

Social Determinants of the Deconstruction of Beliefs and Food Prohibitions among the Senoufo (Côte D'ivoire).

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Abstract

Among the Senoufo, the seemingly rigid dietary norms that preside over and organize traditional societies carry meanings and diverse meanings. They cement social relations by establishing (food) identities and building sociability. However, during this last five-year period, we observe the deconstruction of food beliefs and taboos. This social phenomenon is far from being sufficiently studied. This work aims to identify and analyze the determinants of the deconstruction of beliefs and food prohibitions among the Senoufo.

It covers a sample of 25 people, living in the department of Korhogo, including 15 men, 10 women, 3 religious guides and 2 biomedical care providers (1 doctor and 1 midwife), all aged 18 to 60. The perception of the subjects is explored by subjecting them to a free interview and direct observation. The results, following the content analysis of the survey data, show that thanks to compulsory schooling, cultural contact, interethnic marriages and the flowering of churches, food beliefs and prohibitions wither, thus offering a wide range of foods to the Senoufo.

Keywords: food- taboo- beliefs- inter-ethnic marriage- Senoufo

DETERMINANTS SOCIAUX DE LA DECONSTRUCTION DES CROYANCES ET INTERDITS ALIMENTAIRES CHEZ LES SENOUFU (CÔTE D'IVOIRE).

Résumé

Chez les Senoufo, les normes alimentaires apparemment rigides, qui président et organisent les sociétés traditionnelles sont porteuses de sens et de significations diverses. Elles cimentent les relations sociales par l'établissement des identités (alimentaires) et la construction des sociabilités. Cependant, au cours de ce dernier quinquennal, l'on observe la déconstruction des croyances et interdits alimentaires. Ce phénomène social est loin d'être suffisamment étudié. Le présent travail se propose d'identifier et analyser les déterminants de la déconstruction des croyances et interdits alimentaire chez les Senoufo.

Il porte sur un échantillon de 25 personnes, vivant dans le département de Korhogo, dont 15 hommes, 10 femmes, 03 guides religieux et 02 prestataires de soins biomédicaux (01 médecin et 01 sage-femme), tous âgés de 18 à 60 ans. La perception des sujets est explorée en soumettant ceux-ci à un entretien libre et à une observation directe. Les résultats, à l'issue de l'analyse de contenu des données de l'enquête, montrent qu'à la faveur de l'école obligatoire, le contact culturel, les mariages interethniques et la floraison des églises, les croyances et interdits alimentaires flétrissent, offrant ainsi une large gamme d'aliments au Senoufo.

Mots clés : alimentation- tabou- croyances- mariage interethnique-Senoufo

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I. Introduction

In Côte d'Ivoire, the Senoufo ethnocultural group is one of the communities that has developed a more or less rigid classificatory food system, in which children and pregnant women are victims of numerous taboos (AP ATSE, 2017a). The anthropological foundations of this system lie mainly in fear of food and social exclusion. Because, we hear people say, "it's what we eat that kills; it is what we eat that renews our strength". This ambivalence makes it possible to prescribe an "edible order"¹, in which foods are prohibited for specific groups, in particular children, pregnant women, women, etc. (AP.ATSE, 2017 b). Thus, many popular beliefs and prohibitions accompany the diet of the Senoufo to regulate it. Examples are eggs, chicken gizzards and rats which are prohibited for children; pregnant women who do not eat almonds, catfish and monkeys, etc. (M Fofana et al, 2016). The existence of these food taboos, whether temporary, permanent or specific to a social

¹We call order of the edible, the set of animal and vegetable products that are culturally edible.

category (children, pregnant women, women, men, etc.), was found in their relationship to food. In addition, eggs are prohibited, for example for children (AD BLIBOLO, 2010; AP ATSE, 2017a; FP KACOU et al, 2016). These prohibitions contribute to the regulation of children's attitudes and behaviors. They thus play symbolic and social functions (H. Pagezy , 2006). Because, learning to eat the eggs that children are fond of from early childhood, they intend to "make" child thieves, people socially deemed to be dangerous for the community (AD BLIBOLO, idem). In this perspective of functional totemism ², the rational eater is forced to make his food choices in an "order" highly monitored by the community to which he belongs. This "order", called "the order of the edible", is defined as the set of culturally edible food products (JP. Poulain, 2002), functions as an apparatus of food categories and rules issuing prescriptions or prohibitions concerning what to eat and how to eat it (C. Fischler, 1990). Thus, the constitution of the order of edible would first obey an anthropological and cultural logic before satisfying nutritional and physiological needs. Because in this ethnocultural group, we notice a predominance of social needs over the needs biological (C. FISCHLER, 1993). Everything happens as if eating is not just about ingesting any product , but any product ingested is loaded with meanings, both social and symbolic, which give it all the meaning and do not separate the "eater of its cultural roots (S. LAHLOU, 2005).

However, from the anthropological point of view, every society is subject to a normative regulation condemned to be flexible and revised, in the name of the dialectical principles of evolution, change and transformation that govern human needs. Furthermore, we are now witnessing a broadening of the existing "order of the edible" through the integration of vegetable and animal products which were hit by taboos. The younger generation integrates new products (the frog, the termites, the snake, the domestic cat, the eggs etc.), thus widening the limits of the " order of the edible" . Everything happens as if without a prior ritual or official and collective authorization, some senufo allow themselves to eat everything, thus trivializing food prohibitions as well as all the implicit ideologies embedded in this "order of what is eatable". This "food wandering" is becoming more and more a fashion to the point that it is difficult to identify a Senufo by their eating behavior (C. Kouassi, 2019). A new hybrid eating behavior is superimposed and gradually transforms the Senufo food system, thus erasing the limit between the allowed and the forbidden or the pure and the impure. This sudden change holds our attention and allows us to ask the following question:

What are the social determinants of the deconstruction of food beliefs and taboos among the Senufo?

The objective of this work is to identify the social determinants of the deconstruction of food beliefs and prohibitions among the Senoufo. Specifically, the study proposes to list the foods affected by taboos, to analyze the perceptions associated with these taboos, then finally to identify the factors of their transformation and the associated issues. The answers to these questions require a specific methodological approach.

Methodology

The answer to the questioning relating to the social determinants of the deconstruction of food beliefs and prohibitions among the Senufo of Côte d'Ivoire involves the precision of the geographical and socio-anthropological context in which the social change around food is expressed. The circumscription of this triple framework is all the more necessary since, according to J. Copans (1967: 90), "*the field is the laboratory of the anthropologist*". The exploration of this phenomenon also requires the definition of the methods of observation, of the sample as well as the theoretical framework.

This study was carried out among the Senufo Tchimbara , belonging to the large ethnocultural group Gur . They are located in the far north, and their regional capital is the city of Korhogo . The choice of this group lies in its reluctance to social change. Indeed, the Senoufo are one of the ethnocultural groups that are relatively resistant to social change. They are still attached to their tradition through the initiation to " poro ", a traditional practice in the form of a school where the child learns for seven consecutive years, the uses and secrets of traditional life. He becomes a "made man" after leaving the sacred wood where he learned the rules and principles that govern his community. But in recent years, we have witnessed a withering of the norms that frame their relationship to food, especially to food taboos. All the foods forbidden to certain social categories are now eaten, thus creating a social disorder around food beliefs.

This is why the general objective of this research is to identify and analyze the socio-anthropological determinants of the deconstruction of beliefs and ideologies that encourage or prohibit the consumption of plant and animal products among specific groups (pregnant women, children , women, etc) in Senufo country (Ivory Coast). To do this, the research methodology was centered on the description of the facts of belief, on the one

² Functional totemism is a theory according to which the authorization or exclusion of animal species from the food field is justified by their usefulness or harmfulness. In this sense, AR Radcliffe-Brown (1968), perceives food laws only as the specific application of a more general precept: "*Any object or event which has important effects on the well-being (material or spiritual) of a society, or anything which replaces or represents such an object or event, tends to be the object of a ritual attitude*". Animals symbolic, therefore, because functional or anti-functional.

hand, of the foods which were prohibited and which are now ingested by certain people. Also, the determinants of the deconstruction of beliefs and taboos as well as the associated issues will be examined. From a qualitative approach, the interviewees selected on the basis of reasoned choice were interviewed individually and in groups (focus groups) in certain peri-urban localities of Korhogo (Tégouéré , Natio and Lokaha). The data thus collected, from a semi-open guided interview guide, were the subject of a content analysis according to the theory of social change, and the so-called comprehensive method, i.e. centered on meaning (in the Weberian sense of the term) and on interpretation. A total of 25 people interviewed, living in the department of Korhogo, including 15 men, 10 women, 03 religious guides and 02 biomedical care providers (01 doctor and 01 midwife), all aged 18 to 60. These people constituted the sample of this work. The sampling technique used is the simple random probability method, consisting in questioning all comers (P.N'DA, 2002). The dominance of the elderly is explained by the fact that they are the guardians of the tradition, as such, they can know more or less the social functions and the implicit postulates linked to each prohibited or recommended food.

II. The Search Results

The results of this study are structured around three axes:

Foods hit by taboos, the perception associated with these taboos and the factors of their transformation and the associated issues.

2-1 Composition of the order of the inedible in Senufo country

The concept of the order of the inedible is opposed to the concept of the order of the edible. It is a classification system that categorizes animal and plant products that are culturally edible or not. Products not culturally accepted or " *kapele* " *yalihri* "(in Senufo language) constitute the food taboos. They can be temporary or permanent and constitute the order of the inedible.

2.1-1 Temporary taboos

Temporary bans consist of depriving certain categories of people, in particular specific groups (children, pregnant women and the elderly) from consuming certain foods for a specific and determined period. This table below highlights the foods prohibited to specific groups and the associated social object of the prohibition.

Table n°1: description of temporary taboos and their social objects

Prohibited foods	Specific groups		Purpose of the ban
	Children (0-5 years old)	Pregnant women	
catfish, monkey		X	Avoid ugliness to the baby
the snail		X	Prevent the baby from drooling
Eggs	X	X	-Avoid that children are fond of food and become thieves. - so that the baby's stool does not look like a rotten egg
Chicken gizzard	X		Prevent children from stuttering and becoming thieves.
The rat	X		Prevent children from being thieves like the rat
Almonds hidden in a shell, sheep and goats		X	Avoid termination of pregnancy, lack of intelligence, bad smell
Reptiles (snakes, monitor lizards, turtles)		X	Avoid ugliness or nonchalance to the baby

Source: The 2021 field survey

These temporary prohibitions are lifted on the occasion of the change of status. When the children have reached adulthood (age judged by the family), sacrifices are made putting an end to these taboos. Similarly, the end of pregnancy and childbirth in women enshrine the freedom to eat again these forbidden foods for nine months. There is no longer a ritual ceremony for this purpose for parturients. Some temporary taboos are observed as permanent in some communities and families.

2.1.2 Permanent taboos

Animals such as catfish, monkeys, elephants and squirrels are prohibited for members of certain families bearing the surnames Soro and Coulibaly. The Senufo consider the catfish as a "divinity", a god who gives children in times of need. Indeed when a woman is infertile, the catfish has the ability, according to the Senoufo, to grant her fertility after sacrifices. For this, the catfish is considered a source of fertility or fecundity. This point of view is justified by the following statements: " *After seven years of marriage, I had no children*

yet, but when my mother sent me to the village to make sacrifices in the river where the catfish were After only a month, I got pregnant and gave birth to my first child, who is now 15” . Comment by an octogenarian woman in Tégouéré .

Animals embody either power (power) or weakness. Thus the Soro deprive themselves of eating squirrels because they believe that it is the cause of sexual weakness. In this same perspective, the monkey and the elephant would have rendered service to the hunting ancestors. Thus, during the tribal wars, they say, “ *to flee or fight the enemy, the ancestors transformed themselves into an animal* ”. And so, for fear of eating their ancestors or out of respect for this animal, family members do not eat the animal in question. This point of view is justified by the following statements: “ *there are animals that are forbidden to all members of the same family. Because, these animals saved their ancestors from an embarrassing situation. Or, their ancestors transformed during the tribal wars into these animals. And so, for fear of eating their ancestors, the consumption of these animals is prohibited for all members of the family concerned. It is through wounds and specific illnesses (depression or madness) that we come to know that a member of the family has overstepped these taboos* » Words from the head of the Kôko district .

Other versions indicate that the Coulibaly are generally the leaders, To eat the elephant is to lose their prestige, authority and strength. : “ *With us, names like COULIBALY are chiefs and they do not eat elephant meat and Silue fish because these animals cause the chief to lose his strength or power* ”. All in all, we can understand that the refusal to eat such an animal is always legitimized by a representational belief.

2-2 Perception associated with food taboos and beliefs

The choice or the refutation of a food always obeys a social logic since the Man is at the same time a being of reason, a psychological being, a biological being, a sociological being, etc. His Reasoning, his emotions, his likes and dislikes as well as his social, economic and cultural membership base his edible beliefs. In this perspective, the Senoufo clearly indicate that social regulation and the health of populations pass through the control of the food system. This is why we hear them say: “ *It's what we eat that often kills us* ” , about a pregnant woman in koko .

We can clearly understand that there is mistrust in relation to what we ingest into the body, since food is socially thought of as having undesirable symbolic charges. These are for example the indolence of babies, the stealing of children, deafness, ugliness, all these characteristics come from forbidden animals. By the principles of similarity and resemblance, the eater fears to copy, from a subjective or imaginary point of view, the symbolic properties of the animal.

These prohibitions also inspire ideological impulses. Indeed, gizzards and eggs are quite succulent. If these parts are not forbidden to children, there will be great contenders around the Gizzard. Furthermore, the ideology of banning eggs from children is an act of social control; otherwise, in the absence of the parents, the children would steal all the eggs, thus jeopardizing the barnyard. The other prohibitions work in the same direction. There is therefore a dominant actor (the man) who monopolizes the animal proteins excluding the others (the children and the pregnant woman) who are under his control and manipulation. Indeed, the Senoufo should not refuse his pregnant wife what she wants to eat. This feminine precondition, sometimes judged by the husband to be “*fanciful*” , imposes male imagination by emptying out of the order of the edible, what the senufo cannot easily find in its ecosystem: the catfish. This aquatic animal lives in watercourses (freshwater). This zone being tropical, the only rainy season cannot logically facilitate the permanent existence of the rivers, place of life of the catfish.

But some traditional justifications that legitimize bans sometimes coincide with scientific rationality. This point of view is justified by the following statement. “*There are real risks of contracting an infection through food in parturients. It's listeriosis or toxoplasmosis. Listeriosis, a disease caused by a bacterium called listeria, is present in particular in raw meats, seafood and raw milk cheeses, and this disease can be responsible for miscarriages, premature deliveries or respiratory distress ... It would be better to be careful during pregnancy so,*” said a midwife Chr Korhogo.

2-3 Factors in the transformation of food taboos and associated issues .

Even if the Senoufo justify the origin of their taboo and have observed for a long time the rules that preside over the organization of their food system, all human society is not hermetically closed. The rules and norms on which relationships between humans are based are doomed to be continually rethought. This updating, often slow, does not take place without creating an anomic situation: This is gastro-anomie, since it concerns the rules that define what is edible or what is not edible. But then what are the determinants that participate in deconstructing food taboos to make them now edible?

2-3-1 The determinants of the trivialization of food prohibitions

Four fundamental factors have contributed to the collapse of food beliefs and prohibitions in which the Senoufo have long been immersed. Those are :

2-3-1-1 School and schooling

The north of Côte d'Ivoire is characterized, a few years ago, as the under-educated region. Most parents forcibly abducted their children to bring them into agricultural activities, especially when it rained. There were very few executives, and Senoufo society seemed "closed". Marriages are dominated by the endogamous model. The norms that presided over the society are held and controlled by the traditional chiefs and their council. This cultural device distills the ideologies that impact the order of what is edible. This point of view is justified by the following statements: *"Before, we respected our parents. We do whatever they say. We don't hide to eat the forbidden ones because they know why it's forbidden. A wise old man who is seated sees farther than a young man perched at the top of a tree. This is why we have aged. Today, it is difficult to find elderly people, because you no longer respect anything,"* said a nonagenarian man in Tégouéré .

The social and food deregulation mentioned by this man is implicitly attributed to the advent of the school. Indeed, the effects of compulsory schooling in this region are perceptible. Executives are now found in all villages; some are even women occupying high decision-making positions (deputies and ministers). It is most often these executives who make their parents aware of risky behaviour, in this case child malnutrition due to taboos inflicted on children under five and reluctance to prenatal and postnatal consultation. These sensitizations coming from executives and educated people most often offend and shock parents with no schooling. They sometimes accuse them of agents of cultural defoliation and sometimes come into conflict with them. The causes of this intergenerational conflict come from the integration of taboos in the order of food. The conflict is reflected in the following words:

"As long as our children do not stop eating anything (snakes, catfish, monitor lizards) and continue to give eggs and rats to their children, our society is doomed to social disappearance. It is these behaviors that justify the many hold-ups and thefts today, and the birth of many Mongolian children" , comments from a notable septuagenarian in Koko .

On the other side, the school cadets complain about the elders having formed an order of restricted food, responsible for malnutrition. They say it in these terms: *"We cannot understand that the region of Korhogo remains until now one of the regions most affected by protein malnutrition while it is a meat producing region by the variety of breeding. Farmed meat can be found there cheaply, with the lowest prices compared to other localities in the country. But it is here that we have the greatest number of malnourished people. Why? It's because of dietary restrictions. We are of the same race as other Ivorians from other localities. They all eat, the children all eat, they don't steal, they don't die, so why must we continue to observe these taboos? Says a Senoufo, a biology student.*

For some, the initiators of these taboos are ignoramuses or sorcerer's apprentices. They say it in these terms: *"They are really ignorant or simply sorcerer's apprentices. If not how to understand that we can continue to lie to us even today, for people who went to school? We no longer allow ourselves to be manipulated, especially by those who have never been to school. We are told that if you eat the snake, its venom in its bones and flesh will kill you. However, we know as a specialist in animal biology that the snake's venom is exclusively lodged in its mouth. If the head is amputated, the safety of the animal is assured. "*», Comment from a teacher-researcher in animal biology.

Alongside the school, modernity positions itself as a gravedigger of food taboos.

2-3-1-2 Modernity and food

Modernity is characterized by rapid urbanization, due to the growth of the population, the birth of industries, the modern work of women. All of these factors have a negative impact on the Senoufo food system. If we can no longer gather around the same table, all hands in the same dish, this is due to the job which forces either the wife or the husband and even the children respectively to work and home. 'school. During hours of break, each member of the family manages to eat because it is quite tedious and expensive to come home to eat and return to school or work. It is during this period that restaurants offer animals whose identity is not always precisely revealed. Thus, out-of-home catering (RHF) is a powerful vector for the distribution of food restrictions because of errors in the identity of animals. Thus, Senoufo people have knowingly consumed and continue to consume what is considered taboo because of the manipulation of restaurants. This point of view is justified by the following statement: *"We cannot introduce food into the service all the time. We are forced to content ourselves with what the restaurants offer us. At this level, they are not loyal, they give us the meat they have in hand, and they don't care about your totems. Moreover, some have eaten their totem so much that they no longer have a problem with it. They now consume it in secret without telling anyone,"* said a female executive secretary.

If we can ask restaurant managers what animals are on the menu of the day, we cannot ask these questions of the agri-food industries specializing in jams and minced meat. These are hiders of anonymity of the animals used.

All of these marketing behaviors embarrass modern Senoufo consumers, rendering them mostly “food wanderers”.

This following statement justifies these embarrassments. *“We are embarrassed. We like to eat the contents of tin cans, and in restaurants. These are the types of dishes that distil the prohibitions to excess ,”* said a Senoufo head of service.

Out-of-home catering and agri-food industries sometimes create anonymities, a kind of opacity to the correct identification of animals. These are places where everyone is consumed, voluntarily or not. But, the Christian religion, for its part, enshrines the promotion of food freedom, thus "burying" food taboos.

2-3-1-3 Christianity

For Christians, especially those from evangelical denominations, taboos no longer have their *raison d'être*. Man would be free to eat everything, because there is no longer any border in the choice of food. The origin of this freedom, according to them, comes from the "work of the cross" where JESUS CHRIST won the victory of freedom over oppressions, even those concerning foods once considered unclean. They translate it in the following terms: *“Since the coming of Christ, the veil is also torn for food. There is no longer a food ban; because “what defiles the body, says Jesus Christ, is not what enters the body (food) but what leaves the body,”* said a woman in charge of the Réveil church in Korhogo.

However, we sometimes notice Christians making food choices, leaving others behind. This behavior is seen in Christian circles as the manifestation of food freedom. This freedom assumes that food aversions and allergies may exist, but there are no collective prohibitions that bind the church. This point of view is justified by the following statements: *“ Christians are human like other people. They may not like a food because it disgusts them or causes them allergies, but it is not a taboo for them. The only taboo for Christians is the meats that are consecrated to idols, the meats that have served as sacrifices. There again, the apostle Paul, asks to pray before eating, for those who have faith”* , about a leader of Methodist Work and Mission of Korhogo.

This doubt of food prohibition is all the more raised when one hears the pastor spoken according to these terms: *“The apostle Peter was a disciple of Jesus, he saw him and touched him. While Peter was fasting and was ending the Lord Jesus revealed to him all the animals that the Christian community once ate, because they considered them unclean. He ordered the other to kill them and eat according to (Acts chapter 10 verse 10) 15). Can what God has said be regarded as still defiled? me and my family we eat everything, as long as it does not arouse disgust in us”* , Says a pastor of the Korhogo Assemblies of God.

In addition to all these factors, we cannot also neglect the consequences of interethnic marriages on food prohibitions in Senoufo countries.

2-3-1-4 Inter-ethnic marriage

Inter-ethnic marriage is favored, most often, by cultural contact. Indeed, it is a long process which started with the administration, the trade and the other services established everywhere on the national territory. Thanks to this movement, the Senoufo like all other Ivorians are assigned to other localities. With cultural contact, marriage ties were formed between different ethnocultural groups. Immigrants, natives, non-natives marry and now live under the same roof, each having come with their own eating habits. Children are born gradually and receive food education according to the convenience of the partners. In this educational game, the habits and customs that predict the totemic system of the Senoufo are not always valued; especially when the mother is not Senoufo. Mothers give eggs, rat, chicken gizzard to their children under five, because their original cultural system allows it. Thus, the other children who have both Senoufo parents are inspired by the eating behavior of their friends and in turn trivialize what they were forbidden to do a long time ago. The following statements justify this point of view: *“I feed my children with what I eat, no borders. Children must be given eggs, they are also entitled to all parts. Since I gave them, they are not dead, on the contrary, they are healthy. Their father has nothing to say because my children, if they are Senoufo, they are also Baoulé. Moreover, their little Senoufo comrades come here to eat the rat with them, they are not dead. Also, all these prohibitions are not observed by all, we can see the senoufo, pregnant women eating goat soup here. It is in their family that they talk about it, if not outside, in restaurants, they like these prohibitions. »*, Comments by Baoulé women married to a Senoufo.

We can therefore understand that the control of the Senoufo totemic system has become difficult thanks to inter-ethnic marriages where the mother comes from another ethnic group. Intercultural mixing is not always a factor in consolidating cultural achievements. This is all the more obvious since it is the women who take care of the cooking and remain accomplices of their pregnant daughters and children under five. Fathers can certainly speak, but their speeches often remain sterile.

All these determinants that contribute to the trivialization of food prohibitions in Senoufo countries have a common issue.

2-3-2 The issues associated with the trivialization of food prohibitions

The main challenge in deconstructing the norms prohibiting specific groups remains the promotion of health. This promotion of health consists in fighting against infantile malnutrition caused by the absence of animal proteins. This deprivation of animal protein sometimes leads to infections and other illnesses. This is what the doctor says in these terms: “ *When the diet of the child or the pregnant woman is not balanced; that is to say, when nutrients are lacking, the immune system becomes incompetent: we speak of immuno - incompetence. Thus, the patient is subject to all infections that jeopardize his health. He is anemic, he has diarrhea and all sorts of deficiencies. However , all these deficiencies have negative repercussions on their state of health. For example, iron deficiency increases a woman's risk of death from haemorrhage at the time of childbirth and reduces, in children, the ability to resist stress and infection .* doctor at the Koko maternity hospital .

All these illnesses can cause not only additional expenses for the families and even the State, but also paralyze their activities given that the parents momentarily abandon the activities to remain at the patient's bedside. To trivialize these food taboos is to implicitly avoid not only these potential diseases but above all to increase the range of foods in children and pregnant women. Several Senoufo have now understood the damage that these prohibitions have caused to their community. They express it in these terms: “*Today, there are really no more guards to monitor all these prohibitions as in the past. The parents who made this their constitution are all old and tired. We can't tell everyone to eat what they want, but we know that people make themselves comfortable, consuming everything that was forbidden to them , and they are happy. Some eat monitor lizards, snakes, catfish, etc. Others give rats and chicken gizzards to their children; we see pregnant women breaking almonds and coconuts, eating eggs and all meats and they give birth to beautiful healthy children. So what happens to these taboos ”*, about a neighborhood researcher in Koko .

III. Discussion of Results

The discussion of the results of this study is structured around two major axes: The description of prohibited foods, the object of their prohibition on the one hand, and the factors of the deconstruction of these prohibitions and the associated issues, on the other hand .

With regard **to the first axis** , several authors have addressed food taboo themes and beliefs about food in general. The results of their work show that when eating, man is not alone in front of his plate (JP POULAIN, 2002). He thinks about food, that is to say he summons the imagination, beliefs, representations in the "food sector". It is in this perspective that (AD BLIBOLO, 2010) studying the beliefs associated with food quality and health risks in West Africa highlights the existence of prevention in African mentalities. It also shows that the beliefs, representations and ideologies that accompany food make it possible to identify, preventive attitudes, specific criteria for assessing the quality of food of animal origin. Some results of his work coincide with ours when he speaks of risk prevention through beliefs and ideologies. However, it remains imprecise on the attitudes of prevention, which attitudes are addressed (BM YORO et al, 2015) when they somewhat affect the cultural logic of food prohibitions among pregnant Agni n'dénian women (Côte d'Ivoire). First, they classify food prohibitions and show that some were used for the beauty of the child, others intended to facilitate childbirth and still others to prevent illnesses in the mother. These results are those of (AP ATSE, 2017a) when he addressed edible beliefs among pregnant Senoufo women. Their results converge fundamentally with ours, in the sense that the object of prohibition is the health of the mother and the child, the beauty of the child, and above all to prevent the child from becoming a thief by force. to eat what is succulent from an early age. However, two key points set us apart. The first relates to the ethnocultural group studied. Based on the principle of anthropological variability, the food classification and categorization system may differ from one group to another. The proof, the elements constituting the list of products prohibited to pregnant Senoufo women are not only the same among those of the Agni N' denian , but do not carry the same popular meanings (object of prohibition). Furthermore, the system of meaning carried by the foods studied is limited to popular meanings. In a more or less similar attitude, (FP KACOU et al, 2016), studying the nosology of so-called atypical children, show that the Baoulé of Côte d'Ivoire explain this phenomenon by the non-respect of certain prohibitions, whether they are dietary, religious, social or cultural or environmental, in pregnant women or nurses. All of these prohibitions, according to them, aim to prevent three things: the loss of the child's life, the birth of a deformed child and a controversial life course for the child (an envious child, thief). They further add that several food totems and taboos of temporary types are observed in the pregnant woman. This is also the case with the monkey, the booning cat (woya), the hearts of animals and eggs.

In view of these works which coincide and converge with ours, we note that Africans observe prevention through prohibitions (food, social, religious, etc.), thus preserving the health of the baby and that of

the mother. It is rather (JP BRANLARD, 2001) that approaches edible and popular beliefs through magical thinking. He studies the magical effects of representation, in a more general way, although he refers to a few examples related to food. In this case, he joins (M. CHIVA, 1994; C. FISCHLER 1990, 1994; P. ROZIN, 1998, NN ABE, 2013) who have theoretically taken up the manifestations of magical thinking in particular social domains. Based on the laws of contagion and similarity, some have been interested in religious contexts (M. CHIVA, 1994), others in procreation or fertility (NN ABE, 2013), still others in illness. It is rather (JP POULAIN, 2002) and (JP POULAIN, JP Corbeau, 2002) who have highlighted the social functions of beliefs and prohibitions relating to animal and plant products through magical thinking. They show that food bans through magical thinking are a means of raising awareness of food risks. Our results coincide more or less with this work but are particularized by specific groups such as women, children and potential community leaders: Their only desire is the health, the beauty of the baby, and the power and members of certain families. For these values, the Senoufo society socially and imaginatively controls their dietary whims of women and children through the metaphors and metonymies of magical thinking. But this social control is beginning to elude them because of the same sought-after issues, in this case health. Indeed, the Senufo "discover" that the beliefs and prohibitions are deprivations insidiously manufactured by the dominant groups that are the elders, in particular the male gender, to control the order of the sharing of animal proteins in Senoufo country (AP.ATSE, 2017 a). Thus, they gradually come out of social imaginations and magical thinking by deconstructing these beliefs now considered pejorative causing, according to them, malnutrition and healthcare costs. This makes it possible to open the second axis entitled the factors of the deconstruction of these taboos and the associated issues.

In this second axis, authors are interested in the upheaval of eating habits in Senoufo country. These are among others (AP.ATSE, 2017 c). By studying the " Garba " in Senoufo country, he discovers that the Senoufo are not closed when it comes to integrating new products into their order of food. Thus, they also quickly adopted the " garba " because of the logics and issues associated with its consumption. These logics and issues are, among other things, the texture of the meal, its sensory characteristics (taste, smell, etc.), the succulence and consistency of the dish and especially its financial accessibility. It is understood that these aforementioned determinants influenced the senufo's reluctance to " garba " as soon as it entered Korhogo in 2012. Our results are more or less similar to those of this work insofar as for economic issues, the Senufo adopt food habits from other ethnocultural groups. They understood that what does not kill others cannot kill them either. The particularity of this work is that the " garba " was not a food ban, although the cassava and tuna which are used to make the " garba " are not products that can be found easily among the Senoufo. What makes our work special is **the cultural contact** that has favored the adoption of " Garba ". Other authors have discussed the impact of urbanization on food consumption. Indeed, (I. TOURE, 2018), looking at rapid urbanization in Korhogo, indicates that the effects of urbanization have had a considerable impact on the diet of Korhogois. It shows that life having become expensive, many city dwellers (42%) can no longer afford the three basic meals each day. For this, food strategies are developed by these consumers: this is street food. It is there that "many eat their totem", he concluded. In the same perspective, (A. Yao, 2018), by studying the dietary behavior of korhogo populations, the author comes to the conclusion that eating outside the home allows households to access a diversified and more economical diet. We therefore understand that urbanization and out-of-home catering are determinants that emanate from food modernity and that disrupt the food system of the Senufo and the korhogo populations. The results of these authors coincide, in part, with ours in considering that modernity is the urbanization and flowering of restaurants. But these impacts concern food in general. But in our context, it is food taboos. The particularity of this work is oriented towards the effects of modernity on the abandonment of food prohibitions. In this regard, (E. Labé, 2021) demonstrating the challenges of interethnic marriages between Akyé natives and non-natives or foreigners, indicates that this type of marriage is a factor of integration. However, she notes that this type of marriage has social consequences, namely the trivialization of eating habits, in particular the system of prohibitions by the descendants of this interethnic marriage. Labé's work confirms our results insofar as these children from this marriage are confronted with two different types of edible order. And, they can only eat what one parent eats. This trivializes totemic systems.

IV. Conclusion

This study made it possible to examine the social determinants that have participated in the explosion of representational beliefs that keep specific groups (children, pregnant women) away from the consumption of a wide range of proteins. For a long time pregnant women and children were deprived of consuming eggs, catfish, goats, sheep, etc. But this male control and domination over animal protein cannot last forever because, thanks to food modernity, school, and interethnic marriage, food beliefs and taboos are withering, thus offering a wide range of Senufo foods. This trivialization of eating habits responds to the desire to reduce the diseases that can be caused by this dietary restriction and the healthcare costs associated with them. Moreover, how the upheaval of this ideological order of unequal sharing of animal proteins could be formalized, presents itself as places of questioning, in order to fight effectively against protein malnutrition in Senoufo countries.

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