

# Polygamy In Senegal\*

## A Holistic View Of Polygamy In Senegal During the 1980's

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### Abstract

Mariama Ba has captured the woman's perspective on polygamy through her semi-autobiographical novel, *So Long a Letter* which was first published in French 1980. The DHS Final Report Senegal was released in 1986 and published in French. The goal is to draw on the quantitative data (from the DHS Senegal) and qualitative data (from Ba's novel) to give the reader a better understanding of polygamy in Senegal during the 1980s.

**Keywords:** Polygamy, Senegal, Fiction, DHS, Translation

## 1 Introduction

Senegal is a country full of rich culture, deeply rooted in faith and filled with literary giants like Mariama Ba, Ousmane Sembene and Leopold Senghor. With the use of descriptive statistics (qualitative and quantitative data). I argue that a compelling narrative here is not solely qualitative or quantitative. I try to balance the two parts of descriptive statistics by looking at Polygamy in Senegal during the 1980s. This report aims to link the story, *So Long a Letter* about the main character, Ramatoulaye, and her attitude experience with Polygamy. Then to compare the ideas touched on the many letters Ramatoulaye writes to her friend Aissatou with the data from the Senegal DHS report from 1986 and possibly give some context to why the author of the book was writing about Polygamy the way she does.

From my reading of the novel, I had picked up that the union of Polygamy stems from both religion and culture. Religion because Ramatoulaye and many of the characters within the book practice Islam, they often recite the Qur'an, the main character's husband, Modou Fall, had asked the Imam to officiate the wedding. In the novel itself, Ramatoulaye questions her religion and opposes what she must do, like remarrying her younger brother-in-law, who had another wife. Culturally, Polygamy is practiced within the book by the characters' husbands (Tamir, Daouda, Mawdo, and Modou) seeking other wives; there was no mention of a woman seeing multiple husbands.

I had chosen the DHS final report from Senegal 1986 because of how close (time-wise) the two significant artifacts for this report are. The book was written and published in French in 1979, but the English translation came out in 1981. Polygamy statistics were collected by DHS's final report data in 1986. Still, within the data, I noticed a row within one of the polygamy tables provided in the final report that draws on the ESF (Senegal Fertility Survey) conducted in 1978 (Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad 1988). When researching this topic, I found no other sources comparing fiction with a report that had done this type of work before. Mariama Ba's *So Long a Letter* is a semi-autobiographical novel on Polygamy. She voices the main character's concern with Polygamy and how it has ruined her relationship with her husband. From the novel biography of the author Mariama Ba within the novel it mentions that she is: "A pioneer of women's rights, she became

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\* Code and data are available at: <https://github.com/bosconic/SoLongPolygamy>

involved in several Senegalese women's organizations. Her commitment to eradicating inequalities between men and women in Africa let her write *So Long a Letter*" (Ba 1989).

Also, from the biography: "A schoolteacher and inspector by profession, Ba promoted the crucial role of the writer in a developing country. She believed that the 'sacred mission' of the writer was to strike out 'at the archaic practices, traditions and customs that are not a real part of our precious cultural heritage'" (Ba 1989). I mention this last quote because Ramatoulaye is also a schoolteacher whose goal is to be the best example for her kids and teach about her culture.

This report would not have been able to have been produced if it was not for the statistical programming language "R" (R Core Team 2021). In addition, a unique tool that has helped me convert the pdf images into the text to grab polygamy data was thanks to "magicK"(Ooms 2021). This report tries to generate more information than what is seen originally on one table, by creating graphs and applying some secondary research the data collected becomes extremely powerful.

One final note I should mention for the DHS final report, it was written in French. So I had many options to go about translating the document. Still, given the time and financial restraints, I had opted to translate the text after it was extracted using the "magicK" package to translate the text using the built-in translator in Microsoft Azure. So the level of understanding of the documents I engage with throughout our translations and not the original text could cause some minor issues with comprehension. Still, I feel it was a reasonable trade-off.

## 2 Data

The sources for this data were heavily reliant on the novel *So Long A Letter* by Mariama Ba and the *Senegal DHS Final Report 1986 (FR34)* which was executed by Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988). Within the DHS report this was the comments made by the authors of the survey:

*In the DHS, three questions are asked about polygamy. The first is to know whether the woman may or may not live in a polygamous household. Two others allow you to enter the number wives of the current husband (or partner) and the woman's rank in the current marriage if this one is polygamous. -page 15 of DHS, Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988)*

This text above can be seen in the original french in the appendix in figure 1. Still, because I do not have a good command of the french language, I had to also rely on the help of a translator, more precisely the Microsoft Azure translator, to translate the text verbatim. This also puts the interpretation of the data at a disadvantage because instead of having a person translate the text to pick up on the tone and nuances of the authors, I have to take the words at face value, so there might have been phases or specific keywords the automatic translator had just spewed from the words it recognizes making the findings more rigid and removed from a readers perspective.

As for the content of the words within the quotation above, we can see the findings of Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988) had decided to ask three questions about Polygamy to fully grasp the extent to which Polygamy was practiced in Senegal. Another point that should be mentioned about this survey was that the DHS final report was published in March 1988, but the data focuses on the year 1986; this could mean that possibly the data collected within the survey had taken some time to wrangle and present for the reader. But this can also point to how surveys reflect the societies they enumerate. They use snapshots like these surveys to generate strategies and solutions to help future generations better.

Some of the other tools at my disposal to help with the presentation of the data here today are the Pointblank Validation Checkers Iannone and Vargas (2022). These tables will be embedded in the appendixes figures 6 and 7 to show the validity of the data I had extracted using Ooms (2021), R Core Team (2021). In addition, Wickham and Girlich (2022) and Wickham et al. (2019) were for help cleaning the data.

### 3 Results

TABLE 2.2 PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN CURRENTLY IN THE UNION WHO ARE IN POLYGAMOUS UNION ACCORDING TO CURRENT AGE AND SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHICS

Extracted From: Senegal DHS Final Report 1986

Socio-Demographic	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-45	45-49	Total
Urban	23.8	25.2	31.3	49.6	60.9	54.2	55.0	41.4
Rural	27.7	36.8	45.7	60.3	65.2	62.1	64.9	49.0
West	23.5	29.6	30.3	48.7	57.4	54.3	55.3	49.0
Centre	21.4	30.0	46.6	65.3	66.7	67.6	72.3	49.0
Northeast	32.0	34.3	51.0	50.0	66.7	57.4	52.5	47.0
South	39.7	48.4	41.6	59.0	68.3	53.5	58.5	51.7
Wolof	28.6	27.5	43.3	60.4	69.4	68.3	80.2	50.1
Poular	29.1	36.6	41.9	56.9	63.5	52.5	51.5	44.8
Serer	14.3	25.0	30.4	49.0	50.0	56.0	52.6	38.0
Mandingo	26.1	35.5	47.5	58.3	74.1	NA	NA	48.8
Diaola	NA	57.1	33.3	44.4	52.2	NA	NA	44.2
Other	29.8	50.0	45.8	51.0	59.1	71.0	50.0	49.1
None	27.7	34.4	44.1	59.9	65.6	59.9	62.5	48.7
Primary	12.5	29.2	31.4	47.9	52.9	NA	NA	36.4
Secondary +	NA	22.2	12.8	26.7	45.5	NA	NA	26.8
Cannot read	27.7	34.8	43.9	60.1	65.8	59.7	62.6	48.6
Can read	13.0	22.7	23.1	35.6	48.1	NA	NA	30.8
Total	27.1	33.2	40.9	56.0	63.7	59.7	62.0	46.5
ESF_1978	30.6	35.5	46.5	57.7	56.5	65.5	64.8	48.5

(Table ??) generated this table from what I had extracted from the Senegal DHS Final Report 1986 data on Polygamous Unions Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988). The extracted table's gathered this table's title and overall appearance from figure 3 within the appendix and generated using Iannone, Cheng, and Schloerke (2022). However, I miss a few notes and parts of the graph, the two essential footnotes. The first deals with the NA's within the original graph; the survey had an Asterix in specific cells of their graph to note that less than 20 women used to record the results. The second note deals with one of the Socio-Demographic answers; Within the chart, the Survey included the results of the Senegal Fertility Survey, which was conducted in 1978 to be used as a base comparison with all of the other data within the table. The table also misses the specific row headers used to divvy up the data into four categories: *Milieu*, *Region*, *Ethnic Group* and *Literacy*. I account for this by using these titles as the jumping-off point to compare the percentages collected to analyze the table better.

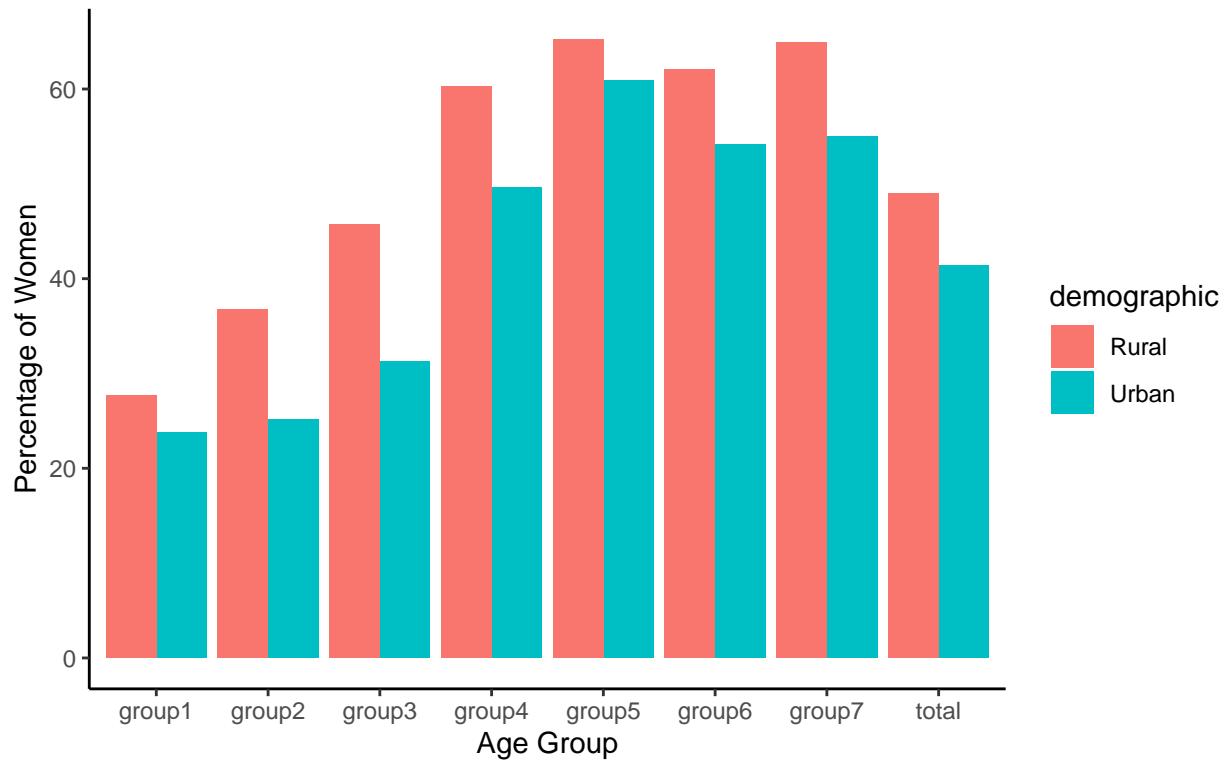
(Table 2) of the whole data frame created from the data from figure 3 within the appendix, the “int\_groups” are the age ranges within the table extracted above. The reason for changing the names within the age group categories, they are generated using Arel-Bundock (2022). The Summary table summarizes the integer columns of the graph from figure three. I generated a separate data frame for this summary table to illustrate each column’s names better and give a sense of the numbers before being compared across different socio-demographics. What is quite fascinating here is the implementation of a histogram at the end of each summary to visualize better the overall trends of the percentages of polygamous unions across a particular age group. For example, the highest averages of Polygamous Unions come from groups 6 and 7. This means that roughly 60% of the women aged 40-44 and 45-49 are in a polygamous union within Senegal. But within the table, these two categories also have the most significant percentage of ‘missing data’.

Summary of Polygamous Union Percentages In Senegal 1986

	Unique (#)	Missing (%)	Mean	SD	Min	Median	Max	
int_group1	16	11	25.6	7.1	12.5	27.7	39.7	
int_group2	18	0	34.1	9.3	22.2	34.3	57.1	
int_group3	19	0	38.5	9.8	12.8	41.9	51.0	
int_group4	19	0	52.5	9.5	26.7	56.0	65.3	
int_group5	18	0	60.6	8.0	45.5	63.5	74.1	
int_group6	14	26	60.1	6.0	52.5	59.7	71.0	
int_group7	15	26	60.3	8.6	50.0	60.2	80.2	
int_total	17	0	44.7	6.9	26.8	48.5	51.7	

Data Source: Senegal DHS Final Report 1986

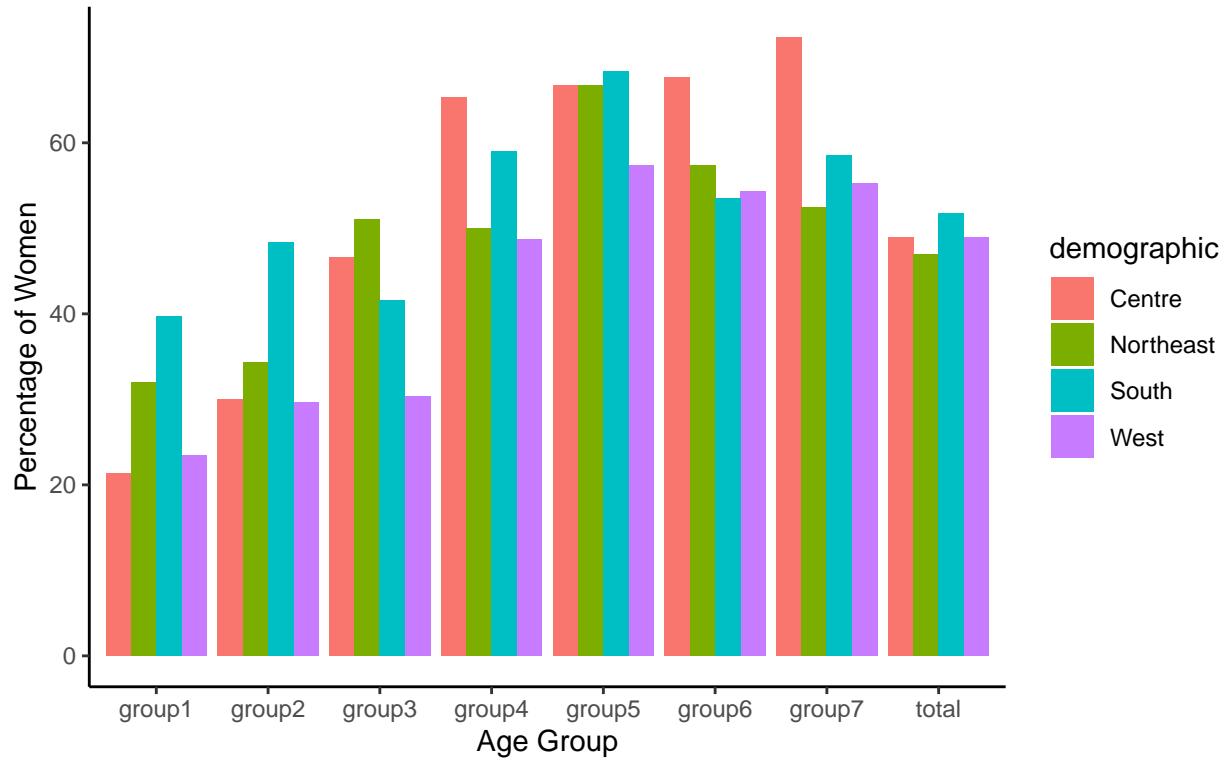
Percentage of Women in Polygamous Unions by Milieu



Data Source: Senegal DHS Final Report 1986

(Figure ??) shows the effects of milieu and its relation to polygamy. From what I can gather, the overall trend of polygamous unions tends to be greater in rural than urban settings. It is also interesting that group1 and group2 (15-19 and 20-24 respectively) in an urban setting and a rural setting have the lowest percentage of polygamous unions. The entire group within this graph also deduces that a more significant percentage of women in polygamous unions are from the rural parts of Senegal.

## Percentage of Women in Polygamous Unions by Region

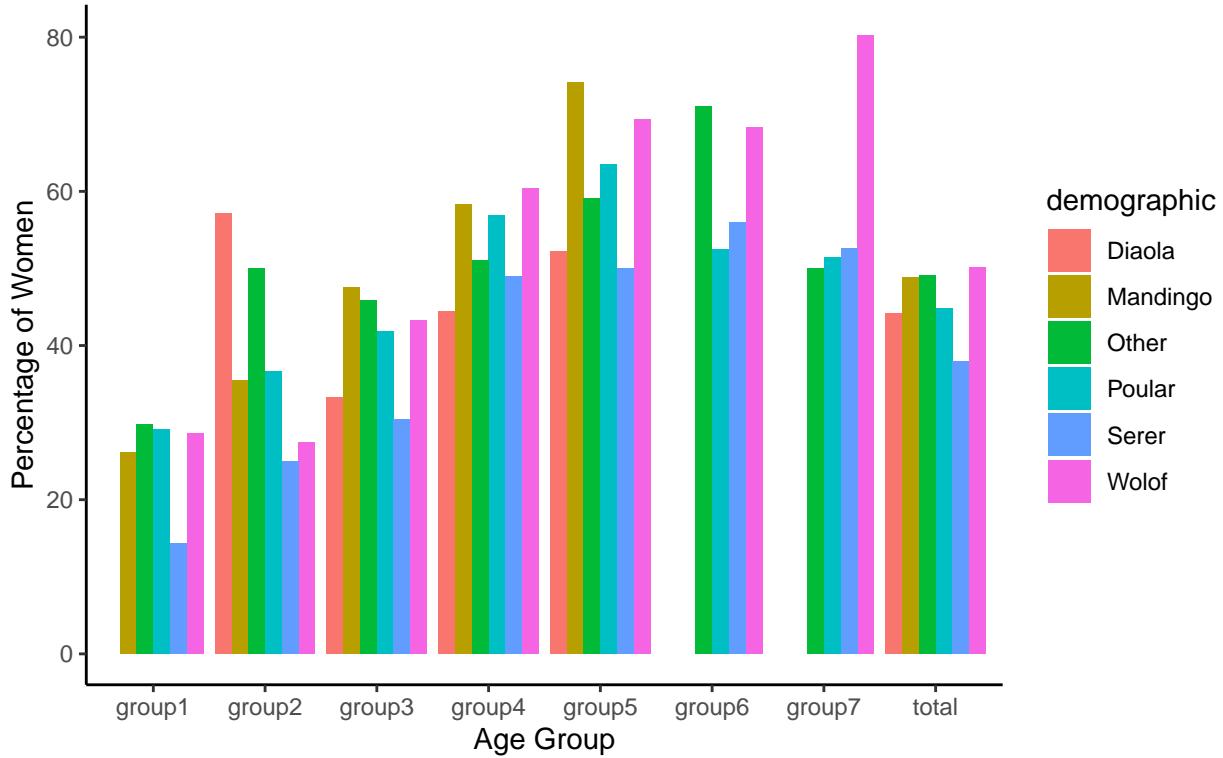


Data Source: Senegal DHS Final Report 1986

(Figure ??) shows the effects of Region and its relation to polygamy. At first glance at the graph, we can see that dividing the data by Region does not give much to the viewer. Nevertheless, the Region Graph can make one broad conclusion that the percentage of polygamous unions is prominent throughout the country, no matter the Region. In the total category, all four regions seem to be reasonably close. Around 40% of the women asked in the survey admitted to being in a polygamous union. But what is interesting here is not the percentage of an individual region. Still, the age group with the highest amount of polygamy (percentage-wise) is group7, the 45-49 age range.

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## Warning: Removed 5 rows containing missing values (geom_bar).
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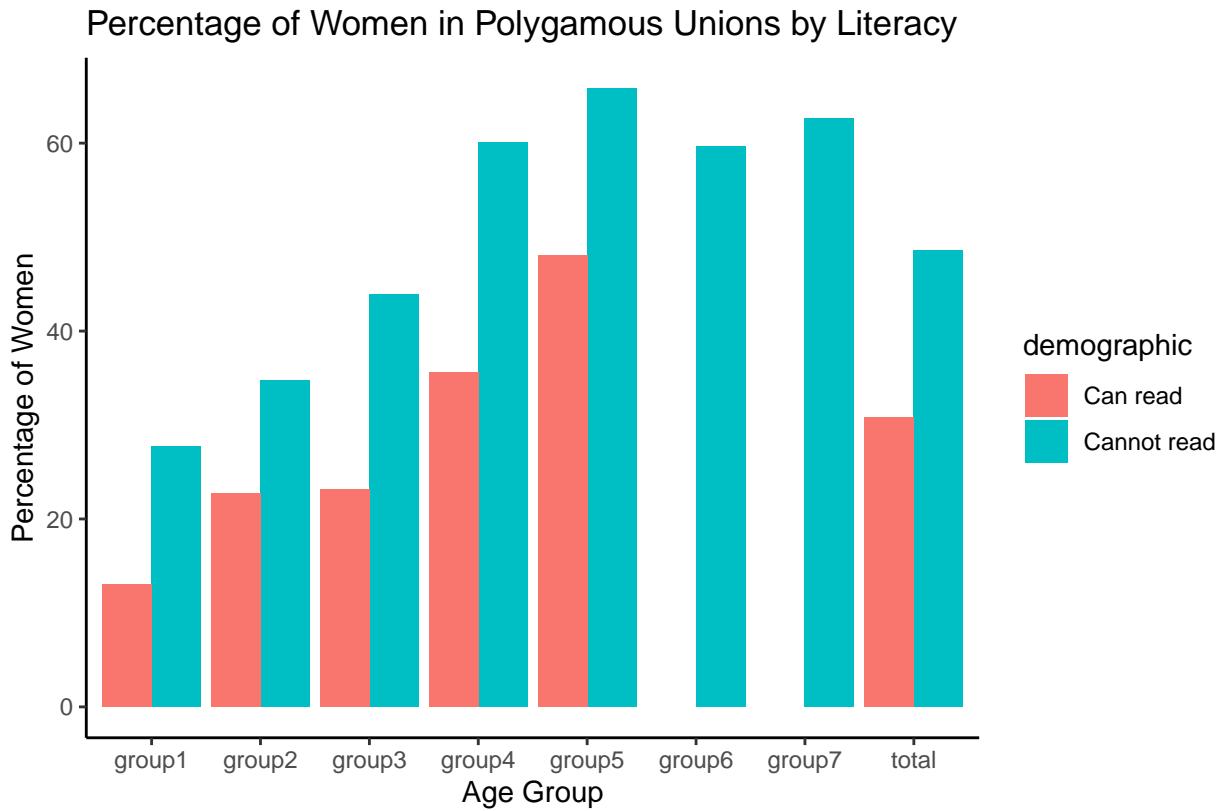
## Percentage of Women in Polygamous Unions by Ethnic Group



Data Source: Senegal DHS Final Report 1986

(Figure ??) shows the effects of Ethnic Group and its relation to polygamy. Within Senegal, there are five main distinct ethnic groups: Diaola, Mandingo, Poulear, Serer and Wolof. One group is called the other, capturing all of the other women who did not identify with the other ethnic groups. What is interesting about this data is that there were five removed five rows containing ‘missing values.’ These values are not missing, but because I used NA to work around the lack of data, it has affected the output of the graph. More specifically, it has affected the representation of the Diaola ethnic group, as their data of women percentages seem to be less frequent than the Wolof ethnic group.

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## Warning: Removed 2 rows containing missing values (geom_bar).
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(Figure ??) shows the effects of literacy and its relation to polygamy. When generating this graph, I was most curious about the result of this graph to see if there could be any critical insights into the effect of literacy on polygamous unions. The answer is a bit unclear as it somewhat shows the graph of the milieu presented. The younger age groups (group1 and group2) possess the lowest percentage of women in polygamous unions. However, there are two rows of 'missing data from the women who can read. As I have mentioned initially, because the number of women asked this question was low, The Enumerators could not generate the "percentage" of women with a good enough yield to describe the whole country.

## 4 Discussion

When I was growing up, I had no idea how complicated marriage and marriage unions are. I grew up thinking that everyone who was in a relationship and was married had only one spouse at a time; the word for this kind of marital union is called Monogamy. It does not help that my view of the world has been, for the most part, Euro-centric, so it was a bit of a culture shot when I had first learned about the term Polygamy and people who have multiple spouses. Then, when I was in my third year at the University of Toronto, taking the class *NEW354:African Culture and Development*, professor Aggrey Wasike gave a lecture dedicated to Marriage and Family within African Cultures. Within the class, I began to talk more deeply about Polygamy and how common polygamy is and how people have spent their lives trying to understand marriage systems as a whole.

Now fast forward to my fourth year at the University of Toronto. I am now reflecting on Polygamy, but instead of the broad practice, I am just focusing on Senegal and how Polygamy is viewed within the country. First, from my research, I should note that polygamy is still considered legal in Senegal, and the people have a choice to be in a Monogamous or Polygamous Union “Polygamy Remains Common and Mostly Legal in West Africa: West Africa Gateway: Portail de l’Afrique de l’ouest” (n.d.).

Within many of the articles read, the term “Polygamy” is the umbrella term for one individual having multiple spouses. Still, there are specific terms to describe the type of Polygamous union, *Polyandry* refers to one woman having multiple husbands, and *Polygyny* refers to one man having multiple wives— Dorjahn (1962), Kringelbach (2016), Fortunato (2015), and Monaghan and Just (2008). But there has been more research on Polygyny than Polyandry just because of the sheer number of cultures that practice one over the other. So to make things a bit easier for the reader, I will use the umbrella term Polygamy. Still, I am talking about polygyny, which is what is practiced in Senegal.

#### 4.1 Bridging the Gap Novel and Survey

From the results above and the novel, the results can draw some parallels between the data and the story. Polygamy is practiced within Senegal can be for a multitude of reasons. Maybe the people involved believed heavily in cultural norms. Suppose many people around them are getting into polygamous unions. In that case, the idea of you joining one or creating one may not be as tough to manage if everyone involved in the idea is open to it. Possibly people want to practice Polygamy for the welfare of “population growth and the dissipation of land resources among heirs” (Monaghan and Just 2008).

Viewing Polygamy from a perspective of religion, as Monaghan and Just (2008) point out:

“Islamic law permits a man to have as many as four wives - although most Muslims are monogamous - so long as he is able to provide for them and treats them equally. In many instances of polygyny, especially in Africa, each wife has a separate household, which the husband visits serially.” -page 81 of *A Very Short Introduction: Social & Cultural Anthropology*, Monaghan and Just (2008)

In *So Long a Letter* as Ramatoulaye is accounting for her sorrow of her husband’s death to her friend Aissatou, she also mentions that her co-wife has a separate household in the country. Although Ramatoulaye was upset at her husband because she felt she was not being treated fairly, she did not even know about the introduction of her co-wife until the day of her wedding, as she remarks in her letters (Ba 1989).

Throughout the novel, you also get a chance to see what the female perspective is on polygamy. Looking first at the two main characters, Ramatoulaye and Aisstou, their approaches to polygamy were quite different. For example, as Aissatou found out her husband Mawdo had found himself a second wife, she divorced Mawdo. She focused on her education by continuing to read books and educating herself. Ramatoulaye writes to Aissatou, parsing her for her choice and the strength she has to do so Ba (1989). This need for education as a source of “refuge,” as Ramatoulaye puts it, can also be seen in the DHS Senegal Final Report. Within the report from the translated passage, the authors writing the insights on polygamy had this to say about education and its effect on the Union of Polygamy(Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad 1988):

“Urbanization and education appear to be very discriminating factors of differentiation. Overall, polygamy is more prevalent in rural areas (49.0 per cent) than in urban areas (41.4 per cent). The same situation prevails at all ages. Education is, it too, a factor very unfavourable to polygamy. Women who have never been to school are 48.7 per cent in polygamous unions, while those who have been to school are in 36.4 per cent for primary level and 26.8 per cent for secondary level or higher. At women who cannot read, 48.6 per cent are in polygamous unions compared to 30.8 per cent of women who can read. The results already revealed by the ESF are confirmed: young women, Urbanized and/or educated are less interested in polygamy” –page 15 and 17 of DHS, Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988)

Ramatoulaye, on the other hand, when dealing with her husband’s choice to marry a second wife after being together in a monogamous relationship for 25 years (I might add), she had decided to stay with the husband not find refuge in books. Still, she tries to lead by example for her children to encourage them not to be in a polygamous union to avoid heartache. And to also show what she is capable of doing as a woman.

Even though Ramatoulaye and Aissatou are characters made up of Mariama Ba's imagination, the powerful themes and messages she was able to give to the reader still hold to this day. Although polygamy is still being practiced in Senegal, many people find themselves in the circumstances where the woman themselves finds it a bit more challenging to decide on their own as they have to deal with the country's cultural norms.

## 4.2 Weaknesses and next steps

As I have mentioned before in the introduction and data sections, the Demographic and Health Surveys (DHS) text was originally in French. I had first thought of using an API to translate French to English. However, given the time and financial constraints, I decided to use the Microsoft Azure translator function and scrap the API. But it would be interesting to implement an API to translate Senegalese survey data from a more recent year to see if the polygamy trends continue. Another possible stream with this kind of work is to see the male perspective on polygamy through Ousmane Sembene's works like *Xala*.

Another point I should make is that this data is outdated, as the issues picked up within this report draw heavily during a time when Senegal was very young as a country (still is, compared to other countries), so with time, like most things Senegal may have resolved some issues, but others are still prominent.

A considerable weakness pointed out by Vernon Dorjahn in chapter 5 of *Continuity and Change In African Cultures* (*Continuity and Change in African Cultures* 1962) titled, *The Factor of Polygyny in African Demography* has alluded to "five obstacles to African Demography" Dorjahn (1962). The five obstacles are: "**insufficient funds, shortages of trained personnel, illiteracy, the fact that many Africans do not know how old they are, and the opposition to demographic research**" -page 87, *The Factor of Polygyny in African Demography* Dorjahn (1962).

The issues Dorjahn (1962) raises in the chapter are pretty exciting. Still, he was writing during the 1960s, just as Senegal gained its independence. I disagreed with what he mentioned; the five obstacles he picks up are alarming, but I feel it has been fixed now in the 21st century. Still, during the time of the report (Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad 1988) and novel(Ba 1989), illiteracy was high in Senegal, but not just Senegal; all across the continent as many countries were transitioning from a colonial to independent period also, especially among women, who were traditionally tended to their families and household. The lack of data collected in the DHS from specific age groups can be because of the opposition to demographic research. The shortages of trained personnel can also be another factor as it may be a huge task to do on your own, so relying on the base knowledge of others may be more challenging. With all of these concerns with the survey, I could still take away new insights from the data generated.

## 5 Acknowledgements

I would like to take the time to thank a few people who had helped me with the conjuring up of this report. Shae-Linn, Oliver and Samita with all of your feedback and vast amount of patience, whether it be me calling late night with an R question(s), To asking questions about how to put "something up" onto github, generating the data frames used here, more importantly, to being a collective voice of reason when I try to wrangle this project I had taken upon myself to complete. I would also like to give a huge thanks to Lorena, Athaliah, Min, George and Sampson for their comments made on the construction of this paper as well. I am very grateful for their wisdom and knowledge, even though words cannot express this fully enough but this is an attempt.

## Appendix

### Polygamie

La polygamie est une forme d'union très courante au Sénégal. Elle est entretenue grâce à un écart d'âge important (8 ans environ) entre les conjoints. Bien qu'à degré variable, toutes les couches sociales sont concernées par le phénomène.

Dans l'EDS, trois questions sont posées sur la polygamie. La première permet de savoir si la femme vit ou non dans un ménage polygame. Deux autres permettent de saisir le nombre d'épouses du mari (ou partenaire) actuel et le rang qu'occupe la femme dans le mariage actuel si celui-ci est polygamique.

Sur l'ensemble des femmes mariées, 46,5 pour cent sont en union polygame contre 48,5 pour cent en 1978 comme le montre le tableau 2.2. Pratiquement à tous les âges, la prévalence de la polygamie est moins importante qu'elle ne l'était dans l'ESF. Mais dans les deux enquêtes, la pratique de la polygamie reste à un niveau élevé; à plus de 30 ans, plus d'une femme sur deux est en union polygame. Naturellement, les pourcentages des unions polygames augmentent régulièrement avec l'âge, les hommes préférant prendre leur première épouse parmi les femmes jeunes.

La pratique de la polygamie, compte tenu de son soubassement culturel et socio-économique, est plus ou moins acceptée, par delà, plus ou moins courante selon la catégorie sociale.

Ainsi, l'urbanisation et l'éducation apparaissent comme des facteurs très discriminants de différenciation. Dans l'ensemble, la polygamie est plus répandue en milieu rural (49,0 pour cent) qu'en milieu urbain (41,4 pour cent). La même situation prévaut à tous les âges. L'éducation est, elle aussi, un facteur très défavorable à la polygamie. Les femmes n'ayant jamais été à l'école sont à 48,7 pour cent dans des unions polygames, tandis que celles qui ont été à l'école le sont à 36,4 pour cent pour le niveau primaire et 26,8 pour cent pour le niveau secondaire ou plus. Chez les femmes ne sachant pas lire, 48,6 pour cent sont en union polygame contre 30,8 pour cent des femmes qui savent lire. Les résultats déjà révélés par l'ESF se confirment: les femmes jeunes, urbanisées et/ou éduquées sont moins intéressées par la polygamie. Les aspirations sociales et économiques des générations modernes (bien-être des membres de la famille, scolarisation, coût de la vie, problèmes d'héritage ...) expliquent probablement l'essentiel du recul de cette pratique.

Figure 1: page 15 of polygamy text part 1 DHS Senegal 1986 Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988)

dans ces groupes. Mais de façon générale, la baisse évoquée plus haut par rapport à l'ESF se retrouve dans les sous-groupes, en particulier de façon très prononcée en milieu urbain (45,7 pour cent dans l'ESF contre 41,4 dans l'EDS) et chez les alphabétisées (37,0 et 30,8 pour cent respectivement dans l'ESF et l'EDS) (ESF, 1978, Vol. 5: 81).

Au niveau ethnique, les principaux groupes se classent ainsi: Wolof (50,1 pour cent de polygames), Mandingue (48,8 pour cent), Pouular (44,8 pour cent), Diola (44,2 pour cent) et Sérer (38,0 pour cent). L'analyse des données selon l'âge révèle certaines particularités. En effet, avant 25 ans, les Pouulars semblent les plus nombreuses à adhérer à la polygamie tandis que les Wolofs ne dominent qu'après cet âge. Par ailleurs, alors que chez les Wolofs, la prévalence de la polygamie augmente régulièrement avec l'âge, chez les Pouulars, on observe une chute drastique à partir de 40 ans. Il est possible que les Pouulars mariées plus jeunes et ayant une plus grande mobilité conjugale, pratiquent davantage ce qu'on convient d'appeler "polygamie de jeunesse" et qu'aux âges avancés, elles restent plus que les autres en situation de rupture d'union.

Les différences inter-régionales sont assez significatives. Au niveau global, le Sud a le pourcentage le plus élevé (51,7 pour cent). Il est suivi par l'Ouest et le Centre (49,0 pour cent chacun) et le Nord-Est (47,0 pour cent).

Figure 2: page 17 of polygamy text part 2 DHS Senegal 1986 Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988)

TABLEAU 2.2 POURCENTAGE DES FEMMES ACTUELLEMENT EN UNION QUI SONT EN UNION POLYGAME SELON L'ÂGE ACTUEL ET LES VARIABLES SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIQUES

Variables socio-démographiques	Age actuel de la femme							Total
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	
<b>Milieu</b>								
Urbain	23,8	25,2	31,3	49,6	60,9	54,2	55,0	41,4
Rural	27,7	36,8	45,7	60,3	65,2	62,1	64,9	49,0
<b>Région</b>								
Ouest	23,5	29,6	30,3	48,7	57,4	54,3	55,3	49,0
Centre	21,4	30,0	46,6	65,3	66,7	67,6	72,3	49,0
Nord-Est	32,0	34,3	51,0	50,0	66,7	57,4	52,5	47,0
Sud	39,7	48,4	41,6	59,0	68,3	53,5	58,5	51,7
<b>Ethnie</b>								
Wolof	28,6	27,5	43,3	60,4	69,4	68,3	80,2	50,1
Pouular	29,1	36,6	41,9	56,9	63,5	52,5	51,5	44,8
Serer	14,3	25,0	30,4	49,0	50,0	56,0	52,6	38,0
Mandingue	26,1	35,5	47,5	58,3	74,1	*	*	48,8
Diola	*	57,1	33,3	44,4	52,2	*	*	44,2
Autres	29,8	50,0	43,8	51,0	59,1	71,0	50,0	49,1
<b>Instruction</b>								
Aucune	27,7	34,4	44,1	59,9	65,6	59,9	62,5	48,7
Primaire	12,5	29,2	31,4	47,9	52,9	*	*	36,4
Secondaire +	*	22,2	12,8	26,7	45,5	*	*	26,8
<b>Alphabétisation</b>								
Ne sait pas lire	27,7	34,8	43,9	60,1	65,8	59,7	62,6	48,6
Sait lire	13,0	22,7	23,1	35,6	48,1	*	*	30,8
Total	27,1	33,2	40,9	56,0	63,7	59,7	62,0	46,5
ESF, 1978**	30,6	35,5	46,5	57,7	56,5	65,5	64,8	48,5

\*Moins de 20 femmes

\*\*Enquête Sénégalaise sur la Fécondité, 1978, Vol. I, p. 79, Direction de la Statistique, Division des Enquêtes et de la Démographie, Dakar, juillet 1981.

Figure 3: page 16 of polygamy table DHS Senegal 1986 Ndiaye, Sarr, and Ayad (1988)

# I

Dear Aissatou,

I have received your letter. By way of reply, I am beginning this diary, my prop in my distress. Our long association has taught me that confiding in others allays pain.

Your presence in my life is by no means fortuitous. Our grandmothers in their compounds were separated by a fence and would exchange messages daily. Our mothers used to argue over who would look after our uncles and aunts. As for us, we wore out wrappers and sandals on the same stony road to the koranic school; we buried our milk teeth in the same holes and begged our fairy godmothers to restore them to us, more splendid than before.

If over the years, and passing through the realities of life, dreams die, I still keep intact my memories, the salt of remembrance.

I conjure you up. The past is reborn, along with its procession of emotions. I close my eyes. Ebb and tide of feeling: heat and dazzlement, the woodfires, the sharp green mango, bitten into in turns, a delicacy in our greedy mouths. I close my eyes. Ebb and tide of images: drops of sweat beading your mother's ochre-coloured face as she emerges from the kitchen; the procession of young wet girls chattering on their way back from the springs.

We walked the same paths from adolescence to maturity, where the past begets the present.

My friend, my friend, my friend. I call on you three times.\*

Yesterday you were divorced. Today I am a widow.

\* Notes are to be found on p.90.

Figure 4: page 1 of Mariama Ba's Novel So Long a Letter Ba (1989)

Cher frère blanc,  
Quand je suis né, j'étais noir,  
Quand j'ai grandi, j'étais noir,  
Quand je suis au soleil, je suis noir,  
Quand je suis malade, je suis noir,  
Quand je mourrai, je serai noir.

Tandis que toi, homme blanc,  
Quand tu es né, tu étais rose,  
Quand tu as grandi, tu étais blanc,  
Quand tu vas au soleil, tu es rouge,  
Quand tu as froid, tu es bleu,  
Quand tu as peur, tu es vert,  
Quand tu es malade, tu es jaune,  
Quand tu mourras, tu seras gris.

Alors, de nous deux,  
Qui est l'homme de couleur ?

**Léopold Sédar Senghor**

Figure 5: Leopold Senghor's Poem Cher Frère Blanc "R/Francophonie - " Poème à Mon Frère Blanc " - Léopold Sédar Senghor" (n.d.)

## Pointblank Validation

[2022-04-30|19:46:45]

**DATA FRAME** column\_names\_as\_contracts

STEP	COLUMNS	VALUES	TBL	EVAL	UNITS	PASS	FAIL	W	S	N	EXT
1  col_is_character()	chr_demographic	—	O→	✓	1	1 1.00	0 0.00	—	—	—	—
2  col_vals_in_set()	chr_demographic	ESF_1978, Cann...	O→	✓	19	1 0.05	18 0.95	—	—	—	<b>CSV</b>
2022-04-30 19:46:45 EDT		< 1 s	2022-04-30 19:46:46 EDT								

Figure 6: Pointblank Valitatiion1

## Pointblank Validation

[2022-04-30|19:47:55]

**DATA FRAME** column\_names\_as\_contracts

STEP	COLUMNS	VALUES	TBL	EVAL	UNITS	PASS	FAIL	W	S	N	EXT
1  col_is_integer()	int_group1	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
2  col_is_integer()	int_group2	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
3  col_is_integer()	int_group3	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
4  col_is_integer()	int_group4	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
5  col_is_integer()	int_group5	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
6  col_is_integer()	int_group6	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
7  col_is_integer()	int_group7	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
8  col_is_integer()	int_total	—	O→	✓	1	0 0.00	1 1.00	—	—	—	—
9  col_vals_in_set()	int_group1	NA	O→	✓	19	2 0.11	17 0.89	—	—	—	<b>CSV</b>

Figure 7: Pointblank Valitatiion2

## A Additional details

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