

Schooling to Test the Phenomena of Baby and Talibe Children in Northern Ivoirian

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Abstract

Original Research Article

The interest of this work is to highlight the ideologies of the parents live with screw of the schooling of their children. To achieve this goal, a methodology based on techniques of collection of data was used we have inter alia semi-directing maintenance, the direct observation. This made it possible to lead to the following results: on the one hand social perceptions of the populations compared to the activity carried on by their children, and on other land the socio-economic determinants influence the schooling of the children and allow the persistence of the phenomenon in the north of Ivory coast.

Keywords: child herdsman, child talibé, farmer-breeder, schooling, perceptions.

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INTRODUCTION

The issue of schooling for children in ages is a concern for some countries of the world. Indeed, according to the Millennium Development Goals (MDG2), it is a duty to "ensure education for all in primary education". In order to achieve this goal, States have developed new development goals and deepened the content of the MDGs to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), which are more streamlined than the previous ones. These SDGs, in their objective 4, advocate "access to quality education". It aims to "ensure that all have access to education and promote quality learning opportunities in equitable conditions throughout life".

For the implementation of this objective, governments and actors of the education system have undertaken actions such as the distribution of school kits, free primary school, and the construction of schools to allow all children to learn. To access quality education. To this end, 164 countries have ratified Primary Education for All (EFA) since the 2000 Dakar Conference [1, 2].

In Côte d'Ivoire, in particular, the government has enrolled in a compulsory school program throughout the country. This program assumes that every child between the ages of 6 and 16 must be in school for the 2015-2025 period [6]. To achieve this will of the State, schools are built, school kits are

distributed to students, the State promotes access to the canteen by reducing the ration to 25 francs, etc.

On the principle of Articles 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and 28 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which stipulate that everyone has the right to education and, on a compulsory basis, the International Labor Organization (ILO) proposes that the Government keep children in school until at least 15 years of age in order to prevent child labor. In addition, particularly in northern Ivory Coast, the Rural Animation NGO Korhogo (ARK) provides rural children with a minimum of educational training. This allows those who have not been able to integrate the formal school to benefit from training even outside the school system.

The local administrative authorities have embarked on a policy of raising awareness of schooling, of abolishing informal schools of a religious nature such as the madrasa school, which is the training center for talibé children and which has a negative impact on schooling. In this process several talibé children were removed from these madrasa schools to be enrolled in public school. But to everyone's surprise, these talibé children fled and found themselves at Madrasa School again. Thus, the religious principles taught in "madrasa" schools influence schooling strategies in families in northern Côte d'Ivoire.

Similarly, despite the awareness of the schooling of all children of school age undertaken by the Ivorian State and state authorities in the north of Côte d'Ivoire, children are leaving school to become drovers and talibés. How to understand that despite the policy of the State and administrative authorities in the north of Côte d'Ivoire children continue to be children drover and talibés?

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to analyze the factors that explain the persistence of the phenomenon of children and talibés children and the lack of interest of parents in the schooling of their children. This study is taking place in the Poro region, located in the north of Côte d'Ivoire, and precisely in the Korhogo department. The data collection phase took place in two phases. The first from February 15 to March 16, 2016 and the second in June 2017 and specifically concerned the villages of Lavonokaha, Kassoungbaraga, Dassoungboho for the data on the drover children and in the city of Korhogo precisely at the transport station of the companies Leopard and MTK at the big market, at the market of Sinistré and at the big mosque of the district Koko where one finds the schools madrassa for the data on talibés children. This study is a combination of the qualitative approach that has been achieved through observation and semi-structured interviews with the children of drovers and talibés as well as parents and teachers talibés in the principles of data

saturation and the quantitative approach through a questionnaire addressed to 60 selected according to the stratified random sampling technique coupled with the simple random technique to talibés and drover children. To understand the relationship that parents have with their children, Pierre Bourdieu's habitus theory was used.

RESULTS

Manifestation of the phenomenon

Schooling in the north of Côte d'Ivoire faces difficulties due to pronounced student absenteeism. Indeed some parents during the periods of the rural work remove the children of the school so that they accompany them in the fields. For example, the labor needs of parents are met by children who are taken out of school or out-of-school children. They take care of the plowing, the weeding, the harvest but mainly the drover.

In practice, each cowherd parent designates one or more children depending on the size of the herd to monitor and feed the oxen while others are offered for school. To become drovers, children are designated for some at the age of 4 and others while they are at school. Children designated since the age of 4 will never go to school. Children designated to be drovers will be throughout their lives and this to the detriment of schooling. The following table confirms these facts:

Table-1: Distribution of Bouvier Children by Level of Education

Age	No level		Primary		1 ^{er} cycle du second		Total	
	Effective	%	Effective	%	Effective	%	Effective	%
(5-10)	24	40	10	17	00	00	34	57
(11-13)	10	17	10	17	00	00	20	34
(14-17)	2	3	00	00	4	6	6	9
Total	36	60	20	34	4	6	60	100

Source: Our survey, 2017

The table reveals that more than 94% of the children in drovers did not go beyond the primary cycle and among them, about 60% never went to school. With children drover, there is a direct involvement of the parents of these children drover who use them for their own activities. In the case of talibé children, they go directly to Madrassa schools without any of them having attended school before. The parents of talibé children are nationals of countries bordering Côte d'Ivoire. These come either from Mali, Burkina Faso,

Niger ... to Korhogo to entrust their children to the talibé masters to ensure their religious formation.

In this northern region of Côte d'Ivoire, the phenomenon of drover and talibé children puts a severe strain on schooling in both rural and urban areas. This situation is not fortuitous. Parents' appreciation of the school is related to their low level of education. In fact, the majority of baby drovers interviewed have parents who have not completed primary school as shown in the following graph.

Chart: Distribution of parents of children by level of education

Age	No level		Primary		1 ^{er} cycle du second		Total	
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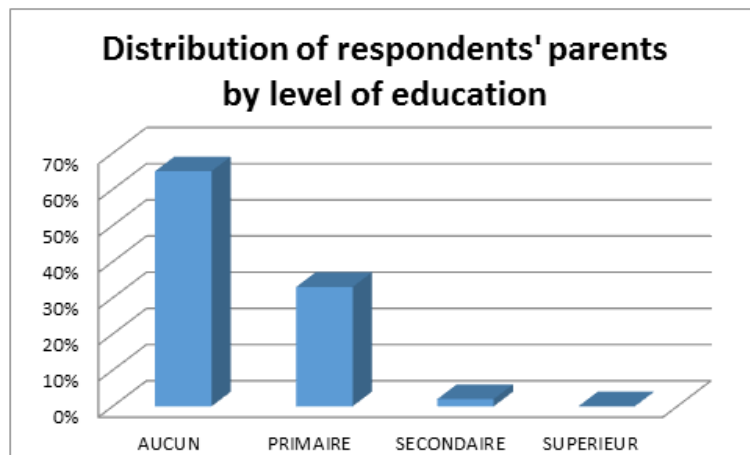
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Chart: Distribution of parents of children by level of education

Graphique : Répartition des parents des enfants selon leur niveau d'instruction



Sources: Our survey, 2017

As can be seen, it is apparent from this graph that about 98% of parents whose children are drovers did not complete primary school. Thus, their level of understanding of the benefits of schooling is altered by their low level of education.

II- The ideologies affecting the behavior of parents with regard to schooling

II- 1- The ideologies related to the attitudes of parents and children

II-1-1-The criterion of choice of child drover

Bouvier children are the children whom the parents themselves designate to feed the oxen. Indeed these are chosen according to three criteria which are the following ones:

Being the eldest of the family

When a child is the eldest of a family, he or she will be responsible for the whole family. In this future function he will have to replace the father in his works. He is therefore designated to be a drover and participates in his training. He is therefore prepared to assume his future role of being the family leader.

Be born in the period of acquisition of animals

When a child is born in the period when the animals were acquired, it is thought that he has a

destiny related to animals that will allow them to grow rapidly. It is therefore automatically designated to become drover whatever the sex of the child.

Here are the words of Y and S on the criteria for choosing the children of the drover: "we choose the first child to follow the oxen or the child who is born when we have received the animals, it is as it is thanks to him we got the blessing. So when he grows up he is entrusted with the direction of the flock, even if it is a girl she has to do it, it is the fate that has designated her".

As for Mum of Bouvier girls, "The girls there were born at the moment when we were given the oxen. They take care of that. "

Be brave and intelligent

The third criterion is related to the intelligence and courage of the child. The child who has predispositions of brave and intelligent is chosen to become a child drover. To this effect, AT affirmed this: "If, for example, there are two children, one gives one at school and one to follow the oxen. We cannot send them all to school otherwise who will follow the animals. They are the bravest and intelligent who are taken to follow the flock.

Through the parents' speeches, we perceive the interest they place in their activities in relation to the education of their children. In fact, the priority of their actions is the success of their business. In addition, by sending the so-called "lazy" children to school, there is a likelihood that they will drop out of school before the end of their schooling. In this case it is the State that loses, since to educate a child is an investment and a cost for the State.

In sum, parents' behavior is a sign of the relationship they have with school. That is to say, a relationship of independence vis-à-vis the school. In this report, the schooling of their children is often relegated to the background.

Children by obedience submit to the request of their parents fearing to be rejected by members of the family for some. For others, that is to say those who have never been to school, the work of drover is their only alternative insofar as they have never known any other activity than this one.

Besides that, children are forced to submit to the decision of their parents. Indeed, in the northern region of Côte d'Ivoire, the relationship of submission maintained with his parents is decisive in the coronation or the defeat of a child. The ideology that supports this is: "our first gods are our parents" or "our gods on earth are the parents". Thus on this cultural and religious basis, the child must fulfill his obligations to his parents to preserve his "blessings". Suddenly, it can only submit.

II-1-2-Relation children drovers and herds

In the daily life of the child bouvier, this one weaves a certain link of affection with the animals. This attachment to animals promotes understanding and submission of these to the baby herd earlier than to the older ones. And even it turns out that the communication between the smallest and the animals is more effective than when the big ones have the same status. This is implied by D.K a parent of a child drover when he says:

"When you send two children to look after the animals, one who is tall and one who is small, usually the animals are more obese than the big ones. In the same way that children have a communication facility with each other, that's how they communicate easily with animals and quickly become friends. "Another interviewee, Mr. YA, in Lavonokaha said in the same sense: "Children and cattle understand each other. If the ox smells the smell of it he gets used to it so he can not hurt him. But if it's a big one, he'll hurt it so we leave it in the hands of the kids. And then the animals like to take good care of them but the big him he cannot do that except the children.

So it is this relationship between the child and the beef as perceived by the populations mentioned by Mr. KS assistant project at ANAED when he says: "When you ask parents why they do work children, they say that oxen are the children's business; and that the child's ignorance of the danger he runs in driving the oxen makes him the appropriate actor for this task."

It is clear from all these speeches that for the people of the Poro region, and according to their division of labor, animal care is an activity reserved for children. This conception believes that the innocence of children promotes their attachment to animals and avoids the dangers that adults might face in carrying out this activity.

II-1-3-Social conditions of child drover

II-1-3-1-physical violence

Bouvier children are often beaten and punished for an animal that is lost or left to graze in the field of others. Here are the words of Y.T 6 years old and bouvier. "When an animal is lost, we are struck when it is going to eat in someone's field so we are hit again".

In addition to the beatings to which children are victims, some may spend a day without having anything to eat. To overcome this, they are sometimes forced to hunt animals or set traps to take animals that will be the meal of the day. This is what emerged from D and S two children drover when they say:

"We have not eaten since morning. When we do not come with food it is the evening we arrive that we eat, we also traps and hunting, when we come to a good hunt, we make a fire to prepare and we eat together ».

Thus, these children are transformed into hunters in addition to being drovers.

II-1-3-2- the exercise of authority

In the exercise of their activities, the children maintain relations with the animals. These relationships are relationships of domination. Children are the masters of the animals for which they are responsible. To maintain this domination exercised over animals, the bouvier child prefers his status as a drover to that of pupil. Indeed, once back to school the child is no longer the master but he becomes a student. This reconversion makes him lose his quality of master, of client. He is now a learner, a student and a performer. He therefore enters another type of report. From a relationship of domination he passes to a relationship of subordination. He will have to obey rather than be obeyed. This change of ratio and especially the loss of the quality of master makes that the children drover do not prefer to be educated.

II-2-the ideologies related to the parents' behavior of talibés children

II-2-1- Origin of talibé children

Talibé children are a group of children of all sexes entrusted to Koranic masters (a marabout). These come from all over. In addition to Côte d'Ivoire, they are mainly ECOWAS countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger etc. The parents come to entrust them so that they inculcate them a religious education and bring them to bear the difficulties in the life, to teach them to get out alone. These parents are of several social categories. Some have a significant economic situation while others are economically weak.

II-2-2-The ideologies of talibé parents

According to the Qur'an, parents must educate children in ways of GOD. This requirement of the Quran gives great responsibility to parents for the education of their children. They expect that as adults their children will be able to cope with difficulties or resist all the challenges of life in addition to knowledge of the Quran. Children once adults will be better able to orient themselves in life. For these parents the knowledge of the Qur'an surpasses school education. They therefore rightly regard schooling as "the school of whites". This knowledge will prevent the child from taking ways contrary to the will of GOD. For them to have a child who practices the Koran, who is marabout, means that one has succeeded in his mission of father. Here are the words of a talibé master: "The parents entrust us with the children to teach them the Koran and not to bring them to school. If we are forbidden to continue our work, it is like we committed suicide in Islam.

II-2-3-Social conditions of the training of talibés children

During the training of talibé children, they are subjected to severe tests sometimes causing physical and / or moral injuries. The The parents, after having entrusted the children to the talibé masters, abandon them to their care. Thus, the talibé masters find themselves alone in supervising, educating, training and providing for the children in their care. Each talibé master can often support about three hundred children. Faced with the inability of teachers to take care of children and provide for their needs, lead children to begging. An amount is set for each child according to his age and level. At the end of the day each child must raise the amount requested at the risk of being punished by the master talibé. The proceeds of this begging and the alms of some bystanders are used to make food for the whole group. Thus, the talibé masters and the children in their care live on the alms of the passers-by and the begging of the children. In the practice of their activities, the talibé masters wait in vain for the help of the parents and are sometimes confronted with situations of sickness and death of children. D.F a talibé master confided:

"One of the children who were entrusted to me fell ill, I warned the parents, but they did not arrive and the child died later. It was after his death that they arrived and we buried him. "

Another teacher said: "The parents send their children to learn the Qur'an, and if we are prevented from continuing, this is a danger for Islam and our values. We do not have a diploma to deliberate on a child. But they become marabout. I have 40 children, Some teachers are between 80 and 100, others have 500 children. Parents leave children often without anything so we have to send them to the streets to beg. "

D.K a talibé student said in essence: "We are asked to send 100 to 500 CFA francs per day depending on your level and must necessarily find before entering the master. So when we are given money that some people refuse to share. We are fighting ".

Talibe children live in their school for the most part. They all sleep in the same room and on mats, lit by storm lamps. The training is done in the same rooms. The children sit on mats on the floor. This has given this madrassah school the name of "dougouman-kara" in Malinké which translates literally means "school by land". The purpose of this training is to know how to read and master the verses of the Koran and to be able to teach it. Despite the conditions of realization of this formation, the children prefer it to any school formation. For them, Madrassa School prepares them for the future life and puts them in touch with God. To this end, a talibé student said: « A nous en bé dougouman kara là, en te tar l'école là, an té 'école fê » Malinke expression translates literally by: "we are in the Koranic school, we do not like the school, and we do not want to go there".

III- stakes of the phenomenon of the drover and talibés children

III-1- Economic stakes

As far as the parents of the children are concerned, the stakes are more economical. Indeed, the economic capital in this community allows an individual to establish his reputation. Thus, the skills mobilized to maintain this celebrity and maintain a dominant relationship with the rest of the community is to extend its economic power. As a result, he will use his children as available labor and cheap to grow his financial capacity. In practice, parents prefer to use children so as not to employ laborers to whom they would be forced to pay the labor force. In other words, this use of child labor is beneficial for the parents as soon as these children constitute a free and submissive workforce as testifies the mother of YS family in these words: "we work with our children because it's better. Because instead of giving them the money they eat at home and they do what they are told to do. So it's better,

the same money we earn there is not much to say we'll take someone to work with us ... (laughs).

From Ms. Y S's remarks, it emerged that child labor is also a way for parents to save money. That is why, for our study, we say that the community's social representation of the phenomenon cannot alone explain the persistence of this phenomenon in the locality.

III-2-Cultural and religious issues

In the case of talibé children, in addition to the economic challenge for the talibé masters because living of the begging of their learners, the stake for the parents is cultural and religious. Parents who come to leave their children (daughter and boy) among talibé masters do not seek economic power. Often in spite of the conditions in which they abandon their children to talibé masters, they are economically well off. The goal sought by these parents is the learning and mastery of the Koran, its verses to be on the path of God and forge in his children a character to meet all challenges. The child at the end of his training at Madrassa School or dougouman-kara, must before any challenge of life be able to act or react without parents. The goal is to forge it and help him build a personality that would be imposed on him. In a word, it is necessary to teach the child the difficulties he may encounter in life, to teach him how to cope with suffering.

Thus despite all the sensitization to the schooling of the children, the phenomenon cannot disappear because the stakes for each actor is more important than the schooling of the children which would be profitable only to the governors.

DISCUSSION

The phenomenon of the drover and talibé children finds its explanation in the economic, cultural and religious stakes. These results are consistent with the position of Ngadande [3], who argues that child labor is a serious social problem and is mostly explained by the living conditions of households, in other words income degradation of the rural population, urban workers and the deterioration of the quality of employment explains child labor in different settings. Indeed, some parents, because of the current context, do not perceive the need to continue sending their children to school or simply do not have the financial means to do so.

In this vein of idea, Arditi [4], thinks that Arab children do not go to public school because their families are afraid that they will become "kaffri", that is to say pagans, non-Muslims. These to keep their offspring from the taint of the outside world prefer to leave them in Arab schools because "the school of the whites" will eventually corrupt them if they venture to send their children there. Enrolling children in Koranic school helps keep the culture intact. This study revealed that child drovers are used by their own parents to feed

the herd. It is contrary to the position of Arditi [5] for whom in Sahelian countries children from sedentary and poor backgrounds are recruited by farmers on contract with parents for an annual fee for an ox. The phenomenon here connects three actors namely the children who are used, the parents who pledge them against an ox and the breeders who become the owners of the means of production.

CONCLUSION

Despite the policy of education for all and compulsory advocated by the governments, some parents in northern Ivorian still refuse this right to education for their children and the phenomenon of talibé and drover children continues to move away from the education system. On the one hand, talibé children must learn the Koran to be an accomplished adult citizen, and on the other hand, the children of the drover must graze the flock and ensure their safety. Thus, prestige, social status and economic security support parents in the design of children and school. So if nothing is done to take children out of this system, sustainable development should be done without counting on part of the population of the north. Is it really possible?

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