

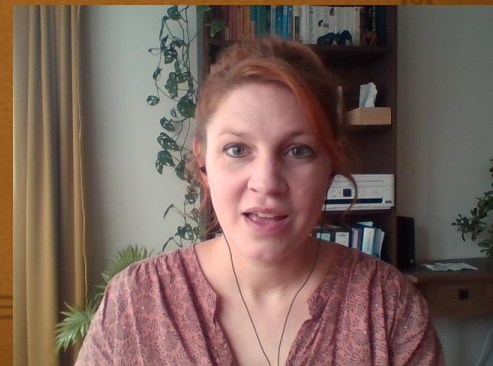
Unpacking the educational aspirations of young men in northern Senegal: intersecting influences of masculinity, 'caste', migration and social positionality



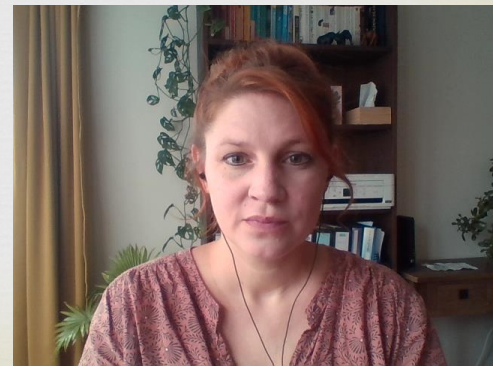
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Anneke Newman (2019) “The influence of migration on the educational aspirations of young men in northern Senegal: Implications for policy” *International Journal of Educational Development* 65: 216–226



What is the relationship between transnational migration and youth's educational trajectories?

How does masculinity factor in?

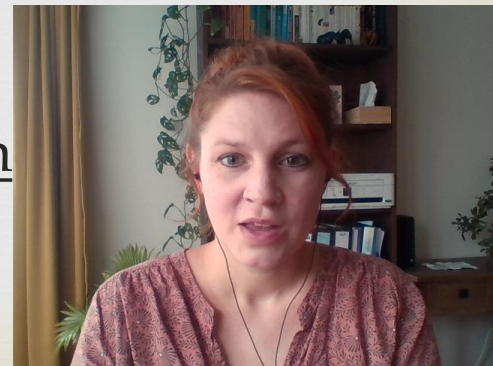


Comparative & International Education, Economics

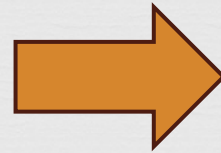
- Quantitative studies of the impact of remittances on school enrolment/ attainment of children 'left behind'
- ...BUT children/youth are framed as passive

Migration Studies, Youth Studies, Human Geography, Anthropology

- Qualitative, youth-focused, participatory studies of youth's experiences
- Youth's aspirations to migrate, & migration imaginaries, and how they are shaped by gender and other identities / positionalities
- ...BUT what about influence of transnational migration on the educational aspirations of youth in migrant-sending contexts?



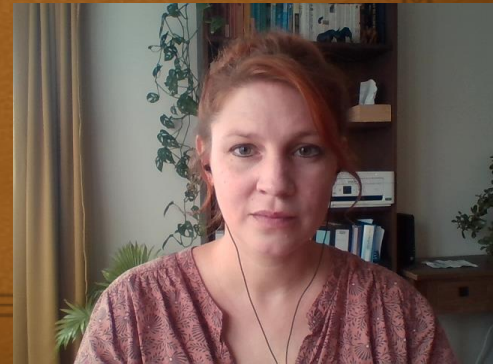
Fieldwork in 2011-2012



The context of northern Senegal



- ❖ Diverse school offer
- ❖ High levels of male out-migration
- ❖ Caste-like social hierarchy



Schools in the fieldwork commune

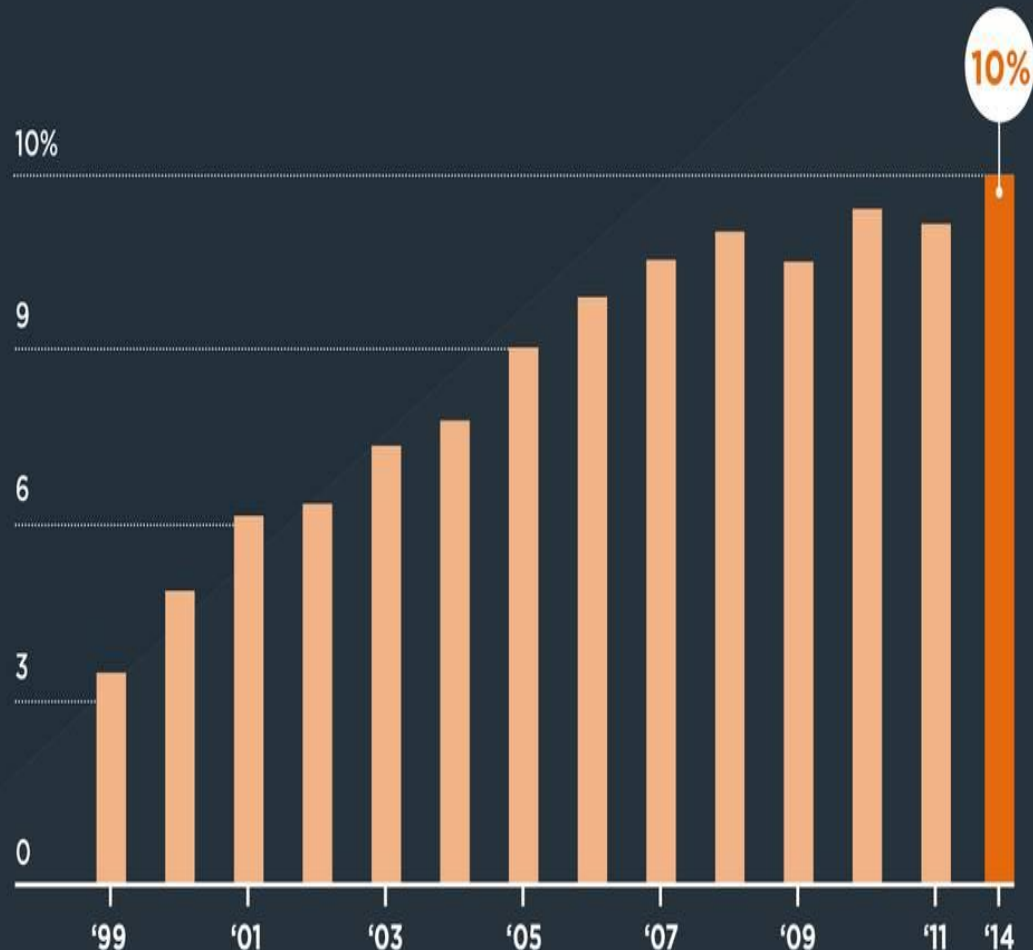
Secular state school (primary to baccalaureate)

Qur'anic schools (full-time or part-time)



RELYING ON REMITTANCES?

Senegalese migrants sent home at least 930 billion CFA francs (\$1.6 billion) in 2015, with these remittances eclipsing international aid for Senegal and accounting for more than 10 percent of its gross domestic product (GDP)



SOURCE: WORLD BANK

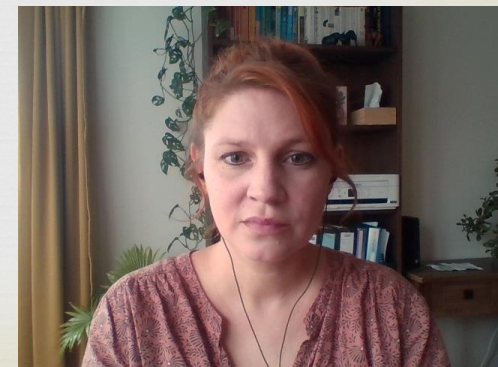
Northern Senegal:

30-50% of active males are absent

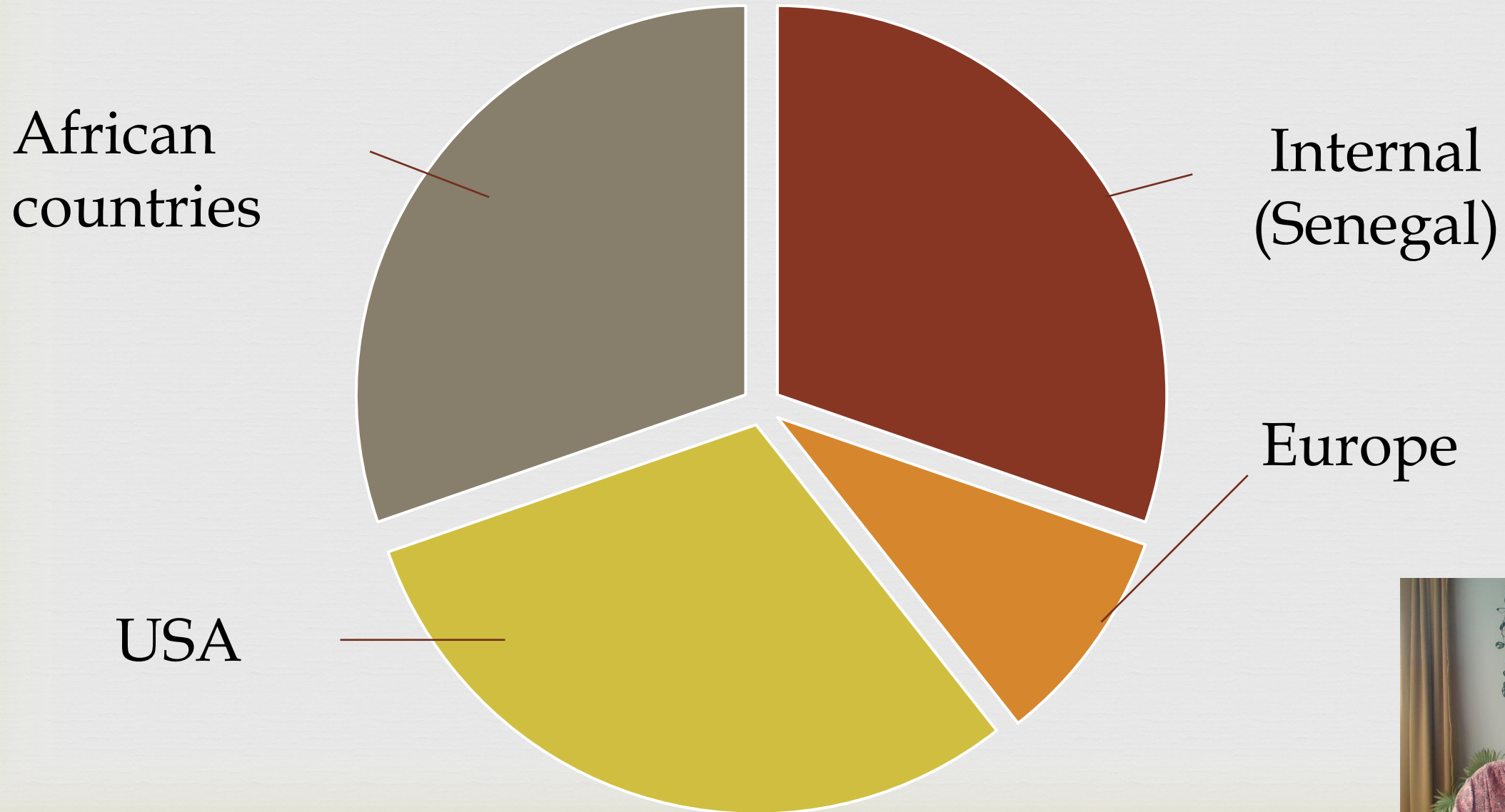
‘Culture(s) of migration’

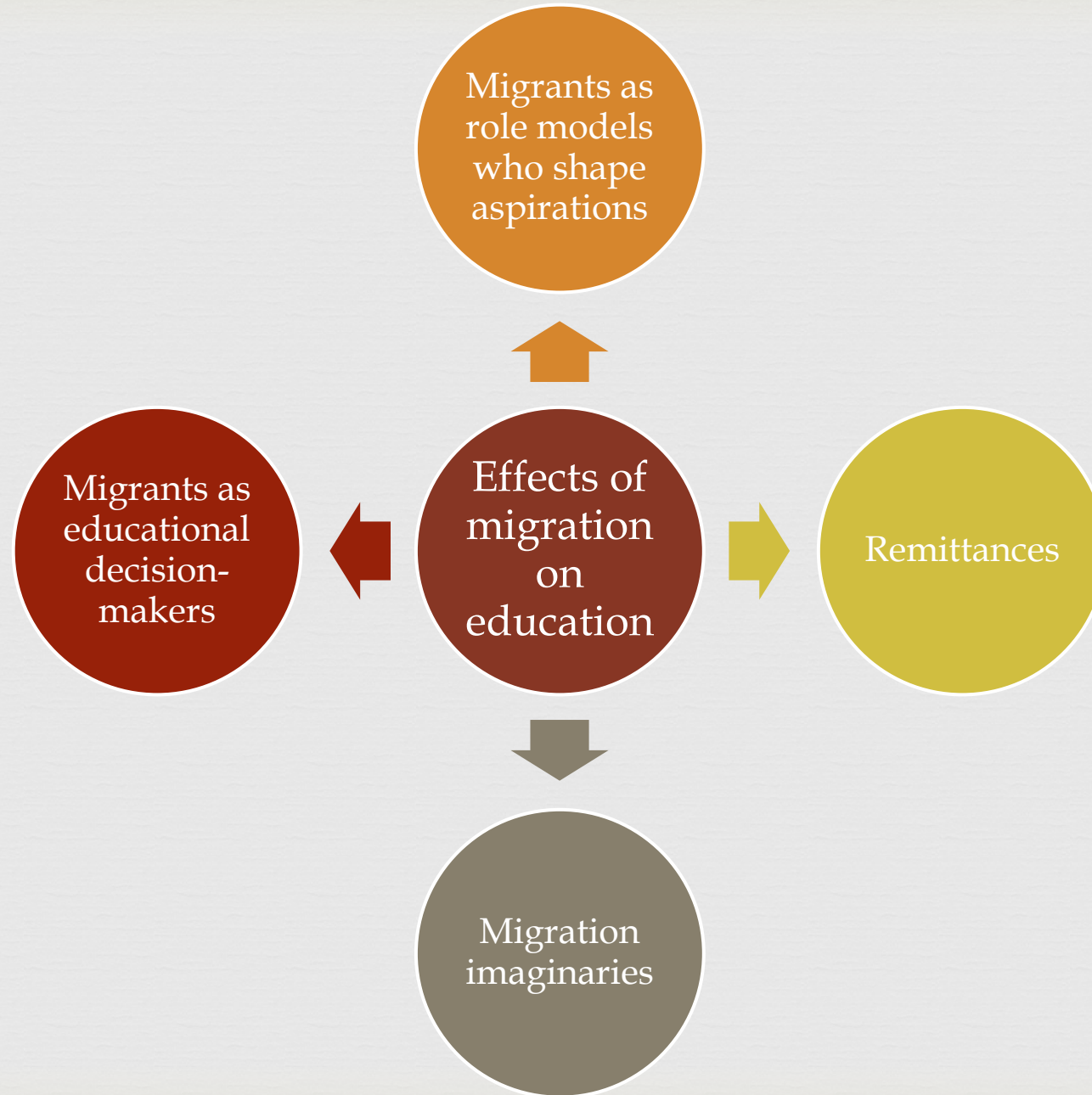
Migration traditionally strongly gendered

Migrant is the main “figure of success” for men



Destinations of migrants from Medina Diallobé (fieldwork commune) (2007)





Social hierarchy in Haapulaar society

Freeborn



Includes Muslim clerical families
(*toorobe*)

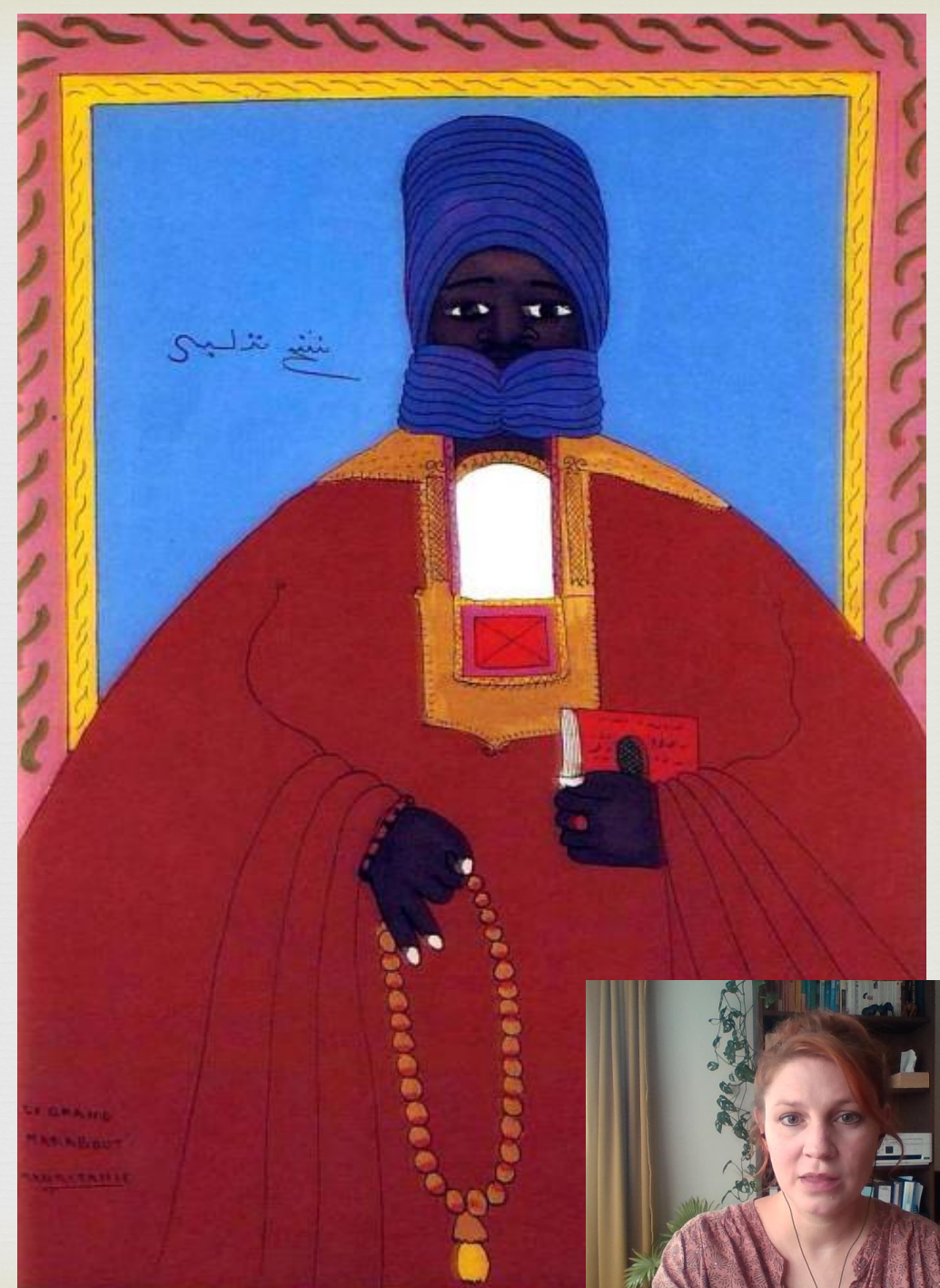


Men of this status group dominated economic resources (land) and political authority

→ Could migrate more easily

Artisans

Descendants
of slaves



Young men's educational trajectories and aspirations



....as shaped by migration,
masculinity, status group, and
socioeconomic status

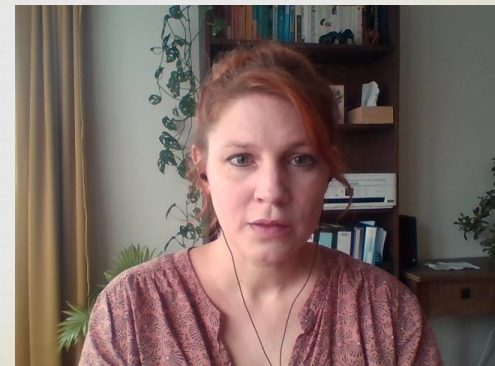


Three main kinds of educational trajectories among young men

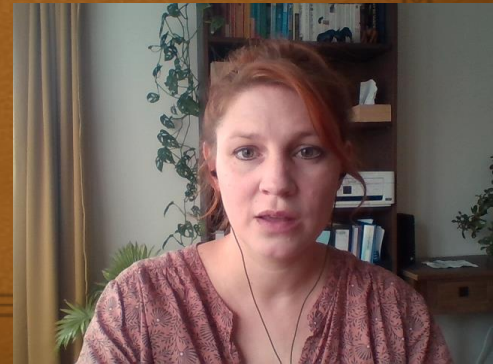
1 Full-time
Qur'anic
school

2 Complete
primary;
then drop
out

3 Invest in
*collège /
lycée*
diplomas



1. Young men in full-time Quranic schools



Parents' reasons for preferring Qur'anic schools

- ❧ Spiritual benefits (*baraka*)
- ❧ Prestige for men of *toorodo* lineages
- ❧ Agriculture, trade, religious professions
- ❧ Migration





The value of education? (Arabic teacher)

“Often your studies don’t link to a profession, whether it’s French [state] school or Qur’anic school. People here go to university, but then they migrate and become taxi drivers.

I have an uncle who was a physics and a chemistry teacher, he had a Masters’ degree. He went to [university] and now he’s a taxi driver





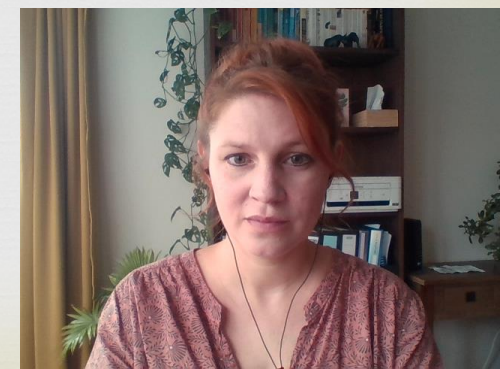
Mens' desired migration routes



Family reunification
'Embassy method'



Visa within Africa



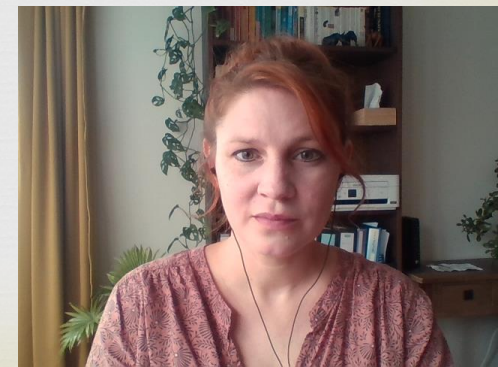


The impact of migrants on education: Moussa (*toorodo*, 40)

“Lots of migrants are now demanding that their younger siblings and cousins go to state school instead of Qur’anic school, as a condition for sending back money. My cousin does this.

They attended the Qur’anic school and went to the USA in 2000-2001.

They realised that they have to do manual labour while those with state schooling, who can read, can be a team supervisor and sit inside at a desk all day.”



2. Young men who complete primary
but then drop out / during *collège*



Parents reasons for choosing state schools

- ❧ Value of 'being educated'
- ❧ Prestige
- ❧ Money from formal sector jobs in Senegal



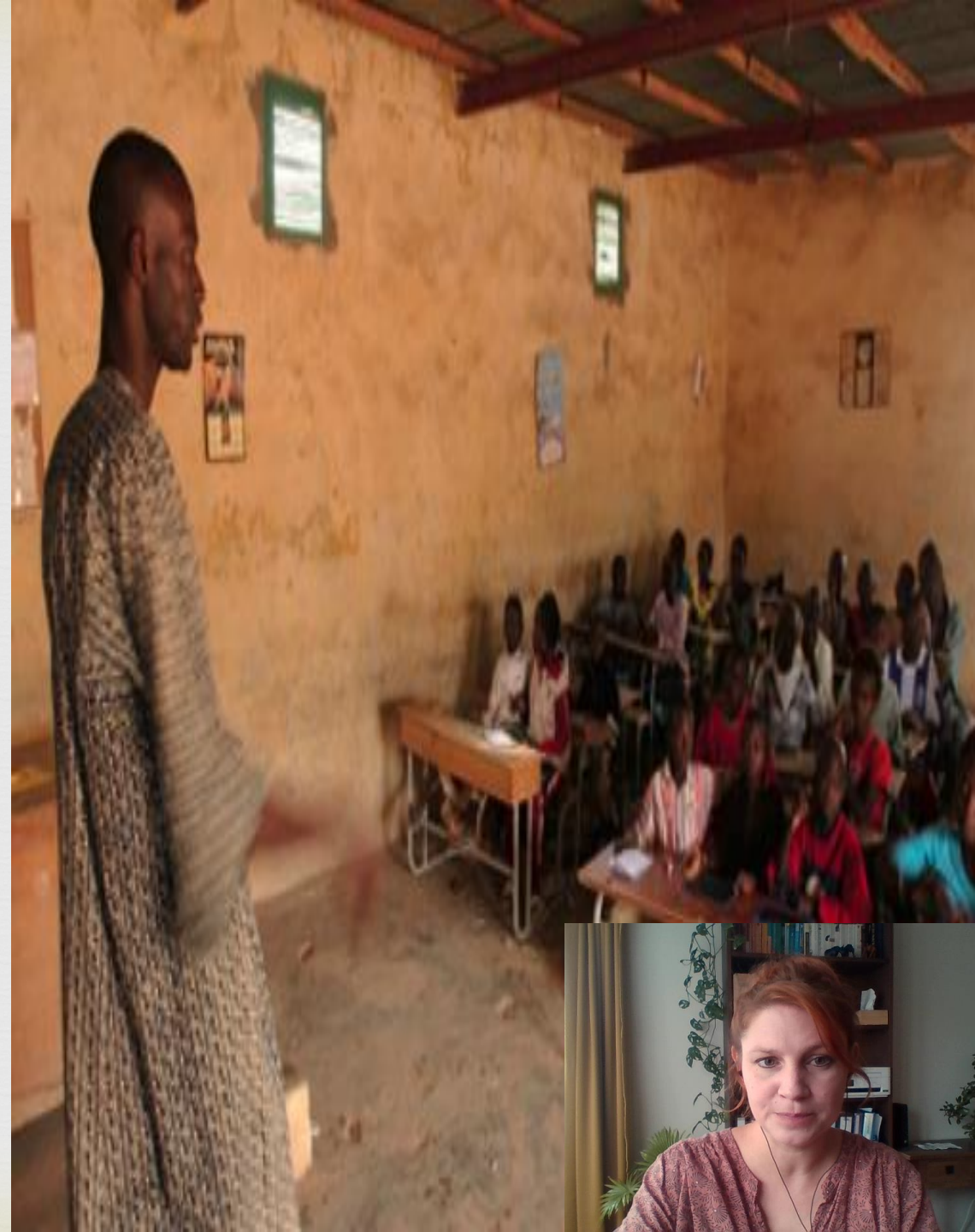
Dropping out of school after primary (Director Thioye)

“Here there aren’t good role models for the pupils, so they don’t value schooling much.

They see what it leads to, they only see teachers and poorly paid civil servants. That doesn’t interest them.

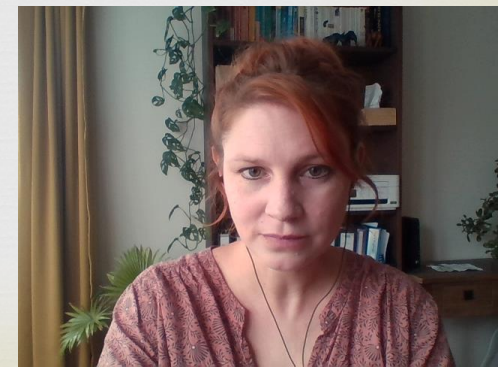
Then they see rich migrants who have gone abroad and built houses here and married young girls, and that’s what they want.

I know three big houses in this neighbourhood being built by the most recent wave of migrants who went to the US. Those are the role models people see here.”





Trade is a form of “fall-back employment”, a livelihood young men know that they can rely on regardless of education, which leads to lower investment in secondary schooling



3. Young men who invest in *collège / lycée* diplomas

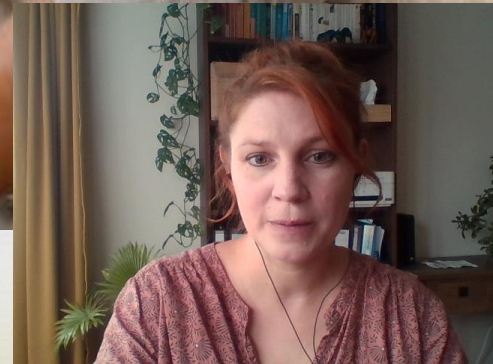


Investing in high school (Kalidou, *ceddo*, 24)

“It’s hard here, girls prefer to marry a migrant [...] so you get to thinking, what’s the point [of investing in school]... Some girls only want money...

...though others say they want to marry a man who is here, they don’t want someone abroad for twenty years.

Those men leave their wife here, that’s not normal, she will become a prostitute. She has [sexual] needs, both men and women do, it’s natural, and she will go elsewhere if you’re not here to satisfy them.”



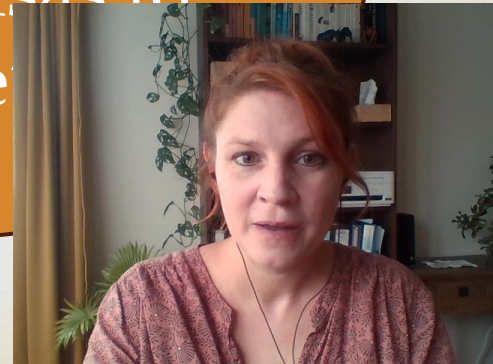
Men lacking
networks or
capital, from
disadvantaged
status groups

Pro-school
discourses

Hint of
defensiveness,
migrant still main
figure of success

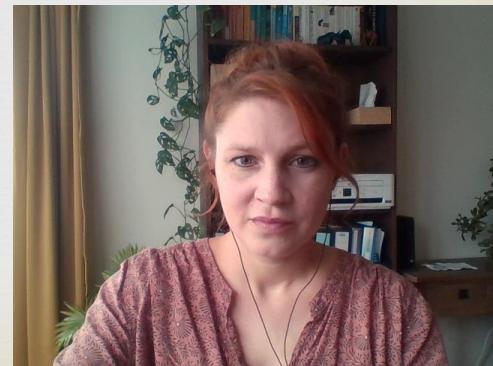


“Schooling is seen
as a trampoline to
getting visas to
leave



Conclusions

- Transnational migration (migrants as role models, decision-makers + remittance providers, the imagined realities of migration) has complex and sometimes contradictory effects on youth's educational aspirations and trajectories
- Educational aspirations among young men reflect common preoccupations relating to local constructions of masculinity tied to bread-winning, the weak economy of the region, and the 'culture of migration'
- Yet, men's educational trajectories are widely divergent due to the intersections of masculinity with different status group or 'caste' identities, variations in socioeconomic status, and family precedent



Thanks for listening!

