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**Article:**

Cohen, E. [orcid.org/0000-0001-5643-1473](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5643-1473), Gradidge, P.J.-L., Ndao, A. et al. (7 more authors) (2019) Biocultural determinants of overweight and obesity in the context of nutrition transition in Senegal: a holistic anthropological approach. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 51 (4). pp. 469-490. ISSN 0021-9320

<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021932018000287>

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**Biocultural determinants of overweight and obesity in the  
context of nutrition transition in Senegal: a holistic  
anthropological approach**

Journal:	<i>Journal of Biosocial Science</i>
Manuscript ID	JBS-4430.R3
Manuscript Type:	Research Article
Date Submitted by the Author:	n/a
Complete List of Authors:	Cohen, Emmanuel; CNRS, UMI 3189; University of the Witwatersrand Faculty of Health Sciences, DPHRU Gradidge, Philippe; University of the Witwatersrand Faculty of Health Sciences, Centre for Exercise Science and Sports Medicine Ndao, Amadou; CNRS, UMR 8177 Duboz, Priscilla; CNRS, UMI 3189 Macia, Enguerran; CNRS, UMI 3189 Gueye, Lamine; CNRS-UCAD, UMI 3189 Boëtsch, Gilles; CNRS, UMI 3189 Pasquet, Patrick; CNRS-MNHN, UMR 7206 Holdsworth, Michelle; University of Sheffield, SCHARR Chapuis-Lucciani, Nicole; CNRS, UMI 3189
Keywords:	Ecohealth, Obesity, Population Health

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1 **Biocultural determinants of overweight and obesity in the context of**  
2 **nutrition transition in Senegal: a holistic anthropological approach**

3

4 Running title: **Determinants of overweight and obesity in Senegal**

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27 **Keywords:** Ecohealth, Obesity, Population Health.

**28 Abstract**

29 Senegal is experiencing a rising obesity epidemic, due to the nutrition transition occurring in  
30 most African countries, and driven by sedentary behavior and high-caloric dietary intake. In  
31 addition, the anthropological local drivers of the social valorization of processed high-calorie  
32 food and large body sizes could expose the population to obesity risk. Hence, this study aimed  
33 to determine the impact of these biocultural factors on the nutritional status of Senegalese  
34 adults. A mixed-methods approach was used, including qualitative and quantitative studies.  
35 Fourteen focus-groups (n=84) and a cross-sectional quantitative survey (n=313 women;  
36 n=284 men) of adults in three different socio-ecological areas of Senegal (rural: n=204;  
37 suburban: n=206; urban: n=187) were conducted. Dietary intake (Dietary Diversity Scores),  
38 physical activity (International Physical Activity Questionnaire), body weight norms (Body  
39 Size Scale), weight and health statuses (anthropometric measures and blood pressure) were  
40 measured. We found that middle-aged and older Senegalese women valued  
41 overweight/obesity more than younger Senegalese in all regions. In addition, young  
42 urban/suburban adults had a tendency for daily snacking whilst urban/suburban adults tended  
43 to be less physically active and had higher anthropometric means. A binary logistic regression  
44 model showed that being female, older, living in urban/suburban areas and valuing larger  
45 body size were independently associated with being overweight/obese, but not high-calorie  
46 diet. Univariate analyses showed that lower physical activity and higher socioeconomic status  
47 were associated with being overweight/obese. Finally, overweight/obesity, which is low in  
48 men, is associated with hypertension in the total sample. To conclude, the nutrition transition  
49 is currently underway in Senegal's urban/suburban areas, with older women being more  
50 affected. Since joint effects of specific biocultural factors contribute to this phenomenon, the  
51 study's findings suggests the need for local public health interventions which target women  
52 and account for anthropological specificities of the Senegalese population.

**53 Introduction**

54 Obesity is widely known to be a global pandemic problem (Popkin et al., 2012), and is largely  
55 caused by the continuing nutrition transition (Morris, 2010). Low and Middle Income  
56 Countries (LMICs) are now facing a faster transition than in High Income Countries (HICs)  
57 caused by high urbanization rates which involve rapid short-term adaptive strategies  
58 potentially obesogenic (Downey, 2016; Olszowy et al., 2015). Indeed, the nutrition transition  
59 is characterized by changing dietary habits and sedentary lifestyles within on-going  
60 urbanization exposing to obesity and cardiometabolic diseases (Delpeuch, 2013). In sub-  
61 Saharan African populations, the level of obesity continues to increase more aggressively than  
62 in HICs (Stevens et al., 2012; Steyn & Mchiza, 2014; Connor Gorber et al., 2007). In  
63 addition, the prevalence of diet-related non-communicable diseases (NCDs) such as  
64 hypertension and type 2 diabetes are increasing in these settings (Ebrahim et al., 2013).

65 In the context of urbanization in Africa, which is characterized by a rural exodus and  
66 intensification of internal migration, new migrants are progressively exposed to NCDs  
67 (Oyebode et al., 2015). Nevertheless, their traditional preference for stoutness  
68 (overweight/obesity) seems to remain in these obesogenic areas, as observed in Ghana,  
69 Cameroon and Nigeria (Akindele et al., 2017; Appiah et al., 2016; Cohen et al., 2017).  
70 Indeed, the propensity towards stoutness is strengthened during the internal migration,  
71 particularly as this paradigm is viewed as a sign of successful integration into the modern  
72 urban lifestyle associated with abundance. In comparison, if the social valorization of  
73 stoutness is established in the rural setting where food insecurity is higher, this appreciation is  
74 moderate due to the high physical strength necessary for manual labor (De Garine, 1962; Sear  
75 & Marlowe, 2009). Thus, in urban obesogenic settings, this sociocultural phenomenon  
76 becomes pronounced as migrants from rural settings still believe in increasing fat stores to  
77 lower the risk of extreme undernutrition during times of seasonal adversity.

78 Urban migrants are therefore proud to flaunt their larger body size (Agyemang et al., 2009;  
79 Brown & Konner, 1987; De Garine, 1990). Accordingly, a social valorization of high body fat  
80 (Blocker & Freudenberg, 2001; Mvo et al., 1999) seems to be spreading in African  
81 populations and become a risk factor for excess fat accumulation, as observed in urban  
82 Cameroon (Cohen et al., 2013). This valorization of stoutness usually involves high-calorie  
83 food consumption (Bricas, 2008; Ndoye & Diop, 2001) and fattening practices associated  
84 with deliberate low physical activity practices to gain weight (Rguibi & Belahsen, 2006;  
85 Warnier, 2009). Therefore, this factor could be considered as a biocultural determinant of the  
86 obesity pandemic (Brewis, 2011), especially in African populations and the African diaspora  
87 (Flynn & Fitzgibbon, 1998; Krauss et al., 2012).

88 The present study focuses on Senegal, where little previous research has evaluated biocultural  
89 determinants of overweight/obesity as body weight perceptions. The Senegalese region is  
90 experiencing a nutrition transition (Abubakari et al., 2008; Maire et al., 1992), with intensified  
91 urbanization associated with a rural exodus (Duboz, et al., 2012). Thus, overweight has  
92 become prevalent in urban areas, where the physical environment has become obesogenic as a  
93 consequence of economic development (Macia et al., 2010), increasing sedentary behaviors  
94 and consumption of cheap processed foods accessible for working-classes living in poor  
95 urban neighborhoods (Drewnowski, 2009; Sobal & Stunkard, 1989; Temple & Steyn, 2011).

96 Nevertheless, for women living in the peripheral neighborhoods of Dakar, Senegal, this  
97 obesogenic physical environment could be compounded by the sociocultural environment  
98 since these women value stoutness and want to deliberately gain weight (Gning et al., 2007;  
99 Holdsworth et al., 2004). Indeed, traditional views of body size in Senegal promote stoutness  
100 in women as a symbol of a peaceful and wealthy household (Ndiaye, 2006), and this trend  
101 persists with the current rural exodus (Duboz et al., 2011) involving a valorization of

102 processed and high-calorie food from populations with a lower socioeconomic status (SES) in  
103 Dakar (Bricas, 2008; Ndoye & Diop, 2001).

104 Senegalese urban areas present both ecological and sociocultural obesogenic components, i.e.  
105 a physical and sociocultural environment that facilitates obesity (Macia et al., 2017), as  
106 observed in other African countries (Cohen et al., 2017). This dynamic social-ecological  
107 context (Saarloos et al., 2009) has its own anthropological specificities involving a complex,  
108 unique and potentially obesogenic lifestyle (Ulijaszek & Lofink, 2006). Nevertheless, the  
109 impact of the social valorization of stoutness on weight gain is uncertain. Although this  
110 biocultural factor i.e. between physical and sociocultural environments, may have  
111 implications for physical activity and eating behaviors, this interaction is rarely studied.

112 The literature has identified many determinants which play a major role in the development of  
113 obesity, caused by both heredity and social-ecological environment (Popkin & Gordon-  
114 Larsen, 2004). Nevertheless, each human population could be exposed simultaneously to  
115 several determinants of obesity. The knowledge on the interaction between these determinants  
116 to accurately characterise the nature of the obesogenic exposure in different contexts remain  
117 relatively unknown by multiple scientific approaches, except holistic anthropology (Parkin &  
118 Ulijaszek, 2007). An anthropological global investigation using an integrative approach is  
119 relevant to understand complex human interdisciplinary phenomena such as obesity (Dufour,  
120 2006), and was used in this study to identify how ecological and sociocultural environments  
121 within this lifestyle change interact with each other to expose the population to overweight,  
122 obesity and hypertension in Senegal (Saarloos et al., 2009). Therefore, this study's innovative  
123 aims were to (1) determine the joint influence of biocultural factors (body weight perceptions,  
124 eating behaviors, physical activity) on the nutritional status of Senegalese migrating from a  
125 rural to urban/suburban area in Dakar, and (2) to provide a holistic understanding of the  
126 Senegalese nutrition transition to identify its stage experienced by the country.

## 127 **Material and Methods**

### 128 *Scope of the study*

129 Two contrasting areas were compared: the agglomeration of Dakar (city center and suburb)  
130 and a rural area of the Wolof region (inside three villages of the Kaolack region: Diamaguene,  
131 Keur Ndary Ndiaye and Gandiaye) where the socioeconomic conditions of inhabitants are one  
132 of the lowest of the country (AG/GRN-GTZ, 2004). Using this framework we conducted (i) a  
133 qualitative study to identify biocultural determinants of overweight/obesity including body  
134 weight norms; physical activity and diet practices; (ii) a quantitative study to assess the  
135 respective effects of these determinants using specific African photographic stimuli (Body  
136 Size Scales, BSS) associated with a body image assessment guide (BIAG) and a questionnaire  
137 assessing diet and physical activity, and (iii) anthropometric measurements. Overall, the  
138 results from these integrated analyses facilitated a comparison between the cultural reality of  
139 Senegalese adults and their urban physical environment, to (1) determine the joint influence  
140 of biocultural determinants of obesity as the valorization of stoutness, high-calorie eating  
141 practices and sedentary behaviors on their nutritional health status, in order to (2) globally  
142 understand the nutrition transition and identify its progress in Senegal.

143

### 144 *Qualitative study*

145 *Study design.* The aim of this analysis was to define the biocultural determinants of  
146 overweight/obesity by: (i) describing the different vernacular conceptions associated with  
147 body weight: fertility, power, well-being, good health and beauty (Mvo et al., 1999), (ii)  
148 identifying the different culinary local practices that characterize the Senegalese diet, (iii)  
149 analyzing their relationship with physical activity, and (iv) detecting whether acculturation is  
150 occurring. This process was also integral for the completion of the quantitative study, since  
151 the variables tested by our measurement tools (BSS, BIAG and questionnaire) cannot be

6

152 isolated from their sociocultural context. The results of this qualitative study were important  
153 to: (i) identify the local norms of body weight, diet and physical activity, and (ii) interpret  
154 results of the quantitative study. Indeed, we used the qualitative data on the diet, physical  
155 activity and body weight norms to test for causal links between these aspects and weight gain,  
156 which would have been impossible to establish based on quantitative data only. We used the  
157 combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches to (i) demonstrate the effect of social  
158 valorization of stoutness, diet and physical activity on the development of overweight/obesity,  
159 and to (ii) assess how these phenomena are impacting a specific population.

160 *Sampling and process.* To determine these local norms and identify the influence of modern  
161 lifestyle on it, a qualitative study using focus-groups explored in-depth local representations  
162 of overweight/obesity determinants (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990). Fourteen focus groups  
163 were conducted, composed of 6 participants per group recruited from various neighborhoods  
164 of the two areas according to three criteria (Tables 1 and 2). Firstly, '**age**' (< 25 years, and >  
165 45 years); secondly '**sex**', thirdly '**educational level**' (< high school level: non-completion of  
166 high school,  $\geq$  high school level: completion of high school), or fourthly '**occupational**  
167 **category level**' (low occupational level, e.g. manual trades, small shopkeepers; high income  
168 occupational level, e.g. senior executive level, healthcare professional). We could not  
169 consider only educational level since it does not cover the total population in rural and urban  
170 areas as the percentage of highly educated people is low, especially in elders. It was replaced,  
171 when necessary, by the occupational category level, the two indices being positively  
172 correlated in Dakar. We conducted 6 focus-groups in a rural area (Kaolack region) and 8 in an  
173 urban area (Dakar agglomeration) since the socioeconomic and educational gradients among  
174 rural middle-aged and elderly people were very low (ANSD-ICF, 2015).

175 We selected participants inside a network of relationships from local interviewers with  
176 experience conducting local anthropological studies. Contrary to the quantitative study, the

177 subjects' study participation was somewhat arbitrary as (i) their acceptance to participate in  
178 the detailed protocol may have depended on their inclusion in our network, and (ii) our study  
179 required participants with sufficient knowledge and interest regarding the research. These two  
180 criteria were simultaneously assessed while screening candidates for study participation. Even  
181 though this sample aimed at covering the Senegalese point of views on our topic, our  
182 qualitative study was not fully representative of the population as participants (key  
183 informants) were selected via their relationship with some of the research assistants.  
184 Nevertheless, the sample presented a balanced sex ratio and all participants belonged to the  
185 Wolophone group. Focus groups were performed in neighborhoods to allow each participant  
186 to express themselves in a familiar context without exterior pressure, and recorded with a  
187 handheld recorder. Focus groups (and all other methods) were conducted in Wolof, the main  
188 vernacular language of the participants, and then translated into French and transcribed.  
189 Finally, data saturation for the focus groups was reached after all participants had the  
190 opportunity to express their point of view for each discussion point.

191

### 192 *Quantitative survey*

193 *Perceptions of corpulence.* To accurately assess body weight perceptions and identify the  
194 potential social valorization of overweight/obesity, we used the Body Size Scale (BSS). This  
195 validated tool presents real human body sizes photographs of both sexes, covering the total  
196 gradient of the body mass index (BMI) (Cohen et al., 2015). Then, we built a body image  
197 assessment guide (BIAG) to contrast local Senegalese norms with scientific norms of body  
198 weight measured by the BSS, as already employed in one of our previous studies (Cohen &  
199 Pasquet, 2011). The BIAG consists of three questions about current body size (CBS), desired  
200 body size (DBS) and ideal body size (IBS) for oneself as well as one's partner (for polygamist  
201 households, we included the first wife). We compared the responses for these items between

8

202 participants living in urban, suburban and rural areas, to assess possible changes in corpulence  
203 norms with the urbanization process. In addition, a *social valorization of overweight/obesity*  
204 *index* was constructed from the BSS to accurately assess the desire to gain weight.

205 *Dietary intake.* To assess dietary intake, we firstly used the Dietary Diversity Score (DDS), a  
206 qualitative 24-hour recall, to assess the diversity of food group composition (Savy et al.,  
207 2006). The Food and Agriculture Organization developed the DDS, based on 16 main food  
208 categories (e.g. cereals, green vegetables, oils, meats), and we used this tool to assess the  
209 dietary diversity in Senegal (FAO, 2011). The DDS is observed to be a good indicator of  
210 global diet changes in the context of the nutrition transition (Oldewage-Theron and Kruger,  
211 2008). Precisely, the DDS and BMI are positively correlated in the context of staple food  
212 accessibility (Savy et al., 2006; Karimbeiki et al., 2018). Secondly, we also evaluated whether  
213 urbanization in Senegal involves obesogenic eating practices by assessing (1) the frequency of  
214 snacking in the last 24 hours through this question: “Have you nibbled yesterday? If so, how  
215 often?”; (2) the daily frequency of snacking – the snacking average perceived by subjects –  
216 through this second question: “How many times have you nibble a day?: less than once [1],  
217 once [2], twice [3], three times [4], continuously [5]”; and (3) the desire to adopt a high-  
218 calorie diet through this last question: “What does it mean "eat well" for you?”.

219 *Physical activity.* To assess the duration of physical activity, we used four items from the  
220 International Physical Activity Questionnaire (IPAQ) (Craig et al., 2003). The daily averages  
221 (in hours) of intensive physical activity level (digging, carrying heavy loads, make efforts  
222 intensely, etc...), moderate physical activity level (wear light loads, yields, cycle quietly,  
223 etc...), walking and sedentary behavior levels were calculated from the number of days and  
224 the duration of physical activity in the last seven days prior to completing the questionnaire.

225 *Health status perception.* Using the BSS, a *body self-satisfaction index* was calculated to  
226 identify subjects as either satisfied with their body weight, wanting to gain or lose weight.

227 This BSS index was compared with BMI categories to assess the body self-satisfaction of  
228 participants according to their body weight status.

229 *Anthropometry.* A set of anthropometric measurements was taken by trained fieldworkers,  
230 using standardized procedures (Weiner & Lourie, 1981). Height was measured to the nearest  
231 mm using a portable stadiometer (Siber Hegner, Zurich, Switzerland). Weight was measured  
232 with participants in very light clothing, to the nearest 100g, using a digital beam scale (Tanita,  
233 Tokyo, Japan). Overweight was defined as  $BMI \geq 25$  and  $<30 \text{ kg/m}^2$  and obesity by a  $BMI \geq$   
234  $30 \text{ kg/m}^2$ . Hip circumference (HC) and waist circumference (WC) were measured to the  
235 nearest mm in a standing position using a non-stretchable tape measure, according to standard  
236 procedures. The waist-to-hip ratio (WHR) was calculated to assess body fat distribution  
237 (WHO, 2000). Skinfold thickness measurements (mm) were taken at four sites: biceps,  
238 triceps, suprailiac, and subscapular using a Harpenden skinfold caliper (Holtain Ltd.,  
239 Crymych, UK). Fat mass (percentage of fat) was derived from the sum of the four skinfold  
240 measures (Durnin & Womersley, 1974).

241 In addition, two diastolic and systolic blood pressure (BP) measurements (mmHg) were taken  
242 with an electronic tensiometer (Omron France, Rosny-sous-Bois, France) at each arm, with  
243 the subjects in a seated position and after 15 minutes rest. Means between the two systolic and  
244 diastolic BP taken at each arm were calculated. Mean BP between systolic and diastolic BP  
245 means was defined as:  $(\text{diastolic BP} + 1/3) \times (\text{systolic BP} - \text{diastolic BP})$ . Hypertension was  
246 defined as: diastolic BP  $\geq 90$  and/or systolic BP  $\geq 140$  mmHg. This biometric protocol  
247 allowed us to assess the respondents' nutritional status and its association with hypertension.

248 *Samples.* We assembled a sample in the agglomeration of Dakar (city center and suburb) of  
249 393 adults (200 men/193 women; 187 urban and 206 suburban subjects) and a sample of 204  
250 adults in the Kaolack region (84 men/120 women). For both areas, we used a quota sampling  
251 strategy, according to three criteria (age, sex and neighborhood) from the 2002 National

252 Senegalese Census. Data for the regions investigated were provided by the Senegalese  
253 National Institute of Statistics and Demography. In Dakar agglomeration, participants were  
254 selected from all parts of the city and its peripheral region (e.g. Sacré Coeur, Cambérène).  
255 Rural area subjects were strictly inhabitants of the three villages cited above. Pregnant women  
256 and confused elders were excluded in order to collect reliable biological and cultural data.

257

## 258 ***Data analysis***

### 259 *Main analyses*

260 For the qualitative study, analyses were performed from thematic groupings to identify  
261 relevant emerging themes for each potential determinant of overweight/obesity (Mason,  
262 2002). After the identification of main themes (e.g. for social valorization of stoutness:  
263 idealization of urban abundance; for diet: urban food pleasure; and for physical activity:  
264 valorization of idleness), we summarized the main information from each theme and  
265 compared the social representations and practices related to these in our three subsamples.

266 For the quantitative study, we used analysis of variance and covariance (ANOVA/ANCOVA),  
267 and t-test (post-hoc analyses) to assess anthropometric characteristics and body size standards;  
268 Chi<sup>2</sup> and Fisher Exact test to assess the prevalence of overweight/obesity and hypertension.  
269 The average comparisons between CBS and DBS/IBS were implemented by paired t-test. We  
270 also used two Principal Component Analyses (PCA) and one multiple Factorial  
271 Correspondence Analysis (FCA) to respectively construct proxy socio-economic and high-  
272 calorie diet indices and analyze the food consumption. Finally, a binary logistic regression  
273 model was carried out to assess the risk factors for overweight/obesity.

274 *Socioeconomic status.* A proxy index of household wealth was constructed using a PCA from  
275 a set of variables: e.g. owner/tenant, type of house, car/truck, mobile phone, electricity. In the  
276 total sample, the first principal component explained 40.1% of the variance with an Eigen

277 value of 19.7 (5.3 for the second principal component). Households were classified into three  
278 distinct groups: ‘low’, ‘middle’ and ‘high’ SES levels according to tertiles of the calculated  
279 variable from the first principal component.

#### 280 *Migration status*

281 The migration profile of subjects was deduced through the creation of one variable, the  
282 “duration of residence in urban/suburban areas” coded into six categories: 0 years; 1-10 years;  
283 11-20 years; 21-30 years; 31-40 years; >40 years. This urban/suburban length of residence  
284 was investigated to see whether it was associated with nutritional status.

285 *Body image.* The BSS was treated as a metric value, each human picture ranging from 1 to 9  
286 according to increasing BMI categories. The *social valorization of overweight/obesity index*  
287 was constructed as: 4 minus DBS; since the fifth silhouette on the scale corresponds to  
288 overweight. Then, the *body self-satisfaction index* was calculated by subtracting the CBS and  
289 DBS (CBS-DBS) (Williamson et al., 1993).

290 *Dietary intake.* Dietary diversity was coded by: lower DDS (< 7 different categories of food  
291 groups); or higher DDS ( $\geq 7$  different categories of food groups). Snacking frequency was  
292 coded as: lower snacking (< 3 times/day), or higher snacking ( $\geq 3$  times/day). The item on the  
293 desire to adopt a high-calorie diet was coded as “higher-calorie diet” for modalities suggesting  
294 an obesogenic diet (e.g. eating filling food, eating at irregular times, eating high-calorie food)  
295 and as “lower-calorie diet” for the other modalities (e.g. eating a balanced diet, eating at  
296 regular hours, eating fruits and vegetables, etc.). A multiple FCA of the different items of  
297 dietary intake allowed the analysis of food consumption in the context of urbanization. In  
298 addition, a proxy high-calorie diet index was constructed using a PCA from the different  
299 items of questionnaire suggesting obesogenic dietary intake (high DDS, snacking in the last  
300 24 hours, daily snacking, and craze for high-calorie foods). The first principal component  
301 explains 31.9% of the variance with an Eigen value of 1.3 (1.0 for the second principal

302 component). Caloric diet was classified into three distinct groups: ‘low’, ‘middle’, and ‘high’  
303 levels of caloric intake from the first principal component which synthesized snacking  
304 practices.

305 *Physical activity.* Finally, a physical activity index was constructed for moderate and high  
306 intensity physical activity defined in the IPAQ. Physical activity was coded as: lower physical  
307 activity (0 days of moderate and intensive physical activities practiced during the last week);  
308 and higher physical activity ( $\geq 1$  days of moderate and/or intensive physical activities  
309 practiced during the last week).

310 *Relationships between beliefs, practices and body weight.* The relationships (adjusted odds  
311 ratios (OR), 95% confidence intervals (CI)) between overweight/obesity and their plausible  
312 determinants (sex, age, area living, proxy index of household income, level of education,  
313 dietary intake, social valorization of overweight/obesity index, high intensity physical  
314 activity) were assessed with a binary logistic regression model.

315 For the qualitative analyses, we used the NVivo 7 software (QSR International, Melbourne,  
316 Australia) to synthesize the main outcomes of focus-group. For the quantitative analyses we  
317 used the Statistica 13 software (Statsoft Inc, Tulsa, OK, USA) for conducting descriptive  
318 statistics and PCA(s) and FCA; and MyStat 12 software (Systat Software Inc, San Jose, CA,  
319 USA) for the logistic regression. Finally, qualitative and quantitative approaches were  
320 assigned equal weight in the interpretation of the findings.

321

## 322 **Results**

### 323 *Qualitative study*

#### 324 *The social valorization of stoutness*

325 Idealization of urban abundance. The development of urban areas in Senegal involves an ideal  
326 conception of a modern lifestyle, where success is seen as possible for rural and migrant

327 populations who idealize western culture. Integrating into an urban lifestyle is associated with  
328 weight gain, scarce in the village setting, as a symbol of integration into the city, taking  
329 advantage of its abundance. But in rural areas, only a limited corpulence is valued, since high  
330 fatness is not adapted to rural labor. Hence, this social valorization of stoutness increases  
331 alongside the emerging modern lifestyle, seen as a symbol of wealth and prosperity. For  
332 example, one participant explained:

333 *“According to my vision of the two eras, everyone knows that at present, women intentionally*  
334 *overeate high-calorie food and use medication (corticosteroids); especially for us, women..., it*  
335 *differs from the grandparents’ eras when they spoke of **am yaram [have weight]**. If you're too*  
336 *rey [stout] in the village, you will not be able to work or cultivate; it's not valued... But*  
337 *women today in the city, no one knows they are taking medications (corticoids) that increase*  
338 *their overweight.” [Older urban woman, high SES]*

339 Manifestation of urban success in rural area. Improvements in SES which accompany  
340 urbanization, expressed through weight gain is especially the case for middle-aged and elderly  
341 married women, living in suburbs of Dakar with a low SES, who are less receptive to modern  
342 representations of body size. They generally maintain regular contact with the rural universe  
343 through traditional celebrations (weddings, etc.) in which it is important to present a  
344 “beautiful body”: corpulent and dressed with smart traditional loose clothes. The experiences  
345 of younger people are different, as illustrated by this young man:

346 *“People in villages are ignorant. If you are **am yaram [have weight]**, automatically they think*  
347 *that you are in good health but it is not always true! If you come back to the village after*  
348 *urban living, people will say: “You eat your money!” People in the regions do not see like*  
349 *Dakar people, they all want to come in Dakar. For them, if you migrate to Dakar, you have*  
350 *no more worries, you have everything you want; whereas in Dakar, firstly we do not always*  
351 *eat well, secondly, times get tough. Thus, a woman who returned to the village **am yaram***

352 *[have weight] and khess [thinning skin], people said that Dakar is prosperous for you!"*

353 *[Younger urban man, low educational level]*

354

355 *Diet perceptions and practices*

356 Devaluation of traditional food in young people. Intergenerational conflict has emerged

357 between parents and youths concerning culinary practices. Parents condemn the use of

358 modern foods based on rice, oil, "cube-maggi", meat and fast-food, whereas westernized

359 youths no longer appreciate traditional diets mainly based on millet and vegetables. As

360 illustrated by the following participant:

361 *"...in the current situation in many homes, if you cook ngourban [millet seeds boiled and*

362 *ground], children will not eat that. They will not even touch it because times are not the same.*

363 *Children hardly know this diet. What they know is that you cook now to eat, and this is what*

364 *causes endless damage to us. What would be safer for us are alternatives, but cooking with oil*

365 *as we do for ceebu jën [rice with fish], that's not good. With that, we cannot expect to have a*

366 *healthy body."* [Older rural man]

367 Urban food pleasure. The urbanization process is perceived as the era of comfort and pleasure

368 in lay norms. Therefore, it is not possible for westernized youth to accept eating "simple

369 food" just to meet basic living needs, for example:

370 *"Many people flock to Dakar because there is the atmosphere there. The diet is different. In*

371 *Dakar, the food is tasty, there are sandwiches, burgers, chawarmas. Here you can go six*

372 *months without eating burgers or something like that. Here you eat couscous of millet and*

373 *foõdé [millet porridge with grains], that's all. Therefore many people prefer to go to Dakar*

374 *for that. They flee the food here and also the hard work in the fields."* [Younger rural man]

375

376

377 *Physical activity*

378 Valorization of idleness in older women. The social value of overweight also involves a desire  
379 to decrease daily physical activity, i.e. the practice of idleness, based on reclusion at home,  
380 regular sleep and moreover achieving “peace of mind”: the avoidance of worries, social  
381 pressures. The obsession to ostentatiously demonstrate household economic success in poor  
382 urban neighborhoods, through spouses’ weight gain, involves a real change in lifestyle to  
383 become fat: the search of a simple life without stress, unnecessary actions and desire to gain  
384 an “authentic weight”:

385 *“During the day I closed my door and I quietly and sufficiently slept. That's how I gained*  
386 *weight. The aim, it is above all to be **xel mu dal [have peace of mind]**. If you take the most*  
387 *appropriate diet to gain weight while you are not **xel mu dal**, it does not work. You have to be*  
388 *comfortable in your head ... Sleeping the day, it's also great to gain weight. At a certain point,*  
389 *all I could not have, I did not care anymore. I was trying not to break my head. Everything*  
390 *that could give me peace of mind, I did.” [Older urban woman, high socioeconomic status]*

391 Frequent physical activity in young people. However, young people exposed to western media  
392 and medical discourse value physical activity, especially sport, e.g. jogging or bodybuilding  
393 for men. The most westernized young people want to practice regular physical activity to  
394 avoid weight gain during their life:

395 *“Modern clothes require a thin body! From 6pm, young people are at the beach doing sport*  
396 *to fight against the phenomenon of weight gain. Young people, especially in Dakar, tend to*  
397 *not want to gain weight, even for a wedding. It is old-fashioned.” [Younger urban man, high*  
398 *educational level]*

399

400

401

402 ***Quantitative survey***

403 *Perceptions of corpulence*

404 In all groups, men overestimated their body size (Table 3; Figure 1), and perceived  
405 themselves as being in the normal weight category. Those living in urban and rural regions  
406 showed a significantly greater desire to increase body weight to become overweight (CBS vs  
407 DBS:  $p < 0.01$  and  $p < 0.001$ ). Further, participants from all regions selected DBS and IBS in the  
408 normal weight category, while the suburban group had the lowest DBS and IBS averages and  
409 the highest CBS average. We observed in the urban and rural groups that IBS were  
410 significantly higher than CBS ( $p < 0.001$ ), but not in the suburban group.

411 ***Table 3***

412 All women perceived their partners to be in the overweight category (Table 3; Figure 1);  
413 however only rural women indicated that they wanted them to gain weight to be overweight  
414 ( $p < 0.01$ ). Both urban and suburban dwelling women showed a slight preference for their  
415 partner to lose weight. Rural women preferred both DBS and IBS in the overweight category,  
416 whereas urban/suburban women had a preference for DBS and IBS in the normal weight  
417 category ( $p < 0.001$ ). The masculine IBS of the urban women group was significantly lower  
418 than the CBS for their partner ( $p < 0.05$ ) and lower but not significantly in the suburban group.  
419 Conversely, masculine IBS was significantly higher than the CBS for the partner of rural  
420 women ( $p < 0.001$ ). Finally, the DBS and IBS of men for themselves were significantly lower  
421 than those of women for men ( $p < 0.001$ ).

422 ***Figure 1***

423 Concerning **women's** perceptions (Table 3; Figure 2), we observed that only suburban and  
424 rural groups overestimated their weight. Women in the urban and suburban groups perceived  
425 themselves as being in the overweight lower threshold, whereas rural women perceived  
426 themselves in the normal weight category ( $p < 0.001$ ), and were observed to have a desire to

427 gain weight ( $p<0.001$ ). The DBS and IBS averages were similar to those of women's  
428 perceptions for men: in the overweight threshold, except for rural women who clearly  
429 preferred the overweight category ( $p<0.001$ ). In addition rural women had an IBS  
430 significantly higher than their DBS ( $p<0.05$ ) and their CBS ( $p<0.001$ ).

431 All men perceived women to be in the normal weight category (Table 3; Figure 2), and rural  
432 men desired their partner to gain weight ( $p<0.001$ ). The IBS for women was the lowest in the  
433 urban men group and the highest in the rural men group. Rural men had a preference for  
434 feminine IBS significantly higher than their partner's CBS ( $p<0.01$ ), whereas IBS and CBS  
435 were not significantly different in urban/suburban groups. Finally, the DBS and IBS of  
436 women for themselves were significantly higher than those of men for women ( $p<0.001$ ).

437 *Figure 2*

#### 438 *Dietary intake*

439 The multiple Factorial Correspondence Analysis (FCA 1, Figure 3) of dietary intake related to  
440 risk of overweight/obesity (high DDS, high snacking level, desire for high-calorie foods)  
441 showed that middle-aged and elderly subjects adopted a lower-calorie diet than young  
442 Senegalese, even though they had a higher DDS and the dietary intake pattern of this second  
443 group seemed undetermined ( $p<0.001$ ;  $n=597$ ). Indeed, no point cloud was observable  
444 between youth and dietary intake variables. No dietary intake pattern was found with either  
445 nutritional status or region.

446 Univariate analyses showed a significant association between lower DDS and the rural  
447 lifestyle (49.5% vs 27.2% in urban/suburban areas,  $p<0.001$ ). Adjusted with age, we found  
448 significant DDS mean differences between urban/suburban and rural areas ( $8.7\pm 1.8$  in urban  
449 area,  $8.6\pm 1.8$  in urban area and  $7.5\pm 1.8$  in rural area,  $p<0.001$ ). In addition, we found a  
450 significant association between higher daily snacking and urban/suburban lifestyle (28.0% vs  
451 16.2% in rural area,  $p<0.01$ ), and younger age (39.0% vs 17.7% in older subjects,  $\leq 25$  years

452 old;  $p < 0.001$ ). However, higher daily snacking was not associated with overweight/obesity  
453 among young subjects ( $\leq 25$  years old). Finally, higher daily snacking was associated with  
454 young (48.6% vs 20.0% in older subjects,  $\leq 25$  years old) and young/middle-aged subjects  
455 (34.8% vs 0.07% in older subjects,  $\leq 45$  years old) living in both urban/suburban areas  
456 ( $p < 0.001$  for both groups).

### 457 *Figure 3*

#### 458 *Physical activity*

459 Durations of moderate and high intensity physical activities were lower in suburban than in  
460 rural areas (Table 4,  $p < 0.001$ ). Moderate physical activity was higher in rural than urban area  
461 ( $p < 0.001$ ), and high intensity physical activity was higher in urban than suburban area  
462 ( $p < 0.05$ ), and close to the level of the rural average. The level of sedentary behavior was  
463 highest in the urban area and the lowest in the rural area ( $p < 0.001$ ). There was no significant  
464 difference for the walking average. Then, univariate analyses showed a significant association  
465 between younger age ( $\leq 25$  years old) and the regular moderate and/or intensive physical  
466 activities ( $p < 0.01$ ) in both urban and suburban areas. We found the same pattern of results in  
467 young and middle-aged subjects ( $\leq 45$  years old;  $p < 0.001$ ) since 61.1% of them practiced these  
468 types of physical activities whereas only 30.9% of older subjects ( $> 45$  years old) practiced  
469 moderate and/or high intensity physical activities in urban/suburban areas.

### 470 *Table 4*

#### 471 *Anthropometry*

472 In urban/suburban areas, women were fatter and had lower mean BP values than men (Table  
473 5). In both sexes, groups from both urban and suburban areas had higher anthropometric  
474 indices than those from rural area, except for mean BP in both sexes. HC was significantly  
475 higher in men living in suburban areas compared with those living in urban settings. Similar

476 trends were found for BMI and WC but not significantly. No significant differences were  
477 found for mean BP between areas in both sexes.

478

#### *Table 5*

479 The prevalence of overweight and obesity in the total sample were significantly higher in  
480 urban/suburban than rural areas: respectively 29.6 vs 8.5% for overweight (Chi2,  $p < 0.001$ )  
481 and 11.8 vs 2.0% for obesity (Fisher Exact,  $p < 0.001$ ). In addition, 5.8% of young subjects  
482 ( $\leq 25$  years old) were overweight/obese, 23.0% of middle-aged subjects (25-45 years old) and  
483 40.5% of older subjects (Chi2,  $> 45$  years old;  $p < 0.001$ ); and 2.9% of young subjects ( $\leq 25$   
484 years old) were obese, 7.4% of middle-aged subjects (25-45 years old) and 16.9% of older  
485 subjects (Chi2,  $> 45$  years old;  $p < 0.001$ ). For hypertension, we only found a significant  
486 difference between urban/suburban and rural areas in young people ( $\leq 25$  years old): 15.6 vs  
487 6.1% (Fisher Exact,  $p < 0.05$ ). Finally, significant associations were observed between  
488 overweight/obesity (aggregated) and hypertension (48.9% in overweight/obese vs 19.3% in  
489 underweight/normal weight subjects, Chi2,  $p < 0.001$ ).

490

#### *Migration and nutritional status*

492 We observed a significant association between overweight/obesity and the length of residence  
493 in urban/suburban areas (Chi2,  $p < 0.001$ ). The percentage of overweight subjects strongly  
494 increases after 30 years of urban/suburban duration (Figure 4). No association between  
495 urban/suburban length of stay and overweight/obesity in rural Senegalese were found since  
496 none of them lived in a city.

497

#### *Figure 4*

498

#### *Health status perceptions*

499

500 Using the *body self-satisfaction index*, we observed that 52% of overweight/obese subjects  
501 were satisfied with their weight status versus 13.5% in underweight/normal weight subjects  
502 ( $p < 0.001$ ). Then, we observed that the majority of subjects who wanted to gain weight were  
503  $> 25$  years old (62.0%;  $p < 0.05$ ). Finally, using the *social valorization of overweight/obesity*  
504 *index*, we observed that the majority of subjects who valued overweight and obesity were  
505 women (60.2%;  $p < 0.001$ ) and those aged  $> 25$  years (74.1%;  $p < 0.05$ ). However, the difference  
506 in overweight valorization between age groups was only significant in women (younger/older  
507 women: 44.6% vs 65.5%,  $p < 0.01$ ; and younger/older men: 43.0% vs 42.4%).

508

#### 509 *Analysis of overweight/obesity determinants*

510 In the binary logistic regression model, the comparison of overweight/obese subjects (BMI  
511  $\geq 25$  kg/m<sup>2</sup>) with non-overweight (BMI  $< 25$  kg/m<sup>2</sup>) (Table 6) revealed an independent  
512 negative effect of the caloric diet, and independent positive effects of gender, age, living area  
513 and the social valorization of overweight/obesity. The risk of being overweight/obese was 3.6  
514 times higher in women than in men ( $p < 0.001$ ). Overweight/obesity increased with age  
515 ( $p < 0.001$ ) and urbanization ( $p < 0.001$ ). Indeed, we observed that the risk of being  
516 overweight/obese was 6.5 times higher in both urban/suburban areas than in the rural area.  
517 Overweight/obesity increased with the social valorization of overweight/obesity ( $p < 0.05$ ): the  
518 risk of being overweight/obese was 1.7 times higher among subjects who valued  
519 overweight/obesity than those who did not. Finally, univariate analyses showed that high SES  
520 was more likely to be associated with being overweight/obese ( $p < 0.05$ ), and the more likely  
521 that participants participated in moderate and/or high intensity physical activity, the less likely  
522 they were to be overweight/obese ( $p < 0.001$ ).

523

#### **Table 6**

524

**525 Discussion**

526 This study conjointly investigated the biocultural determinants of overweight and obesity in  
527 Senegal to globally understand, through a holistic view, the physical and sociocultural  
528 environmental aspects – i.e. the biocultural aspects – of the Senegalese nutrition transition and  
529 clearly identify its stage experienced by the country. Overall, despite the relative low  
530 prevalence of overweight and obesity in Dakar agglomeration, we observed that Senegalese  
531 have experienced health consequences related to this lifestyle transition highlighted by our  
532 mixed-methods study. More precisely, the internal migration from rural to urban/suburban  
533 areas was associated with a dynamic social-ecological obesogenic context: (1) a higher  
534 urban/suburban prevalence of overweight/obesity and hypertension, and (2) a valorization of  
535 stoutness, sedentary behaviors and higher SES exposing to overweight/obesity according to  
536 our qualitative and quantitative findings.

537 For urban/suburban Senegalese, the urbanization and specific biocultural factors involve a  
538 higher exposure to overweight/obesity identified in the binary logistic regression model.  
539 These findings have been observed in other populations who migrated to urban areas of  
540 LMICs as in Gambia and Botswana (Letamo, 2011; Siervo et al., 2006). In addition, the  
541 nutrition transition seems to be more evident in urban/suburban Senegalese women, who had  
542 mean BMI around  $25 \text{ kg/m}^2$ , as the findings of Macia et al. (2016). Our data supports the  
543 hypothesis that women in LMICs are more sensitive to the obesogenic effects of nutrition  
544 transition in urban areas as observed in other African countries, even though the Senegalese  
545 prevalence of overweight/obesity remains still low (Fezeu et al., 2008; Monteiro et al., 2004).

**546 *Social valorization of stoutness***

547 In spite of the social valorization of stoutness in traditional Senegalese culture, accentuated by  
548 the current lay portrayal of Dakar as an Eldorado, which seems to strengthen this process, this  
549 cultural trait tends to decrease in Dakar (urban/suburban areas), particularly in young women.

550 The Senegalese population seem to adapt their body size norms to the obesogenic urban  
551 environment and modern perceptions of body size, like other African populations  
552 experiencing internal migration in South Africa and external migration to Western countries  
553 (Renzaho et al., 2012; Szabo & Allwood, 2006). Indeed, the younger study participants  
554 devalued overweight and obesity unlike the older subjects, as identified in a Cameroonian  
555 rural-urban study (Dapi et al., 2007). Thus, in Dakar agglomeration, both DBS and IBS were  
556 approximately around overweight, especially in the middle-aged and older women, as  
557 observed in other African urban areas such as Kumasi, Ghana (Appiah et al., 2016); whilst the  
558 prevalence of overweight, obesity and hypertension were higher than in the rural area, as  
559 shown in South Africa (Steyn & Mchiza, 2014).

560 A preliminary recent Senegalese study on body image showed this women valorization of  
561 stoutness (Cohen et al., 2018), but our further analyses demonstrated that particularly women  
562 valued also overweight and obesity in men while most of participants overestimated their  
563 weight, a trend probably linked to the traditional depreciation of thinness (Ndiaye, 2006).  
564 Hence, in the binary logistic regression model, the social valorization of overweight and  
565 obesity was as an independent risk factor for overweight and obesity, as observed in previous  
566 studies conducted in Cameroon (Cohen et al., 2017; Cohen et al., 2013), since the majority of  
567 overweight/obese subjects did not want to lose weight. A phenomenon already identified in  
568 urban middle-aged Senegalese women (Holdsworth et al., 2004).

### 569 ***High-calorie dietary intake***

570 Then, even though Senegalese culture in the central Wolof region involves traditional culinary  
571 habits based on a low-calorie diet, essentially composed of frugal dishes of vegetables and  
572 millet, these culinary practices is being unappreciated today according to the qualitative study.  
573 Firstly by young people which want to discover the food pleasures in the city (Holdsworth et  
574 al., 2006; Ndoye & Diop, 2001), and also by older women in suburban area who intentionally

575 overeat and use corticosteroids to rapidly gain weight, as observed by Rguibi & Belahsen  
576 (2006) in Morocco. Thus, we observed that the DDS is higher in both suburban and urban  
577 areas, as well as the frequency of daily snacking. However, in the binary logistic regression  
578 model, this desire for food pleasure was not associated with overweight and obesity among  
579 young and middle aged subjects living in both suburban and urban areas.

580 The DDS measuring the quality of the dietary intake is not systematically associated with  
581 BMI (Salehi-Abargouei et al., 2016). Indeed, the literature attests that the DDS and BMI are  
582 positively correlated during times of guaranteed access to staple high-calorie food, a condition  
583 which is not in all Senegalese regions (Savy et al., 2006; Bosu, 2015; Karimbeiki et al., 2018).  
584 Furthermore, this result could also be explained by the ambivalent lifestyle experienced by the  
585 population. Young people exposed to a global consumer society are caught between food  
586 hedonism and the valorization of thinness (Hesse-Biber et al., 2006), while some older people  
587 maintain a traditional diet not obesogenic (Ndoye & Diop, 2001). Hence, the FCA showed  
588 that the dietary patterns of middle-aged and older subjects were associated with lower-calorie  
589 dietary practices, especially in rural area where daily snacking was the least frequent.  
590 Moreover, the high-calorie diet index had an independent inverse association with  
591 overweight/obesity in the binary logistic regression model because snacking practices were  
592 mainly used by younger people.

### 593 ***Lower physical activity***

594 In addition, we observed that moderate and high intensity physical activities were higher in  
595 the rural area, whilst sedentary behavior was higher in urban/suburban areas. In addition,  
596 lower intensity and/or moderate physical activities were associated with overweight and  
597 obesity, as observed by Sodjinou et al. (2008) in Cotonou, Benin, even though this association  
598 was only univariate, since no significant in the binary logistic regression model. The  
599 qualitative study showed that middle-aged and older women value sedentary behaviors, as a

600 symbol of peace of mind and prosperity, to ostentatiously gain weight, as observed in other  
601 studies conducted in Africa as Morocco (Rguibi & Belahsen, 2006; Warnier, 2009). However,  
602 young people valued physical activity more, especially sports such as jogging, since an urban  
603 lifestyle does not make regular physical activity easy, mainly caused by the office work time  
604 and the decreased need for agricultural manual activities (Besharat Pour et al., 2014).

#### 605 *Comparison between determinants*

606 As for many African populations, the Senegalese who have migrated have a greater risk of  
607 developing overweight/obesity (Agyemang et al., 2009), even if they are receptive to etic  
608 standards (scientific norms) of corpulence, questioning the emic (lay norms) valorization of  
609 stoutness (Morris et al., 1999). Urban/suburban Senegalese seem to have an increased risk for  
610 hypertension related to higher overweight/obesity prevalence (Guh et al., 2009), caused by  
611 biocultural factors. We observed (i) a cultural component: the social valorization of  
612 overweight/obesity involving sedentary and eating behaviors to deliberately gain weight  
613 (Puoane et al., 2005), and (ii) an ecological component: lower moderate and intensive  
614 physical activities and higher-calorie dietary intake related to the urbanization process through  
615 a decrease in any form of daily activity (frequent walking, manual work for men; intensive  
616 housework and caring for children/elders for women) and the increase of daily-snacking, food  
617 portion sizes and energy density of diets (Duffey & Popkin, 2011; Popkin & Gordon-Larsen,  
618 2004).

#### 619 *Urban lifestyle, symbol of abundance*

620 In recent history in HICs, obesity mainly affects lower SES groups (Popkin et al., 2012),  
621 particularly those living in urban areas, even though it touches all socioeconomic groups  
622 (Drewnowski, 2009). The reasons for this are complex, but include the tendency to consume a  
623 cheaper and more monotonous high-calorie diet (Drewnowski, 2009; Sobal & Stunkard,  
624 1989). Indeed, besides greater accessibility of this food for working-classes living in poor

625 urban neighborhoods, there is some evidence of a cultural explanation, the phenomenon of  
626 ‘social revenge’, i.e. a desire for the working-classes to discover ‘the pleasures of the city’,  
627 including ‘good food’ (Corbeau, 1995). In some ways, our data supports other studies of  
628 African populations as Cameroonians and South Africans (Cohen et al., 2013; Puoane et al.,  
629 2005) since (i) the valorization of overweight, especially among middle-aged and older  
630 subjects, persists in both suburban and urban areas, whilst (ii) the desire for daily snacking  
631 was associated with these areas.

632 For instance, we observed some practices of fattening and idleness in middle-aged and older  
633 women, to gain weight and symbolize peace and success in a household. These practices are  
634 not ritualistic, nor implemented in specific venues or times as observed in rural Mauritania  
635 and Cameroon (Sylla, 1985; De Garine, 1990; Warnier, 2009), because these strategies to gain  
636 weight are modern and not linked to a collective rural lifestyle, to express economic success  
637 in an urban area (De Garine, 1962). This can be interpreted as a “social revenge” for new  
638 migrants originally exposed to undernutrition in a rural area (Doak et al., 2005), who want to  
639 discover the nutritional abundance of Dakar. Nevertheless, this phenomenon does not have  
640 the same consequences in all ages. Young people value a processed high-calorie diet but not  
641 body fat, unlike middle-aged and elderly subjects. Besides eating an obesogenic diet, young  
642 people, unlike older age groups, tend to practiced regular moderate and/or high intensity  
643 physical activities as observed in other Senegalese qualitative studies conducted in Senegal  
644 (Baller, 2007; Neveu Kringelbach, 2007), to maintain a thin body.

#### 645 *Early stage of nutrition transition in Senegal*

646 The study found evidence (association between higher SES and overweight/obesity, low BMI  
647 means, low rural DDS, and no association between higher DDS and overweight/obesity) that  
648 Senegal remains in an early stage of nutrition transition compared to other African countries,  
649 such as South Africa and Gabon. This partially contradicts the findings of Abrahams et al.

650 (2011) which consider Senegal in an advanced stage of nutrition transition. Indeed, the  
651 socioeconomic model of nutrition transition attests that during the emergence of  
652 industrialization, rural populations have low socioeconomic conditions and suffer from  
653 undernutrition, unlike urban populations which improve their socioeconomic status, adopt a  
654 higher-calorie diet, sedentary behaviors and therefore gain weight (Sobal & Stunkard, 1989).  
655 However, inside urban/suburban areas, higher SES was not associated with  
656 overweight/obesity, implying that the advanced stage of nutrition transition in Senegal is not  
657 specifically associated with wealth but rather the industrialization of lifestyle and the  
658 valorization of stoutness (Ziraba et al., 2009). Urban Senegal allows access to a more  
659 abundant, energetic and diversified diet, which are essential conditions of the nutrition  
660 transition (Popkin & Gordon-Larsen, 2004), less accessible in villages inside the Sahel, and  
661 can be positively perceived by rural and migrant populations as the ‘lifestyle of abundance’.

#### 662 ***Intervention in specific subgroups***

663 The Senegalese living in Dakar are exposed to both physical and social obesogenic  
664 environments. Duration of urban residency is a risk factor for overweight and obesity, as  
665 observed in other non-African and African populations (Cohen et al., 2017; Olszowy et al.,  
666 2015), leading to the adoption of high-risk behaviors for overweight and obesity influenced  
667 by cultural values. Indeed, urban Senegalese still (i) value inappropriate overweight which is  
668 ill-adapted to the urban ecosystem, (ii) adopt a higher-calorie diet and (iii) seem to abandon  
669 regular physical activity required to obtain energy balance within an obesogenic environment.  
670 More precisely, urban-dwelling middle-aged and older women tend to value overweight and  
671 have lower physical activity levels compared with younger people who nibble more  
672 frequently – an obesogenic diet practice if they are to reduce their physical activity in the near  
673 future.

#### 674 ***Recommendations***

675 We observed that the diet of urban middle-aged and older women is also influenced by the  
676 nutrition transition even though the DDS only captured this dietary intake change in young  
677 adults. Other tools such as frequency food questionnaires, 24-hour recalls, or food portion  
678 guidelines could better assess the changes in dietary patterns and its association with  
679 nutritional health status (Amougou et al., 2016; Dop et al., 2003). Even though the assessment  
680 of food consumption is limited, our study findings suggest that public health policies for  
681 overweight/obesity prevention need to be adapted to the specificities of migrant populations  
682 (Delavari et al., 2013; Delavari et al., 2015). Precisely, these policies should account for  
683 evolving biocultural determinants of overweight and obesity in different socio-ecological  
684 areas in Senegal and other African countries (Abraido-Lanza et al., 2006; Himmelgreen, et al.,  
685 2004).

686

### 687 **Conclusion**

688 Although the nutrition transition is currently underway in Senegal's urban/suburban areas,  
689 this study demonstrates that migration can modify the joint influence of biocultural drivers on  
690 overweight and obesity during the shift from rural to urban areas accelerated by the  
691 urbanization process. Comparative studies of migrants in other African countries experiencing  
692 urbanization and the nutrition transition are required to provide more evidence to support how  
693 generalizable this trend is. Local and global health policies need to account for the  
694 anthropological specificities of migration pathways, to identify the exposure levels of rural-  
695 urban migrants to risk of overweight and obesity.

696 *Acknowledgment:* Emmanuel Cohen is supported by the South African DST/NRF Centre of  
697 Excellence in Human development. Particular thanks to Luisa Michelotti and others  
698 investigators in the field.

699

700 *Authors' contribution:* All authors have read and approved the final manuscript. EC, GB, LG,  
701 PP and NCL developed the study concept and design. EC and PP developed the protocol of  
702 the field study. EC, AN, BF, SN, EHM and EG conducted the field study. EC, PP and MH  
703 analyzed and interpreted the data. EC, PJG, EM, PD and MH drafted the manuscript and MH  
704 provided critical revisions for important intellectual content. The study was supervised by  
705 GB, LG, PP and NCL.

706

707 *Conflict of Interest:* No conflict of interest and no competing financial of interests.

708

709 *Funding:* No specific funding.

710

711 *Ethical approval:* All procedures were approved by the National Ethics Committee for Health  
712 Research of Senegal "protocol SEN13/67, n°0272". Verbal consent was obtained from  
713 subjects, after being fully informed of the study process. Participants with elevated BP were  
714 referred for further assessment.

715

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956 **Figures**

957 **Figure 1.** Perceptions of body size on masculine BSS. The diamonds just below the  
958 silhouettes corresponds to the BMI averages of the three populations (See table 2). CBS:  
959 Current Body Size, DBS: Desired Body Size, IBS: Ideal Body Size.

960

961 **Figure 2.** Perceptions of body size on feminine BSS. The diamonds just below the silhouettes  
962 corresponds to the BMI averages of the three populations (See table 2). CBS: Current Body  
963 Size, DBS: Desired Body Size, IBS: Ideal Body Size.

964

965 **Figure 3.** Obesogenic dietary intake depending on the age. FCA between diet consumption  
966 related to risk of overweight and the age (young  $\leq 25$  years; others  $> 25$  years). The variables  
967 in *italic* followed by the sign – means a low risk while those followed by the sign + means a  
968 high risk.

969

970 **Figure 4.** Prevalence of overweight and migration status. The respective original value of  
971 each prevalence was: 9% (n=17), 21.6% (n=8), 15.3% (n=9), 21.8% (n=22), 35.4% (n=28)  
972 and 58.8% (n=30).

## Tables

**Table 1.** Composition of urban focus group

<i>Focus groups</i>	<b>P1</b>	<b>P2</b>	<b>P3</b>	<b>P4</b>	<b>P5</b>	<b>P6</b>
<i>Younger urban women, high educational level</i>	F: engineer M: small merchant	F: merchant M: small merchant	F: high official M: at home	F: employee M: small merchant	F: employee M: employee	F: high official M: dress maker
<i>Younger urban men, high educational level</i>	F: engineer M: teacher	F: skilled worker M: at home	F: senior executive M: accountant	F: high official M: at home	F: employee M: small merchant	F: teacher M: small merchant
<i>Younger urban women, low educational level</i>	F: senior executive M: nurse	F: employee M: at home	F: senior executive M: at home	F: taxi driver M: at home	F: taxi driver M: at home	F: taxi driver M: at home
<i>Younger urban men, low educational level</i>	Electrician <sup>1</sup> F: employee M: at home	Mechanic F: employee M: at home	Mason F: high official M: nurse	Electrician F: accountant M: at home	Mason F: merchant M: at home	Electrician F: taxi driver M: traditional healer
<i>Older urban women, low SES</i>	Primary school H: merchant <sup>2</sup>	Secondary school H: mechanic	Secondary school H: taxi driver	Secondary school H: merchant	None H: taxi driver	None H: skilled worker
<i>Older urban men, low SES</i>	None	Primary school	None	None	Primary school	None
<i>Older urban women, high SES</i>	High school H: employee <sup>2</sup>	Secondary school H: carpenter	Primary school H: no married	Secondary school H: official	Secondary school H: employee	Primary school H: employee
<i>Older urban men, high SES</i>	University	University	University	University	University	University

P: Participant; F: Father; M: Mother, H: Husband.

<sup>1</sup>When applicable, we mentioned the work of each young participants. In general, women participant did not work and highly educated participants were students.

<sup>2</sup>For older women without occupation, we mentioned the occupational status of their husband.

**Table 2.** Composition of rural focus group

<b>Focus groups</b>	<b>P1</b>	<b>P2</b>	<b>P3</b>	<b>P4</b>	<b>P5</b>	<b>P6</b>
<i>Younger rural women, high educational level</i>	Dancer F: farmer/artisan <sup>1</sup> M: farmer/at home	Pupil F: mechanic M: farmer/at home	Pupil F: farmer/artisan M: farmer/at home	Pupil F: farmer/taxi driver M: farmer/at home	Pupil F: farmer/artisan M: dress maker/at home	Dancer F: farmer M: farmer/at home
<i>Younger rural men, high educational level</i>	Pupil F: farmer/artisan <sup>1</sup> M: farmer/at home	Pupil F: farmer M: farmer/at home	Farmer F: farmer/artisan M: dress maker/at home	Farmer F: farmer/taxi driver M: farmer/at home	Martial art teacher F: Teacher M: farmer/at home	Fisherman F: farmer M: farmer/at home
<i>Younger rural women, low educational level</i>	Household F: farmer M: farmer/at home	Farmer/at home F: farmer/artisan M: farmer/at home	Farmer/at home F: farmer/merchant M: farmer/at home	Dress maker/at home F: farmer/taxi driver M: farmer/at home	Farmer/at home F: farmer/fisherman M: farmer/at home	Farmer/at home F: farmer/artisan M: farmer/at home
<i>Younger rural men, low educational level</i>	Taxi driver <sup>2</sup> F: farmer/artisan M: farmer/at home	Farmer/artisan F: farmer/artisan M: farmer/at home	Skilled worker F: farmer M: farmer/at home	Mechanic F: farmer/artisan M: farmer/at home	Farmer/fisherman F: farmer/merchant M: farmer/at home	Taxi driver F: farmer/taxi driver M: farmer/at home
<i>Older rural women</i>	Primary school H: farmer <sup>3</sup>	None H: farmer/artisan	None H: skilled worker	Primary school H: farmer/artisan	Primary school H: farmer/artisan	None H: farmer
<i>Older rural men</i>	Secondary school Farmer	Primary school Farmer/artisan	None Farmer/artisan	Primary school Farmer/artisan	Primary school Farmer	University Teacher

P: Participant; F: Father; M: Mother, H: Husband.

<sup>1</sup>In rural area, most of fathers were farmer and/or artisan (carpenter, mason...), and most of mothers were farmer and at home.

<sup>2</sup>When applicable, we mentioned the work of each young participants.

<sup>3</sup>For older women without occupation, we mentioned the occupational status of their husband.

**Table 3<sup>1</sup>**. Body perception averages

<b>Men</b>				<b>Women for men</b>				<b>Women</b>				<b>Men for women</b>			
	<b>CBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>CBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>CBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>CBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Urban area</b>	3.8±1.5	86		<b>Urban area</b>	5.3±2.1	63		<b>Urban area</b>	5±2.2	82		<b>Urban area</b>	4.3±1.7	81	
<b>Suburban area</b>	4±1.6	94		<b>Suburban area</b>	5.1±1.9	84		<b>Suburban area</b>	5±2.2	92		<b>Suburban area</b>	4.2±1.7	91	
<b>Rural area</b>	3.6±1.7	78		<b>Rural area</b>	5.2±2.1	76		<b>Rural area</b>	3.6±2	95		<b>Rural area</b>	4±1.7	72	
<b>All</b>	3.8±1.6	258	<b>NS</b>	<b>All</b>	5.2±2	223	<b>NS</b>	<b>All</b>	4.5±2.2	269	<b>***</b>	<b>All</b>	4.2±1.7	244	<b>NS</b>
	<b>DBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>DBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>DBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>DBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Urban area</b>	4.2±1.6	91		<b>Urban area</b>	4.9±1.9b1	61		<b>Urban area</b>	4.9±1.7	88		<b>Urban area</b>	4.2±1.6a1	83	
<b>Suburban area</b>	4.1±1.4	101		<b>Suburban area</b>	5.0±1.9b2	85		<b>Suburban area</b>	4.8±1.6	97		<b>Suburban area</b>	4.1±1.5a2	92	
<b>Rural area</b>	4.5±1.8	78		<b>Rural area</b>	6.0±2.2b1-b2	76		<b>Rural area</b>	5.2±1.9	110		<b>Rural area</b>	4.7±1.7a1-a2	71	
<b>All</b>	4.3±1.6	270	<b>NS</b>	<b>All</b>	5.3±2	222	<b>***</b>	<b>All</b>	5±1.8	295	<b>NS</b>	<b>All</b>	4.3±1.6	246	<b>*</b>
	<b>IBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>IBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>IBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>		<b>IBS</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>P</b>
<b>Urban area</b>	4.7±1.5	86		<b>Urban area</b>	4.5±1.6c1	83		<b>Urban area</b>	4.9±1.6c1	85		<b>Urban area</b>	4.2±1.5	86	
<b>Suburban area</b>	4.2±1.4	100		<b>Suburban area</b>	4.8±1.8c2	91		<b>Suburban area</b>	4.8±1.6c2	97		<b>Suburban area</b>	4.5±1.5	98	
<b>Rural area</b>	4.6±1.7	81		<b>Rural area</b>	5.9±2c1-c2	105		<b>Rural area</b>	5.8±1.9c1-c2	113		<b>Rural area</b>	4.7±1.7	80	
<b>All</b>	4.5±1.6	267	<b>NS</b>	<b>All</b>	5.1±1.9	279	<b>***</b>	<b>All</b>	5.2±1.8	295	<b>***</b>	<b>All</b>	4.5±1.6	264	<b>NS</b>

Analysis of variance between the three area: \* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001

<sup>1</sup>Post-hoc analyzes between the three samples: a <0.05; b<0.01; c<0.001

SD: Standard Deviation; NS: No Significant

**Table 4<sup>1</sup>**. Physical activity means between Senegalese in urban, suburban and rural areas

	Urban area n=187	Suburban area n=206	Rural area n=204	p
<b>Intensive physical activity (h)</b>	0.9 ± 1.9 <sup>a-x</sup>	0.5 ± 1.9 <sup>a-c</sup>	1.2 ± 1.9 <sup>x-c</sup>	**
<b>Moderate physical activity (h)</b>	0.6 ± 1.9 <sup>x-c</sup>	0.6 ± 1.9 <sup>x-c</sup>	2.6 ± 1.9 <sup>c-c</sup>	***
<b>Walking (h)</b>	1.1 ± 1.6 <sup>x-x</sup>	0.8 ± 1.6 <sup>x-x</sup>	0.9 ± 1.6 <sup>x-x</sup>	NS
<b>Sedentary behavior (h)</b>	5.6 ± 3.7 <sup>x-c</sup>	5.1 ± 3.7 <sup>x-c</sup>	3.3 ± 3.7 <sup>c-c</sup>	***

<sup>1</sup>Age adjusted by covariance analyses

Ancova between the three samples: \* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001

Post-hoc analyses between the three samples: a<0.05; b<0.01; c<0.001; x: No Significant (NS) for each side-by-side comparison

**Table 5<sup>1</sup>**. Biometric means between Senegalese in urban, suburban and rural areas

	Urban area	Suburban area	Rural area	p
<b>Comparative analysis for men</b>				
<b>BMI (kg/m<sup>2</sup>)</b> (n= 96/103/82)	21.8 ± 3.5 <sup>x-b</sup>	22.2 ± 3.5 <sup>x-c</sup>	20.3 ± 3.5 <sup>b-c</sup>	**
<b>Waist circumference (cm)</b> (n= 96/104/83)	76.4 ± 9.3 <sup>x-x</sup>	78.4 ± 9.3 <sup>x-x</sup>	76.5 ± 9.3 <sup>x-x</sup>	NS
<b>Hip circumference (cm)</b> (n= 96/104/83)	92.5 ± 8.3 <sup>b-x</sup>	96.1 ± 8.3 <sup>b-c</sup>	91.5 ± 8.3 <sup>x-c</sup>	***
<b>Waist to hip ratio</b> (n= 96/104/83)	0.83 ± 0.07 <sup>x-x</sup>	0.82 ± 0.07 <sup>x-a</sup>	0.84 ± 0.07 <sup>x-a</sup>	NS
<b>Body Fat (%)</b> (n= 96/104/83)	18.6 ± 5.6 <sup>x-c</sup>	18.3 ± 5.6 <sup>x-c</sup>	14.4 ± 5.6 <sup>c-c</sup>	***
<b>Mean Blood Pressure (mmHg)</b> (n= 96/104/82)	94.3 ± 14.2 <sup>x-x</sup>	92.4 ± 14.2 <sup>x-x</sup>	92.7 ± 14.2 <sup>x-x</sup>	NS
<b>Comparative analysis for women</b>				
<b>BMI (kg/m<sup>2</sup>)</b> (n= 90/100/119)	25.3 ± 5.2 <sup>x-c</sup>	24.8 ± 5.2 <sup>x-c</sup>	20.6 ± 5.2 <sup>c-c</sup>	***
<b>Waist circumference (cm)</b> (n= 91/101/120)	83.4 ± 12.0 <sup>x-c</sup>	81.7 ± 12.0 <sup>x-b</sup>	76.6 ± 12.0 <sup>c-b</sup>	***
<b>Hip circumference (cm)</b> (n= 88/101/120)	102.5 ± 11.3 <sup>x-c</sup>	100.1 ± 11.3 <sup>x-c</sup>	94.7 ± 11.3 <sup>c-c</sup>	***
<b>Waist to hip ratio</b> (n= 88/101/120)	0.81 ± 0.09 <sup>x-x</sup>	0.81 ± 0.09 <sup>x-x</sup>	0.81 ± 0.09 <sup>x-x</sup>	NS
<b>Body Fat (%)</b> (n= 91/101/120)	33.9 ± 6.2 <sup>x-c</sup>	32.3 ± 6.2 <sup>x-c</sup>	27.5 ± 6.2 <sup>c-c</sup>	***
<b>Mean Blood Pressure (mmHg)</b> (n= 90/101/120)	91.2 ± 12.7 <sup>x-x</sup>	91.5 ± 12.7 <sup>x-x</sup>	91.2 ± 12.7 <sup>x-x</sup>	NS

<sup>1</sup>Age adjusted by covariance analyses

Ancova between the three samples: \* p<0.05; \*\* p<0.01; \*\*\* p<0.001

Post-hoc analyses between the three samples: a<0.05; b<0.01; c<0.001; x: NS for each side-by-side comparison

**Table 6.** Odds ratio and 95 % confidence limits for subjects who are overweight or obese, adjusted by binary logistic regression analysis, and compared to subjects who are not.

Determinants	Categories	Overweight/Obesity		
		Odds ratio	Confidence intervals	
<b>Gender**</b>	Men†			
	Women	<b>3.8</b>	<b>2.2</b>	<b>6.4 c</b>
<b>Age***</b>		<b>1.1</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>1.1 c</b>
<b>Living area***</b>	Rural area†			
	Urban/suburban areas	<b>7.3</b>	<b>3.4</b>	<b>15.5 c</b>
<b>Educational level</b>	None/primary†			
	Secondary/University	1.3	0.8	2.2
<b>Socioeconomic level*</b>	Low/Middle†			
	High	0.9	0.5	1.5
<b>Caloric diet***</b>	Low/Middle†			
	High	<b>0.6</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>1.0 a</b>
<b>Physical activity***</b>	Higher physical activity†			
	Lower physical activity	1.2	0.7	2.1
<b>Stoutness valorization**</b>	No overweight valorization†			
	Overweight valorization	<b>1.7</b>	<b>1.0</b>	<b>2.7 a</b>
<b>N=561</b>				

\*, \*\*, \*\*\*, Crude analysis significant effect (p<0.05 ; p<0.01 and p<0.001 respectively)

In bold, binary logit analysis significant effects (a, b, c): p<0.05, p<0.01, p<0.001 respectively

†Category taken as reference

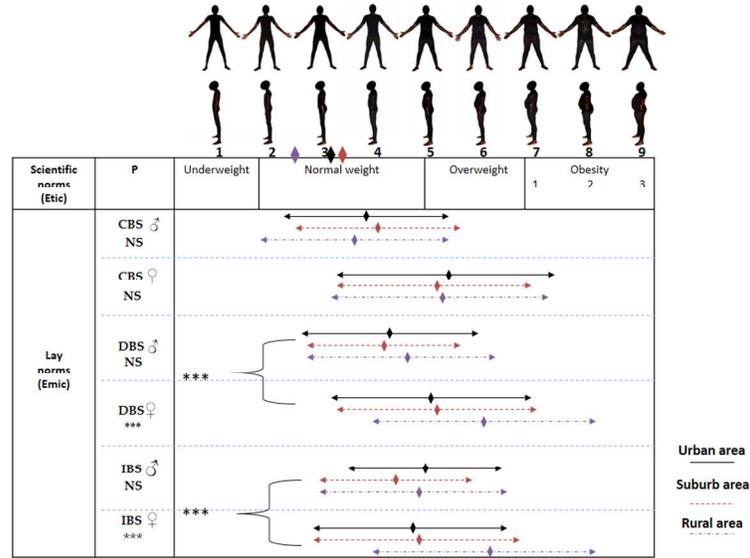


Figure 1. Perceptions of body size on masculine BSS. The diamonds just below the silhouettes corresponds to the BMI averages of the three populations (See table 2). CBS: Current Body Size, DBS: Desired Body Size, IBS: Ideal Body Size.

338x190mm (300 x 300 DPI)

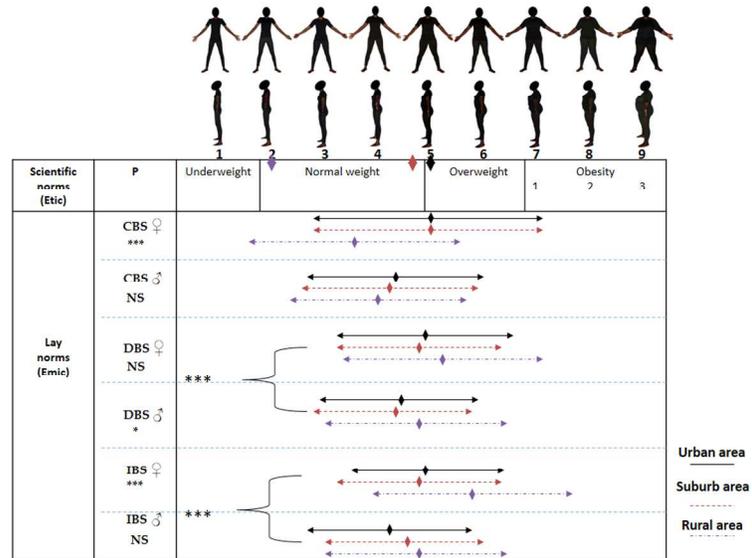


Figure 2. Perceptions of body size on feminine BSS. The diamonds just below the silhouettes corresponds to the BMI averages of the three populations (See table 2). CBS: Current Body Size, DBS: Desired Body Size, IBS: Ideal Body Size.

338x190mm (300 x 300 DPI)

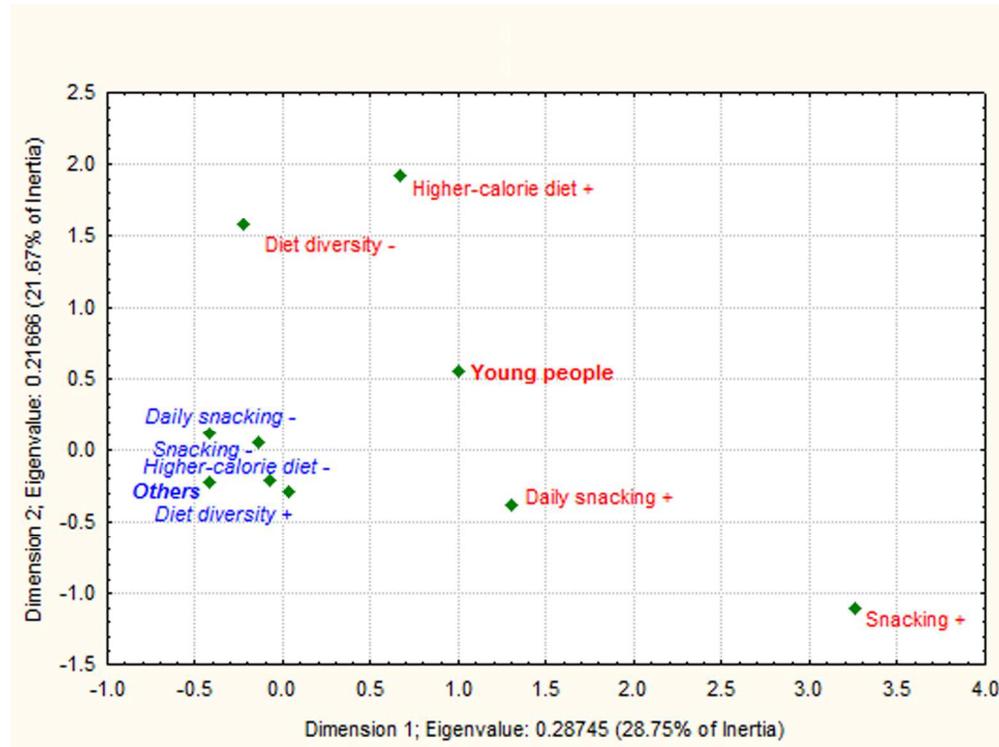


Figure 3. Obesogenic dietary intake depending on the age. FCA between diet consumption related to risk of overweight and the age (young  $\leq 25$  years; others  $> 25$  years). The variables in italic followed by the sign - means a low risk while those followed by the sign + means a high risk.

139x104mm (300 x 300 DPI)

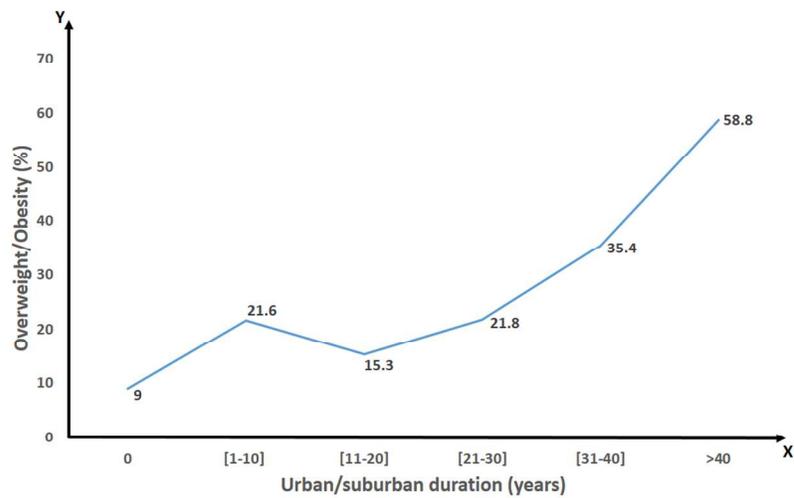


Figure 4. Prevalence of overweight and migration status. The respective original value of each prevalence was: 9% (n=17), 21.6% (n=8), 15.3% (n=9), 21.8% (n=22), 35.4% (n=28) and 58.8% (n=30).

338x190mm (300 x 300 DPI)