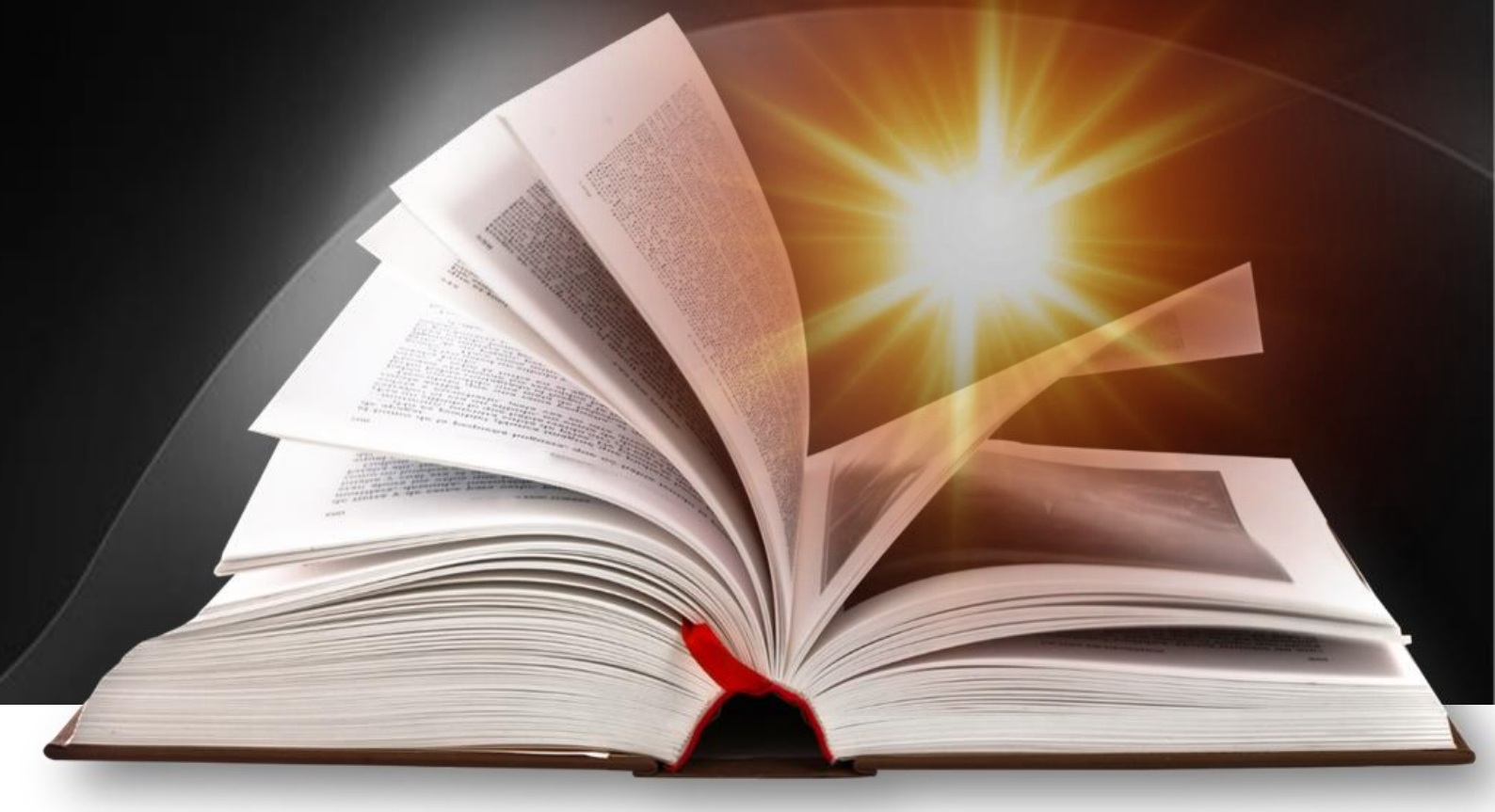
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[Enfants-pêcheurs dans la plaine du logone : entre scolarisation et pêche traditionnelle dans les "yaeres]

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Editorial

Convaincue que le développement durable de l'Afrique passe par l'implication intégrale et multiforme des jeunes, l'Association Panafricaine pour l'Encadrement et la Formation de la Jeunesse a décidé d'initier la *Revue Panafricaine de la Jeunesse* (RPJ) à qui nous souhaitons bon vent !

Quand bien même que l'ère de la révolution politique des indépendances des pays africains soit largement dépassée, il s'observe encore un retard dans le progrès scientifique et technologique de l'Afrique. Il est de bon aloi que les africaines et africains étudient désormais leurs problèmes respectifs et y apportent des solutions pérennes.

Si les pères du panafricanisme, notamment Modibo Keita, Thomas Sankara, Cheik Anta Diop, Kwame Nkrumah, Joseph Kizerbo, Lumumba, Malcom X, avaient milité pour la gouvernance politique de l'Afrique par les africains et pour les africains, il est temps d'amorcer l'indépendance scientifique et technologique, que seules les recherches innovantes et leurs publications dans une revue panafricaine peuvent impulser.

Vu les résultats mitigés de la coopération Nord-Sud, il faudrait songer valoriser la coopération sud-sud que la *Revue Panafricaine de la Jeunesse* vient d'initier. En effet, face aux multiples défis de développement que rencontre l'Afrique, malgré ses immenses richesses tant humaines que du sol, du sous-sol, ainsi que climatiques, il est plus que temps que les africaines et africains se réveillent et s'occupent de leurs problèmes eux-mêmes, qu'ils arrêtent avec la main tendue, sous couvert de la coopération au développement.

C'est dans cette optique que la *Revue Panafricaine de la Jeunesse* vient bouger les lignes de la recherche scientifique dans le monde, par l'érection d'un créneau international d'échange et de diffusion des études africaines, qui autre fois devraient être publiées dans les revues d'outre Afrique, ou carrément rejetées pour n'avoir pas répondu, soit disant, à leur "politique éditoriale".

Régie par un comité scientifique rigoureux, composé d'éminents professeurs chercheurs et docteurs évoluant dans divers domaines et secteurs d'activités savantes en Afrique, cette agora scientifique des chercheurs rapporte, en ce premier numéro de la *Revue,* des travaux de recherche originaux et pertinents sur des problèmes variés relatifs aux enjeux et défis des sociétés africaines dans toutes les disciplines scientifiques, notamment l'Économie et développement, l'Environnement, l'Agriculture, la Politique, l'Education, la Psychologie, la Santé, la Sociologie du développement, la Culture et les arts ainsi que la Littérature.

De ce fait, plusieurs chercheurs des universités, instituts et centres de recherche de sept pays africains (*Bénin, Burkina-Faso, Cameroun, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, République Démocratique du Congo et Sénégal*) ont contribué scientifiquement au présent numéro, notamment le CITBA, l'INSS/CNRST, l'Ecole Normale Supérieure/Koudougou, l'Institut National de la Jeunesse et des Sports d'Abidjan, l'Institut Supérieur de Développement Rural de Bukavu, l'Université Norbert Zongo, l'Université Assane Seck de Ziguinchor, l'Université Cheikh Anta Diop de Dakar, l'Université d'Abomey-Calavi, l'Université de Kabinda, l'Université de Lubumbashi, l'Institut supérieur des techniques médicales Marie Reine de la Paix de Kenge, l'Institut Supériéur Pédagogique de Kalemie (ISP/Kalemie), l'Université de Ngaoundéré, l'Université des Sciences Sociales et de Gestion de Bamako, l'Université du Faso, l'Université Félix Houphouët Boigny, l'Université Jean Lorougnon Guédé, l'Université Peleforo Gon Coulibaly de Korhogo, l'Université Thomas Sankara.

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Child-fishermen in the logone plain : between schooling and traditional fish farming in the "yaeres"

[Enfants-pêcheurs dans la plaine du logone : entre scolarisation et pêche traditionnelle dans les "yaeres]

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Abstract

The dynamics of fishing in the "yaérés" and the problem of conventional schooling related to this social environment of the Logone plain remain a permanent challenge for the social sciences and, in particular, the sociology of development and population. This article discusses the relationship between the inadequacy of peasant vocations and the schooling of children in the so-called "yaérés" plain. This discrepancy, which is explained by the submission of the physical environment to ecological phenomena, not only compromises school education but also exposes the populations to forms of circular migration. Such migrations become strategies of social metamorphosis, thus highlighting the schooling of children at school age. To this end, this situation of under-schooling linked to the dynamics of fishing leads us to question its ins and outs. Thus, we used a set of methodological tools that combined theory and practice, which lead to some expected results: the dynamics of fishing in the "yaérés" with socio-cultural, economic, and environmental issues is discrepant to conventional schooling and is a source of school dropout for child fishermen in the Logone plain.

Keywords: Child Fishers, Schooling, Fish Farming Activity, Yaérés.

Résumé

La dynamique de la pêche dans les "yaérés" et la problématique de la scolarisation conventionnelle liée à cet environnement social de la plaine du Logone restent un défi permanent pour les sciences sociales et, en particulier, la sociologie du développement et de la population. Cet article, intitulé "Les enfants pêcheurs de la plaine du Logone : Entre scolarisation et activités de pêche traditionnelle ", traite de la relation entre l'inadéquation des vocations paysannes et la scolarisation des enfants dans la plaine dite " yaérés ". Ce décalage, qui s'explique par la soumission du milieu physique aux phénomènes écologiques, compromet non seulement l'éducation scolaire mais expose également les populations à des formes de migration circulaire, dont les plus fréquentes sont les migrations saisonnières et frontalières. Ces migrations deviennent des stratégies de métamorphose sociale, mettant ainsi en exergue la scolarisation des enfants en âge scolaire. A cet effet, cette situation de sous-scolarisation liée à la dynamique de la pêche nous amène à nous interroger sur les tenants et aboutissants de cette réalité. Pour ce faire, nous avons utilisé un ensemble d'outils méthodologiques alliant

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théorie et pratique, qui ont permis d'aboutir à des résultats attendus : la dynamique de la pêche dans les "yaérés" avec des enjeux socioculturels, économiques et environnementaux est en décalage avec la scolarisation classique et constitue une source de déscolarisation des enfants pêcheurs de la plaine du Logone.

Mots clés : Pécheurs, Enfants, Scolarisation, Activité piscicole, Yaeres.

0. Introduction

The area of our study covers the districts of Zina, Waza, and Logone-birni in the department of Logoneet Chari, in the far north of Cameroon. These are the "yaérés" areas, which are flood plains fed by the waters of the Logone River and Lake Maga, and which include the Musgum, Kotoko, Massa and many other so-called minority communities. Our research focuses on the issue of schooling and the impact of fish farming activities in the Musgum and Kotoko communities, who are considered "great fishermen." The former are qualified, to borrow the expression of Seignobos, as "river runners ". While presenting the social order that they establish around the dynamics of fishing, which is translated here in terms of "social reproduction", the impact of their fish farming on the schooling of children reveals "perverse effects". In this context, the latter are strategies of social metamorphosis, enrolling young people at school age, in what Crozier refers to as the "blocked society ". In the field, the school in "the yaérés" seems to correspond neither to the socio-cultural environment, nor to a social need, let alone a common desire. From the outset, this dynamic around fishing not only affects the school education of children but also leads to various forms of seasonal and border migrations, leaving a society that is losing its bearings. Hence our concern to conduct a study in this environment out of phase with the schooling of the children.

1. Presentation of the state of play of fishing in the logone plain

1.1. Some general information on fishing in Cameroon

Cameroon is a country full of countless water sources including rivers, lakes, and the sea. The fishing activity is generally organized in four types: inland fishing, industrial fishing, fish farming, and artisanal maritime fishing. This activity is dominated by the informal sector that sometimes generates uncontrolled, unidentified and sometimes isolated "perverse effects". According to data established by MINEPIA (2016) national fisheries production is only around 220,000 tons, with at least 1,000 tons per year coming from aquaculture. These remain low in relation to the annual demand estimated at more than 40,000 tons, of inland water surface comprising 55% of flood plains, 30% of lakes and 15% of rivers (Bamou, 1996) It should be noted that this artisanal fishery is concentrated in Cameroon in large artificially formed water bodies such as the Lagdo dam in the north, the Mbakaou dam in Adamaoua, Lake Maga in the far north, the Mappé dam in the west, the Lompangar dam in the central region, etc. Also, this artisanal fishing is practiced along some rivers, notably the Nyong, the Sanaga in the Center, the Logone River and its "yaérés" zones in the extreme north of Cameroon. It is this last "yaérés" that is the focus of our field study.

In this regard, it is important to point out beforehand that our study is particularly interested in the issue of schooling for child fishermen and fishing activities in the floodplains of the Logone plain. This study, in this framework, is not limited simply to the description of the hydrography's and their contribution to fisheries production, but, above all, it gives a deep diagnosis of the fishing activity in the "yaérés" and the question of schooling for child fishermen. It is a question, in plain language, of understanding the stakes of this fishing dynamic and its direct link to school dropout and early school leaving in the areas of the Logone

plain. But before setting the scene on this issue, it is appropriate to recall and especially to highlight the fishing techniques used and the societal dynamics of fishing that are involved.

1.2. Categorization of fishing techniques in the Logone plain (river): the case of "yaérés

The most common fishing techniques practiced by the riverside population of the Logone plain are Malian traps (gouras), nets, hooks and hawks, which are generally referred to as classic techniques. Furthermore, other forms of fishing have emerged, such as those using holes dug in water retention areas, particularly in the villages of Kalkoussam, Moukak, Hinalé, Mussiska, etc., in the Logone Birni district, and canals dug along streams more frequently in the villages of Yvié, Holom, Mazera, Lahai, etc., in the district of Zina. This is done in order to naturally maximize their production in terms of fisheries. It is worth noting that the number of canals from the canal techniques, which have been growing significantly over the years, is estimated to over 3,000 canals (ACCEEN, 2007). Its development started with an invention by the Kotoko people, after which the Musgum appropriated it (Aboukar et al., 1998) and domesticated it. Since then, this practice has become not only a source of income, but above all a source of conflict and, unfortunately, of children dropping out of school. This last aspect is our concern.

From the outset, these techniques and their fish farming activities linked to the phenomenon of flooding appear to be out of step with the issue of schooling for children in these areas. That is why our work consists in shedding light on the functioning of the school and the schooling of the children in this plain. However, it is important to bring some highlight the state of place of the "yaérés" in order to enlighten our readers on the state of the thing.

Indeed, the "yaérés" are floodable areas in the Logone plain, renowned for their diversity of aquatic species and highly coveted by Musgum and Kotoko fishermen. Flooding in this plain occurs from August to December. During this period, the only means to connect the surrounding villages are the pirogues, for those who have them. According to our interviews conducted in October 2021 with the local population, "school, in some localities disappears as well as the areas reserved for sports activities." For the district inspectors in charge of basic education, especially in the districts of Zina and Waza, "the floods that cover practically the months of the first quarter of the school year and the intense fishing activities related to them are the main explanatory factors for the disfunctioning of the school, the direct consequences of which are the deviation of children from their regalian right, that of going to school, to the benefit of fishing." For the traditional chief of Moodier, a village in the district of Logone Birni Sud, "the proliferation of fishing holes and canals has not only generated a frantic need for money but has also contributed to the exploitation of children of school age for economic purposes. The direct consequences are children dropping of school and the lack of biological rest for fish in the water retention areas during the flood season. In the light of the aforementioned, everything suggests that the flooding observed in the "yaérés" and the fishing dynamics associated with it are the main factors in the misfunctioning of schools and "social reproduction" in the Logone floodplain.

1.3. Socio-generational dynamics and unconditional inheritance: the case of the fishermen of the Logone plain

Mainly because of the environmental conditions linked to flooding, the inhabitants of the Logone plain are strongly attached to this area (Moritz et al.2013) The relationship maintained by this population and their aquatic environment makes them "traditional fishermen" and therefore the direct output is the transfer of inheritance which translates into what Bourdieu calls, "social reproduction". It is these socio-cultural transfers that manifest themselves from

father to son and which prompted Albert Azeyeh to make this observation: "the introduction of school into a society without a schooling tradition seems to threaten mutations of a social and moral nature ". From what follows, despite the proliferation of techniques used, this fishery has remained in the register of artisanal fishing and self-consumption during the annual cycle of the hydrological regime and the fishing seasons that lend themselves to it (Laborde et al. 2019)

The interviews we had with the population living in flood-prone areas, notably the villages of Moukak, Hinalé, Dava, Mouli, Kalkoussam, etc. in the Logone Birni district, reveal that without the fishing activities in the "yaérés", no one would live there. Put differently, their existence in this area depends on the dynamics of fishing. For them, the school does not seem to correspond to a social need nor to a common desire. This is explained by the fact that during the flood period, some schools are completely closed due to the impact of fishing. Sometimes, some (schools), because of the damage caused by the floods, practically close their doors to learners and disappear completely from the school map. It is necessary to wait for the month of December to think about school again. This is the case, for example, in the district of Waza-Est where schools in the villages of Bilé II, Douvoul, Mizingli, Vougioum, Houlsimé are completely suspended during the first quarter of the academic year, thus putting children in front of the paradox of "Buridan's donkey".

The same situation is also observed in the district of Zina. According to the interview conducted with the basic district inspector,"school in the villages of Holom, Blamakai, Gadabou, Mala-zina, Davagan, Mbien under the havens of the floods, is relocated in some villages within the district while waiting for the period of the floods, in December. This phenomenon, it should be noted here, is not only at the origin of children's school dropouts but, reinforces the arguments of parents having little desire for school, to use them (children) as labor in the fishing activity. The consequence here is the early and definitive abandonment of studies".

These phenomena can be observed everywhere in the three districts of the Logone plain and undermine the "school culture" in this environment, trapping the child between fishing and schooling.

2. Child fishermen: between fishing and schooling ?

According to the sociological perspective on school developed by Furet and Ozouf: "a sociological law would have it that the introduction of school into a society without a schooling tradition appears as a threat of mutations of a social (disruption of the primitive selection of elites), moral (routing of natural vocations) and political (destabilization of the customary circuits of knowledge and power) order». In this respect, we can safely say that the school in the Logone plain faces resistance from the immediate environment, which is the socio-cultural and physical environment of the "yaérés. These factors not only expose children to the phenomenon of dropping out of school, but also lead these residents to various forms of migration.

2.1. The issue of school dropout among child fishermen in the yaérés

The Musgum and Kotoko populations in the Logone plain "yaérés" have a socio-cultural issue related to education or school. In this perspective, we will focus on the factors of this lack of schooling, notably the fish farming civilization and the autarkic lifestyle of the Musgum and Kotoko. This paper also discusses the implications of this de-schooling of Musgum and Kotoko fishermen.

• Factors of fishermen children school dropout

The civilization of fishing in the "yaérés" can be understood as a factor of school dropout of Musgum and Kotoko children. Indeed, the Musgum people in their tradition, it can never be said enough, give an irreplaceable place to fishing. This would mean that this activity is at the base of the social logics of production and reproduction. It is necessary to rely on Pierre Bourdieu's sociology to understand how societies are produced and reproduced. In this logic, if fishing is an economic activity that has cultural and social dimensions, it must be remembered that it is a considered asset of the Musgum and Kotoko people in the Logone plain and this is why it is fundamental to reproduce it. In this way, the age required to constitute a workforce in the fishing process is 8 years. The Musgum or Kotoko of this age can be used to guide the dugout during fishing. This is how he will learn and assimilate the codes, behaviors and values to adopt in this fishing activity. Sending the child to school is part of a strategy for his social integration among his age group. And once he becomes an adult (10 years old), he will have to join his parents in the fishing activities. In this way, the Musgum and Kotoko man in the floodplains, consider above all the individual as a large workforce for the needs of fishing. This explains why, once they reach adulthood, they are taken away to be initiated into fishing.

This school dropout of Musgum and Kotoko children is part of a way of living that seeks to perpetuate the fishing tradition and civilization among fishermen. This is why AdrinkaiTinalao, a fisherman in the village of Zimado, kept hammering away during our repeated interviews that :

The Musgum man is determined beforehand by his ability to fish, that is, to provide his family and society with foodstuffs suitable for consumption. Thus, an individual who does not know how to fish has no reason to live in Musgum society. We put our children into this activity because we want them to preserve our rich and cherished tradition. And also, we don't want them to be lost to us when we die. To teach a Musgum child to fish is to nurture them for life. This introductory discussion of the school dropout of Musgum and Kotoko child fishers reflects a society of production and reproduction that is understood from a constructivist and structuralist perspective in the Bourdieusian sense.

Another factor to consider in the school dropout of child fishermen in the Logone plain is their mobility or instability. In fact, the Musgum is particularly well known for its mobility, which makes it seasonal in a locality and predisposes it to a lifestyle where it is always on the lookout for income-generating fishing grounds.

In addition, it should be noted that this school dropout is also related to the near absence of school in the "yaérés" related to the flooding that extends from August to December and completely hinders the first quarter of the school year. Indeed, our stay in the flood plains, especially in the villages occupied by flood waters, let us observe the existence of schools completely submerged in October. Such a situation necessarily leads to a loss of schooling of children and motivates parents in their positions of radicalization to fishing.

Another important factor is the lack of sports facilities due to the flooding phenomena in the "yaérés". Today, with the Cameroonian government's policy of putting special emphasis on the practice of sports in primary and secondary schools, this discipline struggles to be taught because of the floods in the Logone plains. Indeed, school is not limited to the classroom. As already referred to, the flooding in the Logone plains lasts for almost the entire first term of the school year in Cameroon. During this time, there are no sports activities. While PT in schools is only taught during the first and second terms of the school year, children in the floodplain have only one term to make up for the void created by the effects of flooding. Only fishing dictates its authority to the children. According to the interview with the district

Inspector of Basic Education in Zina, "the school, in the Logone plain during the flood, is transplanted to non-floodable spaces that are sometimes scarce if not very small. The few students who come do not have playgrounds. Consequences poor performance in official examinations and games fenasco departmental not to say regional". For him, the division of the school calendar in Cameroon did not take into account certain specific realities and appropriate measures were not taken beforehand in certain areas with a landlocked vocation, such as the case of the "yaérés" of the Logone plain. Such a situation can only worsen the phenomenon of school dropouts and early school leaving, especially since it is motivated and supported by the dynamics of parents around fishing.

All of these factors show that fishermen are confronted with several conditions that predispose them to systematically withdraw their children from school at the age of 8 for their initiation. However, what are the implications of this school dropout of Musgum and Kotoko children in the Logone plain? This is the question is our concern in the next subsection.

3. Implications of the de-schooling of the children by the parents in the Logone plain

Education is nowadays presented as the basis, the very key to any development process. Unfortunately, this development does not seem to have been achieved by the Musgum and Kotoko in the Logone plain. Most Musgum and Kotoko fishermen in the "yaérés" still remain under the yoke of illiteracy. It is worth mentioning that they leave their villages in lean times for other fishing destinations with their children. Only, their education causes a real problem. The parents for the most part will resign from their function of educator. Instead of sending their children to school, many prefer to keep them with them for fishing activities, therefore, the children will abandon school in favor of fishing. In addition, parents are not at home to look after their children's education.

The school dropout of children also has an impact on the future of the Musgum and Kotoko fishermen's society, which, faced with this process of modernity, risks installing the child in a form of autarkic life where he is on the fringe of society. The question that should be asked is whether the fact of removing the Musgum child from school does not contribute to his isolation from the world? Can we conceive of a society where Musgum and Kotoko fishermen are on the margins?

The answer to such a question cannot be in the affirmative. In fact, the insertion of money into the local economy of African peoples has upset the dynamics of yesteryear based on a form of trading economy in which mutual aid and solidarity, or even social compensation, prevail. And it was not a question of highlighting the materialism marked by capital. We have moved from a trading economy, based on the lineage mode of production, to a market economy where profit is the fundamental element. In this respect, it seems impossible to envisage a life outside this system which, with a few exceptions, has generalized its mechanism in the world. And even the fact that the Musgum and Kotoko of the "yaérés" can practice fish farming in relation to its pecuniary character sufficiently proves that it is already inserted in the dynamics of the world-system. Thus, school, religion, democracy, money, or capital are positioned as determining elements of the vehicle of globalized capitalism. In this sense, it translates what Michel Beaud calls "the tipping of the world " In this condition, the school appears as the sine qua non instrument to enter and survive in the globalized world. And so, without this key, the Musgum and Kotoko child of the Logone plain will obviously be presented as a traditionalist in a world to be thought of as global. In other words, either globalization imposes itself on the Musgum and Kotoko culture or it excludes itself from it.

On the other hand, in order to better survive, traditions can be linked to the current globalization. In this framework, the culture or fishing civilization of the Musgum and Kotoko of "yaérés" could remain. In this way, we can argue that the perpetuation of Musgum and Kotoko culture on the plain can be achieved through a mechanism other than the withdrawal of children from school, which leads to "under-education" and consequently to its insertion into the enclosure, to its marginalization from capitalism and thus from the world. In this case, the Musgum and Kotoko civilization of fishing can be perennated provided that it modernizes and adapts to the requirements of the time. This adaptation should not lead to the abandonment of the fishing civilization, i.e., the Musgum and Kotoko children of the Logone plain after all must understand that this activity is a cultural element that defines and is at the base of the Musgum and Kotoko ethnic group. Also, it could become an object that promotes the return to the sources. In other words, it is an element that allows the "evolved" Musgum and Kotoko to re-situate and manifest their authenticity, their cultural identity.

In view of the impacts of the school dropout of Musgum and Kotoko children in the Logone plain, it is important to remember that culture as such is bound to renew itself and to face up to the mutations and transformations that African societies undergo. It must be a production of the actors in order to become a culture of action. In all cases, school drop-out leads to under-schooling and, more seriously, to illiteracy. This illiteracy would largely imply on the various migratory problems observed in the zones of reception of the Musgum fishermen.

3.1. Child-fishermen: forms of migration and their migratory itinerary

Migration is a complex phenomenon that is often difficult to understand due to the multitude of forms and natures that it can take. The phenomenon of floods and the dynamics of fishing have led to multiple crises, including school dropouts and early school leaving. These crises have led to various forms of migration, exposing the young fishermen of the Logone plain to internal and sometimes border migration.

Internal migration implies a movement of people or groups from one part of a country to another part of the same country. It occurs between two rural areas. It is borderline precisely because it crosses the boundaries between two neighboring countries. In this regard, two forms of migration are observable in the Logone plain: seasonal migration and permanent migration. It should be noted that the Mousgoum fishermen of the Logone plain are the most exposed to this migratory phenomenon.

3.1.1. Seasonal migration

Seasonal migration is expressed here in its circular form. In our context, it is defined as a form of social mobility in which people move back and forth between the areas of departure and the areas of arrival.

Thus, using their rationality, Musgum fishermen do not move around by chance. Their movements to the host communities are planned and for the most part dependent on the high yield or high productivity seasons as discussed earlier. During the seasons when their natural environment is conducive to the development of their activities, they move very little, but when conditions become difficult in these environments, they migrate to the localities of Lompangar, Mbakaou, Lagdo, Lake Chad, and sometimes they cross the border to Lake Fitri in northern Chad to develop fishing. It is therefore a temporary, provisional move, which comes from the voluntary decision of the individual, who leaves at a given period to return at another time of the year.

According to interviews conducted with certain emigrants, particularly in the villages of Saxon and Sissimi at Lake Mbakaou in the Djerem region of Adamaoua, we found that this form of migration is observed from January to June, when fishing is at a standstill in the Logone plain.

June is the time when emigrant fishermen return to their villages of origin and January marks their departure for the host locality. The causes, it should be noted, are varied and multiple. But the most reported are related to the slowing down of fish farming in the emigrants' home areas where floods are the main source of fish farming activities. Fishermen from the Zina district, those from the southern part of Logonebirni and the eastern part of the Waza district are the main actors in these types of migration. The survey reveals that fishermen from these localities return each time as fish farming approaches. It should also be noted that this coming and going of migrant fishermen creates a sort of seasonal migration, the cause of which is seasonal compensation. This form of migration makes the host localities not only a space for social movement but also a space for social integration. It should be noted that this form of migration accounts for the presence of non-schooled children. Straddling the zone of origin and the host environment, this form of migration jeopardizes the lives of the fishermen children and necessarily leads the child fisherman into a logic of "social reproduction" according to the Bourdieusian expression, i.e. from the father to the child. At this level, a logic of school dropout is developed to the detriment of the fishing dynamic. This form of migration is different from permanent migration.

3.1.2. The definitive form of migration

This type of migration is distinguished from the one mentioned above by the permanent settlement of migrants in the host zone. Indeed, many fishermen from the Logone plain have abandoned their natural environment to settle permanently in a host locality, notably in Bakassi, Lompangar, Lagdo, Douala on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean, etc.; localities in which they have been living for several decades because of the multiple advantages they enjoy. According to DesiréTidikai, leader of the Musgum community in Essengué (Douala), "the social environment of Essengué has what Musgum fishermen need: fish. Therefore, they feel at home. The final migration of the fishermen of the "yaérés" depends then on the social climate and the conditions a priori favorable to the emigrant". This means that the decision to settle permanently is not taken at the outset of the emigration, but rather depends on the living conditions encountered in the host environment. This is the case of Abkar Math who has been living in Mbakaou for more than 26 years and who admits that he was tempted at the beginning to return home because of multiple but also a great migratory flow of data and cultural reception.

4. Principles of possible adaptation of the school in the socio-cultural environment of the logone plain

4.1. Perception of the school in the "yaérés

It follows that in the floodplain, in the case of the districts of Zina, Waza and LogoneBirni, school is neither perceived nor experienced by the majority of the fishing population of the "yaérés" as an integrated reality, i.e., as natural.

For them, school as an ideological apparatus of the State, is a means of destructuring responsible for disguising the social relations and the local realities. The reality, as observed elsewhere, is that schooling in the Logone plain is struggling to take off, if not remaining *status quo*. What is worse is that 40 years later, school has turned out to be, to borrow Albert Azeyeh's expression, "a Pandora's box, all the more pernicious and, by the same token, detaches society from its natural springs of balance and global promotion. In this context, school in the Logone plain needs to be reconsidered in order to bring the local populations and its traditional structures to recognize themselves". As implemented in the "yaérés", school seems to be resisting and is in the process of being adapted and domesticated in the socio-cultural configuration of the Logone plain.

4.2. Domestication of the school as a principle in the socio-cultural and physical environment of the "yaérés"

The instinct allows the animal to evolve easily in its natural environment some time after its birth. When tamed, the animal, in order to adapt to the artificial environment, must be domesticated. Domestication is for the instinctive animal what education is for the society or better for the child. Therefore, all systems of education are based on a tradition of culture specific to the environment and social formation. Without such a foundation, the meanings and values that the educational apparatus aims to arbitrarily impose on it risk being poorly assimilated by the collective conscious the society that is not prepared to receive them and to concretize them.

In this respect, the implementation of schools in the "yaérés" areas is struggling to find its feet in an environment, which is a victim of the natural phenomenon of flooding that conditions everything in this area. Thus, the introduction of school in this environment is seen as an element of social and cultural upheaval of these populations. To structure the school in such an environment, certain prerequisites must be taken into account:

The Logone plain being declared a priority education zone and therefore precarious, the state must take into account a number of things:

- First, train the villagers in activities that will supplement these artisanal fishing activities; Second, train the CIG (common initiative grouping) to do irrigated farming while taking into account the school calendar and the flooding period;
- To slow down migration, it is advisable to gradually bring the population to change its paradigm and adapt to its social environment;
- The State must recruit teachers in these localities, grant special bonuses, adopt a specific school calendar for these localities;
- Train young people in market gardening activities so that they are not completely dependent on artisanal fishing.

At the level of decentralized communities (communes) :

- Identify all schools that are often on flood-prone sites in the "yaérés";
- Open a budget line for the care (canteens, notebooks, picks ....) of students during the first quarter;
- Locate and relocate if possible the schools to group them in areas where there is little space;
- Build temporary classrooms to provide children with some food security during the first term.

At the level of the basic education inspectorates.

- Provide the basic education inspectorates with motorized canoes for pedagogical supervision;
- Build housing for teachers in these locations.

In this way, we can witness a changeof mentality and thus the integral development of the populations in the Logone floodplain.

5. Conclusion

In sum, the spirit of this article was to make a critical assessment of the factors of school dysfunction that have become endemic in the "yaérés" floodplain. The aim of this critique was to shed light on this situation in order to learn from it and to identify avenues for a sustainable

solution. If the introduction of school in Africa remains the way to civilization and community development, ecological and socio-cultural factors linked to its maladjustment, resist.

The conventional school as practiced in the "yaérés" encounters various constraints. These constraints are not only related to the dynamics of fishing but also to physical phenomena. Naturally, flooding disrupts the school calendar, thus disrupting the schooling of the children of the fishermen of the Logone plain. In addition, in the host environment, particularly the "yaérés" populations, school faces resistance, the distortion between the local culture and the borrowed culture bubbling up. School, long after its imposition, does not always seem to correspond to a social need or even a common desire in the Logone plain.

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