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Editorial

Several biographical surveys have been conducted recently in sub-Saharan Africa with support from DIAL/Cipré researchers. The surveys focused in particular on three aspects of personal trajectories: professional life (including education), marital life and residential life.

The article presented in this issue analyses the results of biographical surveys carried out in Dakar (2001) and Lomé (2000). The authors studied the evolution of the marriage-divorce-remarriage sequence for three generations of women living in these two cities, related to transformations in the economic and social environment. Three conclusions are worthy of note:

- first, marriages are taking place later and women have higher rates of education and professional activity from one generation to the next both in Dakar and in Lomé, although the latter remain on average very different (high in Lomé and low in Dakar);
- second, marriage and divorce patterns are not the same, with professional activity and marital life being relatively independent in Lomé and the opposite in Dakar;
- finally, contrary to the results given in standard surveys, these surveys show that divorce is very widespread, but that social pressure quickly imposes remarriage (particularly in Dakar), usually in a polygamous framework.

One of the highlights of this semester was a seminar on the theme of "Governance, Democracy and Poverty Reduction", which took place in Bamako from 11-12 June. The seminar was organized by DIAL/Cipré in partnership with the IRD representatives in Mali and the Metagora/Paris 21 project. It was an opportunity to present the results of surveys conducted on this subject under three international programmes: Afrobarometer (Michigan State University, USA; IDASA, South Africa; CDD, Ghana); the United Nations' Economic Commission for Africa (UNECA), part of the NEPAD framework; and finally our own programme (the "governance, democracy and subjective poverty" modules of the 1-2-3 surveys), carried out, with our support and coordinated by Afristat, by the National Institutes of Statistics in Madagascar (since 1995) and 7 West African countries (as of 2001).

A comparison of the results obtained by the three programmes in Mali – set in a regional perspective – shows a very high level of convergence on issues such as the perception and practice of corruption, adherence to democracy, disenchantment with politicians and the importance of national identity. The closeness of the results validates the approach adopted.

Surveys of this type are interesting for two main reasons: firstly, they improve our knowledge of subjects that are totally unknown in Africa (contrary to developed countries where many such surveys have been conducted) and are therefore a precious tool for research in the social sciences; secondly, as we were able to confirm during this seminar attended by over 200 people, they serve as a catalyst for democratic debate and help to make those in power more accountable for their acts.



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MARRIAGE, DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE IN DAKAR AND LOMÉ

A number of significant changes are taking place in urban African societies, including progress in women's education, transformations in the labour market, a decrease in wage-earning and an increase in women's participation in the economy. The latter change is a direct consequence of the worsening living conditions in African towns, which have led to redefining men's and women's roles within households. Generally speaking, the fall in purchasing power due to fewer job opportunities in the formal sector of the urban economy and difficulties in finding jobs in the informal sector that provide sufficient resources, puts heads of households in difficult situations. In this context, the women must play a more important economic role and contribute more to the households' income than a simple complement to petty expenditure. At the same time, marriage, the main way in which families are formed, is also being transformed: marriages are taking place later, spouses are increasingly chosen by the interested parties themselves, fertility rates are falling and women's place and roles appear to be improving. Given these transformations, what changes are taking place in the formation and dissolution of unions? What happens to women after they divorce?

In this article¹, we highlight the great variety of different situations by analysing the marital behaviour of women (marriage, divorce, remarriage) in relation to their professional lives in two African capitals, Dakar and Lomé, based on two recent biographical surveys (see box for methodology). The significance of this comparison is that major differences are to be found in these two capitals in a number of areas. The cultural environment of the first is characterised by a Muslim society where males are relatively dominant and where it is frowned upon for women to work. The second, on the

contrary, is characterised by a society marked by Christian and animist religions where women occupy an important place in the economy (which does not prevent a high rate of polygamy, as in Dakar). In West Africa as a whole, these two cities are at the opposite extremes in terms of women's participation in the labour force, the share of women in the working population and average household sizes (AFRISTAT and DIAL, 2004).

Entering into unions and beginning working life

We looked at two key moments in women's lives that mark a certain degree of independence²: the age at which they start to work and earn wages (periods when young women are apprentices or family helps are not taken into account) and the age at which they marry.

- Looking for a paid job is a crucial moment in life, as access to work tends to condition, to a great extent, social and economic success; financial independence gained by work is a pre-condition for possibly setting in motion the different phases leading to complete independence;
- Marriage is another key moment in life, although in urban areas schooling and economic demands tend to put back the age of the first union; especially in Dakar, marriage is a compulsory step for all young women as it represents the contract that joins them to society.

Are these two stages, beginning to work and entering into a union, completed in the same

¹ This text is a summary of DIAL working document N°2003/07, under the same title (Antoine and Dial, 2003).

² On the subject of independence, see also Adjagbo and Antoine (2004).

Analysing biographical surveys

Biographical surveys are designed to highlight various demographic and social events concerning individuals' lives from birth: their professional activities, marital lives (i.e. formation or dissolution of households) and residential lives (i.e. mobility, end of cohabitation, access to property). Information on these three events can be completed by gathering data on genestic factors or any other information that may contribute to understanding individual trajectories.

The biographies are collected for different generations, thus capturing trends from one generation to the next. Marital pathways can be included in individuals' overall trajectories in order to show the interactions between such marital events and changes in their economic and social situations. Whereas there are few clashes between professional and family life for men, this is not the case for women, as family events (marriage, birth of children) can slow down or halt their professional careers.

The survey in Lomé was conducted in 2000 by the URD (Research Unit on Demography, Lomé University) and the Department of Statistics (URD-DGSCN, 2002); the survey in Dakar was carried out in 2001 by a team from IRD (Development Research Institute) and IFAN-CAD (Fundamental Institute of Black Africa, Chiekh Anta Diop University) with financing from CODESRIA (Council for the development of research into social sciences in Africa) and IRD (Antoine, Fall, 2002). Similar methods of collection were used in the two cities and the files have the same structure. On the basis of biographical data describing the chain of marital, professional and residential events for the two cities studied, Lomé and Dakar, we were able to study the various changes affecting the lives of individuals in a dynamic perspective.

Three generations were taken into account in each of the two cities: persons aged respectively 25-34, 35-44 and 45-59 at the

time of the survey. In Dakar, this corresponded to the generations born from 1969-76 for the youngest, 1957-66 in the following group and 1942-56 for the eldest. In Lomé, the corresponding generations were born in 1965-74, 1955-64 and 1940-54. Hence, each generation reached the age for founding a family in very different circumstances. The surveys concerned 2,536 people in Lomé and 1,290 in Dakar. The data enabled us to trace the respondents' lives up to the date of the survey. At each point in time, we captured the characteristics of the individuals' profession, marital status, number of children, etc.

A first type of purely descriptive analysis examines the age at which different events took place and in which order. The descriptive analyses of entry into professional activity and entry into or ending of the first union help highlight the differences in women's behaviour in Dakar and Lomé. All these analyses are essentially based on the statistical techniques designed to process life-cycle variables. We also try to analyse concurrent risks such as the start of adult life for women through access to paid employment or through marriage. The Aalen estimator (Trussel *et al*, 1992; Courgeau and Lelièvre, 1989) is particularly well-suited to this type of study. The estimator can be interpreted in graph form (Aalen curve) by comparing the gradient of the curves of the instantaneous accumulated quotients, which measure the intensity of each risk in question at a given time.

A second type of analysis is based on the use of multivariate models. For example, we try to estimate the factors that have an impact on the likelihood of divorce or remarriage (education, age, activity, ethnic or religious factors, etc.). The Cox model can take into account the different statuses experienced by an individual and include the time dimension in the causal analysis. The possibility of integrating independent variables varying over time is vital, for example, when trying to determine the impact of professional activity on changes in marital status.

order and in the same proportions by women in these two agglomerations? Is the chain of events changing from one generation to the next? In the area of women's participation in the labour force, certain structural features predominate – reflecting different cultures and the place allotted to them in the two countries – and their situations may be significantly different.

It proved difficult to compare the ages at which unions are formed. In Dakar, the survey took as the date of marriage the date at which the individuals considered themselves united (generally the date on which the marriage is celebrated at the mosque). In Lomé, we arbitrarily decided that the date of marriage was the date on which the marriage process began and when the couple began to live together³. The progression of the age of entering into a union thus defined from one generation to the next is far greater in Dakar than in Lomé⁴; and the ages at which unions are formed are very different for the older generations and much closer for the younger ones.

In Dakar, the median age rose from 16.5 years for the oldest generation to 24 for the youngest generation. The postponement of first marriages is one of the salient facts in the evolution of socio-demographical behaviour in the Senegalese population, particularly in towns. It is the largest difference observed in all the African countries for which this information is available. In a period of 25 years there has been a change from early to relatively late marriages. The evolution was slower in Lomé, where the median age went from 24 years to 24.3 and then 26.5 respectively from one generation to the next. It

³ Several dates were collected in Lomé: engagement, customary, civil or religious marriage and start of cohabitation. Depending on the concept of marriage retained, the median age for the end of celibacy rose from 21 to 24.1 years from the youngest to the eldest generation in Lomé and from 23.9 to 26.6. The number of unions taken into account did not change significantly from one definition to another.

⁴ The population subject to the risk of union was defined in the same way in the 2 surveys, i.e. single women aged 15 and over present in the capital.

seems likely that the scope of the recession and the difficulty for people in Dakar to be in a position to get married explain to a great extent why women are getting married older. The majority of women in Dakar have very high economic expectations from their husbands, who are their "*gor diarigne*", or "man who can provide for your needs". Men's primary function is an economic one.

Access to paid jobs takes place far earlier in Lomé than in Dakar. Whatever generation we look at, over half of women from Lomé worked at the age of 21, and over three-quarters already had a job at the age of 26. Nearly all women from Lomé will work at some point in their lives, and the rate of entry into paid activity does not change significantly from one generation to the next. Women's labour force participation rate (67%) is the highest in West Africa according to the 1-2-3 survey carried out in the city (AFRISTAT and DIAL, 2004). In this area too, the situation is changing for women in Dakar, who start working later: the median age rose from 20 to 26 years then to 24.5 from the oldest to the youngest generation⁵. On average, women's labour force participation rate is very low (41%). Women's low level of education is one of the reasons given to explain their lack of professional integration. However, there has been a general increase in schooling and levels of education in the two cities. The rate of female education has doubled in twenty-five years in Dakar, as nearly 70% of women in the youngest generation have been to school (74% in Lomé) compared with 34% in the oldest generation (49% in Lomé).

Women in Dakar are confronted with the dilemma of how to reconcile their role as wives and their jobs (Adjamagbo, Antoine and Dial, 2003). In Lomé, on the contrary, the working population is growing regularly as the population grows older. Whatever the generation, at least 80% of women were in

⁵ However, this indicator has its limits, as certain women who started working early can stop a few years later (due to marriage, for instance). In forthcoming studies, we plan to analyse the factors that lead a woman to stop working and check whether the main reason is marriage or the birth of a child.

paid employment at the age of 30. Very few married women do not work. The main change concerns the increase in the percentage of single, non-active women from one generation to the next, a phenomenon that can be put down to the extra time spent in studies.

In Dakar, we can see a lower percentage of active women; the percentage was at its highest (around 60%) at 25-30 years old for the eldest generation. The percentage was lower for the following generations. There is a significant increase in unmarried women, but the majority of single women are non-active. It is from 25 years onwards that we find equal numbers of single women who work or do not work. Amongst married women, there is even a reversal of the trend, since in the youngest generations there are more married, non-active women than women with paid jobs. The fact that unions are formed much later means that the beginning of fertility is put back, which in turn implies a later entry into professional activity. The social transformations concerning women therefore seem to be far greater in Dakar than in Lomé, although this does not offer them more opportunities for access to the labour market.

In Lomé, for all generations, most women work before they get married, and this phenomenon appears to be increasing. In Dakar, in the oldest generation, only a little over one third of women (36%) worked before they got married. This percentage grew slowly to 39% for the intermediary generation and 47% for the youngest generation⁶. Nearly one third of the women had not yet worked at the time of the survey. Women's entry into the labour force is relatively late in Dakar, as many women only take up paid jobs once they have brought up their first children. A significant percentage of married women in Dakar (between 25-30%, depending on the generation) have never worked, whereas this percentage is practically nil in Lomé. This difference in behaviour appears to be more due to cultural factors than to economic concerns.

⁶ The behaviour of the last generation, aged from 25-34 and subject to truncations at the time of the survey, must be put into perspective. The young age also partly explains the growth in the percentage of women who have not experienced any events.

The Aalen estimator (see box) confirms the existence of two different patterns in the two cities. In Lomé, the entry onto the labour market comes much earlier overall than the entry into a union, whichever generation is being considered. Dakar shows the opposite pattern, as the entry into a union comes much earlier than the exercise of a professional activity for the eldest two generations. Changes are taking place for the youngest generation: as in Lomé, an increasing number of women start to work before they get married. Certain women are seeking independence through work. With increasingly late entries into unions, a large number of women are able to work before they get married to provide for their own needs.

Length of unions, divorce and remarriage

Divorce has become a major preoccupation in societies and for the social sciences. The lack of knowledge on instability of marriage in Africa limits the study of the phenomenon over time (Smith *et al*, 1984; Hertrich and Locoh, 1999). Instantaneous data from household surveys points to a low rate of divorce. In Senegal, for instance, in 1992-1993, the percentage of divorced women was 3.5% at 20-24 years and 4.7% at 35-39, decreasing later (DHS Senegal, 1994). However, these percentages hide the scale of the phenomenon given that, as we shall see, women often remarry rapidly after their divorce⁷.

According to our survey, nearly one out of three unions ends in a divorce in Dakar. The percentage is far lower in Lomé where scarcely 20% of unions end in divorce after 18 years of marriage. In Dakar, divorce is not only frequent, but also more and more rapid. A quarter of women in unions in the oldest generation had divorced after 14 years of marriage, after 11 years in the intermediate generation and after just 7 years in the

⁷ In addition, divorce still takes place in the great majority of cases outside the law, whether it be due to the excessive interference of parents in the marriage and divorce process, to the negative image of courts of law or to women's ignorance of their rights.

youngest generation. The primacy of marriage for young girls in Dakar can sometimes lead to hasty decisions. Sexual intercourse is prohibited outside marriage, and a woman's status is enhanced by marriage. All women long for a marital home, which they see as the ideal environment for their personal fulfilment. However high their level of education or the job they occupy, all women recognise that marriage is necessary for women, that husbands complete wives and that women need a "protector" who, after puberty, should no longer be their father or uncle but a husband. This great craving to be married is encouraged by family and social pressures.

Among married women in Dakar, a higher percentage of divorce was found for women who worked before they got married, particularly in the youngest generation where one third of women separated. Among those who started work after marriage, the percentage of those who divorced is lower. The lowest percentage of separation is to be found in women who did not work during their union. Finally, a significant share of women who divorced found work after the divorce. In Lomé, the situation is simple: a significant share of women worked before marriage and the rate of divorce is relatively lower. The descriptive patterns of divorce are therefore very different in Dakar and Lomé and show that women's professional and marital lives are far less dependent on each other in Lomé than in Dakar. The study gives the impression that women in Lomé acquire a certain financial independence relatively early on, and that they do not marry for economic reasons. There are fewer women in Dakar who have this relative economic independence before they marry or during their marriages. Hence, they appear to be more dependent on their spouses.

A Cox Model estimate (see Antoine and Dial, 2003 for detailed results) shows that there are no significant differences in either city between the different generations studied. The high propensity to divorce has already been noted in previous studies in Senegal (Thore, 1964; Lo Ndiaye, 1985) and to a lesser extent in Togo (Locoh, 1984; Thiriati, 1998). The impact of education is being felt: in Lomé, women who have been to school are likely to

divorce more rapidly than those who have not. In Dakar, women who have reached a secondary level of education (or more) tend to divorce more rapidly (nearly twice).

The status of divorced woman is frowned upon in both cities and, generally speaking, women remarry quickly, thus explaining the low figures for divorced women (in the strictest sense, i.e. without a husband) recorded in cross-sectional studies. However, remarriage is far more rapid in Dakar than in Lomé. In Dakar, nearly half the women remarry within 5 years of their divorce. This percentage is slightly lower in Lomé. This period seems to be getting longer for the two youngest generations in Dakar. The ethnic group or religion has little impact on the rate of remarriage in either city, except for Christians who remarry very quickly in Dakar.

According to our estimates (Cox model), the professional experience gained during the first union has an impact on remarriage in Dakar. In particular, women in salaried jobs during their first union are in less of a hurry to conclude a new union after a divorce, thus comforting our theory of independence versus marriage. In Dakar, a husband's primary role is to be responsible for his wife. After experiencing a first failed marriage, women who already have an income at their disposal prefer to put off forming a new couple. But even these women plan to remarry at some time or another. Their financial independence simply allows them to plan more calmly and take more time to make their choice. On the other hand, those who considered themselves as unemployed during their union, remarry very quickly (11 times more rapidly than those who were non-active during the first union). Could it be that their failure to find employment before their divorce encourages them to plan to remarry quickly?

Women whose first marriage lasted over 6 years remarry very quickly (8 times more quickly than women who had a very short first union). They cannot imagine life outside marriage. Women who were married longer may have more young children; they prefer to remarry quickly in order to ensure a certain degree of security for their offspring. Divorce is simply a transitory period for many

Senegalese women. They divorce one man to marry another. Remarriage can be very rapid and premature above all when it is the wish of the woman's family (when she is given in marriage to a friend or cousin of the brother or father).

With a contracting marriage market, polygamy is practically always the norm for remarriages. When divorced women remarry, this often creates reconstituted or blended families, as they usually marry men who are already married or have had previous unions and have children. The weakening of marriage bonds combined with rapid remarriage for men and women after divorce, increases the instance of blended families in varying forms depending on the social status. They take on many more forms than in the West, since they can include children from each of the divorced parents, but also from each of the wives of a polygamous husband.

Conclusion

The patterns for marriage and divorce are not the same in Dakar as in Lomé, although the two cities do have some points in common. In Lomé, a relative independence was observed between professional and marital lives: whether or not they are married or divorced, most women have paid jobs. Whereas divorce does not change the working lives of women in Lomé to any great extent, it offers women in Dakar an opportunity to reorganize their family and professional lives. In Dakar, our study of the relationship between professional and marital lives suggests that women have very high economic expectations from marriage. It is clear that women do not expect the same things from their husbands in the two cities: women in Lomé appear to be self-sufficient whereas this is a new phenomenon in Dakar.

These fundamental differences mean that the period following divorce follows quite different patterns in Togo and Senegal. Marriage is supposed to free women from their economic constraints, and even when a woman works it is above all to satisfy her own needs. The scale of the recession has changed economic relations within couples and certain

women have been obliged to find resources to provide for the household's basic needs and make up for the spouse's financial shortcomings. Women in relatively precarious situations are less likely to take the risk of divorcing than those in couples with relative financial security. Contrary to a widely held idea, divorce does not make women vulnerable, far from it. The most vulnerable married women will not get divorced.

Another phenomenon also softens the negative impact of divorce. In Senegal, and to a lesser extent in Togo, divorce gives way to a period of transition, a pause in married life: they divorce to get remarried. This is proved by the frequency of remarriage following divorce. Remarriage can take place very quickly, particularly when it is organized by the woman's family of origin. It can also be slower when the divorce was painful for the woman or when it is subject to conflictual divorce proceedings. In such cases, women prefer to make the most of their dearly won freedom. Women can set themselves other priorities such as working to satisfy their own needs or those of their families. Women in Senegal only use the period of freedom offered by divorce for a short time, giving it up after a few years of solitude to go back to the prized status of married woman, in a society steeped in tradition where marriage is the social rule.

The scale of marital mobility also has an impact on how families are reconstituted (a question not dealt with in this study). Divorce, remarriage and polygamy lead to very complex systems of family blending (but where single-parent families are more scarce than in Europe). Brothers and sisters of the same parents can be separated following a divorce. They can then cohabit with children from a previous union or, for example, with the children of the co-wife of their stepfather. Remarriage creates very complicated family groups that can include half, false and quasi-brothers and sisters. The entire structure of families is therefore concerned by marital mobility resulting from divorce and remarriage.

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COMMUNICATIONS 1st SEMESTER 2004

Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie. 6th Scientific Meeting of the Economic Analysis and Development Network on "Development financing and poverty reduction". Communications from Jean-Pierre Cling, Philippe De Vreyer, Mireille Razafindrakoto, François Roubaud « *La croissance ne suffit pas pour réduire la pauvreté* », by Flore Gubert and François Roubaud « *Le financement des très petites entreprises urbaines ; étude d'impact d'un projet de micro-finance à Antananarivo* » and by Laure Pasquier-Doumer « *Augmenter l'égalité d'opportunités scolaires : les enseignements de l'évolution de la mobilité scolaire intergénérationnelle au Pérou depuis un siècle* ». (Marrakesh, Morocco, 3-4 March 2004).

Association Francophone pour le Savoir. 72nd congress "La société des savoirs" (The knowledge society). Communications from Agnès Adjamagbo, Philippe Antoine and Valérie Delaunay « *Modalités d'entrée des femmes dans la vie conjugale et maternelle : confrontation de deux modèles urbain et rural sénégalais* » (co-written) and by Philippe Antoine « *Évolution des comportements démographiques dans différentes capitales africaines* ». (Montréal, Canada, 10-14 May 2004).

Centre for the Study of African Economies (CSAE). University of Oxford. 2004 Conference on « Growth, poverty reduction and human development in Africa ». Organization of a session on « *Subjective well-being* » by Javier Herrera, Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud (session chairman). Communication from Javier Herrera, Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *A comparative analysis of the determinants of subjective welfare. The case of Madagascar and Peru* ». Communication from Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *Subjective perception of poverty in urban sub-Saharan Africa* ». (Oxford, United Kingdom, 21-22 March 2004).

Economic Commission for Latin America (CEPAL). Workshop for experts on surveying techniques in rural areas. Communications from Anne-Sophie Robilliard and François Roubaud « *Los observatorios rurales en Madagascar 1995-2003: una metodología*

original para el seguimiento del campo » and « *Algunos ejemplos de análisis de los datos de los Observatorios Rurales y de las encuestas 1-2-3* ». (Santiago, Chile, 29-30 April 2004).

CODESRIA (Council for the Development of Research into Social Sciences in Africa). Seminar "Gender and domestic economy". Communications from P. Antoine « *L'approche biographique : application à l'étude de la nuptialité et aux questions de genre* » and F. B. Dial « *Le divorce dans les différentes catégories sociales à Dakar* » (Dakar, 17 and 19 June 2004).

Ecole Nationale des Ponts et Chaussées. Conference of the network Research in International Economics and Finance (RIEF). Communication from Mohamed Ali Marouani « *Impact of the Agreement with the EU and the Multifiber Agreement Dismantling on Unemployment in Tunisia: an Intertemporal General Equilibrium Analysis* ». (Paris, 7-8 June 2004).

European Society for Population Economics. 18th Annual Conference. Communication from Denis Cogneau and Michael Grimm « *The Measurement of Poverty Dynamics when Demographics are correlated with Income - Theory, Concept and empirical Implementation* ». (Bergen, Norway, 11 June).

GEMDEV (Scientific Network on Globalisation and Development). Conference by Denis Cogneau « *Globalisation and inequalities* ». (Paris, 19 January 2004).

GREQAM (Aix-Marseille Research group in Quantitative Economics). Seminar « Economy and econometry of inequality measurements ». Communication from Marie-Hélène Durand « *Déterminants de l'éducation dans six pays d'Afrique de l'Ouest* » (Marseille, 23 June 2004).

Centre Djoliba. Seminar on « Governance, democracy and poverty reduction: the major trends of public opinion in Mali and Africa » co-organized by the IRD representation in Bamako, METAGORA-PARIS21 and DIAL. Communication from Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *Gouvernance, démocratie et lutte contre la pauvreté dans sept pays d'Afrique : Une mise en perspective du cas du Mali à partir des enquêtes 1-2-3 auprès des ménages* ». Communication from

Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *La Mesure de la Gouvernance et de la Démocratie à partir des enquêtes auprès des ménages* ». (Bamako, Mali, 11-12 June 2004).

21st Meeting on Applied Micro-Economics (JMA). Lille University. Communication from Charlotte Guénard « *Inégalités et revenus sur le cycle de vie : analyse sur des données biographiques malgaches* ». (Lille, 27-28 May 2004).

McArthur Research Network on Inequality and Economic Performance. Conference on Anti-Poverty and Social Policy in India. Communication from François Leclercq « *Education Policy Reforms on the Quality of the School System: A Field Study of Primary Schools in Madhya Pradesh, India* ». (Neemrana, India, 2-4 January 20004).

OECD. Panel Expert Meeting on METAGORA/PARIS21 project. Communication from Mireille Razafindrakoto and François Roubaud « *Using Household Surveys as a tool for monitoring Poverty, Governance and Democracy in Africa and the Andean Region* ». (Paris, 24-25 March 2004).

Seminar on spatial and urban economics. CNRS research unit on « Spatial analysis of economic phenomena » (ASPE). Communication from Gilles Spielvogel, « *Agricultural surplus, the division of labour and the emergence of cities: A spatial general equilibrium model* ». (Paris, 22 January 2004).

9th Spring Meeting of Young Economists. Warsaw University. Communication from Gilles Spielvogel « *Patterns of specialization and the internal geography of regions* ». (Warsaw, Poland, 23-25 April 2004).

4th Spring School in Economic Geography. CEPR, Fédération Jourdan, CERAS, INRA, CEPII. Communication from Gilles Spielvogel « *Patterns of specialization and the internal geography of regions* ». (Paris, 8-10 June 2004).

3rd Spring University of Mediterranean Economies. Al Akhawayn University. Communication from Christophe Muller and Christophe Nordman « *Which Human Capital Matters for the Wages of the Poor and the Rich? Evidence from Matched Worker-Firm Data from Tunisia* ». (Ifrane, Morocco, 27-28 May 2004).

PROGRAMME
Seminar on Governance, Democracy and Poverty Reduction
Bamako, 12 June 2004

9h	Opening session (P. Verstraete, Centre Djoliba; J. Brunet-Jailly, IRD; T. Heimgartner, Metagora; J.-P. Cling, DIAL) Presentation of institutions and speakers (J. Brunet-Jailly) Presentation of the day's programme (J. Brunet-Jailly)
09.30-10.30	The major trends of public opinion in Mali on governance, constitutional States, democracy and poverty reduction Presentation of results by theme: -Governance (K. Sidibe) -Democracy (M. Sako) - Poverty reduction (M. Coulibaly)
10.30-12.30	Questions and discussion
12.30-13.30	Break
13.30-14.15	The major trends of public opinion on governance, constitutional States, democracy and poverty reduction in Africa Presentation of a few comparative results: -M. Razafindrakoto (1-2-3 Survey module) -E. Gyimah and B. Sall (Afrobarometer)
14.15-14.45	Questions and discussion
14.45-15.30	Conclusions : advantages and limits of public opinion surveys in Africa F. Roubaud (DIAL-IRD) E. Gyimah and B. Sall (Afrobarometer) M. Wolkers (Transparency International) M. Balepa (D.G. Afristat)
15.30-16.00	Questions and discussion
16.00	Closing session

All the communications can be consulted on our website: www.dial.prd.fr

The first day of the seminar (11 June, programme not reproduced here) was devoted to a comparison of the methodologies used by the three programmes (Afrobarometer, UNECA, DIAL/AFRISTAT).