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Original Research Article

The Dynamics of Caring for the Education of Internally Displaced School-Age Children: Teaching During a Crisis in the Mayo Tsanaga Department

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Abstract: ***Objective*:** The aim of this article is to examine the changes made by stakeholders in the provision of education for internally displaced school-age children during periods of crisis in the Department of Mayo Tsanaga. ***Method*:** Data was collected using development anthropology techniques from basic education authorities responsible for the education of displaced school-age children, implementing partners, parents or families of IDPs, pupils and informants likely to provide relevant information on this target group in the department of Mayo Tsanaga. The data was collected during the writing of our PhD thesis in Anthropology. Documentary research was also carried out. A total of 20 in-depth interviews were conducted in the locality of Zamai and surrounding villages with a split between urban and rural areas over a period from 15 November 2021 to the present day. ***Results*:** It has been shown that controlling the numbers of these displaced persons is a prerequisite for better planning and better integration into the education sector. The different forms of education will not eliminate the risk of conflict between individuals or groups of individuals, but they will enable people to know how to manage them and prevent them from degenerating into armed conflict, civil war or even genocide. ***Discussion*:** The particularity of this article is that, as well as being situated between forced displacement, terrorism and formal education, it takes a holistic look at the measures taken by stakeholders to encourage or compel parents to contribute to their children's education despite the hostilities, insecurity and armed conflicts that have arisen. ***Conclusion*:** The IDPs who are the subject of this study come from surrounding villages and Districts, with different cultures and differing apprehensions about formal education for their children.
Keywords: stakeholders, anthropology, children's education.

INTRODUCTION

Cameroon has an estimated 711,056 IDPs (OCHA, 2021) with approximately 357,631 of whom 48% are children in the Far North Region with 165,000 in the Mayo Tsanaga department (IOM, 2020). The education community has recorded 27,820 pre-school and primary school children of IDPs who have dropped out of school in the Far North Region (MINEDUB, 2017). The conflict situation in Cameroon, in addition to repeated natural disasters in the Far North Region, deliberately shows that this part of the north is facing an educational crisis. A study carried out by IOM (2017) shows that the Mayo Tsanaga department is home to 15,803 displaced people, representing 27% of the region's displaced population. Consequently, Mokolo,

with its two Zamai sites, is one of the districts hosting the largest number of displaced people in Mayo-Tsanaga department. It is because of this frequency that this article uses Zamai as the study site.

Humanitarian Response in the Far North

In the Far North, the humanitarian response is led by the government but depends heavily on the capacity of humanitarian actors on the ground. Protection analysis shows that some key protection risks are determined or exacerbated by pre-existing vulnerabilities and social practices. In 2022, the Nexus approach will be promoted in the designated convergence zones. This includes a review of the legal framework, the

strengthening of basic social services and behaviour change programmes by development and peace actors.

In 2022, in the three most affected departments, Mayo-Sava, Mayo-Tsanaga and Logone et Chari, where most of the humanitarian protection programmes are underway, to respond to the protection risks identified, the actors will focus on two main pillars of intervention: advocacy to strengthen the security of civilians and the strengthening of 150 community structures, particularly through activities promoting social cohesion. In order to prevent, mitigate and respond to the immediate risks of arbitrary arrest, murder, injury, destruction and/or extortion of property, protection partners will raise awareness among beneficiaries of their legal rights and obligations and provide individual legal assistance to 440 adults and psychosocial support at community and individual level. Following the humanitarian response, the New Way of working approach is of undeniable importance.

New Way of Working Approach

The NWoW is not just another global policy. It is an integrated and operational approach that aims to better respond to the needs of vulnerable people and combat the risk and vulnerability factors at the very source of these needs. The aim is to create coherence and harmony between the different programming frameworks and the different actors, and to provide the necessary assistance to move forward together towards the SDGs. For too long, the implementation of the humanitarian-development nexus has been reduced to a linear vision in which long-term structural development action follows on from emergency humanitarian assistance. The resilience agenda has already shown that it is sometimes counter-productive to categorise assistance as 'emergency', 'early recovery' or 'development'. This rigid categorisation is particularly unsuitable in protracted crises such as in Cameroon, where simultaneous and coherent action by all players is essential to improve the capacity of local populations and players to prevent and respond to crises.

The NWoW goes even further by requiring humanitarian and development actors not only to work at the same time, but also to target the same vulnerable people and address the same risk factors, vulnerabilities and needs. All actors now work together throughout the programming cycle to contribute to the same Collective Outcomes, according to their capacities and comparative advantages.

METHODOLOGY

This research is qualitative, descriptive, analytical and interpretative. Spatially, the data were collected in the locality of Zamai in Mokolo and the surrounding towns in the Far North Region in order to obtain more detailed information on the care of displaced school-age children. The field survey was carried out in several phases, from January 2019 to the present day, in order to update the data. The literature review was used to present the originality of this article. It was carried out simultaneously with field research in various libraries in the city of Yaoundé and the study site; in the information services of institutions responsible for the education of internally displaced children in Cameroon, such as MINEDUB, where we were able to obtain regulatory texts from the central and decentralised services of this ministerial department. The same applies to private libraries and websites ("Google scholar" or cairn info.). The fieldwork was carried out simultaneously with the documentary research.

This anthropological research is based on empirical data. Before going into the field, an information note indicating the purpose of the study, the period of the study and the profile of the interviewer was sent to the administrative authorities. Several categories of informants were interviewed: Students, MINEDUB/MINAS officials, NGOs and members of the host community. The saturation point was reached after 20 interviews, i.e. until no new information seemed to be obtainable. The interviews were conducted individually in the locations requested by the respondents, and then recorded using a Dictaphone, and sometimes by Android phone. In addition, five Focus Group Discussions were held with male and female children, supervisors, parents and civil society actors. Each interview was conducted in the usual language, French, and lasted around 40 minutes.

However, as most of the population were illiterate or spoke other local languages, the assistance of a local interpreter was sought. Thus, at the start of the interviews, informants were told that their statements were anonymous and confidential. Respondents were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time. Informants' consent was obtained orally. All recordings of interviews were made with the oral consent of the interviewee. Respondents were given the opportunity to answer questions freely and to express themselves as fully as possible. The field survey was conducted using interview guides based on the following main themes: the cultural logic underlying the education of internally displaced children in their new environment, and the development of several interview guides according to the categories of informants.

Digital dictaphones were used to record data in the field, at the same time as notes were taken. This technique also takes into account the onomatopoeia, hesitations and non-verbal expressions of the respondents. This research took place in a particular context where it is not easy to use the usual data collection techniques. Direct observation according to the indications contained in the observation grid was therefore the main technique used. All informal interviews were taken into account. The data collected using the above techniques was analysed and interpreted according to the methods used in the social sciences,

mainly in anthropology. Content analysis was used to process the data. The use of all these techniques does not prevent the introduction of bias into the research process. During direct observation, the researcher's attention may wander when certain important events are taking place in relation to the research objectives.

In view of the above, it is safe to say that despite the rigour of the methodology, the study is limited in that even after data collection, bias can creep in when transcribing, analysing and interpreting the data. Data was collected using development anthropology techniques from basic education authorities responsible for the education of displaced school-age children, implementing partners, parents or families of IDPs, pupils and informants likely to provide relevant information on this target group in the department of Mayo Tsanaga. The data was collected during the writing of our Ph.D in Anthropology. Documentary research was also carried out. A total of 20 in-depth interviews were conducted in the locality of Zamai and the surrounding villages, divided between urban and rural areas, over a period ranging from 15 November 2021 to the present day.

RESULTS

The Education and Training Sector Strategy (SSEF 2013-2020) positions universal primary education as a priority for the State of Cameroon. This strategy aims to: (i) Improve access and equity at all levels of education and training; (ii) Improve the quality of learning while adapting its content to the socio-economic environment; (iii) Improve the governance and management of the education system. However, Cameroon's education system faces enormous challenges that limit access to education for all children, particularly those from poor families, living in rural areas and in areas affected by humanitarian crises. (Ministry of Basic Education: Division of Planning, Projects and Cooperation: January 2019 (Revised March 2019).

Internal displacement can interrupt children's education, harm their well-being and hinder their development. It can reduce their future livelihood opportunities, creating a cycle of poverty that continues even after displacement. Failure to include internally displaced children in quality education can have long-term consequences for them, their families and their communities. It can also impact on their country's progress towards the Sustainable Development Goals. Yet, as this document shows for the first time, most displaced children are excluded from education policies. (The Impacts of Internal Displacement on Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), 2020.

Failure of Nationals to Include IDPs in the Education Management Information System (Cameroon Government)

Although IDPs are nationals of the country in which they live and are therefore the responsibility of its government, data on them is rarely included in the education management information system, and the task of collecting it is left to international players. As a result, this group often remains relatively invisible, even though it constitutes the largest population of forcibly displaced people. Nevertheless, the available evidence shows that, in many conflict-affected countries, internal displacement has put a strain on an already inadequate education infrastructure (UNHCR, 2016).

According to a MINEDUB Douala official, "public schools automatically report the arrival of these pupils, but public schools do not; we need to go out into the field to refine the statistics" (UNICEF, 2019). In addition, several other displaced pupils do not have access to school due to a lack of resources. It is very difficult to keep track of these pupils, who are outside the reach of schools and scattered across towns and neighbourhoods.

Quality of Education

Internal displacement seriously compromises education. According to UNHCR (2016) the number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) is increasing, as is the number of refugees. At the end of 2014, there were an estimated 38 million IDPs living in 60 countries, an increase of 15% since 2013. This form of displacement is predominantly urban, with IDPs often having fled conflict-affected areas in search of the relative safety of towns and cities. In Cameroon, assessment missions have identified around 42,500 school-age children (OCHA, 2018). Many of these children have taken refuge in neighbouring towns in search of better living and learning conditions. This massive influx of pupils has exacerbated already difficult learning conditions. As a result, the quality of education in schools in towns hosting displaced pupils has suffered.

Accelerated Curricula to Prepare Primary School Entrants and Reintegrate Children Who Have Dropped Out of School

To be able to talk about the school career of this vulnerable segment of the population, it is important to examine their journey from their villages of origin. Clearly, in their preferred environment, as one informant put it, "*When children went to school in their home village, everyone knew everyone else. And the parents knew the teachers. And the teachers reported to the parents on how the children were doing in the markets, in the village and in other places*". (FGD, conducted on 18.09.2022 in Zamai).

Today, IDPs who have fled their places of origin are generally confronted with remarkable differences at several levels in the reception sites. A

comparative table of the lessons given at CM2 level revealed the points of divergence in pedagogical terms. Our informants, who began their education in their villages of origin, tell us that a child from the CMI at the state school in Mogode or Gazawa, for example, would have been taught in the same way as a child from the CMI at the state school in Mogode or Gazawa, "It's not easy if you have to repeat even the same class in a new town where you don't know anyone. Sometimes the standard is higher in the host town, and one of the main reasons for this is language. According to these informants, displaced children have to be enrolled in a lower level than in their original class to make it easier for them to adapt.

The pupils we met in the classrooms in Zamai, aware of these differences, set themselves the challenge of succeeding, as one respondent put it: "We don't have the right to make mistakes. If we don't go to school, what will become of our villages, Cameroon and Africa? These exclamations show that all those who aspire to education contribute to the development of their social environment, hence the interest in the school performance of the children of IDPs through CAPEP and CARED.

> *The Accelerated Curricula for Preparing Children for Primary School (CAPEP) and the Accelerated Curricula for Reintegrating Children who have dropped out of School (CARED) are programmes designed to prepare young children aged 5 and 6, who are to be enrolled in school for the first time, and those aged 8 to 14 who have left school prematurely and need to be re-enrolled and reintegrated into school, for entry into primary school. Remedial classes were organised for 6 to 8 weeks during the main school holidays with the support of specially trained teachers. In August 2018, out-of-school children in Mora, Mokolo, Mayo Moskota and Kousseri benefited from this important intervention on education in emergency situations. (Interview conducted with an Informant on 10/09/2021 in Zamai).*

It should be noted that there are several IDPs who have already spent several years in the host communities. Their long stay has enabled them to recognise the need to send their children to school. The survey shows that there are at least 2,000 IDPs, and that the success rate is fairly low: one child is in the first year of secondary school, and another in the third year. All the rest are between the 4th grade and primary school. For a population with a fairly high birth rate, "our brothers' ambitions are to be great bosses and great drivers, not to study hard". So, for any informed parent, if their offspring are well educated, they will inevitably be the family relay. "On the other hand, if I let them roam around, they'll go rogue," retorts one informant. Faced with difficulties, they feel that "education is not a priority". This category focuses more on the day-to-day

reality of the children of Zamai IDPs. As one informant put it: "At the start of the school year, you have a classroom with 180 pupils, but at the end of the year, there aren't 30". This brings us to the contribution of parents in the education of their children in crisis situations.

Zamai IDPs' contribution to their children's education.

In this crisis context, a parent is considered to be any parent or any administrative, political or traditional authority likely to provide assistance and educational support to an internally displaced child. For sustainable development in a crisis situation, the education of children is not the sole responsibility of the parent, who in most cases is already weakened by the loss of property and income-generating activities as a result of forced displacement. And even in the villages of origin, most are financially weakened because of the large, polygynous family par excellence, which is hostile to family planning. As one informant put it, *"the traditional and religious authorities need to raise awareness among families about fundamental rights and the right to education, and they need to get the message across". On closer inspection, everything seems to indicate that parents in particular do not really take this role seriously. Firstly, because the cultural system of marriage is polygyny, there is a lack of birth planning".* (Interview conducted with an Informant on 10/09/2021 in Zamai).

Along the same lines as this informant, particular emphasis is placed on building the capacity of communities, teachers and officials. As the popular saying goes, "*a hungry stomach has no ears", it is imperative, in the opinion of those interviewed, "to support parents in the fight against malnutrition so that education can serve development"*. (Interview conducted with an Informant on 02.02.2022 in Zamai). Very often, the search for "bread" takes precedence over children's education, as in the case of children who drop out of school to take up sand mining, which is considered a drug in this region: "It is a drug". In other words, anyone who indulges in this activity should never think about school.

In order to gain a better understanding of the ways and means of education in relation to development, we thought it would be appropriate to look again at the perceptions of communities of the conflict at the root of the forced displacement of our target population in the Lake Chad Basin, mainly in Zamai, in the Far North Region, the relationship between the conflict and schooling, and the educational pathways for adequate schooling without pitfalls.

One pupil believes that this is a handicap to the children's development because: "*Then there's the problem of resources. When they go to school without a scrap of bread, if they meet those who have chosen to be motoman and collect 300 or 400 FCFA every day, it's not easy to resist. So if they continue to go to school for a*

while, it's out of fear of their parents". (Interview conducted with an informant on 10.09. 2021 in Zamai).

It should be noted that children who lack means of subsistence are at the mercy of manipulators and illusion sellers such as mototaximen. "*To take just one example, the public school is always the place where the motorbikes come to turn. The drivers of these machines are none other than former classmates, friends or brothers of those in the classrooms. The IDP students, who are already facing existential problems that are hard to imagine, covet the motorbike drivers who handle the money"* (Interview conducted with an Informant on 11.09. 2021 in Zamai).

Curricula Adapted to Crisis Contexts and Care for IDPs

In most cases, internally displaced pupils arrive in the surrounding localities having suffered various traumas. Hence the need for the public authorities and their partners to create a framework capable of meeting the educational needs of these pupils. The type of curriculum in this context plays an essential role, it should facilitate the adaptation of EDI, allow good care of EDI victims of trauma and to do this it is necessary that the teachers chosen to follow these children are well trained.

Adaptation of "Elèves Déplacés Internes"

According to Kongou (2014) and Esso (2015) quoted by Mahamat Alhadji (2018), successive mobilities mean that teachers, pupils and families need to develop adaptations in this process of 'acculturation' as well as 'intercultural skills' to enable them to move from one school system to another. Indeed, the arrival of EDI in the surrounding regions has forced them to change not only their living environment, but also their teaching system and cultural values. Hence the need to provide them with a curriculum that facilitates their adaptation and helps them to overcome any trauma they may have suffered.

Follow-Up of Traumatised Pupils

It is no longer necessary to remind people that education and training are fundamental aspects of the long-term prevention of violent conflicts (Republic of Cameroon, 2017: 93). Trabelsi and Dubois (2006) raise pertinent questions: how can we learn to know, learn to do, learn to be and learn to live together in a post-conflict situation? Through these questions, these researchers show how education is a major need for the majority of individuals in a country that has suffered armed conflict. They suggest that in post-conflict situations, specific programmes need to be developed and new educational policies defined that take into account the often traumatised populations, victims of physical and psychological abuse. This requires the involvement of curriculum beneficiaries, teachers and school leaders in the curriculum development process.

Teacher Training

IDPs and refugees need trained, supported and motivated teachers, but those who work with them are too often poorly paid and inexperienced, working in difficult conditions with few opportunities for professional development. By creating a sense of normality and stability, teachers can provide traumatised children and adolescents with a protective shield against conflict and violence. However, programmes are needed to prepare them for this role (UNHCR, 2016, p10).

In Cameroon, teacher training programmes do not include a module to give teachers this ability, to the extent that they have the skills to properly supervise pupils who are victims of trauma. Lapeyronnie (1992), quoted by Trabelsi and Dubois (2006), points out that since education is clearly perceived as a need by the majority of individuals in a country that has suffered armed conflict, it remains to be seen what type of education needs to be implemented in a post-conflict situation in order to lead to lasting peace.

Education Funding and Support for EDI

Nicolai, Hine and Wales (2015) point out that funding for education in crisis situations is seriously inadequate and in trouble, a situation evident in many recent major crises (p.19). However, in crisis situations education is funded by three major actors, namely the families of displaced students, governments and international agencies.

Funding from Families

Funding from governments and international organisations is most often intended for displaced people in camps. However, the vast majority of IDPs who have found refuge in urban areas with host families do not benefit from aid. Having fled the combat zones, leaving everything behind, they are left in a precarious situation. Despite this, they do their utmost to meet their needs, and in particular to send their children to school.

According to a study conducted by UNESCO (2012), households spend an average of 7.7% of their budget on education. A breakdown of household spending on education reveals three main categories of expenditure: school fees, spending on school materials and supplies, and other expenditure that cannot be classified in either of the previous two categories. In its Education For All Global Monitoring Report, UNESCO (2011) states that conflicts have a direct impact on the situation of households. We can therefore see that armed conflict affects education from above (through the national budget) and from below (by affecting household budgets).

State Funding

Analysis of the likely contribution of national governments indicates that the total funding requirement is USD 4.8 billion, or USD 74 per child. This represents almost 22% of the total annual funding requirement of

22 billion dollars for pre-primary, primary and lower secondary education (Nicolai, Hine and Wales, 2015). In response to the crisis in the North-West and South-West regions, which has resulted in a large number of displaced persons, the State of Cameroon has launched an emergency humanitarian programme to be funded from the State budget, a call for national solidarity (fund-raising operations, etc.) and contributions from international partners. The budget, estimated at 12,716,500,000 FCFA (twelve billion seven hundred and sixteen million five hundred thousand), is based on estimates that are subject to change as the situation and needs evolve. The actions to be carried out as a matter of urgency in the first three months are estimated at 10,191,000,000 (ten billion one hundred and ninety-one million) (Présidence de la République, 2018, p. 17). However, very few countries are able to bear the financial burden of crisis management on their own and are obliged to seek international funding.

International Funding

In the background paper for the Oslo Summit on Education Development Nicolai, Hine and Wales (2015) point out that the GPE, which was founded in 2002, is not strictly a humanitarian actor and is present in many fragile states and protracted crises. The GPE pools funds from bilateral donors, developing country governments, civil society and private sector actors and provides grants to countries to support and improve education, amounting to $4.3 billion for more than 60 states since 2002. While the GPE works primarily with national governments, a number of international NGO partners can now manage entities and allocate funds in situations where government capacity is weak. At the national level, the GPE works closely with LEGs, helping them to develop sector plans and bring stakeholders together. It is estimated that eight billion dollars are needed each year to provide educational assistance to the 65 million children between the ages of 3 and 15 affected by a crisis. This figure is the average of three estimates made for this document. The eight billion dollars are divided as follows: two billion for pre-primary education, four billion for primary education and two billion for lower secondary education, at an average cost of 123 dollars per child (Nicolai, Hine and Wales, 2015).

In Cameroon the UN humanitarian response plan published in May 2018 provided $15.2 million to reach 160,000 people, but since then the number of internally displaced people and others in need has increased dramatically. Very few international organisations are present on the ground and those that are have had to prioritise the basic needs of people who have just been displaced out of the limited funds they receive (IDMC, 2019).

Coordination between Players and Handling of EDI

With the myriad of players operating at different levels, there is a clear need for coordination. The most important forums for coordinating education at national level have been singled out (the CPI's Education Cluster, UNHCR's coordination of refugees and LEG). In addition, the INEE and the GPE bring together actors at global level around these issues, working in countries within and alongside these entities (Nicolai, Hine and Wales, 2015). Coordination between the various players, particularly from the public sector, the private sector and NGOs, is vital if EDI is to be properly managed. Good coordination ensures that there is a single source of information and, above all, that actions are not duplicated.

The Role of the State in Coordination

The background paper for the Oslo summit on educational development shows that overall responsibility for education lies with national governments, as reaffirmed by the United Nations General Assembly in its resolution A/64/L.58 on "The right to education in emergency situations" (2010). States are therefore the main actors in ensuring that education systems are prepared for and resilient to potential crisis situations and in coordinating the response.

We also note the absence of registers in civil status centres, the remoteness of civil status centres and sometimes the ignorance of most parents of the importance and lack of knowledge of the procedures for drawing up birth certificates. Added to this is the reluctance of some civil registrars to issue birth certificates for refugee children born in Cameroon, despite numerous awareness-raising sessions organised by the UNHCR. This has led to a large number of births not being registered with the Civil Registry, for which the supplementary judgement procedure is required, and to the situation of children whose births have not been registered with the Civil Registry in their country of origin. In addition, the refugees expressed their fear of widespread insecurity due to the inadequate lighting in the sites where they have moved in (frequent breakdowns of the few existing streetlights), and attacks on women while searching for firewood and water. Added to this is the hostility of some local residents.

For longer-term development situations, Local Education Groups (LEGs) bring together national education authorities and representatives of various national education stakeholders, including ministries, donors, international NGOs, civil society organisations (CSOs), teachers' unions, universities and private providers. These groups are chaired or co-chaired by the Ministry of Education and agree common priorities and plans for the education sector (Nicolai, Hine and Wales, 2015: 16). Coordination efforts should not only involve UN agencies but should extend to governments, who are the only ones in a position to determine the needs of the affected populations. As China has said, it is important that humanitarian assistance continues to be seen as a complement to national efforts. The question of the

primacy of governments has resurfaced above all around the issue of displaced persons and the international protection that should or should not be offered to them. Here, the principles of national sovereignty and territorial integrity have been invoked to confirm the responsibility of governments towards these people (United Nations, 2000).

The Role of International Organisations and Civil Society

The diversity of actors has created significant coordination challenges, with education in emergencies led by the IASC Education Cluster, refugee crises by UNHCR and protracted crises by several organisations, including Local Education Groups (LEGs). Alongside and within these organisations, the Global Partnership for Education (GPE) and the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) also play important roles in linking actors and developing and sharing good practice. The IASC, led by the Emergency Relief Coordinator (who also heads the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA)) is a coordination, decision-making and policy development body made up of leading UN agencies and NGOs engaged in humanitarian action. The IASC's Education Cluster works globally and in the field to respond to specific emergencies.

The Global Education Cluster is jointly led by UNICEF and Save the Children, and has 21 member organisations. Education Clusters assist in the coordination of national Strategic Response Plans (SRPs), including appeals, but do not distribute funds (Nicolai, Hine and Wales, 2015). This articulation has highlighted the process of effective management of EDI in times of conflict by identifying the factors that influence their management as well as the organisation of the actors involved.

DISCUSSION

Our research is in line with Maronneau's perspective, and calls for "the bonding of de-proletarisation". In fact, in a learning environment which, faced with learning subjects, produces continually varying learning spaces, in order to combat the identity bonding (Roger C., 1963) produced by the plating of abstract space on reality (Marcel Bolle de Bal, 2003), there is the production of a diachronic space, a space of deproletarisation, which joins the places, that is to say "the elements and moments of social practice" (Henri Lefebvre, 2000). These environments are linked, and the learning space can then be constituted. This space is the space of human life, that is to say, it includes the relationships we have with reality: things, animals, humans (Edmund Husserl, 2010). We recognise that changing life and changing an education system in situations of A security crisis is meaningless unless an appropriate space is created; new social relationships require new spaces, and vice versa. It is undoubtedly a new mental space in which learners and the other players

in the educational community feel freer, less under tutelage, less obliged to point the finger at those who are different.

Marginalisation of Girls

Displacement weakens the protective environment for children, and families may resort to coping mechanisms that disadvantage girls, such as putting them to work or marrying them off (UNHCR, 2016). According to the IDMC (2014b) quoted by UNHCR (2016) girls and women, who make up 70% of the world's IDPs, often have higher rates of non-enrolment and lower literacy rates than boys and men of comparable ages. In the National Action Plan for the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security, it is noted that the impact of conflict on women and girls in Cameroon is tragic on two counts: the violation of their physical integrity, as is recurrently and massively observed in the most affected areas of the sub-region, and in that it seriously affects their ability to contribute to the well-being of families and communities (Republic of Cameroon, 2017).

In his Impoverishment Risk and Reconstruction (IRR) model, Michael Cernea describes the main impoverishment risks associated with displacement, which have their equivalent in the human rights guarantees enshrined in international and African instruments. The processes that lead to food insecurity and increased morbidity, for example, are directly linked to the rights to adequate food and health.

On the subject of child protection, the effects of this triple crisis in Cameroon have plunged thousands of children into psychosocial distress and forced them to break up with their families (3,389 displaced children are separated from their families). This brings the percentage of children in need in this sector to 100% (51% girls and 49% boys), i.e. 580,000 children. Exploited, abducted, forcibly married, sexually abused, having difficulty accessing social, health and education services, and even used as suicide bombers (among other abuses), the main victims are internally displaced and refugee children and even children from host communities spread across the four regions of Adamaoua, Extreme North, North and East.

Food Security: The Conceptual Pairing of Alliance and Deliance

Food insecurity is the last issue on which humanitarian actors have focused their attention in order to establish or draw up a statement of needs. An estimated 2,800,000 people are in need in this sector, 51% of them women, 58% children under 18, 38% adults and 4% elderly people. The people affected by food insecurity include internally displaced persons (199,000 people), 448,000 host populations and 1,800,000 people from areas worst affected by climatic shocks and the

impact of insecurity. As a result, 13% of food-insecure people need emergency food aid.

For the purposes of this article, the conceptual pairing of deliance and reliance seemed the most appropriate paradigm for hypermodernism. We agree that reliance lies at the heart of the 'post-modern' dynamic so dear to Michel Maffesoli and others. Incidentally, the untying logic gives us the opportunity to examine the realities of educating children whose schooling is taking place in fits and starts in an emerging society in a context of 'hyper-modernity', a term constructed using the same model as those of 'hypercomplexity' developed by Edgar Morin (1986: 98-99), and of 'hypermodern enterprise' (Karl Marx, 1984) to describe the realities of education in a crisis situation.

Finally, at the heart of our perspective of 'hyper-modernity' (Adam Ferguson, 1992), anthropology sees the emergence of a new paradigm, that of the indissociable conceptual couple deliance/reliance, the dialectical synthesis of de-linking modernity and linking postmodernity. Deliance and reliance are ontologically inseparable, forming a 'dual' couple like day and night, love and hate, the motor and the brake, the forbidden and the transgression, the centre and the periphery, and so on.

Learning In a Formal Setting between Teachers and Learners

Education must promote understanding, tolerance and friendship between all nations and all racial or religious groups, as well as the development of United Nations peacekeeping activities. The UDHR (Duel: intermediate number between the singular and the plural, as it exists in many languages (Greek, Slovenian, Hebrew, etc.), this number designates what goes in twos and yet forms a whole, two that form a whole, an entity in two parts, the two eyes, the two hands, happiness and misfortune, shadow and light, life and death, ignorance and knowledge, etc.). Dual thinking, which is foreign to our culture, is nonetheless essential to all sociolegical interpretation and intervention. For her, what opposes unites, what unites opposes, what binds unbinds, what unbinds binds, says precisely that "Parents have, as a matter of priority, the right to choose the kind of education to give their children". What do school-age children do during and after the conflict? While this question will guide our work right to the end, it is clear that the human sciences have always contributed to understanding the situation of a child's schooling in a period of conflict.

We wish to open these pages with the kind of relationship that the direct or related terms used in our subject and research theme by concepts that continue to be little understood by the ordinary reader. The following paragraphs present assertions that have been given to key and related concepts in relation to the theme of our research.

From variability to variance, sociologists have found no difficulty in a semantic shift that always serves the changeability that resides on either side. To take just one sociological reference, a structural theory of the topological organisation of the social field such as that of Bourdieu, for example (Bourdieu (1979), Bourdieu (1994), enables us to understand how these dimensions of variation in usage are invested with socio-differential values. The accumulation of particular linguistic usages at specific points in the social field, and their regular association with socially qualified subjects endowed with other kinds of capital (social, economic, cultural, etc.), ends up precipitating and crystallising what can be called linguistic capital: beyond the mastery of such and such a language or such and such a style (popular speech, young speech, sustained speech, oratorical style, etc.), there is an instance which refers to the "linguistic capital".), an instance refers to the speaker's ease of movement in the sociolinguistic space, his sense of placement and his ability to adapt his linguistic style to the level required by the social organisation of the speech situation.

From a sociological point of view, it is therefore the regular association between specific linguistic uses and socially specified subjects that defines the value of variants. In this analysis, socio-differential value, like any other social value, is therefore entirely relative. It is a by-product of the organisation of the social field and does not exist outside this positional organisation. This is a sociological reinterpretation of the law of value and price formation used by economists, particularly Marxists. It is the accumulation and concentration of goods at certain points in the social space, and their concomitant scarcity at other points, that creates the market and regulates exchanges through a law of price formation.

It's worth remembering that education and instruction are two opposing concepts. The former develops faculties, while the latter communicates knowledge. Finally, from the Latin forma, which means to give a form, to mould is an instrument used to give a desired shape. The study of customary education or customary training is of interest to ethnologists because it sheds light on the innermost workings of traditional society. But it is also of interest to the pedagogue, enabling him to understand what is happening in the child's life outside the school and to take it into account.

Secondly, as its name suggests, formal education takes place within a formal, regulated, institutionalised and legally recognised framework. To this end, Tsafack G. (2001: 22) points out: "School or formal education is that received in the school institution where instruction predominates. It is characterised by classes, qualified teachers, curricula, timetables and generally defined methods". The aim is to foster learning conditions in a formal setting between teachers and learners.

Article 4 of Cameroon's Education Act states: "*The general mission of education is to train children for their intellectual, physical, civic and moral development and for their harmonious integration into society, taking into account economic, socio-cultural, political and moral factors*". Informal education, on the other hand, involves educating and caring for learners informally. It refers to a learning situation in which the source of teaching, instruction or the learner consciously encourages the transmission of knowledge. The most illustrative example is an educational book that transmits knowledge about the Highway Code. This information source book can facilitate the reception of information just as the reader can, but not both at the same time. Finally, there is an urgent need to look at the utilitarian aspects of education. Here we need to distinguish between three types of education.

Quality education contributes directly to the social, economic and political stability of societies. It helps to reduce the risk of violent conflict by strengthening social cohesion and contributing to conflict resolution and peace-building. However, although the chances of long-term peace-building increase significantly when the population affected by conflict is educated, education can also have a negative impact on peace and stability.

Girls, children with disabilities, children from minority groups, nomads and children from low-income families are often left out of education, regardless of their displacement situation. When these children are displaced, in contexts of increased financial hardship and limited educational resources, they are even more likely to be out of school. In Yemen, enrolment rates for girls and children from the marginalised Muhamesheen group were lower. In Somalia, some displaced nomadic families did not send their children to school because they themselves were unfamiliar with the education system and did not see the point. Dedicated communication and incentives for these families to send their children to school, as well as working with teachers and children in the host community to ensure that displaced children are well received, may be options.

Contribution of Non-Institutional Players

Since the 1990 law on freedom of association in Cameroon, new players have been active in the field to help the public authorities achieve their development objectives. Examples include "civil society players", associations, NGOs, international organisations, faith-based organisations, etc. No field is spared. No area is spared. The Far North region, which is one of the busiest humanitarian regions in Cameroon, is home to a large number of humanitarian and development actors. As part of the research, the actions of these actors are perceptible. In the region, there are national actors such as Public Concern, AAEDC, RESPECT and many others involved in interventions as diverse as protection, livelihoods and wash, There are also international players such as

Première Urgence, which provides drinking water to the local population, and IMC (International Medical Corps), which is concerned about the health of the communities where the IDPs live. The head of a local anti-trafficking association denounces the lack of resources and structures, if the problems in the locality are anything to go by. There is also a Mafa women's association. Oyal says she set up the association to raise awareness among the women of the benefits of school every day. All the participants acknowledge that, in addition to the government and development players, NGOs are making every effort to bring these children to school and meet the needs of the population.

CONCLUSION

All in all, the informants believe that there is a link between school and development. Layal, a pupil in 4th grade, said that "it's on the basis of school that you find work". For her, development itself can only exist if people have responsibilities and work. If you want development, you have to send your children to school. And when you have a job, you can help your family. Development and education are linked. IDPs are well aware of the contribution that education makes to a person's life. Institutionalised education can be likened to "forced force-feeding that disgusts more than it educates". Illich (1971) argued that "nothing should force" the individual to learn or teach. His solutions border on utopian. Research has enabled us to dwell at length on what school is and its benefits. And as has already been said, the informants recognise the benefits of school. But on the relationship between this institution of learning, acquisition and transmission of knowledge and development, opinions are mixed.

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