamics in Senegal has thus far been limited.

Société Nationale d'Etudes du Développement. The Société Nationale d'Etudes du Développement (SONED) is a non-governmental, non-university research organization which is called upon by the government to perform background studies relevant to development planning. Therefore SONED has not thus far been involved in population research.

### (c) International Institutions

There are a variety of regional African institutes, located in Dakar, which undertake research and provide technical assistance in the general field of population and development. These include the Institute for Economic Development and Planning (IDEP), the Council for Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa (CODESRIA), the Organisme de Recherche sur l'Alimentation et la Nutrition Africaine (ORANA), the Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique d'Outre-Mer (ORSTOM), and the Environnement et Développement du Tiers Monde (ENDA). (The reader is referred to the report of the USAID strategy development team for details on these institutions.)

### (8) Population Assistance Opportunities and Needs

As mentioned earlier there are three main population problems that adversely affect development in Senegal today: (1) rapid population growth mainly caused by high levels of fertility, (2) high levels of infant and child mortality which is related to high fertility, and (3) uneven spatial distribution of the population. Even though officially acknowledged, the mechanisms through which development and population are related are not well understood by most policy

makers. There is therefore a need to widely disseminate what is known about Senegalese population trends to those who are in a position to incorporate that information into the programs and policies they design.

To address the need for dissemination of information, two UNFPA-funded seminars, one on the analysis of the 1978 WFS data and the other on the 1976 census results, were organized. The proceedings of the WFS seminar have been widely distributed. The seminar on the 1976 census took place in May 1982, and the proceedings were published and distributed to academicians and policy makers. Population and law was the topic of another UNFPA-funded symposium where demographic issues were discussed within a socio-economic context.

However important population-related research and dissemination of demographic information are, they have to be supplemented with direct interaction between policy makers and researchers to generate a dynamic process involving formulating and implementing a population policy. Providing a forum for discussion of population issues is crucial at this time when the political and social climate is conducive to changes in Senegalese population-related policies. Other themes that are directly relevant to population policy should similarly be addressed in symposia which can create a dialogue among policy makers and researchers.

In addition to the three problems already cited, specific assistance is needed:

- to train technicians capable of providing the GOS with the expertise required to make informed decisions about population policy objectives and implementation;
- to encourage coordination of work undertaken by different ministries involved with population policy activities; and
- to organize a family planning constituency to "lobby" for a population policy.

The provision of training is a very limited activity which could be accomplished by organizing courses for planners and demographers from the Ministries of Planning and Finance in, e.g., data processing and analysis, coding, and modeling. The process of coordination among different ministries could be strengthened through dissemination activities similar to those mentioned above, and also with intermediary foreign donor assistance. The organization of a family planning constituency is a continuous on-going process. A logical progression would be to work with Senegalese and women's groups, emphasizing the health benefits associated with the adoption of a population policy.

## B. THE BATTELLE PDP STRATEGY

### (1) Rationale for the Core Project

Some of the groundwork for developing a core project in Senegal was laid by Drs. Sarah Clark (USAID/Washington), James Knowles, Jean Lecomte and John B. Tomaro, who visited Dakar in February and March 1981, to elaborate a "Multi-Year Population Strategy" for the USAID Mission. Research institutions were reviewed at that time and their research capabilities assessed. The USAID team recommended that Battelle PDP collaborate with the Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPO) because of its potential impact on population policy formulation and its key role in integrating demographic variables in GOS development plans.

Battelle representatives Anne Kubisch and Moses Ebot concurred with that recommendation and began planning PDP activities with CONAPO during their visit to Senegal in May 1981. The change of Executive Secretary at the CONAPO caused some delay in finalizing Battelle core project activities. During her December 1981 trip to Senegal, Marie-Claire Rens further discussed PDP research activities with CONAPO's new Executive Secretary, Mr. Abd-el-Kader Faye, and a core project was designed.

The timing of Rens's first visit to Senegal had a definite impact on the selection of the general theme of the core project. Indeed the formulation of a population policy was discussed officially for the first time during the biennial meeting of the Commission Nationale de la Population on February 17th and 18th, 1982. This major breakthrough in the history of population policy development in Senegal was initiated by Mr. Faye who is very committed to CONAPO's mission. (The fact that he donated his time to coordinate the Battelle project is only one indicator of his commitment.) The concentration of Battelle research activities on topics directly relevant to policymakers concerned with demographic questions clearly reflects Faye's endeavor to bring about changes in Senegal's policies.

Two other population-related meetings held prior to December 1981 also influenced the development of the core project. One meeting was focused on the analysis of the SFS data, while the other addressed the theme of "Population and Law". Proceedings of the SFS seminar were not available in December, which made it difficult to plan additional analysis of that data set and therefore temporarily precluded the inclusion of research on fertility determinants among PDP activities.

The direct and very active participation of CONAPO in the second seminar on population and law reflected the strong interest of the Executive Secretary in following up the recommendations concluding that meeting. More specifically, two research themes were selected that were put forth as crucial for promoting changes in GOS policies vis-à-vis population growth: (1) Islam and Family Planning: a Senegalese Perspective, and (2) Legal Support for Implementing a Policy to Reduce Fertility.

The first topic is significant because Islam is probably one of the most important forces inhibiting the process of population policy formulation in

Senegal today. Indeed, religious leaders (Marabouts) possess considerable traditional political authority which allows them effectively to control cultural and social norms. The opposition expressed by some Marabouts regarding family planning has formed a stumbling block to implementing family planning programs at the national level. A national conference on Islam and Family Planning was seen by many as the appropriate action to attempt to remove this bottleneck thereby providing a forum for Islamists and Marabouts to exchange ideas on a topic that had never officially been discussed in Senegal.

The second research topic was considered important in order to highlight the pronatalist thrust of certain laws currently in effect in Senegal, and also to illustrate how researchers and policymakers can work in unison to understand and alter mechanisms which affect demographic trends and development.

A third theme, Women's Attitudes toward Family Planning, was investigated by two major women's organizations. Women's groups constitute a politically powerful national network which can potentially be organized into a family planning constituency. Therefore, their inclusion in the core project was important not only because of the questions they addressed, but also because of their potential impact at both the design and implementation stages of a population policy, particularly family planning programs.

The proposed research activities closely followed the guidelines for a model PDP core project. First, the research papers were specifically focused on a general theme, the formulation and implementation of a population policy for Senegal. Second, various dissemination activities were planned for 1982-83. Three symposia were held, one during 13-15 April 1982, the second during 15-18 November, and the third on 27 April 1983. The proceedings of the symposia were published and distributed widely among policymakers, government officials, and scholars who are national and international experts in such fields as sociology, law, demography, geography, medicine, statistics, and economics.

## (2) Description of the Core Project

### (a) Islam and Family Planning: A Senegalese Perspective

The Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ASBEF), a non-governmental institution affiliated with IPPF, organized, together with CONAPO, a seminar on the subject of "Islam and Family Planning." Although 90 percent of Senegal's population is Muslim, no national conference or seminar on that topic had ever been held. Despite the fact that the Koran does not specifically mention family planning, at least some Senegalese leaders point to the Koran as the source of their opposition to control of family size, thereby constituting a stumbling block to effective action. The organization of such a symposium was particularly timely since, in the past few years, some members of the international Islamic community have come to view family planning in a favorable light, and some Senegalese religious leaders (Marabouts) have likewise become more open to the idea of controlling family size.

ASBEF was the obvious institution to select for coordinating this project, since it has taken on the task of demonstrating the compatibility of family planning with the Islamic and Christian religions. Within the context of its objectives and concerns, ASBEF has maintained contact with religious authorities in order to harmonize the notion of family planning in Senegal with the sociocultural and religious values of its population. ASBEF's Executive Secretary, Mr. Khouraichi Thiam, personally conducted numerous interviews with Marabouts in urban and rural areas and therefore gathered detailed knowledge of the Senegalese Islamic community which allowed him to make a valuable contribution in selecting eminent Islamists and religious leaders to participate in the symposium.

This symposium was held during 13-15 April, 1982. Approximately 250 people attended this seminar, compared to the 40 expected to attend. Marabouts from all provinces of Senegal were invited to discuss four background papers presented by prominent Islamists. The seminar format proposed by the PDP program, where commentary follows the presentation of papers, was found to be particularly appropriate for ASBEF's objectives. Such a format highlighted an educational orientation for discussion of the topic. In addition, it provided an opportunity for expression of a variety of opinions on the topic, including explicit clarification of views by distinguished experts knowledgeable about Islam and family planning and capable of exerting major influences in future policy decision-making.

#### (b) Legal Support for Implementing a Policy to Reduce Fertility

As described earlier, the first official discussion regarding the formulation of a new Senegalese population policy to lower fertility was held at the biennial meeting of the Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPO) on 17-18 February, 1982. In order for such a policy to be effective, it is crucial that the present pronatalist tone of laws and regulations governing family life, social policy, and taxation be changed. The objective of the research project designed by CONAPO to provide impetus for this change was to provide policymakers with specific suggestions for revising family, social, and revenue policies. CONAPO reviewed official legal documents to identify specific components of laws that encourage high fertility, to quantify their demographic impact, and to propose legal measures and provisions that would instead promote lower fertility.

Demographers from the National Bureau of the Census and from CONAPO worked jointly with legal scholars to accomplish these tasks. Asking legal scholars to examine legal texts from a demographic perspective was definitely a new experience for them which raised their awareness of interactions existing between fertility and social, family, and fiscal regulations. Data from the 1976 Census and from the 1978 Senegalese Fertility Survey (WFS) were used to quantify the demographic impact of the laws under study and to simulate the demographic changes that can be anticipated with the implementation of the suggested revisions. The results of this investigation were presented and discussed in three major papers on social policy and fertility, family policy and fertility, and revenue policy and fertility, presented during the symposium held 15-18 November, 1982. One commission was formed to address each of these topics and to formulate policy recommendations based on the findings of the papers and discussions they generated.

### (c) Women's Attitudes Toward Family Planning

Fertility values and policies in Africa have traditionally been predominantly pronatalist. This remains true today owing to the perceived national priorities to develop human resources and increase the supply of labor, in the absence of rapid technological advancement. Unfortunately, the needs and aspirations of individuals have been neglected in the formulation of fertility policy in Africa. More specifically at issue, however, is the basic right of an individual to choose and realize a desired family size. Indeed, traditional African society is changing daily, and many changes are particularly evident in the evolving role of African women. Established norms for regulation and spacing of the number of births increasingly are being questioned. In addition, contraceptive information is becoming more accessible. Traditional means to space or limit the number of births, such as separation or sexual abstinence, are seen as impractical and inconvenient. For these reasons, it was considered timely and important to provide data which assess and describe the attitudes of individual women concerning fertility and contraception. Urban women are more directly touched by modernization and particularly appreciate the benefits afforded by contraception to alleviate numerous social and economic problems posed by a large family. However, the attitudes of rural women on this subject are not as well understood.

(i) Attitudes Among Rural Women. Conversations with policymakers and researchers suggest conflicting views about the level of demand for family planning services in rural Senegal. Some assume that there is little need for such services because they are not wanted. Others argue that there is growing anecdotal evidence challenging that assumption. Conducting such a survey in rural areas offered for the first time a way to systematically document attitudes toward fertility control outside of Dakar. The collection of data for this part of the study was justified by the crucial importance of the topic at a time when the GOS is slowly moving toward formulating a population policy.

The Association des Femmes Africaines pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFARD) was selected to carry out this study. AFARD surveyed women in selected rural regions representative of the wide-ranging ethnic and economic diversity of the country. Questionnaires were constructed and administered with the aid of medical personnel, religious leaders, government employees, and officials from the Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial, along with representatives from several women's associations. The results of the survey were analyzed and presented at the symposium held in November 1982. This study was planned to extend over eleven months, beginning the first of March and ending the 31st of January 1983.

(ii) Attitudes Among Urban Women. The Fédération des Associations Féminines du Senegal (FAFS) submitted a proposal to study fertility values and attitudes toward family planning among urban women. FAFS constitutes a politically powerful national network in that it encompasses 36 women's organizations including professional women's associations and cultural and social clubs. Because FAFS has organized seminars on issues relating to women which have had an impact on the recent amendments of some of the family laws, members of FAFS

are eager to become more involved in policy-oriented research to better document some of the problems they have identified in the field. However, because of their lack of research expertise, they engaged outside professionals to help them with this research project.

This topic is highly relevant because detailed data on women's attitudes toward fertility and family planning are necessary in order to design effective programs that will meet the needs of urban populations. The mounting evidence of an increased frequency of clandestine abortions and infanticide in the area of Dakar suggests that a number of pregnancies are undesired, especially in low-income neighborhoods where the problem seems to be most acute. It was considered essential to identify those women who are most likely to be interested in family planning services and to specify the most appropriate ways to deliver these services.

### (3) Project Monitoring and Technical Assistance

A chart detailing the work plan and technical assistance activities appears at the beginning of the paper, following the introduction. The core project activities began 1 March 1982. The project on Islam and Family Planning extended over a period of four months, until 30 June 1982. The research papers related to this topic were presented at a symposium during 13-15 April. The other three projects extended over an 14-month period ended in May 1983. Three papers were written to explore aspects of legal support for a policy to reduce fertility; two papers were prepared to investigate women's attitudes toward family planning. These latter papers were presented at a symposium during 15-17 November which was attended by researchers, policymakers and government officials.

In addition to the two symposia, Battelle's PDP project was carefully and frequently monitored. Nine trips were made over the duration of the project, at the dates indicated below:

15-29 December, 1981	10-15 October, 1982
15-26 February, 1982	11-20 November, 1982
11-30 April, 1982	8-16 March, 1983
20-25 June, 1982	25-30 April, 1983
25-27 August, 1982	

Support was provided to researchers as they progressed through all stages of their work, from the development of research proposals and core project activities to the publication of papers. Researchers were furnished with current, selected bibliographies prepared by Battelle staff and copies of articles and books to aid them with literature reviews and the development of outlines. Following the preparation of outlines, two progress reports were submitted, the first consisting of a description of research activities and the second represented a first draft. Both progress reports were carefully reviewed by Battelle staff, and written comments were prepared for each researcher, offering guidelines to accomplish the stated objectives. The final version of all research papers provided structure for the symposia and served as the basis of discussion. Frequent contact with researchers, both directly in Senegal, and indirectly via correspondence and the telephone nurtured a close working relationship between the principle investigator and researchers.

## C. RESULTS

### (1) Islam and Family Planning

The Battelle-sponsored seminar on Islam and Family Planning was held during 13-15 April 1982 and was jointly organized by the Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPO) and the Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ASBEF). The seminar was opened by the Minister of Plan and Cooperation, Mr. Mamoudou Touré, who urged the participants to recognize the difference between arbitrary, Malthusian limitation of births, and effective family planning which contributes to reductions in infant mortality and assures the health of the mother. Mr Touré stated that, "Family planning, conceived in an appropriate fashion, accords harmoniously with the morals and religion of those who serve as its ardent supporters." He asked the seminar participants to propose guidelines for government efforts to increase public awareness of these issues.

The seminar was segmented into four panels chaired by religious leaders and scholars. Each chairperson presented a research paper which served to initiate commentary by specialists and to open discussion. Given that the Koran does not directly address the issue of family planning, careful study by Islamists and interpreters of the Koran were seen as a way of providing guidance. This seminar afforded the opportunity for such interpretation. The seminar received extensive press coverage, as documented by the newspaper clippings in Appendix 1. Certain seminar debates were broadcasted on both television and radio. Follow-up dissemination activities were discussed at length with ASBEF and CONAPO representatives who expressed considerable interest in organizing similar seminars in other regions of Senegal. Other proposed activities included such endeavors as:

1. broadcasting parts of the seminar during programs directed at the rural population;
2. publishing summaries of the papers in the local newspaper, "Le Soleil"; and
3. organizing small group discussions in selected areas of Dakar to debate the outcome of the seminar and disseminate its results.

The success of the Islam and Family Planning seminar and public discussion of Islam's stance on family planning represents a major breakthrough for a region where Islam and family planning have generally been viewed as incompatible. Its potential impact not only for Senegal but also for the entire sub-Saharan region was discussed at length by the U.S. Ambassador to Senegal, the USAID/Dakar Health and Population Officer, and representatives of the organizing institutions.

Among the many positive outcomes of the Seminar on Islam and Family Planning was that all conference chairpersons favored the increased availability and use of contraception and agreed that family planning could be practiced by Muslim families under the following circumstances:

1. when the woman's physical condition is threatened by closely-spaced births,

2. when one of the spouses has a contagious disease which could be passed on to children, and
3. when the parents are unable to protect and care for additional children.

The last condition very much relates to the often cited trade-off between quantity and quality of children. The Koran favors the latter.

Specific methods of contraception which are approved by Islam under any of the preceding conditions include the following:

1. coitus interruptus,
2. voluntary abstinence,
3. breastfeeding extended over two years to avoid closely-spaced births, and
4. modern methods which have been scientifically proven not to be hazardous to one's health.

The seminar's recommendations strongly endorsed the types of activities which ASBEF undertakes. The aspects of family planning advocated by ASBEF over the past eight years, e.g. birthspacing, the protection of mother and child, the battle against sterility, and the necessity for sex education, especially for youth, were supported and reinforced by seminar participants through formulation of the following recommendations:

1. Contraceptive products should be made more accessible in pharmacies for couples desiring to practice family planning for reasons authorized by Koranic teachings and teachings of the Prophet.
2. Measures prohibiting abortion should be reinforced.
3. Local and national authorities should promote religious education for children, to instill in them the moral qualities that constitute a sense of pride in the traditional Senegalese social structure and values.
4. Efforts should be expanded to inform the public of ASBEF's activities in family planning, pediatrics, pre- and post-natal care, and treatment for sterility.
5. Finally, the participants recommended that Senegal adopt a family planning system which takes into consideration the teachings of the Muslim religion and the necessity to assure the continued importance and prosperity of the Senegalese family.

## (2) Population Policy: Women's Perspectives and Legal Implications

This second Battelle-sponsored seminar was held from 15-18 November, 1983 and addressed the following topics:

- Women's Attitudes toward Fertility and Contraception
- (a) Attitudes among Urban Women, and
  - (b) Attitudes among Rural Women.

## Legal Support for Implementing a Policy to Reduce Fertility

- (a) Family Policy and Fertility in Senegal,
- (b) Social Policy and Fertility in Senegal, and
- (c) Revenue Policy and Fertility in Senegal.

### Attitudes Among Rural Women

A general review of available demographic data for Senegal provides a rough estimate of the socioeconomic consequences of rapid population growth. It is clear that several acts of legislation, such as the 'Code de la Famille,' encourage large families. In striving to reform such acts of legislation as the 'Code', the fundamental right of each woman to control her own fertility must be respected. Unfortunately, however, data on desired fertility and attitudes toward contraception among Senegalese women have always been lacking. For this reason, Marie-Angélique Savané and Mamadou H. Idy Niane designed the present study. The findings suggest recommendations for government intervention to fill a dire need for information on family planning and contraception, and to loosen traditional social and religious pressures to have large families.

### Attitudes Among Urban Women

Family planning, interpreted in the sense of spacing births to preserve maternal and child health, has been a concern of Senegalese women for many years. This study presents the results of a survey conducted in a lower socioeconomic suburb of Dakar, Guédiawaye, to determine the number of children desired, the availability of information on family planning and contraceptive practice (traditional or modern methods), and the need for information on family planning. Survey results reveal that these women are closely tied to tradition and possess limited knowledge of contraception. The study's authors, Codou Bop and Joseph Gaye, predict that once women can see the benefits of an improved standard of living, family planning will become an important objective for them.

### Family Policy and Fertility in Senegal

The authors, Amsatou Caab Sow and M'Bakhar N'Doye, addressed the complex question of the extent to which family policy can affect fertility. Fertility is defined in terms of certain rates, e.g., the total fertility rate and the net reproduction rate. Family policy is defined as the established structure of legislation affecting the nuclear family. Such legislation has always favored a large family, whether it governs marriage, divorce, matrimonial regimes, contraception, or abortion. The authors propose many changes, including the establishment of a minimum age at marriage, higher than the current minimum of 16 years for women, to make the sale of contraceptives more accessible, and to organize family planning information campaigns directed at all young adults in the childbearing years.

## Social Policy and Fertility in Senegal

Dating from the period of colonialization, many Senegalese laws currently in effect are strongly pronatalist in character. This study draws a contrast between policies affecting demographic trends in Senegal and Tunisia, two African countries which inherited a pronatalist legislative system from the French. Unlike Senegal, Tunisia has discarded the legislative heirlooms of colonialization and enacted new laws which have effectively contributed to reduced fertility. One specific example cited for legal support of pronatalism in Senegal concerns the liberal provisions for female government employees who request leave to care for their children. The authors, Ismaïla Ndiaye and Mohamadou Guèye, suggest that Senegal follow Tunisia's example and enact more rigid social legislation to discourage large families.

## Revenue Policy and Fertility in Senegal

Fertility levels in any society are determined by biological, sociological, and cultural variables. In this sense, all laws which govern society and culture, either directly or indirectly, impact on demographic levels and trends. For this reason, it is important to identify the demographic implications of laws governing Senegalese revenue policies. The current system reduces the taxes to be paid as a function of the number of children in a family. Pape N'Diouck Faye and Lamine Guèye contend that understanding the causal mechanisms of demographic variables is a necessary prerequisite to the development of an effective population policy. This study proposes reforms for revenue legislation ultimately designed to complement the implementation of a Senegalese population policy. It is cautioned that any such reform must carefully take into account the complex aspects of the economic, technical, and moral impacts of taxation. Among the specific reforms proposed by the authors is the allocation of tax benefits for families with only one or two children and the elimination of discrimination against single persons. Any proposals for reform are limited in themselves and must therefore be incorporated into the general framework of the overall project, by complementing reforms in family and social legislation.

Altogether, forty participants attended the symposium, including policymakers, academicians, researchers from private research organizations (AFARD and SONED), and statisticians and demographers from governmental ministries in addition to members of various women's organizations. As can be seen in the copies of newspaper articles attached as Appendix 2, the symposium received extensive press coverage. During the symposium, four commissions were formed, one per topic addressed, to formulate policy recommendations based on the findings of the papers presented and the discussions that they generated. These commissions met for three hours on the last day of the symposium and submitted comprehensive recommendations.

## Commission on Women's Attitudes toward Contraception

The results of the rural and urban surveys identified the following as two principal obstacles to the practice of family planning: (1) prejudices

against family planning, fatalism, and the unperceived ability of a population to control their fertility, and (2) inadequate or nonexistent communication among couples with regard to their ideal family size, birth spacing, and contraceptive methods. The women interviewed constituted a subsample of those surveyed for the SFS. This procedure of using the same sample as a previous survey allowed the researchers to combine the in-depth information they collected with the SFS data. The integration of qualitative and quantitative material generated very interesting results that provided insights into the questions of demand for sex education, information on "modern" ways of spacing births, and demand for family planning services, questions that had not been investigated systematically in Senegal prior to the PDP project.

It is clear that most women still desire large families and display very limited knowledge of different contraceptive methods. Family planning, perceived as a means of birth spacing to assure improved maternal and child health, is apparently becoming a concern in certain circles. Generally, the women surveyed expressed interest in improving their living conditions through expanded sanitary facilities and the creation of income-generating activities, rather than through a family planning program. In light of these findings, CONAPOP recommends measures designed to promote women's status and to encourage more open discussions among couples concerning family size.

Specifically, the following measures were recommended:

1. to improve and develop sanitary infrastructures, particularly in rural and suburban areas, with a view to integrating family planning in this process;
2. to organize training programs for personnel in charge of family planning with special emphasis on conditions in rural areas;
3. to reduce regional disparities in medical coverage; and
4. to expand the roving health team network to better educate the population on family planning and its practice, addressing particularly the problem of sterility.

In addition to the above, a multidisciplinary study could be undertaken to evaluate existing family planning programs, to promote greater familiarity with traditional contraceptive methods, to explore contraceptive methods for men, to conduct a survey of men's attitudes toward family planning, to stress the necessity for more complete information on family planning to be made available to all levels of Senegalese society, and to improve living conditions by creating income-generating activities. Finally, CONAPOP recommended that the Ministry of Public Health coordinate all research endeavors and action undertaken in the realm of family planning in order to assure its continuation.

### Commission on Family Policy and Fertility

As a step preliminary to policy formulation, the commission recommended that the following measures be emphasized:

1. concerning the age at marriage, that policies focus on exogenous factors, e.g., education, employment, and the dissemination of information, rather than altering the age at marriage as stated in the Code de la Famille (CF);
2. to form a delegation composed of religious and social authorities who perform marriages, to promote more complete registration of marriages;
3. to impose penalties against those who fail to register marriages;
4. to require declaration of the marital 'option' at the time of registration;
5. to conduct an extensive information campaign devoted to contraception; and
6. concerning abortion, that this practice should be permitted, up until four months following conception.

### Commission on Social Policy and Fertility

Proposals and recommendations of the social policy commission are categorized according to focal points for the discussion of social policy and fertility which advocate:

1. the adoption of a global, non-sectorial approach to social policy, in order to take account of the impact and secondary effects of certain measures within the framework of a development strategy;
2. the alteration of social legislation in Senegal, in light of the essentially pronatalist elements of current legislation;
3. recognition of the correlation existing between social legislation and social milieu, in other words, to make institutions and services available to the entire population and not solely to privileged minorities; and
4. a more even regional and sectorial distribution of income and resources, within the framework of formulating social policy, with a view to ultimately fostering a reduction in fertility.

### Commission on Revenue Policy and Fertility

The paper devoted to revenue policy and fertility recommended the following proposals:

1. to accord tax reduction to families with a maximum of two children;
2. to lighten the tax burden currently placed on single persons; and
3. to establish a system whereby tax levels are determined according to the level of economic development of a given geographic region.

Unfortunately, the preceding measures would have only a limited impact because they affect only the formal sector, and neglect a substantial portion of the population. It is further proposed that a slight increase in taxes could be applied to polygamous households, thereby discouraging large family size. The main lesson to be learned from this symposium is the emphasis on IEC activities as opposed to family planning service delivery. Senegalese people want to be informed about the alternatives available to them to plan their fertility, and donor agencies should follow up on such an important finding. The symposium was a success because it allowed key Senegalese population policy actors to discuss relevant issues in a forum free from foreign intervention and therefore made them internalize, or "Senegalize", the idea of a possible population problem in their country.

### (3) Women, Fertility, and Contraception in Senegal

A final one-day seminar was held on April 27, 1983, to amplify the results of the earlier survey on the attitude of rural Senegalese women towards fertility and contraception. The results show that traditional norms governing social organization, e.g., sociocultural and/or religious beliefs, are among the most important factors determining the level of awareness and perception of reproduction among Senegalese women. These data do not, however, permit a full grasp and relevant understanding of the attitudes of the women surveyed, according to particular characteristics of their own sociocultural environment. Despite the general impression that rural areas remain closely tied to cultural and religious prejudice and display reticence with respect to the notions of family planning and fertility, there is regional variation, as well as ethnic diversity, within this pattern. Specific regional or ethnic beliefs often offer certain perspectives which foster more careful understanding of motivations which greatly condition the behavior of women vis-à-vis fertility and contraception. The material prepared for the April 1983 seminar was the result of the following:

- a more systematic regional analysis of data collected during the preceding survey and partially utilized in the preliminary report;
- an in-depth study of sociological and anthropological aspects of the preliminary study; and
- incorporation of data collected in interviews with medical personnel, etc.

This extensive study was undertaken by Marie-Angelique Savané and Idy-Carras Niane, and the results were presented in one comprehensive paper. Three principal conclusions were drawn:

- Traditional norms governing fertility behavior, e.g., sex preference, family size, are still respected.
- Birth-spacing is chiefly a concern for women who are tired and burdened by physical labor and by difficult pregnancies.
- Contrary to one of the hypotheses to be tested by this study, none of the women surveyed expressed any aspiration for change in their social status.

Although many women see large families as a detriment to one's health and as associated with economic difficulties, they are at a loss to alter their fertility behavior, because they are unfamiliar with alternative courses of action. Owing to traditional social conditioning, these women are unable to assume control over fertility as a first, decisive step at organizing their own lives. They have been programmed to remain submissive to men. The results point to a latent demand for contraception, and a tremendous curiosity about modern methods.

Between 20-30 participants attended the seminar, representing the government, various academic institutions, and womens' organizations. The discussion of research findings continued until late in the evening, addressing such diverse issues as theoretical aspects of fertility and contraception, and family planning program implementation.

#### D. CONCLUSIONS

##### (1) Contributions to Policy Development

The implementation of the PDP Project in Senegal has made major contributions to the population policy development process. From the projects on Islam and Family Planning and Women's Perspectives and Legal Implications, there is very real evidence that the medium of a seminar encourages productive communication and the exchange of information among persons concerned with policymaking from diverse backgrounds, e.g., researchers or academicians, religious leaders, and governmental officials. These types of encounters are important for achieving the Battelle core project goals of building a policy-oriented constituency and reducing obstacles such as traditional prejudice against family planning. An invaluable characteristic of seminars organized for and by people in a given country is the promotion of a sense of working together to resolve their own problems in a forum free from foreign intervention. It is important that donor organizations recognize this desire and respect it by keeping a low profile and by listening to the needs articulated by in-country policymakers, as opposed to arbitrarily dictating specific measures to be taken. Serious errors can result from generalizing policy strategies to all countries, based on the experiences of a few.

It also became evident that it is important to stress IEC-type activities. This point follows from the one cited above regarding the need to respect people in the country where one is working. Repeatedly, the Senegalese expressed the desire to be informed, e.g., they want to know the family

planning alternatives open to them, in order to make their own decisions. As indicated in the qualitative and quantitative results of the attitude survey conducted among rural Senegalese women, the failure to practice contraception can often be the result of a simple lack of information, and not necessarily due to vehement opposition to the concept of family planning, per se. In addition to the real need for information dissemination, there are also advantages to emphasizing the type of information, i.e., improved health conditions and standard of living, expected to result from family planning. In Senegal, there is not an immediate, direct concern to reduce family size, but rather to reduce infant and maternal mortality levels, to have greater access to potable water, etc. Based on PDP experience, the role of a donor organization should be to demonstrate how these needs can be met by family planning, pointing out that birth spacing, for example, can effectively reduce risks of maternal and infant mortality.

In conclusion, in-country policymakers do not want to be told that they need a population policy, but rather to be enlightened as to the advantages that such a policy possesses, that it could effectively enhance the standard of living of their population by reducing poverty and improving health status. Although Senegal does not as yet have an official family planning policy, the GOS has given the Secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion Humaine (SEPH) primary responsibility for the development of a National Family Planning Program. In addition, the Ministry of Health exercises direct control over the majority of clinical facilities where family planning services are delivered. It was mentioned earlier that the repeal of the French colonial law prohibiting dissemination of contraceptives eliminated a major legislative bottleneck to the implementation of population programs. Studies such as those on attitudes regarding fertility and contraception among rural and urban women permit the identification of other bottlenecks, e.g. the need for sex education, information on 'modern' methods, and improved communication between couples. Once such obstacles are identified, appropriate measures can be designed in an attempt to remove them, or to at least minimize their detrimental impact on the policy process. The GOS is clearly exhibiting an increasing commitment to population-related activities that can be encouraged by diffusing information to the public and bringing together different types and levels of policymakers to form a constituency of individuals capable of affecting policy decisions, e.g., Islamic scholars, in the case of the Islam and Family Planning project. Battelle's core project approach, in all of its stages, including identification of appropriate individual and institutional collaborators such as CONAPOP, media coverage of seminars and publication and dissemination of findings, has proven to be appropriate one accomplishing these goals. In the final section which follows, suggestions are made for future activities to build on this foundation.

## (2) Future Follow-up Activities

Future activities are proposed to expand upon the core project objectives of removing obstacles to the policy process and building a family planning/population policy constituency leading to actual formulation and implementation of an appropriate policy, including a family planning program. Basically, the design of continuing IEC activities is seen as appropriate to

remove obstacles hindering the process of developing a national family planning program, particularly at the individual level. The results of seminars which have already been held, e.g., Islam and Family Planning, could be presented in different forums in order to reach more of Senegal's population, and in different regions, especially in rural areas where religion and tradition strongly dictate behavior in the realm of family planning. New cost-effective strategies for dissemination activities could be created with the assistance of CONAPO, ASBEF, and CESTI, the mass communication research institute at the University of Dakar.

In light of the needs for population assistance previously identified, technical training programs or courses could be offered to government planners and demographers in the areas of data processing, coding, modeling, and data analysis. Since one of Senegal's major impediments to population policy formulation is the shortage of technicians, responding to this need would facilitate and augment future research endeavors initiated by Senegalese. Through the exchange of information and closer coordination among Ministries concerned with population issues, the state of the art of population/development research and policy formulation could be further developed. The involvement of international organizations and the foreign donor community could also prove valuable in this regard.

Finally, the establishment and expansion of a relevant constituency could be undertaken by broadening the network of contacts in Senegal, particularly within the four ministries concerned with planning, in order to build a consensus for the need for population policy. Women's organizations could also be approached with this purpose in mind, e.g., the Women's Division of the SEPH which holds primary responsibility for development of a National Family Planning Program and women researchers from the University of Dakar. A project could be designed with women's organizations to explore more in-depth questions related to family welfare.

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## PLANIFICATION FAMILIALE :

### Le séminaire de Dakar recommande l'usage des contraceptifs

Fin du séminaire sur l'islam et la planification familiale

# Les contraceptifs recommandés

Au terme de ses travaux, le séminaire sur l'islam et la planification familiale a adopté une série de recommandations. C'est ainsi qu'il recommande l'usage des contraceptifs pour des raisons de bien-être familial, le facile accès aux produits contraceptifs, dans les pharmacies (un amendement le restreint aux femmes mariées), le renforcement et l'intensification de l'information sur les activités de l'Association sénégalaise pour le Bien-Être familial, l'adoption d'un système de planification familiale tenant compte des enseignements musulmans et de l'équilibre de la famille, et l'organisation périodique de pareilles rencontres pour un fructueux échange d'idées.

Les séminaristes ont également souhaité la création d'écoles maternelles islamiques pour une éducation religieuse de base, et félicité le gouvernement pour sa politique sociale.

Les participants n'ont pas manqué de rappeler que si, sur le plan individuel, la planification est acceptée par l'islam, celle-ci est, en revanche,

condamnée lorsqu'elle est généralisée et imposée par le biais de mesures contraignantes.

### Ouverture et progrès

En clôturant le séminaire, la directrice de la Condition féminine, qui représentait le secrétaire d'Etat à la Promotion humaine, a relevé la position d'ouverture et de progrès de l'islam face à la planification familiale. Cette position, a souligné Mme Seynabou Ndao, est en conformité avec celle du gouvernement sénégalais.

Elle a enfin promis que les recommandations formulées par le séminaire seraient prises en considération et appliquées.

Ce qu'il faudrait peut-être faire remarquer, c'est que le but du séminaire, n'était pas de remettre en cause la planification telle qu'elle a été conçue par l'ASBEF, ou par certains spécialistes, mais plutôt de voir comment l'appréhendait l'islam qui n'avait pas clairement pris position. Bien sûr,

c'est la religion prédominante au Sénégal, mais compte tenu de la laïcité de l'Etat, réaffirmée par notre loi fondamentale, on aurait pu organiser un séminaire sur le Christianisme et la planification familiale. Ce qui ne voudrait pas signifier une nécessaire remise en cause de la conception qu'en ont les spécialistes. Cela, beaucoup ne l'ont pas compris, et c'est dommage !

Néanmoins, comme certains ont eu à le souligner, le séminaire a atteint son but, puisque a été clairement exprimée la position de l'islam sur un problème brûlant qui continue de soulever d'acertes polémiques. Il reste seulement à souhaiter que pareille rencontre se reproduise le plus souvent possible, surtout au niveau des régions pour édifier les Sénégalais pas uniquement sur la conception de la religion face à la planification familiale, mais sur tous les aspects de celle-ci. Cela nous éviterait bien des désagréments.

Abdallah FAYE

ABDOUL AZIZ SY J :

# Autorisation de la «Sunna»

Une série de conférences a marqué le séminaire «L'Islam et la planification familiale» qui se tient depuis mardi à l'hôtel Indépendance. Plusieurs chefs religieux et d'éminents islamologues se sont succédé pour apporter un éclairage nouveau sur la question, assez délicate.

La première conférence a été donnée par El Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy J'. Une conférence suivie par une assistance intéressée et captivée par le verbe du secrétaire général de la Fédération des Associations islamiques du Sénégal.

Parti du point de vue de l'Islam qui considère la famille comme la cellule de base de la société, le mariage comme le début de la constitution de la famille et la continuation de l'espèce humaine, le conférencier a affirmé que

la planification familiale était actuellement l'un des problèmes les plus complexes, et des plus dangereux qui suscite partout débats et controverses. Il a expliqué que le «-Azi-», où coil interrompu avait divisé et continue de diviser savants et islamologues.

La planification familiale, a-t-il indiqué, est autorisée par la «-sunna-», mais partant uniquement de considérations légitimes, de raisons objectives, économiques, sociales et sanitaires. Selon des témoignages, des compagnons du prophète Mohamed s'adonnaient au «-Azi-», qui était une pratique courante à l'époque et aucun texte ne l'interdisait.

Car, selon El Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy J', l'Islam est d'accord pour que sur le plan individuel, particu-

lier, la femme planifie ses naissances, mais la religion ne l'envisage pas sur une grande échelle. Par exemple à l'échelle nationale. C'est donc sur le plan social que les chercheurs s'opposent. Les chercheurs et islamologues contemporains sont résolument contre, tandis que la jurisprudence émet un avis favorable.

## Aucun texte

Car le principal problème, c'est qu'il n'existe aucun texte sur la question, et du temps de Mohamed, explique le conférencier, aucun mouvement populaire ne s'était dégagé en faveur de la limitation des naissances.

Pour le conférencier, ce point de vue défendu par Malthus, Pal-lace et autres ne nous concerne

pas. Ce sont des problèmes typiquement européens, et pas de pays islamiques. Des débats passionnés ont suivi l'exposé de El Hadj Abdoul Aziz Sy J', mais il est bien dommage que toutes interventions aient penché d'un côté, de celui du conférencier. Car il aurait pu aller encore plus loin s'il se trouvait des personnes pour apporter la contradiction.

Malgré tout, la conférence a été très enrichissante, parce qu'ayant donné l'occasion d'éclairer certaines zones jusqu'à présent nébuleuses s'agissant de la position de l'Islam sur ce problème d'actualité. Et ce qui est remarquable, c'est que le conférencier a su parler un langage accessible, émaillé d'humour, évitant ainsi de tomber dans le piège de l'esotérisme, longtemps entretenu.

A.F.

## Mamoudou Touré au séminaire sur l'Islam et la planification familiale

# Deux notions à accorder

Le ministre du Plan et de la Coopération a ouvert, mardi dans les salons de l'hôtel Indépendance, le séminaire sur «L'Islam et la planification familiale», organisé par l'Association sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre familial (ASBEF) en collaboration avec la

commission nationale de la Population et le secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion humaine.

A cette occasion, M. Mamoudou Touré s'est réjoui des acquis significatifs de la Quinzaine nationale de la femme qui a débouché sur l'adoption du plan d'ac-

tion de la femme.

Dans l'ardent plaidoyer qu'il a fait en faveur de la planification familiale, le ministre du Plan et de la Coopération a noté la différence qui existe entre la limitation arbitraire et malthusienne des naissances, et la planification fa-

millale bien menée qui est un moyen efficace de réduire la mortalité infantile et d'assurer la santé de la mère «La planification familiale conçue de la manière qu'il faut, a-t-il expliqué, s'accorde harmonieusement avec la morale et la religion en qui

elle trouve d'ardents défenseurs».

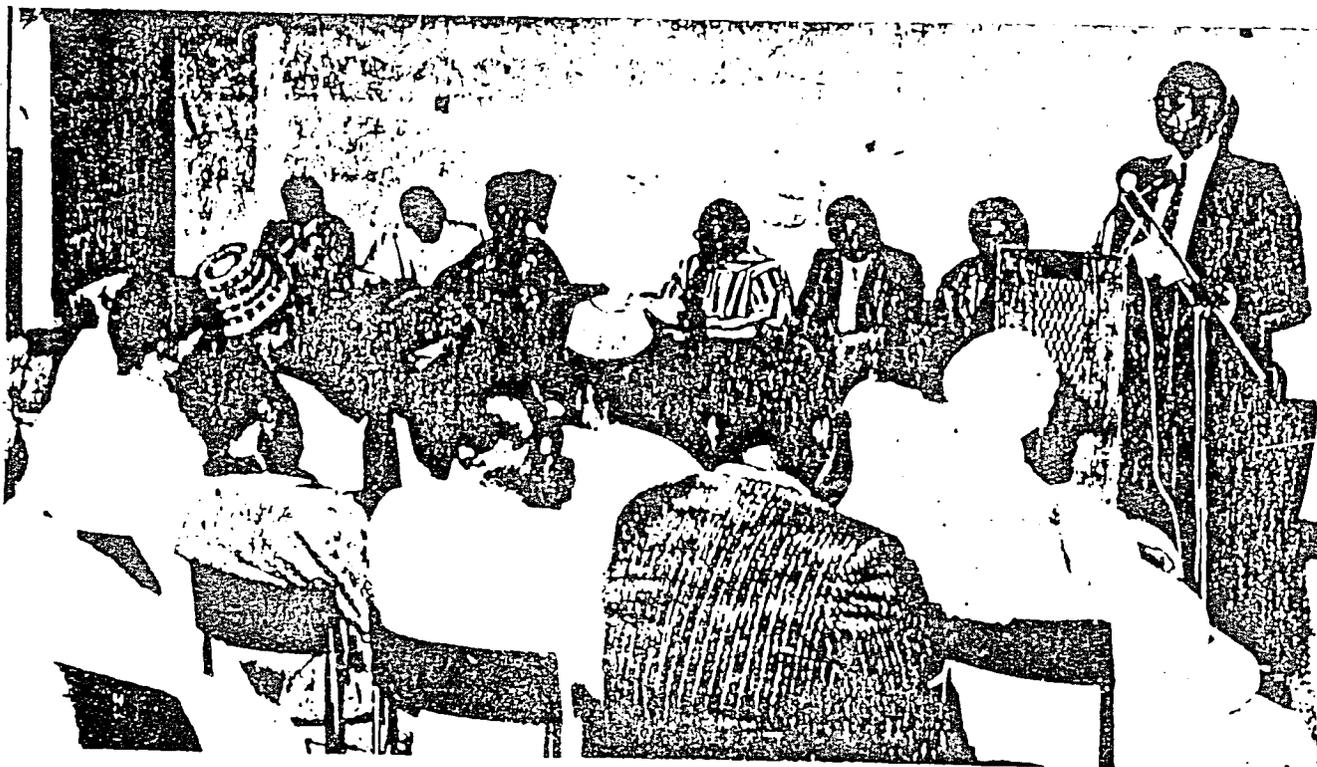
Dans cette optique, l'Islam et la planification familiale, loin d'être deux notions contradictoires, devraient au contraire s'accorder.

### UNE POPULATION A L'ABRI DE LA MISERE

Il a émis le vœu que le séminaire apporte une contribution de qualité à ce débat d'une actualité brûlante sur le rapport de compatibilité ou d'incompatibilité des deux concepts. Car, bien qu'étant un pays laïc, le Sénégal ne saurait élaborer un projet social viable sans la prise en considération du facteur religieux, a-t-il rappelé.

«Le Sénégal, a-t-il dit, est sous-peuplé et a besoin de bras pour se développer. Il faudrait donc veiller à ce que les hommes les femmes et les enfants soient en bonne santé à l'abri de la misère».

En conclusion, M. Mamoudou Touré a souhaité que le séminaire débouche sur des conclusions et recommandations susceptibles d'éclairer la conscience des populations et d'aider le gouvernement à élaborer ses choix



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Le ministre du Plan et de la Coopération prononçant son allocution. On reconnaît à l'arrière plan la présidente de la ASBEF, le représentant du secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion humaine, l'ambassadeur Moustapha Cissé et Abdoul Aziz Sy Jr.

Auparavant, Mme Tamarò Touré, présidente de l'Association sénégalaise pour le Bien-Être familial, avait insisté sur l'importance de la planification qui est actuellement au centre des préoccupations de toutes les nations. Elle a expliqué que l'option de l'ASBEF s'inscrit dans celle du gouvernement car son ultime objectif, c'est le bien-être familial qui est un réel facteur de développement.

Selon Mme Touré, l'affirmation du bien-être familial se justifie par le besoin d'une main-d'œuvre saine, dans le cadre du développement.

Après avoir défini ce vocable comme étant «l'état relatif d'aisance et d'harmonisation de la cellule familiale», la présidente de l'ASBEF a souligné la nécessité actuellement pour la femme sénégalaise de se déterminer et de s'affirmer, par le biais de la planification familiale qui, dans ses grandes lignes n'est pas en contradiction avec les préceptes de l'Islam.

Elle a enfin évoqué les réalisations de l'association depuis sa redynamisation grâce au concours du Secrétariat d'Etat à la Promotion humaine. Il y a d'abord la clinique modèle de planification et son antenne dans les SICAP (l'extension vers les autres régions est prévue) et le travail d'information et d'éducation, qu'elle abat quotidiennement en direction des populations.

Le séminaire sur l'Islam et la planification familiale qui enregistre la participation de près de deux cents membres sera clôturée cet après-midi, après la synthèse des travaux.

Ahdallah FAYE

UN SEMINAIRE :

## L'ISLAM ET LA PLANIFICATION FAMILIALE



Organisé par l'Association sénégalaise pour le Bien-  
Etre familial en collaboration avec la Commission natio-  
nale de la Population et le secrétariat d'Etat à la Promo-  
tion humaine, un séminaire sur «l'islam et la planificati-  
on familiale» a été ouvert mardi (notre photo).

## **Il s'ouvre cet après-midi Séminaire sur l'Islam et la planification familiale**

Le ministre du Plan et de la Coopération procédera cet après-midi, à l'hôtel Indépendance à l'ouverture du séminaire sur l'Islam et la Planification familiale. Organisé par l'Association sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre familial (ASBEF), ce séminaire qui verra la participation de plusieurs chefs religieux et d'éminents islamologues, sera l'occasion de passer en revue les problèmes liés à la planification dans les pays islamiques.

Parmi les interventions prévues, retenons celles de Abdoul Aziz Sy J', président de la Fédération des Associations islamiques du Sénégal et animateur du journal «L'action musulmane», et El Hadj Moustapha Guèye, Barham Diop de Kaolack et Mme Touré professeur d'arabe.

Des délégués venus de toutes les régions du pays prendront part à ces importantes assises qui marqueront sans nul doute un tournant important de la planification familiale au Sénégal.

A.F.

Le Soleil, lundi 15 novembre 1982

Le séminaire s'ouvre ce matin

## Femmes et politique nationale de population

*« Les attitudes des femmes face à la politique de population et les questions qu'elles soulèvent », tel est le thème générique du séminaire qui, sur l'initiative du secrétariat exécutif de la Commission nationale de la Population (CONAPO), va à partir d'aujourd'hui, et ce jusqu'au 18 novembre prochain, transformer le salon du Novotel en un centre de réflexion sur les dossiers et autres déterminants nécessaires à l'élaboration d'une politique sénégalaise de population plus appropriée.*

Ce séminaire entre dans le cadre d'un projet de recherche globale sur la corrélation population-développement initié et coordonné par la CONAPO. Plusieurs aspects de cette question ont d'ores et déjà été analy-

sés, comme ce fut le cas lors du forum organisé en avril dernier sur l'islam et la planification familiale, sur l'étude des comportements sociaux-religieux en quelque sorte. Le présent séminaire qui sera ouvert par le ministre du Plan et de la Coopération se penchera essentiellement sur le point de vue des femmes et la manière et les moyens à mettre en œuvre pour arriver à une politique cohérente et efficace en matière de population. Il s'agit également de mettre en évidence le rôle majeur qu'elles sont appelées à jouer dans la réussite de la politique sociale préconisée, tant dans les zones urbaines et sub-urbaines qu'en milieu rural. Aussi, toutes les questions afférentes à la stratégie familiale et son impact sur la situation socio-économique ac-

tuelle vont-elles faire l'objet de débats à l'issue desquels des propositions concrètes seront formulées.

La fécondité et la contraception (en rapport avec les politiques familiale, sociale et fiscale sénégalaises) sont au centre des cinq communications dont la présentation est prévue durant ces assises.

Outre les membres de la CONAPO, participent à ces travaux diverses personnalités venues de l'extérieur du Sénégal, des universitaires et des représentants d'organisations internationales. C'est le secrétaire d'Etat à la Promotion humaine Mme Maimouna Kane, qui au terme de ces quatre journées d'échange d'idées, procédera à la clôture de ce séminaire.

## Politique de population:

# Les femmes définissent leur position

Le directeur de cabinet du secrétaire d'Etat à la Promotion humaine a clôturé le 18 novembre dernier, en fin d'après-midi, le séminaire de finalisation du projet de recherche «*Politique de population au Sénégal*». Cette cérémonie a eu lieu au Novotel en présence de nombreux spécialistes, membres de la CONACOP, représentants des organisations internationales, de l'université et de personnalités et techniciens de haut niveau.

Ce séminaire dont l'ouverture avait été présidée le 13 novembre dernier par M. Joseph Mathiam, ministre de la Culture, entre dans le cadre des activités de recherche du secrétariat exécutif de la Commission nationale de la Population (CONAPO) qui entend promouvoir une meilleure connaissance des données et autres déterminants d'une politique de population au Sénégal.

Le point de vue des femmes était illustré par deux enquêtes conçues et réalisées par des femmes sur des femmes. L'une parrainée et coordonnée par la Fédération des Associations féminines du Sénégal (FAFS), a fait l'objet d'une communication intitulée «*Attitude des femmes vis-à-vis de la planification familiale en milieu urbain et sub-urbain*».

La seconde menée par l'Association des Femmes africaines pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFARED), avait pour thème «*Attitude des femmes face à la contraception et la fécondité en milieu rural au Sénégal*».

Les implications juridiques étudiées sous le thème : support juridique d'une politique de population au Sénégal, a été conduite par le secrétariat exécutif de la CONAPO et comportait trois sous-thèmes qui ont fait chacun l'objet d'une communication : «*Politique de la famille et fécondité au Sénégal*»; «*Politique sociale et fécondité*» et enfin «*Politique fiscale et fécondité*».

A l'issue des travaux, les séminaristes ont approuvé les propositions des combinaisons chargées de l'étude des communications, qui portaient sur l'attitude des femmes vis-à-vis du planning familial et de la contraception en milieu rural, urbain et sub-urbain. Les deux commissions finalement confondues en une seule ont donc proposé :

- la promotion du statut de la femme et la nécessité de rendre les décisions plus démocratiques au niveau du couple; l'amélioration et le développement des infrastructures sanitaires en milieu urbain et en zone rurale en vue d'intégrer la planification familiale dans le sens d'une meilleure information, la formation et le recyclage du personnel chargé du planning familial en tenant compte de la spécificité de la zone rurale la réduction des disparités régionales sur le plan de la couverture médicale; l'institution, au niveau des centres de planning familial, d'un système de travail pouvant permettre une fréquentation optimale de la population, la redynamisation et la multiplication des équipes mobiles de santé

pour une meilleure formation et une meilleure vulgarisation du planning familial en accordant une importance particulière au problème de la stérilité comme volet du planning familial.

Sur ce point, il a été souligné la nécessité d'un contrôle plus rigoureux sur les différents moyens contraceptifs, mis sur le marché et une information complète sur le planning familial à tous les niveaux de la société sénégalaise. La commission recommande en outre qu'une étude multidisciplinaire soit menée sur une évaluation du programme de planning familial, une meilleure connaissance des méthodes contraceptives traditionnelles en vue de leur éventuelle utilisation, une recherche sur les méthodes contraceptives masculines, une enquête sur l'attitude des hommes vis-à-vis du planning familial, et une étude sur les conséquences des méthodes contraceptives à court, moyen et long terme. En dernier point, cette commission recommande la coordination par le ministère de la Santé publique, des actions et des recherches entreprises dans le domaine du planning familial afin d'en assurer un suivi; à cet effet, il serait bienvenu de tenir un séminaire afin d'en dégager les modalités.

Jean PIRES

Dans le but de finaliser un projet de recherche sur la politique de population au Sénégal, le Secrétariat Exécutif de la Commission Nationale de la population (CONACOP) a organisé du 15 au 18 novembre dernier à Dakar un important séminaire sur le thème «le point de vue des femmes et les implications juridiques d'une politique de population».

Ce symposium qui a réuni de nombreux chercheurs, sociologues, démographes, juristes et invités de marque étrangers et sénégalais, fait suite à cet autre séminaire qui a été organisé en avril dernier sur «l'Islam et la planification familiale».

A l'issue de ces travaux qui ont été sans aucun doute un moment important de notre politique de population, nous avons interviewé Mme Marie Angélique Savané, présidente de l'AFARD.

Ce séminaire qui a regroupé des spécialistes et de nombreuses personnalités autour du sujet «Politique de population au Sénégal» avait en outre axé ses travaux sur le point de vue des femmes et les implications juridiques. Au sortir de ces journées de travail que peut-on savoir globalement sur le point de vue des femmes par rapport à cette politique ?

Je crois que l'on peut dire que les femmes ont eu une voix au chapitre, leur point de vue a été donné par la communication de deux enquêtes sur les problèmes de fécondité et de contraception.

Parmi les grandes conclusions, il faut noter d'abord que les femmes sont pour un espacement des naissances ; elles voudraient par exemple avoir une période de deux ans sans avoir à subir les méfaits d'un accouchement successif. Les femmes se rendent compte aussi de l'inefficacité des méthodes traditionnelles qu'elles utilisent ou dont elles ont entendu parler, par rapport aux méthodes modernes. Par conséquent, elles ont demandé une information plus sérieuse à propos de ces méthodes de contraception moderne.

Un troisième constat relève que l'avortement provoqué, même s'il est décrié par une majorité des femmes, est quand même accepté dans les cas de grossesses adultérines ou dans le cas des femmes divorcées, veuves ou célibataires.

Ces constats démontrent peut-être que deux ans après l'adoption de la loi autorisant la contraception au Sénégal, il existe toujours de sérieux obstacles quant à son inclusion dans nos mœurs ?

Oui, puisque d'un point de vue moral des réticences subsistent

comme une alternative pour pallier la carence de l'information et de la pratique en matière de contraception. C'est pourtant un phénomène social nouveau dont il faut tenir compte puisqu'il touche de plus en plus une population jeune et en outre, il touche aussi les femmes dans les villages et en milieu rural.

Un autre point à souligner est que malgré tout, les femmes continuent de désirer un nombre élevé d'enfants et la planification familiale comprise comme une décision sur la taille de la famille ne semble pas encore être acceptée.

Le dernier constat que je vais souligner ici concerne le fait que les femmes donnent actuellement une priorité à des structures sanitaires adéquates et des emplois rémunérateurs. Ceci montre que si l'on veut réduire la taille des familles sénégalaises, il faudra nécessairement passer par une restructuration de l'organisation socio-économique de la société de façon à garantir à chaque citoyen, un emploi décent, l'éducation adéquate, un habitat correct, des services de santé efficaces, etc... Et ce sont ces changements qui permettent peut-être des attitudes vis-à-vis de la fécondité.

Cependant, ces changements doivent nécessairement s'accompagner d'une amélioration qualitative du statut des femmes... L'exemple de la Tunisie qui a pris toutes les mesures légales touchant la fécondité, le travail et la vie sociale en totalité pour aboutir à son objectif de réduction du taux de fécondité est édifiant à ce sujet.

Cette situation insatisfaisante de notre politique de population est peut-être imputable au manque d'information que les séminaristes ont souligné ?

Il apparaît que les problèmes de développement du Sénégal ne se

structurels qui touchent la redistribution des ressources et des revenus que l'on arrivera à créer les conditions optimales pour qu'un couple décide de réduire la taille de sa famille.

A ce stade de réflexion, voyez-vous une issue pour le futur ?

Il y a maintenant une décision politique à prendre, à savoir est-ce que le gouvernement est prêt à prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires à un accès plus grand des femmes à la contraception en vue d'espacer leurs naissances ou de lutter contre la stérilité.

Votre dernier mot en tant que présidente de l'AFARD ?

En tant que présidente de l'association des femmes africaines pour la recherche sur le développement, je me rends compte que le séminaire a montré la nécessité de mener des recherches pluridisciplinaires sur les problèmes qui concernent les femmes et leur fécondité, leurs attitudes à l'égard des méthodes contraceptives qui leurs sont proposées et comment leurs nouveaux comportements s'insèrent dans la société. Cela veut dire que plus que jamais, il devient évident qu'on ne peut promouvoir des politiques sans les baser sur une analyse préalable du milieu, pour cela il faut des recherches.

par Jean Plirès

Association des femmes africaines pour la recherche sur le développement

## Appendix 3

### Key Country Contacts

#### USAID/Dakar

David Shear, Mission Director  
Carole Tyson, Deputy Mission Director  
Mike White, Health and Population Officer  
Joy Benne, Assistant to the Health and Population Officer  
Mary Diop, (formerly) Assistant to the Health and Population Officer  
Dawn Liberi, International Development Intern in Health and Nutrition.  
Ann Bathily, Women's Program Officer

#### American Embassy/Dakar

Charles Bray, American Ambassador to Senegal

#### Commission Nationale de la Population (CONAPOP)

Abd-el-Kader Faye, Executive Secretary  
Cheikh Mbacké, Researcher  
NBakhar Ndoeye, Researcher  
Henri G. Knoop, (formerly) Chief Technical Adviser to CONAPOP, UNFPA  
Anne-Marie Lallement, Demographic Expert and Consultant

#### Bureau National du Recensement (BNR)

Ibrahima Lamine Diop, Director  
Lamine Guèye, Deputy Technical Director  
Mouhamadou Guèye, Demographer

#### Association des Femmes Africaines pour la Recherche sur le Développement (AFARD)

Marie-Angélique Savané, President  
Mamadou Hadrame Idy Niane, Researcher  
Aminata Mbengue Ndiaye, Researcher

#### Association Sénégalaise pour le Bien-Etre Familial (ASBEF)

Tamaro Diallo Touré, President  
Khouraichi Thiam, Executive Secretary  
Mame Boyo, Member of ASBEF Volunteer Bureau, and Midwife  
Fadel Diedhiou, Member of ASBEF Volunteer Bureau, and Gynecologist at Le  
Dantec Hospital  
Si Gaye, Accountant

Fédération des Associations Féminines du Sénégal (FAFS)

Annette Mbaye D'Erneville, President, and Journalist  
Adama Wellé, Executive Secretary  
Marie-Thérèse Boye, Secretary in charge of Social Affairs, and Midwife  
Anta Touré, Representative of FAFS to CONAPCP, and Social Worker  
Aminata Maiga Ka, Secretary in charge of contacts with foreign donors, and  
Technical Adviser, Ministry of Education  
Aida Sarr Diop, Member, and Midwife  
Mame Boyo, member - midwife

Ministère de l'Education Secondaire

Mamadou Idrissa Diallo, Statistician  
Mady Fonne Dialy, Statistician

Ministère du Plan et de la Coopération

Edouard Diemé, Evaluation Division

Ministère de la Santé Publique

El-Hadj-Malick Diamé, Demographer

Ministère du Travail

Papa Ibrahima Ndao, Deputy Director, Research Division

Secrétariat à la Promotion Humaine

Idrissa Diop, Director, Direction du Bien-Etre Familial  
Ismail Ndiaye, Deputy Director, Direction de Bien-Etre Familial  
Seynabou Ndao, Director, Direction de la Condition Féminine  
Dominique Ruelle, Technical Adviser

University of Dakar, Law School and CREDILA

Boubou Cissé, Researcher, CREA

Others Researchers involved in the PUP Core Project

Codou Bop, Assistant Professor, Centre d'Etude des Sciences et  
Techniques de l'Information (CESTI)  
Joseph Mohamadou Gaye, Founding member of the Association d'Etude et  
de Recherche pour la Promotion de la Casamance (AERPC)  
Papa N'Diouck Faye, Director of the Internal Revenue Service

Fatou Sow, Researcher, Institut Fondamental de l'Afrique Noire (IFAN)  
El Hadj Abdoul Aziz SY Junior, Grandson of the founder of the Tidjania  
sect of Senegal, Mr. Sy is President of the powerful Associations  
Islamiques du Sénégal  
El Hadj Moustapha Guèye, Secretary General of the Union Nationale  
des Enseignants et Etudiants en Langue Arabe.  
Fatou Touré Cissé, Arabic scholar and Professor of Arabic.  
El Hadj Serigne Malick Moukhsine Diop - Professor of Arabic literature,  
Islamist, Counselor at the World Islamic League, and Secretary General  
of the Union Nationale des Ecoles Coraniques.

### Others

Maimouna Dia, President of the Women's Group of the Association Culturelle  
à la Promotion Educative et Sociale en Casamance, Ziguinchor  
Ms. Carvalho, Head Midwife, Ziguinchor Maternity  
John Herzog, Expert, UNFPA  
Sylvère Issifou Looky, Regional Coordinator, UNFPA  
Marie-Louise Diouf, Assistant to the Regional Coordinator, UNFPA  
Olivier Laurent, Expert, Environnement et Développement du Tiers-Monde  
(ENDA)  
Daniel Martin, Special Advisor in Population, UNESCO  
Philippe Ruelle, Expert, FAO