The children's instruction in Sub-Saharan Africa: The example of Burkina Faso, Chad and Djibouti

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Resumo

Este artigo trata da instrução em três países de África subsaariana, sendo o resultado de três pesquisas de campo com: observações antropológicas, observações participantes e 150 entrevistas. Tendo descrito a oferta educacional nos países em questão, é evidenciada a representação da escola pelos pais. Uma atenção particular foi dada ao modelo escolar implicado em cada uma destas escolas. Assim, é avaliada a margem de liberdade dos pais na escolha educacional possível, ou seja, diante de uma oferta plural, mesmo que marcada pela história e a hierarquia atual.

Palavras-chave: Sociologia da Educação; ensino primário; ensino público; ensino religioso; escolha de escolarização.

Abstract

This article deals with the various schooling of three francophone African countries. This article presents the resultants of three field surveys, during which ethnographic and participant observations, but also over 150 in depth interviews were led. After having described the educational provision in the three countries concerned, the article shed some light on the representations of school for parents of pupils. A specific focus is made on the schooling model corresponding to each school. That's how was measured the leeway of parents face to the schooling choice which is imposed, face to a plural educational provision which herald historic connations and hierarchical organisation.

Keywords: Sociology of Education; primary education; public education; religious education; choice of schooling.

Introduction

The following research focuses on some of the aspects of the schooling and human resources mobilized in education in Sub Saharan Africa. This analysis starts by considering the similarities that commonly identify the African educational system with its western backgrounds, both bogged down and self-legitimized by history (d'Almeida Topor 2010). This affirmation warrants the examination of the current educational provisions of three countries: Burkina Faso, Djibouti and Chad, considering the various aspects of parent opinions, guidance and choice behaviours. The goal of this approach is to shed some light on the expectation of adults regarding school and to clarify their position and the decision to remove themselves from what would be considered a dependency to a singular and exogenous educational model. This reasoning is supported by the outcome of several long-range surveys and 150 interviews held with teachers, headmasters and parents of children attending different types of schools.

The initial statement triggers a fundamental question: Can a francophone educational system be spoken of in Africa? This overall identification seems at first a bit excessive and ignorant of the complexity of a whole, whose elements would be better defined by congruence and similarities than by differences. However, this uniqueness seems to exist on the one hand due to the sharing of a common history, imposed by colonial domination for 200 years. On the other hand, this common part is due to the very setup of the school system by the colonials, the system keeps on displaying the original intentions and the model it instituted. As Claude Durand-Prinborgne mentions in his analysis on this topic: "the independence of old possessions didn't lead to a total breach of the previous rule of the colonial might, that were introduced in the principles" (Durand-Prinborgne 2001:71). Indeed, a quick flashback on the purposes of French colonialism, in fact shows that these principles remain evident in the context of the school system in Africa which continues its historical course (Belloncle 1984; Cappelle 1990).

A school-prisoner of its history?

While serving the colonial establishment, only a small percentage of the local population was concerned with formal education. Initially designed (either voluntarily or by force) solely for the sons of chiefs, school gave priority to local aristocracy; this elitist process was essential in order to maintain the occidental domination (Magrin 2001). The educational model thus constructed led to the establishment of similar political, economical and social organization in countries where the system was introduced. These practices were inspired by liberalism doxa and an ethnocentric vision of democracy. After the colonizers followed the leaders chosen by occidentals for their readiness to serve and safeguard their interests. Nowadays, school in Africa is often described as 'stuck' to areas of reproduction; it continues to serve a minority of teachable ages and it is widely pursuing the teaching and enforcement of the occidental model of economical and human development. Indeed, more focused on survival than innovation, the educational system remains fused to the basics borrowed from the North, which imposed a large number of methods, contents and references (Nyamba 2005).

Furthermore, it seems that African school, to this day, has not been successful in adjusting its organizational framework and its philosophy to local culture. In hopes of redressing these non equalitarian situations received as inheritance (Carpentier 2003), there have been a few attempts to overhaul the whole system by redefining the curriculum (in South Africa for instance). Indeed, if sometimes, the local climate is taken into account, modifying the school schedule to better suit the students (that's to say, extended hours in the afternoon), the lack of accommodating facilities requires the educational institutions to work in a twin-spool method (two cohorts which alternately share a classroom). This complicates the teacher's responsibilities, making the tasks more repetitive, but also negatively affecting the children who must 'gulp the curriculum' in less time. Moreover, the teaching times have not been

updated to the traditional festive or religious calendar[3]. Another ambiguity is that the textbooks are written by Africans who went to French schools and universities and these sometimes see only minor changes - for instance: typical first names, from François to Yacouba and from Céline to Aminata. Besides, due to linguistic prevalence, textbooks designed for West Africa are also bound for East Africa.

At last, while under the teacher's iron rule, the French language, which teaching process still remains, has become a political tool which enables the integration of codes and ways of thinking that were first taught under duress. Its reassessment, when it does occur, is based not on its teaching as a foreign language[4] but on its use as a language of instruction, which "doesn't play any different of role than the one it played in the colonial period" (Than Khoï 1986:238).

Thus, from students' side, the school's success relies largely on their learning ability and on the level of language skilfulness. As for teachers, they can experience some difficulties in being fluent in French scholar jargon, whose use is universalistic and decontextualized, with regards to the specifying shapes used in specific places of daily life. That's how the results can belie the expectations: the French instruction language, preventing the school rates from expanding is going to increase the educational wastage. Associated with a dramatic economical situation, stuck between debt repayment and credit multiplication development, the quantitative extension of non-open plan schools which requires substantial financial means, comes close to being impossible. This observation refers to the paradox of educational situation in Africa: school is shaping up to have the mission and the ambition of being aimed towards the widest audience possible, whereas in reality it ensures the education of a minority (Vieille-Grosjean 2010).

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[3] In Djibouti, the adaptation is moderate. Even if children study during Ramadan and enjoy school vacations at Christmas, Friday (and not Sunday) is the official day off for schoolchildren.

[4] Foreign languages learnt in high school in France are taught according to their geographic proximity attribute: Spanish is first taught in South-West, German in the East, Italian in South East etc. These languages are still the ones that are taught in Africa.

Thus, we focus on the starting postulate, which involves the historical heaviness of the educational system settled in to satisfy requirements and to provide support to domination and colonization strategies. This involves questioning the shapes that can take the prevalence of this heaviness on plural (different) everyday lives so as their geographic and cultural specificities, with regard to the educational intentions and schooling expectations in the three countries mentioned and studied.

Geographical frame and opportunity

This enquiry, constructed from a sociological comprehensive approach, is based on the information collected during three cooperation assignments that were completed in Africa, from West Africa (6 months in Burkina Faso) to Central and East Africa (4 years in Chad, 2 years in Djibouti) and this, from November 2003 to April 2008. In addition to the geographical coverage that they represent, these three countries use the French language as the privileged media of systemic education. A cross perspective on the schooling contexts can each vouch and support a critical approach of this practice acquired from colonization times that remains. Without using heuristics methods to highlight other territories and other contexts, it seems interesting to bring out a comparison between civilizational and historical aspects (Islam implementation, slavery, experience of colonization, trusteeship, independence). These have similarities (vernacular languages, ethnic groups, cultural backgrounds, political management) that display a possible set of the educational figures, resulting in an anachronism regarding the systemic education of these three countries.

On the other hand, if Burkina Faso enjoys great popularity amongst French sociological scientists, Chad and Djibouti are benefited less from such an outreach. The political instabilities associated with insecure situations for Chad and geographical isolation / remoteness for Djibouti, are continuing this unawareness of the peoples, the social, familial and educational structures of these countries. In addition to these geo-historical benchmarks, others can be added that result from the implementation of the main private partner of the State in education, which is the religious: if in Burkina Faso, the denominational movement

(Christian and Muslim) is well-balanced, Chad remains to this under a major Christian influence (65%), whereas Islam rules Djibouti (97%). At least, the status of the Arab language as an official language that cohabits with the French language in Djibouti and in Chad, and its more marginal place in Burkina, makes the comparison between the expectations emanating from the educational provision of these countries more interesting. These are the similarities and particularities on which this research was based and constructed.

Theorical frame: perspectives and distances

Indeed, an examination started from these constitutive elements and along with it, a research orientated approach set in. This method was first supported by field observations and informal interviews, conducted as a first explorative approach. Associated with the 150 in-depth interviews, the information collected demonstrated a double sided dilemma, between the professionals in the education system and the parents.

The first side is clear when exploring the measure of the expected partnership between the two parties. In the three countries, teachers count on a minimum of ties with parents, considering that globally there is a trend of parents keeping from daily activities and even failing in their responsibilities given that they refuse to take an interest in the education of their children, once they are sent to school (process analyzed as "delegation" by C. Montandon and that D. Thin detailed as an authority delegation, feeling illegitimate and trusting teachers). The issue of our research centered on the families' positions, both concerning their willingness, or rather lack, to send their children to school and their expectations from the instruction received.

The other side of this awkward position becomes obvious when looking at speeches and positions of parents towards school, and the interpretations of it made by teachers. Most of the parental positions are leaning towards considering school as a royal way to integrate, a unique access to get a job. However, a small percentage reject school refusing to register their child(ren). This is the case in some regions of Chad, where they may also refuse to cooperate with teachers. Over commitment or denial – none of these positions fit with the ones usually described by

teachers as silence, absence or uncommitment. As a first explanation, we refer to the analysis towards linguistic codes, hidden curriculum, environment and stereotypes as determinants of the positions and attitudes (Perrenoud 1994; Duru-Bellat & Van Zanten 2006). Parents, as a result of lacking of being familiar with the codes and contents of this tag-along style type of school, stay away from it. This is caused by a perceived inferiority and inability and not because of a disinterest in their children's schooling. The financial effort that in its majority comes under the familial budget proves their desire to send their children to school. Others, which are a minority, are very informed of what might happen to their children after being introduced to the school-orbit and don't want to resign themselves. That is the reason why they oppose a refusal whose reasons go beyond of a simple abdication of parental responsibility. Moreover, unlike child in Occident, the status of the African child, at least in the three countries mentioned, refers more to the one of inheritance than the one of heir.

Academic achievement, embodied in the receiving of diplomas becomes essential to the improvement of an economical situation, even for the transformation of a familial destiny to arrive. Thus, school is a placement, submitted to yield, efficiency and performance, which are represented by a professional activity. This return on investment can reimburse the financial and sometimes human sacrifice endured by the family, since some of the sisters and brothers were deprived of it.

Research questions

This first explorative approach carried out in the different places mentioned above, enables the rise of parents' and teachers' positions towards school, the way it operates and the means involved in it. Should it be commitment, refusal or protest, these positions never seem to come out of indifference. That's how we can read the existing distance between the different positions and the interpretations which result. A tension lies between what is announced as having to be said, done and learnt by, in and for school and what families are less and less able to control over the years, that's to say the double disparity (unsuitability) between, on the one hand, the transmission of informative messages and

values, and on the other hand, the progressive gap that belies the expecting return on investment. This double distance doesn't take anything away from the fact that, in most cases, the family is involved in the education of children, even if it is in financial difficulties or if the children face learning difficulties. However, if the commitment is not linked to the social, cultural and economical contexts, it seems to be more related to the existence of a possibility to choose a schooling mode. Thus, we can assume that the cases of school refusal could be explained as being owed to the absence of other alternatives, such as the possibility to entrust children to the care of another school than the State's one. The highlight of these possible choices when they exist, should allow a clarifying approach of the parental commitment investment, and may be able to even explain their reasons and their issues.

Methodological aspects

First of all, the information collected rest upon 150 in depth and semi-directive interviews proportionally divided up among the three countries. They were conducted with a great variety of actors in order to cover all partners involved in education, which are parents, headmasters, teachers of public, private, koranic, catholic, protestant schools as well as young people who have left school without any qualification. Then, the qualitative inquiry was completed by analysis of the professional contexts attended: observation of different sorts of schooling, writing logbooks and ethnographical narratives. Despite the refusals due to the confusion of our research with a journalistic survey or even an espionage attempt, 150 interviews have been recorded.

We work on a random sampling: the public was mainly polled but not exclusively in 'urban' areas. We insist on re-contextualizing this word: 87% of the Djiboutian population live in cities. In Burkina Faso and Chad, even if in 2008, respectively only 20% and 28% of the population was considered urban (Sherbrooke University 2008), this choice wasn't made officially; all the people interviewed know both areas, often moving along from one to another. In Burkina Faso, the interviews were led in Ouagadougou (3 areas), in Koudougou (2 areas) and in Bobo-Dioulasso (2 areas). In Chad, our survey was conducted in

N'Djaména (5 areas), Sahr (3 areas), Abeché (2 areas), Moundou, (2 areas); in Djibouti in uptown as well as inner city and suburbs. Thus, in the three countries, teachers are for example sent to earn their spurs in the countryside and get to know material difficulties of a more 'hostile' land[5]. Furthermore, the city dwellers (inhabitants) of Ouagadougou and N'Djamena, as a social communitarian geographic construction, can be compared to Parisian, which population is mainly composed of people from the provinces who became metropolitan. The phenomenon is equal in the Djiboutian capital where nomads and sedentary population, state agents and soldiers are living side by side, and where people often live from an economy based on informal trade, even on "resource-fulness" (Denis 1989; Piguet 1998). Moreover, the inquiries cover the entire socio-economical background, with a predominance of the local middle class, often former countryfolk, who, owing to their settlement in the capital, schooling and sometimes school success, experience an upward mobility. In other families, one parent (in most cases the father) lives far away from home, because of a job in a capital or even in a foreign (neighbouring) country.

Information collected

The information collected from interviews and observations led in the three contexts will be reported. We chose to focus the presentation of the results on one axis which underlines the tie between opinions of actors facing the same conditions, in a relation to an education provision whose characteristics promote or show a slowdown in the investments.

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[5] We're referring to an interview led with a burkinan primary school teacher, who evokes the solidarity that constitutes the rural community facing the lack of means. He quotes the example of the community building a roof for the school. Cf. M. Ilboudo, Burkina Faso, 2003.

Description of the school provision

First of all, the educational provision, its various aspects and recommendations, ought to be presented. Our first observations drove us to determine various school offer contexts: koranic, madrasa, public and private schools. We'll remember the five main offers, which are common to the three countries considered.

In a reverse chronological order, the first sort of educational formal provision refers to protestant schools. This school registers pupils' cohorts that are less numerous than in catholic schools (Mbaïosso 1990:111), but its increasing influence enjoys a bidirectional strategy: expansion of educational partnerships with State (Chad) and gathering of pupils and parents around an educative project (Chad, Burkina Faso). It symbolizes thereby the recognition of the awareness of a belonging to the community owing to schooling process. We're here coming close to the model studies by Max Weber (Weber 1989). Indeed, the protestant schools, referenced as school districts, show the emergence of a new community, organized by the same churchgoing. Thus, parents' choice is to be done between dependency to a schooling system that isn't under the population's control and the membership to a community that involves them in the stake and position which goes beyond the educative scope.

The catholic school, second sort of educational formal provision, benefited from the historical course (missionary inheritance). Imported in Africa at the down of colonization, catholic schools legitimized and spread their presence over the continent, making the accommodation capacities grow, where state structures failed, thus answering to the needs of primary school instruction and at last, increasing schooling rates. Officially, this school enables "the parents to participate to the financial support of Education" (UNESCO 2006). At the same time, catholic schools strengthen their settlement, providing summer or evening remedial classes, now taken over by volunteers' associations foreign NGOs. In the different countries where they were introduced, private catholic schools accommodate "7 to 8 millions of pupils that are not from catholic religion" (Koné 1999:106). In Djibouti, the great majority of pupils are Muslims and the schooling request surpasses the accom-

modation capacities. The popularity of these schools refers to the numbers (of pupils) involved, above the ones of protestant schools but below as regards to each classroom, compared to state schools, which constitutes a teaching quality guarantee. In the aftermath of the independencies, some States nationalized schools, for instance Burkina Faso in 1969. Others annexed them, in every case; they were integrated under conditions (pluridenomination absence of religious preference etc.) to the formal official educative system (Lanoue 2004).

Two other educational types belong to non formal education: koranic schools and madrasas (or medersa). In the three countries, koranic basic education is mostly delivered outside permanent (durable) structures and limits its mission to the mimetic learning of the koranic verses, or even to babysitting services. This school attendance stems from an aim of preservation of one religious capital and thereby of an acquisition of a social acknowledgment. Children are sent in the name of a parental belief and of respect for tradition. The schedules bring the Koranic School to complement the formal education, public or private.

Contrary to the Koranic School, madrasa benefits from a pedagogical respectability. Teaching is done on the model of formal education, without any difference in contents (except in drawing); they're not restricted to the religious instruction and the teaching language is Arabic. The inquiry results show the importance of religious belonging and of the language spoken in the family in the schooling choice. Madrasa are more positively judged than koranic schools, for they're said to be "more organized and structured". According to the madrasa headmasters met in Djibouti and Chad (some of them were even former public pupils), they record an increasing demand for schooling, limited to a communication problem, which is the low expansion of Arabic schooling language in the administration field. If they represent a guarantee (pledge of) professionnalism, they don't benefit from a popularity equal to the one of Christian schools, since their students do not have any other choices than learning in Arabic, apart from the exile in Mideastern countries (as Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Dubai and Qatar).

The last offer is the official school which contributes (with private school previously mentioned) to model the formal education. Its structures host children from 6 to 16 years old, for whom schooling, guaranteed by State, is free and compulsory, except for children that attend

madrasas or nomad schools, who are exempted from going (UNESCO 2008). Public school responds to a master duty coming from the State, but faces a lack of accommodations possibilities. This being so, this lack requiring a 'twin spool' enables the pupils to attend several schools: the most frequent double schooling is the attendance of official and Koranic school in most countries. However, others double schooling were noticed such as protestant and official in Chad and more surprisingly, in Djibouti, catholic and Koranic. Lastly, the attendance of state schools, in every speech, proceeds, less from a voluntary act than from "imitation process" which is spread throughout the three countries: "children of neighbours are going to school, you're going too".

Schools and actors: similar everyday lives

First statement, living conditions are the same for all the professsionnals interviewed: many African countries, facing a constant growth of the number of pupils and declining working conditions, lack teachers. In all the speeches of the teachers interviewed in the three countries, recurrences on people's dissatisfaction concerning the heavy workload appear:

> Work makes you bitter, less and less teachers feel a vocation:
> teachers join public service out of necessity, teaching as a marriage
> of convenience, to avoid unemployment, other sectors being little
> developed or too saturated to offer any possibility[6].

Furthermore, because of the lack of prospects, there are overqualified teachers in primary teaching, holding a master degree in a foreign language for instance and hired in a period of time (2001) when the BEPC was enough to be recruited. "At any occasion, teachers say they are ready to yield to temptation"[7]. Another expression of dissatisfaction is the reference to people's lack of knowledge and regard for their job. According to collective imagination in these three countries, public

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[6] Interview with Miss Zoungrana, Burkina Faso, 2007.

[7] Interview with M. Moundou, Chad, 2005.

administration echoes lack of activity and lazy attitude. Thus, teachers crave for a better recognition of their commitment, or the possibility to have a less "social" job, "in an office, in front of a computer." Eventually, thwarted by teaching conditions always harder, they sometimes resent their job for "having a part in the reduction of [their] knowledge"[8]. Their position can thus turn to be synonymous with social, economical and intellectual regression.

Teachers also mention tension between the responsibility to get children acquainted with that unknown environment which is school and their report of the lack of meaning of such a task for "lost children who do not know what is the use of it or where it is going to lead them to"[9]. Other tension, the difficulty to feel alone when dealing with illiterate parents "who make do with the basic essentials, sending them to school" and won't follow their progress at home as teachers wish. Lastly, class preparations and lack of gratitude, as well from superiors as from parents, are other difficulties mentioned in the enquiry which help increase the lack of teachers in Africa.

Parents' choice

So most children going to school actually attend public school, though this is not parents' first choice. Public school is indeed a compulsory road every child has to take. Its image is tightly bound to administrations. Thus, as said a person interviewed in Burkina Faso, "people think school is barely good enough to relieve". Public opinion will hardly give up the idea inherited from colonization, and suited to the context of employment, that public function is the one and only way to social success. This high opinion on public school grants it the power of social ascent through work and tends to strengthen the pressure put on the child as regards to its academic success.

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[8]   Idem note 7.

[9]   Interview with a teacher, M. Tiendrébéogo, BF, 2007.

The widely spread phenomenon of double schooling (Djibouti and Chad) mentioned above can also be explained by parents' wish of a diversified education, even a diversified schooling, in order to increase their children's chances of academic success and, above all, professional success. The differences between schools which are made by parents are linked to language, religion and values taught. Religious education can thus be preferred to the damage caused by laic school, that's to say to parents who see the European domination in the hierarchy of languages (which disavow their mother tongue) and the laic curriculum – which presents itself universal – as a promotion to renounce to faith that generates negative behaviours[10].

On a global scale, in the three countries, parents will chose between madrasa and Christian school, trying to find a correspondence with traditional codes and knowledge, as well as trying to pass on local habits. Learning Muslim rites in Djibouti is predominant; the distribution is more balanced in Chad and Burkina Faso where the Muslim population is not more numerous. The choice can also be due to a conflicting link focused on teaching languages (French and Arabic). Schooling in one language or another may be considered by the child as a punishment since it is imposed to them and takes them away from the other alternative. Eventually, if the main reason is religion, upper classes will turn to a Koranic master at home, which is the case for 71% of the pupils interviewed in private schools in Djibouti.

In the case of single schooling, it is the outcome (whether success or failure) that will determine schooling in madrasa or not. Thus, this is a choice made by default, since madrasa offers much fewer professional prospects than public school. Administrative selection by age in public school reinforces even more that weakness and contributes to run

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[10] "The important things we told him to do at home, he learns others at school. That's not a good thing that boys learn nearby girls" (Abdi-Salah, Balbala, 2006). Other example of discourse can illustrate this idea: "More girls attend school, less they're attentive to what is said to them at home, such as giving service at home, wearing decent cloths, respect the elderers" (Bayama, 2008). In Tchad, a parent says "Instead educating children, school miseducates them" (Tidjani – Abéché, Tchad, 2005).

madrasa down (it then looks like a 'spare school'). A Djiboutian teacher tells that his parents had chosen madrasa for their boys because "they were too old to attend public school." Furthermore, madrasa is a solution as a last resort against, for instance, unemployment. Thus, researches have shown that giving up 'French' school is generally not due to obedience to religious rules but to financial reasons (Solomon Tsehaye, 2012). In Chad, only a minority of parents can afford their children's Christian school fees (Vieille-Grosjean, 2010). Speeches in favour of madrasa contribute to the effort to minimize school failure (Djibouti) or to hide public school rejection (Burkina Faso, Chad). Public school is the favourite place where "pupils are well attended to and supervised" and madrasa is the place for the 'outcasts'. Let us note that those choices rest, first of all, on financial means. Other situations have developed in the past years, as regards to exodus and migrations: some families, emigrated (Ethiopian in Djibouti) cannot make any choice at all.

Thus, the only choice seems to lie between public and private school. More frequent speeches are those which oppose or, at least, distinguish public and private schools. Material conditions, pupils distribution in classes (according to the level) and the number of pupils are points of differentiation that parents will take into account[11]. School fees are also frequently mentioned. Parents regret not being able to offer their children what is seen as 'best' (meaning private school). Because of economical, material hardship in the public educative sphere, primary school teachers (in Burkina as well as in Chad or Djibouti) mainly choose to send their own children to private schools, though feeling sometimes uneasy when it comes to explain their choice. For most of those who risk an explanation, their choice is justified by a best supervision, less numerous pupils (limited to forty, which is twice less than in public schools) and the regular presence of teachers (even if in Djibouti, a rotation is done nearly every year).

If in 2003, in Burkina Faso, some parents would go to the Ivory Coast to work and pay for a year in a public school for one of their children, in 2006, in Djibouti, others would leave 'to save' in Yemen to afford private school. In Chad, some parents, political leaders, traders or

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[11] As regards to the enrollment, this is not checked in the reality, since the enrollment of private schools can reach 45 pupils (per class).

senior civil servants, spend the equivalent of two monthly salaries to send their child to the French school of N'djamena. Whatever the case, those personal investments, combined with a wish to see their children succeed (and get a qualification) prove the true commitment of parents in schooling.

Conclusion

This being so, the different situations reported to the schooling process, which we were able to approach, mainly refer to a phenomenon of a double bind or paradoxical injunction. This phenomenon was reported by teachers, French speakers and Arabic speakers. In the first case, teachers are running into difficulties to establish a level of language and communication matched to the book and program expectations, since they're used to use a daily life, non scholar language. As for teachers teaching in Arabic, they don't or hardly find how to inscribe the language to teach, learnt in the Arabic countries, inside the pupils' linguistic practices, even if they belong to a linguistic context, in which Arabic was 'nationalized' (Chad or Djibouti, as an co-official language). These two languages taught, stay away, even outside, from their daily using contexts. As for teachers, the first ones struggle to stay in an academic field, whereas the second have hard time getting out of it.

The families mainly apply themselves to convincing themselves to the usefulness of one schooling, without being able to act on the offers which are proposed and which become as a result, imposed. They invest first and foremost in a school they imagine, not that it will respect the transmission of the inheritance and knowledge which are related to the different data and contexts, but that it is a possible way to the social and professional recognition. Indeed, it consists in answering to the requirement of 'doing them succeed', without being able to neither decide nor act on the real chances of this success, nor especially on its characteristics or its issues. However, to give up French school, means to accept unemployment, even if it constitutes the fate of the majority[12]. Therefore

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[12] Those who can't bring themselves to a 'miserable' life try their luck in foreign countries, hoping for an improvement of their living standard.

the economical's wealth concentration, called "development gaps" inside a political minority didn't make it possible to develop the public and private sectors enough, to diversify the professional fields making them match with the local demand, to extend the accommodation capacities of schools to the level required by these countries' demography. Thus, since the increase of the schooling rate can rhyme with mass unemployment; this boost paradoxically represents a threat for the African societies, a social and economical hindrance to the development, especially if the only sought-after sector (the civil service) is glutted.

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