



Dietary preference and behavioural deviance related to health in Ivorian Universities (Cote D'Ivoire)

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Abstract

This study analyses the social logics of sexual practices linked to eating and drinking habits and the construction of health risks among actors at the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University. Using a methodological approach based on documentary analysis and data collection from field surveys conducted among a category of female students at the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University, the following results were obtained: From an empirical point of view, this study shows that the relationship between sexuality and food is part of a more general rather than a local or restricted vision, i.e. this study develops sexuality with its dietary implications in terms of nutritional needs, but sometimes economic implications linked to the precarious situation of the parents of the female students who are involved in this gender-food compromise on the one hand, and on the other hand, the eating and consumption habits as a means of legitimising their libido. Even less so, when we talk about behavioural deviance in the university environment, the health aspect is one of the indicators developed in this study. Also, the relationship between sex and diet is highlighted as well as the construction of disease risks among the actors. This also explains the importance of this study, which attempts to reconcile gender and diet and the construction of disease risks among actors and not to isolate them through a socio-anthropological analysis.

Keywords: food preference, behavioural deviance, sexual practices, health, academic environment, Côte D'Ivoire

Introduction

As nutrition is a necessary response to physiological needs and, at the same time, is a necessary response to the time, an eminently socialized practice that exposes the eater to making choices among a wide range of behaviours, it is an area conducive to social normativity. In the area of food, as in other areas where individuals enjoy the right to food, it is an area of social normativity. of decision-making (including physical activity), social norms ^[1] are the result of many influencing factors, including culture and associated values, but also technical standards from public health, industry, etc. food industry. Poulain (2002) ^[12] describes feeding standards as a set of conventions on the structural composition of food intake - "the set of conventions on the structural composition of food intake". meals and non-meals-and the conditions and contexts in which they are consumed", taking care to add: "social and dietary standards influence each other" (P. 66, as cited in Institut National de Santé Publique du Québec, 2012, P.7) ^[13].

Indeed, 2009 was another challenging year for the World Food Programme (WFP), at a time when the number of hungry people in the world surpassed the billion mark - a figure never before seen - and when unprecedented attacks on PAM staff and other humanitarian workers further reduced the space in which humanitarian agencies can operate safely (PAM, 2010, P.2) ^[11].

Despite these challenges, PAM was able to provide food and nutritional assistance to 101.8 million hungry people-including 84 million women and children - who had had to flee their homes and whose survival was threatened by conflict, cyclones, drought, financial crises or other shocks. PAM would not have been able to rescue and feed these people. It would not have been possible to protect

vulnerable human beings without the generous support of States, private donors and individuals, who donated \$4 billion to the organization despite the difficult times that were unfolding. The explosion of hunger-induced needs over the past few years clearly shows that we live in a world where risk is now the rule: the consequences of crises caused by rising food and oil prices and financial crises show how countries can be shaken by exogenous shocks that can plunge millions of people into misery and stunt the growth of an entire generation. But the turmoil of the growth causes irreversible damage that affects children's health, ability to learn and future economic productivity. To address this danger, PAM is working to address the most urgent needs and to help countries to strengthen their resilience (PAM, *op cit*).

From the analysis of the study carried out by the PAM, it is clear that feeding oneself is a daily and fundamental social action in the life of every individual in society. Today, this social action is all the more important as it is unalterable. The aim of this study is therefore to understand the real implications of food preferences and behavioural deviations linked to the health of university students. As a result, entering university is a challenge for many students. As a study by Caldeira, Silva, Mendes and Botelho (2015) ^[4] indicates, "student's personal attributes are the foundation to successfully face this challenge. The university should also provide appropriate conditions to support a positive adjustment to this new life. It may share this responsibility with student associations" (P. 15 444), as cited in (Rapport de Consultation et Recension Préliminaire présenté au Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur par Sans oui, c'est non! (2017, P.25). A study carried out by Hébert (2013, P. 19) as cited in (Rapport de Consultation &

Recension Préliminaire presented to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education by Sans oui, c'est non! (*idem*) showed that: Student associations in most Western universities "have traditions of integration, rituals marking the acceptance of new students into the family".

Such initiatory processes exist just about everywhere and take various forms. Welcome activities organised by student associations can thus be a means of facilitating the integration of new students and of new students and of fostering the development of a sense of belonging to their new academic environment (Hébert, 2013, as cited in Rapport de Consultation et Recension Préliminaire presented to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education by Sans oui, c'est non, *idem*).

Unfortunately, while it appears that the vast majority of hosting activities meet these objectives, a few risky activities or behaviours cloud the picture and cause "Canada and [in] the United States, university administrators are increasingly attentive to issues of hazing" (Massey, D. K & Massey, J. 2017, P. 46 ^[10], as cited in Rapport de Consultation et Recension Préliminaire submitted to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education by Sans oui, c'est non, *idem*)), which corresponds to what we call risky reception activities. Even if, let us repeat, risk reception activities seem to be in the minority, they must nevertheless be taken seriously. Indeed, studies show that for some students, "hazing was the turning point in freshmen's academic career, branding their university experience regardless of their gender, parents' educational level and displacement. However, for first-generation students, hazing triggers more negative emotions, such as fear and apprehension. For them, peers are a critical source both of information about and support towards hazing" (Dias & Sá, 2014, P. 456 ^[6], as cited in Rapport de Consultation et Recension Préliminaire presented to the Ministry of Education and Higher Education by Sans oui, c'est non, *idem*).

In addition, students' deviant behaviours due to their food preferences induce social upheavals and risk behaviours in the lives of those actors who engage in commercial sex or sex-food trade-offs in order to survive in academia.

Therefore, in Côte d'Ivoire, food is a key element for some young girls (female students at the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University) to legitimise their sexual practices. Female students engage in sexual practices to survive on campus. While female students regularly receive financial and material support from their families to cope with their needs on campus. In addition, there is a restaurant at Félix Houphouët-Boigny University called the "grand resto". This eating and drinking space is open to all students and is subsidised by the State of Côte d'Ivoire and managed by the Centre Régional des Œuvres Universitaires (CROU), which is a State institution of Côte d'Ivoire. This policy of the State of Côte d'Ivoire responds to the creation of adequate living conditions for students by providing them with food. This allows students to buy the dish at a special price of two hundred francs (200frs CFA or US\$0.37), compared to one thousand five hundred francs (1500frs CFA or US\$2.81) the minimum price of a dish of food in a restaurant in the commune of Cocody which houses the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University. In addition, the Abidjan CROU, for the control and supervision of students on campus, distinguishes girls' residences from boys' residences in order to offer them better training and gender enhancement on campus. Indeed,

field research has shown that this structuring of space according to gender has undergone transformations. Girls' and boys' rooms are no longer distinguishable. Girls and boys are part of a gender-food compromise and share the same rooms to achieve this compromise ^[2].

By looking at these sexual behaviours as a state of food satisfaction, the present study is an exercise that attempts to highlight the social practices and ideologies that legitimise these consumption behaviours and the level of health awareness among female students of the use of sexual practices. Such an orientation allows us to understand the persistence of sexual practices among female students on the Cocody campus despite the measures taken by their families and the CROU-d'Abidjan to provide food support to the students. Thus, the research question guiding this study is: Why do actors resort to sexual practices to satisfy food and consumption needs? Do food and consumption habits justify the sexual practices of actors living in university housing estates? What is the impact of eating and drinking habits on the sexual practices of actors living in university halls of residence? The aim of this study is to analyse the factors that explain the sexual practices linked to eating habits and the construction of health risks among actors at the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University. Specifically, it is a question of: (i) Identifying the social factors legitimising sexual practices linked to eating and consumption habits; (ii) Determining the ideologies justifying the satisfaction of food and consumption needs through sexual practices; (iii) Explaining the social practices involved in the construction of health risks incurred by the actors; (iv) Explaining the social practices of the construction of health risks incurred by the actors.

Theoretical approach: Culturalist and functionalist approaches

The quest to understand community-based social practices suggests two theoretical socio-anthropological models for this study. Through the typology of forms of culture, R. Benedict (1950) ^[3] first identifies specific cultural traits for each of them: Each culture is characterised by a model of conduct, a configuration specific to each society that unifies the behaviour of its members and makes them understandable. In this respect, students' food preferences do not overshadow the traditional values associated with the choice of food to consume. Then through the functionalist approach Malinowski B. (1944) ^[9], each culture is constituted as a coherent whole where all the elements of the cultural system are independent, which makes it impossible to analyse an isolated cultural phenomenon. From this point of view, he distinguishes between needs directly derived from nature which have a universal character (biological or physiological needs) and those which are modified by the conditions of culture (derived or cultural needs). Thus, taking any community, primitive or civilised, one would see that there is everywhere a subsistence service specific to the tribe, wanted first of all by the food needs of the human metabolism but creating new technological, economic, legal, even magical, ethical, religious needs. The functionalist approach, as a theoretical model of analysis, seems indicated to explain the ideologies legitimising the food preferences of the actors, by also questioning, for example, the system of production of restaurant food for the actors and the interaction structuring the functioning of the university catering system.

Methodology

This study was carried out at the University Félix Houphouët-Boigny. We chose the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University precisely because it houses a public restaurant intended for student catering with a subsidy from the State of the student's dish. However, we noticed that few female students are interested in the food in this university restaurant. Most students develop food preferences.

This phenomenon creates deviant behaviour and tends to influence the health of the actors and in some cases leads to diseases such as sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), leading to a change in the roles and status of each actor within the university campus and the actor's family unit. It is therefore essential to understand the impact of food preference and behavioural deviance on the interaction of stakeholders with their health.

This study was carried out between 11 December 2020 and 30 December 2020 inclusive. The research was essentially qualitative and consisted of semi-directive interviews with 40 individuals. The eligibility criteria for the actors interviewed was, on the one hand, the status of student living in a university housing estate and, on the other hand, having already attended and consumed the food offered by the student restaurant managed by the CROU. Thus, the data collected was the subject of a content analysis of the different ideologies that legitimise the practices of the actors. It emerged from the various interviews carried out that the actors' behaviours have a cultural background. However, these actors stand out through their sexual practices according to their food preferences. To this end, accidental sampling and snowball sampling were used to test our interviews in order to gather information to saturation, according to the criteria of (B. Glaser & A. Strauss, 1967) [7]. This sampling method resulted in the application in the study field of certain selection rules such as the status and role of actors in food preference and deviant behaviour related to health. To this end, we interviewed: female students (40) and CROU agents in charge of student catering (3). In total, we interviewed 43 people. With these actors, semi-structured interviews were conducted to understand the social logics of food preferences and health-related deviant behaviour in the university environment. Above all, however, to highlight the ideological productions that guide the actors' sexual practices and the manufacture of risks.

Results

Social factors legitimising sexual practices linked to eating and drinking habits

Ideologies relating to the status of students living in university halls of residence and legitimising deviant behaviour at risk

The aim is to present the profile of the student living in the university residence halls and to analyse the dynamics of the status of an actor as an ideological resource for justifying these behaviours. The socio-cultural values of students living in the halls of residence are the basis of the political, social and economic organisation of this group of students. Like the other students at Félix Houphouët-Boigny University who live with their families, this is a group of students who are learning a sense of responsibility and the management of daily life. The social stability of these students lies in their management of the structuring of the university space between the CROU and the students and

pupils' union of Côte d'Ivoire called the Fédération Estudiantine et Scolaire de Côte d'Ivoire (FESCI). To this end, it is the students' responsibility to manage their daily lives responsibly.

Benedict (1950) [3] who shows that: "... each culture is characterised by a model of conduct, a configuration specific to each society that unifies the behaviour of its members and makes them understandable.

In this respect, the food preferences of female students do not obscure the traditional values associated with the choice of food to be consumed" (op cit), on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the ideologies legitimising the use of sexual practices to satisfy food and consumption needs. This illustrates:

A student who lives in a university housing estate faces enormous social and economic difficulties. Socially, the student has to ensure his or her safety by adopting a responsible attitude, i.e. by respecting the rules and norms of living in the halls of residence. For example: There are times when the university restaurant is open for meals, it is forbidden to walk on the lawn, respect the neighbourhood... On the economic level, student scholarships are no longer paid regularly and even when they are paid, it is practically during the university holidays that we are paid the scholarship. All these difficulties force students to engage in student-to-student sexual practices for the simple purpose of satisfying their food needs on the one hand, and on the other hand, students also engage in paid sex with civil servants who come to the campus offering money to female students in exchange for sex. All this contributes to the survival of students on campus (A.Y, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 11 December 2020 at 10:00 GMT).

Ideologies justifying the satisfaction of food and consumption needs through the use of sexual practices

The use of sexual practices seems to be mobilised by the ideology of satisfying food needs among the actors. It is in this vein that we can see:

I'm not on a scholarship. It's been almost three years since my parents stopped giving me money. My parents are farmers. It's only in December that they sell their products (cocoa and other products) to get some money and send me away. So I have to eat and be able to live in the city because unfortunately I don't have any relatives living in Abidjan.

This difficult situation, in which I have to go to class and take care of my diet, has forced me to resort to sexual practices with a man who is a civil servant and who helps me to be able to live on campus. Am I aware that there is a risk of pregnancy or disease transmission even though I take precautions to avoid it, but zero risk does not exist in the behaviours we develop every day. May God help me to get out of this situation one day, which is to give one's body (sex) just to satisfy a primary need (to feed oneself) (F.S, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 13 December 2020 at 16:00 GMT).

On this basis, sexual practices are in line with the lifestyle of the actors living on campus, leading to risky behaviour among students living in university housing estates.

To raise the price:

I did not get a room on campus in my name. I am managing with a friend who has agreed to put me up in her room. Between her and me, we both manage to provide our own food on a daily basis. In my case, my parents are farmers and it is not easy for them to send me money every month to support me. That is how I accepted the friendship (sexual intercourse) of a gentleman who helps me to cover my needs by contributing to pay for my food and other things every month (O.S, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 19 December 2020 at 10:00 GMT).

This is rightly testified:

University life is not at all rosy. One would have to fight by all means to survive. I am a student and my parents manage to give me money every month to cover my daily expenses. In other words, to feed myself, to buy the necessities of life in the city. On the other hand, there are students who unfortunately have no source of income. So, in order to survive in the university environment, they resort to deviant practices such as prostitution in order to find something to eat. I can confess that, I sleep with enough female students on campus just because they have nothing to eat and understand from the food I offer them and offer me sex. It is deplorable these types of behaviour. But we do it out of social constraint, especially since the university system in Côte d'Ivoire is practically collapsing. Politicians in Côte d'Ivoire do not favour education. Students no longer have scholarships. The restaurants in the university halls of residence very often offer menus that do not take into account our food cultures. This explains, in my opinion, the behavioural deviation of some female students who resort to sexual intercourse to satisfy their food needs (A.K, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 27 December 2020 at 10 am GMT).

From this perspective, the difficulties faced by actors in an academic environment; absence or non-existence of financial resources, lack of social or family protection are considered to be factors justifying the recourse to sexual practices by actors to satisfy their food and consumption needs. To this end, recourse to sexual practices becomes a necessity for actors to survive in university housing estates. Thus, as shown by:

Living in a university dormitory without family protection is an uphill battle for students. Government policies in Cote d'Ivoire do not prioritise education. In my opinion, the political leaders put education at the bottom of the list, I would even say subtract from their management programmes, the merits of education. I say this because I cannot understand that we are students and we cannot have a scholarship to be able to support ourselves. However, we meet the conditions for the state to grant us scholarships very well. Unfortunately, we live on campus where the student's only recourse to survive is God. In such a precarious context in which we students live, our behaviour is conditioned by daily survival. This is why the phenomenon of prostitution has developed in the university campus. In order to survive on campus, I succumbed to the demand for sex from a man who helps me very regularly to pay my rent and to give me money every month to ensure my existential needs (T.E, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 21 December 2020 at 9 am GMT). With regard to these remarks, it should be mentioned that: "Culture, economy

and society are the three sides of the food issue, which is why eating is also taking into account all these aspects" (Regnier F. & al. 2011) as cited in Agobe A. J. & al (2018). From this point of view, the gross food expenditure of all individuals, such as the female students interviewed in universities, continues to grow, "even if it does so less quickly than other expenses such as health or leisure. This growth is mainly linked to changes in the types of products consumed, their quality, and their degree of preparation before sale. This evolution is known as nutritional transition" (Agobe A. J. & al. idem). This argument illustrates:

It is true that the cost of the dish at the campus restaurant is affordable. But, sincerely, I deplore the quality of the menu. For my part, I prefer to buy the food and do the cooking. I find it safer to eat at the campus restaurant than to eat at the campus restaurant. Because, whenever I have eaten the food in the campus restaurant. The next day I have a real problem with indigestion. So, as a student, I still can't afford the quality food that I eat when I'm with my family during the holidays. Nevertheless, my health is at stake. I am in the city, where I have my room, I have to eat to have the strength to study. That's how I met a civil servant, who sincerely takes very good care of me, giving me 60,000 frs CFA or US\$112.53 a month for my food at the rate of 2000 frs CFA or US\$3.75 a day. This service is obviously not free. It is well expected, in exchange for sex. I also have the duty to satisfy the libido of this gentleman however that sexual need is felt. Frankly, I very often regret giving my body in exchange for food (K.F, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 28 December 2020 at 15 h GMT).

Social practices in the construction of health risks incurred by the actors

Use of condoms and contraceptives as therapeutic methods of disease prevention

Most of the students interviewed report having had sexual intercourse without having to use a condom consistently. For those who had used them, this use took place in the early hours of intercourse. Thus, condom use at the beginning of the relationship appears to be a code, a norm for entering the relationship. The reasons given to justify this use are moral, emotional and health-related. Condom use at the beginning of the relationship is accepted in order to protect oneself from unexpected pregnancies, sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, etc. The reasons given for using condoms are moral, emotional and health-related. These reasons are put forward by individuals who do not live with their partner or whose relationship started less than one term (3 months) ago; basically by students who think that their partner is not faithful. However, condom use can be discontinued very early on as the relationship develops over time and trust is built. Thus, the abandonment of condoms appears to be a sign of trust and commitment (Antunes M., 2002, as cited in Vonan Amangoua Pierre-Claver & Agobe Ablakpa Jacob, 2016, P.27)^[2]. In this study, female students interviewed reported using condoms during sexual intercourse. This illustrates:

Whenever I want to have sex, my sexual partner and I use condoms to protect ourselves against diseases and also to avoid pregnancy. In my opinion, the use of condoms helps

to protect against diseases on the one hand but on the other hand, it helps to protect the relationship socially in the long term especially as I am still a student, my parents did not tolerate me getting pregnant. This could have an influence on my university studies by, for example, stopping classes on the one hand, but on the other hand, it is not obvious that the person who became pregnant, if this happened, would be able to marry me in order to guarantee a life as a couple. So it is interesting to protect oneself with a condom (D.Y, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 28 December 2020 at 10 am GMT).

Use of "Baya" ^[3] beads on the hip as a symbolic means of avoiding all risk during sexual intercourse

In order to study the influence of dietary interactions related to the sexual practices of female university students, we rely on the socialization theory of G. H. Mead (2011) ^[4]. Thus, in the course of their socialisation, some students have internalised sexual behaviour since childhood. This behaviour is part of a social learning process that takes place through imitation of the sexual behaviours that the parents show the adolescent. In fact, adolescent girls have always experienced sexual practices that mothers or fathers unconsciously allow. Indeed, these experiences of sexual practices are acquired by adolescent girls through the use of smartphones with the Internet, which unconstrainedly lead adolescents to discover sexual practices by watching pornographic films. We are therefore witnessing an institutionalisation of sexual practices among female students living in university environments, legitimised by the construction of risks through the use of hip beads as a symbolic means of preventing any risk during sexual intercourse. This is well illustrated by this statement:

I am not afraid of getting pregnant after sex. Since high school, my grandmother has given me beads known under the popular name of "Baya" in Côte d'Ivoire, these beads, I put them on my hip before any sexual intercourse. They are a means of protection. And since I put them on my hip, I have not yet contracted a pregnancy even when I am in my ovulation period (Q.T, Cocody-Abidjan Campus, 22 December 2020 at 10 am GMT).

This conception therefore guides female students to legitimise sexual practices in a peaceful manner. In short, the construction of the risks of sexual practices is reflected in their representations of risk. The lack of knowledge of the health risks incurred and the ideologies of acceptability of these health risks developed by the students in the construction of risks contribute to the construction of their representations of the health risks linked to the practice of sexual intercourse and thus legitimise their sexual behaviour in the university environment.

Discussion of the Results

The results presented here reflect the social logics of sexual practices linked to food and consumption preferences in Ivorian universities. They are explicitly perceived through the ideologies of legitimisation and social practices that construct health risks. In order to legitimise their eating and drinking habits, the students refer to the ideological productions of justification and the construction of risks. Based on the values of socialisation and self-fulfilment through the symbolic legal means at their disposal, which

are sexual practices. First of all, as a contribution to the sociology of food, consumption and sexual and reproductive health, the analysis demonstrates that the status of female students residing in universities is culturally rooted in a long-held and accepted perception of the socially and economically vulnerable individual.

However, the implementation of management policies through the CROU of the university halls of residence tends to reverse this trend by promoting new paradigms that are more dynamic with regard to the lifestyle of students in halls of residence. This theoretical result does not agree with the results of this study, which show that the persistence of sexual practices linked to food and consumption habits hinders the actors of the university system, in this case female students in their university studies, but makes the actors' perspective somewhat more dynamic at the micro level through the creation of more accessible and quality catering services. From this angle, the results of the present study are in line with the results of the study carried out by Poulain (2002) ^[12] as cited in Institut National de Santé Publique du Québec (2012) ^[13] showing that: "As food is a necessary response to physiological needs and, at the same time, an eminently socialised practice exposing the eater to making choices from a wide range of behaviours, it is a field conducive to social normativity"(P.7).

The second result of the study shows that the risk factory of female students legitimises the generally deviant behaviour of female students in the university environment, but above all justifies their sexual practices in order to satisfy their needs in terms of food and consumption.

Conclusion

This study is a contribution to the sociology of food, consumption and sexual and reproductive health. It analyses the social logics of sexual practices linked to eating and drinking habits and the construction of risks among actors at the Félix Houphouët-Boigny University. It was purely qualitative, using appropriate survey tools; in this case, a review of the literature and semi-structured interviews administered to a category of actors. This enabled us to arrive at the results according to which ideological referents, social and symbolic practices interpenetrate and guide or legitimise sexual behaviour linked to the actors' eating and drinking habits in the university environment. In fine, it should be noted that the symbolic practices of protection (the wearing of bayas on the hip) during sexual relations between the actors demonstrate their attachment to the therapeutic cultural values of prevention, despite the fact that these social actors often use modern therapeutic means of prevention such as condoms. However, the lack of knowledge or the trivialisation of the risks incurred by actors due to deviant behaviour linked to their food and consumption preferences makes it possible to redefine the structure of the space in which they live. The study also showed the close relationship that exists between the attitude of female students and their sexual partners in the reconstruction of their eating and drinking habits and in the construction of health risks. It is as if, within each cultural era, there is a kind of cohabitation of transmission and internalization of certain values of food and consumption that would be the source of gender-food compromises or legitimize the deviant behaviour of actors in the university environment, such as sexual practices to justify food and consumption preferences.

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13. In the context of this study, we take up the definition of social norms from the study carried out by the Institut National de Santé Publique du Québec: "The sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) states that the norm refers to actions that are rationally motivated rather than emotionally generated. Among these rationally based actions, some are determined by the search for a specific end or goal, while others, known as "value rational actions" (Weber, 1995, p. 55), are determined by the need to act appropriately in order to be the same rather than different in a given context. Indeed, acting according to the norm implies adherence to collectively shared values. In the same vein, Jürgen Habermas characterises the social norm as a motivation for action based on shared values: "The concept of norm-regulated action (normenreguliert) does not refer to the behaviour of a primarily solitary actor, [...] it refers instead to members of a social group who orient

their action according to shared values" (Habermas, 1987, p. 101). One or more values (freedom, time saving, economic profit, etc.) may make certain behaviour within a social group laudable or blameworthy (Hovington, 2010a)", 2012, 3.

14. Similarly, girls engage in paid sexual practices with certain men with a higher socio-economic status than their own in order to satisfy their food and consumption needs. These behaviours could expose female students to the risk of contamination by sexually transmitted diseases on the one hand and, on the other, to dropping out of school (Exploratory survey).
15. The popular Ivorian (Côte d'Ivoire) name for beads, which women put on their hips. The use of this "Baya" material, known in traditional African societies as a means associated with a cloth to serve as a sex-cover (pants) for women, also plays a symbolic role in protecting women against unwanted pregnancies and all risks during sexual intercourse (Interview with a respondent).
16. We take up the definition of G. H. Mead: "It can be summed up as follows. By being born within an objective social structure, the individual encounters significant others who take charge of his socialisation. The presence of these significant others, their definition of reality (which is based on filtering) imposes itself on him. This primary socialisation is not only cognitive, it also takes place in a strong emotional context, and by identifying emotionally with others, the child internalises the attitudes and roles of significant others, which enables him/her to acquire a subjectively coherent and plausible identity. The ego is then a reflective entity. Reflecting the attitudes first adopted by significant others, the individual becomes the image that others have of him or her. Identity, subjectively appropriated by the child, gives him a place in the social world, therefore he will internalise both the social world and his identity. Gradually, this socialization will move to higher and higher levels of abstraction, thus abstracting the roles and attitudes of others through a generalized other. Through this generalised identification, the individual stabilises his or her self-identification and internalises society as such. This double process implies that identity and reality are internalized in the same movement, there is a creation of a symmetrical relationship between objective and subjective reality, what is real "outside" corresponds to what is real "inside",2011.