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The impact of male out-migration on left-behind women's marital and reproductive strategies: a case-study in Kebemer, Senegal

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*The impact of male out-migration on left-behind
women's marital and reproductive strategies: a case-
study in Kebemer, Senegal*

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ABSTRACT

This research deals with women's position in the Senegalese family structure, its establishment and its upholding in the context of a widespread male emigration.

Context: West African societies, including Senegal, have undergone spectacular social and demographic changes over the last two decades. The formation and dissolution of marriages, childbearing desire and timing and the use of contraception are social processes that have seen significant evolution due to a number of cultural, economic and social factors. However, the reduction of fertility, an increased use of contraception, autonomy in the choice of the spouse are all development targets that have not been achieved so far in Senegal. The impact of male migration on these processes and the delay of social and demographic changes has been under-researched.

Objective: It assesses the influence of men's emigration on the lives of the wives they have left behind, with a particular focus on marital and reproductive aspects, through a case-study completed in Kebemer, a semi-rural town located in northwest Senegal. This impact is evaluated by a comparison between the wives of migrants and those of non-migrants.

Methods: Using mixed-methods research I primarily analyse a dataset of 1,000+ life-history surveys collected in Kebemer in 2012 through linear and logistic regressions. To illustrate my findings and deepen my analysis I use 30+ interviews led in Kebemer in June 2013 with married women.

Results: On marriage, male migration reinforces traditional norms as migrants' wives are more likely to go through an arranged marriage, to marry kin, to have met their partner through their family and to have co-wives. But most of them expressed positive opinions towards their marriage arrangements, suggesting they agree with this pattern despite the reduced choice it offered them. On reproduction, migration has a strong fertility-depressing effect for which couples cannot compensate upon men's return. Contraception knowledge and use are widespread, suggesting that women hold a strong degree of control over their bodies in the context of reproduction.

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INTRODUCTION

In the last two decades, West Africa has been the stage of deep social transformations related to marriage, fertility and attitudes toward family life. Among other West African countries, Senegal lies somewhere in the middle in terms of the extent of these transformations. Senegal still has the highest spousal age difference; women's age at first marriage in rural settings did not increase in the 1980s and 1990s as much as in, for instance, Nigeria; the proportion of Senegalese women in polygamous marital situations stagnated between 48% and 46% during the 1990s, while at the same period it decreased from 52% to 41% in Togo. On the other hand, the proportion of men married at the age of 25 is the lowest of the sub-region (24%); the age at first marriage for women in urban settings is the highest at 23 years; the fertility rate in Dakar at the beginning of the 21st century was 25% lower than in Bamako (Mali) and 33% lower than in Niamey (Niger). As Locoh (2007) put it, the "social fabric" of norms and ideals is changing and traditional structures are called into question by a number of economic, cultural and social factors: the expansion of the market economy, the globalisation of media, girls' schooling and migration.

In Senegal, "migration" refers mainly to emigration rather than to immigration, although it is traditionally also a destination area for migrants from other West African countries. The International Organization for Migration (Some 2009:20) estimates that between 450,000 and 500,000 Senegalese people are living abroad, mainly in Gambia (20% of the total), France (18%) and Italy (10%). More than two-thirds of them emigrate to increase their economic opportunities and improve their living conditions. Most of them are young (less than 34 years old) and a quarter of them are skilled workers. As a result, most of them are men as their traditional duty is to support their family – which is why this research will only focus on male emigration. Migration has a significant impact on the living conditions of the left-behinds: remittances sent by a relative abroad would increase by 60% the resources of the household (Diagne and Diane 2008). Because of these changes and of men's long-term absence, male migration has the potential to either disrupt or reinforce traditional marital and reproductive patterns and related social constraints to which women are subjected. The redefinition of family patterns could give women the

opportunity to exert innovative forms of agency to renegotiate their traditional submission to men in a patriarchal and patrilocal society.

This study will answer the following research questions:

1) How do spouses of an international migrant negotiate their conjugal strategies and expectations?

Do women's families play a more important role in the marriage arrangements?

Are spouses more likely to have co-wives?

Does male migration impact divorce patterns?

2) Are women's reproductive norms affected by the husband's extended absence?

Do women's fertility and fertility desires vary?

What role do spouses play in the family planning of the household?

Are knowledge and use of contraception affected?

I will explore collective and individual experiences of women by determining how the constraints of migration potentially changed the family structure and women's behaviour, and under which conditions some of them eventually reject, rather than reproduce, this model.

From a demographic perspective, this research will contribute, as an example of current marital and reproductive trends, to a better comprehension of fertility-related and family planning processes in Senegal. As Foley (2007) showed, programmes aiming to reduce fertility, promote smaller families and improve reproductive health care implemented in this country in the 1990s and 2000s did not achieve significant results. This case study will give hints about which social patterns are working against political and public health objectives. From an anthropological perspective, the study will bring a new perspective on family studies in Senegal, particularly regarding the situation of wives left behind by their migrant husbands. The latter constitute a specific group that has not been deeply studied so far, although they represent quite a large proportion of Senegalese women given the importance of male emigration in this country.

This research comprises six sections, of which four are empirical. In the literature review I will briefly present the state of knowledge on the relationships between emigration and the attitudes toward family of the women who remain behind. Then, I will describe my methodological approach, which consists of a triangulation of quantitative and qualitative analyses. In the first empirical chapter I

will detail the statistical relationships between male emigration and women's marital patterns. In the second, I will voice women's experience and perceptions on this topic. In the third one, I will statistically analyse the changes induced by widespread male absences on women's fertility. Their fertility-related strategies and arrangements will be discussed in the last qualitative chapter.

LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

In Senegal, extensive research has been done on marriage and family, mainly in Dakar, and focused on how women are empowered by changes related to the fertility transition and more general social changes. As early as the 1960s scholars have studied Senegalese family structures and processes. The family structure as a whole was analysed by a number of scholars, such as Martin (1970) and Diop (1985) in a fundamental piece of research on Wolof family norms and relationships. Thoré drew a very detailed picture of marriage and divorce in Dakar as early as 1964. From a demographic perspective, Pison (1986) detailed the economy of polygamy and showed the extent to which it structures both the social relationships and demographic trends in Senegal. Most of this research emphasised the traditional norms and rules in place as well as the gendered division of society, with women being mainly assigned to domestic and reproductive work.

More recent studies have shown interesting trends. In the 1990s, Antoine et al. (1995) showed that the age at first marriage had increased mainly because of economic uncertainties rather than cultural changes. Job deprivation and housing conditions had a significant impact therein. This financial independence and the blurring of traditional gender roles lead to a number of conflicts within the family. While the economic and agricultural crises have shaken the foundations of polygamy in Senegal since the 1970s, the practice is not questioned to any great extent by the younger generations, who, quite to the contrary, developed new justifications for this practice, perpetuating polygamous traditions that were said to be declining (Mondain, LeGrand and Delaunay 2004). On reproduction and polygamy, Lardoux and Van de Walle (2003) showed that fertility is positively influenced by the age of the husband, a high rank among co-wives (as men usually favour their last spouse) and a pregnancy among other co-wives. Fertility and family sizes were quite recently studied by LeGrand et al. (2003), who showed that reproductive decision-making is determined by a number of reasons, child quality being more important than quantity. The insurance effect would not be that important, while the health and education of the offspring are more highly valued. Men's perspective on contraception and its use

were analysed in a recent study by Mondain (unpublished work): men have a very ambivalent position toward contraception, depending on whether it aims to space, limit or avoid childbirths. The religious ban is often contradicted by the importance of seeking healthcare in Islam, although economic considerations are not absent from their acceptance of birth limitation.

However, very little if no research analysed the specific impact of male migration on these processes. Most research on the nexus between migration, marriage and reproduction focuses on the experiences of migrants themselves, not on those who are left behind. Brink (1991) led an early study on women who were left behind in Egypt that showed that women usually are empowered by men's migration, as they take up new roles traditionally reserved to men. In Morocco, de Haas and van Aleida (2010) qualified this finding by arguing that this increase of tasks and responsibilities on the part of women is actually more likely to be perceived by the women themselves as a burden, rather than as an emancipation. Indeed, male migration still does not allow them to break traditional gender roles, as to do so would threaten their social position. On fertility in Mozambique, Agadjanian (2011) used an event-history analysis and found out that migrants' wives have a lower birth rate, but that this difference is made up for upon return as migrants compensate the loss of fertility. The longer the migration, the lower the fertility level. Migrants' wives also are more likely to want another child, regardless of their number of living children. The significance of this likelihood depends on women's perception of their husband's migration: a "successful" migration leads to a higher desire for another child. On union dissolution in a similar setting, Agadjanian found no relationship with male migration; but again, the success of the migration process has an influence on the results (Agadjanian and Hayford 2011). An original study was led by Sargent and Cordell (2003) among Malian women who joined their husbands in France. They showed that migration has a highly disruptive effect on marital and reproductive norms: while men generally keep a traditional perspective on these topics, women experience contradictory pressures in terms of reducing their fertility and using contraception. Rivalries among co-wives are exacerbated, with pregnancies being a major strategy to retain their immigration status in a legal context in which polygamy is forbidden. In semi-rural Senegal, the impact of male emigration was studied from several perspectives in a research framework that this dissertation aims to perpetuate. Mondain (unpublished work) analysed that in this patriarchal Mourid

society, migration reinforces rather than loosens men's domination to the detriment of women. To some extent, women have manifested the premises of a questioning of their position in this structure. Their situation as migrants' wives has been widely "demystified" given the challenges they face in their daily life, including with their family-in-law. The fact that Mondain and Randall's findings opposed those of Resurreccion and Khanh in an innovative case-study in Vietnam (2007), who found that men would take up women's tasks during the migration of the latter, underscores the strong need of carrying out more research in regions affected by widespread migration.

By mixing both bodies of literature, my dissertation will help filling a research gap on the nexus between migration, marriage, reproduction and women's autonomy in Senegal. I draw my research hypotheses from the literature, as follows. Firstly, families play a greater role in marriage arrangements if the husband is a migrant. They are perceived to be in a better position to afford the needs of their family and their wife. Spouses' family will introduce migrants to relatives more easily. A woman's potential spouse does not live in Senegal so they have fewer opportunities to meet him. Moreover, marriages with a relative are thought to be sturdier and any difficulties within the marriages more easily resolved, which may be an advantage if the husband is away for long periods of time (Thoré 1964:497). Secondly, I hypothesise that migrants are more often polygamous because of their increased resources (Sargent and Cordell 2003). Thirdly, I hypothesise migrants (or their wives) divorce more often. In the Senegalese context migration reinforces men's domination and polygamy allows men to afford another marriage and women to quite easily remarry and leads to tensions with co-wives (Fainzang and Journet 1988). On fertility, I hypothesise that migrants' wives have a lower fertility (which will be evaluate through a number of measurements) because husbands' absence reduce the exposure to conception (Agadjanian 2011). Because of their lower fertility and stronger rivalries with co-wives, migrants' wives, I suggest, want more children than those of non-migrants and they want a bigger family than those of non-migrants. Emigration negatively impacts both family planning discussion and contraception use as migration reduces the exposure to conception and the lower fertility leads to a desire to avoid using contraception.

METHODS

The research objectives mix demography and anthropology and I was studying a complex biosocial phenomenon. Thus a triangulation of the main methods used by demographers and anthropologists was necessary. Mixed methods research consists of “collecting, analysing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study or a series of studies” (Creswell 2007). They can address research questions more comprehensively than other methods alone. It allows the researcher to “take advantage of the strengths and offset the weaknesses of each [approach]” (Royce, Thyer, & Padgett 2010:99). The chosen methods are complementary: they clarify one another’s findings and broaden the theoretical understanding. As Padgett (2008:222) puts it, “qualitative and quantitative sub-studies represent different pieces of the puzzle”.

This research combines quantitative and qualitative methods, with more weight being given to the quantitative part. As such, this study could be categorised as QUAN+qual (according to Bronstein and Kovacs 2013:357). The first phase comprised the analysis of a large local dataset to identify statistical trends. Given the size of the sample (covering around 7% of the local population) and the methods used to collect data, the results are likely to be representative and generalisable and may inform practice (Tariq 2012:3). This was followed by an anthropological perspective that sought to explain and contextualise the findings from the quantitative part. It allowed me to explore relationships between individual experiences on the one hand and social processes and structures on the other (Winchester 2000) and potentially to highlight other important aspects of individual experience not identified by the statistical analysis (Valentine 2001). I also felt that this approach would place the voices of left-behind women at the centre of this study by focusing on their own feelings and understandings (Dwyer and Limb 2001).

1. QUANTITATIVE PHASE: SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

1.1.Data

The statistical research was based on a dataset collected through the MIFAT (*Migrations et familles transnationales*) project directed by N. Mondain from University of Ottawa, Canada; S. Randall from University College London, United Kingdom; and A. Diagne and P. Sakho from IPDSR in Dakar, Senegal. The collection took place in 2012 at Kebemer. The main collection unit was the household, defined as “a group of individuals, related or not, living in the same compound and who acknowledge the authority of a common head” (Antoine et al., 2001). In Senegal, households comprise quite a large number of members due to a deeply rooted practice of extended families living together.

All households containing at least one migrant's wife aged 15 to 59 were automatically selected, leading to a total of 347 households. Due to this criterion, the study was, to be sure, representative of the male migration processes in town, but also oversamples migrants' wives. 209 households with no migrants' wives were randomly selected to allow for data comparison. Within each household, only two women were selected among all eligible women. Migrants' wives were automatically selected. The second respondent was chosen through random sampling of women in the household.

Thus, 1,091 women from 556 households were sampled for a life-history survey which included questions on a diversity of topics, from education and employment history to reproductive health (see annex 1). As this study was the first one using this dataset, I first had to clean and rework the database to eliminate inconsistencies and input errors as well as to deal with missing data.

1.2.Selected variables

Selected dependent variables are divided into two chapters and further subdivided into three categories, which include several (mainly dichotomous) variables, as presented in Box 1. Most variables are categorical; only a few are numerical.

Box 1 – Selected outcome variables grouped by research questions

Marital strategies

Marriage arrangements

Outcome of pre-marital relationships
Introduction of the partners
Kinship between partners
Marriage decision-making
Bride's consent
Bridewealth*

Trends of polygamy

Presence of co-wives
Number of co-wives*
Rank among co-wives*

Divorce dynamics

Separation from the partner
Initiation of separation
Legal proceedings
Initiation of legal proceedings
Custody of children

Reproductive strategies

Fertility desires

Current number of children*
Childbearing desire
Ideal family size*

Family-planning decision-making

Discussion with the partner
Agreement between partners

Contraceptive use

Current use of contraception
Used contraceptive mean*
Partner's awareness

*these variables are numerical.

The main independent variable is the migration status of the husband at the time of the wedding. This means that marriage arrangements (including agreements with the bride and her family) took this status into account. Households in which the partner migrated later on constitute a second sample.

Several social, economic and demographic control variables were used, including: age of informants (15-24; 25-34; 35-44; 45+), age at the time of the marriage, both spouses' education level. Further variables – duration of spouses' cohabitation and number of children born – are also controlled for in some circumstances, such as divorces and fertility. These control variables allowed me to assess any potential selectivity effect.

2. QUALITATIVE PHASE: SAMPLING AND DATA COLLECTION

2.1. Drawing the sample

Initial sampling was purposive as informants were selected from the main dataset according to a range of characteristics, such as: consent, rank among co-wives, use of contraception, separation. Sampling was also guided by the initial quantitative results in order to explore emerging findings. Migrants' wives as well as the wives of non-migrants were included and were sampled randomly from those fulfilling criteria in the original survey. As the study progressed the sampling became theoretical as we selected divorced women only to test emergent themes.

2.2. Collection: Framework of Interviews and interpreting

To assist me with this research I hired an interpreter. She was chosen given her background: educated to university level, she had taken part in the collection of the quantitative data in 2012. Therefore she had a thorough knowledge of the issues at stake. Her insight was also necessary for me to explore Senegalese meanings and representations.

Most interviews took place at the informants' homes. We separated ourselves from members of the spouse's family as much as possible, with the interview frequently taking place in the wife bedroom. Most interviews were carried out in Wolof and French with the help of the interpreter and all were recorded with permission. Because of this lengthy and arduous interview process itself, it is likely that I missed a number of shades and nuances during the interview. Some key, difficult to translate words (such as "love" or "separation") were kept in Wolof in the transcriptions to identify potential shades of meaning. This interpreting process also allowed me to act as an observer of informants' non-verbal communication during interviews.

2.3. Collection: interview guide

Interviews were semi-directed. Generally speaking, the interview guide had been designed to be culturally sensitive and was checked by both a local mentor and the interpreter (see Appendix 4). The initial interview guide was as follows: a) choice of the partner, b) polygamy in the household, c) circumstances of the separation, d) views on maternity, and e) contraception. However, after a number of interviews, I decided to start with a more general question such as "Can you tell me about your

marriage and how it was decided?” and then moved on to discuss the interviewee's marital history. This methodological progression was justified by some realities on the ground and by the introduction of issues that had not been identified during the quantitative phase.

2.4. Collection: Results

29 interviews were conducted during the fieldwork. This sample size is typical of similar qualitative research and allowed us to reach data saturation. Their length varies from 10 minutes to 1 hour and a half. 23 interviews were long enough to address all the issues in depth. 8 were entirely in Wolof, 2 entirely in French and the remaining 13 in a mixture of Wolof and French. Interviewees ranged in age from 23 to 60. Most (16) were or had been married to a migrant and 11 were divorced (see Appendix 5 for a full list of informants and their characteristics). Two other interviews were conducted with community leaders in Kebemer on their general perception of these issues in the community. Finally, two other interviewees contributed considerably to the research: my interpreter and our host, who provided a great deal of clarifications and information during the fieldwork.

3. DATA ANALYSIS

This study collected both quantitative and qualitative data that were analysed using appropriate techniques. Linking occurred at two stages: during the analysis stage to generate hypotheses to be explored in the other datasets (Moran-Ellis J 2006); at the interpretation stage to compare, contrast and combine findings (Sandelowski 2000).

3.1. Quantitative analysis

I first looked for associations before looking for causations. In order to explore the data and to identify relationships between the variables, I started with a number of descriptive statistics of each variable and contingency tables of each variable and predictors. I then added a number of inductive statistics. To estimate the effects of migration on marital and reproductive behaviours, I used binary logistic regressions or linear regressions (depending on the variable). The reference category was the

group of women married to non-migrants. I used a .05 level of significance given the size of our sample ($n > 1,000$).

3.2. Qualitative analysis

All interviews were coded using nVivo. A first analysis was conducted using themes identified through the quantitative analysis in order to explain my findings. Through a second analysis I looked for innovative topics and information that could enlighten the marital and reproductive context. I paid a lot of attention to the emotional aspect of interviews: silences, tears and omissions are all meaningful. As Brannen (1988:553) put it: "These [contradictions and emotions] form an integral part of the data set and therefore need to be confronted and taken account of in their interpretation".

3.3. Engagement with the field

During my fieldwork, my interpreter and I lived with a local family, which allowed for an intensive engagement with the field. As most men in this particular family were internal migrants, we lived exclusively with women most of the time. I was able to experience first-hand the daily lives of my research subjects. In addition, a wedding took place within this family during my stay. Due to this arrangement, I was able to quickly and easily grasp social codes, realities and imaginations present in my field despite a relatively limited field period.

4. ETHICS AND FIELD CHALLENGES

4.1. Ethics considerations

This research was designed and implemented following UCL ethics guidelines. As such, all participants were fully informed of the research purpose and they agreed to take part in it. Special considerations were made to ensure the research would benefit, not harm, the community. For instance, as soon as I was in the field I made a point to get in touch with community leaders to involve them in the study, share my analyses and build on their experience and concerns. During interviews, I insisted that we isolate ourselves from other members of the interviewee's family in order to talk in private. The confidentiality of women's answers was an important issue given

the small size of the town and the relative importance of public appearance in Senegalese society.

4.2. Challenge #1: addressing sensitive issues

A number of topics addressed during interviews were “sensitive”, a term defined by Sieber and Stanley (1988:49) as having “potential consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research”. Some of these topics, such as domestic violence and exploitation were clearly taboos, defined by Farberow (1963) as “laden with emotion or which inspire feelings of awe or dread”. Other subjects related to “socially undesirable” behaviours (Lee 1993:99), for instance out-of-wedlock sexual relationships. The interview could become stressful for the interviewee (as well as for my interpreter and myself), especially as the disclosure of these behaviours could lead to a stigma in their own community (Brannen 1988). As a consequence, dismissals, denials and erroneous declarations were not surprising. As Brannen underscored (1988:553) “Respondents’ accounts of sensitive topics, such as marital difficulties, are frequently full of ambiguities and contradictions and are shrouded in emotionality”. In contrast to Dial (2008:33) I never confronted interviewees with the inconsistencies of their discourses (especially in comparison with what they stated during the life-history survey). I often rephrased my questions in a more general way to allow the interviewee to express her views without compromising herself.

4.3. Challenge #2: the researchers’ positionality

The main challenge I faced during the fieldwork was my positionality (Skelton 2001) in this cross-cultural framework (in the sense of Howitt and Stevens in Hay, 2005:30). I found it difficult to establish enough confidence in my relationship with the interviewees because of several of my characteristics, including my race (white) and nationality (French, as Senegal is a former French colony; indeed, I often introduced myself as “coming from the University of London” in order to cover for this somewhat). Other potentially problematic characteristics were my social background, my identity as an atheist (something I never mentioned in interviews), and the fact that I did not speak Wolof. As a result I could not share a common identity with the interviewees (Valentine 2005). The presence of my interpreter mitigated the distance

and the insider/outsider opposition (Mullings 1999) thanks to some “ethnic matching” and her previous knowledge of the town and of some informants. However, she herself was still markedly different from the interviewees, due to her education and her marital status (single, no children). These conditions must be taken into account when analysing and interpreting the data: as demonstrated by Randall and Koppenhaver (2004:83), these differences might introduce a number of biases.

It seemed that quite a number of informants felt socially and culturally compelled to accept the interview (we had only one refusal among 30+ informants) in order to be polite and respectful towards visitors of higher social status. Others seemingly hoped for a material benefit, such as selling us their commercial goods, asking me to sponsor their activity or providing them with immigration documents to Europe. These attitudes show the personal interests and agendas towards the research (Mohammad 2001, Skelton 2001). In other cases, the fact that I met interviewees only once and the certainty we would never meet again – meaning I could never reveal their secrets – favoured confidence (Lee 1993:112) and disclosure. For example, some women told us of their secret will to divorce or their undercover migratory projects.

CHAPTER 1 – RESULTS OF THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS – MARRIAGE, POLYGAMY AND DIVORCE

In this chapter I will analyse the impact of male outmigration on the marital strategies of their left-behind wives. I will first look at the main characteristics of marital unions in Kebemer. I will then focus on three main topics: marriage (especially the first one), polygamy and separation. I will assess how this impact, if any, of male migration progressed from marriages celebrated from the 1970s until the present day.

1. CHARACTERISTICS OF MARITAL UNIONS

1.1. Community marital trends

First of all, I looked for marital trends in the community. Women who took part in the survey are distributed as follows by age, marital status and migration status of their husband:

TABLE1 – DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN BY MARITAL STATUS, THEIR HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS AND AGE GROUPS

Age group	Number of cases (Percentage among marital status group)			
	Married		Single (never married)	Total
	Married a migrant	Married a non-migrant		
10-14	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (1.1%)	3 (0.3%)
15-19	13 (3.8%)	21 (4.4%)	101 (37.0%)	135 (12.4%)
20-24	47 (13.7%)	66 (13.9%)	72 (26.4%)	185 (17.0%)
25-29	62 (18.1%)	93 (19.5%)	31 (11.4%)	186 (17.0%)
30-34	82 (24.0%)	67 (14.1%)	22 (8.1%)	171 (15.7%)
35-39	49 (14.3%)	81 (17.0%)	11 (4.0%)	141 (12.9%)
40-44	40 (11.7%)	56 (11.8%)	10 (3.7%)	106 (9.7%)
45-49	40 (11.7%)	42 (8.8%)	7 (2.6%)	89 (8.2%)
50-54	6 (1.8%)	30 (6.3%)	7 (2.6%)	43 (3.9%)
55-59	3 (0.9%)	20 (4.2%)	9 (3.3%)	32 (2.9%)
TOTAL	342 (100%)	476 (100%)	273 (100%)	1091 (100%)

This table should be interpreted in the light of the over-representation of migrants’ wives in the sample (see Methods). Migrants’ wives are younger than those of non-migrants: 59.6% of the former are under 34, compared to 51.9% of the latter.

This result can be explained by the relative novelty of male outmigration in the community.

TABLE2 – DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS AND PERIOD OF MARRIAGE

Variable	In the 1970s	In the 1980s	In the 1990s	In the 2000s
Marriage with...				
A non-migrant	92.8%	80.2%	45.6%	58.3%
A migrant	7.2%	19.8%	54.4%	41.7%

The percentage of weddings in which the husband is an emigrant has sharply increased over the decades, however, this trend reversed in the 2000s. There could have been a rise of the number of migrants in the male population; assuming the proportion of migrants was stable, women could have preferred marrying migrants over non-migrants; emigrants could have had multiple wives thanks to the polygamy regime. A mix of the three interpretations is also possible.

1.2. *Age of the spouses*

TABLE3 – AVERAGE AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE OF WOMEN AND THEIR HUSBAND, BY PERIOD OF MARRIAGE AND HUSBAND MIGRATION STATUS

Variable	Mean (standard deviation), by period of marriage				
	1970's	1980s	1990s	2000s	All periods
Age of the bride at first marriage					
Husband is a non-migrant	15.97 (2.6)	18.73 (4)	19.72 (5.3)	20.83 (5)	19.49 (4.9)
Husband is a migrant	14.40 (2.5)	18.55 (2.7)	19.87 (4.0)	21.92 (4.4)	20.79 (4.4)
Age of the groom at first marriage					
He is a non-migrant	30.19 (8.4)	30.76 (6.9)	31.1 (7.4)	30.35 (6.7)	30.64 (7.1)
He is a migrant	24.25 (7.1)	28.62 (4.4)	31.81 (10.7)	34.91 (7.2)	33.16 (8.5)

Over time, women married at a later age, an evolution that has already been observed by scholars in Senegal (Antoine 2003:7). Migrants experience late (or delayed) entry into marriage and are now older than non-migrants (35 years old in the 2000s). The state of the labour market, the economic crises in Senegal during the 1990s and 2000s and the uncertainties of migratory trajectories lead to difficulties in affording a marriage (Locoh 2007:15, Antoine 1995).

While spousal age differences declined from the 1970s to the 2000s for non-migrants, it increased for migrants. The age gap between spouses is particularly large for marriages celebrated in the 2000s with a migrant husband: at around a difference of 13 years, the age gap is much bigger than the average of 10 years observed for non-migrants and 9.5 years observed for the general Senegalese

population (Locoh 2007:18). Large spousal age differences are characteristic of traditional nuptiality regimes in sub-Saharan Africa. The age gap maximises women’s exposure to conception, limits their individual autonomy by emphasising their status as spouse and mother, and reinforces the domination of their husband over them as they are both female and younger (Barbieri and Hertrich 2005).

1.3. Spousal education levels

In later analyses, I define as “uneducated” a person who never received any education or whose highest education level is completed primary education or less. An “educated” person is someone who attended at least secondary school.

TABLE4 – PROPORTIONS OF MARRIED WOMEN AND THEIR HUSBANDS WHO COMPLETED THEIR PRIMARY EDUCATION, AT THE TIME OF MARRIAGE, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS AND PERIOD OF MARRIAGE CELEBRATION

Variable	Percentage of sample (number of cases)				
	1970's	1980s	1990s	2000s	All periods
Educated brides at marriage					
Husband is a non-migrant	17.1% (N=6)	17.0% (N=15)	11.9% (N=12)	20.3% (N=46)	17.5% (N=79)
Husband is a migrant	0% (N=0)	16.0% (N=4)	22.1% (N=19)	27.9% (N=46)	24.7% (N=69)
Educated grooms at marriage					
Husband is a non-migrant	21.1% (N=12)	29.3% (N=36)	25.9% (N=35)	29.0% (N=76)	27.6% (N=159)
Husband is migrant	20.0% (N=1)	27.3% (N=9)	19.6% (N=21)	37.5% (N=69)	30.4% (N=100)

These results must be interpreted in the light of two phenomena: first, the improved schooling of girls during that period – I expected the youngest brides to be more educated than the oldest ones; second, the relative novelty of emigration from Kebemer (which started in the 1980s and became widespread in the 1990s). Over time, the proportion of educated women marrying non-migrants did not increase continuously, while such a trend *is* noticeable among migrants’ wives. Educated women may be more willing to marry migrants, or migrants may be more willing to marry educated women. Such a progression is not seen for their husbands except in the 2000s: the low-skilled labour emigration of the 1990s was replaced by highly skilled emigration recently.

2. MARRIAGE PATTERNS

2.1. Choice of the partner

For the following analyses of marriage patterns, my hypothesis was that when marrying a migrant, women have less choice and less autonomy over their own marriage arrangements than women marrying non-migrants.

TABLE5 – DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS, FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variables			
	Partners met through the family	Partners are relatives	Marriage is arranged by the family or a levirate	Women consented to the marriage
All married women	75.3%	74.0%	31.6%	91.1%
Women with a non-migrant husband	69.8%	66.9%	33.9%	87.5%
Women with a migrant husband	83.6%	85.0%	28.3%	97.7%

As for the whole sample, if families still exert a good deal of control over the choice of women’s partners, women agree to the marriage arrangements made by their families. Both trends are stronger when the future husband is a migrant.

TABLE 6 – ODDS RATIO: MARRIAGE ARRANGEMENTS (MEETING OF PARTNERS, KINSHIP OF PARTNERS, INITIATION OF MARRIAGE, CONSENT), FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY PERIOD OF THE MARRIAGE

Period of the marriage celebration	Explanatory variables	Outcome variables				
		Partners met through the family	Partners are relatives	Marriage is arranged by the family or a levirate	Women consented to the union	
All periods	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	Migrant	2.76***	3.80***	1.13	12.44*	
	Husband's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	Secondary or higher	.65*	.58*	.41***	8.61	
All periods	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	Secondary or higher	.32***	.24***	.35***	0.81	
	Age group of the woman 15-24	2.04*	3.36**	.93	1.97	
	25-34	1.00	.94	.67	.98	
All periods	35-44	1.81	1.29	1.26	.78	
	45+	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	2000s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
		Migrant	1.98*	2.84***	1.23	.00
Husband's education Less than secondary		(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
Secondary or higher		.77	.95	.60	.00	
2000s	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	Secondary or higher	.31***	.19***	.31*	.00	
	Age group of the woman 15-24	.00	.00	.48	-	
	25-34	.00	.00	.30	-	
2000s	35-44	.00	.00	.41	-	
	45+	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	1990s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
		Migrant	9.02***	5.17**	1.81	.00
Husband's education Less than secondary		(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
Secondary or higher		.97	.56	.64	.00	
1990s	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	Secondary or higher	.43	.54	.17*	.00	
	Age group of the woman 15-24	-	-	-	-	
	25-34	3.39	1.91	5.07	.00	
1990s	35-44	2.48	1.80	5.75	.00	
	45+	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	1980s or before	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)
		Migrant	2.95	12.24*	.71	.00
Husband's education Less than secondary		(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
Secondary or higher		.29*	.25***	.09***	.00	
1980s or before	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	
	Secondary or higher	.38	.47	3.34	.00	
	Age group of the woman 15-24	-	-	-	-	
	25-34	.00	-	-	-	
1980s or before	35-44	2.03	1.42	2.01	.00	
	45+	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	(ref)	

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

Binary logistic regressions show the extent of family control over women's marriages when the husband is a migrant. The odds ratio of women married to a

migrant being introduced by the family compared to that of non-migrants' wives is 2.76. This is hardly surprising, as by definition most emigrants are not around. In the context of migration there seems to be a reinforcement of traditional behaviours, namely, the preference for relatives as a spouse (Diop 1985:83), though this phenomenon decreased in recent years. Randall and Mondain (2005:5) have shown how in northwest Senegal marrying one's kin is still positively perceived in the community; but, while young men seem to have more possibilities to marry outside kinship, this is not the case for women. Interestingly, women are 12.44 times more likely to consent to their marriage when the husband is an emigrant. This statistic might suggest a female strategy to marry migrants rather than non-migrants.

⇒ These results can be interpreted as a paroxysmal control of families over women's marriages in the 1990s, if the partner was a migrant. Thus, my hypotheses are partially validated: family control and limitations are stronger when the future husband is a migrant; but women seem more willing to marry emigrants than non-emigrants.

2.2. *Bridewealth differences*

Another indicator of marriage arrangements is the bridewealth. In Senegal, the payment of bridewealth by the husband to the bride's family is quasi-universal. As an historical practice, it aimed to compensate the bride's family for the loss of a woman – which is why a number of scholars prefer to use the term “marital compensation”. My hypothesis was that migrants pay higher bridewealth than non-migrants.

TABLE7 –BRIDEWEALTH, FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY HUSBAND'S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Bridewealth (CFA)			Mean (CFA)	Median (CFA)
	% in the low group*	% in the medium group**	% in the high group***		
All women	34.1%	26.4%	39.5%	766,161	300,000
Women married to a non-migrant	44.3%	29.0%	26.7%	566,586	150,000
Women married to a migrant	19.6%	22.9%	57.5%	1,045,949	500,000

* Low ≤100,000 CFA, ** Medium = 100,001-499,999 CFA , *** High ≥500,000 CFA

Bridewealth were divided up into three groups with (more or less) equal number of cases from the whole sample. As hypothesised, there is a large difference between bridewealth paid by migrants and those paid by non-migrants: the average

bridewealth paid by a migrant is twice as much as that paid by a non-migrant. Given their higher income earned abroad, migrants can afford to pay a much higher bridewealth. However, these statistics aggregate bridewealth paid over more than four decades; they cannot be compared as such. The analysis is more informative when disaggregated by period of marriage, as follows:

TABLE8 – PROGRESSION OF BRIDEWEALTH FOR WOMEN’S FIRST MARRIAGES, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS AND PERIOD OF MARRIAGE

Migration status of the husband	Mean bridewealth (CFA)		
	1980s	1990s	2000s
Non-migrant	267,735	550,135	804,480
Migrant	510,727	839,415	1,213,839

There are huge relative differences between the two groups and a significant increase of bridewealth amounts over time. Inflation and changes of economic conditions must be taken into account to interpret this rise; several scholars have previously documented this progression (Fainzang and Journet 1988, Antoine 1995). Even bridewealth paid by non-migrants are higher than the average bridewealth paid in other parts of the country at the same period (Antoine (2003:7) noted that bridewealth paid ten years ago by wealthy families in Dakar was around 420,000 CFA). There is also a probable inflation because of the amounts paid by migrants (Randall and Mondain:1999). As a consequence, for one, the cost of marriage might be proportionally much higher for non-migrants than for migrants. It is also possible that only non-migrant men who are able to afford a bridewealth equal to the ones paid by migrants get married.

TABLE9 – PREDICTED BRIDEWEALTH DIFFERENCE FOR WOMEN’S FIRST MARRIAGES, BY PERIOD OF MARRIAGE

Period of the marriage celebration	Explanatory variables	Outcome variable	
		Predicted bridewealth difference	R ² (adjusted) of the model
All periods	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant	(ref) +368,314**	.076
	Husband’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) +52,437	
	Woman’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) +751,603***	
	Age group of the woman For each smaller age group 45+	-129,488* (ref)	
2000s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant	(ref) +208,394	.072
	Husband’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) -213	
	Woman’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) +906,099***	
	Age group of the woman For each smaller age group 45+	+127,170 (ref)	
1990s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant	(ref) +379,398	.030
	Husband’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) +357,028	
	Woman’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) +662,112	
	Age group of the woman For each smaller age group 45+	-255,608 (ref)	
1980s or before	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant	(ref) +382,622*	.021
	Husband’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) -79,481	
	Woman’s education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) -13,681	
	Age group For each smaller age group 45+	+164,477 (ref)	

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

Using linear regression, I found that migrants pay on average 368,000 CFA more than non-migrants and, interestingly, the predicted difference is smaller in the 2000s. The economic advantage that migrants held in the 1990s and the 1980s weakened in recent years. Nevertheless, other factors have a greater influence on bridewealth than the emigration status of the husband. Moreover, this model explains only 2 to 7% of bridewealth amounts (depending on the period).

⇒ My hypothesis is validated. This difference in bridewealth paid by migrants has an influence on marriage patterns, to the detriment of non-migrants. It is both a criterion for families to agree on their daughter's marriage and an indicator for women of the financial capacity of their future husband to support their household.

3. POLYGAMY

A characteristic of traditional Senegalese families is the widespread polygamy, which, according to numerous scholars, is nevertheless said to be in decline (Locoh 2007:18). My hypotheses were that migrants are more polygamous than non-migrants and that among polygamous men migrants have a greater number of wives.

TABLE10 – DISTRIBUTIONS OF MARITAL STATUSES OF THE GROOM, FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY HUSBAND'S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variables			
	Groom was never married	Groom had one wife	Groom had two wives or more	Groom was divorced or widowed
All married women	76.6%	13.7%	5.7%	4.0%
Women with a non-migrant husband	80.1%	9.7%	5.7%	4.5%
Women with a migrant husband	71.6%	19.2%	5.8%	3.5%

A majority of women (76.6%) married a single man for their first union. The proportion is slightly lower for migrants' wives (71.6%). On the other hand, 19.2% of women who married a migrant joined a polygamous household with one co-wife, as compared to 9.7% of non-migrants' wives. Similar proportions of women had two or more co-wives when they first got married, whether the groom was a migrant or not (around 5.7% of each sub-samples).

TABLE11 – ODDS RATIO: MARITAL STATUS OF THE HUSBAND (NEVER MARRIED, HAS ONE WIFE OR MORE), FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY PERIOD OF THE MARRIAGE

Period of the marriage celebration	Explanatory variables	Outcome variables	
		Husband is single (never married)	Husband has one wife or more
All periods	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)
	Migrant	.54**	2.14***
	Husband's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	2.13**	.46*
	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	.47**	1.93*
	Age group of the woman 15-24	2.80*	.39*
25-34	1.76	.52*	
35-44	1.65	.57	
45+	(ref)	(ref)	
2000s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)
	Migrant	.35***	3.54***
	Husband's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	2.52*	.35*
	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	.71	1.37
	Age group of the woman 15-24	8.40	.10
25-34	4.75	.16	
35-44	5.74	.14	
45+	(ref)	(ref)	
1990s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)
	Migrant	.78	1.83
	Husband's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	3.19*	1.04
	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	.44	.30
	Age group of the woman 15-24	-	-
25-34	6.20*	.20	
35-44	2.32	.73	
45+	(ref)	(ref)	
1980s or before	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)
	Migrant	1.14	1.09
	Husband's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	2.07	.56
	Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	.15*	7.33**
	Age group of the woman 15-24	-	-
25-34	-	-	
35-44	1.28	.66	
45+	(ref)	(ref)	

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

For best results, I simplified the marital status of the husband into two categories: single (never married) or already married (with one or more women).

Women marrying a migrant are less likely to marry a single man than those who marry a non-migrant. Similarly, they are more than two times more likely to join a polygamous marital situation. The lower likelihood of marrying a single migrant in the 2000s and the higher likelihood of marrying a polygamous migrant suggest that this phenomenon recently became stronger. It is possible that while in the 1980s quite a number of migrants were still single, that proportion decreased as migrants took other wives.

TABLE12 – DISTRIBUTIONS AND MEANS OF THE NUMBER OF CO-WIVES FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN WITH A POLYGAMOUS HUSBAND, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the polygamous husband	Outcome variable			
	Number of co-wives			Mean
	1	2	3	
All married women	79.5%	15.6%	4.6%	1.24
Women with a non-migrant husband	77.2%	15.4%	6.8%	1.28
Women with a migrant husband	81.6%	16.3%	2.1%	1.21

Among polygamous families, a bigger proportion of migrants’ wives (compared to non-migrants’ wives) have one or two co-wives. The difference lies in the distribution of families with three co-wives, which are more common among non-migrants’ households.

TABLE13 – DISTRIBUTIONS AND MEANS OF THE RANK AMONG CO-WIVES, FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN WITH A POLYGAMOUS HUSBAND, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the polygamous husband	Outcome variable				
	Rank among cowives				Mean
	1	2	3	4	
All married women	53.2%	41.7%	4.5%	0.6%	1.53
Women with a non-migrant husband	58.3%	35.0%	5.6%	1.2%	1.51
Women with a migrant husband	47.7%	49.0%	3.4%	0.0%	1.56

The same result is found when looking at the rank among co-wives: compared to non-emigrants' wives, emigrants' wives are more likely to be the second wife when they got married for the first time. This suggests that women marrying a non-migrant have a greater possibility of being the first wife than women marrying non-migrants. Unfortunately this hypothesis cannot be tested as results of regressions run for these variables (not shown) are not significant.

⇒ Male emigration impacts family size and composition and as such, reinforces traditional family structures as emigrants appear to be more polygamous than non-emigrants. As we hypothesised, emigrants can afford to be polygamous, with successive marriages being perceived as the sign of wealth and social power (Fainzang and Journey 1988:73). However it seems that polygamous emigrants often have only two wives, and do not further expand their families. This assumption should be tested later, given the novelty of emigration and the younger profile of migrants' wives: migrants may take additional wives in the next years.

4. SEPARATION AND SUBSEQUENT UNIONS

4.1. Separation dynamics

In this section, I analyse the characteristics of separations among migrants and non-migrants. By “separation”, I refer to divorce, desertion and repudiation. Data cannot be disaggregated into more specific categories as the samples would be too small (for instance, there are only 18 cases of separation among the migrants sample). My hypotheses were that migrants' wives divorce more than non-migrants' wives and more often initiate the separation.

TABLE14 – DISTRIBUTIONS OF SEPARATION-RELATED VARIABLES, FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY MIGRATION STATUS OF THE HUSBAND

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variables – Percentage of the sample (number of cases)				
	Separated from their partner	For those who have been separated			
		Women initiated the separation	Legal proceedings	Initiated the legal proceedings	Obtained the custody of children
All married women	12.3% (N=99)	60.2% (N=62)	12.9% (N=11)	75.0% (N=9)	81.1% (N=77)
Women with a non-migrant husband	16.9% (N=80)	63.8% (N=51)	11.6% (N=8)	62.5% (N=5)	81.3% (N=65)
Women with a migrant husband	5.5% (N=18)	50.0% (N=9)	20.0% (N=3)	100.0% (N=3)	78.6% (N=11)

Descriptive statistics contradict my hypotheses: only 5.5% of first marriages with a migrant end up with a separation compared to 16.9% of first marriages with a non-migrant. The initiative to separate lies equally with both partners, while a higher proportion of non-migrants' wives initiate over their partner. This phenomenon had already been noticed by scholars (Antoine 2003:10). Indeed, separation is the only way for women to marry another man – while men have the possibility of taking a

new wife without divorcing the previous one. Legal proceedings are more frequent among migrants' families, and are more frequently initiated by women; but the sample is so small (N=3) that these results are not conclusive. It must be underscored that divorces are usually dealt with out of a legal context (Antoine 2003:10). Finally, women are slightly less likely to obtain the custody of their children. An explanation could be the material conditions offered by the migrants' family to his children, which can be better than what the divorced woman can provide. Moreover, bringing children from a past union into a new household constitutes an additional obstacle to the remarriage of many women (Dial 2008:159).

For the following analysis, I control for an additional variable, the length of cohabitation with the husband. In this patrilocal society, after the marriage, the wife is supposed to join her husband's house, commonly his own family's house. But this moving may be delayed for a number of reasons and the bride might then stay at her family's place for a number of months, or years. In the context of a widespread male migration in Kebemer, I assume that spouses spend less time living in the same house, for instance because when the marriage is celebrated with the husband abroad, the wife usually waits for his next return to move with her family-in-law.

TABLE15 – ODDS RATIO: SEPARATION, FOR FIRST MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, BY PERIOD OF THE MARRIAGE CELEBRATION, 1970-2012

Period of the marriage celebration	Explanatory variables	Outcome variable
		Separation from the partner
All periods	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant	(ref) .34**
	Husband's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) .84
	Woman's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) 2.22*
	Age group of the woman 15-24 25-34 35-44 45+	.18 .73 1.10 (ref)
	Length of cohabitation with the husband Less than 5 years For each additional 5 years	(ref) 1.15
	2000s	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant
Husband's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher		(ref) 1.35
Woman's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher		(ref) .26
Age group of the woman 15-24 25-34 35-44 45+		.00 .00 .00 (ref)
Length of cohabitation with the husband Less than 5 years For each additional 5 years		(ref) .66
1990s		Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant
	Husband's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) .12*
	Woman's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher	(ref) 17.61**
	Age group of the woman 15-24 25-34 35-44 45+	- .00 .00 (ref)
	Length of cohabitation with the husband Less than 5 years For each additional 5 years	(ref) .44*
	1980s or before	Migration status of the husband Non-migrant Migrant
Husband's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher		(ref) 1.11
Woman's education Less than secondary Secondary or higher		(ref) 6.22*
Age group of the woman 15-24 25-34 35-44 45+		- - 1.23 (ref)
Length of cohabitation with the husband Less than 5 years For each additional 5 years		(ref) .98

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

Contrary to my hypotheses, marriages with a migrant husband are much less likely (.34 times) to be terminated than marriages with a non-migrant. However, the model explains only .156 of the results, which suggests that migration has a minor impact on divorce dynamics. Agadjanian and Hayford (2011) had observed in Mozambique that it was a successful male emigration that had an influence on union dissolution. Previous researches in Kebemer (Mondain 2010:8) have shown that men's migration has a positive economic effect on their left-behind household members; an explanation of our results could be that a majority of these migrants are successful.

⇒ Overall, separation from an emigrant is less likely to occur than with a non-migrant, and results are not conclusive as for the initiation of the separation. The influence of the emigration status of the husband seems quite limited.

4.2. *Re-marriage*

In this section, I analyse what choices women make (or can make) after a separation or widowhood. As no data is available on the time of the separation, data on subsequent unions allow for further analysis on separation.

TABLE15 – DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF SUBSEQUENT UNIONS, BY MIGRATION STATUS OF THE HUSBAND, 2012

Variable / Rank of marriage	First	Second	Third or more
N (%)	843	110	21
Non-migrants*	516 (61.2)	86 (78.2)	17 (81.0)
Migrants*	327 (38.8)	24 (21.8)	4** (19.0)
Age of wives (standard deviation)	20 (4.7)	31 (8.4)	35 (10.5)
Non-migrants	19 (4.9)	32 (8.9)	35 (11.4)
Migrants	21 (4.4)	29 (4.8)	32 (6.1)
Age of husbands (standard deviation)	32 (7.8)	41 (13)	35 (17.2)
Non-migrants	31 (7.1)	41 (14.1)	34 (18.6)
Migrants	33 (8.6)	40 (9.4)	36 (1.4)
Average bridewealth (CFA)	766,000	480,000	319,000
Non-migrants	567,000	429,000	215,000
Migrants	1,046,000	523,000	680,000
Rank among cowives	1.53	2.22	1.73
Non-migrants	1.51	2.20	1.70
Migrants	1.56	2.26	2.00
Arranged marriage or levirates (%)	265 (33.5)	26 (23.0)	6 (28.6)
Non migrants	173 (33.8)	17 (19.8)	5 (29.4)
Migrants	92 (28.3%)	8 (33.3)	1 (25.0)
*the migration status refers to the new husband			
**given the size of the sample, I do not analyse these data			

As the average age of women is 31 for second marriages and 35 for third or more marriages, separations occur quite early in the marriage. The age gap between spouses for second unions is similar to the one for first unions. However, for the third or greater union, there no longer is an age difference. Given the small size of the sample of third marriages or more (N=21), data collection errors could explain this odd result.

Bridewealth is significantly lower for second marriages and even lower for third or greater marriages. A number of hypotheses can be drawn to explain this fact: the social perception that divorcees are of lower “value” as wives than single women; the social pressures on divorcees to remarry quickly; and remarriage within the family, in which case bridewealth is traditionally lower (Dial 2008:155). The high average rank among co-wives suggests widowed and divorcees cannot easily remarry a single man. On the contrary, subsequent unions are less likely to be arranged by the family than first unions. This is probably a result of the status acquired by women after a marriage: widows and divorcees are “big women” and have their say on their next marriage (Fainzang and Journet 1988:53). But again the sample is too small (especially for third marriages: N=6) to be conclusive.

To be able to run logistic and linear regressions, second and later unions are aggregated into a single sample of subsequent unions. I first assess women’s control

over their marital relationships by using the rank of the marriage as the main predictor.

TABLE16 – ODDS RATIO: MARRIAGE WITH A MIGRANT, FOR SECOND AND LATER MARRIAGES OF WOMEN, 2012

Period of the marriage celebration	Explanatory variables	Outcome variable
		Marriage with a migrant
All periods	Rank of the marriage	
	First	(ref)
	Second or later	.55*
	Woman's education	
	Less than secondary	(ref)
	Secondary or higher	1.64*
	Age group of the woman	
15-24	2.33**	
25-34	3.32***	
35-44	2.56***	
45+	(ref)	
*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001		

While first unions are traditionally decided by families, subsequent unions are an opportunity for a woman to choose her partner by herself (Dial 2008:156). Women are then much less likely (.55 times) to marry (or remarry) a migrant second time round.

CHAPTER 2 – RESULTS OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS – MARRIAGE, POLYGAMY AND DIVORCE

In this second chapter, I will analyse the perceptions and feelings of interviewed women from Kebemer on marriage, polygamy and separation. I will keep a unified structure: first, an analysis of the topic of marriage (1.), then of polygamy (2.) and finally of separation (3.).

1. MARRIAGE PATTERNS: BETWEEN LOVE, DESTINY AND FINANCIAL SECURITY

The analysis of marriage patterns will focus on three main topics: women's feelings towards their husband at the time of marriage (1.1.); the role played by kinship and family in marriage arrangements (1.2.); and women's desire to marry a migrant specifically (1.3.).

1.1. *Choosing a migrant husband: a not-so-romantic process*

When asked about the choice of their migrant partner, women usually had quite a romantic story to tell: “we met and fell in love” was a common description of their path to marriage, as Randall and Mondain had already noted earlier (2005:6). At first glance, these statements contradict what I found out in Chapter One, namely, that marriages with migrants are more likely to be arranged through the family. Actually, while a woman can, to some extent, reject a candidate, she cannot deliberately look for her ideal match (behaviour that would be considered “vagrancy” in women's words). Women explained that the “love” between men and women referred to a number of personal qualities, such as being nice, tolerant, sensitive or merciful. They did not name “capacity to support a family” among the top criteria in choosing a husband; but from women's families' point of view, migrants' resources are a strong incentive (Maïmouna). The interviews I conducted indicated that

women's love is more of a rational decision rather than a feeling. As Maïmouna put it: *"Love is a choice"*.

1.2. *Migration and kinship: which one reinforces the other?*

In Kebemer, more important than financial resources and love is kinship between partners. Following Lévi-Strauss's theory of women's circulation among groups, Diop (1985) analysed Senegalese marriages between kin as a way to reinforce the family: *"You know, when you say « kinship », it has a deep meaning"* (Diarra). "Marrying out" is perceived as a source of "problems" and resources dispersion. The resources acquired abroad by a migrant influence his family's will to marry him with a relative: *"I would say « Oh no, my son has a lot of money, he's not going to look elsewhere [for a wife] ». So, I will marry him with someone in the family, this way money will not go out of the family"* (Benita). It leads to reduced choice and agency on the part of the wife who is under the authority of not only her family-in-law, but also her own parents: *"And the marriage, thus, is an arrangement. Because you do not want it to get out of the family framework. Then, everyone is involved in it."* (Benita). I met several women among the interviewees whose marriage would have been qualified as "incestuous" by previous anthropologists such as Diop (1985:57). Maïmouna, for instance, is a *doomy ndey*, that is to say, a matrilateral parallel cousin of her husband. I believe that in the context of migration, traditionally prohibited marriages are more common: the will to keep resources among the family is stronger than the traditional interdiction.

1.3. *"If you are married for ten years, you only see your husband for ten months"*

If that is all true is there really a desire to marry a migrant? A striking finding from interviews is that migration is perceived as an occupation: women would only say of their husband that "he's an emigrant", whatever his job. There would be no difference between a marriage with a migrant and a marriage with a non-migrant: *"Whether he is in Senegal or somewhere else, it is the same, they all work, what is important is that they can support you"* (Mbenda). However, it was commonly accepted that *"some time ago"* (I believe mainly in the 1990s), all women wanted to marry migrants: *"Boys did not want to do anything but leaving to Italy. [...] Girls too, they liked nobody but migrants"* (Korka). The migration status was more important

than the personal qualities of the husband: *“Here, the fact of being [with] a migrant, women are proud, they do not try to find whether they will be well-treated”* (Fally). Nevertheless, it has several negative consequences on women’s lives: daily life is more complicated (especially financial aspects); the notion of “family” is called into question; women are deprived of a part of their identity as a spouse. *“We rarely see each other, you know. What is tough, it is the fact of coming back for only a month”*, Sénéba commented. Few women said that they perceived their migrant husband as an opportunity to migrate themselves, as male migration is not seen as the beginning of a common family project to start a new life abroad. Nowadays migrants’ financial advantages eroded with the European financial crisis. As a consequence, women no longer want to marry them: *“Migration, now it is done. There no longer is money. They no longer bring something [to their family]. Their wives are fed up with that”* (Korka).

2. POLYGAMY: A REVIVED TRADITION

As I concluded in the previous chapter, migration affects polygamy by allowing migrants to marry several women (2.1.). But, due to the husband's absence, it also changes how polygamy is experienced by co-wives (2.2.). Moreover, polygamy constitutes one of women’s strategies to cope with the migration of their husband. (2.3.).

2.1. *How migration fuels polygamy in Kebemer*

Similarly to the marital situations described by Antoine (1995) or Dial (2005) in Dakar, polygamy still is widespread in Kebemer. Sénéba started the discussion on this topic by claiming *“polygamy! It’s like a person...”* to underscore how present it is in everyone’s life, whereas Mbenda said, more seriously: *“We do not know [monogamy], there is only polygamy”*. As I hypothesised, polygamy is closely linked with migration through increased resources: *“Men do not want only one woman; when they do not have several of them, [if they don’t] it is because of a lack of means”* (Fally). Consequently, migrants are perceived to be more polygamous than non-migrants: *“Migrants believe that every single femme must be theirs, if you make things easy for them, they will never draw back”* (Fally). Another explanation is the

limited amount of time they have when in Kebemer: *“When [migrants] see a pretty girl, they tell her “I love you” and they marry her. Then, they do not have the time, the patience”* (Dié). Indeed, another interviewee noted that migrants take additional wives more quickly than what tradition generally allows: *“You see people [migrants] who marry young girls, they do not even stay five years with them and marry another woman. [...] It discourages lots of girls.”* (Khoudia). Migrants’ wives who do not have co-wives yet are often scared of sharing their husband’s resources with a co-wife: *“A person has to think about her future. But marrying numerous women, having lots of children... I do not see any advantage, any output”* (Arame).

2.2. *The “Cohabi-tension”: an exacerbation by migration*

Polygamy seems more difficult to bear when the husband is away. Polygamy usually leads to a lot of rivalries between co-wives, to which a woman referred to with a Wolof expression that translates in French to *“langue et dents habitent ensemble, il faut forcément qu’ils s’accrochent”* (“tongue and teeth live together, they inevitably get tangled up”) (Diarra). Usually the migrant husband cannot soothe these conflicts: *“[Women] are not in peace. Their husbands are not in peace. When they are there, they are being cried out for. You do not have peace where you are, you do not have peace here!”* (Diarra). Women do not have peace either as an interviewee thoroughly explained (see Aïssata’s example in box 2).

Box 2 – How polygamous migrant men’s returns affect left-behind women’s marital lives:

“In our religion, Islam, we say: « If you have to migrate and you have a wife, if you have to migrate for more than three months, take her with you. But if you are sure that she can wait, you can go ». But I say, a man, if you are loyal, you are sure you will do two years or one year and a half [abroad], some of them even do more than two years. And thus if you stay [in Kebemer] one month when having three wives, how do you do? Each wife will only have one week with you, I guess. And if she has her menstruation, she stays only a few days with you. What is that as a marriage? So it is normal that there is jealousy. Imagine it, you have three wives in a house, each one has her turn, you only have a month, when it is the turn of one of them, she sees [sic] her menstruation. And each wife claims two days. This, what kind of marriage is it? So, it is a marriage in which you [the wife] stay at home and you are being sent money. This is not a marriage. I look at myself and I say, this is not a marriage. You [the husband] leave one year, one year and a half, two years, when you come back, you have to be with your wife, to have fun, to laugh with her, so that she can know what is happiness within a marriage. But if she does not know, [if] when you come to visit her she has her menstruation, whereas you have three wives, you go and visit the other one, she will never know what is marriage, because she would have, what, one week? He takes his flight and leaves again. What kind of marriage is that? You see that this is nothing [not a marriage]. Uh! If I was a man... A woman, when she has a husband, does what she has to do to make him happy so that he stays with [her]. Now, if you stay in Senegal, because religion allows up to four [wives], you can afford it, you can take four wives because every single day you are together” (Aïssata).

2.3. *“She’s like my sister”*: mitigating loneliness and uncertainty

However, not all interviewees suffered under polygamy – some took advantage of it, as one young woman explained to me. While being the last wife could be seen as being a burden on the husband's resources, if a woman's husband became able to take an additional wife, it could mean that she is a lucky charm who brought success and fortune to her husband (Fally). As if to prove her point, Fally even asked my interpreter to become her co-wife and called her own husband to start the marriage arrangements. Another interviewee had asked her husband for a co-wife because she felt lonely in the conjugal house. In a Senegalese society in which people usually live within large households, polygamy is a means to recreate a big family while the husband is abroad. Social hierarchies, rules and controls are re-instated.

3. SEPARATION DYNAMICS: “AS THE HUSBAND IS NOT HERE, THE COUPLE WEAKENS”.

Talking about separation was quite an arduous process. As my local mentor warned me, women were not willing to chat about their divorce. Interviews were full of silence, sometimes covered by a withdrawal into housework. Some women directly lied to us by claiming they had not divorced (Dié and Mbene). In the context of male migration, two main reasons for separating from a migrant husband appeared: an unsatisfying marital life associated with women’s enhanced freedom (3.1.), and a more complex cohabitation with the family-in-law (3.2.). The event of a remarriage with a migrant also is analysed (3.3.).

3.1. *A weakened female submission?*

Although the divorce rate is quite high in Senegal, as a number of scholars have shown (Antoine and Dial 2003, Thoré 1964), divorce is still looked down upon and women are still expected to conform to traditional, submissive behaviour. However, there does appear to be an evolution of sorts: *“Formerly, perhaps that girls were more obedient. But now, I cannot see any obedience any longer”* (Arame). I hypothesise that migration participates in this questioning of custom, as the obedience that women are thought to owe their husband is contested because of the

very absence of the husband. The husband's absence is seen particularly through his inability to fulfil two roles: the link between the wife and her family-in-law and the mediator of potential family conflicts. Especially in a polygamous marital situation, if a conflict arises the husband will not be able to (fairly) intervene: *“Men have their share of responsibility. When we tell them something, instead of judging, they may misinterpret it. Usually, they reach a wrong conclusion”* (Fally).

3.2. *In-laws: “The one who has been married is the one who has to put up with it”*

Another cause of separation is the relationship between wives and their in-laws, who may even provoke the divorce. As one interviewee explained, *“Girls do want to get married, but now, it is the family they find there which makes trouble. Sisters-in-law and others”* (Arame). Summing up her union with a migrant, Korka noted: *“Your marriage, you make it with your husband’s family you know”*. Another interviewee (Thioro) referred to separations as “indirect divorces”, as on some occasions, in her view the husband does not divorce his wife because of problems between the two of them, but on the basis of his family's views. Korka went through the same difficulties: *“[Migrant husbands] do not know what happens in the house, they do not know the realities of what occurs there. [...] What [the in-laws] do in his presence, they do not do it when he is not here”*. In Senegal, a woman has to share her husband's resources with his sisters, especially the oldest, if he has any. If the man is a wealthy migrant (or at least seen as wealthy), tensions are exacerbated. Some sisters-in-law would push their brothers to divorce their wife in the hope that the next one would be more generous (as Korka's case showed). To avoid divorce, the migration of the wife to join her husband is a potential solution. About her sister who went to Canada with her husband, Oumy said: *“She’s alone with her husband. There is no problem. It’s great”*.

3.3. *Remarriage: a variety of situations*

I discovered the same typology identified by Dial (2005) in Dakar: remarriage with the same husband (Dié); remarriage in reaction to an arranged (forced) marriage (Thioro); remarriage as a vengeance (Sini); premature remarriage (Sini). What was striking was the number of delayed remarriages. I met five women (that is, around a quarter of divorcées) who either explicitly stated they did not want to remarry or who

had not remarried over a long period, even if they claimed a desire to remarry. This is quite surprising given the social disapproval of single status for women of reproductive age; women are often perceived as promiscuous. These divorcées postponed their remarriage to a later date that will seemingly never come: *“To get married again, it will be another problem. [...] I will never hand myself over just like this and get married again. It will be difficult for me”* (Maty). To justify her refusal of a remarriage, Mbene, after a divorce with a migrant, stated very strongly: *“I think a husband bothers you [...]. You go to a lot of trouble to live with them. Without them, you also go to a lot of trouble. So it’s better worth being alone”*. Such a statement shows her opposition to the traditional sexual division of society. Being married is a temporary state; once children are raised and married, there is no longer a need for women to remarry. It appears that this feeling is even stronger when the first husband is a migrant, as most of migrants’ ex-wives are not keen to remarry a migrant: *“MP: For your second marriage, could you have married a migrant again? No. Never. In my life. [...] I experienced it, thanks”* (Korka).

CHAPTER 3 – RESULTS OF THE QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS – FERTILITY, FAMILY PLANNING AND CONTRACEPTION

In this chapter, I will look at fertility trends and desires of Senegalese women as well as their related use of contraception. I try to assess the extent to which migration has an effect on the fertility of women who have been left behind. This chapter should be understood within the broader framework of the relative decline of fertility in sub-Saharan countries (Agadjanian 2011:1030), which mix “growing desires for postponing births and reducing family size” and a “rising contraceptive use”.

1. FERTILITY AND FERTILITY DESIRES

Fertility is a broad topic that could be analysed from different standpoints. In this section I chose to focus on traditional measures of fertility, such as age-specific fertility rates and total fertility rates (1.1). I then looked at women’s opinions on fertility, through an analysis of their desire to have children (1.2) and their ideal family size (1.3).

1.1. Age-specific fertility rates and total fertility rates

To obtain a picture of fertility patterns in Kebemer, I started with numerical measures of fertility. My hypothesis was that migrants’ wives have fewer children than non-migrants’ wives.

TABLE17 – DISTRIBUTION OF WOMEN (INCLUDING SINGLE WOMEN) BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Proportion of women whose current number of children is... (in %)												Mean (standard deviation)
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	
All women (include single women)	36.1	13.1	12.5	13.8	7.4	6.5	5.1	3.1	1.4	0.6	0.3	0.2	2.15 (2.3)
...who never married a migrant	16.7	14.7	15.3	17.8	8.2	10.0	8.0	4.9	2.7	0.8	0.6	0.4	3.02 (2.4)
...who ever married a migrant	21.2	18.3	16.8	17.7	11.6	6.1	4.3	2.9	0.6	0.6	0.0	0.0	2.38 (2.0)

Non-migrants’ wives have more children than migrants’ wives, with averages of 3.02 and 2.38 children, respectively. There is a larger range in the number of

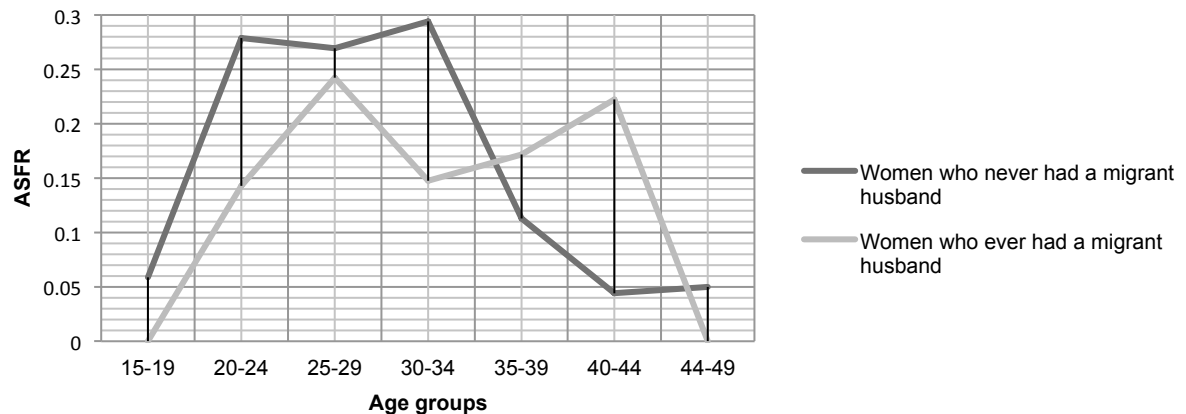
children among non-migrants' wives (with a standard deviation of 2.4 against 2.0). Big families (more than five children) are found (far more often) in non-migrants' households. These results are not surprising as migration is a relatively recent phenomenon and a consequence of migration is a reduced exposure to conception (Bongaarts et al. 1982, Agadjanian 2011).

TABLE18 – AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES AND TOTAL FERTILITY RATES, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS

Age-specific fertility rate	Women who never had a migrant husband	Women who ever had a migrant husband
15-19	0.0588	0
20-24	0.2787	0.1429
25-29	0.2697	0.2424
30-34	0.2941	0.1477
35-39	0.1127	0.1719
40-44	0.0441	0.2222
44-49	0.0500	0
Total Fertility Rate	5.5405	3.636

Age-specific fertility rates (ASFR) confirm these differences. Women aged 15 to 34 have higher ASFRs if they have never been married to a migrant husband. ASFRs of non-migrants' wives are even twice that of migrants' wives for women aged 20-24 and 30-34. However, migrants' wives aged 35 to 44 have higher ASFRs than non-migrants' wives. It appears that non-migrants' wives have children earlier in their reproductive life than migrants' wives, with quite a high fertility rate at the end of their reproductive life as shown in the following chart:

CHART1 – AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY 5-YEAR AGE GROUPS AND BY HUSBANDS’ MIGRATION STATUS



This progression could be explained by the return of their migrant husbands in Kebemer at a later age and a compensation for the fertility loss. It would then fit with Millman and Potter’s theory (1984 – applied in an African context by Abadjanian et al. in 2011). But the total fertility rates (TFR) is different for non-migrants’ than for migrants’ wives, at 5.54 to 3.64 children, respectively: thus migrants can only partially compensate for their long-term absence. A sustained male outmigration could significantly reduce the TFR in the town on the long term.

I will now assess whether the migration status of the husband has a predictive effect on fertility, understood in the following section as childbirth in the last three years before the survey. I chose this period (as Magadi 2010) because there were not enough cases of births in the 12 months preceding the survey. I added two control variables: total number of children to which the woman had given birth (I conjectured that women who have had numerous children are less likely to have another pregnancy because age or medical reasons, for instance); the “loss of a child” variable which refers to whether or not the women gave birth to a child who later died (I conjectured that women who had a child die would want more births to compensate). As the age groups refer to the age of the woman at the time of the study, the women could have been up to three years younger at the time of the pregnancy.

TABLE19 – ODDS RATIO: BIRTH IN THE LAST 3 YEARS, FOR WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49)

Explanatory variables	Outcome variable
	Woman gave birth in the last 3 years
Migration status of the husband	
Non-migrant	(ref)
Migrant	1.07
Woman's education	
Less than secondary	(ref)
Secondary or higher	.53*
Age group of the woman at the time of survey	
15-24 (12-21 at the time of the birth)	(ref)
25-34 (22-31 at the time of the birth)	2.45*
35-44 (32-41 at the time of the birth)	9.83***
45+ (42+ at the time of the birth)	136.4***
Number of children ever born	
0	(ref)
For each additional child	.76***
Loss of a child	
Never	(ref)
At least once	1.06

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

The migration status of the husband has no significant impact on whether or not women gave birth in the three years preceding the survey. The educational attainment of the woman has a negative impact, as it is often the case in demographic surveys, as well as the total number of all children ever born, as I hypothesised.

⇒ My hypothesis is validated: migrants' wives do not have a higher fertility than non-migrants', after controlling for variables – in fact, they even have a lower TFR.

1.2. Desire for another child

I will now take a look at women's childbearing desire through three processes: whether or not women want more children; if so, how many; in consequence, what is their ideal family size. My hypothesis was that migrants' wives want more children than non-migrants' wives. Almost all women who had no children, whether single or married, expressed a desire for children; as a result, I will only analyse the childbearing desire of women who already have had a child.

TABLE20 – PROPORTION OF WOMEN WILLING ANOTHER CHILD, AMONG WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49) WHO ALREADY HAVE ONE CHILD, BY HUSBAND’S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variable
	% of mothers who want additional children
All women with children	72.2 %
Women with children and a non-migrant husband	66.4 %
Women with children and a migrant husband	79.6 %

A bigger proportion of migrants’ wives than non-migrants’ wives is willing to expand the family. These results can be compared to the findings of the *Demographic and Health Survey 2011*, which showed that 80% of women in the Louga region (where Kebemer is located) wanted another child. However, these descriptive statistics do not account for age and previous childbirth, which have an impact on the desire for another child.

TABLE21 – ODDS RATIO: DESIRE FOR ANOTHER CHILD, FOR ALL WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49) WHO ALREADY HAVE ONE CHILD

Explanatory variables	Outcome variable
	Desire for another child
Migration status of the husband	
Non-migrant	(ref)
Migrant	1.84*
Woman’s education	
Less than secondary	(ref)
Secondary or higher	.65
Age group of the woman at the time of survey	
15-24	(ref)
25-34	32.26***
35-44	20.82***
45+	7.21***
Number of children ever born	
0	(ref)
For each additional child	.51***
Loss of a child	
Never	(ref)
At least once	4.10*

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

The migration status has a significant positive influence on the desire for another child, even when controlling for the total number of children born and age, which were the two main differences I found between migrants’ and non-migrants’ wives. Control variables have the expected influence: the younger the woman, the more willing she is to have another child. The fact of having lost a child also has a positive impact on this outcome. On the contrary, previous childbirth had a negative impact.

⇒ My hypothesis is validated: migrants' wives have a greater desire for childbirth, even after controls.

1.3. Ideal family size

In the following section, I look for differences between migrants' and non-migrants' wives related to the ideal family size. My hypothesis was that migrants' wives want bigger families than those of non-migrants.

TABLE22 – OPINION ON THE IDEAL FAMILY SIZE, AMONG WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49), BY HUSBAND'S MIGRATION STATUS, IF ANY

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variables										Mean ideal family size
	% of women whose number of desired children is...										
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+	As many as God wants	
All women (include single women)	3.2	5.4	14.1	10.8	7.1	3.0	1.3	1.2	0.7	53.2	4.81
...with a non-migrant husband	0.3	2.3	11.3	9.6	7.4	4.2	1.6	1.6	0.9	60.8	5.40
...with a migrant husband	0.7	4.6	11.9	13.3	8.1	3.9	1.4	1.8	1.1	53.3	5.21
All women with children	0.0	2.4	9.7	12.2	7.7	4.7	1.8	1.8	1.2	58.4	5.53
...and a non-migrant husband	0.0	1.9	8.3	10.9	7.1	4.5	1.9	1.9	1.2	62.4	5.63
...and a migrant husband	0.0	3.2	11.1	13.4	8.8	5.1	1.9	1.9	1.4	53.2	5.48
All women without children (include single women)	7.9	9.7	20.5	8.8	6.2	0.6	0.6	0.3	0.0	45.5	4.02
...and with a non-migrant husband	2.2	4.4	28.9	2.2	8.9	2.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	51.1	4.36
...and with a migrant husband	2.9	8.7	14.5	13.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	1.4	0.0	53.6	4.38

A majority (from 51.1% to 62.4%) of married women want “as many children as God wants”. In this religious context, fertility is perceived as the will of God, rather than a phenomenon over which one has agency. It also means that these women would be satisfied with a high number of children and would not try to limit childbearing. This majority does not appear for women without children as this category includes single women (never married) who are likely to be younger and might hold different views on this topic. Among women who do have an opinion, the ideal family size ranges from 2 to more than ten. On average, women who expressed an ideal family size want 4.81 children. On average non-migrants' wives want more children than migrants' wives. This latter figure equals the national average of ideal family size as calculated in the DHS 2011. This finding reinforces the idea that male migration affects the fertility transition process of Senegal. To confirm this finding, I ran a logistic regression in which the dichotomous outcome variable is the “desire for a large family”. A “large family” is defined as a family of 4 or more children, as the average ideal family size is 4.81. Wanting as many children as God does is coded as

desiring a large family, as women will not behave to limit their pregnancies to fewer than four children.

TABLE23 – ODDS RATIO: WILL FOR A LARGE FAMILY (4+ CHILDREN), FOR WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49)

Explanatory variables	Outcome variable
	Desire for a large family (4 or more children)
Migration status of the husband Non-migrant	(ref)
Migrant	.35
Woman's education Less than secondary	(ref)
Secondary or higher	.93
Age group of the woman at the time of survey 15-24	(ref)
25-34	1.72
35-44	1.45
45+	.62
Number of children ever born 0	(ref)
For each additional child	2.73***
*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001	

It appears that the migration status of the husband has no significant impact. The number of children ever born, however, has quite an influence but this only means that women with a lot of children want to have a lot of children, a result that I expected.

⇒ My hypothesis is not validated: migrants' wives are not as pro-natalist as descriptive statistics suggested and male migration has no significant influence on the desire for a large family. But the results may be distorted by the fact that the answer "as many as God wants" does not clearly define a number of children.

2. FAMILY PLANNING AND CONTRACEPTION

Corollaries of fertility, family planning and contraception are two widely investigated topics in demographic studies. Male migration can have a number of diverse effects on these patterns. I will focus the analysis on three main points: discussion on family planning with the husband (2.1); current use of contraception (2.2); and reasons for not using contraception, if applicable (2.3).

2.1. Discussion on family planning

I first looked at the proportion of married women who discussed family planning with their husband. I restricted the sample to women who already have one child. I assume that no woman uses contraception before her first birth, as women are pressured to become pregnant in the year following the marriage; moreover, a marriage is not considered to be fully consummated as long as the wife is not pregnant (Dial 2005). My hypothesis was that migrants' wives discuss family planning less than non-migrants' wives do because the absence of their husband reduces their exposure to conception.

TABLE24 – PROPORTIONS OF WOMEN WHO DISCUSSED FAMILY PLANNING WITH THEIR HUSBAND AND AMONG THEM, PROPORTION WHO REACHED AN AGREEMENT WITH HIM, AMONG MARRIED WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49) WHO ALREADY HAVE ONE CHILD, BY HUSBAND'S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variables	
	% who discussed family planning with their husband	% who reached an agreement on family planning
All married women with children	35.7 %	83.2 %
...and with a non-migrant husband	35.6 %	86.4 %
...and with a migrant husband	35.7 %	78.1 %

Quite a small proportion of women discussed family planning with their husband and the proportion is the same regardless of the husband's migration status. An explanation for this observation could be that the topic is somehow taboo. Indeed, earlier qualitative work in Kebemer showed that most men felt very strongly that family planning should not be discussed. A majority (83.2 %) of women who did discuss family planning with their husband said they both reached an agreement – but non-migrants' wives more often agreed with their husband than did non-migrants' wives. As I assume that family planning is discussed should the woman express a desire to use contraception, this result could suggest that migrants are more opposed to contraception than non-migrants. Unfortunately, logistic regressions ran for variables related to family planning decision-making were not conclusive as no result was significant; thus, the trends shown by descriptive statistics cannot be further investigated.

- ⇒ In the absence of regressions, I cannot prove or discard my hypothesis. However, descriptive statistics suggest that my hypothesis was wrong and

that migrants' wives do not necessarily less discuss family planning than non-migrants' wives.

2.2. Use of contraception

I then looked at the current use of contraception in Kebemer. My hypothesis was that migrants' wives have a lower use of contraception than non-migrants' wives because their husband's absence reduces their exposure to conception. In the survey, the question was only asked to married women, including those with no children. The question was worded in English as "Do you do something to avoid becoming pregnant?", but it is possible that the translation into Wolof was ambiguous. That is, it may not have been clear to the interviewee whether the question referred to current use of contraception or contraception use in the past. Here, I consider the results to reflect the second interpretation.

TABLE 25 – PROPORTIONS OF MARRIED WOMEN WHO EVER USED CONTRACEPTION AND AMONG THEM, DISTRIBUTION OF MAIN USED CONTRACEPTIVE MEANS, AMONG WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49), BY HUSBAND'S MIGRATION STATUS

Migration status of the husband	Outcome variables									
	% who ever used contraception	% of women who ever used...								
		Pill	Coil	Injection	Im-plant	Con-doms	With-drawal	Absti-nence	Plants	Other
All married women	23.4	52.1	6.4	26.6	8.5	0.0	0.5	0.5	3.2	2.1
Women with a non-migrant husband	21.5	44.3	4.7	32.1	11.3	0.0	0.9	0.9	4.7	0.9
Women with a migrant husband	24.5	62.2	8.5	19.5	4.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.2	3.7

The use of contraception in Kebemer (23.4% of married women) reflects national trends: in 2005, according to the DHS, 21.8% of Senegalese women had ever used contraception. There is a slight difference here between wives of migrants and those of non-migrants, as a lower proportion have used contraception at some point. I would have expected non-migrants' wives to use contraception more often as their husband is present more often, as Agadjanian suggested (2011:1032). The main difference lies in the means of contraception. These figures contrast with those of the DHS, which shows a preference for injections rather than the pill among contraceptive users (5.2% of married women use injections against 4.1% who use the pill).

An explanation for the preference for the pill could be that migrants' wives are influenced by their husbands, who may have learnt the benefits of the pill in their

destination area. This effect may take place at the individual (“social learning”) as well as the collective level through institutional discourse (“social influence”, Montgomery and Casterline 1996:4). The fact that the pill is widely used, even by non-migrants’ wives and contrary to national trends, might be a result of a “diffusion effect” (Goldscheider 1987:677) of innovative reproductive behaviours, that is, the power of influence of returnees and their wives to introduce new practices and beliefs among their community of origin.

The fact that no woman reported using condoms is surprising, as they are widely known and used in Senegal: the 2011 DHS reported that 6.3% of married women have ever used this means of contraception at some point. I suspect this unlikely figure is due to an error in the dataset, made either when data were aggregated or when the questionnaire was passed.

To confirm the impact of male migration on contraceptive use, I ran a number of logistic regressions as follows:

TABLE26 – ODDS RATIO: CONTRACEPTION-RELATED VARIABLES (EVER USE OF CONTRACEPTION, EVER USE OF THE PILL, EVER USE OF INJECTIONS), FOR ALL MARRIED WOMEN OF REPRODUCTIVE AGE (15-49)

Explanatory variables	Outcome variables	
	Ever used contraception	Ever used modern contraceptive
Migration status of the husband		
Non-migrant	(ref)	(ref)
Migrant	1.08	.65
Husband’s education		
Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
Secondary or higher	2.15***	.11*
Woman’s education		
Less than secondary	(ref)	(ref)
Secondary or higher	1.46	.41
Age group of the woman at the time of survey		
15-24	3.56*	1.92
25-34	3.10**	1.47
35-44	2.91**	1.60
45+	(ref)	(ref)
Number of children ever born		
0	(ref)	(ref)
For each additional child	1.27***	.86

*p<0.05, **p<0.005, ***p<0.001

The use of contraception (both modern – such as the pill – or traditional – such as rhythm or periodic abstinence) and the use of *modern* contraceptive seem unrelated to the migration status of the husband (but results are not significant). Surprisingly, an educated husband decreases the likelihood of using modern contraception – I am not able to explain this finding. In an analysis (not shown) of the reasons why some women use contraception while they state they want more

children, a similar proportion of migrants' and non-migrants' wives (respectively 72.7% and 79.5%) say they want to space the births. This finding matches with previous studies on this topic. For instance, Timæus and Moultrie (2008) showed that birth spacing and postponing (defined as delaying pregnancies – sometimes indefinitely – further than necessary for the previous child's health) are far more important in sub-Saharan Africa than stopping.

⇒ My hypothesis is not validated. Migrants' wives seem to use contraception as much as non-migrants' wives.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS OF THE QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS – FERTILITY, FAMILY-PLANNING AND CONTRACEPTION

In this last chapter, I will analyse the views of women from my sample on a number of reproduction-related topics: fertility, ideal family size, family-planning, pregnancies, and contraception. As being a mother is an empowering and respected social status, it represents an important matter for these women.

1. FERTILITY

Women had quite an ambivalent position on motherhood. It appeared from interviews that having children is an empowering (1.1.) but to some extent only (1.2.).

1.1. Having children: an empowering event

Women in Kebemer generally have the same perception of children than other Senegalese women, as demonstrated by scholars such as Fainzang and Journet (1988): raising children is the primary duty and work of women. Interviewees frequently defined marriage as a framework for having children: *“What truly is marriage? (pause) When you are there, you put yourself out. When you put yourself out, it is because of your children. It is for the children who will be born that you bother you, because you do not want your children to be tired tomorrow”* (Arame). Of a successful person, one would say his or her mother “worked well”. Having babies is empowering and allows some women to reach fulfilment. Babies’ naming ceremonies are “the day of success”, motherhood gives “confidence” as well as “importance” and secure women’s marriage (Benita). Arame told me that would she have no child, she would dedicate herself to her husband. It appeared that she perceives herself as a mother, and then as a spouse. But raising one’s children well also depends on their father. Men are needed to build a strong, closely linked family. Two interviewees told me about the lack of relationship between migrants and their children. Children suffer from their absence. They want to talk to their father as often as possible and beg for their return. After several years abroad, some men do not recognize their own

children when they come back, a situation which was socially condemned. The same occurs to their children who sometimes do not recognize their father and do not accept their authority (Korka).

1.2.A limited ideal family

As I previously said, childbirth and family size are not perceived as topics on which one could have agency: *“Nobody can give it to oneself, God is the one who gives”* (Mbenda), *“I took no decision, [pregnancies] came just like this”* (Thioro). The fecundity is perceived as a familial characteristic: if a woman had a great number of children, her daughter would be expected to experience the same fecundity: *“Most of the time, [women from my family] have two, three, four, five or six maximum. Since our great-grand-parents, we do not have lots of children, it never goes over this”* (Sénéba). Still, women are aware that having a migrant husband can have a depressing effect on their fertility: *“I told you about having an absent husband. It may lead to having fewer children”* (Sénéba).

Women who do have an ideal family size put forward a number of reasons for birth spacing or even limiting their offspring. Children’s education was often mentioned, the rationale being that it is easier to properly raise children when they are not too numerous. Some women explained that a few children was “enough” or that having too much babies “was not worth it” (Maïmouna): *“To have a child, to raise him well, succeeding in life, it is better than having ten children who serve no purpose you know”*. The financial resources of the husbands also play a role in the desired number of children. Pregnancies have a cost: pregnant women are said to be “ill”. Hospital admissions and prescriptions are expensive; not having enough money to take care of themselves and their newborn baby, because of men’s absence, was a common fear of women, especially when they do not have a commercial activity. A wealthy husband, even if living abroad, is a guarantee of medical security. Moreover, having too many babies impoverish women and families: *“Every year you are pregnant, every year you give birth, all you’ll have will be earned at the naming ceremony, all you earn will be used for prescriptions”* (Fama). Thus the ideal family size among migrants’ wives might have been changed by the financial crisis in Europe and the changed perception of their situation. There would be a direct link between resources and ideal family size: *“[Women] know that life is expensive, things*

have changed, nowadays emigrants have nothing” (Korka). This quote supports Agadjanian’s theory of a fertility associated with the success of migration (2011).

2. FAMILY-PLANNING: NEGOTIATING MOTHERHOOD

While most of women expressed a strong satisfaction from their motherhood, the timing of childbirths was important. While women enjoy having children, pregnancies are negotiated with their husbands (2.1.). It becomes even more important with a migrant husband, for a number of reasons (2.2.).

2.1. A decreasing desire for children throughout women’s lives

Women would decide to have babies when they are young, so as to rest later in their life: *“After two years I thought: « why not to have another baby? ». So as to rest after [...] A woman has up to a certain age to make children”* (Dié). All women said they had a strong desire for their first child, as Fally explained: *“You know, when you get married, you want nothing but making a baby! (laughing)”*. They had a variety of opinions of the following children. Young or recently-married women want to have more babies. After the first or the second pregnancies, they decide they should space the births. As Fally told me, she was afraid of using contraception until her second childbirth: the delivery was so difficult for her that she thought she could not bear giving birth too often.

Husbands and wives may have opposite views on family size and planning. As statistics often show (see for instance the DHS 2011), men usually want bigger families than women. When asked about the number of children they would like to have, women often showed doubt and insecurity: *“He says, just saying, he likes joking saying that he wants me to have five children, but we are not there yet!”* (Arame). A number of women stated that they started family planning on their husband’s suggestion. This finding contradicts previous research with rather showed that men were pro-natalist; but perhaps what they publicly claimed differed from what they desired. Other asked their husband whether they could plan their pregnancies, which was not as difficult as I expected: *“The chat consisted in saying that we have a child, we must take a break to recover before we can have another one”* (Diarra).

2.2. *Planning pregnancies, a necessity*

Their situation was paradoxical. On the one hand, women must have quite a high number of children to gain social status and consideration, including from their husband: *“Men are all similar, they want a lot of children and once you are no longer able to have some more, they go and take another wife. Thus I will have injections so that it lasts longer”* (Thioro). On the other hand, too numerous pregnancies can lead their husband to look for another wife, because they no longer are appealing or cannot have sexual relationships with them (the Koran forbids sexual intercourse with pregnant and breastfeeding women): *“(laughing) A woman, when you have too many births, it degrades your body, you know ! You get old quickly”* (Arame). I believe this behaviour is exacerbated given the widespread practice of polygamy among migrants.

In the case the wife joins her husband in the destination area, pregnancy and female outmigration are closely linked: she might postpone her pregnancy so that it does not jeopardise her stay, or she might decide to come back to Kebemer once pregnant. The support and care received from family members are important during the pregnancy and the childbirth: *“It all went very well – but it was very difficult to be alone for my first childbirth. I cried lengthily while thinking about my mother”* (Dié). Women felt they could not take on their children’s education while abroad: *“I decided by myself to come back. I was bored; I wanted to come back until the baby was big”* (Dié). It also appeared that girls’ schooling has an impact on family planning: some women want to pursue their education after their marriage and as a consequence, they do not want to become pregnant too early (Sini). This will came up once only in the interviewees but it shows that traditional conceptions of pregnancies’ timing are changing.

3. CONTRACEPTION

This will for a controlled fertility could have led to a high use of contraception. Male outmigration sets favourable conditions for its use (3.1.). However, contraception still is a risky practice that could comprise women’s position within their marriage (3.2.).

3.1. The ambivalent role played by male outmigration in women's empowering

I heard diverse opinions on the role played by husbands in contraception and family planning. Most of interviewees told me the decision-making on contraception was their own and their husband's only. They agreed that their mother-in-law would probably be opposed to such a choice. Some women do take contraceptive without their partner's consent. They claimed that men "cannot reject contraception" because its aim is to ensure their wife's good health (Khouidia). It appeared from interviewees that there has been a deep change over a few decades on social perception of contraception. The relative freedom of movement that women nowadays enjoy helps them to access contraception. Some women said they could leave their house without asking for permission from their in-laws, which allows them to get their contraception from the clinic. Contraception is empowering as it gives women a greater decision-making power on their own body and allows them to "deliver a better work" (to better raise their children). According to Diarra, family-planning "protects women". Women themselves decide when to have another pregnancy: "*This is your choice. When you decide to stop it, you'll stop it*" (Diarra).

Male outmigration plays the role of a natural contraception: "*Distance enables women to space births without using contraception*" (Dié). Thioro stated that would she had had a migrant husband, she would not have used contraception given her husband's absence. Upon his return, she would not necessarily take the pill or used injections, and she would probably have become pregnant every year her husband would come back. For those who do use contraception, pill is pertinent as they can take it only the few weeks when their husband is back home. Contraception allows women to combine both their sexual obligations as wives and risks that a pregnancy would run on their health and that of their children. However, two medical staff told me that there was no difference between migrants' and non-migrants' wives on this topic, which confirms the results of the quantitative analysis. This freedom does not come without difficulty. Fally was living with her co-wife in their husband's house, who was not a migrant but used to spend months in Dakar. After she did not fall pregnant for several years, her husband accused her of using contraception, which she did not. It seems there is a lack of confidence around this practice: husbands cannot know when their wives are using it, and women cannot prove they are not trying to space or limit their pregnancies.

3.2.A very sensitive issue

Contraception was not referred to as such. The French word I used was *planification familiale*, that is, family-planning, which in Wolof is translated into “methods to space births”. By themselves, these wordings imply a different meaning than “contraception”. Women do not want to avoid all pregnancies but only to plan them: “*If you are not healthy, if you nef [having frequent pregnancies], you can use contraception, spacing birth to be healthy, but not use family planning to stop making children*” (Sénéba). As such, women usually do not use contraception before their first childbirth, and do not try to postpone it, as it represents the consecration of their marriage and a new social status as a mother. A number of women started using contraception right after the birth of a child. Traditionally, religion prescribes sexual intercourses in the 40 days following the birth, and then as long as the woman is breastfeeding. I found the 40-day prescription to be widely followed, but not the breastfeeding one (Arame).

A number of fears persist around contraception. Some women fear that, even if they use it with their husband’s consent, it would compromise their marital situation as well as their financial security and social status. It is an important risk to take, as Fally explained: “*My co-wife did the injection, she has been bleeding, for eight years, she cannot have children any more, she does not what she will become*”. Indeed, Fally’s husband decided to take another wife since his first one could no longer have babies. Other women are afraid that contraception would diminish their attractiveness: “*this one, if you take it you take weight, whereas I do not want to take weight*” (Arame).

CONCLUSION – A PARTLY EMPOWERING PROCESS

As the preceding chapters show, I answered all of my research questions and showed that male migration has a significant impact on the marital and reproductive strategies of the women who are left behind. In many ways, migration serves to reinforce traditional marital patterns, though it also has a liberalising effect on fertility and family planning.

Because of migration, marriage patterns are affected in that the woman's choice is reduced. Women are more likely to be subjected to their family's will, as the latter generally introduces them to their future husband. The practice of marrying kin is reinforced and marriages are more often arranged by the spouses' families. Within their marriage, women are more dominated by their husband, who is much older. Households headed by a migrant are more often polygamous, even if limited to only two wives. Moreover, my research points to some significant sources of unhappiness for women married to a migrant, including loneliness and the lack of conjugal life given the husband's. To some extent, however, women benefit from these patterns. Women usually agree to their marriage with a migrant, although the data did not offer a satisfactory explanation as to why. The fact that migrants' marriages are less likely to end in divorce than those of non-migrants' may suggest that women do find some or sufficient satisfaction in this marital framework, but it could also be the case that migrants' marriages are simply too recent for statistical analysis to show an inverse trend. What is clear, at any rate, is that there is a gap between the experience of being married to a migrant and how this marriage is perceived in the community. This difference is now understood by females preparing for or considering marriage. I assume that if this knowledge were more widespread, it might affect women's decision-making. Most of my findings on marriage arrangements and polygamy showed positive empowering trends in the 2000s.

On the other hand, I suggest that male migration contributes to changes in fertility patterns in Senegal. Statistically, migrants' wives have a lower total fertility rate – mainly, as interviews showed, because of the reduced exposure to contraception. Given that emigration from Kebemer mainly started in the 1980s, the

wives of the first migrants are now past their peak reproductive years. Future research should demonstrate whether – as my findings suggest – migrants compensate upon return this lack of fertility. The fact that migrants' wives do not seem more pro-natalist than non-migrants supports this suggestion. Family planning and contraception are the two topics in which male migration seemingly empowers women. The husband's absence allows women to have a greater choice on when to have children. The fact that when their husband is away women do not need to use contraception seems to balance out their fear of it: women are less afraid of using contraception temporarily when their husband is back. As other research showed (Agadjanian 2011), numerous migrants accept – or even encourage – the use of contraception by their wife. I could not ascertain whether this finding is a direct consequence of exposure to new ideas and values abroad, or whether it was the result of an effective reproductive health campaign in Kebemer. I tend toward the latter hypothesis: I believe that women did manage to grasp this opportunity.

In the 1980s and 1990s, male emigration became widespread in some parts of Senegal, such as Kebemer, because of the lack of economic opportunities in the country. It is not clear whether or not this emigration process will continue with the same intensity. Both the restrictive immigration policies in Europe and the financial crisis that has unfolded since 2008 have compromised the opportunities of successful emigrations. According to interviewees, migrants cannot support their families any longer. If they come back to Kebemer, they would no longer have an advantageous situation on the marriage market. At least one generation of women has been deeply impacted by male emigration, but future research should demonstrate to exactly what extent and, moreover, how this situation impacts those women's daughters, who may have learned from the disappointments and struggles of their mothers.

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APPENDIX 1 – EXTRACT FROM THE LIFE-HISTORY SURVEY

MODULE 7 : SANTE DE LA REPRODUCTION

N° QUEST. BIO.: |__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|__|

Quartier |__|__|__| Concession |__|__|__| Ménage |__|__|__| Individu |__|__|__|

ENQUÊTEUR : CE MODULE N'EST PAS BIOGRAPHIQUE. IL S'ADRESSE AUX FEMMES AGEES DE 15 A 49 ANS, TOUT STATUT MATRIMONIAL CONFONDU.

<p>701 Nombre total d'enfants nés-vivants</p> <p> __ __ → 702 (Vérifier d'après module 5)</p> <p>Si pas d'enfants → 703</p>	<p>706 Avez-vous eu une discussion avec votre mari au sujet du nombre total d'enfants à avoir ?</p> <p>Oui → 707 Non → 709 A des difficultés à répondre à cette question -> 709 N/A</p>	<p>711 Où vous êtes-vous procuré ce moyen pour éviter de tomber enceinte ?</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Hôpital</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>Autres centre de santé</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Centres de PF</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Clinique</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>Pharmacie</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>Médecin</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>Infirmierie confessionnelle</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>Parents</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>Autres (préciser)</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td>_____</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>N/A</td><td>10</td></tr> </table>	Hôpital	1	Autres centre de santé	2	Centres de PF	3	Clinique	4	Pharmacie	5	Médecin	6	Infirmierie confessionnelle	7	Parents	8	Autres (préciser)	9	_____		N/A	10	<p>713 Pourquoi ne faites vous rien pour éviter une grossesse ? (plusieurs réponses possibles)</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>Mari absent</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>Pas de rapport sexuel</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Rapports sexuels peu fréquents</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Post partum allaitement</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>Veut un enfant</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>Enceinte</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>Stérile</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>Ménopause</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>Contre la contraception</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td>Mari pas d'accord</td><td>10</td></tr> <tr><td>Interdit par la religion</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>Ne connaît pas les méthodes existantes</td><td>12</td></tr> <tr><td>Peur des effets secondaires</td><td>13</td></tr> <tr><td>Trop chère</td><td>14</td></tr> <tr><td>Ne sait pas où s'en procurer</td><td>15</td></tr> <tr><td>Autre, préciser :</td><td>16</td></tr> <tr><td>N/A</td><td>17</td></tr> </table>	Mari absent	1	Pas de rapport sexuel	2	Rapports sexuels peu fréquents	3	Post partum allaitement	4	Veut un enfant	5	Enceinte	6	Stérile	7	Ménopause	8	Contre la contraception	9	Mari pas d'accord	10	Interdit par la religion	11	Ne connaît pas les méthodes existantes	12	Peur des effets secondaires	13	Trop chère	14	Ne sait pas où s'en procurer	15	Autre, préciser :	16	N/A	17
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<p>704 Si oui Combien ? __ __ </p> <p>Autant que Dieu voudra 1 NSP 2</p> <p><i>pour les mariées -> Q.706</i> <i>pour les non mariées -> Q.708</i></p>																																																											
<p>705 Pour quelles raisons souhaiteriez-vous ne plus (ou pas) en avoir ?</p> <table border="0"> <tr><td>La vie est chère, la vie est dure</td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>En a déjà assez</td><td>2</td></tr> <tr><td>Pour raisons de santé</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>Le conjoint ne veut plus</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>Les enfants sont difficiles aujourd'hui</td><td>5</td></tr> <tr><td>Attend le mariage</td><td>6</td></tr> <tr><td>Autre, précisez</td><td>7</td></tr> <tr><td>_____</td><td></td></tr> </table>	La vie est chère, la vie est dure	1	En a déjà assez	2	Pour raisons de santé	3	Le conjoint ne veut plus	4	Les enfants sont difficiles aujourd'hui	5	Attend le mariage	6	Autre, précisez	7	_____																																												
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APPENDIX 2 – INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Question 1 – Information on the informant (all interviewees)

I would like to check a few points with you: you are married/divorced; with an international migrant/a non-migrant; you have ... children; you have ... co-wives.

Question 2: Marriage arrangements (all interviewees)

a-1) According to you, what is important when choosing a husband? (opinion)

What kind of husband did you wish to have before getting married?

What was your opinion on marriage before getting married?

a-2) What should be the role played by the bride's family in the choice of the husband? (opinion)

What role do you think you will play in the marriage of your daughters?

b) You are married with a migrant. Could you tell me about how your marriage was decided? (storytelling)

How did you meet your husband?

Did you initiate the marriage or did you family arrange it for you?

c) Do you think your marriage was different from the one of non-migrants' wives? Why? (structural)

=To insist on the role played by the family and the agency given to the interviewee. To explore their will to marry a migrant. To see which criteria were important for her.

Question 3: Fertility and family size (all interviewees)

a) If it was not only God's will, how many children would you like to have? Why? (opinion)

What do you think of having a lot of children?

How did you decide to have your last child? Why at this time?

What was your husband's opinion on this matter?

b) Do you think you would have had a different opinion if you were married to a non-migrant? (contrast)

=To explore the interviewee's ideal of a family and the factors that contribute to it. To see whether migrants' wives have a different perception.

Question 4: Experience of polygamy (interviewees with one or several co-wives)

a) We have noted that migrants are more often polygamous. Have you noticed it? Why, according to you? (opinion)

b) Can you tell me about the period when your co-wife joined your household/when you join the household as the second wife? Did it change your relationship with your husband? (storytelling)

=To explore the extent to which the interviewee accepted/suffered from having a co-wife. To see how relationships are organized in the absence of the husband. To explore the potential rivalries between co-wives upon return of the husband.

Question 5: Separation dynamics (divorcées)

a) We noted quite a high number of divorces in Kebemer. According to you, what are the causes of this phenomenon? (opinion)

b) In your case, do you think separation could have been avoided and how? (contrast)

When did you decide to divorce? How many children did you have at that time? Did you take this decision on your own? Did you talk to your family about it?

What did your family and family-in-law said about it? How divorce was perceived at this time? How did your husband react?

What were your relationships with your husband and your family-in-law? What role was played by your husband's extended absence?

=To see whether the absence of the husband played a role in the separation or whether more frequent returns could have had an impact. To explore how the interviewee went through the divorce in this context.

Question 6: Knowledge and use of contraception (if applicable)

a) Studies on female migrants and migrants' wives often show that, in other countries, migrants encourage their wives to use contraception. What do you think about this fact? (opinion)

Do you know your husband's opinion on contraception?

Is your family-in-law aware of your use of contraception?

When and why do you use to start and stop using it?

b) Studies have also shown that the pill and injections are the most used in the region. What kind of contraception would you prefer to use and why? (opinion)

=To explore the relationship between the interviewee's opinion and the husband's absence. To see whether there has been a progression through the marriage with a migrant/upon his return.

APPENDIX 3 – TABLE OF ALL INFORMANTS

All names are pseudonyms.

Surveyed women:

Name of informant	Age group	Married with a...	Number of children
Aïda	30-34	Migrant	3
Aïssata	30-34	Migrant	2
Arame	20-24	Migrant	1
Bigué	40-44	Migrant	0
Débo	30-34	Non-migrant	3
Diarra	25-29	Migrant	2
Dié	40-44	Migrant	4
Fally	30-34	Non-migrant	2
Fatimata	40-44	Non-Migrant/Non-Migrant	4
Khoudia	25-29	Migrant	1
Korka	35-39	Migrant/Non-migrant	3
Maïmouna	40-44	Migrant	4
Maty	55-59	Non-migrant/Unmarried	3
Mbayang	60-64	Non-Migrant	0
Mbenda	40-44	Migrant/Non-Migrant	5
Mbene	35-39	Non-Migrant/Non-Migrant/Non-Migrant/Unmarried	0
Ndella	40-44	Migrant	6
Ndjomé	40-44	Non-Migrant/Non-Migrant	4
Ndoumbe	40-44	Migrant	7
Nianga	30-34	Migrant/?	1
Niass	35-39	Migrant	4
Oulimata	25-29	Migrant	4
Oumy	25-29	Migrant	2
Sénéba	40-44	Migrant	4
Sini	Unknown	Migrant/Migrant/Migrant	2
Soda	35-39	Migrant	5
Souadou	Unknown	-	-
Thioro	35-39	Non-migrant/Non-migrant	8
Yaye Diakhou	55-59	Non-Migrant/Migrant/Unmarried	?

Key informants:

Name	Organisation	Occupation
K., Fama	Health clinic of Kebemer	Nurse in charge of reproductive health
K., Bineta	Kebemer city council	Secretary of the social affairs committee

APPENDIX 4 – TRANSCRIPT EXTRACT

Context: The interviewee had been selected because of her divorce from a migrant. We first met her at the hospital but we decided to interview her later in the day at her house. She has a big beautiful house in Diamaguène. We found her behind the house, sitting in the garden, feeding her young daughter. The interview was led in French.

[...]

MP : Que votre mari soit à l'étranger, quel rôle ça a joué dans tout ça ? Est-ce que...

A: (interrompt) Parce que ils ne connaissent pas, ça joue un rôle, il ne connaît pas ce qu'il y a dans la maison, il ne connaît pas les réalités qui se passent là-bas. Peut-être ils savent qu'il connaît bien sa maman, ses sœurs mais, en fait... si tu es dans la maison toi tu... si il est en Italie, ce qu'il fait en sa présence, il ne le fait pas lorsqu'il n'est pas là, tu as compris ? [ce que les parents et frères et sœurs du mari font en présence du mari, ils ne le font pas lorsqu'il n'est pas là]. Si il est là, on t'accueille bien, mais une fois qu'il part...

MP : Hum... c'est les problèmes.

A: C'est les problèmes. On commence à avoir beaucoup de problèmes, vraiment.

MP : Il est souvent rentré votre mari pendant votre mariage ? Il est souvent revenu ?

A: Ouais chaque année. Mais il n'occupe pas. Il vient, il fait un mois, un mois 10 jours maximum par an. Des fois, des fois il revient pas. Des fois... s'il vient cette année l'année prochaine il ne vient pas. De telle sorte que tu te maries pendant dix ans, hein, tu ne rencontres ton mari que pendant dix mois, hein.

MP : (rires)

A: Tu sais.

MP : Ouais ouais...

A: Dix ans, dix mois. Que tu sois avec ton mari. Dix ans, dix mois. Parce que chaque année il ne fait qu'un mois ici. Des fois il ne vient pas. Ça devient compliqué.

MP : Qu'est-ce que vous en pensiez de ces absences ? Comment vous les viviez ces absences ?

K: Si c'était le mari et sa femme, y aurait aucun problème. Mais c'est les mères, les sœurs qui portent des problèmes, des provocations. Des fois ils te disent des choses que tu ne connais même pas, ils les disent à ton mari, des fois, tu n'as rien fait.

MP : Et...

A: Comme ils ne sont pas là, il devient fragile, le couple quoi.

MP : Il a essayé de faire la médiation entre vous et sa famille ?

A: Si mais ça ne va pas passer. Parce que c'est moi qui ai refusé. Parce que je sais que même s'il y a réconciliation, après s'il part, y aura les mêmes problèmes, (répète) y aura les mêmes problèmes. C'est pour cela moi j'ai décidé de quitter.

MP : Est-ce que vous auriez pu aller en Italie avec lui ou... ?

A: (interrompt) Oui oui, parce que, il a compté de m'amener. Mais tous les dossiers sont là. Il a tenté de m'amener, on a préparé tous les dossiers, tous les dossiers sont là. Juste *Nou la ossa*, tu sais *nou la osta* ? Italien, non ? C'est les Italiens qui disent ça. S'il m'envoie le *nou la osta* c'est ça que je vais déposer aux ambassades. Pour qu'on me donne un visa. On a préparé tout, tout, tout. Après, il a dit à sa famille, « non ». il a laissé. Tous ces papiers sont avec moi. Son visa. Adresse, où t'habites. Tous les papiers sont avec moi, je les ai collectés, tous les papiers sont avec moi (elle répète). (silence). Presque c'était fini hein. Pour que je pars mais, après, il n'en parlait plus. C'est sa famille qui l'a fait refuser.

KS : Ils sont méchants hein.

A: (acquiesce) Ils sont méchants.

MP : Comment vous savez ça ? Comment ils ont fait pour le convaincre ?

A: Ah je sais pas, ce qu'ils disent tu ne l'entends pas. (silence).

MP : Comment vous avez réagi quand il vous a dit qu'il allait arrêter...

A: (interrompt) Ah rien, je ne dis rien.

MP : Vous l'avez compris.

A: Je l'ai compris. Je sais qu'on l'a désisté mais c'est pas... Tant pis quoi.

MP : Et vous vouliez, vous, partir en Italie ?

A: Moi, je le voulais, mais pas maintenant.

MP : Pas ?

A: Quoi ?

MP : Pas maintenant ?

A: Pas maintenant [plus maintenant]. Je le voulais.

MP : Pourquoi ? Qu'est-ce que ça représente pour vous, partir en Italie ?

A: Ah rejoindre ton mari, rejoindre ton mari, si tu peux travailler là-bas tu travailles.

MP : Et vous seriez partie avec les enfants ?

A: Hum si, avec un de mes enfants. En ces temps-là j'avais une seule fille.

MP : C'était pas trop dur d'imaginer partir de Kébémér et du Sénégal ?

A: C'était ?

MP : C'était pas trop difficile d'imaginer partir...

A: (interrompt) Non pas du tout parce que j'avais mon mari, il y avait pas de problèmes parce qu'il y avait du mari.

MP : Vous connaissez des femmes qui sont parties rejoindre leur mari ?

A: Oui bien sûr. Deux de mes sœurs sont là-bas. Avec leurs maris.

MP : C'était important pour vous de faire comme elles ? Est-ce que c'était quelque chose que vous vouliez faire dans votre vie ?

A: Si si, je l'avais imaginé parce que c'était en cours.

MP : Oui.

A: Mais, après, après le divorce moi je ne veux plus.

MP : Il était déjà migrant quand vous l'avez épousé ?

A: Si.

MP : Et c'était important pour vous qu'il soit un migrant ?

A: Non c'est pas important, le fait de émigrer c'est des choses... (en wolof) Ils n'ont pas le choix.

KS : (traduisant) La migration, les gens le font mais parce qu'ils n'ont pas le choix.

A: (acquiesce) Ils n'ont pas le choix. Ils n'ont pas le choix. Des fois c'est des personnes qui sont analphabètes, qui n'ont pas été étudier, ils savent que sinon au Sénégal ils n'ont rien, ils décident de partir.

MP : Est-ce que vous avez l'impression qu'à l'époque de votre premier mariage, en 2003, les femmes à Kébémér voulaient plus, ou moins, marier un migrant ?

A: (interrompt) Avec les émigrés, ouais ouais.

MP : C'était plus, moins ? Pourquoi ?

A: A Kébémér il n'y a aucune activité que l'immigration. Les garçons voulaient rien faire que de partir en Italie. Point, c'est leur point de vue. Les filles aussi, n'aimaient personne que les émigrés. Mais maintenant, c'est le retour.

KS : Maintenant personne ne les aime.

A: (acquiesce) Ahf !

MP : Pourquoi ?

A: L'émigration maintenant c'est fini. Il n'y a plus d'argent. Ils n'amènent rien (rires). Leurs femmes sont fatiguées. Ils ne leur envoient rien. Elles sont fatiguées. Elles restent au Sénégal, sans voir leur mari, hein. (interruption : elle crie après ses enfants) Sans voir leur mari. (nouvelle interruption : elle crie encore après ses enfants qui font du bruit). Leurs femmes sont restées ici, ils ne voient pas leur mari, ils sont fatigués chez eux, avec les enfants tout ça. C'est compliqué (silence).

[...]

APPENDIX 5 – RESEARCH DIARY EXTRACT

Friday, June 7th 2013

We left early to go to S.'s, who had told us to come at her place at 9. We arrived at 9:25. According to Kiné there was no problem as this was "*African time*" (where 9am means 10am). The interview was very touching. S. became emotional while talking about her life with her husband, her suffering during that time, and her suffering from being a divorcee. At some points I believe she was crying but she tried to hold it back. She was full of dignity. After almost an hour she stood up and started to do some other stuff. I hoped she would sit back down but she did not, so we stopped the interview without any further questions. Nevertheless, she remained nice and polite and she even tried to help us by giving us the directions towards other houses.

We could not find any more of the houses we wanted to go to, so Kiné asked the woman who runs a small street shop at the corner of the street in the middle of Médina. The woman basically knows everyone in the neighbourhood, and even further afield. She told us the three other addresses that I had written up were located in Ndhiakar. To reach that neighbourhood we would need to take a *charrette* so we went back to our place to take some more addresses. I bought fruits (mangos) for the lady in our house who had told me I had to bring gifts for the children. But today there were so many people in front of her part of the house I could not find her. I believe her name is Anta. Kiné and I wondered whether she was a relative of Daba's potential co-wife. We hadn't sorted that out yet. Later during the day I was asked several times to give money, gifts and other stuff (even to tutor a young lady). Now I think I would not give mangos again to our house's lady as there would be no end to her requests.

Anyway, in the morning we went to another house in Médina, to which we had already been the day before yesterday. Kiné wanted to greet one of last year's interviewees who had become kind of a friend of hers. F. was away but her co-wife was ready to be interviewed. Kiné warned me that she was "tough" but I thought it was worth a try. Kiné started to explain her the topics of the interview. She agreed

until I asked whether I could record the interview. She immediately stood up from the bed she was sitting on and shouted that she no longer agreed. Kiné told me "I told you she was tough". They talked a bit and concluded we should interview F. instead, her co-wife. I nodded. I explained there was absolutely no problem, that I did not want to force anyone. When we left the house one of the girls asked me lots of questions - it was a bit difficult this day to avoid having people asking me stuff because I was a *toubab* (a White, foreign girl). Kiné wasn't being much help in dealing with these situations but it was all right as I believe I am now confident enough to handle these situations (including saying 'no') with cultural sensitivity.

We also went to M.'s house. Kiné had interviewed two of the ladies there last year. There were several people standing in the patio. M. was away but another lady, A. (I could not figure out her relationship with the head of household with certainty - but she was not his spouse), was available. As she had been interviewed last year I agreed. She was shy and not very talkative. But the interview was long enough - almost an hour as well. We talked about almost everything except divorce. It was quite interesting. At the end she asked what I would do with the interview. I explained her it would be transcribed and analysed with other interviews on the topic of women's marital experiences. I asked her whether she would like me to send her the transcript or the study or both. She said she would so I promised her I would send her something.

We rested in the afternoon as it was very hot, ate a *thiep bou yap* (rice with meat) and at 5:30 we went to visit another house. I wanted to see how things would go in the evening, compared to the morning. We visited F., in Escale. Kiné had not met her before. She received us in her living room (she was the only co-wife of the household). There was no light except for the television, which remained mute. We sat on leather couches. Kiné was in front of me, quite far from us. I was sitting next to F. Most of the time she would not look at me. Her children were going back and forth in the room. The interview did not go well. I knew later that F. was fasting as today was the birthday of Serigne Sallou Mbacki, son of Touba, founder of the Mouride brotherhood. She was obviously tired and not feeling well - at some point I even wondered whether she was ill. We were interrupted several times, my recorder ran out of battery in the middle of the interview and two ladies even came out of nowhere

to watch television with F. I decided that we would go, and F. told us she had to start cooking. This was a bit disappointing as we had just started talking about very interesting stuff. She allowed me to ask a few more questions and then we left.

Today I felt confident enough to direct the interview without a guide. I know better what I want to hear, what is important. Nevertheless, I find it quite difficult to establish a rapport with the interviewees without speaking the language. They're often intimidated/embarrassed/uncomfortable speaking directly to me, even looking at me. This doesn't help at all. But Kiné often has a good enough rapport with them, which compensates for this lack, at least to some extent.