Canadian Studies in Population, Vol. 31(2), 2004, pp. 145-177

Towards a Reconsideration of Female Migration Patterns in Burkina Faso

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Abstract

This study focuses on changes in female migration patterns during the last fifty years in Burkina Faso. We examine migration paths and reasons for moving between ages 12 and 25 for women of rural origin using event history data drawn from the *Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkina Faso* National Survey conducted in 2000. The results show that female migration patterns are changing in a subtle and complex way. Women are emigrating more out of rural areas and experiencing increased multiple move trajectories. Motives are also less-family driven and more related to education and labour market considerations.

Keywords: migration, women, Burkina Faso, life course analysis

Résumé

La présente étude s'intéresse aux changements qui ont affecté les migrations féminines au Burkina Faso dans les cinquante dernières années. Nous examinons les cheminements migratoires et les motifs de migration entre 12 et 25 ans chez les femmes d'origine rurale en nous basant sur l'Enquête Nationale *Dynamique migratoire, insertion urbaine et environnement au Burkina Faso – 2000*. Les résultats indiquent que les femmes sortent de plus en plus du milieu rural et ont des trajectoires de plus en plus diversifiées. Les motifs sont de moins en moins de nature familiale et davantage orientés vers l'éducation et le marché du travail.

Mots clés: migration rural-urbain, femme, Burkina Faso, analyse des biographies

Introduction

Studies on female migrations from rural areas to large cities in West Africa have received considerable attention in the past years (Makinwa-Adebusoye 1990, Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995, Cordell *et al.* 1996, Findley 1997, Bocquier and Traoré 2000, Antoine and Sow 2000, Adepoju 2002). A number of studies indicate that female rural-urban migration is likely to promote regional demographic transition by contributing to child mortality and fertility declines (Brockerhoff 1994, 1998, Piché *et al*. 2001). In Burkina Faso, circulation of male migrants from rural areas could also be reconsidered in the light of such migratory flows. Throughout the twentieth century, a labour circulation system was established between Burkina Faso, a landlocked Sahelian country, and several economically better coastal neighbouring countries such as the Ivory Coast producing cash crops – notably coffee and cocoa. Migration patterns were sex-specific in this system. In fact, while men circulated, women were left behind in sending areas assuming the reproduction of labour (Cordell *et al.* 1996: chapter 6). Finally, the demographic regime in Burkina Faso was characterized by high fertility rates, high mortality rates and massive international male migration (Pool and Courel 1975). Today, the ascertainment of female out-migration from rural areas could indicate a break in the previous circulatory system and show that Burkina Faso is at the onset of a new phase of transition.

A number of significant studies have examined the historical evolution of migrations in Burkina Faso (former Upper Volta) since the colonial period (Coulibaly 1978, Cordell *et al.* 1996). In the late nineteenth century, with the

progressive French colonial conquest of this territory, Burkina Faso became a "labour reserve" (Coulibaly 1986, Dabiré 2001) geared towards the "development" of the Federation of French West Africa[1], an endeavour that required a considerable labour force engaged in railroads construction, forest industry and production of various cash crops. Surprisingly, after the abolition of forced labour in 1946, labour circular migration increased between Burkina Faso and the Ivory Coast due to better working conditions and employment of wage-labour immigrants from Burkina Faso in Ivory Coast (Boutillier *et al.* 1977, Cordell *et al.* 1996).

Cordell *et al.* (1996) use the concept of "articulation" to describe the interdependence between Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast on a demographic and economic basis. International labour migrants are dominated by young single men. During the 1969-1973 period, international male migrants outnumbered international female migrants four to one (Coulibaly *et al.* 1980). Female migrants moved essentially to other rural areas for marriage reasons due to patrilocal marital residency rules characterizing patrilineal descent systems (Lallemand 1977). Piché *et al.* (1984) showed that women moved rather directly from their natal home to their husband's residence. While women stayed behind in rural areas as main providers of subsistence food production, men were free to migrate (Giuella and Poirier 2000). But to start a family life, they had to return home. This dynamic was shown in Senegal, in a similar context (Guilmoto 1998). An explanation of both the return and to some extent the departure of unmarried men is the elders' control over female circulation.

However, rural areas of Burkina Faso are affected by this massive emigration among the male population[2]. Male emigration meant shortage of labour force for farm production causing increase in the workload of women, decline in agricultural productivity and soil degradation (Quesnel 1996). In addition, migrants did not always invest their earnings in productive economic activities[3]. Adepoju (2002) refers to "the feminization of poverty" in West Africa which drives women out of rural areas. Two national surveys conducted in 1994 and 1998 in Burkina Faso on household living conditions measured poverty using such indicators as essential household expenditures, ownership of consumer durables, housing quality and access to services such as water and power supply, education and health care. Results indicated that women, rural dwellers and farmers – mainly those producing staple foods – were the most affected by poverty (Lachaud 1999, INSD 2000). In rural areas, women are severely disadvantaged with no direct and secured access to land (Kevane and Grey 1999) and lacking time and other inputs, such as fertilizers, farming equipment, etc. (Udry 1996).

Over and above economic factors, Makinwa-Adebusoye (1990) contends that women leave rural areas not only to escape from poverty but also from male dependency. Female migrations, especially those concerning unmarried women, could be viewed more as an individual than a family strategy (Hertrich and Lesclingand, 2001). Some authors refer to "autonomous" or "independent" female migrations (Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995, Findley 1997, Antoine and Sow 2000, Adepoju 2002). Bocquier and Traore (2000) posit that increased girls education enhances new aspirations to female autonomy. Furthermore, the scarcity of job opportunities in rural areas for skilled youth is probably a factor underlying migration decision. Having nothing to loose, female migrants are less likely to return home in rural areas (Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995, Findley 1997).

Finally, restrictive norms concerning female out-migration from rural areas are being eroded because of weaker social control of the elders, related to their dependence on migrants' earnings. An often suggested assumption is that there is a social control breakdown as essentially indicated by changes in the process of entry into marriage with increased youth participation (Laurent 1996, Hertrich and Lesclingand 2001). However, Boutillier *et al.* (1985) argue that youth emigration, liable to question social order in sending areas, will enable the elders to keep their prerogatives. Laurent (1996) mentions the possibility of changing strategies among elders in an insecure context. Ouedraogo (1995) provides a puzzling case study, among the Dagara ethnic group in the South West of Burkina Faso, showing young girls secretly planning their migration to Bobo-Dioulasso but with the support of a part of the community. Moreover, integration in the labour market and access to lodging in the destination area benefits from the support of family and/or village networks (Locoh 1991, Makinwa-Adebusoye 1995, Findley 1997). In sum, it can be hypothesised that these changes in rural environments are affecting women's lives and thus their migration patterns. More precisely, we expect an increase in female rural out-migration (both international and internal rural to urban) as well as changes in the characteristics of female migrants associated with increased economic-driven migration. Hence, they should tend to be more often single when migrating and motives for migration should be more money and work related.

The purpose of this paper is to document recent changes in female migration patterns in Burkina Faso. This study uses event history data drawn from the *Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkina Faso* Survey conducted in 2000. Analysis of migration paths and reasons for moving of a series of female cohorts from rural Burkina Faso will allow us to assess changes during the second half of the twentieth century.

Methodology

Data needed to validate these assumptions on migration trends are often lacking. Surveys conducted in rural origin communities have serious limitations if female migrants do not come back home. In a similar fashion, urban surveys exclude women left behind and enquire only rural-urban female migrants that have not left the urban area or migrated abroad. As for censuses, they do not collect information on international emigrants. In addition, census data are too deficient for a full understanding of such a complex process as migration[4.] Indeed, migration studies call for longitudinal data not only for a better understanding of migration patterns but also to compare different cohorts and bring to light current trends.

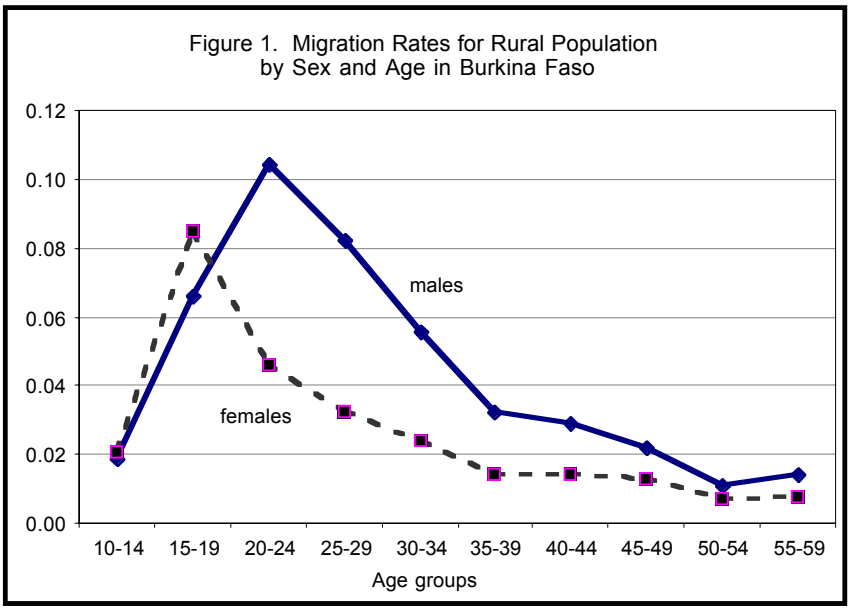
Three longitudinal data sets are available for Burkina Faso: the 1974-1975 *National Migration Survey in Upper Volta*, the NESMUWA[5] conducted in Burkina Faso in 1992-1993 and the *Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkina Faso* Survey carried out in 2000. These three surveys produced retrospective data on nationally representative samples.

Cordell *et al.* (1996) made use of the 1974-1975 survey to draw the history of migration in Burkina Faso from 1900 to 1975. In a chapter dealing with female migration, the increasing number of women migrating out of rural areas is acknowledged as well as the diversity of motivations[6]. More recently, the NESMUWA results for Burkina Faso show that rural-urban migration involves almost as many women as men. Between 1988 and 1992, female migration represents 45% of all rural-urban flows (Bocquier and Traore 2000). In fact, this was already the case in the period 1969-1973 (Coulibaly *et al.* 1980). On the other hand, female migration accounts for one-third of international flows between 1988 and 1992 against near one-fifth between 1969 and 1973.

Event history data provided by the *Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkina Faso* Survey (2000) offers an additional interest in comparison with data of the 1974-1975 and 1992-1993 surveys. We not only have individual migration life histories but employment and family histories as well (Poirier *et al*. 2001). Quantitative life stories were collected on a nationally representative sample with stratifications based on male and female cohorts born between 1936 and 1985. Migration histories were recorded for lengths of absences of at least three months from age 6 to the time of interview.

Individual longitudinal data makes cohort analysis possible, through which the female migration pattern change can be highlighted. Firstly, with the analysis of residential life histories, it is possible to describe migratory paths for different female and male cohorts aged 12 to 25 in rural Burkina Faso. Secondly,

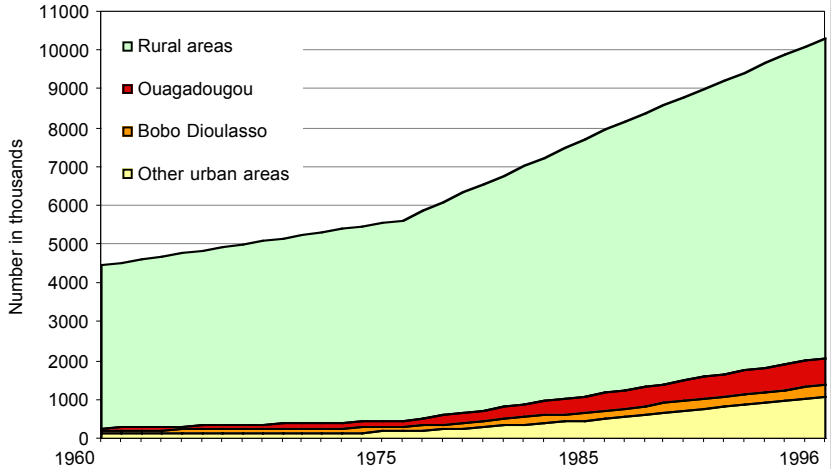
education, employment and marital status life histories will be considered in order to reveal the individual and family contexts linked to migration out of rural places. This latter information compared with the reported motivation is used to better assess motivation changes over time. Because migration experience during teenage years or early adulthood is likely to have the greatest impact on women's life (Brockerhoff 1998), we will focus on the 12-25 year olds, which is also the most mobile age category among women (Figure 1).



Migration is defined in this study as a change of residence across the boundary of a department in Burkina Faso for a period of one year or more. Given that the administrative division of Burkina Faso includes 45 provinces and 351 departments in 2000, intra-departmental movements take into account migration on a relatively fine scale. Thus, female migration should be better highlighted, since it is known that short-distance moves are dominated by women (Findley *et al*. 1995). We have excluded moves that lasted less than one year in order to minimize memory biases (see below).

Our sample includes individuals who have stayed continuously in rural areas in Burkina Faso between their 6th and 12th birthdays[7]. Respondents born in Burkina Faso account for 98 percent of the sample; among them 88 percent were living in their native department at age 6. Thus, our sample comprises individuals who were, for a large number, born and socialized in a rural environment. In this study, they are labelled "persons of rural origin". The event-history data show that 82 percent of the resident population in Burkina Faso (2000) was of "rural origin". The definition of rural areas involves all villages and towns where the population is less than 10,000 inhabitants. To distinguish rural and urban areas, the demographic criterion - satisfying the usual threshold of 10,000 inhabitants (Ouédraogo 1993) - is the most easiest and accurate choice. Furthermore, one unique feature of this study is the time-varying definition of rural and urban localities. Using the 1975, 1985 and 1996 censuses, the growth of all communities was assessed in order to link each residence recorded in the migration histories at a specific point in time to its urban or rural feature at that time (Beauchemin *et al*. 2002). As for urban areas, we distinguish the two main cities accounting for 50 percent of the urban population, Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso, from other urban areas within the country (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Trends in Population Distribution between Rural and Urban Areas (including the cities of Ouagadougou and Bobo Doulasso) in Burkina Faso



The final spatial categories defined are the following:

- Rural areas in Burkina Faso
- Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso
- Other urban areas in Burkina Faso
- Outside Burkina Faso

Given our time-varying definition of spatial categories, some individuals may make a rural-to-urban transition without changing residence (for instance when the locality in which he or she is residing crosses the threshold of 10 000 inhabitants). These transitions are not included in this study.

In order to analyse migration paths followed by all individuals, we constructed multiple decrement life tables that trace the history of individuals on the basis of shifts between different states. For this purpose, the software LIFEHIST developed by Rajulton (2001) is used. The original state is defined as the starting point of the migration history occurring when the individuals are 12 years old. Individuals can shift from a "non-migrant status"[8] to a "migrant status", with a first migration before age 25 to the following alternative destinations: rural area in Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso, secondary towns in Burkina Faso or outside the country. Once a first migration is experienced, for instance a rural-rural migration, the individual is exposed to a second migration towards the same above-mentioned destinations and so forth. Finally, the study of these transitions leads to the calculation of conditional probabilities of migration occurrence. The concept of conditional probability can predict the occurrence of a new migration given the sequence of prior migrations, taking into account individual sampling weights and right-censored data (the migration history of individuals after the time of the survey is not observed). The different conditional probabilities allow the reconstruction of migratory paths of rural cohorts aged 12 to 25.

The study of migration study based on longitudinal retrospective data suffers from several limitations, inherent in all retrospective surveys. The more the enquiry goes back in time, the less accurate and representative is the information. These shortcomings are especially important for birth-cohort trend studies. Memory lapses are one of the most important drawbacks of retrospective data collection. In Malaysia, a comparative study of life stories after an interval of twelve years on the same sample found that women are likely to omit reporting a migration when it took place back in time and was of short duration (Smith and Thomas 1997). Therefore, birth cohort trend analysis could be biased if older women had more memory lapses then younger women. To minimize this problem, a life history calendar was used to collect data on the timing and sequencing of individual-level family, residential, schooling and

working events (Poirier *et al.* 2001). This calendar method preceded the filling out of the life history questionnaire. The prior use of the calendar method was a way to improve the respondent's temporal recall and to help interviewers to control the accuracy in terms of both timing and sequencing (Antoine *et al.* 1987). Furthermore, migrations for a period of less than one year were excluded in order to minimize recall biases.

Another problem with retrospective surveys is the sample selection bias due to mortality and emigration. At the time of the survey, only survivors are interviewed and international emigrants are excluded of the sample. Concerning missing individuals due to mortality, we must assume that this selection process is not correlated to migration behavior. This issue has been addressed by Piché *et al.* (1984) with respect to male migration in Burkina Faso during French colonization (former Upper-Volta). Indeed, forced labor migrations, used for colonial construction projects or army recruiting, were linked to higher mortality levels. However, we can expect that female migration and mortality are not strongly associated.

To avoid selection bias due to international emigration, it is often posited that behaviors of international migrants before their migration are similar to those of return migrants. However, this is a questionable assumption: motivations for long-term international migrants (or even more for permanent migration) are clearly different than those of return migrants. In addition, international migration durations are underestimated if only the life histories of return migrants are taken into account. Thus, international emigrants must be included in the sample in order to calculate the intensity of international flows.

In this study, data on emigrants were recorded in the household questionnaire. The date of birth and date of departure of emigrants are included in the enquiry. However, this information provided by the household head is not as accurate as when the respondent reported his own life history. Moreover, some out-migrants could be "left out", especially in the case of long-term migrants. However, these basic life histories available in our study are the only longitudinal data on emigrants. We thus assume that international emigrants moved only once out of their household unit. In the analysis that follows, we take into account the impact of the underestimation of international emigration on female migration pattern trends. Regarding reasons for moving from rural areas to international destinations, the analysis will be based on the motivations of female return migrants.

Female migration motivations are studied with two methods. Firstly, we examine closely the different transitions recorded in the women's life-history at the time of the migration. Secondly, we look at the women's own statement of

motives reported by open-ended questions for each change of residence. The combination of these two approaches is warranted given the drawbacks generally affecting the latter data. Answering directly to questions concerning migration motivations is not always the best way to collect accurate information. When interviewed, respondents may want their life to appear "rational" *a posteriori* and only mention worthy (Lelièvre 1999) or socially acceptable reasons (Findley and Diallo 1993). Such answers capture only one dominant consideration whereas migration motivations embrace multiple dimensions. A number of authors consider that the reason for moving is not an explanatory variable but needs to be explained (De Jong and Fawcett 1981). Nevertheless, we believe that migration motivations stated by women may express changes occurring in female migration patterns in Burkina Faso. This will be checked by matching this information with a typology of marital and employment transitions related to female migrations. If "motivation" is derived from transitions documented in female life histories, then such a definition is at least based on similar criteria across women (Lelièvre 1999) and thus can be acknowledged as more objective (Courgeau and Lelièvre 1996).

We first examine all documented transitions, concerning rural women aged 12-25, which occurred during the first migration out of rural areas or in the preceding or following year. However, to simplify this complex procedure, we only retained transitions related to a maximum number of migrations from rural places and linked to secondary transitions. For example, the first migration out of rural areas is associated with a large number of marital transitions (a shift from single to married), fertility transitions (a peak in first births one year after moving out), residential transitions (a shift from "living in parents household" to "home ownership" and of employment transitions (a shift from "family helper" to "non-working"). For a more focused analysis, we chose to take into account only marital and employment transitions as shown in Table 1.

When migration from rural places is not related to a marital transition[9], women's marital status is examined. Thus we oppose migration of single or married women to migration following marriage or marriage dissolution. Given the strong homogeneity of employment in rural areas (most women are family helpers in farming activities), employment transitions cover only the employment status at destination within the year following the move[10] which is more likely to have influenced migration decision-making. Changes in educational status out of rural areas is included in employment transitions.

Table 1

Marital and Occupational Transitions Associated with the First Migration of Women out of Rural Areas between Ages 12 and 25

Marital Transitions

	Year prior to migration	→	Year following migration	Marital transition or status
Marital Status	Single	→	Married	Marriage
	Married	→	Single	Divorce
	Single	→	Single	Single
	Married	→	Married	Married

Occupational Transitions

	Year prior to migration	→	Year following migration	Occupational status at destination
Occupational Status	All statuses	→	Student	Student
		→	Self-employed	Self-employed
		→	Employee in public sector	Employee (public)
		→	Employee in private sector	Employee (private)
		→	Apprentice	Apprentice
		→	Family helper	Family helper
		→	Unemployed Sick Non-working	Unoccupied

Trends in Female Migration Paths

The first question raised above relates to changes in migration patterns of Burkinabe women. To tackle this question, we consider conditional probabilities of a first and then of a second migration for rural women between the ages 12 to 25 with a focus on specific migration paths. In order to assess the impact of the probable underestimation of international emigration[11], we have carried out a series of simulations on conditional probabilities of migration occurrence between the ages of 12 to 25 (Table 2).

Three assumptions were examined: (1) emigrants are not underreported: this implies that emigrants are assigned the weight of the household which identified them; (2) only half of all emigrants are reported: in this case, the weights assigned are doubled; and (3) the under-reporting of emigrants is proportional to the length of the period of absence: in this case, emigrants will be assigned weights multiplied by a "k" factor. The value of "k" is 1 for emigrants that left in 2000 and 4 for emigrants who left in 1960 (date of the first recorded emigrations). The two first assumptions can be considered extreme cases while the last one appears more realistic.

Any change in the weighting of emigrants will have an effect on both the number of observations at the initial stage and the number of first international emigrations. As a result, probabilities of a first migration from rural areas, whatever the destination, as well as probabilities of return migration from abroad will be affected. In general, the results of the simulations show that, whatever the assumption considered, trends in terms of probabilities to make a first migration between the ages 12 to 25 remain similar. But there are some exceptions. When the second assumption is tested, the probability to carry out a first international emigration increases for the youngest female cohort whereas it is likely to decrease when the first or third assumptions are considered.

In the following analysis, preference will be given to the third assumption, in our view closest to reality. We thus expect under-enumeration of emigrants to be proportional to the duration of migration, entailing the use of the appropriate weighting mentioned above for emigrants[12].

Table 2
Probability to make a First Migration between Ages 12 and 25 by Sex, Cohort, Destination Area and by the Retained Hypothesis in regard to Under-Reporting of Emigrants (from Rural Origin)

	Male				Female			
	1936-55	**1956-65**	**1966-74**	**1975-85**	**1936-55**	**1956-65**	**1966-74**	**1975-85**
Table 2a (first hypothesis): Emigrants are not under-reported								
R -> R	0.15	0.10	0.11	0.12	0.32	0.27	0.35	0.34
R -> OB	0.04	0.05	0.07	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.05
R -> ST	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04
R -> OBF	0.34	0.37	0.43	0.63	0.14	0.17	0.17	0.16
Table 2b (second hypothesis): Half of emigrants have been reported								
R -> R	0.14	0.08	0.08	0.09	0.32	0.26	0.32	0.32
R -> OB	0.04	0.04	0.05	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04
R -> ST	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.04
R -> OBF	0.36	0.37	0.50	0.76	0.14	0.18	0.20	0.25
Table 2c (third hypothesis): Under-reporting of emigrants is proportional to their length of absence								
R -> R	0.13	0.08	0.09	0.12	0.32	0.26	0.33	0.34
R -> OB	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04
R -> ST	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04
R -> OBF	0.39	0.43	0.49	0.66	0.15	0.18	0.20	0.18
N (surveyed)	801	605	607	603	719	734	708	706
N (reported emigrants)	75	157	208	248	13	17	34	69

R = Rural area
OB = Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso
ST = Secondary Towns (communities of 10,000 inhabitants or more other than Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso)
OBF = Outside of Burkino Faso

Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

First Migration

Table 3a shows that the first female migration is mostly rural-rural. Women are also engaged in migration outside of Burkina Faso, which is the next most important destination. Unlike women, men are more involved firstly in international movements and secondly towards rural and urban areas in Burkina Faso.

The probability of a first rural–rural migration seems to increase slightly across female rural cohorts except for the birth cohort 1956-1965. Some calculations which are not presented here indicate that this female cohort moved in the same proportions as the other cohorts. However, their move involved less departmental border crossing. These residential changes occurred in the late seventies and in the very early eighties.

The probability of a first international migration between ages 12 and 25 for rural women tends to increase across cohorts except for the youngest. This trend of increased probabilities is more obvious among male cohorts.

Urban areas are less attractive than rural or foreign destinations. In the case of females, results show a probability of around 4 percent for a first migration to Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso with a relative stability across cohorts. On the other hand, the probability to make a first migration towards a secondary town in Burkina Faso increases steadily both across male and female cohorts. This trend could be expected given the growth of secondary towns in Burkina Faso during that period. The male birth cohort of 1975-1985 is not prone to move to Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso unlike the female counterpart.

Second migration

Following a first migration, the probability to make a second migration declines substantially (Table 3b, c, d) except in the case of female international migrants who return home in a large extent before age 25 (Table 3e). The analysis of probabilities of return migration is a difficult task given problems related to emigrant underestimation, fluctuations in the calendar of return migration and censored data among the youngest cohort. In the case of females, a majority of migrants appear to return to Burkina Faso before age 25 except for the birth cohort 1936-1955. Return migration is essentially headed towards rural areas. However, a large number of migrants, belonging to the oldest birth cohort, return towards urban areas, both Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso and secondary towns. In the case of the birth cohorts 1966-1974, return migrants also move back to secondary towns and cities. Male migrants are outnumbered

Table 3
Conditional Probabilities to Migrate between Ages 12 and 25 by Migraion Rank, Sex, Cohort, Destination Area (Population from Rural Origin)

	Male				Female			
	1936-55	**1956-65**	**1966-74**	**1975-85**	**1936-55**	**1956-65**	**1966-74**	**1975-85**
Table 3a: Probability to make a first migration between age 12 and 25								
R -> R	0.13	0.08	0.09	0.12	0.32	0.26	0.33	0.34
R -> OB	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.02	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.04
R -> ST	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.04
R -> OBF	0.39	0.43	0.49	0.66	0.15	0.18	0.20	0.18
Table 3b: Probability to make a second migration between age 12 and 25 from rural area								
R -> R -> R	0.38	0.44	0.41	0.56	0.09	0.15	0.22	0.24
R -> R -> OB	0.02	0.07	0.08	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.04
R -> R -> ST	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.08	0.06
R -> R -> OBF	0.16	0.11	0.11	0.08	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.07
Table 3c: Probability to make a second migration between age 12 and 25 from Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso								
R -> OB -> R	0.36	0.18	0.44	0.18	0.06	0.26	0.30	0.71
R -> OB -> OB	0.07	0.09	0.22	0.18	0.01	0.10	0.02	0.05
R -> OB -> ST	0.08	0.06	0.05	0.25	0.00	0.01	0.05	0.02
R -> OB -> OBF	0.25	0.19	0.06	0.11	0.09	0.03	0.00	0.00
Table 3d: Probability to make a second migration between age 12 and 25 from secondary towns								
R -> ST -> R	0.22	0.00	0.28	0.10	0.90	0.33	0.18	0.11
R -> ST -> OB	0.64	0.70	0.35	0.41	0.09	0.49	0.24	0.85
R -> ST -> ST	0.00	0.00	0.26	0.13	0.01	0.05	0.09	0.00
R -> ST -> OBF	0.00	0.30	0.04	0.29	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Table 3e: Probability to make a second migration between age 12 and 25 from outside of Burkina Faso								
R -> OBF -> R	0.44	0.40	0.36	0.43	0.37	0.54	0.48	0.61
R -> OBF -> OB	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.06	0.02	0.01	0.01
R -> OBF -> ST	0.00	0.05	0.03	0.08	0.06	0.01	0.07	0.00
N (surveyed)	801	605	607	603	719	734	708	706
N (reported emigrants)	75	157	208	248	13	17	34	69

R = Rural area
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Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

by female migrants as regards return migration before age 25 probably because of an older age at migration.

In the case of men, a first rural-rural migration enhances, in a significant way, the probability of a second migration to a rural destination. The probability of a second migration to a rural destination, given a previous rural-rural migration, ranges from 38 to 56 percent, depending on the cohort. Conversely, the probability of a second rural-rural migration clearly decreases amongst females. Nevertheless, across female cohorts, women have an increased propensity to make a second migration, between ages 12 and 25, to any destination after a first rural-rural migration has been made.

Among the youngest cohorts, the probability of a return migration to a rural destination before age 25 is increasing for women who made a first migration to Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso. For a small proportion of females included in the oldest cohorts, these cities appear to be a stage before an international migration.

Return migrations to rural destinations, with a first previous migration to a secondary urban area in Burkina Faso, are less frequent among the youngest cohorts. This situation differs from the cases of return migration following a move to Bobo Dioulasso or Ouagadougou. Nonetheless, the majority of women who made a first migration towards a secondary town in Burkina Faso are likely to migrate again before the age of 25 mostly towards Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso.

Female Migration Paths

With the conditional probabilities to migrate between ages 12 and 25, it is possible to construct rural female migration paths. If p_{ji} denotes the probability of a transition i followed by a transition j and p_{j_i} indicates the probability of a transition j knowing that transition i preceded it - p_{j_i} is a conditional probability-, we can thus write:

$$p_{ji} = p_{j\_i} \times p_i$$

The probability of a direct rural-rural path between ages 12 and 25 (reference period) is the product of:

- the probability to make a first rural-rural migration during the reference period and

- the probability of not doing a second migration knowing that a first rural-rural migration had previously occurred during the reference period.

Table 4 indicates that 27% of rural women, born between 1936 and 1955, experienced a direct rural-rural path between ages 12 and 25[13].

We observe a rise in the percentage of women who carried out at least two migrations between ages 12 and 25 reducing the share of non-migrant females or of female migrants with only one move in that reference period. Among the younger cohorts, migration patterns are changing. The trend shows a decline of non-migrant females or of female migrants with a direct rural-rural path. Instead, their paths involve at least two migrations: international circular migrations, multiple-move within rural Burkina Faso, step migrations towards urban areas and circular migration with Ouagadougou and Bobo-Dioulasso.

Finally, rural women seem to experience a large range of migration paths when aged between 12 and 25. Female migration is more prevalent but large cities such as Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso are not specifically attractive destination areas as often conveyed by the demographic literature on female migrations in West Africa.

Changing Motivations of First Female Migration out of Rural Areas

Female migrations to secondary urban areas in Burkina Faso involve very small group analysis. We will thus address motivations for moving to Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso on the one hand and outside Burkina Faso on the other hand. The reasons for leaving Burkina Faso will be inferred on the basis of return migrant's statements. Finally, the youngest female cohorts born between 1975 and 1985 will be excluded as a result of censored life histories.

Reasons for moving to Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso

Analysis of marital life histories suggests that marriage is connected with the bulk of first rural out-migrations to Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso between the ages 12 and 25. However for the intermediate cohort (women born in 1956-1965), results indicate that almost one third of female migrants are already married when they move (Table 5b). Moreover, the proportion of female single migrants rises across cohorts reaching 31 percent for the youngest cohort

Table 4
Distribution of Females from Rural Origin by Cohort and Migration Paths between Ages 12 and 25

Migration paths between ages 12 and 25		Cohorts 1936-55	1956-65	1966-74	1975-85
No migrations		49	52	42	40
	R -> R	27	20	20	20
	R -> OB	3	2	2	1
	R -> ST	0	0	1	0
	R -> OBF	7	7	9	7
1 migration		37	29	32	28
	R -> R -> R	3	1	6	4
	R -> R -> OB	0	0	0	1
	R -> R -> ST	0	0	0	1
	R -> R -> OBF	0	0	0	0
	R -> OB -> R	0	1	1	1
	R -> OB -> OB	0	0	0	0
	R -> OB -> ST	0	0	0	0
	R -> OB -> OBF	0	1	0	0
	R -> ST -> R	0	0	0	0
	R -> ST -> OB	0	0	0	1
	R -> ST -> ST	0	0	0	0
	R -> ST -> OBF	0	0	0	0
	R -> OBF -> R	2	7	8	10
	R -> OBF -> OB	1	0	0	0
	R -> OBF -> ST	1	0	1	0
2 migrations		7	10	16	18
3 migrations or more		7	9	10	14
		100	100	100	100
Number of surveyed women		719	734	708	706
Number of reported expatriate women		13	17	34	69

R = Rural area
OB = Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso
ST = Secondary Towns (communities of 10,000 inhabitants or more other than Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso)
OBF = Outside of Burkino Faso

Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

Table 5
Marital and Employment Transitions associated with the First Migration of Women out of Rural Areas between Ages 12 and 25 towards Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso by Cohorts

		Marital transition		Marital status (No transition)		
		Marriage	**Divorce**	**Single**	**Married**	**Total**
Table 5a. Women born in 1936-55						
Occupational status at destination	**Student**			1		1
	Self-employed	37		1	5	43
	Employee (public)					0
	Employee (private)			1		1
	Apprentice			1		1
	Family helper	6		4	1	11
	Unoccupied	26			17	43
	Total	69	0	8	23	100
						N = 84
Table 5b. Women born in 1956-65						
Occupational status at destination	**Student**	2		8		10
	Self-employed	19	1	11	10	41
	Employee (public)					0
	Employee (private)					0
	Apprentice			1		1
	Family helper	4		1	1	6
	Unoccupied	20		1	21	42
	Total	45	1	22	32	100
						N = 108
Table 5c. Women born in 1966-74						
Occupational status at destination	**Student**			15		15
	Self-employed	31		2	6	39
	Employee (public)					0
	Employee (private)	1		1		2
	Apprentice	1		1		2
	Family helper	10		12	1	23
	Unoccupied	16			3	19
	Total	59	0	31	10	100
						N = 111

Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

(women born between 1966 and 1974). In this latter cohort, migrations of married women only account for 11 percent of cases (Table 5c).

Employment transitions within a year in Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso indicate a clear increase in the proportion of women moving for education; this is particularly true for the intermediate cohort. The percentage of female apprentices in Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso is also rising even though it involves a minor group. Within the youngest cohort, unoccupied migrants at destination are reduced by 50 percent while migrants who turn up as family workers increase substantially.

Whereas women belonging to the oldest cohort were mostly self-employed (43%) or unoccupied (41%) in the destination area, the female occupational profile is becoming more diverse. The youngest women display different occupations: self-employed (39%), family workers (23%), unoccupied (19%), students (15%), apprentices (2%) and private sector employees (2%). Across cohorts, women employed in the private sector within the year following migration account for less than 1 percent. In fact, the two youngest cohorts are hardly engaged in jobs described by Lachaud (1997) as "secure", e.g. nursing or bank employee. Female migrants are mostly involved in selling prepared foods and agricultural products and engaged in traditional activities such as hairdressing, sewing, cloth weaving and cotton threading. Others keep on working in the agricultural sector[14]. As regards the youngest group, there is a rise in the share of women that find jobs in domestic service as family workers or wage-employees.

Table 6 shows that single women state motives related to education unlike the youngest cohort migrants who mention moving in order to follow or join family members. Single females not studying in Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso are likely to give family reasons. Among them can be distinguished those moving to accompany a family member (accompany parents, migration of one parent, residential move of a parent, job transfer), those moving because of financial problems (too large family size, divorce /death of a parent), those moving to work as domestics (family helpers, live with grandmother, adoption/fostering). Indeed, Dabiré (1998) found that some urban households engage young rural women for domestic work under the cover of adoption or fostering. A minority of single women mention migrating for work-related motives (to take a job/looking for work) or as a result of financial difficulties (lack of support). Women that mention migrating to provide help to family are in fact involved in domestic work in family households, e.g. those of brothers /sisters, uncles/aunts or grandparents.

Table 6
Female Migration Motivations by Cohort and by Marital or Employment Transition associated to the First Migration out of Rural Areas between Ages 12 and 25 towards Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso

Marital transition or status	Occupational status at destination	Cohorts		
		1936-55	1956-65	1966-74
Marriage	Student		Marriage	
	Paid work	Marriage Join husband Take a job (husband)	Marriage	Marriage Join husband Help sick parent
	Unpaid work	Marriage	Marriage	Mariage Look for money (husband)
	Unoccupied	Marriage Education	Marriage	Marriage Join husband
Single	Paid work	Divorce	Divorce	
	Student	Education	Education Further education Finish/stop education	Education Further education Academic failure Residential moving (parents) Job transfer (parents) Join family members Come back to live with parents
	Paid work	Take a job Job training Join family members Visit	Migration (parent) Job transfer (parent)	Education Job transfer (parents) Live with grand-mother Lack of support Death of parent
	Unpaid work	Join family members Adoption / fostering Follow parents Marriage	Follow parents Divorce (parents) Visit	Look for work Help parents Too large family size Job transfer (parents) Visit
	Unoccupied		Lack of support	Education
Married	Paid work	Higher wages (husband) Job transfer (husband) Look for a job (husband) Look for money (husband) Migration (husband) Live with father (husband) Join husband	Job transfer (husband) To resign (husband) Get a job (husband) Work in town (husband) Search better living (husband) Join husband Marriage Follow parents	Higher wages (husband) Look for money (respondent or husband) Join husband Marriage
	Unpaid work	Reason linked to the husband's job	Join husband	Look for money (husband)
	Unoccupied	Get away (husband) Job transfer (husband) Get a job (husband) Look for money (husband) Health motivations (husband)	Job transfer (husband) Get a job(husband) To do his work (husband) Look for a job (husband) Work in town (husband) Higher wages (husband) Look for money (husband) Live with parents (husband) Follow parents (husband) Finished House (husband) Join husband Marriage Visit	Follow parents (husband) Marriage Visit

Paid work = Self employed, employee, apprentice
Unpaid work = Family helper

Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

When female migration is associated with a marital transition from single to married, women mention almost exclusively marriage/join spouse as motives. Our data do not allow to ascertain if the husband preceded his wife to town or if the spouses migrated together as presumed by motives stating that the husband was taking a job or searching for money. Whatever the urban occupational position of married women, they migrated mostly to join a husband, himself driven to the city by work and money motives.

Finally, women mostly move as a result of marriage or to join the spouse. Female responses on reasons for moving to Ougadougou or Bobo Dioulasso did not mention search of autonomy or of better life. However, for a large number of cases, this motive may be latent; education is a good example of a non-stated but implied migration motive. Single female migrations are increasing not only due to the growing migration flows for education purposes but also for various family reasons. These single women tend to be younger resulting in an earlier mean age at first migration.

Reasons for Moving Outside Burkina Faso (Return Migrant Data)

Among rural return female migrants, involved with a first move between 12 and 25 outside Burkina Faso, very few were single (Table 7). Across cohorts, we observe a growing rise of migration related to marriage or divorce. In the youngest cohort, the percentage of married female migrants decreases but still accounts for more than a third of cases.

The analysis of occupational status in foreign destinations show that private sector employees have a growing share in the two youngest cohorts while the percentage of self-employed women is declining. Among female migrants that moved out of Burkina Faso, less than 20% were unoccupied within the year following migration. In Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso, we noted higher levels of unoccupied migrants in the two oldest cohorts. These women are involved in labour circulation mostly towards the Ivory Coast. Occupational distribution in this destination area expresses female participation in plantation-based production.

Findings indicate that international return migrants report more readily their reasons of moving than out-migrants that left for Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso. Economic motivations, e.g. work and money aspirations, are more often stated, particularly among women married prior to migration (Table 8). Thus, motivations of both spouses seem to match.

Table 7
Marital and Employment Transitions associated with the First Migration of Women out of Rural Areas between Ages 12 and 25 towards International Destinations by Cohort

		Marital transition		Marital status (No transition)		
		Marriage	**Divorce**	**Single**	**Married**	**Total**
Table 7a. Women born in 1936-55						
Occupational status at destination	**Student**					0
	Self-employed	22			13	35
	Employee (public)					0
	Employee (private)	1				1
	Apprentice					0
	Family helper	9		5	32	46
	Unoccupied	8		3	7	18
	Total	40	0	8	52	100
						N = 108
Table 7b. Women born in 1956-65						
Occupational status at destination	**Student**					0
	Self-employed	13	1	1	17	32
	Employee (public)					0
	Employee (private)	3	1	1	3	8
	Apprentice	25		1	20	46
	Family helper					0
	Unoccupied	3			11	14
	Total	44	2	3	51	100
						N = 122
Table 7c. Women born in 1966-74						
Occupational status at destination	**Student**					0
	Self-employed	20	5	1	6	32
	Employee (public)					0
	Employee (private)	3		1	5	9
	Apprentice					0
	Family helper	18	1		18	37
	Unoccupied	13		2	7	22
	Total	54	6	4	36	100
						N = 81

Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

Table 8
Female Migrant Motivations by Cohort and by Marital and Employment Transition associated to the First Migration out of Rural Areas between Ages 12 and 25 towards International Destinations

Marital transition or status	Occupational status at destination	Cohorts		
		1936-55	1956-65	1966-74
Marriage	Paid work	Marriage Join husband Job transfer (husband) Migration (husband)	Marriage Join husband Reasons linked to work	Marriage Join husband Migration
	Unpaid work	Marriage Join husband Live with spouse Separation	Marriage Join husband Divorce	Marriage Join husband Live with spouse Help parents Reasons linked to coming back
	Unoccupied	Marriage Join husband Death of parent	Marriage Look for money (husband)	Marriage Join husband Look for better living
Divorce	Paid work		Divorce Separation Visit	Divorce Join a parent's house
	Unpaid work			Separation
Single	Student		Join a parent's house	Education Academic failure
	Paid work		Look for higher wages To visit relatives Visit	Look for money Migration Job training Help parents Visit
	Unpaid work	Help parents Follow parents Visit	Help parents Join husband	
	Unoccupied	Migration	Visit	Lack of support Migration
Married	Student			Join husband
	Paid work	Look for a job (husband) Get a job (husband) Higher wages (respondent or husband) Look for money (respondent or husband) Marriage Join husband Death of parent Religious reasons (husband) Migration	Get a job (husband) Better position (husband) Higher wages (husband) Look for money (husband) Make fortune (husband) Look for a job (respondent or husband) Better living Get away Marriage Join husband Follow parents (husband) Migration (husband)	Job transfer (parent) Higher wages (husband) Look for money (husband) Better living (husband) Join husband Join husband after child birth Marriage Follow parents Migration
	Unpaid work	Trading (husband) Look for money (husband) Look for a job (respondent or husband) Better living (respondent or husband) Help husband in his work Help my husband Divorce (husband) Family problems(husband) Migration (husband) Get away (husband) Visit	Look for money (husband) Look for a job (respondent or husband) Make fortune (respondent or husband) Join husband Marriage Migration (husband) Visit	Agricultural activities (parents) Look for money (husband) Make fortune (husband) Look for a job (respondent) Better living (respondent) Help husband in his work Join husband Live with spouse Marriage Migration (husband) Visit
	Unoccupied	Look for money (husband) Look for a job (respondent or husband) pregnancy/motherhood Join husband Migration (husband)	Look for money (husband) Make fortune (husband) To improve knowledge (husband) Marriage Join husband Visit	Look for a job (husband) Look for money (husband) Make fortune (husband)

Paid work = Self employed, employee, apprentice
Unpaid work = Family helper

Source: Event history data; "Migration Dynamics, Urban Integration and Environment in Burkino Faso" National Survey.

We must point out the difficulty to generalize results based on return migrant data. Yet, reasons for moving reported by return migrants, such as "making fortune" or search for a better life, money and work are likely to be similar to those that could have been stated by migrants still in destination areas. Thus, migration from rural Burkina Faso to foreign destinations should be more clearly linked to economic motivations than rural out-migrations towards large cities in Burkina Faso.

Conclusion

This study focused on recent changes of female migration patterns in Burkina Faso. For this purpose, we examined migration paths and reasons for moving of women that left rural areas between ages 12 and 25 for the cities of Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso and for outside Burkina Faso.

Two major changes were observed in the migration pattern of rural women. Women that do not migrate between 12 and 25 are becoming a minority and among migrants, multiple move trajectories with at least two migrations now represent the majority of movements. Results show that women are increasingly engaging in migrations out of rural places between age 12 and 25 towards essentially international destinations, although the appeal of foreign countries seems to slow down. The influx of rural female migrants into secondary towns in Burkina Faso is growing. The cities of Ouagadougou and Bob Dioulasso attract a relatively large percentage of women. However, we are far from witnessing a massive rural exodus of women to large urban places. Moreover, return migrations to rural areas from these principal cities seem to increase, running counter to the assumption put forward in the demographic literature that female migrants are not likely to return to rural areas (e.g. Gugler and Ludwar-Ene 1995, Findley 1997).

Female migrants move out of rural areas mostly for marriage reasons or to accompany their husbands. However, concerning migrations to Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso, these motives are clearly less predominant. There is a growing influx of single women who move into these large cities for education or various family reasons. Motivations of international migrants who returned to Burkina Faso are increasingly related to marriage or divorce. As for female migrants in the cities of Ouagadougou and Bobo Dioulasso, they have access to a wider range of occupations with an increase in the number of occupational status. Female circular emigrants are mostly involved in the agricultural sector as family helpers in the destination area.

Women seldom report the search of paid work as a motive for their move to Ouagadougou or Bobo Dioulasso. Moreover, most of these migrants have unsteady jobs in the informal sector at destination. International migration is more clearly motivated by money quest, a reason often forwarded by married women. When migration from rural places is connected with marital transition, then it is explained by a marital status change. Nevertheless, if one contends that women are more and more empowered to choose their mate in Burkina Faso (Capron and Kohler 1978, Laurent 1996), then some "marital migrations" could be part of a more or less conscious strategy to get away from home (Riley and Gardner 1993).

Finally, the female migration pattern is changing in a subtle and complex way, not acknowledged by recent studies on female migrations in West Africa. The challenge is to analyze the impact of such changes on the prevalent migration patterns in Burkina Faso. Indeed, the traditional circular pattern is based on mutual dependence of both families and migrants on the two spheres of domestic and capitalist production (Burawoy 1976). The articulation of these two spheres also leads to sexual division of labor in terms of a male-dominant migratory stream to places in search of paid work with women remaining at home to sustain domestic production (Cordell, Gregory and Piché 1996: 303-308). Significant changes in the female migration pattern could impede the reproduction of the traditional circular pattern in Burkina Faso.

End Notes:

1. French West Africa (FWA) was a federation of colonies including Senegal, Mali (former Soudan), Guinea (Conakry), The Ivory Coast, Benin (former Dahomey), Niger and Mauritania in addition to the present Burkina Faso.

2. For information only, the resident population from Upper Volta in Ivory Coast was estimated at 774,000 in 1975 (Vaugelade 1982). Resident population in Burkina Faso numbered in 1978 was 5.6 million inhabitants (INSD 1978).

3. Young migrants cannot invest in view of their return insofar as access to land depends on a large extent on the individual's social status as well as his sex and age.

4. Usually, census only provides data on place of birth, place of last previous residence and place of current residence. Little is thus known on migration paths as well as on the age and circumstances surrounding possible multiple moves.

5. NESMUWA stands for: Network of Surveys on Migration and Urbanization in West Africa. Other surveys were also carried out in the early 1990's in the following countries: Ivory Coast, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal.

6. Using data from a survey conducted in the Mosi area in 1973, Boutillier *et al*. (1977) also found that the proportion of married men increased among male migrants moving to Ivory coast, also more prone to migrate with their wives and children.

7. Data includes the respondent's department of birth. However, the information whether the place of birth is rural or urban is not available nor the events that occurred between birth and age 6, starting point of life history collect.

8. Individuals can have migrated between age 6 and 12 within the rural area.

9. When there is no marital transition at the time of migration.

10. When arrived at destination, some women encounter unemployment or do not work for long periods. In these cases, we used the occupational status when they found work within the first year.

11. The extent of omissions is noteworthy if we only consider the parent's statements on emigrants. As pointed out by Vaugelade (1982), the 1975 census of Burkina Faso reported 335,000 emigrants out of the country, while at the same time, 774,000 immigrants from Burkina Faso were numbered in the Ivory Coast.

12. Female emigrants were probably less well reported than male emigrants due to looser family ties with the household head supposed to report them.

13 According to Table 4, the probability of a direct rural-rural path between age 12 and 25 for the female rural birth cohort 1936-1955 is: $0.32\times[1-(0.99+0.01+0.00+0.04)]=0.27$

14. These are mostly female migrants that continue to participate in various seasonal agricultural activities in their home village. They often have a secondary job in town.

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