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# How Family Prestige can Shape Intergenerational Transfers: Migration, Remittances and Schooling in Matam, Senegal

Jean-Luc Emmanuel Demonsant

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Université  
de Toulouse

# THÈSE

En vue de l'obtention du

## DOCTORAT DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE TOULOUSE

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Discipline ou spécialité : Sciences Economiques

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Présentée et soutenue par *Jean-Luc Demonsant*  
Le 16 juillet 2008

### ***How Family Prestige Can Shape Intergenerational Transfer : Migration, Remittances and Schooling in Matam, Senegal***

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**Directeur de Thèse : Jean-Paul Azam**

L'Université n'entend ni approuver ni désapprouver les opinions particulières du candidat.

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## Summary

Introduction.....	10
I. The Patriarchs of Matam .....	18
I.1. Introduction.....	19
I.2. Matam and the Haalpulaar Society.....	22
I.2.1. A hierarchical society.....	22
I.2.2. Prospects for the Middle Senegal Valley economy .....	27
I.2.3. Some background on migration history .....	30
I.3. The survey.....	31
I.3.1. Choice of the field team .....	32
I.3.2. Sample design: village and household selection .....	34
I.3.3. The questionnaire .....	35
I.4. Prestige and economic success .....	38
I.4.1. Profile of the patriarchs, their wives and sons .....	38
I.4.2. Multiple indicators of economic well-being .....	41
I.4.3. Wealth and status .....	44
I.5. Conclusion .....	46
II. Family Prestige as Old-Age Security.....	48

II.1. Introduction .....	49
II.2. Physical and cultural context.....	53
II.2.1. A non-profitable environment.....	53
II.2.2. Limited social mobility in the village .....	54
II.3. Theoretical Framework: ‘the Strategic Baraka Motive’ .....	57
II.4. Data.....	60
II.4.1. The Survey .....	60
II.4.2. Descriptive Statistics.....	63
II.4.3. Empirical Strategy .....	67
II.5. Results .....	68
II.5.1. Probability of being on migration.....	68
II.5.2. Probability of remitting.....	71
II.6. Other Supportive Evidence.....	74
II.7. Conclusion.....	76
III. Impact of the Patriarch’s Migration Experience and Social Status on Children’s Schooling	
80	
III.1. Introduction.....	81
III.2. Context and data.....	85
III.2.1. The Haalpulaar society of Matam .....	85
III.2.2. Overall low educational level.....	89

III.3. Econometric analysis.....	95
III.3.1. Empirical strategy.....	95
III.3.2. Results .....	96
III.4. Conclusion.....	100
Conclusion .....	104
References.....	110
Appendix.....	116

## **Introduction**

Providing care to old-age parents is not such a natural behavior in nature. Indeed many have tried to ground human behavior on animal behavior to explain violence, power, maternal love, etc. On the contrary, it is striking that no animal species take care of their old disable members: this is a totally civilized act<sup>1</sup>.

While in developed countries there is a pension financing crisis, it is interesting to turn to developing countries, where most people cannot rely on a pension after retirement. Indeed, the coverage of formal social security programs is particularly low in these countries: 10% in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, compared to 90-100% in the OECD<sup>2</sup>.

The absence of any suitable governmental social security schemes, health insurance and moreover any formal pension program, makes older parents dependent on either their asset stocks, their own labor income, or else their children support. However, in many developing countries since both financial institutions and property rights are insecure, and the currency may be subject to inflation or nominal shocks as devaluation, there exists no reliable form of asset accumulation whatsoever. Hence with low asset stocks, and when they are unable to work any longer, individuals reaching old-age do entirely depend on their children.

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<sup>1</sup> Meillassoux (1994)

<sup>2</sup> As in other parts of the world, it is 30% in East Asia, 50-60% in Latin America, and 70-80% in Eastern Europe (source: International Labor Organization)

Indeed, many studies point out how poor elders' livelihood highly depends on familial support in many developing countries, as highlighted in Lloyd-Sherlock (2000). The number and gender of children, along with the living arrangements (intergenerational coresidence or separate households) are important determinants of the welfare of the elders. As a result, it has been argued that high fertility rates are due to dependence on children for old-age support (see for instance Nugent, 1985).

In fact, traditional family support systems for elderly people make up for the lack of a welfare state. They are commonly believed to be working "relatively well" due to specific cultural behaviors such as the respect for elders, and the existence of strong family ties. But this is based more on intuition than on serious empirical research. Furthermore, economic development and social change may gradually put more strains on these informal mechanisms.

On the top of that, in semi-arid rural areas, incomes from agriculture are rather precarious, because of weather shocks (periodical times of drought during the dry season followed by floods during the rainy season), or parasite invasions such as recent locusts invasions in the Sahel. In these countries, malnutrition is very common, particularly during the lean season ("soudure" in French): the period when the harvest from the previous year has been exhausted and the next season's harvest is not yet ripe. The quasi-absence of both formal credit and insurance markets leads to a variety of informal coinsurance arrangements in village economies.<sup>3</sup> Given that

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<sup>3</sup> Some authors suggest it may well be the other way around: efficient intra-familial arrangements prevent the formation of those markets (see Stark 1995; Kranton 1996).

positive correlations in weather outcomes diminish with distance,<sup>4</sup> households can allocate some members to different sectors via migration. Rosenzweig and Stark (1989) found, in rural India, that marriages of daughters in distant villages provided some kind of insurance mechanism for the family. Furthermore, despite the fact that urban and foreign jobs present some kind of risks too, these are not correlated with local activities. Indeed, the new economics of labor migration introduced by Stark (1991), views migration as an intrafamily coinsurance arrangement aimed at providing remittances in case of drops in rural incomes in exchange for assistance in case of unemployment, or covering the expensive costs of migrating (i.e. traveling ticket plus smuggling fees for illegal migrations).

Nevertheless, if distance provides some kind of risk diversification, it creates information asymmetries for both parties involved too. Azam and Gubert (2005) studied the moral hazard problem faced by the migrant: in the village, they showed how families who can rely on remittances, tend to shirk on agricultural activities, and underreport their incomes to their migrants. I will now turn carefully to the family issue: how can the family make sure that the migrant will remit? Indeed, when the migrant is a young son, and the family left behind primarily his old parents, they do not seem to be in a position to assist him in return as the mutual insurance contract stipulates, in case of unemployment for instance.

The microeconomics of old-age support suggested that parents could threaten to disinherit their children who have not provided expected support. This “strategic bequest motive” developed by Bernheim et al. (1985) has been tested and found significant as a possible motivation for

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<sup>4</sup> Rephrasing Rosenzweig (1988).

migrants to remit: in Hoddinott (1992) for Kenya and Lucas and Stark (1985) for Botswana. However, this theory obviously relies on the assumption that migrants do value potential bequests.

Originally studying irrigation systems management in the Middle Senegal Valley, I soon found out that many irrigation schemes were abandoned. Successful return migrants demonstrate that potential returns of a few years in migration yields much greater returns than local agricultural activities. As a consequence, the main valuable bequest would rather be symbolic than physical. After all, the social status of the family within the village represents the most sought-after inheritance. However, social status is greatly determined by birth in the villages of the Middle Valley. The officially abandoned “caste system”<sup>5</sup> is still pervasive.

Unfortunately, the bulk of standard data at hand does not take due account of the underlying institutions. In Sub-Saharan Africa, ethnicity has appeared as a significant variable in many econometric studies covering wide issues such as growth (Easterly and Levine, 1997), networks (Fafchamps, 2000), or provision of public good (Miguel and Gugerty 2005). However, ethnic groups do not necessarily form homogenous entities. In West-Africa most societies share a common hierarchical division into 3 main categories: “free men”, “artisans” and “slaves”. Originating from African empires centuries ago, the relevance of such division is still accurate in many societies. In villages where traditional chieftaincies rule, these social categories strongly

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<sup>5</sup> Here caste has to be understood as the whole hierarchical organization. It is however quite different from the Hindu case.

determine the social ranking of the family within the village. With strong limitations on exogamous marriages and local empowerment, low status categories have limited prospects of social mobility in the village. By contrast, high status families may compete for local power. Conspicuous consumptions and redistribution to increase the size of the clientele is a common way to gain honorability in this context. Nevertheless, there is still little information on the consequences of such social rigidities on contemporary migration and remittances. When turning to the status of the elderly in the villages, it is striking that in a gerontocratic society age confers status but only to the extent that the elderly belongs to a high status category. Access to village notability is indeed restricted to a limited number of families.

I favored an interdisciplinary approach to account for such “caste institution” in the migration, remittance and schooling decisions. The dialogue of disciplines is a hard one as vocabulary, and references are specific to each field. But probably the biggest challenge has to do with the fact that disciplines such as Anthropology and Ethnology are focused on the specificities of the studied population, whereas Microeconomics looks for universal patterns. My work aims at contributing to the literature on how social norms and institution can shape development. Zooming on the Haalpulaar society of Matam, I could uncover mechanisms and effects that usual household surveys cannot capture and that monographs fail to validate as robust evidence rather than anecdotal ones. I coupled a set of “soft information” with dataset that makes it possible to conduct econometric analysis measuring the relative importance of different effect while controlling for other factors. Based on repeated and lengthy stays in the villages of the Middle Valley, and among migrant communities in Saint-Louis, Dakar, Paris and Toulouse, I collected a wide range of direct observations and informal discussions that helped me getting acquainted

with a cultural environment very different from my own. My willingness to learn Pulaar and to share villagers' life helped building relations of mutual trust that proved very useful when gathering information on such sensible topics as caste issues. The choice of enumerators and the building of the questionnaire were the outcome of this investment's efforts. Having full control of the data collection process also gives precise idea of the quality and reliance of the data. The dataset contains information on 149 families over 6 villages of comparable size around Matam. The sample is made of all patriarchs with at least one adult son alive at the time of the survey. It allowed me to study the impact of the family social status on migration, remittances and schooling decisions. The dissertation is structured as follows.

In chapter 1, the first section presents the survey area describing the Haalpulaar society and the local economy along with migration history of the area. The second section gives detailed information on the survey and the methodology used. The chapter ends by showing evidence that belonging to the village notability does not represent a safeguard against current poverty expressed as food shortage occurrence.

Chapter 2 represents the core of the study and shows evidence on the impact of the family social status on the probability of migrating and remitting. I found that sons from low status families have a higher tendency to migrate while sons from the ruling elite have a higher probability to remit. Hence patriarchs of the ruling elite are more likely to rely on their migrant sons for old-age support.

Finally, chapter 3 studies schooling determinants of the children who remained in the village. Nearly one half of the children have never been to school. Results show that children from the ruling elite have a lower probability of being sent to school. This is consistent with the former

result, in the sense that it suggests that the ruling elite would be more inclined to send their children to Koranic schools instead in the view of guarantying their loyalty.

In the general conclusion, I discuss the generalization of such results and propose future research agenda in this line favoring such an “anthropo-econometric” approach.

## **I. The Patriarchs of Matam**

## ***1.1. Introduction***

Economic and social factors are believed to have an adverse impact on older persons' welfare during the process of economic development. Indeed, there is a great concern that this process gradually weakens traditional family ties. As world population is ageing and developing countries are no exception, the increased dependency burden of the elderly is challenging cultural norms such as the respect for the elderly.

On the theoretical side, there is no consensus on the microeconomics of old-age support. The following chapter will allow us to understand the specificity of this family arrangement. On the empirical side, there are still very few studies on old-age support in developing countries and in Africa in particular, with the notable exception of Hoddinott (1994) on Western Kenya. Relevant data are missing. Traditional household survey data are collected whereas data on both ageing parents and adult children are required, and they may not form the same household. Although co-residence of generations is the norm in many developing countries, when migration enters the picture, families become geographically separated. Family Life Surveys by the RAND Corporation<sup>6</sup> are very well fit for this type of study. Indeed, each survey collected detailed current and retrospective information on family structure, transfers, migration, and many other topics. Many have detailed information on relationships among coresident and non-coresident

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<sup>6</sup> See on : <http://www.rand.org/labor/FLS/>

family members. The currently available country surveys cover Malaysia (1976-77, 1988-89), Indonesia (1993, 1997, 2000), Guatemala (1995), and Bangladesh (1996). Obviously, this list of countries is not representative of the world diversity, and unfortunately the African continent is totally excluded from the sample. However, most studies on intergenerational transfers in developing countries are based on these surveys. By their size and their panel data structure (for Malaysia and Indonesia) they allow a great control over observable and unobservable characteristics. Yet, they are definitely very different from the Sub-Saharan context: in their development stage, demographic transition, inequalities... Each country has its own particular history and culture which shape different development paths. Rao and Walton (2004) brilliantly demonstrate how culture can influence development, and should not be overlooked by economists. Hence there is a great need for multiplying case studies on family transfers in different areas, to account for different constraints on the family arrangements.

No mention of any study aimed at studying the elders' livelihood in rural Senegal could be found when I started the investigation. A report on ageing in Senegal that I could find in Dakar, i.e., APAPS (2002), mentions only one national study conducted by Cabinet ORGA-Conseil in 2000. Despite its size (1011 elders) and its national coverage, there are very few information on the elders' household and children. All other studies are mainly centered on retired urban elders, but as pensioners represent only 2.1% of the elderly population, the scope of such studies is limited.

On my first exploratory trip to the Middle Senegal Valley, I was stroke by apparent inequalities within the village. The most apparent one is the great disparity between houses: from traditional mud houses to multi-store permanent buildings. I also soon realized that if some elderly were benefiting from remittances, others had lost tracks of their migrant sons. The following chapter

will focus on the functioning of the old-age support arrangement, this chapter presents the context of the survey and the data collected. The physical and social context of the survey made it particularly interesting.

Since my first field trip in the Valley, I have had the opportunity to witness the influence that the former caste system still has in the decision-making process of any villager in both public and private spheres. However economic studies in Africa have usually put the emphasis on ethnic diversity, rarely incorporating social divisions within ethnic groups. Rephrasing Christopher Udry, I decided “mixing methods”<sup>7</sup> confronting economic theory to other social sciences and direct observations from repeated fieldworks in Senegal, and among the Senegalese migrants here in France. Having control over the whole data collection process from the questionnaire design to the choice of trusted enumerators, gives precise knowledge of the reliability of such sensitive variables as caste and social status.

Focusing on the data collected in six medium-size villages around Matam, the profile of 149 patriarchs will then be exposed, focusing on their relative wealth and status.

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<sup>7</sup> Talk downloaded from his personal webpage : <http://www.econ.yale.edu/~cru2/pdf/conversations.pdf>

## ***I.2. Matam and the Haalpulaar Society***

### **I.2.1. A hierarchical society**

The Haalpulaaren<sup>8</sup> make up the majority of the inhabitants in the Middle Valley. Towards the river delta lay the former Waalo empire of the Wolof whereas in the upper valley are the Soninke. Haalpulaaren can be found on both banks of the river, further North are the Moors and more to the South in the Ferlo Fulani nomads can be found. Indeed, Haalpulaaren are believed to be descendant of Fulani nomads who settled in the valley and mixed with local populations (Serer, Wolof, Moore, Soninke...). In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the region was referred to as Tekrur which is where the name Tukulors comes from<sup>9</sup>. It was first annexed by the Ghana Empire, and then the Mali Empire, until Koly Tengala Ba (a *Denyanke* clan of Fulani) in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, freed the region from the Manding domination and founded the Fuuta Tooro. Islamization began as early as the 9<sup>th</sup> century in the area and spread until charismatic religious leaders took power in 1776. This *Torrobe*<sup>10</sup> revolution brought an end to two centuries of *Denyanke* dynasty. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, El Hajj Futyu Umar Tall led a *jihad* recruiting among the *Futankobe* (“those of Fuuta”) to resist the French army and founded the Macina Empire in modern Mali.

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<sup>8</sup> Meaning ‘those who speak Pulaar’, i.e. the language of the Fulbe (*‘Peuls’* in French). They are also known as ‘Toucouleurs’ (or ‘Tukulors’) which sounds derogatory nowadays...

<sup>9</sup> According to Wane (1969).

<sup>10</sup> It means ‘beggars for alms’ in Pulaar, as they were studying Koran and therefore not economically productive.

The Haalpulaaren are responsible for spreading Islam all over West-Africa, and are highly respected for that in the sub-region. Koly Tenguela and El Hajj Umar are the icons of Haalpulaar pride, and descending from them along with other religious or political figureheads of the Futa is the most sought-after social recognition. Another very important aspect of the family's fame is determined by which social category the family belongs to. The Haalpulaar caste system is rather complex, let us now consider its major features.

Originating from the Mali Empire in the 13th century, the Haalpulaar society's organization shares with other Sahelian societies (see Tamari, 1991) the division of labor and responsibilities between three main social categories: the free men, the craftsmen (metal workers, musicians...) and the former slaves. To give an idea about the complexity of this system, in the appendix Table 1 translated from Wane (1969) summarizes all categories<sup>11</sup>.

As those categories are ascribed at birth inherited from the parents and there are strict marriage rules between categories, they have many properties in common with "castes". The use of the term "caste" is rather controversial, as it usually refers to the different artisan social sub-categories. In this paper, I refer to the caste system as the whole stratified social organization. This name will be used although it is not to be confused with the Hindu case which is very different. It is important to note that cultivating land is the only activity that is common to all social categories.

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<sup>11</sup> Though it is a benchmark in studies of Haalpulaar society, the main criticism of the Wane classification is that it omits the cattle-breeders, the *Fulbe* category, as part of the 'free-born'.

Of course nowadays slavery has been abolished and artisans do not necessarily work in the branch of their group's specialization, but still this classification has some meaning today. Indeed both the artisans and the descendants of slaves suffer from discrimination. Today, this caste-based discrimination mainly consists of marriage constraints, as well as denied access to land, and to political and religious leadership<sup>12</sup>. In the next section, we shall turn to a brief description of each category, and the main subcategories.

The 'free-men' (sometimes called 'nobles', *Rimbe* in Pulaar) make up the majority and consequently are definitely the most heterogeneous group. The standard designation of the 'free-men' as 'nobles' may seem a little misleading, since this group includes even the most impoverished peasant. Indeed, the hereditary aristocratic lineages make up a minority within this category: they are the only families entitled to accede to political power (village chieftainship). Four main subgroups compose this first category depending on the main activity they relate to. It is usually the case that not all categories can be found in each village, and usually one category dominates. Nevertheless in all circumstances, at the top of the hierarchy are the *Torrobe* who are the religious leaders, along with some *Fulbe* traditionally cattle breeders. For the latter category, it is especially the case of the *Denyankobe*, the descendants of the *Denyanke* dynasty (especially present near Matam). Usually of lesser prestige than former sub-categories are the fishermen (*Subalbe*) and the warriors (*Sebe*).

The artisans (*Nyenbe*) are referred to as the 'casted' ('les castés' in French) as this group matches best the idea of caste with job specialization (along with the usual endogamous feature it shares

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<sup>12</sup> See for instance Sy (2002). I will also report different discrimination experiences towards those groups I witnessed during my stays.

with the other categories). All the traditional crafts are represented from the blacksmith (*Waylibe*) to the leather workers (*Sakebe*) and the wood workers (*Laobe*). Along with the craftsmen are the bards (*Griots* in French, *Aolube* in Pulaar). Nowadays *casted* families do not necessarily practice in their specialized activity but they usually still have been transmitting the know-how of their job. They cannot have access to the local political power.

At the bottom end of the pyramid are the former slaves (*Maccube*), rather called captives. In fact at times of wars and *jihads*, prisoners ended up as slaves. As a result, many family names of slaves are of other ethnic group origins<sup>13</sup>, and as a consequence stigmatized, although many slaves took the name of their master. In 1848, the abolitionist law did not put an end to the domestic trade. In Senegal it is in 1901 that the law starts to be enforced, and become efficient in 1906<sup>14</sup>. Although slave status was legally banned over a century ago, their status has evolved slowly. Nowadays, in Haalpulaar society descendants of slaves are still expected to be deferential to nobles, to cook on festive occasions and sometimes repair their former master's house<sup>15</sup>. They distinguish themselves by their willingness to work hard. An illustration of their position in the society can be found in 'joking relationships'. Depending on one's family name, one is allowed to tease people from another clan (one's joking kin) without offending anybody. Usually the jokes are very humiliating and are centered on either greed for food or calling the other your slave (and the other reciprocates). During my fieldwork, I had the opportunity to work

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<sup>13</sup> ...and usually of noble origins, as the artisans were not enslaved but kept their specialization.

<sup>14</sup> See Delaunay (1983): 43.

<sup>15</sup> Each year after the rainy season, traditional mud houses need to be repaired, especially the roof. I witnessed this in two different villages during my stay.

with a man of slave origin who would systematically refuse to interview people belonging to his joking kinship. No matter how bright an educated he was, he explicitly told me how he felt uncomfortable with such jokes, and did not feel like reciprocating.

The main form of discrimination is the fact that only the free born and the most important artisans may traditionally own the most valuable lands by the river banks (*waalo* in Pulaar). Nowadays, cases can be found of slaves' families that now own such lands after their former masters gave them away but it is still rather an exception. Regularly in Senegalese newspapers, there are articles about mixed marriages ('inter-castes') which prove that it is still a scandal, even in the capital city, or abroad<sup>16</sup>. In villages it is all the more difficult for an artisan or the descendant of slaves to marry a noble woman. As a consequence, before a marriage occurs, there is always a preliminary enquiry led by the in-laws, to make sure of the compatibility between both social categories of the groom and the bride.

In reality, it is never the case that all these categories can be found in one village. Usually there are villages founded by fishermen others by warriors, or even slaves usually near to nobles' villages. Nevertheless, there are some rules that always apply: the Imam will always be chosen among the Torrobe, the village chief and notables among the dominant free-born category (fishermen, warriors, Torrobe or Fulbe). These important families have usually taken along their dependent families: their former slaves and artisans.

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<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to look at the frequency of inter-caste marriages as the subject of many discussions in Senegalese forums (often of the diaspora).

It is clear that all these social categories were not fixed, but that they evolved as some commoners have strategically been conferred a title of nobility as a reward for good services, or new warriors recruited among former slaves<sup>17</sup>... It is important to keep in mind that these categories corresponded to a genuine need for a specific job allocation during the former era. The official abolition of slavery along with the emergence of the modern market economy render this classification outdated on practical grounds. Nevertheless it is striking how relevant this classification remains in contemporary Haalpulaar culture.

### **I.2.2. Prospects for the Middle Senegal Valley economy**

The Senegal River constitutes the border between Senegal and Mauritania. The Middle Valley is a semi-arid savanna sandwiched between arid zones of Ferlo and the Sahara desert. The harsh climate distinguishes two seasons. From June to August is the rainy season with frequent showers and river floods. The rest of the year is the dry season with temperature rising up to 50°C before the first rains. On the fringe of the desert, the soil is poor so the most fertile lands lie by the river banks thanks to alluvial deposits due to the river's natural flood cycles. The three main economic activities have always been fishing, stock breeding and agriculture. Characterized by low rainfalls, the annual flooding of the river after the rainy season yields rich alluvial lands in the lowlands (*waalo* in *Pulaar*) when waters have receded. The relative prosperity of the zone originates from the practice of this double cropping: rain-fed crops from

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<sup>17</sup> The well-documented historical novel *Les Peuls* by Tierno Monénembo perfectly illustrates how mobile these social categories were over generations.

June to August, in the highlands (*jeeri* in *Pulaar*), and flood-recession crops from September to December, in the lowlands. Main traditional crops are millet and various vegetables (beans, squash, sweet potatoes...).

The Middle Senegal Valley had been a relative prosperous region thanks to its flood-recession cropping. The control over those fertile lands gave the economic power to the local aristocracy<sup>18</sup>.

Previously involved in the Trans-Saharan trade, during colonization the river was the stage of gum and slave trade and thus benefited from its strategic location. Local chiefs would tax European traders in exchange for protection (the so-called 'coutume'). In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the trade intensifies on the river. The end of the slave trade in 1807 is followed by the end of the prosperity of the gum trade from 1840<sup>19</sup>.

The colonizer's policy turned then to the development of the Peanut Basin in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The construction of the Dakar-Niamey railroad starting in 1906 finished to isolate the Senegal valley. The economic decline of the valley in this period is severed by the repeated drought of the 1970's.

Projects to develop the river agricultural potential initiated during colonization are based on irrigated rice-growing. Since the early 1970s, irrigation systems have been expanding to supplement rain-fed and flood recession crops, and to act as a safety net, buffering against food shortages in years of poor rainfall and flooding.

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<sup>18</sup> See Schmitz (1994)

<sup>19</sup> See Minvielle (1985): 54.

The introduction of water management facilities has reshaped the profits of these activities. In 1985, a dam was built in Diama 40km upstream from Saint-Louis to prevent salt from entering the delta and the lower valley, and in 1989, the hydropower dam of Manantali in Mali was built. The idea was that floods were unpredictable and sometimes devastating for villages on the river banks. The dam is planned to provide electricity to the 3 neighboring countries, i.e. Mali, Mauritania and Senegal. However the results are mitigated as the energy objective is not compatible with natural floods cycles: so far, floods are artificially maintained, but peasants fear it will not last. The dams have also been devastating for the fishing activity, along with the frequent droughts, reaching the point where most of the fish consumed in the valley come from the ocean, usually dried. Fishing has become a marginal secondary activity for fishermen who now engage in boat transportation which is a necessity when roads are flooded, as is usually the case for 3 to 4 months a year.

The projected expansion of irrigation schemes since operation of the dams has fallen far short of initial expectations for multiple reasons. These include high production costs, low yields per unit labor and capital, poor infrastructural development and scheme maintenance, and a lack of internal social cohesion and organization. There is extensive documentation of poor irrigation performance for technical, economic, and sociological reasons<sup>20</sup>. Schemes are presently operating at below 50% of projected capacity with cropping intensities at only 60% of capacity in the wet season and 20% in the dry season.

Initially irrigation was very promising but the cost of oil and maintenance for motor-pumps, along with the cost of fertilizers and seeds make it profitable for rich farmers or efficient peasant

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<sup>20</sup> See Adams (2000) for a detailed criticism of the project

cooperatives only. For the vast majority of the peasants of the valley it remains impossible to make a self-sustainable business out of it. As a consequence, nowadays, there are many schemes and water supplies that are abandoned and badly-kept. In fact, conventional wisdom admits that it is rather difficult to make a decent living out of agricultural activities in the valley. In the meantime, migrants engage in conspicuous consumption either for religious celebrations or in housing, after just a few years abroad.

### **I.2.3. Some background on migration history**

Both Soninke (located upstream) and Haalpulaar are famous for their migration history (“les gens du fleuve”). Though the research is more intense on the previous group, a quite extended literature can also be found on the Haalpulaaren.

The migration history is sometimes traced back to their mobility due to the nomadic or semi-nomadic stock-breeding activity of the Fulbe, or to the religious jihads, e.g., the most famous one led by El Haj Umar. While the cattle migrations are rather local and the religious migration very specific, they are not of great relevance when studying contemporaneous labor migration.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the valley economy was a barter economy: the local agricultural production was exchanged with imported goods from Europe. The rising demand for imported goods, the impossibility to get cash locally combined with the introduction of the tax having to be paid in cash from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, imposed the migration of the peasants. Until the 1960's,

the Haalpulaaren are more centered on domestic migration, whereas the Soninke are more focused on international migration, e.g., in France, and other African countries. Ba (1996) distinguishes 5 migration periods or phases. The first one concerns the Trans-Saharan trade and the “tirailleurs” (African soldiers engaged in the French army during colonization), but is more intense in the neighboring Soninke group. The second phase begins in 1920 until the independence and concerns domestic migration to the Peanut Basin or the urban centers, mainly Dakar. By 1955, the Haalpulaaren constitute the second population in size after the Wolof. The third phase from the 1950’s until the 1970’s are centered towards African destinations and France. Whereas previously the migration was rather limited to young single men, the fourth phase sees the generalization of the migration to women and children. In France, it corresponds to the family reunification law in 1973. The hardening of the immigration laws in countries of destination, leads to a fifth phase beginning in the 1980’s and characterized by a diversification of destinations.

### ***1.3. The survey***

The survey was originally designed and constructed to study old-age support arrangements in a poor rural area. The recent heat wave of August 2003 was a good starting point to justify my investigations. The excess death toll among the elderly in France had been a scandal in Senegal as it revealed the poor living conditions of older people in France. The perception of old people’s homes is very negative in Senegal as it is in many developing countries. Talking about the lack

of support from the family in France helped me starting the conversation on how older persons are taken care of in the villages.

Hence, the relevant unit of observation must be the intergenerational family. Traditionally Haalpulaaren societies are virilocal: after marriage the wife joins the husband's family home. So, as in most developing countries, intergenerational co-residence is the norm, but once migration enters the picture, the family becomes geographically dispersed. Moreover, the society is patrilineal, so that I focused on the father-sons relations. Hence, the questionnaire is made of 3 parts: I collected data over the patriarch, his sons whether present or on migration, and all household members living with the patriarch.

The household representing the unit of consumption and income-pooling is the set of nuclear families of the father and his sons each composed of their spouses (presence of polygamy) and children or other dependents (nieces and nephews, grand-children...). In *Pulaar* it is clearly defined as the *foyre* meaning the 'kitchen'. Indeed the meal sharing is the most visible form of income-pooling. The *foyre* is composed of several *suudu* which are the nuclear family (it could be translated as 'room'): one for each spouse in case of polygamy. In the same compound (*galle* in *Pulaar*) there could be several *foyre*, although in the survey area it was rather rare.

### **I.3.1. Choice of the field team**

I had noticed that when investigating about such private and intimate matters as wealth and money transfers, the information would be more accurate if collected by someone who doesn't directly know the respondent. At the same time I quickly realized that villagers are often fed up with surveys as the area has been the stage of frequent surveys from the government (the latest 2002 population census), NGOs and researchers from different disciplines and origins (mostly French and Americans). Thus a need for enumerators entrusted by village chiefs was required while enumerators who would not be known by the villagers but from the same cultural background. This last point is of particular importance as I witnessed interviews being held in Wolof in Pulaar speaking villages, and while the respondent understood well and could answer back in Wolof, the required trust was not present. My team of five enumerators bore the advantage of being from 2 different areas. Still they all had a long record of previous survey experiences, and were all Haalpulaaren. I met 3 of my enumerators during my first fieldtrip. They were working with the SAED in the downstream Podor department, and I noticed their eagerness and intelligence. I was only half surprised when I found out they were heads of team of enumerators during the population census on my second trip. Having witnessed how the job was done with several teams in different locations, I could truly appreciate their superior know-how. I met the 2 local enumerators prior to the survey and thanks to the local branch of the Statistics Department (DPS Matam). The team was a perfect fit to my needs as the local enumerators were in charge of getting us accepted in the village with the village chiefs whom they usually knew, while the 3 others would carry out most of the household surveys.

### **I.3.2. Sample design: village and household selection**

Matam is located over 400km upstream from Saint-Louis. Upstream from Matam, in a range of 20km, I selected villages of comparable sizes excluding hamlets and huge villages. I randomly selected 3 villages by the river banks (Bow, Thially Souballo and Thiemping) and 3 in the highlands (Thiambe, Galloyabe Toucouleur and Hombo). All these villages are homogenous in the ethnic group: they are all Haalpulaar villages, but heterogeneous in caste composition: fishermen *jubalble* make up the majority of both Bow and Thially, warriors *sebbe* in Thiemping, *torrobe* in both Thiambe and Galloyabe and both *fulbe* and *maccube* in Hombo.

Focusing on father and son relation, in each village I exhaustively surveyed all patriarchs above 65 years old whose oldest son alive must be above 25. In each village, after introducing ourselves (myself and the team of enumerators), we explained the purpose of the survey to the village chiefs. It was important to explain that this was an independent study for an academic purpose only. In one village we encountered some difficulties as the village chief had just died and it was a period of transition to nominate the new one. The question was where we should be hosted as it usually was the village chief's duty. We paid visits to the 2 families competing for the position and found as an excuse that the family of the former chief was still grieving to be hosted by the challenger.

We then collected the exhaustive list of elderly men to the village chief. The first questions of the survey would allow to spot whether they were eligible for the survey: i.e., their exact age and whether they had a son above 25 still alive.

The survey was mainly conducted in May 2004 just before the first rains of June. At this time of the year some migrants are visiting to give a hand on the rain-fed highland fields. The negative part is that the temperature is at the maximum reaching over 50C in the shade. By choosing to be hosted by village chiefs, sharing meals as well as afternoon and evening teas, I had the opportunity to exchange a lot with the villagers, and those informal discussions are a great source of information. The interviews were conducted in the mornings and late afternoon to avoid the hottest hours. The questionnaire was in the form of closed questions, the enumerators had a code sheet making it easy to use. Nevertheless, some spaces were left for the enumerators to leave complementary observations or to clarify a situation. This mix of hard and soft information proved very useful when analyzing econometric result.

### **I.3.3. The questionnaire**

I worked with the enumerators on the questionnaire design to avoid hurting the respondent with sensible questions. The fact that the questions were directly asked to the patriarch for a great part, made this matter more crucial still. Respect due to seniority is very important. Hence they helped me rephrasing them when they were too direct. We worked together on the translation of the key words and sentences in Pulaar to be sure that the same questions would be asked by all enumerators.

Here is a brief questionnaire's description<sup>21</sup>. The household questionnaire is made of 3 parts and starts with the household members' census, collecting the sex, age, precise family links within each family unit and with family unit's head and the patriarch, and the residential status. Indeed, to recompose family structures, a migrant who has left wives and children in the household is checked as migrant. The residential status permanent/temporary/migrant depends on the presence of the member during the previous year: more than 6 months away implies that he is considered as migrant. As collecting the exact age of the household members is very difficult, time consuming and usually flawed with measurement errors, I focused on the age groups<sup>22</sup>. In the second part, information on the educational level, marital status, economic activities, and past migrations were collected for all permanent and temporary members above 7 years old. The third part collects all sources of income generated by each activity. An attempt was made to assess the value of the farm output, and all transfers were recorded remittances with the source's reference or family link.

The patriarch's spouses unit consists of the census of all the spouses with the rank, the exact age, wedding date and year of divorce or death if relevant.

The patriarch's children unit is made of 2 parts. First a census of all children was done, whether living with the patriarch or away, with the exact age and sex. Foster children were also taken into account tracing back the identity of his parents. The second part gives details on the children who were not living with the patriarch: education, marital status, economic activities and migration history. Information was collected on the cost and financing of migration, reasons and

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<sup>21</sup> The complete questionnaire can be found in the appendix.

<sup>22</sup> There are 8 intervals: 0-6, 7-12, 13-17, 18-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55-64, 65 and over.

individual or collective decision to leave, length of migration, last return. As the emphasis was put on the patriarch's sons, and the questionnaire quite long, married daughters have been underreported.

The patriarch's unit starts with detailed health matters. This was an "ice-breaker" device, but it also allowed me to compute health expenditure. Data on food habit were collected also as a measure of poverty: frequency of meat, length of forced fast. These questions required caution as hunger and food matter are quite taboo. A second part aimed at collecting information on support received by their children: frequencies of visits, transfers, and news. A short part on childhood and schooling (raised by own parents, length of Koranic studies, and degree of oral comprehension of Wolof, Arabic and French) is followed by some questions about the respondent's father: date of settlement of the paternal lineage, economic activity, migration history. In this part the "social origin" of the family and the political (or religious) function of the father in the village were asked. The emphasis was put on showing that castes were something of the past, and that the history of the villages and the families were among the objectives of the survey. At this stage I collected the caste of the family directly, but this information was double checked with informants after the survey. Then bequest received by the patriarch was collected, with emphasis on cattle and land. Economic activities of the patriarch along with past migrations were then recorded along with pension received. A wealth section records ownership of cattle, productive asset, and other durable goods. The last part consists of assessing precise landownership and utilization.

#### ***I.4. Prestige and economic success***

Overall 149 patriarchs were surveyed over 6 villages. Their households represent 1765 individuals: an average of 11.8 individuals per household. The distribution of the number of sampled patriarchs over villages roughly reflects the village's population size.

##### **I.4.1. Profile of the patriarchs, their wives and sons**

On average 73 years old, the patriarchs are between 65 and 90 years old. Below is the table of age distribution. Again, ages have to be treated with caution as they are usually not precisely known by the respondent himself.

**Table I-1: Patriarch's age distribution**

Age Group	Freq.	%
[65-69]	60	40,27
[70-74]	29	19,46
[75-79]	32	21,48
[80-84]	21	14,09
[85-90]	7	4,70
TOTAL	149	100

Table I-2 below is the caste composition of the sample. Free men represent 70% of the total sample while each 'caste' is evenly distributed.

**Table I-2: Castes composition**

CATEGORIES	CASTES	FREQ	PERCENT	
Free men	<i>Pullo</i>	23	16%	70%
	<i>Torrodo</i>	28	19%	
	<i>Ceddo</i>	25	17%	
	<i>Cuballo</i>	27	18%	
Artisans	<i>Nyeno</i>	19	13%	
Slaves	<i>Maccudo</i>	25	17%	
	TOTAL	147		

As the free men represent the vast majority, it is important to insist that 41% only of all patriarchs belong to the notability i.e., have a say in the village politics. *Torrodo*, *Ceddo* and *Cuballo* represent 72% of the notables. This shows that indeed some lower castes are also part of the notability but to a lesser extent.

None of the patriarchs have attended formal school. 81% declare having attended Koranic schools, the mean age when they quitted Koranic studies being 14.5 years old. Only one *Torrodo* and a *Cuballo* have studied Koranic schools beyond 30 years old. There is however a concern that this data is rather fragile for several reasons. First, this requires the patriarch to remember a precise date in the past. As mentioned before, their birth year is not even precisely known, so a date in their childhood can only be seen as a rough estimate. It could also be seen as a signal of their respectability for notables and nobles especially, but also for artisans and slaves trying to gain respect through a religious legitimacy.

Only 10% declare being in good health. Half of them suffer from chronic diseases (mainly rheumatism). Nearly 1 out of 5 declared having suffered from health problem in the last 12

months. This reflects the health of an elderly in such a rough environment: life expectancy is very low in rural Senegal, and the elders who survive are in poor health conditions.

### *The patriarch's spouses*

In table below is the distribution of number of wives alive at the time of the survey. 30% of patriarchs have more than a wife alive at the time of the survey. Only 5% are widows. Pullo, Torrodo and Ceddo are the only ones to have more than 2 wives.

**Table 1-3: Distribution of patriarch's number of wives**

Nb. spouses	Freq.	%
0	8	5,37
1	94	63,09
2	40	26,85
3	6	4,03
4	1	0,67

The spouses are between the age of 24 and 64, with an average of 54. This implies an average of 19 age gap between the patriarch and his wife. Their mean age at marriage is 19. It increases with the date of marriage: after 1975, the mean becomes 23.

### *The patriarch's sons*

Their age varies between 0 and 60 years old, averaging 25. The youngest son to be married is 17 years old. Among the sons above 17 years old, 57% are single.

On average, each patriarch has 4.3 sons alive, among which 2.7 live with him. Those co-residing with their father are 21 years old on average, whereas those on migration at the time of the survey are 33 on average. Only 31% of the patriarchs don't have any migrant sons.

#### **I.4.2. Multiple indicators of economic well-being**

In a poor rural areas, where there are no wages it is difficult to measure wealth. However, some indication about income sources, assets and consumption are available.

##### *Income*

There are 4 income sources: agriculture, non-agriculture activities, migration, and pensions. Non-agricultural activities are mainly retail shops (“boutique”), and income from migration consists mainly of remittances from sons. However there are a few patriarchs who receive remittances from other family members, typically nephews. Among the 47 patriarchs without any sons on migration, 10 still receive remittances.

Surprisingly 5 households declared not earning anything from those sources. 30% of the patriarchs receive a pension. 64% of the patriarchs can rely on remittances. Only 6 households rely solely on non-agricultural production. One third of households combine both remittances and earnings from agricultural production. 20% of the households can only rely on its agricultural production, the same proportion rely only on remittances.

##### *Assets*

- Bequests: 36% declared not having received anything valuable as bequest. 17% have received cattle, and 58% land.
- Land ownership: Four types of land were identified with different crops and farming techniques (flood-recession, rain-fed, and irrigation plots). Naturally, the allocation of those lands is very specific to each village’s location: near the river or on the highland

(*jeeri* villages). It is noticeable that 83% of patriachs by the river own some irrigated land whereas none do in *jeeri* villages where rain-fed agriculture dominates. Overall, 13% of the patriachs don't own any land.

**Table I-4: Land type distribution by village location**

land by type	villages	
	<i>River</i>	<i>jeeri</i>
Flood	65%	35%
Rain	31%	80%
Irrigation	83%	0%
<i>N</i> =	84	65

- Cattle ownership: Only 54% of the patriachs own cattle. The cattle consist of cows, sheep and goats, on average respectively 1.4, 3.9 and 1.8 heads per patriarch on average.
- Durable goods: Here is a list of durable goods owned by the patriarch. Owning a permanent house is probably the most visible achievement, symbol of economic success.

**Table I-5: Durable goods' ownership**

Furniture	14%
Mattress	53%
Watch	75%
Phone	10%
Radio	75%
Television	8%
Permanent house	45%

### *Migration experience*

The patriarch's father migration was rather limited. Only 24% of the patriarchs' fathers had been on migration and mainly migrated to Senegalese urban centers. Seven patriarch's fathers (4.7%) were former 'tirailleurs' and are the only ones to have been out of Africa.

This proportion doubles for the patriarchs. 55% of the patriarchs are return migrants. Data on their first and last migration have been collected. Table I-6 gives basic statistics for destinations and date of departure.

**Table I-6: Destination distribution, mean date of departure and duration**

Destination	first migration			last migration		
	distrib.	mean date	mean duration	distrib.	mean date	mean duration
Senegal	80%	1954	9.9	40%	1969	7.9
Neighboring countries	10%	1955	4.6	18%	1968	5.7
Other African countries	3%	1961	5.5	29%	1966	11.9
Europe	8%	1955	6.6	11%	1978	14.4
US	0	.	.	2%	1999	3
Total	80	1956	7.9	62	1970	9.47

While first migrations were mainly domestic and concentrated in Dakar, last migrations display greater destination choices: mostly African, migration outside the continent reach 13%. Most recent migrations to other African countries and Europe tend to last longer. There is only one patriarch who was a 'tirailleur'. It is noteworthy that 6 out of the 7 patriarchs whose father was 'tirailleur' have migrated and 2 of them to Europe.

### *Consumption*

Another proxy of wealth is food consumption. It is very common in this area that during the period of transition when the cereal stock is getting empty and the next harvest is not ripe yet. There was a section on the survey on that and in particular one question about the number of days the last period of food scarcity lasted. One third of the patriarchs admitted having suffered from food scarcity in the last 12 months.

### **I.4.3. Wealth and status**

While prestige and wealth are often linked, belonging to a prestigious family doesn't necessarily mean being wealthy, and vice-versa. In reality, it is almost impossible to differentiate economic from social status. However, I present here some evidence that they are linked with different types of wealth.

First, a quick econometric study reveals that economic factors prevail over social ones as determinants of the occurrence of food scarcity crisis. Results are displayed in Table I-7 below. Owning cattle and receiving transfers (either pensions or remittances) are key determinants to prevent food scarcity crisis. Controlling for other factors, the ownership of land and belonging to the village notability is not significant as well as the household size. To some extent this is some evidence that cattle play the role of buffer stock and migrants insure family members against income risks.

What is worth noting is that being notable doesn't lower the probability of suffering from food scarcity.

**Table I-7: Marginal effects of probit models for food scarcity and permanent house**

Dependent variable:	Food scarcity
Land ownership	0.118 (1.06)
Cattle ownership	-0.189 (2.18)**
Notable	0.099 (1.12)
Nb. Hh members	-0.008 (1.35)
New comer	0.271 (2.41)**
Receive transfers	-0.311 (3.37)***

Observations: N=148. Includes village dummies not displayed.

Robust z statistics in parentheses

\* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%

On the contrary, bequests are highly dependent on the notability status. Chi square tests were run over land and cattle bequests to measure the link with notability: the inheritance of cultivable land is highly linked with being notable with a Chi square of 6.9 significant at 1% level of confidence, whereas the inheritance of cattle is not (Chi square of 0.35). However the link between notability and present land ownership is not significant (Chi square of 0.16). This is in line with the fact that there has been to some extent a democratization of the access to land.

Hence, receiving pension or remittances allows the patriarch to cope with food scarcity. Being notable doesn't prevent from starvation, while it is linked with more land bequests.

Here is a summary of patriarch's characteristics by social status. It is striking to see that there is a higher proportion of low caste patriarchs who receives a pension despite a lower proportion to have a migration experience. Those pensions are received by migrants who could enter the formal sector.

**Table I-8: Patriarch's characteristics by notability**

		non-notable		notable
		low-caste	"free men"	
distribution		22%	37%	41%
demo	age	72.9	72.7	75.2
	# spouses	1.2	1.3	1.4
	# adult sons	3.0	3.2	3.4
	mig. exp.	58%	44%	64%
income	pension	42%	20%	33%
	agric.	45%	80%	57%
	non agric.	18%	24%	31%
	mig.	58%	57%	72%
wealth	inherited land	45%	51%	71%
	land ownership	85%	89%	85%
	cattle ownership	45%	53%	61%
	permanent house	42%	38%	52%

### ***I.5. Conclusion***

The Haalpulaaren are renowned for the persistence of their hierarchical social organization inherited from pre-colonial times. Basically, descents of slaves and artisans are the most stigmatized groups. The most striking evidence is that the local political and religious powers are in the hands of a few families of notables. The origin of their power stems from their control

over the rich alluvial banks of the river. Flood-recession agriculture was until the 70's the most profitable activity. The development of irrigation in the Middle Valley democratized access to land. However, the prospects of the economic development of the valley are rather limited so far. Overall, it is not clear what the consequences on the contemporary economic achievement of the different social groups are.

The unique dataset collected near Matam sheds some light on this issue. Focusing on patriarchs over 65 years old, it is striking to see that their food consumption is more linked with pensions and remittances than their social status. The ownership of land and cattle are no longer key sources of income nowadays. It is rather the receipt of transfers who can secure food consumption.

In this context, landownership does not seem to represent a key asset to cope with the risky environment. The former supremacy of notables in landownership seems to have somehow faded away. Getting remittances from migrant household members seem a better insurance against poverty. However, the following chapter will further analyze who benefit from it.

## **II. Family Prestige as Old-Age Security**

## ***II.1. Introduction***

Few years ago, working on old-age support in Africa sounded rather strange. This is mainly due to two preconceived ideas: first the continent is not concerned with ageing issues, second the myth of the '*vieux sage*' is still pervasive, and has prevented thorough scientific studies on their actual situation. In 1994, the World Bank sent a warning about global ageing: Africa was no exception as the share of people over 60 year old was forecasted to double in the next 25 years. On the other hand, in a poor agrarian economy, food scarcity tends to favor most productive members over young children or elders. Whereas children will soon become productive, elders do not seem to be in a position to reciprocate. Nonetheless the livelihoods of the elderly mainly rely on the support of the kinship group, and more likely on the children in most developing countries.

Ex-ante, economies of scales at the household level suggest that ageing parents should co-reside with their children, and indeed, intergenerational coresidence is quite common in developing countries.<sup>23</sup> However, low-income rural areas are risky environments, and once this feature is taken into account, sending a family member away in order to provide support for the family in times of hardships seems a much better response. The 'new economics of migration' lead by Oded Stark (1990) views migration as one of family strategies to cope with a risky environment.

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<sup>23</sup> In fact this was the case anywhere, when no reliable pension systems existed.

This has been well documented in theoretical and empirical literature on the economics of migration and remittances.<sup>24</sup>

From an economist point of view, there is an informal familial contract between the migrant adult son and his father. Though not denied to play a role, love and sense of duty alone do not provide credible enough incentives for the contract to be self-enforcing. This paper aims at finding out what enforcement mechanisms exist to make them abide by this informal contract despite geographical distance. Why do migrants send substantial parts of their earnings to their ageing parents who stayed behind in the village? What are the young migrant incentives not to renege on such contract? What do older parents actually have to offer in return? Based on an original survey conducted in 2004, around Matam, Senegal, empirical evidence indicate that within the traditional village society both migration and remittance decisions of a son are linked with the social ranking of his father.<sup>25</sup>

In their seminal paper Coate and Ravallion (1993) develop a theoretical model of solidarity networks in a village economy, formalizing Fafchamps (1992), giving the rationale behind the sustainability of the reciprocity without any commitment. Facing the same ex-ante idiosyncratic risks, villagers help each other today, keeping in mind that it could well be the other way around tomorrow. In comparison, economic theory does not provide a unified framework regarding the enforcement mechanisms in the case of children providing support to their elderly parents. Indeed, the reciprocity vanishes, as old parents are not in a position to reciprocate, yet some

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<sup>24</sup> See Docquier and Rapoport (2006) for a recent review.

<sup>25</sup> I will indeed focus on father to son relationship as Haalpulaar is a patrilineal society.

commitment exists. Laferrère and Wolff (2006) present a great variety of both theoretical and empirical microeconomic models on family transfers in general and the “children as old-age security” model in particular. In reality many mechanisms come into play at the same time, depending on the physical constraints as well as the cultural context.

Nonetheless, there remains an unsolved rationality problem with this model: if the gains are obvious from the family viewpoint, it is less clear when turning to migrant’s point of view. Indeed, why wouldn’t he simply renege on the familial arrangements? The issue becomes even more striking when turning to the motivations of a young migrant providing support to his family left behind who primarily consists of his old parents. They do not seem to be in a position to assist him in return as the mutual insurance contract stipulates, in case of unemployment for instance. A classical motive invoked is the “strategic bequest motive”<sup>26</sup>: children compete for parents’ inheritance. In this view, parents can threaten their children not to bequest them anything if they had not being supportive. Accordingly, young children remit to secure their bequest. In Botswana, Lucas and Stark (1985) found that wealthier families in terms of cattle ownership receive more remittances. Hoddinott (1994) tested this model on rural Kenyan data, and found remittances responsive to bequeathable lands. What happens then in a changing society when land or cattle ownership are no longer sought after? Furthermore, in most countries, inheritance division is settled by law. Under such circumstances, this mechanism doesn’t seem credible anymore.

After briefly describing the cultural context of the fieldwork, i.e. the Haalpulaaren of the Senegal River Middle Valley, I will describe the theoretical framework placing the role of family prestige

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<sup>26</sup> As Bernheim, Schleifer and Summers (1985) named it

as a central enforcement device for the old-age support arrangements. The next section exposes the empirical strategy - from the data collection process to the econometric specification - developed to highlight the relevance of this hypothesis. After presenting the results based on the household survey, along with additional qualitative evidence that support this scenario, I conclude with some policy implications on migration and development.

## ***II.2. Physical and cultural context***

Constraints from the physical environment on one hand, and the cultural context of the area on the other hand, make the “strategic bequest motive” less relevant. I collected data on remittance behavior in the Senegal middle valley where migration has long been considered a better strategy than working in the local agriculture sector. In this context, the return of ‘physical’ bequests has become close to insignificant for a migrant son.

### **II.2.1. A non-profitable environment**

Less than a century ago, the middle valley was relatively prosperous and therefore economically attractive. The keys to success were the navigability of the river, the cattle breeding and fishing activities along with the existence of two harvest seasons in October and in March. Rain-fed agriculture in the semi-arid highlands combined with the flood-fed culture by the river banks allowed such prosperity.

Several factors contributed to render any agricultural activity very risky and almost not profitable at all. Since World War II, the region has a long tradition of migration: repeated droughts in the seventies and eighties accelerated the phenomenon. To curb rural exodus, the French during colonization, and the state after independence, both invested in huge irrigation projects, and dams. Irrigation provides year-around crops and the dam is planned to provide electricity to the three neighboring countries, i.e. Mali, Mauritania and Senegal. However the results are mitigated

as the power supply objective is not compatible with natural floods cycles. Moreover, the cost of oil and maintenance for motor-pumps, along with the cost of fertilizers and seeds make it profitable for rich farmers or efficient peasant cooperatives only. The zone is also very remote, and the national road linking Saint-Louis to Matam has never been seriously maintained so that the local production cannot easily reach the urban sectors. For the vast majority of the peasants of the valley it remains impossible to make a self-sustainable business out of it. As a consequence, nowadays, there are many schemes and water supplies that are badly-kept. In fact, conventional wisdom admits that it is rather difficult to make a decent living out of agricultural activities in the valley. In the meantime, migrants engage in conspicuous consumption either for religious celebrations or in housing, after just a few years abroad.

### **II.2.2. Limited social mobility in the village**

Some historical background on the Haalpulaaren, who represent the majority of the population of the area, formerly known as Fuuta Tooro, can be found in Wane (1969). The Haalpulaaren are responsible for spreading Islam all over West-Africa, and are highly respected for that in the country and the sub-region. They are rigorous Muslim followers. This gives an additional argument against the “strategic bequest motive”, as Islam has very precise inheritance sharing rules: a son gets one share and a daughter gets half a share.

At the political level, if the administrative system is inherited from the French one, villages have remained in the hand of the traditional chiefs. Descending from religious or political figureheads of the Fuuta is the most sought-after social recognition. Another very important aspect of the

family prestige is determined by which social category the family belongs to. Traditional Haalpulaar society, like many Sahelian societies, (see Tamari, 1991) is based on a division into three main social categories:

1. The 'free born' is the largest yet the most heterogeneous group as both nobles and commoners can be found.
2. The artisans and musicians who are free but economically dependent on their patrons. The most representative ones being the *griots* (in French): the praise-singers.
3. The (descendants of) slaves, who despite the fact that both Islam and the 1905 law have abolished slavery, continue to suffer from many discriminations.

To get a better idea about the complexity of this system, go to table A.1 in the appendix where more detailed explanations are given. In reality, the use of the term 'caste' is rather controversial, as it usually refers to the different artisan social sub-categories: *les castés* in French. In this paper, I refer to 'the caste system' as the whole stratified social organization. It is clear that all these social categories were not fixed, but that they evolved as some commoners have strategically been conferred a title of nobility as a reward for good services, or new warriors recruited among former slaves. It is important to keep in mind that these categories corresponded to a genuine need for a specific job allocation during the former era. The official abolition of slavery along with the emergence of the modern market economy render this classification outdated on practical grounds. Likewise, artisans do not necessarily work in the branch of their group's specialization, though both the artisans and the descendants of slaves still suffer from discriminations nowadays. They mainly consist of marriage constraints, as well as denied access

to land, and to political and religious leadership.<sup>27</sup> Indeed at the political level, if the administrative system is absolutely similar to the French one, villages have remained in the hand of the traditional chiefs. It is really striking how relevant this classification remains in contemporary Haalpulaar culture.

In this traditional view, your birth determines your personality (cf. Wane 1969 who depicts each caste with a specific personal trait). It is said for instance that one should not trust an artisan because he may just be trying to seduce oneself in order to receive gifts. Not knowing the whole genealogy of one's family is also a problem: it is the case that former slaves in particular have lost track of their ancestors... The role played by this caste system appears in everyday life, as there is a set of implicit rules that each group must follow, driven by 'the sense of honor' which is specific to the nobles. There are many ways for higher status individuals to distinguish themselves from lower status ones.<sup>28</sup> At the core of the noble's code of honor, is the importance of always being in the position of giving and never asking. It is by giving and being publicly generous that the noble will be able to demonstrate his worthiness. When belonging to such families it is an unbearable shame to have economic difficulties. There are great pressures to display generous behavior. Maintaining a high social status is expensive as it means giving to their griots and many clients (former slaves, artisans...). The size of the clientele represents the

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<sup>27</sup> See for instance Sy (2002).

<sup>28</sup> Bodily posture, where one sits and how one addresses others in public meetings are manners of displaying one's rank. Typically, although not specific to Haalpulaar society, lengthy traditional greetings are relevant to the social status of protagonists. One aspect is the repetition of the family name, which is called 'yetode' in Pulaar and literally means 'the name that honours'.

power of the family. Along with the warm-glow effect of giving, griots directly raise the utility of the giver by advertising his generosity, which directly improves his reputation<sup>29</sup>. Aristocratic families still ought to give to their former clientele during baptisms, weddings and religious events.

It is striking however that the knowledge of a family name doesn't allow identifying the caste of a person, even within a village. Except for a few family names exclusive of artisans or slaves, most of the family names of those social categories are similar to free men's ones. As a result genealogical manipulations are possible outside the village.

### ***II.3. Theoretical Framework: 'the Strategic Baraka Motive'***

In a stratified society ruled as a gerontocracy, an old man may benefit from an advantageous position in local politics if and only if he belongs to a high ranked family. Few families have a say in choosing the village leader, and even less have a chance to become one. Hence, the family name becomes a valuable symbolic bequest for such important families. At the same time, it is well known that nowadays, many former slaves, or bards take advantage of their position too, and like to remind their former masters of their duty to provide them with gifts. Thus respecting this social pressure to give requires high income. Migration appears as a solution to finance these conspicuous expenses.

Conducting focus groups and individual interviews, I was told many times during my investigations - both in France among the Diaspora, and in Senegal - that a very strong

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<sup>29</sup> See Azam (1995) for an interesting economic interpretation of such norm.

motivation for remitting is to earn blessings and prayers for felicity. Here religion and traditional beliefs interfere. Indeed there are some mystical practices in Haalpulaar, Wolof and Serer traditions, consisting in calling the migrant to come back home (Sylla & M'Baye 1991). There are legends about migrants coming back home in a rush and losing memory of how this happened and then going insane. This is said to be adapted as a last resort, as retaliation for an unreliable son. Repeatedly the importance of being near your dying parents as they will transmit the *baraka* of the whole dynasty through their last blessing, was raised.<sup>30</sup> Indeed a dying old man will call his beloved sons, and give them his final blessing: the *duhahu* - in Pulaar - which transmits *barka* - in Pulaar. This Islamic word could roughly be translated as Allah's blessing, and it has strong influence throughout the whole Islamic world. It is important to bear in mind that it is strongly linked to good luck, wealth, happiness, health, fertility, and social success. *Baraka* can be acquired hereditarily through genealogical link to saints, or their contacts (see Schmitz, 2000), but also by a strict observance of the five pillars of Islam. It can be transmitted by blessings. Being old and a well known good Muslim puts oneself in a good position to have some.

Since living abroad makes it rather difficult to be physically near your dying parents, sending money appears as one practical alternative. Of course, the value of this *baraka* in the eyes of the migrant strongly depends on the notability of his patriarch and consequently on the status of the family. Obviously belonging to a prestigious family yields considerable returns in terms of

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<sup>30</sup> The importance of the parent's last blessing is not specific to Islam, though. It is mentioned in many parts of the Bible, and particularly in the Genesis. Think of Jacob's story: he valued so much his father's blessing that he managed to get blessed instead of his brother Esau.

prospects for marriage and political position in the village. While on migration, he could also benefit from the status of the family to rely on migrants from the same village. Besides, migrants from the same village usually live in neighboring rooms in workers' hostels - *foyers de travailleurs* in French - reconstituting the village society. It has been repeatedly suggested that this is a way of reproducing hierarchic village society (e.g. see Ba 1996: 207). In other geographic areas, Whitehouse (1994) describes *baraka* as one motive for returning migrants among Soninke in Mali. Again, remitting can be a way for the migrant to pay tribute to the village stratified socio-political structure.

Back to the economic literature, Lucas and Stark (1985) had mentioned that reputation concerns play an important role too. In their view, the migrant may remit 'to enhance prestige or political influence' for the days when he will return. Taking good care of one's parents is a hallmark of reliability. This could for example be an incentive for migrants seeking wives within the community. The loss of prestige incurred by defaulting sons could also prevent their return for retirement, which is central to many African migrants. Last but not least, the desire to be buried at home is an additional motive to maintain the social status of the family. It is essential for many Muslim migrants, and in particular those from the Senegal River Valley. The main concern is more a deep attachment to homeland, than religious grounds. Many migrants associations were indeed created in order to collect money for the repatriation of dead bodies.<sup>31</sup>

Aware that it may not be the only mechanism at work, I will emphasize here the role of social status. In a patriarchal stratified society. Within the family the patriarch is the decision-maker. At the village level, there are two groups of families: the nobles and the others (non-nobles). Only

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<sup>31</sup> See Petit (2002) in Marseille, France.

the patriarchs from noble families can accede to influential positions. To deserve their advantageous dominant position, the nobles must pay non-nobles substantial gifts in monetary terms. The non-nobles who benefit from these transfers must in return renounce basic human rights: not choose a spouse among the nobles, give up their political ambitions, and admit the superiority of the nobles in community decision-making. There is an implicit family contract between the patriarch and his adult sons. The patriarch sends his most promising sons on migration, expecting them to remit. The motivation of migrant sons is to obtain the father's position on their return. In this view, remittances should be observed for high ranked migrants only. The migration of the lower status migrants relates to other motivations: trading monetary gifts for social mobility. They will loosen ties with their community, and make their new life abroad, taking advantage of the anonymity of city life.

Let us now turn to the data collected to test this scenario.

## ***II.4. Data***

### **II.4.1. The Survey**

Of course, the link between the migrant and his relatives who stayed behind is central to understanding remittance behavior. This is not an issue in my study, since I focused on the case of sons remitting to their ageing father. So, in the survey sample, all migrants have in common that their father is alive and lives in the village. Hence, remittances are interpreted as old-age support from the migrant sons.

The survey was conducted just before the rainy season from April to June 2004, when weather conditions are particularly tough. It is a time of drought and food scarcity as the granaries are empty. The good thing is that since peasants are preparing the fields for the rain cultivations, all members of the household who are away, but within reach, come back to give a hand.

The survey covers 149 patriarchs over six villages randomly chosen around Matam.<sup>32</sup> Three are located by the Senegal river, in the so-called *waalo* region, the other three are located approximately 10 km away from the river, in the *jeeri* region, one of them being right by the highway (the others being 4km away on a dirt track). *Waalo* villages are isolated (at least) 3 months a year during the rainy season as roads become unfit for vehicles, which can only be reached by pirogues (2-3 hour instead of 20 minute ride during the dry season). *Jeeri* villagers do not own irrigated lands which are located near the river, but some noble families do own *waalo* lands by the river.

It is an exhaustive survey, as all the men of the selected villages who met chosen criteria were selected. The criteria are that they must be born before 1939, and that their eldest living son should have been born before 1979. Information was gathered at three levels:

- The patriarch level: Information on both his social status and his living conditions were gathered. To measure social status information on the family background were gathered such as which caste it belongs to, the family tenure in the village, the political and

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<sup>32</sup> *Jeeri* villages are: Thiambe, Galoyabe Toucouleur, Hombo. *Waalo* villages are: Bow, Thiemping and Thially Souballo. All villagers and especially village chiefs must be gratefully acknowledged for their cooperation and kind hospitality. I would also like to thank Ousmane Diouf, and Bocar Ba's family in Matam for their logistic assistance and gracious hospitality.

religious role played by the patriarch and his father. Then much emphasis was put on where the patriarch gets support from, but also on his wealth (housing, fields, cattle, belongings...), health, nutrition, education, past migrations and economic activities.

- The household level: I define a household as a unit of consumption and income sharing (as sometimes several households can co-reside in the same compound), which can be made of several nuclear family units.<sup>33</sup> I collected very precise family links between household members, and some basic information on each one, such as: education level, economic activity, sources of revenue...
- Finally, information on each child has been collected. Special attention was given to children living outside the household, for which I gathered indirect information with spouses, mother, siblings, or the father. The main focus was on remittances sent by migrant sons to their old father, and the rest of the family. Information on news and visits given to the family were also collected.

Much effort was put on making sure to have at hand the most precise and reliable information on the social status of the families. For double-checking purposes, the status of the family was gathered twice. First, I obtained the information directly by asking the patriarch, then indirectly, on a second round, asking informants (mainly the village chief). As it can be a very sensitive subject, the question was asked towards the end of the survey, in order to prevent the patriarch from being offended or upset, or even from refusing to be surveyed. The question was asked among a series of question on historical background of the family, to make it sound like the

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<sup>33</sup> The *Pulaar* word is *foyre* (plural: *poye*).

family 'social origin'. For the same reasons, I dared to ask the village chief about the status of my surveyed families, on a second round in September, so that we had already got to know each other better.

#### **II.4.2. Descriptive Statistics**

A detailed table of descriptive statistics for the initial sample, the migrants and the remitters is shown in table A.2 in the appendix.

Only the sons of the patriarchs above 16 years old were considered as potential old-age support providers. There are 470 adult sons in the initial sample. 45% are on migration. Among the migrants, 62% regularly remit. It is noteworthy that only 66% of the migrants belong to 'free-born' families, whereas they represent 71% of the remitters. Table II-1 displays the caste composition of the different samples studied:

**Table II-1: Caste composition of samples of interest**

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Patriarchs (%)</b> (N=147)	<b>All sons</b> (N=470)	<b>Migrants (%)</b> (N=213)	<b>Remitters (%)</b> (N=133)
<i>Free Men</i>	70.1	72.1	65.7	70.7
<i>Artisans</i>	12.9	11.7	16.9	15.8
<i>Slaves</i>	17.0	16.2	17.4	13.5

As mentioned earlier, the largest caste is the ‘free men’ category, which encompasses aristocrats as well as commoners. To differentiate them, the list of notables was collected from our informants. As *le conseil des sages* is supposed to be composed of the elderly men of the village, barely 40% of them were designed as ‘notables’. They represent the actual and only decision-makers in the village.

#### *Migrants’ destinations*

The destination distribution is very similar to previous studies of Haalpulaar migration: mainly domestic, the international migration is mainly African, and very few have left the continent. 44% of all migrations are domestic migrations, or migrations to the neighboring countries, i.e. Mauritania, Mali, Gambia and Guinea. Dakar concentrates 77% of these ‘domestic’ (Senegal or neighboring countries) destinations. However, the capital city is often just a temporary stop on the way to further destinations. 38% of migrants went to another African country. Most of African migration (73%) is directed towards Central Africa: Gabon, Congo, and Cameroon. There is a long tradition of Senegal River Valley migration in this area. There are accounts of

*'diamantaires'* who made quite a good fortune in these countries<sup>34</sup>. Côte d'Ivoire has also been a frequent choice of destination, but since 2000 because of the political instability, and xenophobic practices many have fled.

In the end, only 18% of the migrants left the African continent (they represent 39 migrants): not surprisingly, most went to France (26 migrants). The USA is the second destination (9 migrants) a few migrants being in Spain or Italy (5). The US is an increasingly attractive destination, but this is still a recent phenomenon, so that the network is still weak, not to mention the cost of migration. During my field investigations, I met returning or visiting migrants from Germany and Denmark, and also surprisingly distant destinations like Australia and even China! Even if this is not statistically significant, it indicates that diversification of destinations is used to circumvent tough migration policies.

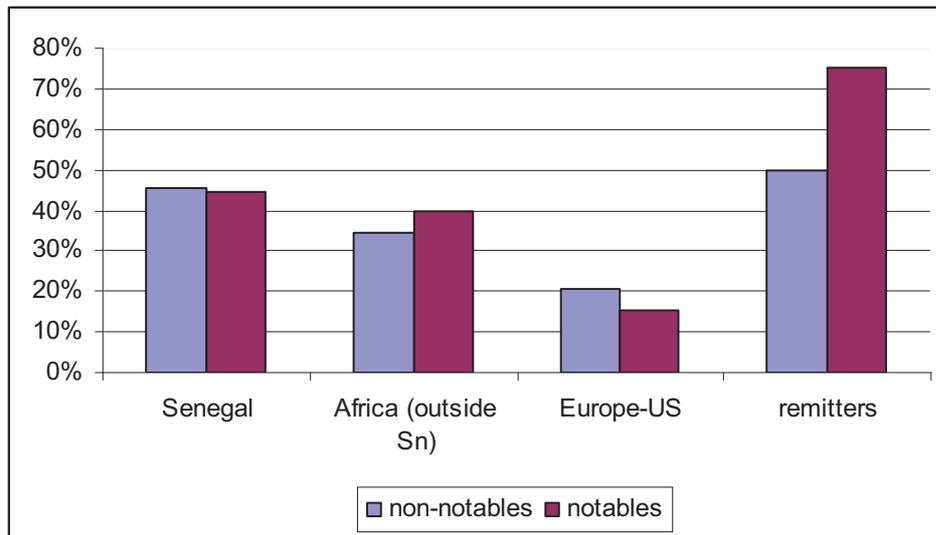
It is important to bear in mind that information about migrants is only second hand. I assumed the best information I could collect about them would be from the mother or the wife of the migrant. I also asked the brothers and the father if necessary. As a consequence, one common criticism to my findings is that low-rank migrants are simply not in a position to remit as they could not benefit from the network. This is rather difficult to find out from the data at hand. At the same time, a recent popular saying circulates in the villages: "Migrations are blind to castes". Indeed, among migrants outside the continent (mainly Europe-US), where expected earnings are higher, the proportion of non-notables is greater than the one of notables, and yet the proportion

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<sup>34</sup>. Starting in the mid-fifties in Sierra-Leone, near both sides of the Congo rivers by the sixties, they have reached Angola and Zambia, striving to avoid being expelled, Bredeloup (1994).

of notables is higher than non-notables to regularly remit. Figure 1 gives a more detailed picture of this phenomenon:

**Figure II-1: Migrants' distribution of destinations, and propensity to remit according to their notability**



### II.4.3. Empirical Strategy

The descriptive statistics evidence found in the previous section need to be checked ‘all things being equal’. Hence, let us now turn to the regression results.

Since only those who have migrated can make transfers, a two-step Heckman model generalized for probit models was used to take into account the selection bias.<sup>35</sup> The question is: do the ones with a higher probability of being on migration have a higher or lower probability of remitting? As pointed out in the appendix, no such effects are found: both decisions to migrate and then to remit are not correlated, which implies that these two regressions can be studied separately.

Furthermore, since there are migrants from the same families (up to 7 brothers), the correlation within the family was accounted for using a robust estimator of standard errors with family clusters.

Regressions with different model specifications are displayed to show the robustness of the results, putting much effort on the specification of the family social status and wealth.

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<sup>35</sup> Sometimes called ‘Heckit’ model, with STATA it is the ‘*heckprob*’ procedure.

## ***II.5. Results***

### **II.5.1. Probability of being on migration**

Several model specifications are displayed in table II-2: the first two columns aim at identifying the relevant wealth variables, while the last ones identify the social status effect. In the last column, only significant variables are kept in order to avoid multi-collinearity problems. The main results are consistent throughout different model specifications.

**Table II-2: Probability of being on migration (marginal effects)**

<i>On migration</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>(adult son)</i>				
Age	0.065 (2.94)***	0.073 (3.69)***	0.074 (3.61)***	0.072 (3.54)***
(age) <sup>2</sup>	-0.001 (-2.51)**	-0.001 (-2.98)***	-0.001 (-2.97)***	-0.001 (-2.90)***
Birth order	-0.003 (-0.13)			
=1 if married	0.02 (0.32)			
=1 if has ever been to formal school	-0.033 (0.48)			
<i>(patriarch)</i>				
Age	0.009 (1.23)	0.006 (1.14)	0.005 (0.9)	0.006 (1.16)
Size of the household	0.008 (0.72)			
Years spent on migration	0.008 (2.39)**	0.008 (3.00)***	0.008 (2.76)***	0.008 (2.91)***
=1 if receives a pension	0.025 (0.28)			
=1 if has received bequeathable wealth	0.013 (0.67)			
=1 if landless		-0.118 (-1.02)		
=1 if doesn't possess any cattle		-0.157 (-2.21)**	-0.177 (-2.55)**	-0.173 (-2.47)**
=1 if belongs to the "free man" caste			-0.163 (-2.50)**	-0.142 (-2.11)**
=1 if belongs to a family with political power			0.089 (1.42)	

Observations: 470; 147 clusters (families)

Robust z statistics in parentheses; \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%

Nb: villages dummies are included in the regression, but not displayed (non significant)

Overall this model correctly predicts 74% of migrating behavior. In contrast to previous studies, the number of migrating brothers appears not to be significant. In reality, there are two opposite effects: a network and a saturation effect. Having a brother can facilitate migration: older brothers can finance their cadets, creating shifts of migrants.<sup>36</sup> On the other hand, when there are already migrants in the family, the patriarch may require other sons to stay to help him manage the household. Here it seems that both effects are neutralized.

The age of the father has no significant effect, but the older the son is, the higher the probability of being on migration, though with a decreasing effect, as the significantly negative squared age variable indicates.

The fact that the having attended formal schooling is not significant is relevant to the fact that migrants do not need to hold literacy skills for the job they will find in migration. One must keep in mind that most migrants work in the informal sector, in Dakar and Africa, and in unskilled jobs in industrialized countries (mainly in the hotel or catering trades).

Turning to variables capturing wealth of the family, they all seem to be not significant, but two. Firstly, the fact of owning cattle increases the chance of being on migration. Second, the fact that his father spent many years on migration increases the chance of the son migrating. There are here 2 intertwined positive effects: a wealth and a network effect. All migrations are costly but especially for distant destinations: fares, bribing to get documents, or to get across the border safely. It usually represents far more than what a basic rural household can afford. Then there are some high costs of accommodation: even in Dakar renting a room has become very expensive....

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<sup>36</sup> In French this is called 'noria' (see Ba 1996: 30). This can no longer hold for destinations which have become very difficult to reach such as Europe...

Of patriarchs who have been on migration around 55% receive a pension. However the ones who did not get a formal job usually managed to invest in productive activities financing their own sons' migration and settlement. Consequently, it appears that sons of economically better-off families have a higher chance to migrate. Along with this wealth effect, there is a network effect: fathers who have been on migration have been able to build networks in their destination and acquire accordingly easy entry on some job markets. The best illustration of this is that many first migrants of this area started working in the hotel trade in Dakar, many at the airport, then in France. Or even working as boy or cook for French colonizers who then took them to France to work for them. This result is in line with other studies.

Finally, sons of families belonging to the higher castes are less inclined to migrate. This result contradicts Gubert's (2000) findings among Soninke: she found that only aristocrats migrate.

It is now necessary to turn to migrants remitting behavior to understand if migrants from high and low status have the same behavior once in migration.

### **II.5.2. Probability of remitting**

Among the migrants, I turn now to their probability of frequently remitting. This model has a good predictive power as overall nearly 77% of migrants are properly predicted to remit or not. Table II-3 displays five different model specifications.

**Table II-3: Probability of remitting among migrants (marginal effects are displayed)**

<i>Remitting</i>	1	2	3	4	5
<i>(adult son)</i>					
Ages	-0.004 (0.55)	-0.003 (0.55)	-0.004 (0.59)	-0.005 (0.71)	-0.005 (0.81)
Birth order among brothers	0.002 (0.07)				
=1 if has ever been to formal school	-0.223 (2.46)**	-0.244 (2.55)**	-0.244 (2.55)**	-0.192 (2.07)**	-0.198 (2.17)**
Years spent on migration	0.017 (1.90)*	0.015 (1.63)	0.016 (1.68)*	0.016 (1.76)*	0.018 (2.00)**
=1 if lives outside the African continent	0.361 (3.48)***	0.371 (3.84)***	0.372 (3.90)***	0.378 (4.34)***	0.377 (4.20)***
# of brothers on migration	-0.004 (0.13)				
=1 if one spouse lives with the patriarch	0.16 (1.72)*	0.146 (1.68)*	0.147 (1.69)*	0.194 (2.22)**	0.181 (2.05)**
<i>(patriarch)</i>					
Age	0.02 (2.10)**	0.02 (2.60)***	0.02 (2.60)***	0.018 (2.45)**	0.017 (2.36)**
Household size	0.001 (0.06)				
Years spent on migration	0.006 (1.54)				
=1 if has received bequeathable wealth	-0.018 (0.61)				
=1 if landless		-0.288 (1.93)*	-0.291 (1.95)*	-0.28 (1.90)*	-0.281 (1.94)*
=1 if doesn't possess any cattle		-0.026 (0.25)			
=1 if belongs to Family of higher caste				0.111 (1.11)	
=1 if belongs to family with local power				0.234 (2.68)***	0.257 (2.99)***

Observations: 213; 102 clusters (families)

Robust z statistics in parentheses \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%

Nb: villages dummies are included in the regression, but not displayed here (non significant)

First, the age of the migrant appears not to be significant for his remitting behavior. More surprisingly, the size of the patriarch household has no impact on his probability of remitting.

Some expected 'wealth effects' are found: data on the migrant's earnings were not available, but there are some proxies. The time spent on migration appears to be significantly positive, which reflects the idea that it usually takes time for a migrant to obtain a secure earning, i.e. regular wages. Similarly, living in a developed country positively affects his probability of remitting. This is obviously linked to the higher earnings available there: he earns more than his own living expenses and can accordingly send back a part of his earning.

Naturally, having a spouse who remained in the father's household increases significantly the probability of remitting. When turning to the strategic bequest motive, results similar to Hoddinott (1994) are found: if the father owns land, it increases the probability of remitting.

Surprisingly, no monitoring effects are found here: having brothers living in the same place of migration has no significant effect on his remitting behaviour. More surprising still, the number of years of completed formal schooling decreases the probability of remitting. This is not due to sons studying abroad, as only seven migrants are actually finishing their studies, which represents less than 3% of migrants. As shown in the appendix table A-2, the average years of schooling is very low: around two. But still, few years of formal schooling could be enough to acquire such basic skills as reading and writing, and lead to better job opportunity. This could in turn give the migrant more incentive to settle in the host destination, and cut ties with the hierarchical village society.

Finally, central to the main point of this article: belonging to a politically powerful family in the village makes the migrant more likely to remit. Indeed, this status dummy variable is strongly

significant at a 1% level. Here what seems to be central is the fact that the patriarch plays a significant role in the village belonging to the circle of influential notables. Indeed, belonging to the free born category is not precise enough, as this is a heterogeneous category. For instance, newly arrived free born families may not have regained a dominant position in the village<sup>37</sup>. On the contrary, a few families from the artisans or former slaves groups may have acquired a political position being linked with a very prestigious family.

## ***II.6. Other Supportive Evidence***

Unfortunately the lack of social status variables in other larger statistical surveys makes it impossible to compare this result with other studies so far. As a complement to the empirical evidence some other qualitative pieces of evidence which confirm the hypothesis made in this paper: some are listed here.<sup>38</sup>

An interpretation of the results could well be that lower status migrants cannot benefit from the same networks and hence is more likely to fail his migration. A feeling of shame would lead him to cut ties with his family and village. Indeed the lack of information on the migrant employment

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<sup>37</sup> It is the case of many Mauritanian refugees (from the 1989 unrest) who despite being Fulbe have rarely gained a position as notable in their new Senegalese settlement.

<sup>38</sup> And others in French in Demonsant (2007).

status and details on the job type doesn't allow inferring on his capacity to remit. However, examples of successful migrants from low-status who still suffer from discrimination abound.

To gain respectability in the village the most efficient way is to contribute to the building of a mosque. There are several anecdotes I heard during my stay in the valley, about the boycott of mosques built by migrant slaves. The Imam who is necessarily a noble, simply refused to lead the prayers... I heard a similar story about a well built by a successful slave that the nobles boycotted, opting for the more distant well. These anecdotes show that it is rather inefficient for a slave to invest in order to raise his respectability in the village: he will always be considered as a slave and accordingly will be reminded to keep his low-profile rank. The only way to get rid of these social stigmas is to migrate. In anonymous cities or foreign countries, he will more easily merge into society and be free in his acts.

It is noticeable that during my repeated visits at different workers hostels, I met very few descendants of slaves or artisans<sup>39</sup>. This is consistent, with reported cases of continuing discrimination against slaves on migration. The pattern is that slaves are excluded from any decision-making position in the migrant's association. Ba (1996) reports such a case in Cameroon (Ba 1996: 238).

In Dakar, many people with Haalpulaaren names who do not speak Pulaar happen to be of slave or artisan origins. They seem to be the product of this melting pot.

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<sup>39</sup> except the descendants of slaves of the village chief's family, which would tend to prove that former slaves of important families have some kind of respectability too.

In many previous studies on migration among the Haalpulaaren it has been mentioned that the desire to escape from rigid social constraints were among the main motives for migration. As they usually refer to the position of younger brothers willing to escape the tyranny of older brothers (see Platteau 2000), it could easily be extended to lower status migrants. The study of Delaunay (1984) goes in the same direction as my results. He finds that any type of caste can be found among the migrants from the Senegal valley, but recognizes that the former slaves are more likely to settle definitively, whereas the nobles go on temporary migration returning to the village, and sending remittances.

### ***II.7. Conclusion***

These empirical findings suggest that migration is available to any social category, but for different aims: it can either be seen as an individual decision to escape from a poor social position with dire prospects in the village or, conversely, as a family decision to maintain its dominant local position. As a consequence, it is obvious that the first type of migrants will not be interested in investing in the development of the village but will benefit from the urban melting pot to get rid of their social stigmas. The good side of this is that they are factors of change as they move from a network-based to a modern market economy. In order to prevent rural exodus and urban concentrations, an efficient policy would be to invest in intensive consciousness-raising campaigns to get rid of the obsolete caste system. This will probably take time and be hard to implement as I found out that this was still a highly taboo subject in contemporary Senegal.

Central to political debates in France, republican values of racial integration and assimilation may differently appeal to both types of migrants previously described. France's model of integration aims to assimilate immigrants by instilling French cultural values. As a result, keeping strong ties with the country of origin is not well received. Accordingly, any attempt to assimilate the migrants of noble origins will fail. Indeed, they see themselves as temporarily migrant and have sound plans to return to the village. When returning they will genuinely keep silent their shameful subordinate occupations<sup>40</sup> while abroad and turn into powerful notables. Alternatively, the migrants from lower social categories will display strong motivations to fit in the host society.

The aim of this study was primarily to draw attention to the local institutions when trying to understand migration in a non-western environment. Economists and econometricians too often draw conclusions from surveys that were lacking the social context. As this was a limited study, it would be interesting to pursue on a broader range. The recent World Bank book *Culture and Public Action* (Rao & Walton, 2006) sends a good signal that things are changing and that more and more cooperation between economists and anthropologists will be expected in the near future.

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<sup>40</sup> I can witness that it is absolutely taboo to ask a visiting migrant about his job in the host country (or in the capital city). As one might guess such work was not prestigious, it is generally accepted to keep it silent... or to tell it only to a total foreigner away from other villagers!

Table I-A-1 : Descriptive statistics for the initial sample, the migrants and the remitters.

	Initial Adult Sons (N=470)	Migrants (N=213)	Remitters (N=133)	
	Mean Std. Min. Max.	Mean Std. Min. Max.	Mean Std. Min. Max.	
SON	On migration	45%		
	Remitting		62%	
	Age	30.8 8.4 17 61	33.2 8.1 17 61	34.5 8.5 18 61
	Age when leaving the household		27.4 8.3 3 50	27.8 8.3 11 50
	Birth order	2.6 1.6 1 8	2.4 1.5 1 8	2.3 1.6 1 8
	Formal schooling	36%	33%	27%
	Years of (formal) schooling	2.4 3.7 0 17	2.4 4.2 0 17	1.8 3.6 0 13
	Years on migration		6.1 5.7 0 25	6.9 5.8 0 25
	In migration for over 3 years		54%	66%
	Residing in a developed country		18%	26%
FAMILY	Spouse (of the son) left in the household	41%		
	# of brothers already on migration	1.0 1.3 0 7	1.0 1.3 0 6	1.0 1.4 0 5
	# of brothers remitting		1.3 1.5 0 6	1.6 1.7 0 5
	# of brothers who don't remit		0.8 1.0 0 4	0.4 0.9 0 4
	Age of the patriarch	73.9 6.3 66 91	74.9 6.4 66 91	76.2 6.3 66 91
	Age of the patriarch when son migrated		69.1 8.4 42 89	69.5 8.4 42 89
	Number of dependants of the patriarch	7.6 3.8 2 17	7.4 3.7 2 16	7.0 3.7 2 16
	Family in region of migration		33%	32%
	# of years the father went on migration	10.6 12.9 0 47	13.9 14.2 0 47	15.0 15.1 0 47
	Family of higher castes	72%	66%	71%
VILLAGES	Local power of the lineage	42%	46%	56%
	Valuable agric land on bequest	58%	61%	56%
	Thiempeng	31%	28%	31%
	Bow	18%	15%	15%
	Thially	5%	5%	3%
	Galoyabe	14%	15%	16%
	Hombo	16%	18%	18%
	Thiambe	16%	18%	17%

Table I-A-2: Probability of remitting conditional on being on migration: “Heckit” regression results

*1<sup>st</sup> step: On migration : cf. (5) table 2*

<i>2<sup>nd</sup> step : Remit (conditional on being on migration)</i>	
<i>(adult son)</i>	
Age	-0.008 (1.31)
=1 if has ever been to formal school	-0.185 (1.93)*
Years spent on migration	0.018 (1.94)*
=1 if lives outside the African continent	0.342 (3.42)***
=1 if one spouse lives with the patriarch	0.177 (2.02)**
<i>(patriarch)</i>	
Age	0.016 (2.01)**
=1 if landless	-0.278 (1.96)*
=1 if belongs to Family of higher caste	0.256 (2.85)***
Rho	-0.282

*Wald test H0:(rho = 0) chi2(1) =0.85 p-value= 0.3561*

*Presenting only the most suited specification*

### **III. Impact of the Patriarch's Migration Experience and Social Status on Children's Schooling**

### ***III.1. Introduction***

While migration policies are being designed to trigger development in sending countries, there is an urgent need to better understand the impact of migration on the education of those who stayed behind. Theoretically, the impact of parental migration on children education is ambiguous. On the one hand, parent's absence can disrupt family life and impose a cost (a psychological one as well as an economic one) on children who may need to devote more time to work in order to compensate this absence. On the other hand, there seems to be two pathways through which migration could induce more schooling: by alleviating the family budget constraint via remittances and by producing an incentive to invest more in human capital. For the first effect to be positive, remittances need to compensate the parent's absence effect described earlier. A new trend of literature initiated by Mountford (1997) studies the potential so-called "brain gain", illustrating the second effect. Basically, migration prospects rise expected returns to education and hence yield higher investment in human capital. In spite of this, McKenzie and Rapoport (2006) show opposite results for the US-Mexican case: mainly illegal, migration to the US yields lower returns than in Mexico, and as a consequence lowers investment in human capital in migrant households.

Since there are different effects of the impact of migration on schooling choices, this calls for more empirical research in different contexts. In reality, there are still very few empirical microeconomic studies on the impact of migration on schooling, and (as far as I know) only one published: Cox Edwards and Ureta (2003) on El Salvador. Most of the studies available are

on the Mexican-US migrations (working papers by: Hanson and Woodruff, 2003; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2006; Antman, 2007), and apart from Lu and Treiman (2007) on South Africa, to my knowledge, there are none on the African continent. The development stage of Sub-Saharan Africa being very different from a country like Mexico, the findings could differ greatly: educational enrollments are still very low and a large proportion of parents illiterate. Hence, it is not obvious how migration would actually influence schooling choices.

This study in rural Senegal is a first attempt to better understand how migration can shape schooling decisions. The Millennium Development Goal aims at universal primary education for 2015. Yet Sub-Saharan Africa is lagging behind and Senegal is no exception, as table 1 shows. In 2004, the primary education enrollment ratio was 76% for Senegal, although this figure hides great regional disparities mostly along the rural-urban divide. The main problem is believed to be arising from the supply side: there are often access problems. There are still many remote zones in the Sahel where access to school is an issue, in particular for semi-nomadic people (e.g., Fulani herders in Senegal and neighboring countries). According to the UNESCO (2007), “the issue of universal access to primary education is currently being resolved in Senegal”. Still, in cases where schools are at a reasonable distance, there seem to be other obstacles to education.

**Table III-1 Senegal’s gross primary education enrollment ratios**

<b>Primary</b>		<b>1991</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2004 (Regional average)</b>
<b>GER</b>	<b>Boys</b>	61	66	71	78	<b>96</b>
<b>(%)</b>	<b>Girls</b>	45	57	64	74	<b>85</b>
	<b>TOTAL</b>	53	61	67	76	<b>91</b>

Source: UNESCO-UIS

Two reasons that are often put forward are low perceived returns to education and the opportunity cost of child labor. Rate of return on education in traditional agricultural activities may be rather low, compare to returns in the urban modern sector. Additionally, Montgomery and Hewett (2005) find an urban advantage for children's primary schooling in Senegal and relate it to the absence of secondary schools in rural areas and therefore the limited motivation of parents to send their children to school. Similarly, in Pole Dakar (2003): "parents notably in rural areas do not perceive benefits from school". According to the ILO definition of child labor, a third of Senegalese children work<sup>41</sup>. Traditionally, boys are mobilized to give a hand on the family farm (e.g., harvesting, chasing birds and other parasites at the time cereals are ripe, guarding the cattle), and girls for domestic chores (e.g., fetching wood as combustible material for the kitchen and water for the household consumption, taking care of the younger siblings). However some of these activities are to some extent compatible with school attendance.

Few studies underline the influence of Koranic schools though, as there are very few reliable data<sup>42</sup>. Still, in Senegal, religious instruction is essential. Practically for all Muslim parents, once their children are able to speak, typically between 3 and 5, they are often sent to Koranic school where they are taught basic knowledge of Koran<sup>43</sup>. Upon reaching the official age for primary

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<sup>41</sup> UNICEF website

<sup>42</sup> With the notable exception of EBMS (Education and Welfare of Senegalese Household) database we are currently working on with Pierre Andre.

<sup>43</sup> This elementary teaching begins with learning by heart the Koran without understanding it. Though they are taught to read and write Koranic verses, alumni rarely master Arabic language. In fact, the aim of this school is to prepare students to become good Muslims: "A believer, a perfect man" in Gandolfi (2003)'s words.

school entry, both schools may enter in competition. There are different cases: both systems can coexist but it may be the case that eventually one will be abandoned for the other. One common belief is that boys (usually not girls) must be sent away from the parents to follow a Koranic master. This requires full time and is not compatible with formal schooling. As for some parents what is crucial is that children are taught verses for the daily prayers, the Koranic teaching can stop when they can pray, which can possibly delay primary school entry. However a child can follow both schools going to the Koranic school after class and during holidays. It is still debatable whether Koranic studies represent an actual barrier to formal school attendance.

At the same time Senegal has been the stage of massive migration over the last 50 years. Mainly rural-to-urban or remaining on the African continent, migrants often work in the informal sector. Migration to Europe (or the US) is mainly illegal which doesn't allow migrants to have access to legal jobs. Since returns to education in such informal jobs are rather low, the incentive effect of migration on schooling may be weak, as in McKenzie and Rapoport (2006). In reality in this context, the role of networks to find a job while on migration may be of greater importance than the education level. But as network may be a substitute for education, it needs to be the case that the migrant can actually rely on his network and accepts the social control it usually implies. Indeed, when a migrant arrives to his destination he may need the help of his extended family for many services including housing. Living together allows making sure that the new migrant respects the village and family social norms: it has often been described as a way for elders to keep control over younger ones (e.g., Ba 1996).

Based on first-hand data, this article studies the impact of migration on the schooling of those who stayed behind. Matam region is a particularly policy-relevant case since it combines both features: a high emigration rate and a low primary school enrollment. Previously the social status of the family within the village has been identified as an important determinant of migration and remittance behaviors<sup>44</sup>. Thus, it will be interesting to study how social status affects schooling choices depending on the migration experience of the household.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 describes the institutional context and the data collected. Section 3 exposes the empirical strategy and the econometric results. Section 4 concludes.

## ***III.2. Context and data***

### **III.2.1. The Haalpulaar society of Matam**

Matam is located in the Senegal River middle valley in a semi-arid environment surrounded by deserts: the Sahara in the North and the *Ferlo* in the South. The population is ethnically homogenous: the Haalpulaaren<sup>45</sup> represent the vast majority.

Matam is over 400km upstream from Saint-Louis connected by a national road following the river which is badly kept and hence continuously in poor conditions. Because of its remoteness,

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<sup>44</sup> Demonsant (2007) and Demonsant (2008).

<sup>45</sup> Also known as Tukulors (“Toucouleurs” in French).

there are no industries so that the majority of the population works on family farms. Local economic activities include agriculture, cattle breeding and fishing. Three main agriculture types coexist: rain-fed, flood-fed and irrigated crops. The villages are unequally endowed with the different land qualities: irrigated lands are exclusively found next to the river banks, whereas flood-fed agriculture is practiced in backwaters as well. The annual river flood allowed farmers with plots in the lowlands to benefit from another harvest during the dry season. The control over those fertile lands gave the economic power to the local aristocracy<sup>46</sup> until the introduction of irrigation by the French colonizer and the independent state democratized access to land.

Nowadays the economic success of a family rather depends on the receipt of workers' remittances. Actually, migration has been a family strategy to cope with risks linked with local agricultural activities due to the harsh climate. Dakar has been the first and main destination, but there is also a long history of migration to other African countries (Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Gabon, etc.) and France (more recently Italy, Spain and the US). In the 50's, Haalpulaaren represented the second ethnic group behind the Wolof in Dakar. Up to the recent crisis, Cote d'Ivoire was the main destination, where trade is the main activity. Family networks can easily be traced by following destinations and job selections, handed from one generation to the other. Hence, the most common job found among Haalpulaaren from Matam is cook. Their fathers started working as "boys" or cooks for the French colonizers in Dakar, and they continue working in restaurants in Dakar, France and even Gabon.

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<sup>46</sup> See Schmitz (1994)

As many other Sahelian societies, Haalpulaaren are famous for their stratified society. Statutory groups inherited from former African empires still strongly determine the social status of a family in the village society. These groups are initially based on the division of labor between “nobles”<sup>47</sup>, artisans and slaves<sup>48</sup>. It used to be very common to change status due to wars: slaves would be turned into nobles to become warriors and noble prisoners would be enslaved. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century a new elite formed by Muslim clerics emerged. This group was open for a short period of time to anyone mastering the Koran, but it quickly closed (N’Gaide, 2003). Ironically, the official abolition of the former caste<sup>49</sup> system put an end to this specific social mobility, thus becoming rigid barriers to any mobility willingness.

Still nowadays, caste mentality is widespread. Social recognition is based on the lineage one belongs to and the prestige of one’s lineage is assessed with regard to his statutory group. When two people meet they ask each other their family names and try to trace back the patrilineal branch of the family tree to identify who they are talking to, in order to pay deserved tribute according to the ancestors’ prestige. Social stigmas by artisans and slaves are indeed the strongest. N’Gaide (2003) perfectly describes this, and I could experience it many times during my fieldworks. Two anecdotes are particularly relevant. On my first trip, I witnessed a shocking scene: on a public meeting where any villager could give his opinion about managing the village commons, a man was interrupted as he started talking, by a man who reminded him his origin

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<sup>47</sup> It is a rather heterogeneous group also referred to as “free men”.

<sup>48</sup> See Wane (1969) for more details.

<sup>49</sup> This word is usually used to describe the artisan group, “les castes” in French. Though, I will refer to castes for the statutory groups as while there is no job specialization (they are all farmers, and artisans only have specific jobs) they also share some features e.g., hierarchy, endogamy and the fact that is ascribed by birth.

and told him to keep silent as a slave has no say. The other illustration comes from the fact that one of my enumerator was of slave origin. We met during my first fieldtrip so that the trust developed between us over the years allowed me to discuss in depth those sensible topics. The most striking episode was that he asked me not to survey some families that had specific last names. He frankly told me he could not stand the kinship jokes<sup>50</sup>, the most common one being to call the other “his slave”...

Under such circumstances, belonging to a noble family is not sufficient to have access to local political power: only a small fraction of the noble families are actually part of the notability. Descending from lineages of village founders and other prestigious families, they are the only ones to have a say in the local politics: they are the only one eligible to vote for the village chief, which is usually picked among few main families. Schmitz (1994) shows that there are dynasties of chiefs spreading over centuries.

Moreover, in the private sphere of marriages, there are many restrictions for men from the artisan and former slave categories. Above all, they are not allowed to marry noble women. For this reason, investigations are carried out by parents of young noble women to find out about the actual social origin of the swain. During my field investigations, when enquiring about inter-caste marriage, I was repeatedly told: “I am ready to marry my daughter with anyone regardless of his social origin, but I won’t do it as I fear the society is not ready, and they will be rejected”. This inertia gives a hint about the pervasiveness of caste mentalities.

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<sup>50</sup> Among Haalpulaaren as in many other Sahelian ethnic groups, there are joking relationships consisting of codified jokes among some defined family names (they also exist among ethnic groups).

N’Gaide (2003) goes further as he emphasizes that each person must act according to his statutory group at the risk of being rejected: anyone who would decide to reject the social hierarchy would be treated as a fool and consequently excluded from the society.

As the village society is characterized by low social mobility, migration seems to be the only way out of this exclusion trap. In previous research<sup>51</sup>, I showed how the migration of prestigious family members could be seen as a way to reproduce the social order. Indeed, a great portion of remittances are redistributed in the village to secure their dominant position through gifts to their clientele during religious ceremonies. However, I had found that family members from low social categories were more likely to migrate, while they would be less likely to remit. Thus 2 types of migrants seem to exist. On the one hand, migrants from the most prestigious families go on short migrations in view of building up their social status and coming back to benefit from it. On the other hand, low status migrants are not willing to come back as they want to get rid of their social stigmas which prevented them from climbing the social ladder in the village. A key to their social mobility in urban centers or abroad would be their educational level.

### **III.2.2. Overall low educational level**

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<sup>51</sup> See chapter II and Demonsant (2008). The latter is in French and contains more qualitative evidence of the redistribution and less econometrics as it addresses a broader audience.

The data comes from a survey I conducted in six villages around Matam<sup>52</sup> in spring 2004. I initially designed the survey to address the issue of old-age support given by migrants to their fathers. Accordingly, I surveyed all men above 64 years old –referred as patriarchs– who had at least one son above 25 still alive. Information was gathered for 149 families at the level of the patriarch, his children whether they live with him or not, and all household members.

First of all, it is important to define what in this context “household” refers to. In rural Senegal, as in many other societies, “household” is sometimes very different from the Western-type standard family unit: parents and their own children. First of all, family units themselves are quite different as children are often fostered by other family members (uncles, grand-parents, brothers). Also in a Muslim environment polygamy enters the picture and shapes more complex families. Additionally, family units combine to form the extended family sharing resources and expenses, the most symbolic one being the meal. According to the custom, upon marriage, the son stays in his father’s household –*foyre* in *pulaar*– and his wife (or the new one in case of polygamy) joins him building a new room –called *suudu* in *pulaar*– if there is no available one in the same compound. Therefore in this text, “household” refers to an intergenerational family composed of the descendants of the patriarch who share meals together.

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<sup>52</sup> The villages were selected among villages of similar sizes (between 500 and 1200 inhabitants according to the 1988 population census) and for ease of accessibility not too far from Matam. 3 are located in the lowlands by the river banks, and 3 in the highlands.

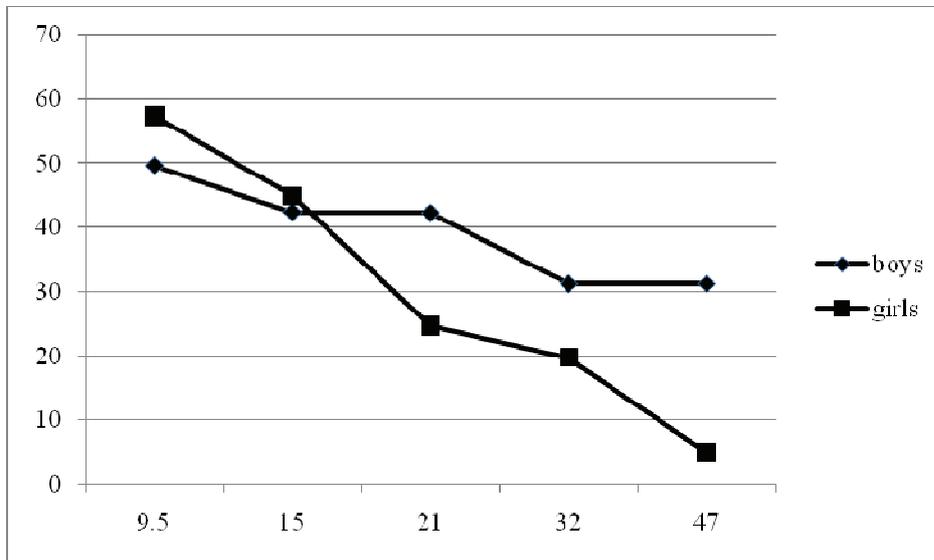
The questionnaire covers broad topics apart from migrations and transfers: social status, health, land ownership, equipment. Data on education are available for all members above 7 years old, and the patriarch's children. I collected data on 1765 permanent household members. As collecting the exact age of the household members is very difficult, time consuming and usually flawed with measurement errors, I focused on the age groups<sup>53</sup>. Figure 1 displays the percent of all men and women living in the villages who have ever been to (or still are in) school, by age groups. For both men and women, the graph is decreasing showing that formal schooling is a very recent phenomena. Indeed there is a primary school in each village surveyed, constructed 6 years before the time of the survey for the most recent one, and 43 years earlier for the oldest one. So that school attendance shouldn't be subject to access constraints for the youngest cohorts, but probably come into play for older ones. Only 3 members above 55 years old have ever been to school.

There is an advantage for girls for the two youngest cohorts only. The sharp decline for girls between 15 and 21 must be due to a strong selection bias explained by early age at marriage in the village: single girls above 18 are unlikely to be found in a village, and remaining married girls are more likely to never have been to school.

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<sup>53</sup> There are 8 intervals: 0-6, 7-12, 13-17, 18-24, 25-39, 40-54, 55-64, 65 and over.

Figure III-1: % of men and women who have ever been to (or still are in) school



Although access to primary school is not an issue, strikingly only 51% of the children aged 7 to 17 years old are enrolled, which was the national level 10 years ago. 35% of households do not send any children to school. Table 4 displays the descriptive statistics for the sample of the 7 to 17 years old children. There are on average 3.5 children per household.

For two main reasons this sample is not representative: first, they are descendants of patriarchs over 65 years old still alive, second some children have migrated with their parents and are therefore not in this sample. Yet, they are representative of children living in households headed by elders who are key actors in gerontocratic village societies.

Before studying the determinants of the children's schooling, let us turn to the link between schooling choices and social status. Focusing on the patriarchs' sample, I collected the age up to which they stopped attending Koranic schools. They were on average born in the 30's, when

there was no primary school in the region and therefore no alternative to Koranic studies. Only 28 out of 149 declared they didn't attend Koranic schools. Table 2 below displays the mean age when quitting Koranic schooling depending on the notability of the family. As T-test shows, notable patriarchs undertook significantly longer Koranic studies: on average 3 extra years. The only concern here is that notables may have overestimated their Koranic studies as it is a sign of wisdom. However what counts is that notable families used to value more Koranic studies. With the introduction of formal education did it result in a taste for education in general or did both schools enter into competition? In other words, are notables more likely to send their children to the formal school, or do they favor a Koranic education?

**Table III-2: Average age when patriarch dropped Koranic school**

	<b>N</b>	<b>mean</b>	<b>std. dev.</b>
<b>Non notable</b>	88	10.43	8.21
<b>Notable</b>	61	13.84	6.95
<b>TOTAL</b>	149	11.83	7.87

*H0: m1=m2 T=2.72848 p-value=0.4%*

Let us now turn to the patriarch's adult sons. 43% are on migration at the time of the survey. The overall educational level is very low: 2.4 years of formal schooling on average. Table 3 below show the educational levels of migrant and non-migrant sons according to their notability. Among non-migrants, there are no significant differences in the educational level of sons from notable and non-notable families. However, among those currently on migrations, non notable migrants have a significantly higher educational level than notables.

**Table III-3: Average school level reached of patriarch's adult sons**

	Migrants			non migrants		
	N	mean	std. dev.	N	mean	std. dev.
<b>non notabl</b>	108	3.04	4.61	102	2.26	3.25
<b>Notable</b>	105	1.81	3.77	155	2.35	3.19
<b>TOTAL</b>	213	2.43	4.25	257	2.30	3.22

*H0: m1=m2 T= 2.13106 p-value=2%*

*T= -0.23054 p-value=41%*

At this stage it is important to bear in mind that most of the jobs they will find in Dakar<sup>54</sup> or abroad don't even require mastering French. Networks of migrants ease the access to such unqualified jobs, and may represent a substitute to education. In the survey, an attempt to collect job occupations of migrants was made based on the family's response. Very quickly it appeared that they had very little information on that. Indeed asking a returning or a visiting migrant about his job is taboo, as it usually contrasts with their status in the village. It is from direct observations in Dakar and France, and from discussions with visiting migrants<sup>55</sup> that I found out working as a cook was the most common job. Little information I could collect on their occupation shows great variety though, from petty trader to truck-driver or traditional healer. As migration networks were developed by unskilled workers, the jobs found are unqualified ones, often in the informal sector (or on the assembly lines in industrialized destinations). Due to the difficulties in settling down in a new destination, the network is central to find a job. It may be safer to have a network to rely on that mastering the local language of the destination, to quickly

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<sup>54</sup> In this paper "migration" refers to both domestic and international migrations.

<sup>55</sup> They are more willing to talk about it to a total stranger in private than to their own family...

find a job. Thus the difference in educational attainment between notable and non-notable migrants may be due to their different attitude towards migration: to secure family prestige vs. to gain social mobility.

Does this reflect in the educational choice of the children in the village? Let us turn to the econometric analysis of the schooling choices, which will allow us to control for other factors as well.

### ***III.3. Econometric analysis***

#### **III.3.1. Empirical strategy**

In a poor rural environment, measuring wealth is rather uneasy. Income is hard to measure, as there are no wage earners, but mostly family farms, some benefiting from remittances (63% of the households). Usually, land and cattle ownerships are used, but here some wealthy families may have given up agricultural activities relying on remittances and other nonfarm activities (mainly retail: 25% of the households). Practically speaking, it is almost impossible to disentangle wealth from social status effects. However, in an attempt to control for household wealth level, I constructed wealth indices using PCA techniques, based on size of land and cattle received as bequest, or owned, durable goods possessions (TV, telephone...), consumption (on food and patriarch's health). None of the wealth indices appear significant in the analysis, I thus isolated significant item as explained in the regression results.

Current income and consumption are both very likely to suffer from strong endogeneity biases due to simultaneity when studying schooling decisions. Indeed, the child may work more on the farm if he doesn't attend school. Therefore permanent income is preferred, here measured by the possession of durable goods. For the same reasons, parental current migration may suffer from simultaneity issues: if the father migrates, the son may be more likely to be needed on the family farm to compensate for the father's absence. Previous studies (e.g. Hanson and Woodruff, 2003; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2006) have used past migration rates in the communities to instrument parental migration. Using the same reasoning, I prefer to turn to the migration experience of household's head, thus avoiding the simultaneity issue.

### **III.3.2. Results**

Table 5 reports estimated marginal effects from probit model of having attended (formal) school for children between 7 and 17 living with the patriarch. Each column represents a different model specification. The first model aims to show the main socio-demographic determinants of the children schooling.

Village dummies appear to be strongly significant in all regressions which tends to prove that the schooling of the children is linked with the education supply, e.g., the quality of the primary school. As mentioned previously, the ease of access to secondary schools may also be decisive. There is only one high-school in Matam for the entire region, and 2 junior-highs in the

surroundings<sup>56</sup>. Overall, villages near the main road have higher school attendance, in contrast with villages by the river banks which suffer from isolation 3 months a year during flooding. Still there are significant differences among villages within those 2 areas.

The most striking result is the fact that girls have a significantly higher probability of going to school than boys. Even though this is in contradiction with most studies in West-Africa, this is in line with observations from the region. According to the Senegalese Ministry of Education, in 2003, Matam is the only region where more girls than boys are enrolled in primary schools: 52.34%<sup>57</sup>. From discussions with school masters and my own field observations, it appeared that girls have a better access to primary school but drop-out more rapidly than boys in the area. The reasons given are that boys are often sent to study Koran exclusively, and more needed for farming. Girls' domestic chores seem to be more compatible with schooling. Moreover another factor could explain this girls' advantage: the delay for boys in formal school entry due to previous Koranic studies.

A standard result is the positive impact of mother's educational level, which overrides the father's schooling. It is important to bear in mind that only 14% of the children have an educated mother and 11% an educated father. Still, the impact of mother's schooling and the growing number of girls attending school is rather encouraging for the overall increase in school attendance of both sexes.

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<sup>56</sup> In Kanel and Ourossogui

<sup>57</sup> See <http://www.education.gouv.sn/statistiques/tbs-elementaire.html>

The impact of household structure has been identified as being significant for the children school attendance. As described earlier the family structure is rather complex: several nuclear families may compose “the household” understood as the extended family. Surprisingly, the number of younger siblings below 7 seems to have no significant impact on the probability of attending school. At the same time the number of older household members appears to have a significant negative impact. This result is likely to be due to the specific sample design: since all households in the sample are headed by a man over 65, “the patriarch”, the burden of care-giving chores is likely to be shifted to the older members, i.e., the presence of one or several patriarch’s old wives.

Turning to the wealth effect, it is obvious that it should be decisive, the difficulty being to identify a good measure. Many proxies have been tested<sup>58</sup>, but only one appears to be relevant in the end: the patriarch’s ownership of a watch. Owning a watch is by definition a sign of economic success. The fact that it turns out to be the most significant impact may also be partly due to the fact that it is easily observable, and therefore eliminates measurement errors. Of course, this measure can be understood as including social status signaling as well.

It is noticeable that overall the sign and significance of these variables are similar across specifications as the following columns show in table 5.

In the second column, the migration experience of the patriarch is introduced. There are good reasons to believe that this variable is rather exogenous to schooling decision. At least there is no

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<sup>58</sup> Including the different wealth indices constructed.

simultaneity bias. Its impact is positive and strongly significant. It is noticeable that it decreases the impact of owning a watch, as both variables are highly dependent.

In the third column, the fact that the patriarch is born in the village is introduced. It has a strongly significant positive impact. Again, this may be a wealth as well as a social status proxy. In 1989 there was a crisis between Mauritania and Senegal. Many Haalpulaar Mauritanian families had to leave all their belongings and came as refugees in Senegal. In the sample they represent only 17% of the total. Even though at the time of the survey 15 years had passed, living as a refugee doesn't allow them to make plans for the future as there is great uncertainty on the possibility to come back. Thus investing in their children's education may not be a priority. Moreover in Mauritania the official language is Arabic<sup>59</sup> whereas it is French in Senegal, this may also have had a negative impact on the schooling of the children.

In column (4), I introduced the social status of the family with the notability. It appears that belonging to a notable family significantly decreases the probability of attending formal school. This is consistent with the fact that non notable families have a greater incentive to invest in their children's human capital. But it should be the case that non notable families do so when migration is a realistic prospect, or when the household's head is aware of the benefits that education can give to migrants in terms of social mobility. Because of this, I constructed dummies by crossing the patriarch's migration experience dummy variable with the notability variable: the effect of belonging to a non-notable family where the patriarch has experienced

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<sup>59</sup> Since 1968.

migration is tested vs. all other combinations. Results in column (5) show that belonging to a non-notable family where the patriarch has experienced migration significantly raises the probability of being sent to school over all other cases.

This main finding is consistent with results from the previous study. If all patriarchs send their sons on migration in the view of receiving old-age support in the form of remittances, notables are more likely to get this support. The loyalty of their sons is secured by the social control exerted by the family network. In this context, Koranic schooling is more apt to develop children's loyalty than the formal system.

### ***III.4. Conclusion***

This study underlies the effect of migration experience of household head on children's schooling. Empirical results show that living in a household headed by a former migrant improves the probability of being sent to school. Moreover, the social status of the family within the village impacts on the schooling of the children. It appears that children from non notable families headed by a former migrant have a higher probability of being sent to school.

Two non-excludable scenarios could explain the mechanism at work, and cannot be tested with data and information at hand.

From the notable point of view, it could be that children to be sent on migration are rather sent to Koranic schools as a preference shaping device. Indeed a core value taught in the Koran is

respect for the parents and hence children's loyalty. Unfortunately no reliable data could be collected on Koranic schooling that could validate this hypothesis.

Complementarily, families excluded from any local social mobility would be induced to invest more in human capital once they have internalized the potential gains from education. This would allow them to be less dependent on the network and provide them with better capacities to adapt to a market-based society. Further investigations on networks of migrants from different social origins would be required to confirm this interpretation.

By no means should inferences from this case study be made directly, as the sample overrepresents elderly fathers. The introduction of formal primary school in the region is very recent, and the role model of successful skilled migrants could influence younger generations, hence changing the notables' strategy.

Thus this contribution calls for further research on the impact of migration on educational development in village societies where social mobility is limited. Can the same pattern be found in other contexts?

**Table III-4: Variable definitions and summary statistics**

Variable	Definition	Mean	Std. Dev
School	1 for having ever attended (formal) school	51.3%	
Girl	1 for girls	50.7%	
mother's educ	mother's level of (formal) education (in years)	0.605	1.628
father's educ	father's level of (formal) education (in years)	0.795	2.425
nb of sib -7	number of siblings in the nuclear family below 7 year old	1.293	1.448
nb hh memb +55	number of household members above 55 years old	2.063	1.000
owning a watch	1 if the patriarch owns a watch	84.9%	
pat mig	1 if the patriarch has been on migration (for over 6 months)	61.8%	
Origin	1 if the patriarch is born in the village	83.0%	
notable	1 if the family comes from a notable lineage	45.4%	
Isolated	1 if villages by the river banks	64.8%	

Table III-5: Probit models of ever been to school for children between 7 and 17 (marginal effects)

Y: ever been enrolled	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
girl	0.132 (2.55)**	0.128 (2.41)**	0.126 (2.39)**	0.128 (2.39)**	0.129 (2.41)**
mother's educ	0.07 (2.54)**	0.068 (2.23)**	0.065 (2.11)**	0.074 (2.35)**	0.074 (2.43)**
father's educ	0.025 (1.70)*	0.024 (1.47)	0.021 (1.29)	0.02 (1.14)	0.019 (1.14)
nb of sib -7	-0.013 (-0.44)	-0.005 (-0.19)	-0.008 (-0.29)	-0.007 (-0.26)	-0.009 (-0.33)
nb hh memb +55	-0.105 (2.42)**	-0.11 (2.57)**	-0.093 (2.40)**	-0.106 (2.65)***	-0.106 (2.61)***
owning a watch	0.35 (3.64)***	0.272 (2.51)**	0.251 (2.29)**	0.268 (2.47)**	0.254 (2.22)**
Land ownership	0.045 (0.46)	0.02 (0.21)	0.05 (0.51)	0.011 (0.11)	0.015 (0.15)
Owning goats	-0.197 (1.76)*	-0.168 (1.65)*	-0.172 (1.69)*	-0.165 (1.66)*	-0.169 (1.68)*
Patriarch has migrated		0.235 (2.76)***	0.243 (2.90)***	0.266 (3.24)***	
New comer			-0.264 (2.61)***	-0.321 (3.13)***	-0.327 (3.19)***
Notable				-0.181 (2.18)**	
notable*mig					-0.204 (2.08)**
notable* non mig					-0.391 (3.11)***
non notable*non mig					-0.289 (2.75)***
Thiambe	0.469 (4.29)***	0.484 (4.32)***	0.484 (4.55)***	0.488 (4.61)***	0.485 (4.45)***
Thiemping	0.36 (3.39)***	0.397 (3.83)***	0.371 (3.52)***	0.404 (3.94)***	0.405 (3.93)***
Thially Souballo	0.085 (0.55)	0.143 (0.96)	0.088 (0.58)	0.135 (0.91)	0.131 (0.89)
Galoyabe	0.386 (3.71)***	0.399 (3.90)***	0.398 (3.64)***	0.433 (4.30)***	0.435 (4.31)***
Hombo	0.415 (3.40)***	0.426 (3.62)***	0.398 (3.37)***	0.385 (3.39)***	0.381 (3.34)***

Observations: N=458; 127 clusters (households)

Robust z statistics in parentheses. \* significant at 10%; \*\* significant at 5%; \*\*\* significant at 1%

## **Conclusion**

In this thesis, the impact of family social status within a village has been highlighted in intergenerational transfers among the Haalpulaaren of Matam. A characteristic of this society is the persistence of highly hierarchical social organization, somehow similar to a caste system. The social status of a person seems to depend more on his social group than on his economic success<sup>60</sup>. As a consequence, social rigidities persisting at the village level create social traps for low caste individuals. Within families, patriarchs are the head, centralizing information and resources that they redistribute. In the village however, only the patriarchs from the ruling families benefit from the status given by their age.

Econometric analysis shows that low caste sons have a higher probability of migrating while migrants from ruling families have a higher probability of remitting to their patriarch. When turning to schooling choices, it appears that children from families excluded from the village politics are more likely to being sent to school, in particular in return migrant families.

Migration to a market-based society seems to be their only way to gain social mobility for low caste individuals. Outside the village, they can get rid of their stigmas and gain status related to their economic success. The low-caste patriarchs returning from migration perceive that a formal education will allow their sons to better adapt to their host destination. As for the ruling families, migration is a way to secure the dominant position of the family in the village and their return will allow them to benefit from this position. The prestige of the notable patriarch is therefore

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<sup>60</sup> In this sense I depart totally from the “social status” literature and relate more to the economics of caste, even if it is entirely based on the Hindu caste system.

securing their old-age by giving incentive to their sons to support him. To complement this, sending their children exclusively to Koranic schools can be seen as a preference shaping device: it is a way to secure their loyalty. Engaged in temporary migrations, and benefiting from a strong family network, their need of formal schooling is lower than low caste migrants.

In the thesis, I suggested to emphasize on the “Strategic Baraka Motive”, in reference to the strategic bequest motive. Here the value of the physical bequest is replaced by the benefit of reclaiming the family status in the village. As a result, family prestige, i.e. the *Baraka*, is the glue between generations for notable patriarchs and migrant sons, and acts as an enforcement device for the family contract. Then as a mirror effect, migrants from families excluded from the local politics are more likely to settle permanently in the cities or abroad.

The notables compete for power by increasing the size of their clientele. Marriages and baptisms are probably the best moments for notables to distribute to their clients made of former slaves and artisans bonded to the lineage. Low-caste individuals who decide to stay in the villages benefit indirectly from remittances via these traditional redistributions. In this sense, remittances contribute to lower inequalities by allowing non migrant households to benefit from migration. Lavish ceremonies by the notables are a motive for sending migrants out. However, the dynamics of these results show that this is a transition stage. If these low-status clients have a higher probability to leave the village, sooner or later notability will eventually lose its meaning. Hence the dynamics of migration revealed by this thesis tend to show that the caste system will erode and eventually collapse due to the forces of globalization.

The next project in the pipeline is to modalize the effect of migration on a given hierarchical system sustained by patron-client relationships. This would allow us to better grasp the mechanisms at play and hence the dynamics involved. At the same time testing this scenario in other contexts would allow us to find out which other factors need to be taken into account.

Indeed, broadening the survey area and increasing the sample size might bring up more diverse situations. First, the question is to what extent results found in this micro study around Matam region apply to other part of the Fuuta dominated by the Haalpulaaren. In fact, in new urban centers of the region, the dynamics may be quite different as elected mayors have replaced nominated village chiefs. In Ndioum and Ourossogui where the trade is taking over the agricultural sector, Tandian (2003) finds that returning migrants of low castes origin have managed to access political voice via migrants' association. However, he admits that their new roles are still disputed by the nobles still in office. In addition, it is also important to stress that some influent aristocratic families of Fuuta have entered the Senegalese modern elite - influent traders, politicians and high-ranking officials - by investing in (formal) education since colonization, as shown by Coulon (1975). This was the result of a strategic policy by the colonizers to better control the population by controlling the pre-colonial rulers.

Also worth investigating would be differences and similarities found across ethnic groups. As stated earlier, the Haalpulaar society is not unique and other ethnic groups have the same social organization. Do they have the same impact on migration, remittances and schooling decisions? Neighboring societies such as the Soninke upstream or the Wolof downstream share the same social structure. Nevertheless the persistence of the caste system is different from one group to

the other. Cases of monopoly of local power, i.e., the village chieftaincy, by a ruling elite are more documented among Soninke and Haalpulaar than among Wolof villages for instance. Also there are slightly different features: e.g., it seems that former Soninke slaves can gain some kind of notability, which is rather rare among the Haalpulaaren.

Obviously African caste systems have drawn little attention in the Economics literature<sup>61</sup>, whereas it has been quite documented by anthropologists. The Indian Hindu caste system has been however a subject of more attention in the profession, starting with Akerlof (1976) seminal paper. Despite the differences which exist between both systems, it is striking that similar results could be found in South India. Luke and Munshi (2005) found that low-caste women were more likely to migrate and integrate the market economy where their social origin is no longer discriminated.

As more attention is paid among economists to the impact of culture on development, there is some hope that similar types of study will be encouraged. Standard household surveys bear the advantage of allowing cross-countries studies at the expense of ignoring local institutions which can impact poverty and inequality. Aimed at getting a deeper understanding of societies studied, using econometric tools the “anthropo-econometrician” should be able to give a more elaborated view than his colleagues who focused on either idiosyncratic or universal rules. Inspiring works of Platteau (2000) and Rao and Walton (2004) are leading me to pursue in this direction and to multiply studies in different contexts. They successfully show that the understanding of many

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<sup>61</sup> With the exception of Flore Gubert’s work initiated in her PhD. thesis (2000).

cultures give a better understanding of each one of them. I do believe that people facing the same constraints take the same decisions. The difficult task however is to properly identify what those constraints are. A better integration of social norms, institutions, beliefs and other cultural traits in economic analysis can help understand the rationality of the “homo economicus”.

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## **Appendix**

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : [ ][ ]

NUM. FOY. : [ ][ ][ ][ ]

Enquêteur (initiales, signature): [ ][ ]

Nom du vieux à enquêter : .....

**Remplissage de NUM. FOY.** Numéro d'ordre du vieux à enquêter dans la liste village à reporter dans les deux premières cases. Dans la dernière case, notez 1 pour le foyer de la première (ou de l'unique) épouse. S'il s'agit d'un autre foyer du vieux à enquêter, noter le numéro de l'épouse qui s'y trouve (si 2 et 3 sont dans le même foyer notez 2)

Observations :

1°. Recensement de tous les membres qui appartiennent au foyer.

MODULE « Tous », et commencer à remplir « Liste épouses », « Liste enfants », « Liste autres enfants » du questionnaire vieux.

Bilan de la population du foyer :

BILAN	RP	RT	RA	MC
personnes âgées de plus de 55 ans				
Hommes de plus de 18 ans				
Femmes de plus de 18 ans				
Adolescent de 7 à 17 ans				
Bébés de 0 à 6 ans				

2°. Recensement des vieux qualifiés du foyer :

Vieux qualifiés du foyer		a enquêter	2	3	4
1	N° liste vieux du village	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
2	N° d'ordre dans le foyer	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
3	Année de naissance [avant 1939?]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
4	Année de naissance du fils aîné [avant 1979?]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]

3°.

Renseignement sur le chef de foyer :

Depuis quand est-il chef de foyer ? (année) .....

Comment est-il devenu chef de foyer ? décès / relais / émancipation / autre : .....

Combien de poyé composent la concession ? ....

Si il y en a plusieurs, le chef de foyer est-il chef de concession ? OUI NON

4°. MODULE « Plus de 7 ans » sur chacun des membres RP ou RT du foyer âgés de plus de 7 ans (on reprend tous les membres sauf ceux dont la tranche d'âge est égale à 1, en excluant les RA).

QUESTIONNAIRE FOYRE

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. FOY. : |\_|\_|\_|

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
N° suudu	N°ordre	Prénom Nom	sexe	tranche d'âge	situation matrimoniale	indiquer les CS	dans chaque suudu, lien de parenté avec le CS*	statut de résidence	handicap
1	1		_	_	_	CF	.	_	_
	2		_	_	_			_	_
	3		_	_	_			_	_
	4		_	_	_			_	_
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	28		_	_	_			_	_
	29		_	_	_			_	_
	30		_	_	_			_	_

\* mais pour chaque CS indiquez le lien de parenté avec le CF

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE :  NUM. FOY. :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
N° sudu	N° ordre	est-elle déjà allée à l'école?	Va-t-elle actuellement à l'école?	quel type d'école?	niveau d'instruction	répond-elle directement?	participation travaux agricoles?	activité génératrice de revenu?	activité/occupation principale	activité/occupation secondaire	déjà migré?	nb de fois	destination dernière migration	durée abs dernière mig mois/années	activité dernière mig	
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		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
		<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>											



Nom du vieux : .....

Enquêteur (initiales, signature): [ ][ ]

Date de l'entretien : .... Mai 2004 Heure début de l'entretien : Heure de fin :

Observations (interruptions, difficultés de l'entretien, parasites...):
---

**1°. Lien Vieux/Poyé**

Nombre de poyé de ce vieux : [ ] N° des poyé : [ ][ ] [ ][ ] [ ][ ]

Un de ses poyé est-il le foyer familial ? OUI : encrer le N° correspondant ci-dessus ; NON

Module « père du vieux » inclus ? OUI

NON, même père que : NUM. VIEUX : [ ][ ]

**2°. Ajout des enfants hors poyé**

1. Complétez la « Liste enfants », et la « Liste épouses » si nécessaire.

Avez-vous des enfants qui n'appartiennent pas ou plus à ces poyé ? OUI NON

(ce sont ceux que l'on n'a pas encore recensé : les filles mariées, les fils qui ont fondés leur foyer à part)

*Vous relèverez d'abord les enfants dont la mère est dans un des poyé, et enfin les enfants dont la mère est décédée ou divorcée (en ajoutant son nom s'il elle n'y figure pas déjà).*

2. Complétez la « Liste autres enfants »

Avez-vous élevé d'autres enfants (voir définition) qui ont maintenant quitté le foyer ?

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE :|\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX :|\_|\_|

1	2		3	4	5	6	7	
Identifiant épouse	à remplir suivant l'épouse considérée		(!avez-vous vue?)	Rang de l'épouse. Notez 8 pour divorcée et 9 pour décédée	année de naissance	année du mariage	si applicable, année du divorce ou du décès	
	épouses déjà recensées							épouses hors village, divorcées ou décédées
	NUM. FOY.	N° ordre (dans foyer)						PRENOM NOM
01E	_ _	_			_	_	_	
02E		_			_	_	_	
03E		_			_	_	_	
04E		_			_	_	_	
05E		_			_	_	_	
06E		_			_	_	_	
07E		_			_	_	_	
08E		_			_	_	_	
09E		_			_	_	_	
10E		_			_	_	_	

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : [ ][ ] NUM. VIEUX : [ ][ ]

1	2			3	4	5	6	7	
Identifiant enfant	à remplir suivant l'enfant considéré								
	enfants déjà recensés			enfants hors poyé		SEXE 1: M 2: F	handicap codes voir module "Tous"	Qui est la mère?  noter l'identifiant de la "liste épouses"	Année de naissance
	NUM. FOY.	N° ordre (dans foyer)	RAMC?	PRENOM NOM	même village				
01D	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	
02D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
03D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
04D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
05D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
06D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
07D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
08D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
09D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
10D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
11D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
12D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
13D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
14D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
15D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
16D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
17D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
18D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
19D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
20D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
21D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
22D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
23D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
24D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]
25D		[ ][ ]				[ ]	[ ]	[ ][ ] E	[ ][ ]

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE :  NUM. VIEUX :

1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	à remplir suivant l'enfant considéré								
Identifiant autre enfant	enfants déjà recensés		SEXE 1: M 2: F	qui est le père ou la mère de l'enfant? (voir codes*)	si le père/mère de l'enfant est le fils/fille du vieux vivant relevez son identifiant	handicap codes voir module "Tous"	Année de naissance	Année du "contage"	
	NUM. FOY.	N° ordre (dans foyer)							PRENOM NOM
01C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
02C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
03C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
04C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
05C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
06C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
07C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
08C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
09C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
10C	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>

*codes pour la colonne 5:	
est-il/elle l'enfant d'une des personnes suivantes	
1	filis vivant du vieux
2	filie vivante du vieux
3	filis décédé du vieux
4	filie décédée du vieux
5	frère du vieux
6	sœur du vieux
7	autre parent du vieux
8	sans lien de parenté

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE :|\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX :|\_|\_|

Renseignements sur tous les enfants du vieux qui ne sont pas RP						
0	Identifiant de l'enfant	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _
	rappel statut résidence	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
1	Lieu d'habitation					
2	si HP, raison du départ	_	_	_	_	_
3	Chez frère/sœur?		_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _	_ _ _
	<i>éducation</i>					
4	est-il/elle déjà allé à l'école?	_	_	_	_	_
5	étudie-t-il/elle?	_	_	_	_	_
6	quel type d'école?	_	_	_	_	_
7	niveau d'instruction	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
	<i>famille</i>					
8	situation matrimoniale	_	_	_	_	_
9	nb d'épouses	_	_	_	_	_
10	combien d'enfants a-t-il/elle à charge hors poyé?	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
11	nb d'enfants handicapés	_	_	_	_	_
12	nb de garçons	_	_	_	_	_
13	âge de l'aîné	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
14	niveau d'instruction	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
15	âge du benjamin	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
16	niveau d'instruction	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
17	âge de l'aînée	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
18	niveau d'instruction	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
19	âge de la benjamine	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
20	niveau d'instruction	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
21	prend-il en charge des enfants de ses frères et sœurs?	_	_	_	_	_
22	liste des frères/sœurs dont il a des enfants à charge					
23	activité génératrice de revenu?	_	_	_	_	_
24	activité/occupation principale	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _
25	activité/occupation secondaire	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _	_ _

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : [ ][ ] NUM. VIEUX : [ ][ ]

0	Identifiant de l'enfant	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ][ ]
	<i>hist. migration</i>					
26	déjà migré?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
27	nb de fois	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
	<i>premier départ</i>					
28	destination	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
29	nom ville/pays					
30	année du départ	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
31	raison du départ	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
32	décision indiv/collective?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]
33	qui l'a aidé?					
34	origine du financement de la mig					
35	coût	[ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ]	[ ][ ][ ]
36	durée abs première mig mois/années	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
		[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
	<i>dernière migration</i>					
37	nom ville/pays					
38	année du dernier départ	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
39	activité exercée					
	s'il/elle est rentré					
40	année du dernier retour	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]	[ ][ ]
	sinon					
41	envisage-t-il de rentrer au pays?	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]	[ ]

<b>santé: général</b>			
s'il souffre d'un handicap:		sinon >>3	
1	Depuis quelle année cet handicap vous gêne?		[ ][ ]
2	Quelle en est la cause principale?	1	accident
		2	maladie
		3	vieillesse
TOUS:			
3	Comment estimez-vous actuellement votre état général de santé étant donné votre âge (et vos handicaps)?	1	mauvais
		2	moyen
		3	bon
4	Avez-vous senti "une baisse de régime" brusque au cours des 10 dernières années?	1/2	O/N
5	Depuis quelle année?		[ ][ ]

prendre les précautions oratoires nécessaires pour aborder ces questions délicates

<b>alimentation</b>			
1	souffrez-vous de manque d'appétit chronique?	1/2 pour O/N	
2	Mode habituel de prise des repas	1	seul
		2	avec reste de la famille
		3	"tomboudou"
3	Vous envoie-t-on régulièrement des plats?	1/2	O/N
4	combien de fois par semaine?		[ ][ ]
5	de la part de qui principalement?	1	voisinage
		2	famille
6	s'il s'agit d'un enfant du vieux hors foyer, précisez l'identifiant (se termine par D ou C)		[ ][ ][ ][ ]
7	combien de fois mangez-vous (PRODUIT) par mois?	1	viande
		2	œufs
		3	fruits
8	vous arrive-t-il de sauter des repas dans les moments difficiles?	1	jamais
		2	de façon exceptionnelle
		3	de temps en temps
		4	souvent
9	date de la dernière période difficile	mois	
		année	
10	durée en jours		[ ][ ]



ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX: |\_|\_|

<b>santé2: problèmes de santé</b>				maladies chroniques	autre problème de santé
1	Type de maladie chronique ou d'autre problème de santé	si aucun: fin module		_	_
2	consultation?		si O>>4	_	_
3	Si non: raison	>>17		_	_
4	lieu de la localité de la consultation	en toute lettre			
5	structure/type personnel de santé			_	_
6	date de la dernière consultation	mois		_ _	_ _
		année		_ _	_ _
7	date de l'avant dernière consultation	mois	barrez si c'était la première fois	_ _	_ _
		année		_ _	_ _
8	date de la prochaine consultation prévue?	mois	barrez si il n'y en a pas	_ _	_ _
		année		_ _	_ _
9	coût de la consultation		milliers de Fcfa	_ _	_ _
10	moyen de transport utilisé			_	_
11	combien payez-vous pour le transport?	aller simple	milliers de Fcfa	_ _	_ _
12	temps mis pour s'y rendre?	minutes		_ _	_ _
		heures		_ _	_ _
13	par qui êtes-vous accompagné d'habitude?	si 1 >>15		_ _	_ _
14	n° de référence			_ _ _	_ _ _
15	hébergement hors village?	si 1 >>17		_ _	_ _
16	n° de référence?			_ _ _	_ _ _
17	traitement?	si N, fin module		_	_
18	pouvez-vous acheter toute l'ordonnance?			_	_
19	combien dépensez-vous par mois en médicaments?		milliers de Fcfa	_ _	_ _
20	d'où provient l'argent pour toutes ces dépenses de santé?	propre	préciser		
		soutien familial			
		autres			

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)  
 VILLAGE :|\_|\_| NUM. CONC :|\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX :|\_|

<b>enfance/formation</b>					
1	chez qui avez-vous vécu principalement jusqu'à vos 15 ans?	1	propres parents	_	
		2	confié à un parent		
		3	un marabout		
2	Vous avez suivi un enseignement coranique jusqu'à quel âge?			_ _	
3	Avez-vous fait l'école française?	O/N	OUI/NON	si N >>9  _	
4	à quel âge avez-vous arrêté vos études?			_ _	
5	Avez-vous suivi un <b>apprentissage</b> ?	O/N	OUI/NON	si N >>8  _	
6	dans quelle branche?	en toute lettre			
7	jusqu'à quel âge?			_ _	
8	Avez-vous été alphabétisé en pular?	O/N	OUI/NON	si N >>10  _	
9	en quelle année avez-vous commencé?			_ _	
10	Comprenez-vous et parlez-vous bien le wolof?	1	pas du tout	_	
		2	un peu		
		3	ça va		
		4	couramment		
11	l'arabe?	mêmes modalités			_
12	le français?				_

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)  
 VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX: |\_|\_|

<i>historique du père</i>				
1	combien avez-vous d'autres frères (même père) vivants hors de ces poyé?		remplir liste "frères" si il en a encore	_
2	où est né votre père?	1	dans ce village	préciser:  _
		2	autre village du Fouta	
		3	hors Fouta	
3	ancienneté de la lignée paternelle au village	ou	en générations	_ _
			en années	_ _
4	quelle a été l'activité principale de votre père?			_
5	votre père a-t-il quitté la vallée pour plus d'un an?	1/2	O/N	_
6	où est-il allé?			_
7	raison	1	travail	préciser  _
		2	militaire	
		3	étude coranique	
		4	autre	
8	Quelle est l' "origine sociale" de votre famille?	1	pullo	_
		2	toroodo	
		3	ceddo	
		4	cuballo	
		5	forgeron	
		6	griot	
		7	artisan	
		8	affranchi	
9	votre père exerçait-il une fonction au village?	1	aucune	_
		2	imam	
		3	maître coranique	
		4	chef de village	
		5	"quadi"	
		6	autre notable	

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX: |\_|\_|

<b>héritage</b>			
1	en quelle année votre père est décédé?		_ _
2	quel âge avait-il?		_ _
3	combien de frères (même père) étiez-vous à ce moment là?		_ _
4	combien de soeurs (même père) aviez-vous à ce moment là?		_ _
	Indiquer le nombre des mères		
<i>attention aux mères décédées/divorcées, épouses sans enfant pour connaître:</i>			
5	(nombre d'épouses à sa mort?)		_
6	qu' a-t-il laissé en héritage (plusieurs réponses possibles)?	rien de valeur	>> fin.  _
		terres cultivables	1: OUI  _
		bétail	
		commerces	
		terrains à bâtir	
		propriétés	
		objets de valeur (mobilier, or...)	
<i>remplir les quest suivantes si applicable</i>			
7	surface suivant la qualité des terres	1 falo	
		2 walo	
		3 fonde	
		4 dieri	
8	nombre de bovins	ou taille approx du troupeau	
9	nombre de chevaux		
10	lieu du commerce (pour les boutiques et plus grands)	1 hors Sénégal	_
		2 Dakar	
		3 autre commune	
		4 village de résidence	
		5 autre village	
11	lieu de la plus grande propriété	1 Dakar	_
		2 autre commune	
		3 village de résidence	
		4 autre : préciser	
12	lieu des terrain à bâtir	1 Dakar	_
		2 autre commune	
		3 village de résidence	
		4 autre : préciser	

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX: |\_|\_|

<b>emploi</b>				
1	dans quelle branche d'activité avez-vous principalement travaillé dans votre vie?			_
<i>s'il exerce toujours une activité,</i>				
5	quelle est votre implication dans cette branche?	1	supervision seulement	_
		2	gestion	
		3	actif à part entière	
		4	actif "par intermittence"	
6	si ce n'est pas lui, qui gère?			
7	avec qui travaille-t-il?			
<i>s'il s'est arrêté:</i>				
16	quand avez-vous cessé?		année	_ _
17	quelle est la raison principale de l'arrêt	1	âge	_
		2	maladie	
18	était-ce une décision personnelle?	O/N	OUI/NON	N>>20
19	qui vous a convaincu d'arrêter?	1	loi sur l'âge de la	_
		2	décision perso	
		3	conseil médical	
		4	entourage	
			contexte économique	
			autre	
<i>s'il a migré: sinon &gt;&gt;15</i>				
4	où vous êtes-vous rendu la première fois?			_
5	nom de la localité ou du pays	en toute lettre		
6	année du départ			_ _
7	durée de l'absence	ou	mois	_ _
			année	_ _
8	quelle fut votre activité principale			_
9	où vous êtes-vous rendu la dernière fois?			_
10	nom de la localité ou du pays	mêmes catégories que précédemment		
11	année du départ			_ _
12	durée de l'absence		mois	_ _
			années	_ _
13	activité principale durant cette dernière migration			
14	comptez-vous repartir?	O/N	OUI/NON	_
TOUS				
20	recevez-vous une pension?	1	de retraite	_
		2	d'ancien combattant	
21	montant trimestriel?		milliers Fct	_ _ _

		falo	walo	dieri	parcelles irriguées
1	possession?				
2	superficie totale				
3	année de la dernière mise en valeur				
4	raison de la non exploitation?				
5	superficie cultivée				
6	mode de faire valoir				
7	distance par rapport au village				
8	production				
9	destination de la production				

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX: |\_|\_|

<b>richesse du vieux</b>					
bétail du vieux					
1	donnez le nombre (approximatif) d'animaux possédés		bovins		
			ovins		
			caprins		
			cheveaux		
			ânes		
2	confiez-vous une partie de votre troupeau?	1/2	O/N		
3	coût du confiage par mois		milliers de Fcfa		
4	possédez-vous de la volaille?	1/2	O/N		
moyens de production					
5	combien de pirogues possédez-vous?				
6	combien de charettes possédez-vous?				
autres biens durables possédés					
7	possédez-vous l'un des bien suivants? (notez "1" dans la case correspondante)		moulin/décortiqueuse	1=OUI	
			tracteur		
			voiture/camion		
			mobylette/moto		
			réfrigérateur/congélateur		
			téléphone dont portable		
			radio		
			télé		
			matelas/lit		
			meubles		
	montre				
immobilier					
8	combien possédez-vous de terrains à construire en zone urbaine?				
9	localisation du plus important		en toute lettre		
10	moyen d'acquisition	1	achat		
		2	héritage		
		3	don		
11	de qui?				
12	année d'acquisition				
13	estimation du prix de vente actuel		milliers de Fcfa		
14	combien possédez-vous d'habitations (hors du village)?				
15	moyen d'acquisition		même cat que préc.		
16	localisation de la plus importante		en toute lettre		
17	"prix locatif mensuel" actuel				
banque					
18	disposez-vous d'un compte en banque?	1/2	O/N		
19	à quelle fin?	1	facilités de transferts		
		2	facilités d'épargne		
		3	facilités de crédit		
		4	autre		préciser

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE : |\_|\_| NUM. VIEUX: |\_|\_|

<b>emprunt</b>			
1	vous a-t-on prêté de l'argent au cours des 4 derniers mois?	1/2	O/N
2	la raison majeure du plus gros emprunt?	1	retard paiement des mandats, de la retraite
		2	dépense de santé imprévue ou trop importante
		3	soudure
		4	autre: préciser
3	qui vous l'a prêté?	1	famille
		2	commerçant
		3	banque
		4	autre ménage du village
		5	autre préciser
4	quelle somme?		en milliers de Fcfa
5	avez-vous perdu un fils qui vous soutenait?	1/2	O/N
6	année du décès		
<b>soutien</b>			
<i>De qui recevez-vous le plus de soutien pour ces dépenses courantes:</i>			
7	la dépense quotidienne (alimentation)		
8	(si équipé) les factures (eau, électricité, téléphone)		
9	(si propre enf scol) frais de scolarisation		
<i>pour ces dépenses moins courantes mais prévisibles:</i>			
10	les dépenses de mariages baptêmes		
11	autres dépenses de fêtes religieuses		
<i>pour des dépenses imprévues:</i>			
12	qui vous a dépanné pour faire face à une situation imprévue?		
13	à quelle occasion?		

*s'il s'agit d'un frère du vieux ou d'un enfant inscrire son identifiant tel qu'il apparaît dans les listes "enfants", "autres enfants", "frères". S'il s'agit d'une autre personne recensée dans le foyré inscrire son n° d'ordre. S'il s'agit de quelqu'un d'autre indiquez le lien de parenté et donnez des détails en observation.*

ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE :  NUM. VIEUX :

<b>soutien enfants (sauf RP/RT)</b>										
0	Identifiant des enfants RA/MC/hors payé									
<i>Evènements</i>										
1	était-il/elle là lors de la dernière tabaski?	1/2	O/N							
2	quelle a été sa participation à la dernière tabaski?		si don en nature notez la valeur en milliers de Fcfa							
	si le vieux pratique la culture sous pluies...									
3	a-t-il/elle aidé aux travaux des champs lors de la dernière saison des pluies?	1/2	O/N							
<i>Envoi d'argent</i>										
4	vous a-t-il/elle déjà envoyé de l'argent	1/2	O/N							
		sa mère								
		son épouse								
		ses enfants								
		ses frères								
		ses sœurs								
5	vous envoie-t-il/elle de l'argent destinés à d'autres membres du foyer?									
6	vous envoie-t-il/elle de l'argent régulièrement?	1/2	O/N							
		1	main à main							
		2	voie bancaire							
		3	voie postale							
		4	mandat-fax							
		5	via particulier							
		6	autre							
7	quel mode d'envoi d'argent utilise-t-il/elle d'habitude									
8	fréquence des transferts		tous les ...mois							



ENQUETE SOUTIEN AUX PERSONNES AGEES EN MILIEU HAALPULAAR (2004)

VILLAGE :  NUM. VIEUX :

<b>soutien enfants vivant hors village</b>											
0	Identifiant des enfants RA/MC/hors village										
	Où vit-il/elle actuellement?	en toute lettre									
	<b>Nouvelles</b>										
1	avez-vous régulièrement de ses nouvelles?	1/2	O/N								
2	fréquence des nouvelles	OU		nb de fois par mois							
				nb de fois par an							
3	date de la dernière communication			mois							
				année							
4	est-il déjà arrivé que vous soyez longtemps sans nouvelles de lui?	1/2	O/N							si N>6	
5	combien de temps cela a-t-il duré?			en année							
6	avez-vous aujourd'hui un moyen de le joindre en cas d'urgence?	1/2	O/N							si N>10	
7	en avez-vous déjà fait usage?	1/2	O/N							si N>>10	
9	à quelle occasion?	en toute lettre									
	<b>Visites</b>										
10	vous rend-il souvent visite?	1/2	O/N								
11	fréquence des visites			nb de fois par an							
				mois							
				année							
12	date de la dernière visite			en semaines							
13	durée du séjour			milliers Fcfa							
14	combien vous a-t-il remis lors de ce dernier passage?			mois							
				année							
15	quand sa prochaine visite est prévue?			pas prévue: année							