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Socio-Anthropological Determinants of Eating Outside the Home: The Case of Breakfast in the City of Niamey

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Abstract

Population growth associated with urban expansion generates social changes, especially in the agri-food sector. Urbanization is indeed accompanied by socio-economic transformations and a social reorganization of food consumption, one consequence of which is the increase in eating outside the home. This study aims to understand the effects of these urban changes on evolving dietary norms in the city of Niamey through the example of breakfast. Built around a mixed-methods approach (quantitative to determine the extent of out-of-home dining and qualitative to explore in detail the socio-cultural factors underlying these changes), the study yielded the following results: an increase in out-of-home consumption nationwide, but more pronounced in the city of Niamey; a shift away from the three-meal-a-day norm towards snacking; and a relaxation of norms through the desacralization of meals, particularly breakfast, which is losing its ritualistic function. The factors driving these changes include the urban environment, the rise in salaried employment, especially among women, changing family structures, and age (young people eat out more than adults). However, there is no clear gender divide.

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Introduction

Food is essential for the development of the organism and the survival of individuals (P. Etiévant *et al.*, 2020, p. 11). It also has a biological and socio-cultural dimension, as C. Lévi-Strauss (1965) emphasizes. The study of food can be a mirror for the individual, allowing us to "explore the attitudes and practices of the eater." For P. Cardon (2019, p. 15), "One of the main ways to analyze food sociologically is to see it as an element of a society's culture." Similarly, L. Delagado (1991, p. 11) shows that food is a social activity, a component of the process by which people produce the elements necessary

for their reproduction. The author uses the term "socio-food relations" to describe this. Food also has a geopolitical dimension, and the links between food and power have been the subject of several scholarly works in recent years.

In this context, the act of cooking is specifically human and forms the basis for the structuring of social bonds based on gender, hierarchy, and belonging (L. Arciniegas-Rozo, 2019, p. 38). This act can take place inside or outside the home, in public or sacred spaces, or at work. The distinction between food consumed at home and food consumed outside the home is attracting

increasing attention. However, [L. Arciniegas-Rozo \(2019, p. 42\)](#) notes that frameworks for understanding food consumption outside the home are relatively recent, and that urbanization is driving a social reorganization of consumption ([Delgado, 1990, p. 84](#)). One consequence of this is the strengthening of out-of-home consumption, which is growing in scale and becoming a major characteristic of change in urban food spaces.

Urbanization is indeed accompanied by socio-economic transformations (such as the rise in female employment), and "out-of-home dining is a phenomenon that responds to this transformation much more so in developed countries than in developing countries" ([M. Nassima, 2013, p. 11](#)). Urbanization thus leads to a decline in home cooking and its shift from the domestic sphere to the commercial sphere.

Food prepared outside the home refers to food purchased and consumed outside the home, either in institutional or commercial settings, and its growth contributes to the evolution of food consumption patterns ([M. Nassima, 2013, p. 32](#)). Like societies in developed countries, Niger seems to be experiencing the same evolution in eating habits, even though meals eaten outside the home are a relatively understudied area of research, especially in the social sciences. Certainly, the themes of food security and supply systems are not new (ref.). Research on nutrition has been conducted, but the focus has been on health, obesity, deficiencies, and food insecurity. As elsewhere, eating out of the home is the food practice that has received the least attention from the sociology of food ([M-C. Le Pape and M. Plessz, 2017, p. 78](#)).

The evolution of eating out of the home in Niger is poorly understood due to the absence or inadequacy of statistical data. While the National Institute of Statistics of Niger (INS) has been producing food consumption statistics since 1989 through the National Household Budget and Consumption Surveys (ENBC 1989-1990, 1993-1994, 2007-2008) and the Survey on Household Living Conditions and Agriculture (ECVM/A 2011, 2014), these surveys do not include food service outside the home. It was only in 2018 that the National Institute of Statistics of Niger recognized the importance of food service outside the home and included it in the Harmonized Survey on Household Living Conditions (EHCM 2018 and 2021). However, in the context of rapid urbanization in Niger, a study of out-of-home food consumption will provide a better understanding of the activity of the eater, to use [M.D. Labarre's \(2005\)](#) expression, in Niger, and especially in the city of

Niamey, a city whose contextual elements allow us to say that it is in transition towards a more modern diet. Our study therefore proposes to analyze out-of-home food consumption in the city of Niamey through the example of breakfast, as well as the evolution of the social norms associated with it. [M-C. Le Pape and M. Plessz \(2017\)](#) rightly note:

"The breakfast approach proves particularly relevant as it allows us to analyze more generally how morning activities are coordinated and how individuals attempt to reconcile their daily struggles with the dominant injunction to eat something in the morning." ([M-C. Le Pape and M. Plessz, 2017, p. 79](#)). This leads us, within the framework of this article, to ask the following question: what are the socio-anthropological determinants of eating breakfast outside the home in the city of Niamey? Having posed this question, this research aims to study the socio-anthropological determinants of eating breakfast outside the home in the city of Niamey.

Materials and Methods

The research objectives led us to opt for a mixed-methods approach (quantitative and qualitative). We initially sought to determine the extent of eating out of the home in the city of Niamey through the lens of breakfast. Lunch, from the perspective of social divisions (gender, age, social position, origin, or education). We therefore initially used a quantitative method. Then, in order to explore certain practices or representations in detail (highlighting the weight or relaxation of norms through the desacralization of the meal), we used a qualitative method.

Data Collection Techniques and Tools

The quantitative component is based on an analysis of databases from two surveys produced by the National Institute of Statistics of Niger in 2018 and 2021. Comparing the 2018 and 2021 data allowed us to show that the observed evolution in eating-out practices is not cyclical, but rather reflects the internal structure of the evolution of our food practices. Furthermore, comparing trends at the national level and in Niamey allowed us to confirm that Niamey stands out from other regions in this food dynamic. Excel and Stata software were used. Seventeen were used for data analysis (creating tables, statistical testing and cross-referencing of certain variables).

For the qualitative component, we conducted interviews and observations. Since research on nutrition requires extensive observation, we opted for two types of observation: free-floating observation and diffuse observation, as advocated.

Regarding the interviews, following the work of O. Lepillier *et al.*, (2021), we combined three types of interviews:

- **Quantified narratives:** We collected qualitative data from semi-structured interviews, then wrote a detailed narrative which was subjected to coding and statistical inference.
- **Autobiographical accounts:** Some materials were produced by the interviewees themselves. Obviously, we used this method for a specific target group: individuals with significant socio-cultural capital, as writing requires free time and skills, particularly linguistic ones.
- **Focus groups:** The circumstances and nature of the fieldwork led us to conduct focus groups, often in an impromptu manner.

The qualitative data analysis was performed using thematic content analysis with QDAMiner 2 software (transcription, coding, and inference of results).

- **Study context:** Our survey aims to understand the effects of urbanization on eating habits, and on eating out and together.

As we have emphasized, this urban living environment structures the potential of individuals' food-related activities in a particular way. Therefore, our fieldwork must be limited to the urban environment, more specifically, the city of Niamey.

Target Population and Method of Contact with Informants

For the quantitative component, we analyzed data from two databases produced by the National Institute of Statistics in 2018 and 2021, using cluster sampling (INS, 2018).

For the qualitative component, we primarily used snowball sampling, focusing on certain family configurations. Thus, in addition to standard variables such as sex and age, we included in the sample single individuals, couples, couples with children, couples without children, single men, single women, and elderly

individuals, taking into account the different socio-professional categories as defined by the INS (2015). We also interviewed street vendors and eaters of both sexes (particularly vendors and consumers of flatbreads, vendors and consumers of black-eyed peas in sauce (commonly called "dougri hari" in the Djerma language)), food industry professionals, dieticians, researchers, policymakers, representatives of consumer associations, etc. In total, we conducted 35 interviews.

The Analytical Model

The analytical model that explains phenomena through their utility (economic or social) is functionalism. Analyzing an institution then amounts to understanding what need it satisfies, from basic food necessities to the spiritual needs addressed by sacramental services. Adapted to our field of study, we will attempt to understand what function food provides both at home and outside the home (particularly on the street and in the workplace).

Results and Discussion

Evolution of Breakfast Consumption Outside the Home Nationally and in Niamey from 2018 to 2021

Breakfast is a meal laden with symbolism in Niger, giving rise to famous metaphors in local languages such as "karin kumallo" in Hausa. However, urbanization and the social transformations it brings about have altered this meal, particularly with more and more people eating breakfast away from home. Now, the famous "zazahé" or "karin koumarlo," and the symbolic weight associated with it, is disappearing. Breakfast is losing its function as a family ritual due to this evolution, as shown in Table 1:

In 2018, 28.47% of respondents nationwide ate breakfast away from home by purchasing it, and 2.48% received it as a gift. This means that just over 30% of Nigeriens eat breakfast outside the home. At the same time, in Niamey, 62.86% ate breakfast outside the home in 2018. If we add those who received breakfast as a gift, estimated at 2.64%, this figure rises to 65.5%.

In 2021, eating breakfast outside the home nationwide saw a considerable increase, rising from 28.47% to 37.22%, an increase of over 9% in three years. In Niamey, the figures increased from 62.86% to 64.87% for those who purchased breakfast, and from 2.42% for those who received it as a gift, totaling 67.79%. This figure, which distinguishes the Niamey region from other

regions of Niger in terms of eating meals outside the home, is similar to that of some other African capitals. It would be interesting to determine the profile of this trend. of these people who eat breakfast away from home. Initial interviews show that this phenomenon primarily affects those facing work constraints: civil servants, students, and manual laborers who, due to mobility issues, have to leave home early. On this subject, here's what some respondents said:

"Even we're forced to eat at the office. Look, I've been at the office since this morning. People go home; it's about proximity. It's not for nothing that people are looking for rentals near their workplace." (A man, senior government official, March 2024)

"I go home to eat; I'm close by, but others have delivery services."

“(Woman, bank employee, March 2024)

“Before, real managers didn’t eat out, maybe it’s due to the change in working hours. I have a meal away from home when I’m at the office, or at a ceremony, but I prefer to eat at home.” (A woman, middle manager in the civil service, March 2024).

They all mention the professional constraints that lead them to eat out and the proximity of their home to their workplace—the dream of every civil servant. However, other socio-professional categories, particularly blue-collar workers, cite other reasons why they prefer to eat at home, notably religious injunctions.

“The difference is, what you eat is what your family eats (you’re at ease). You have a wife to support, you eat differently from what she eats. How can I buy a kilo of meat and leave my wife?” Even if it's just half a kilo, shared with your family, it's better for you. If you look over there, you'll see people eating meat. And besides, there's more to eat at home" (A father, a factory worker in the Koubia neighborhood of Niamey, April 2024).

Eating at home is the most ideal choice because, beyond the health aspect, there's a feeling of having fulfilled one's duty, particularly fairness towards one's family. Having breakfast at home for our surveys is considered more blessed, with the hope of receiving divine reward.

Furthermore, the interviews and observations provide details about the people who receive breakfast as a gift. These are often people living alone (widows or single

women), the elderly, beggars, apprentices, or people invited to restaurants, and especially through solidarity networks among people sharing the same interests. Mr. Pélé is diabetic, and here's what he says about their diabetic network:

"Where we have a 'fada' (yantala kina habou), there are diabetics (at least nine diabetics), people who have traveled, who have more resources than me, who tell me to do this, do that. Often when we're together, we eat beans. There are people who buy fonio (a zero-calorie food) but it's expensive and not accessible, not recommended for diabetics."

This interviewee's comments show that the social aspect of eating among diabetics is the main factor in accessing a breakfast that meets their social status, especially when they lack resources.

The main question to ask behind the statistics we presented above is "who eats what?", to use S. Bahuchet's expression (2020). In the city of Niamey, further qualitative surveys show that everything depends on social background. Working-class people rely on street food. As L. Arciniegas-Rozo (2019, p. 13) points out, "street food provides most of the prepared meals for families living in poverty in urban areas, hence its importance in terms of nutritional intake and, more broadly, in terms of the social and economic organization of these neighborhoods."

Certain foods seem to be benefiting from this increase in eating breakfast away from home. These include black-eyed peas cooked in sauce, commonly called "dounгри hari" in Zarma or "watcha" in Hausa, and flatbread, whose consumption appears to be on the rise. Most vendors of these two foods report that their sales are higher in the morning between 6:00 and 8:00 a.m., and most of their customers are workers on their way to work. Regarding cowpeas, they are often mixed with gari (cassava flour), a practice imported from coastal countries.

Cowpeas have thus become a tool for food security, but above all, for resilience, particularly for migrants coming from rural areas. As for flatbread, like other food-related activities, it is a trade traditionally practiced by women. However, our study showed us that we have witnessed a gendered reconfiguration of flatbread sales in the city of Niamey, where men have broken with tradition to enter this trade.

On the other hand, the affluent social classes, which the National Institute of Statistics (2015) designates as the "upper middle class," frequent restaurants.

Factors that have contributed to the rise in eating out of the home

The INS's EHB survey includes more variables, among them sociodemographic characteristics, educational level, socioeconomic status, and the institutional sector of employment. We therefore sought to understand the links between these sociodemographic characteristics. We were particularly interested in the variables most frequently mentioned in the literature that most influence behaviors.

Food consumption factors include place of residence (urban or rural), marital status, age, sex, and often social status (as indicated by socioeconomic status or level of education).

The results from the previous section showed that Niamey stands out from other regions in terms of the extent of the increase in out-of-home food consumption, across all types of meals (breakfast, lunch, dinner, snacks, hot drinks, soft drinks, and alcoholic drinks). Furthermore, comparing variables at the national level and within the city of Niamey will allow us to understand how these variables affect the results differently at the national level and, specifically, in the city of Niamey, given that all individuals in Niamey come from urban areas (of course, there are areas within Niamey that have rural characteristics).

The Urban Environment: Main Factor in the Increase in Eating Out of the Home

The urban environment has been frequently discussed in the literature as the main factor influencing eating habits in general, but especially eating out of the home. Field data indeed show that, at the national level, the main determinant of eating out of the home is the place of residence.

This table clearly shows a link between eating breakfast outside the home and place of residence between 2018 and 2021. For example, in 2018, the national average for breakfast was 28.47%. In rural areas, this figure was 21.63%, while in urban areas it was 48.42%, more than double. Those who receive breakfast as a gift are very few, whether in urban or rural areas. In 2021, there was a significant increase in eating breakfast outside the home

in urban areas. The national average was 37.22%, but in rural areas it was 27.83%, while in urban areas it was 52.64%. However, practically the same results were found for other meals (lunch, dinner, snacks, hot drinks, soft drinks, and so on). (alcoholic beverages) particularly food consumed outside the home. Since the Niamey region is the most urbanized of all the country's regions, it now remains to cross-reference these food consumption figures with those of other regions to determine Niamey's relative importance compared to the others.

As can be seen, the two chi2 tests show a clear association (with a 0% chance of (It's important to be clear) that there is a difference between the region and the consumption of breakfast outside the home, regardless of the year (2018 or 2021). For example, in 2018, while the national average was 28.48% for those who ate breakfast outside the home, in Niamey, 62.86% did so. In 2021, the national average climbed to 37.22%, and at the same time, 64.87% of people consumed their breakfast outside the home by purchasing food. Therefore, the urban nature of Niamey encourages people to eat breakfast outside the home. This urban environment is characterized by the concentration of food infrastructure (restaurants, street food, general stores, bakeries, workplace delivery services, etc.).

Eating Out and Marital Status

While the urban environment certainly influences the increase in eating out, it interacts with other variables. Other factors affect eating out, such as marital status, particularly the rise in singlehood in the city of Niamey.

In the INS database, the marital status variable comprises the following categories: Married, in a civil partnership, divorced, single, widowed, and separated. To facilitate analysis and align with current literature, we have grouped these into two categories: those in civil partnerships (referring to married and civilly partnered individuals) and those living alone (referring to single, divorced, separated, and widowed individuals).

This growth in eating out. Moreover, the proportion of out-of-home consumption based on marital status is higher in the Niamey region.

This is also a characteristic of cities in transition to modernity, namely the increase in the number of people living alone. Specifically, this primarily affects widows, single people, and divorcees, as shown in this table.

Table.1 Breakfast Eaten Away from Home at the National Level and in Niamey

Echelle National						Niamey					
2018			2021			2018			2021		
Petit-dej	Effectif	%ge	Petit-dej	Effectif	%ge	Petit-dej	Effectif	%ge	Petit-dej	Effectif	%ge
Non	24353	69.03	Non	23531	61.06	Non	1302	34.49	Non	1323	32.69
Oui. achat	10045	28.47	Oui. achat	14344	37.22	Oui. achat	2373	62.86	Oui. achat	2625	64.87
Oui. cadeau	878	2.48	Oui. cadeau	660	1.713	Oui. cadeau	100	2.64	Oui. cadeau	98	2.42
Total	35276	100	Total	38535	100	Total	3775	100	Total	4046	100

Source: Field data

Table.2 Factors Contributing to the Increase in Eating Out of the Home

2018				2021			
Petit-déjeuner	Rural	Urbain	Total	petit déjeuner	Rural	Urbain	Total
Non	19955	4398	24353	Non	16883	6648	23531
%	75.97	48.82	69.03	%	70.48	45.59	61.06
Oui achat	5683	4362	10045	Oui achat	6668	7676	14344
%	21.63	48.42	28.47	%	27.83	52.64	37.22
Oui cadeau	630	248	878	Oui cadeau	402	258	660
%	2.39	2.75	2.48	%	1.67	1.76	1.71
Total	26268	9008	35276	Total	23953	14582	38535

Sources: data from field.

Table.3 Breakfast Consumption by Region of Residence

2018										2021									
Prise	Région									Prise	Région								
Petit-dej	gadez	Diffa	Dosso	Marad	Niamey	Tahoua	Tillab	Zind	Total	petit dej	Diffa	Dosso	Marad	Niamey	Tahoua	Tillab	Zind	gadez	Total
Non	2638	2942	2635	3952	1302	332	3698	3866	24353	Non	3414	3305	3879	1323	2954	2519	3937	22	23531
%ge	78,86	83,08	66,76	68,99	34,49	20,72	75,27	71,10	69,04	%ge	79,08	68,4	60,07	32,69	58,58	60,28	62,30	1,89	61,06
Oui a	608	477	1242	1608	2373	1204	1076	1457	10045	Oui a	828	1489	2449	2625	2017	1603	2282	1051	14344
%ge	18,17	13,47	31,47	28,07	62,86	75,16	21,901	26,79	28,48	%ge	19,18	30,82	37,92	64,87	40,004	38,36	36,11	90,29	37,22
Oui r	99	122	70	168	100	66	139	114	878	Oui r	75	38	130	98	71	57	100	91	660
%ge	2,95	3,44	1,77	2,93	2,64	4,12	2,82	2,09	2,48	%ge	1,73	0,78	2,01	2,42	1,40	1,36	1,58	7,81	1,71
Total	3345	3541	3947	5728	3775	1602	4913	5437	35276	Total	4317	4832	6458	4046	5042	4179	6319	1164	38535
%ge	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	%ge	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	%ge	100

Pearson chi2(21) = 3.0e+03 Pr = 0.000

Pearson chi2(21) = 2.2e+03 Pr = 0.000

Source: Field data

Table.4 Breakfast Eaten Away from Home and Marital Status

Echelle Nationale								Ville de Niamey							
2018				2021				2018				2021			
Peti-Dej	En union	Vivant seul	Total	Peti-Dej	En union	Vivant	Total	Peti-Dej	En union	Vivant..	Total	Peti-Dej	En union	Vivant..	Total
Non	8172	6523	14695	Non	6954	6723	13677	Non	448	453	901	Non	410	469	879
%ge	70,12	64,24	67,38	%ge	62,96	56,66	59,70	%ge	36,90	30,46	33,35	%ge	36,57	28,79	31,96
Oui a	3180	3381	6561	Oui a	3905	4928	8833	Oui a	729	995	1724	Oui a	682	1117	1799
%ge	27,28	33,29	30,08	%ge	35,35	41,53	38,55	%ge	60,04	66,91	63,82	%ge	60,83	68,57	65,41
Oui r	301	250	551	Oui r	186	213	399	Oui r	37	39	76	Oui r	29	43	72
%ge	2,58	2,46	2,52	%ge	1,68	1,79	1,74	%ge	3,04	2,62	2,81	%ge	2,58	2,63	2,61
Total	11653	10154	21807	Total	11045	11864	22909	Total	1214	1487	2701	Total	1121	1629	2750
%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.0	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100

Pearson chi2(3) = 104.2275 Pr = 0.000 Pearson chi2(3) = 95.3225 Pr = 0.000 Pearson chi2(3) = 16.1139 Pr = 0.001 Pearson chi2(3) = 19.5939 Pr = 0.00

Sources: field data, INS

Table.5 Distribution by age at breakfast consumption outside the home

Echelle Nationale								Ville de Niamey							
2018				2021				2018				2021			
Petitdej	Adulte	Jeune	Total	Petitdej	Adulte	Jeune	Total	Petitdej	Adulte	Jeune	Total	Petitdej	Adulte	Jeune	Total
Non	4609	6568	11177	Non	6708	5557	12265	Non	295	447	742	Non	436	373	809
%ge	67,82	66,73	67,18	%ge	61,68	58,08	59,99	%ge	33,37	34,09	33,8	%ge	35,94	29,62	32,72
Oui a	2012	3026	5038	Oui a	3945	3835	7780	Oui a	559	830	1389	Oui a	746	844	1590
%ge	29,61	30,74	30,28	%ge	36,27	40,08	38,05	%ge	63,24	63,31	63,28	%ge	61,50	67,03	64,32
Oui r	174	249	423	Oui r	223	176	399	Oui r	30	34	64	Oui r	31	42	73
%ge	2,56	2,53	2,54	%ge	2,05	1,83	1,95	%ge	3,39	2,59	2,91	%ge	2,55	3,33	2,95
Total	6795	9843	16638	Total	10876	9568	20444	Total	884	1311	2195	Total	1213	1259	2472
%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(3) = 2.4665 Pr = 0.481 Pearson chi2(2) = 31.5501 Pr = 0.000 Pearson chi2(3) = 1.3207 Pr = 0.724S Pearson chi2(2) = 11.7519 Pr = 0.003

Sources: field data

Table.6 Distribution of Respondents by Gender in Breakfast Consumption

Echelle Nationale								Ville de Niamey							
2018				2021				2018				2021			
Petitdej	Fémin	Mascul	Total	dej	Fémin	Mascul	Total	Petitdej	Fémin	Mascul	Total	Petitdej	Fémin	Mascul	Total
Non	6041	5136	11177	Non	5531	4519	10050	Non	378	364	742	Non	377	337	714
%ge	67,815	66,44	67,18	%ge	59,86	58,39	59,187	%ge	33,84	33,766	33,804	%ge	32,528	31,883	32,22
Oui a	2627	2411	5038	Oui a	3525	3081	6606	Oui a	707	682	1389	Oui a	746	693	1439
%ge	29,49	31,19	30,28	%ge	38,15	39,81	38,905	%ge	63,29	63,265	63,28	%ge	64,3658	65,563	64,937
Oui r	240	183	423	Oui r	184	140	324	Oui r	32	32	64	Oui r	36	27	63
%ge	2,6942	2,367	2,542	%ge	1,991	1,809	1,9081	%ge	2,865	2,9685	2,9157	%ge	3,10613	2,5544	2,843
Total	8908	7730	16638	Total	9240	7740	16980	Total	1117	1078	2195	Total	1159	1057	2216
%ge	100	100	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00	%ge	100.00	100.00	100.00

Pearson chi2(3) = 10.1346 Pr = 0.017 Pearson chi2(2) = 5.2543 Pr = 0.072 Pearson chi2(3) = 0.0218 Pr = 0.999 Pearson chi2(2) = 0.7854 Pr = 0.675

Sources: field data

Age and out-of-home consumption dynamic

The table above shows the situation of people eating breakfast outside the home at the national level, based on chi2 tests we performed using data from the INS (National Institute of Statistics). It is noted that in 2018, age did not have a significant influence (at the 10% threshold) on eating breakfast away from home, whether for purchase or as a gift, even though young people consumed breakfast away from home more than adults (30.74% for young people and 29.61% for adults). In the same year, in the city of Niamey, 63.28% of young people and 63.24% of adults ate breakfast away from home. However, in 2021, age did influence breakfast consumption away from home, with more young people than adults eating breakfast away from home (40.08% of young people and 36.27% of adults nationally, and 67.03% of young people and 61.50% of adults in the city of Niamey). This can be partly explained, on the one hand, by the effects of COVID-19, but especially urban renewal projects, have in turn fostered the proliferation of food infrastructure in urban centers (restaurants, street food vendors, fast food outlets, and especially home delivery services). We know that younger people are more receptive to these food innovations, more comfortable eating alone in the street, but also more economically vulnerable, and therefore more likely to resort to street food.

Eating Breakfast Out of the Home by Gender

Nationally, in 2018, men consumed breakfast outside the home slightly more often than women, with 31.19% for men and 29.49% for women, with a national average estimated at 30.28%. In 2021, this figure was 39.81% for men and 38.15% for women who ate breakfast away from home. Within the city of Niamey, there is no significant difference between men and women in eating breakfast away from home. In 2018, the proportion of men and women eating breakfast away from home was almost equal (63.5% for each sex), while in 2021, slightly more men than women ate breakfast away from home (65.56% versus 64.36%). Regarding breakfast received as a gift, women were more likely than men to receive it, at 2.68% and 2.36% respectively, with the proportion of those receiving it as a gift being negligible for both men and women.

Therefore, this table shows that in Niamey, gender does not influence the consumption of breakfast away from home. In 2018 and 2021, as indicated by the chi-square test, at the 10% significance level, women were more

reluctant to eat out. This can be explained by women's entry into the workforce, into agribusiness, and by changes in family structures, with many women living alone (single, divorced). However, in other areas, women are more hesitant to eat out. Regarding breakfast, the reasons men eat it are not necessarily the same as women's. Social and marital status also play a role, as does the type of food consumed.

In light of the above, eating breakfast and lunch in Niamey is a growing phenomenon, which is of interest to many sociologists. Fieldwork results highlight that men and women of all ages eat breakfast and lunch out. This phenomenon has several causes, including...

Other factors include rapid urbanization in the city of Niamey, the prevalence of single people, and strong population growth. Furthermore, most of the food consumed outside the home is limited to "watcha" and "dougouri hari," which means bean soup.

This study allowed us to shed light on breakfast practices outside the home in Niger, and more specifically in the city of Niamey, through a socio-anthropological perspective. By focusing on breakfast, the research highlights an essential daily meal that influences health and productivity. The quantitative component revealed a range of variables that simultaneously affect the eater. These include the urban environment, marital status, sex, and age. The qualitative component, for its part, allowed us to understand the socio-cultural dynamics that underlie the act of eating. This study opens up perspectives that are simultaneously economic (due to the economic potential of out-of-home dining), sanitary (due to the issues related to hygiene and nutritional approaches), and, above all, political (for better governance of food, particularly in urban areas).

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