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The organization of trips in emigration by pirogue in Senegal

Abdoulaye Ngom

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Abdoulaye Ngom. The organization of trips in emigration by pirogue in Senegal. African Review of Migration and Environment African Review of Migration and Environment1, 2021, 5 (1-2), pp.28-48. hal-03318800

HAL Id: hal-03318800

<https://hal.science/hal-03318800>

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ARME

African Review of Migration and Environment

Revue Africaine de Migration et Environnement

Vol 5, No 1 & 2, July-December 2021

Vol 5, No 1 & 2, Juillet- Décembre 2021

African Review of Migration and Environment Revue Africaine de Migration et Environnement Vol 5, No 1 & 2 Jul/ Dec 2021



**African Review of Migration
and Environment**

**Revue Africaine de Migration
et Environnement**

Vol 5, N° 1& 2, July- December 2021

Vol 5, N° 1& 2, Juillet- Decembre 2021



ISSN : 2664-1232



© ARME, *African Review of Migration and Environment-Revue Africaine de Migration et Environnement*

Vol 5, N° 1&2, Juillet-Décembre 2021/July-December2021

ISSN : 2664-1232

Dépôt légal : Archive Nationale de Côte d'Ivoire, 3ème Trimestre 2021

This journal is a bilingual and bi-annual joint publication of researchers from Peleforo Gon Coulibaly University of Korhogo (Côte d'Ivoire) and Obafemi Awolowo University of Ilé-Ifé (Nigeria).

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The organization of trips in emigration by pirogue in Senegal

L'organisation des voyages en émigration par pirogue au Sénégal

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Abstract: This article examines the different actors involved in the organization of journeys in clandestine migration by sea. By mobilizing of interviews conducted from 2013 to 2017 in Casamance in southern Senegal, the article shows the existence of actors such as the promoter of the journey, the intermediary, the smuggler, the captain of the pirogue, the families, the marabouts, and the candidate for migration. The article highlights a well-structured migration network that allows would-be migrants to attempt the journey to the European Eldorado, usually with the utmost discretion.

Keywords : Clandestine migration, actors, pirogue, Casamance

Résumé : Cet article examine les différents acteurs impliqués dans l'organisation des voyages dans la migration clandestine par voie maritime. En mobilisant des entretiens réalisés de 2013 à 2017 en Casamance au sud du Sénégal, l'article montre l'existence d'acteurs tels que le promoteur du voyage, l'intermédiaire, le passeur, le capitaine de pirogue, les familles, les marabouts, et le candidat à la migration. L'article

met en évidence un réseau migratoire bien structuré qui permet aux candidats à la migration de tenter le voyage vers l'eldorado européen, le plus souvent dans la plus grande discrétion.

Mots-clés : Migration clandestine, acteurs, pirogue, Casamance.

Introduction

*"Barça wala barzakh"*⁵ or *"mbeuk-mi"*⁶, are two slogans most often used by candidates for migration in Senegal to designate emigration by sea. These two vernacular slogans reflect the desire of a certain fringe of Senegalese youth, aspiring for better living conditions and to get out of the stranglehold of prevailing poverty, unemployment, etc... to leave the country to go to Europe in makeshift pirogues. In Senegal, candidates for migration come from most parts of the country, particularly Casamance. The interest of this article is thus to take a critical look at clandestine migration from this region. This has not been the subject of any in-depth study, since the work on the issue of clandestine migration from Senegal has all focused on the Dakar region. At a time when Casamance, like other regions of the country, is experiencing major clandestine migration flows towards Europe, it is important to take a closer look at the changes under way and the dynamics in this region of southern Senegal. This is a region that has been shaken by an armed conflict between the (separatist) Movement of the Democratic Forces of Casamance (MFDC) and the Senegalese army for more than 30 years (Diédhiou, 2011). This conflict eventually plunged the region into a situation of "neither war nor peace" instability. In parallel with this situation of instability, we note that the economic and social context in Casamance is not the best because of the prevailing poverty that hits families living there hard, whether in rural or urban areas. The incidence of poverty in the three regions that make up Casamance bears witness to this: it remains higher than the national average of 46.7%. In 2020, the incidence of poverty in the Ziguinchor region was estimated at 66.8%, 76.6% in the Kolda region and 68.3% in the Sédhiou region (ANSD, 2020). In Casamance the poverty line is higher than in all other regions of Senegal, and a family (usually large) lives there

⁵ Barcelona or purgatory

⁶ Literally in Wolof horn blows

on average with 3 or 4\$ per day⁷, or about a hundred euros per month; this gives an idea of the importance of the "remittances," the money that one of the sons or one of the daughters, young immigrants to Europe, periodically send to their family. In view of these figures, it is easier to understand why some parents mobilize a good part of their resources to finance the migration project of one of their children, despite the considerable dangers of the journey (there is often only one child per family who immigrates). Because of this extremely precarious economic and social situation, especially for the young people of this region, and the situation of political instability, migration is the most credible alternative to success, regardless of the risks. In Casamance, some would-be migrants prefer to emigrate by sea (Ngom, 2017a) rather than by land, let alone by air. In contrast to much work that focuses on the causes of departure, the way sea travel takes place, or policies to combat clandestine migration, this article aims to examine a typical example of a migration network in the places of departure that allows sea travel to be organized with the utmost discretion. A brief review of clandestine migration in Casamance will be given first, followed by an examination of the different actors involved in the organization of trips in this region. But before doing so, it is necessary to provide some methodological and epistemological details of the research.

1. Methodological and epistemological clarifications

Our work combines a multi-site ethnography (Marcus, 1995), which consists in following the object of study over time on several sites, and a socio-anthropological posture (Olivier de Sardan, 2008). The interviews were conducted from 2013 to 2017

Casamance with 30 potential migrants, and various actors (dugout canoe captains, intermediary travel promoters, families, fishermen, etc.) involved in these trips. We followed them for four years on several sites in Casamance (more precisely in the regions of Ziguinchor and Kolda). We met them in their homes, workplaces, and places of leisure. In view of the large number of young people who, in recent years in Casamance, have

⁷ The currency in Casamance and other regions of Senegal is the FCFA. 1\$ is equivalent to 547FCFA so 3 to 4\$ is equivalent to 1641FCFA and 2188FCFA respectively.

already tried to travel by land or sea, we chose to focus on long-term interviews and follow-up with a limited number of families whose logics of action we wanted to analyze in greater depth. Our strategy consisted in approaching a candidate for migration, who put us in touch with another and so on until enough resource persons could be met. In addition to the families and the selected candidates for migration, interviews were conducted with other actors. This was the case with pirogue captains, travel promoters, fishermen, leaders of youth associations and structures and coordinators of projects to combat illegal migration. Other resource persons have been located through our network of personal acquaintances (e.g., friends).

1.1 Data collection methods and strategies

1.1.1. Accessing contacts and building trust

During this research, we worked with about ten families and twenty candidates for migration whom we contacted through the address book we had already worked with in the preparation of our Master 2 thesis. We contacted our respondents to gain access to families living in the Ziguinchor region. Other resource persons were located through our network of personal acquaintances (friends, for example). The strategy for approaching the resource persons was a snowball effect, insofar as we told our acquaintances (friends in particular) about our object of study, and some of them knew of candidates for migration in their circle and put us in touch with them.

1.1.2. The choice of the study population

In view of the large number of young people who have attempted to travel by land or sea in recent years in Casamance, we chose to focus on long-term interviews and long-term follow-up of a limited number of families whose "logic of action" we wanted to analyze in greater depth. In doing so, the sampling method chosen for this research was to work with candidates for migration and families with whom we had established a relationship of trust to follow them over time. Our strategy was to

approach one candidate for migration, who then put us in touch with another, and so on, until enough contacts had been made. In addition to the families and candidates selected, interviews were conducted with other actors. This was the case with pirogue captains, trip promoters, fishermen, leaders of youth associations and structures, and coordinators of projects to combat illegal migration. Other resource persons were located through our network of personal acquaintances (friends, for example).

1.1.3. Semi-structured interviews and life stories

In this work, we chose to use semi-structured interviews with which we combined life stories (Bertaux, 1997) and direct observations. They were conducted with the candidates for migration and their families. The use of interviews allowed us to collect a lot of detailed data that the questionnaire would not have provided. In addition to the semi-structured interviews, life stories were conducted with resource persons (families, prospective migrants, and other significant others). The use of life stories makes it possible to understand the logic, practices, and actions to better understand the processes that were at the basis or origin of the formulation of the migration project within the family unit. For, beyond the individual journeys that are revealed in the course of the narrative, the life story reveals the collective journey (in particular through the evocation of events that occurred in the group), thus providing keys to the interpretation of the events that, for example, took place within a family unit and that lead more and more (poor) families to mobilize all the energies and resources at their disposal in order to improve their living conditions, and even to get out of their situation. The use of semi-structured interviews and life stories is explained, within the framework of this research, by the fact that we wanted to give voice to social actors to understand their actions, their representations, and their experiences. These tools make it possible to show that, beyond the diversity of the determinants, the migration projects of the candidates were not developed *ex nihilo*, but on the contrary, they are the result of strategies or even an economy of survival of the families who are trying, through the sending of one of their members, to improve their living conditions or to get out of them, hence the strong mobilizations that they imply.

1.1.4. Direct observations

In using observations during our fieldwork, we did not want to observe pirogues leaving for Europe, but rather to focus on the lifestyle of our respondents by analyzing their activities, their actions, and their practices. The direct observation that we used consisted in collecting information on our contacts by capturing their behaviors and their words at the time they appeared. The advantage of this approach is that it allows us to capture the phenomenon in the moment and not to depend on the answers or interpretations of the respondents, as in the case of interviews or questionnaires. To do this, we noted in our field notebook, in the manner of anthropologists, the smallest facts and details that were likely to be useful when analyzing the interviews to shed light on the processes and "logics of action".

Parallel to the interviews, we carried out video and audio research⁸ (films, documentaries, debates, and testimonies) to complete our reading and to better follow, in real time, the news on clandestine migration and migration in general. To avoid any bias, the interviews were, in most cases, conducted in Wolof and then translated into English.

2. Conceptual insights on the concept of migration network

The work of the sociology of migration often refers to the notion of network. Whether the analyses focus on the countries of departure or arrival of immigrants, on the trajectory of migrants, on their itineraries, on the modes of organization of immigrants, on strategies for mobilizing resources, on the political commitment of immigrants or their descendants in the political field, the concept of network makes it possible to analyze

⁸ *Clandestins : ils traversent l'enfer pour venir vivre en France* is a report broadcast in the program Forbidden Zone of November 24, 2013 on the television channel M6; *les naufragés de la Méditerranée* in the wide-angle program of November 23, 2016 on BFMTV; *Agadez au Niger, porte de l'exil*, a report by Catherine Norris-Trent and Julien Sauvaget broadcast on France 24 on 9 September 2016; *La république des clandestins*, a documentary film by Sébastien Deurdilly released in 2006 and *Re-calais*, a report by Yann Moix on the Calais jungle broadcast on ARTE on 9 June 2018.

how a group of individuals is organized. In this article, I use the concept of network to show how a family network organizes itself to mobilize the resources that will enable them to finance one of their own to migrate. The operationalization of the network concept in this article makes it possible to show upstream how the entire migration chain is constituted from the country of origin, through the transit country to the country of destination. According to Bidart (2008), a social network is « a relational system. It brings together a set of relationships, whether this set is defined by a common individual (a person's network) or by a collective (the total network of an organization or corporation) ». (Bidart, 2008: 35). The concept of network is most often used in conjunction with other concepts to show the inclusion of an individual within several forms of networks. The list could go on and on, but regardless of the type of network referred to, it is simply a matter of showing the ties, relationships, and connections that individuals make with one another throughout their lives. Individuals exploit or make use of these networks most often according to their objectives. The analysis of a network, whether in the field of migration or in other spheres of an individual's life, enables the researcher to refocus his or her attention on the links that an individual weaves with others, whether he or she knows them personally, whether he or she shares the same geographical space with them...

The analysis made by Granovetter (1973) in the 1970s on the notion of network through strong ties and weak ties provides a relevant framework for understanding and analyzing the concept of migration networks. In his work, Granovetter shows that weak ties are more powerful than strong ties. Every individual maintains relationships with his immediate entourage, be it his family, a network of relatives, friends, work colleagues... He also forms other relationships with other people in other geographical spaces, however distant they may be. And in the idea defended by Granovetter, an individual will paradoxically benefit more from his relations of weak ties than from those resulting from strong ties. « Individuals with many weak ties, are, by my arguments, best placed to diffuse such a difficult innovation, since some of those ties will be local bridges ». (Granovetter, 1973: 1367). Strong ties refer to the individual's relationships with family, friends and more generally with relatives, while weak ties are part of his or her broad range of knowledge regardless of geographic location. In Granovetter's idea, weak ties are the only ones that create a bridge. The network that interests me in this article is this

migration network which constitutes a form of chain, intermediate links for the candidate for migration. It concerns all the people who are part of what we could call here the migratory chain upstream and downstream, i.e., from the country of departure through the transit country to the host country. This is the case of the migration network or chain that I examine in this article. The analysis of a network, be it long- or short-term migration or the relations that an individual has with others, allows us to see the strength of the links that unite the different entities that make it up. For Granovetter, "the strength of a tie is a (probably linear) combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy (mutual confiding), and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie". In his work, Granovetter shows how the social network allows access to work or employment, particularly through weak ties. To illustrate his point, Granovetter takes the example of a job seeker. He concludes his reflection by showing that while weak ties allow access to work, this is not the case everywhere - as in the context of Casamance and more generally Senegal - and individuals often resort to both strong and weak ties in their job search. Often, it is the strong ties that enable individuals to find work. And it is usual, for example, for a relative or close friend to recommend you to an acquaintance who, often, occupies a very high position in a structure, so that he or she can take you on as an employee. One of the recurrences that we were able to detect throughout our field survey is that every time candidates for migration mentioned the lack of employment in the country, they referred to this notion of network by speaking of "piston", or "long arm" in their jargon. According to them, the network is essential in the search for a job, as Diatta⁹, a candidate for migration, testifies:

« [...] You know, my dear, here in Senegal, it works by long arms. If you have a relative, a friend or an acquaintance who is very high up in the administration or in the civil service, he will easily be able to help you get a job. I grew up with my childhood friend, we got the baccalaureate the same year in the same high school, I continued my studies at the university, which was not the case for him because his uncle who is the general

⁹ To respect the anonymity of the respondents, I use assumed names

manager of a department here simply took him into his structure. »

Massey and al (1988), in their review of the various theories of international migration (1993) propose a definition of the migration network: "migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin" (Massey and al, 1988: 448).

As for the pirogues, they are makeshift boats made of motorboats that are normally used for coastal fishing and are often in poor condition. They are built by carpenters who dry the trunks of large and gigantic cheese trees or cauliflower trees to obtain wood, which is then cut to be used to build the pirogues. At the end of their construction, the pirogues are then decorated by painters who sometimes put the name of their owner or their marabout or their ancestor. It is these boats that are used as means of transport for the candidates for migration that are referred to in this article as pirogues.

3. Illegal migration in Casamance: history and challenges

Many would-be migrants from this region use sea routes, including dugout canoes, to reach the European coasts; others make the journey overland via the desert. Those who choose to migrate by sea usually do so from Djogué or Carabane Island¹⁰, where they pile up in dugout canoes and travel in very risky conditions, but with a strong desire to reach the European continent. Other candidates, on the other hand, choose the overland route from Casamance to Mali, then Burkina Faso, Niger, and Algeria, where they hope to reach Europe, particularly Spain. Candidates for migration from the Casamance coasts take a lot of risks by using pirogues to make their journey. Indeed, it very often happens, especially when the pirogues are old, that they overturn in the open sea and sink

¹⁰ The islands of Djogué and Carabane are fishing villages located in Casamance

under the blow of gusts and violent waves. Since many of the candidates cannot swim, apart from the fishermen who accompany them, many of them end up in the belly of the fish. However, passage by land is also very dangerous. The migrant's risk being humiliated and abused by the smugglers they rely on to get from one place to another to their destination. Those who choose to migrate by land therefore face many risks and suffering, including the risk of being killed during their journey. Some of them are abducted and held in a kind of prison on Libyan territory under the control of the smugglers, where they are held, sometimes for months, until their families have paid the ransom demanded. It has also emerged that some candidates who fail at the gates of the desert are recruited and enlisted by terrorist groups such as boko haram, ansar dine, chebabs, AQIM¹¹... and are thus forced to abandon their plan to join the European continent in favor of a new project imposed by the radical Islamism of these terrorist groups. Finally, other would-be migrants who attempt to cross into Europe, notably via Libya, are sold by some smugglers in slave markets, as a report by the International Organization for Migration of 11 April 2017 shows. These slave markets, which affect hundreds of would-be migrants in transit through Libyan territory, thus make Libya one of the most dangerous transit countries, where the rights of would-be migrants are violated (IOM, 2017) because of their poor access to the protection system due to the unstable situation in that country.

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Actors involved in travel arrangements

4.1.1. The travel promoter

It is the most important and least visible actor in the illegal migration chain from the area of departure. Indeed, it is most often up to the travel promoter to provide the financial means to acquire the pirogue, or in the best case to manufacture it. The latter option is very rare, however, since most often it is old fishing pirogues that are bought back from local

¹¹ Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb

fishermen and on which they carry out minor or major repairs, depending on the condition of the pirogue. It is also the promoter who buys the various materials needed throughout the voyage, in consultation with the captain of the pirogue (Ngom, 2020). For example, to properly refuel the dugout canoe with diesel, the promoter needs to rely on the dugout captain who, with his experience and knowledge of the sea, estimates the number of liters of diesel needed to complete this long and perilous voyage. The proponent of the trip works closely with the boat captain as well as with the intermediary, an equally important link in this migratory network.

4.1.2. *The intermediary*

The intermediary is the person in charge of making the link between the promoter of the voyage, the captain of the pirogue and the candidates for migration. In extremely rare cases, he or she may have to deal with the candidate or his or her family. He has no relationship with the smuggler. As an actor who is very involved in the preparation of the voyage, the intermediary goes to meet people who wish to go to Europe clandestinely and informs them of the departure of a pirogue and the amount required to be part of the voyage. He therefore negotiates with the candidates for migration to justify the cost of the trip to them. As a reminder, this cost is fixed by the travel promoter, even if the intermediary may increase the initial amount to have additional income other than his commission. Thus, the intermediary may implement tactics (De certeau, 1990) that result in surpluses, insofar as it is the intermediary who receives the money from potential migrants so that he can in turn remit it to the trip promoter.

« [...] I am a fisherman by profession, but I do not work as an intermediary in the organization of trips by pirogue. I have worked with many travel promoters here in Ziguinchor and I must say that it is an activity that brings in a lot of money. Just by being an intermediary in the organization of a single trip, I can get a commission of between 500000FCFA (923\$) and 800000FCFA (1477\$), I'll let you guess how much money

I make if I participate in the organization of several trips. Moreover, the job of intermediary is not difficult, at least in my opinion, because it is simply a matter of establishing a link between the person who is at the head of the travel organization, in this case the travel promoter, and the candidates for migration. As an intermediary, I play a sort of recruiting role for young people who want to go to Europe and who do not have a visa to take the legal route of migration. All this is obviously done with the utmost discretion, away from everyone's eyes. When I have a deal, i.e., when I am approached as an intermediary by a travel promoter, most often I approach the candidates in secret places, and I sometimes prefer to travel rather than at night to meet the candidates for migration. Discretion is something that the travel promoter and the other actors involved in the organization of the trips are very keen on and only repeat it to us every time we meet them or are in communication with them. I have recruited quite a few candidates for migration in the regions of Ziguinchor and Kolda. » [Diandy, 32, intermediary].

Chosen for his discretion and sense of responsibility by the promoter, the intermediary is generally very astute, even if most often he does not tell the migration candidates the whole truth about the state of the pirogue and its trajectory. Discretion must be the intermediary's priesthood so as not to arouse the suspicion of the police authorities, which could lead to the failure of the trip, thereby annihilating all the efforts undertaken by the promoter, including his financial investment for the construction of the pirogue for example. Finally, to carry out his role, the intermediary makes "round trips", a constant "to-and-fro" between the promoter and the candidates. It is therefore an iterative process that leads him to work jointly with the two actors (promoter and migration candidate) throughout the preparation phase of the trip.

4.1.3. *The Family*

The journey by pirogues or overland routes is a long-term undertaking undertaken alone by the candidate who, from beginning to end, at least for most of them, has had the support of his family. Indeed, the strong family mobilization noted in clandestine migration, both in Casamance and in the other regions of Senegal, as well as the involvement of the mothers of families in the first place, make it possible to show upstream the expectations of families who take the risk of sending one of their own abroad.

« [...] My husband has been dead for three years now and we don't have enough financial support from our family circle. I am doing quite well to support my children by selling fish at the Saint-Maur market. With the sale of fish, sometimes I can earn between 1500FCFA (2\$) and 3000FCFA (5\$) during the day, it all depends on the clientele. It is with this money that I ensure the subsistence of the family. I get up very early, most often at 5am to meet the fishermen returning from the sea. As soon as I have my merchandise, I go to the market where I display my fish on a table. Around 10 or 11 o'clock, my daughter joins me at the market, and I give her some money so she can buy food and prepare the meal. This is how I have been able to take care of the family for the past few years. It's hard sometimes. My son, who is now of marriageable age, can barely support me in taking care of the children. He's a metal carpenter, you know it's a business that sometimes works, but there are times when the work doesn't work. So, when he told me about his plans to go to Europe, I agreed and decided to give him all my financial support. I gave my son 300000FCFA (554\$) thanks to a tontine in which I participated. »
[Badji, 53 years old, mother of a candidate for migration]

Family members assume that once the candidate has made the trip and reached his or her destination, the candidate will be able to send money

home in return. For families who are aware of and support the migration project of one of their relatives, they also serve as a financial back up by mobilizing resources that enable the prospective migrant to finance his or her trip (Ngom, 2019).

4.1.4. *The smuggler*

There is no clandestine emigration either by sea or by land without recourse to the smuggler. Any consideration of clandestine migration must therefore consider the role of this key player, without whom the clandestine migration network cannot be properly constructed. This actor, whose role has been widely documented in the literature and in work on clandestine migration (Laacher, 2007), is an intermediary link and serves as a connection between the space of departure, transit, and reception. The smuggler can negotiate directly with the candidates to help them to reach European soil, in return of course for a remuneration that varies from one smuggler to another and according to the space in which the candidate for migration is located. The smuggler works closely with other smugglers and sometimes even with the police at the borders of the transit areas, which makes his job easier in many ways. He is very often well equipped to communicate with other intermediaries and is very familiar with the informal circuits of the migration routes. The smuggler is gifted, astute, resourceful and has learned over the years how to get through the cogs and loops to reach a particular area, and candidates are interested in establishing good collaboration with him or her to reach their destination. On the other hand, some smugglers, especially those in the desert, have been known to racketeer and rob many would-be migrants. Some even go so far as to abandon them along the way in the desert, thus breaking the contract that binds them to the would-be migrants. Indeed, the would-be migrant has agreed to give money to the smuggler so that the smuggler can help him or her to move from one territory to another, and if the smuggler does not respect this commitment, he or she betrays his or her trust.

4.1.5. *The captain of the pirogue*

Equipped with a solid knowledge of maritime navigation and having a fine grasp of the sea, the pirogue captain represents the person in charge of driving the pirogue from the place of departure to the place of arrival. He does not collect money from the prospective migrants, as the promoter of the trip, the first actor described above, has already paid him.

« [...] For several years now, I have been living solely on fishing income since I am a fisherman by profession. It is with fishing money that I manage to take care of my wife and three children. For a few years now, I have been a dugout captain and my role consist solely of transporting candidates for migration to the European shores. I work with two trip promoters who give me a commission for each trip we organize. However, I must tell you that even if these trips are illegal and the journey is dangerous, I am very well paid. We know the risk we run when we travel in pirogues on the open sea, but what can I say? There are times in life when you must take risks to get out of it, because life here is very difficult and it is not obviously to feed your family with the little income, I have from the sale of the fish I bring back from the sea. That's one of the reasons that pushed me to get involved in the organization of trips here in Casamance and to become a pirogue captain afterwards. »
[Cissokho, 35 years old, pirogue captain]

The captain of the pirogue must have a good grasp of navigation rules to be able to take these migration candidates, whose number is between 60 and 100, to their destination. Indeed, the number of passengers depends on the size of the pirogue, even if information from our field surveys shows that the number of candidates on board generally exceeds the capacity of the pirogue. This is one of the reasons why a number of these canoes cannot withstand the violence of waves and high tides and end up overturning along the way, resulting in the death of would-be migrants (Ngom, 2018). On board the pirogue, the captain is assisted by three or

four individuals who give him information with their GPS and help him drive if he becomes tired during the voyage. The master of the dugout canoe regularly gathers the opinions of the other fishers accompanying him before proceeding in a particular direction. Another aspect that is particularly interesting to note here is that, as a rule, both the master of the dugout canoe and his assistants are fishermen and are therefore, by nature, accustomed to very long-distance crossings in their fishing activities. The surveys we carried out in Casamance illustrate this situation, where many fishermen have converted to boat captains, considering this activity to be more remunerative.

4.1.6. The marabouts and the candidate's entourage

Divinatory practices are very present at the heart of people's daily lives, whether in Casamance or in the other regions of Senegal, giving paramount importance to marabouts who are often solicited by individuals, either to formulate prayers, to shape gris-gris, to predict destiny or to protect against bad words. This presence of divinatory practices in social life has moreover been highlighted, particularly in the Senegambian context, by Samb (1998). These divinatory practices are the work of marabouts present in all regions of Senegal, and the Casamance region is no exception to this rule. For example, women come to them most often to consolidate a loving relationship between them and their husbands, so as not to run the risk of having a co-wife. They are solicited by wrestlers as they approach their fight to beat, as they say in their jargon, mystically their opponents, by students who are preparing to take their baccalaureate exams and who perhaps hope to find the magic pen that would allow them to get the sesame, etc... The marabouts are thus very often solicited by candidates for migration to obtain predictions about their journey, as well as possible offerings and prayers associated with them. In other words, it is a question of seeing if the journey will take place in very good conditions and thus foreseeing any difficulties that might arise along the way. In many cases the marabouts can predict whether they will succeed or fail in their journey in view of the dangers and risks involved.

« [...] Many candidates for migration come to see me before they leave so that I can predict their journey and especially formulate prayers for them. This prediction of the journey consists first in seeing whether the journey will have a happy outcome and secondly in seeing whether the path will be less strewn with obstacles and difficulties. We all know, even if we have never made long journeys by sea to go from one place to another, that such a journey is very risky and dangerous, but as I have told you, the candidates who come to us for omens and prayers have already made their decision to leave and it is not us as a marabout who can dissuade them from doing so. I do not ask for money, but I just tell the candidate for migration to give me what he has; it is up to him to see how much he will put on my mat where I make my omens. » [Diallo, 63 years old, marabout]

These forms of omens of travel by the marabout are commonly referred to in local jargon (Wolof) as *listixaars*, according to the terminology proposed by Ibrahima Sow, for whom *listixaar* remains one of the most popular means of travel in Senegal (Sow, 2006). Such recourse to marabouts before the trip is generally carried out with the help and complicity of the mothers of families who know the marabouts by experience, since they themselves have frequently solicited them. As for the candidate's entourage, whether family or friends, they can play two roles: on the one hand, a deterrent role in view of the dangers, often fatal, that such an undertaking represents, and on the other hand, a moral and/or economic support role consisting in giving money to the candidate, whether the latter has previously expressed the willingness to be lent money.

4.1.7. The migration candidate

Although he plays a minor role in the migration network, the candidate for migration is the one without whom the very existence of the network would have no existence. Indeed, all the actors we have just described assume these roles only because there is a candidate who intends to leave

his region to go to other horizons, where he hopes to find the conditions necessary for his development. From the moment he has handed over the money to either the intermediary or the smuggler in the transit country, he is transported from one place to another, sometimes under very difficult travel conditions. The data from the various field surveys show the suffering endured by potential migrants during their migratory adventure: thirst in the desert, torture inflicted by some smugglers, theft of their belongings, humiliation, etc. Many would-be migrants often find themselves in countries where their human rights are totally violated. They are forced to endure these injustices to achieve their only objective: to enter the European continent.

« [...] you can see the neighborhood I live in. People live in a very precarious situation. The walls of the houses are made of banco and we have problems with the water supply. People are forced to draw water from a communal well, while others go to buy water from this alleyway. All the time I come across mothers who ask for my help to prepare a meal or to buy medicine for their sick child. I see my sisters working as prostitutes clandestinely at night in their rooms with only a candle as a light. Some young people go to the forest to pick mangoes and other fruits to sell at the market or by going door to door, while others are street vendors who work for wholesalers who give them merchandise that they will sell for a small consideration. All this to show you that the situation is going very badly and is becoming more and more difficult and unbearable. So, you understand why we are taking the pirogues to leave this country where the rich are always rich, and the poor are always very poor. » [Sambou, 27, candidate for migration]

The candidate has lived for years under the yoke of the structural conditions of his country (unemployment, increasing poverty and great precariousness, insufficient income, etc.), a situation which most often

leads him to undertake a journey outside his territory. For this reason, he remains very determined to fulfil his dream, even though he is aware of the dangers of his journey. As reported to us in numerous interviews with candidates in Casamance, the slogan *tekki* (Ngom, 2017b) or the mirage of success implies that many obstacles will have to be overcome if they want to improve their living conditions and those of their families.

Conclusion

Making visible the network of actors, from the places of departure, which structures clandestine migration by pirogue, not only sheds light on latent processes relating to the organization of journeys but also contributes to the production of knowledge on clandestine migration, particularly in the Senegalese context. The present article has thus made it possible to show how migration projects, which take place clandestinely, take shape thanks to a very well-structured and supervised network of actors, involving several people. The examination of the role and the links between the different actors involved allows the organization of a migratory network in the places of departure that sheds light on the understanding of the organization of journeys in emigration by sea. From the travel promoter to the smuggler, from the captain of the pirogue to the middleman, through families, marabouts and candidates for migration, this article shows in the background the involvement and role of each of these actors in the migration chain from here to Casamance.

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AUTHORS GUIDELINES

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Les notes infrapaginales, numérotées en chiffres arabes et continu, sont rédigées en taille 10 (Times New Roman). Réduire au maximum le nombre de notes infrapaginales. Ecrire les noms scientifiques et les mots empruntés à d'autres langues que celle de l'article en italique (*Adansonia digitata*). Le volume du projet d'article (texte à rédiger dans le logiciel Word, Times New Romans, taille 12, interligne simple) doit être de 30 000 à 40 000 caractères (espaces compris), soit 8000 Mots.

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Exemples :

En effet, le but poursuivi par M. Ascher (1998 : 223), est

« d'élargir l'histoire des mathématiques de telle sorte qu'elle acquière une perspective multiculturelle et globale (...)»

- Pour dire plus amplement ce qu'est cette capacité de la société civile, qui dans son déploiement effectif, atteste qu'elle peut porter le développement et l'histoire, S. B. Diagne (1991, p. 2) écrit : Qu'on ne s'y trompe pas : de toute manière, les populations ont toujours su opposer à la philosophie de l'encadrement et à son volontarisme leurs propres stratégies de contournements. Celles-là, par exemple, sont lisibles dans le dynamisme, ou à tout le moins, dans la créativité dont sait preuve ce que l'on désigne sous le nom de secteur informel et à qui il faudra donner l'appellation positive d'économie populaire. - Le philosophe ivoirien a raison, dans une certaine mesure, de lire, dans ce choc déstabilisateur, le processus du sous-développement. Ainsi qu'il le dit : Le processus du sous-développement résultant de ce choc est vécu concrètement par les populations concernées comme une crise globale : crise socio-économique (exploitation brutale, chômage permanent, exode accéléré et douloureux), mais aussi crise socioculturelle et de civilisation traduisant une impréparation socio-historique et une inadaptation des cultures et des comportements humains aux formes de vie imposées par les technologies étrangères. (Diakité 1985 : 105).

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la réception de l'article et les frais d'insertion sont payés après l'acceptation de l'article pour publication. Le paiement des frais d'insertion donne droit à un tiré à part. Si un auteur achète un exemplaire, les frais d'envoi sont à sa charge. Les frais de gravure des clichés, des schémas et l'expédition des tirés à part (pour ceux qui voudraient les avoir par la poste) sont à la charge des auteurs. Ainsi que l'exemplaire de l'auteur. Toute soumission doit parvenir au secrétariat de la rédaction 3 mois avant la publication du numéro dans lequel l'article pourra être inséré. La revue paraît en fin décembre et fin juin.

5. Contact

Pour tout contact physique (uniquement pour les renseignements)

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