

*Full Length Research Paper*

# **A symbolic representation of the consumption of cassava in Ivorian societies**

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## **Abstract**

**This research examines the socio-anthropological foundations that determine the preferential consumption of cassava foutou in some Ivorians and aversion of it in others. It focuses on the qualitative and empirical evidence of a group of women and men living in Côte d'Ivoire. From free and semi-structured interviews and direct observation, the results show that in Ivory Coast cassava is consumed in a differentiated way. Some cultural groups consider it a food of "lazy" and "poor" food responsible goiter and stomach pain while others consume the majority. To prevent the probable discomfort associated with this root, wary consume less raw cassava but its derivative forms (Attiéké, tapioca, placali). Better yet, they mix oil palm as a socially thinking poison the goitrogenic substance and cyanide suspected of being present in the tubers. This' trial " against cassava is a fighting social positioning, cultural, symbolic and religious their super food (yam or banana) on the solder foods (including cassava). Indeed, with the 'ease' of cassava production, this root is in phase " dethrone " yams or bananas, which are cultural groups are structured politically and socially.**

**Keywords: cassava foutou short--goitre -super food- oil palm-Ivory Coast.**

## **Résumé**

La présente recherche examine les fondements socio-anthropologiques qui déterminent la consommation préférentielle du foutou manioc chez certains ivoiriens et l'aversion de celui-ci chez d'autres. Elle porte sur un échantillon qualitatif de 82 individus dont : 50 hommes, 30 femmes et 2 médecins, tous vivant en Côte d'Ivoire. A partir d'entretiens libres et semi-dirigés et d'une observation directe, les résultats montrent qu'en Côte d'Ivoire le manioc est consommé de façon différenciée. Certains groupes ethnoculturels le jugent comme un aliment des « paresseux » et « pauvres », aliment responsable du goitre et des maux de ventre pendant que d'autres le consomment majoritairement. Pour prévenir les probables malaises liés à cette racine, les méfiants consomment moins le manioc brute (manioc vapeur et foutou) mais ses formes dérivées (Attiéké, tapioca, placali...). Mieux encore, ils y mêlent de l'huile de palme pensée socialement comme un antipoison de la substance goitrigène et du cyanure soupçonnés d'être présents dans les tubercules. Ce "procès" contre le manioc est un combat de positionnement social, culturel, symbolique et religieux de leur super aliment (igname ou banane) sur les aliments de soudure(le manioc notamment). En effet, avec la "facilité" de production du manioc, cette racine serait en phase de "détrôner" l'igname ou la banane, qui sont des produits autour desquels plusieurs groupes ethnoculturels sont structurés politiquement et socialement.

**Mots clés : foutou manioc-tribunal -goitre –super aliment- huile de palme-côte d'Ivoire**

## **Introduction**

Introduced in Africa since the XVI<sup>th</sup> Century, cassava or *manhiot esculenta*, became one of the most consumed food resources today in several African countries. Some

people consume it in its raw form: we speak of manioc cooked with fire, steam or porridge of manioc. Others transform it, under multiple derivatives, by varied culinary techniques inspired by the culture of peoples. Thus in Côte d'Ivoire, the consumption and sale of various

derivatives of cassava by ethno cultural groups can be noticed. These derivatives, because they are culinary innovations specifically African, are most often designated by expressions in Ivorian or foreign languages; The French word is often absent. Although these derivatives are found in several crops, the gastronomic patrimonialisation (Fischler, 1990) makes the difference in quality in the process that brings the primitive cassava (tuber) into semi-finished or finished products. In this logic, we identify the Attiéké (process of transformation of cassava which passes from peeling to steaming of cassava semolina through grating or grinding, spinning, pressing and drying) (ATSE, 2013) to ethnic groups known as lagoons. These include the Ebrié, the Adjoukrou, the Alladjan, and so on. We also find the Atougou or bread of the cassava semolina in the Aboure. The placali, the Kouman, the Kocondé or tapioca, the Gari (cassava cérélac) are respectively culinary identities of Baoulé, Aboure, Yacouba, Beninese, etc.

Besides this range of food products procured by cassava, the foutou occupies an important part in the eating habits of the Ivorians. In households as in restaurants, the foutou, makes it possible to identify its consumers culturally (Akindès, 1991). Thus, the banana foutou indexes the peoples of the forest of the east (Akyé, Agni), of the south, of the southwest (Dida, Bété). The foutou ignam him, indexes those of the center (Baoulé), of the East (Agni, koulango and Abron) and of the North (Wan). Manioc foutou, less majority, indexes the peoples of the west, especially the yacouba and sometimes the guéré. The foutou made with banana or yam is mostly consumed by the Ivorians, whether it is from the north, the center, the south or the west. The manioc foutou, meanwhile, receives a consumption individualized and not collective in the other cultures, except the Guéré and the Yacouba. Indeed, each ethnic group having its *superfood*, adoption or no other foods depends on the representations of the symbolic properties of these foods (Poulain, 2002). It is in this perspective that the foutou banana and yam are more or less adopted by the majority of the Ivorians. Moreover, he (foutou) constitutes one of the "invariants of the popular gastronomy of Abidjan" (Akindès, 1991). However, the cassava foutou is the prerogative of very few Ivorian. This paradox allows us to ask the following questions:

- Why do we observe the differentiated consumption of cassava foutou in Ivorian societies?
- What are the systems of meaning that base this differentiated consumption of the cassava foutou among the Ivorians?

To answer these questions is first to understand the socio-anthropological foundations that determine the preferential consumption of the cassava foutou among certain Ivorians and the aversion of this one in others.

This understanding will then make it possible to compare the system of meaning related to the consumption of

manioc foutou in Côte d'Ivoire. These objectives can only be achieved with a scientific methodology.

## **Methodology of work**

From a methodological point of view, it is a matter of successively presenting the study population, sampling, techniques of data collection and counting.

### **Study population**

The sociological units of observation are composed of women and men living on Ivorian territory and at least 20 years of age for both sexes. These people are chosen from ethnic groups adopting foutou as a staple food, whether it is cassava texture, yam or banana. The choice of these age groups relates to the ability of informants to provide relatively information on the cultural and individual reasons for the consumption of cassava fodder.

The interviews and interviews (for them) allowed us, for example, to understand the motivations of households in their relation to the foutou manioc, to study and to reveal precisely the meanings that the Ivorian's give to the foutou manioc.

The reasons for the adoption or not of a product may have a scientific basis or may simply refer to the product of "magic thinking" and then be called "witch food" (Fischler, 1994). That is why the use of another population, referred to as the control population, is imposed on us.

So, let us question, doctors, especially specialist's hygienists, nutritionists and dieticians. In a semi-structured interview, questions focused on the safety of manioc foutou. Indeed, one of the unavowed objectives implicit in this study is to reveal the safety of the cassava foutou or the probable nutritional risks associated with it. Thus, knowledge of the nutrients related to the cassava foutou and their metabolic functions can guarantee the safety of this food.

### **Sampling**

We interviewed 82 people including: 50 men, 30 women and 2 doctors, all living in Côte d'Ivoire. Returning to the four major ethnic groups in Cote d'Ivoire (Akan, Krou, Gur and Mandé), we interviewed 20 investigations in each ethnic group; Since Côte d'Ivoire has more than 60 ethnic groups, it would be less easy to cover all these ethnocultural diversities. This grouping allowed us to circumscribe and limit the sample. The numerical disproportion at the gender level comes from observational data that indicates that the decisions and ideologies that organize and structure communities emanate more from men than from women. The technique sampling is simple random method where each respondent, a member of the population surveyed (20 and older) has the same probability to be part of the sample. This method is to examine " all comers " that is to

say, to meet with the head of household without first establishing a frame. However, we preferred the category of seniors, ie the elderly. "The representativeness of a sample at least in the social sciences is much less a question of quantity than a question of quality. 150 individuals who have only an incomplete, superficial, partly erroneous knowledge constitute a much less representative sample of a population of 1000 people than 10 individuals capable of providing accurate and nearly exhaustive information about this population" Comoé Krou (1985, p.24). Given the experiential capital of the elderly, they are likely to provide us with information about creative myths and the origins of the consumption or not of manioc foutou. For, "it is enough to question a small sample, but on condition that it is well chosen" Champagne (1989, p.169).

These interviews sometimes turn into a focus group, in Man in the yacouba, in Duekoué in the guéré, in Yamousoukro in the Baoulé, in Konahiri in the Wan and in Abidjan where all the other ethnic groups are found.

### **Data collection techniques**

The terms of field work are essentially supported by empirical data from a qualitative study, centered on open interviews; direct observation and focus groups occasionally. Interviews were conducted in several ethnic communities. These include the Baoulé, the Akyé, the wan, the Guéré, the Yacouba, the Ebrié, the Agni. The choice of these communities is justified by their relationship to cassava. Most of these ethnic groups produce cassava, turn it into derivatives, but eat very little cassava. On the other hand, the Guéré and Yacouba consume these foods regularly. We have observed regularly the uses that accompany the consumption of the cassava foutou in the Yacouba and Guéré and the meaning that all the groups give to the manioc foutou. Overall, interviews were conducted to understand the socio-anthropological foundations that determine the preferential consumption of cassava foutou among some Ivorians and the aversion of it to others. The questions and interviews made it possible, for example, to compare the meanings and meanings that the Ivorian societies give

to the production and consumption of manioc foutou; the origin of manioc; Symbolic representations, and some associated functions.

### **The counting**

We initiated a process of classifying data first by locality and ethnic group, then by unit of observation or target population, and finally by topic. Thus, the survey forms were arranged according to the places of collection, that is to say, towns and ethnic groups.

Inside each storage, all information collected from all social categories (old, young, women, men ...) is contained.

The observation data have undergone the same procedure of analysis.

This means that these qualitative data were scanned manually according to the following steps:

- Read all,
- Repeating keywords and redundant speeches, and
- Classification of discourse according to the objectives and the problem.

### **Results**

#### **"Tell me what you eat" Ivorian, "I will tell you", your region or your ethnicity**

In Côte d'Ivoire, if the creation of a republic or nation is the concern of several politicians who would like to see "the country as one, and indivisible." This unity, if possible, the culinary and culinary peculiarities will always allow to identify the various origins in this unit (Courade et al, 1989). Indeed, each ethnic group or region is characterized by a staple food and / or a specific meal. These natural or cultural products could validly replace "the national identity card", if the latter had no administrative utility. Table 1 presents more or less the food and nutritional mapping of Ivorians

**Table 1:** food and nutritional mapping of Ivorians

Ethnics	Staple foods	Main meal	Food identities
Agni	Banana, yam, cassava, rice	Foutou banane, foutou yams	Foutou banane
Akyé	Banana, taro, cassava	Foutou banane	Foutou banane
Ebrié	Cassava, banana, rice	Attiéké	Attiéké
Abouré	Cassava, banana, rice	Foutou banane	Kouman (cassava semolina)
Senoufo	Corn rice with yam	Kabato (corn flour)	Kabato
Gouro	Banana with yam rice	Foutou banane	Foutou banane
Stupid	Rice, bananas, cassava	rice	rice
Dida	Rice, bananas, cassava	rice	rice
Wan	Corn rice with yam	Foutou yams	Foutou yams
Yacouba	Cassava with rice and yam	Foutou manioc	Foutou manioc

Guere	Rice, cassava, banana	Rice, manioc foutou	rice
Baoule	Yam, manioc, rice	Foutou yams	Foutou yams

This table shows that the Ivorian diet is heavily dominated by rice and especially foutou. But the foutou is presented under three main textures: yam, cassava and banana. Each ethnic group is identified specifically by an identity meal (Courade et al, 1989). Several ethnic groups can certainly share the basic meal however they are always differentiated by the nature or quality of the sauce. Thus, Bete and Dida accompany the rice with the palm seed sauce, while the guéré prefer rice with leaf sauce. Senufo, for their part, preferentially eat rice with peanut sauce. In the same way, the foutou is consumed in the baoulé with the aubergine sauce; the Akyé the preferentially eat with *biékôsseu* (ATSE, 2013), that is to say, chili sauce (spicy). On the other yet, including yacouba eat with *COPE*, that is to say, a sticky sauce made from the leaves and okra. Thus, according to the basic meal or the sauce of accompaniment, one easily recognizes the ethnic or regional identity of each Ivorian. We also note the domination of the foutou in Ivorian households. What are the reasons for the pre-eminence of these food products in the Ivorian regime?

### Transversal aspect of foutou in households

Foutou supply energy necessary for Ivorians, "100 grams of semolina contain about 120 calories," according to doctors. This amount of energy is used in particular by farmers in agricultural activities. Indeed, the felling of trees, cuts, weeding, picking and other agricultural activities require the consumption of "heavy" foods because the "light", assimilated to water, is less adapted to agricultural spots. Thus, this habit of consuming the foutou is transported in the agglomerations where the agricultural tasks are less present.

This would simply mean that the adepts of this gastronomic specialty seek the satiation. This is all the more true when one finds (among them) many households, large and economically weak, who eat one meal a day. *"The metabolism of these foods is slow"* according to doctors, some are free to spend dinner. They translate it in these terms:

*"When we eat cassava foutou was not hungry soon. In the evening you cannot eat. Really it cuts hunger and allows us to live a little bit with respect to rice in banana foutou"* About Yacouba woman.

As for the Baoule women, *"we eat every day because foutou, rice and placali is like the water we drink; It ends up in the belly"*.

The foutou (consistent dish) functions in this case as a strategy of resistance to hunger. All ethnic groups eat it regularly, regardless of their place of residence (rural or urban). But the dishes of foutou are socially constructed. They take whatever the age, the level of income or education, the color or cultural texture of the

eater, that is to say, banana, yam or manioc. But manioc foutou is less consumed, whereas most ethnic communities in Côte d'Ivoire prefer banana foutou and, to a lesser extent, foutou yam. What are the reasons for this differential consumption of this type of meal in Côte d'Ivoire?

### The trial of the cassava foutou in most ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire

The refusal or adoption of a food product, whether vegetable or animal, always passes through the channels of beliefs or representations that judge the product to socially establish its level of food risk or its safety. In this way, manioc foutou or cassava has long been the object of judgment (in terms of opinions, stereotypes, etc.) of several communities in Côte d'Ivoire. This trial takes place at the level of symbolic and sanitary "courts".

### The "court" symbolic cassava C ô te d 'Ivoire

The refusal to consume cassava in a dominant way in meals is legitimized by symbolic beliefs in several ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire.

### The Denial of poverty

In contrast to yams and plantain, cassava is socially hit a lower status *"eat poor"* in Akyé (ATSE, 2013).

This status relates to cassava characteristics. Indeed, cuttings are not only acquired free of charge in old fields but cassava can reproduce alone; It is enough for a cut on the ground to collect cassava after a year. But bananas and yams require a financial effort. Banana discharges from 35 to 50 CFA francs must be purchased each rejection or 75,000 FCFA / hectare, not including the costs of transporting them in the field. This financial effort at the bottom forced many to abandon the production of plantain. They express it in these terms: *"It is not everyone who can have a banana field. Nowadays, it is necessary to pay the discharges to the tune of 50 FCFA per unit, to pay the transportation costs to the field. But all these expenses do not guarantee an abundant production in the second year, for the wind destroyed several banana trees, "about a teacher. "We certainly plant, banana but the wind too bad. Cassava where we do not get tired too, except for the dry season, we win for everyone, "about a housewife.*

This means that there is a disproportionate availability between bananas and cassava: cassava is permanent

and bananas are rare. This reality, in turn, creates a social differentiation of consumption where the rich keep the banana, the basis of their food habit while the poor wobble between the super food (banana) and the sorder (manioc). The texture (banana or cassava) of the foutou would be, in this case, a privileged support of the behaviors of social distinction and of life in society (Poulain, 2008).

This type of feeding behavior dominated by the cassava foutou cultly classifies its eaters as poor among the Akyé. They say these words: *"If cassava which was to serve as welding works as a food consumption food in full-time, while you are poor, you do not know the price of bananas,"* About notable.

This food habit is rather expected in maneuvers. *"These are maneuvers that eat like that!"* They say.

To culturally deny the poor status of the Akyé, is to strive regularly to eat banana foutou every day and "resemble" a "true" Akyé compared to foreign maneuvers. The quest or the preservation of the identity of "rich" in the Akyé is culturally constructed by the relation to foutou banana. This construction is done mostly by the hiding place of the white manioc foutou with the red oil which gives it all its meaning (ATSE, 2013). *"They hide the white cassava foutou in the mingling of palm oil, which gives it the banana color,"* they reply.

Thus, by the remoteness or the symbolic distancing of the manioc foutou, one is socially constructed a status of rich. It is an implicit promotion of plantain, their super food. This symbolic distancing with cassava also takes place with other ethnic groups.

## The Denial of laziness

Among the Baoulé and the Wan, cassava and yam producers do not have the same status. We applaud, encourage and qualify the brave of courageous (Irigo, 2012). To him, *"we can give without worrying about his daughter in marriage, because it can freely take charge nutritionally,"* they say. On the other hand, the cassava producer is socially thought of as a lazy whose fruit of his labors is the consequence of little debauched energy. This representational belief justifies female exclusivity in cassava production in Wan and Baoulé. Indeed, the mode of production of cassava is socially considered simple and easy. *"Everyone can leave somewhere cutting and harvesting of cassava next year. Even abandoned, an old cassava field always gives cassava tubers,"* they say.

The fear of not being able to marry, retains men outside the culture of manioc. Rather, they demonstrate their courage in the production of yams. *"The courage of a man is measured by the number of mounds that can do a day, but especially by the dimensions (length and height) of the yam barns"* about Baoule farmer. This way of thinking is a fight against hunger (de facto). The hunger symbolizing in Baoule country the rupture or the lack of

the yam. *"You have plenty produce yam so that between two seasons, we did not use lean foods like maize flour, cassava, rice, etc.,"* say the peasants. The denial of laziness in relation to cassava is an ideology produced to encourage men to produce enough yams and to fight against this de facto hunger, for in the case of a breaking of the yam, manioc and its derivatives (gari, placali, Attiéké), become the basis of the diet. It is also a struggle of social, cultural, symbolic and religious positioning of the super food on welding foods. Indeed, with the "ease" of manioc production, cassava is in the process of "dethroning" yams or bananas, which are products around which several ethnocultural groups are structured politically and socially. According to Kouassi (2009), the yam intervenes in the rituals integrating the royal stool and thus contributes to the socialization of the traditional political power. It is often referred to as a yam festival to celebrate the yam. Yam purification ceremonies take place to authorize the consumption of new production (Kouassi, 2009). This recognition of yams as nourishing food basically conceals a religious practice: The consultation and the veneration of ancestors, divinities and gods. Also referred to as *"cut yams or bananas"* to socially mark the break of relationship between two individuals or groups of people. These religious and social roles played by these food products in most Ivorian societies are preserved. This is why ideologies are produced in order to exclude in the food system the preeminence of "competitor" products, especially cassava and its multiple derivatives.

Meals made from cassava are not only socially and symbolically considered negative by the Ivorians. Most of them believe that regular consumption of cassava causes goitre. This judgment or trial relating to health opens the cassava health court.

## The "health court"

The ideologies of refusal of the consumption of cassava foutou function like a mode of operation of risk management food. In several places visited, we often hear *"cassava foutou gives goiter"; "Cassava foutou gives stomach ache."*

Thus, popular thinking assimilates the consumption of cassava foutou to the main cause of goitre and stomach ache in Côte d'Ivoire. Why the manioc foutou and not the others derived from cassava?

Indeed, endemic goitre is widespread in the mountainous area west of Côte d'Ivoire. 35% of the population, especially women, is victims of this disease (PND, 2013). This area is home to yacouba and their meal is preferentially dominated by cassava foutou. The coincidence of these two empirical data (the frequent consumption of manioc foutou and the endemicity of the yacouba environment) allows common sense to assert that manioc foutou gives goitre.

This assertion may have a scientific basis, especially since there are goitrogenic and cyanide substances in certain varieties of cassava, which are responsible for goitre and stomach pain (Thilly, 1981).

However, based on scientific data, the main causes of goitre in yacouba are far from being related to their dietary habits. For Guéré also eat cassava foutou, but are less exposed to goitre.

This may mean that the yacouba are rather victims of environmental and ecological hazards than their food habit. The main causes of goitre for Dillon et al. (1999) relate to the absence of Iodine (chemical substance) in the soil where plants draw nutrients for their growth. Yet all the mountainous regions suffer from the absence of iodine (Aubry, 2014). This is why this morbidity is frequent in yacouba of the mountainous zone.

The stomachache associated with cassava consumption is foutou a probable reality, especially that *"certain varieties of cassava contain cyanide, a toxic substance that can be removed after a long manioc transformation process"* Say doctors dietician. *"As regards the cooking of these roots or manioc steam, used directly for consumption, one can say that they have practically undergone a real transformation. The risk of food poisoning can be present at this level of consumption, "they add.*

These scientific data converge substantially towards popular knowledge, making it more or less legitimate. For this reason, most Ivorian societies accuse cassava of causing diseases.

Despite these judgments, certain ethnic groups, notably the yacouba and relatively the guéré, have adopted cassava to the point that it functions almost as a super food in place of rice.

### **Elements of the basis for the adoption of cassava in the Yacouba and Guéré**

Like the other ethnic groups, the Yacouba and Guéré of Côte d'Ivoire adopted cassava. They consume it in all its derivatives, but they give particular preference to manioc foutou and placali (cassava semolina). The preference of cassava would be linked to some of its "beneficial" properties according to the yacouba.

Indeed, *"Cassava or " national bee " is a generous plant that helps fight against hunger throughout the year"* according to the Yacouba. This generosity is explained by its mode of preservation, hence its permanence, its chemical properties, and especially the many types of meals that are obtained from the transformation of manioc. For Yacouba, *"Cassava is a companion that does not betray such as bananas, yams and local rice. These products have seasons while cassava is obtained throughout the year. Simply dig and get the roots; and even the leaves are also used to eat rice. "In addition to these qualities, cassava can foutou "ferment quickly or cause flatulence like the banana and yam", they said. However, flatulence, especially in public, is socially condemned by the majority of ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire (Assoa, 2007). Based on its resistance to fermentation (putrefaction), cassava foutou allows yacouba save time. Indeed, "In two days, you can continue to eat cassava foutou, it rots. Women often prepare foutou for two days. "This property is so well*

exploited peasants pound their cassava foutou the day and eat only whole day because they say *"cassava foutou is a real concrete work all day, or rice or other food cannot play this role."* *"It was he who catches us here; everyone can have it whenever he wants."*

In addition to its role of "fuel" in farming, cassava plays a social and symbolic role in yacouba and Guéré.

Indeed, the grieving families consume cassava exclusively throughout the duration of the funeral. Cassava meals are brought from both sides by friends to express their support. These meals work as a cement to consolidate social relationships. The choice of consumption of cassava, during the funeral, not a pejorative, as some people eats roots and leaves to translate bitter mourning. Cassava is to resolve the concern quantities because large numbers are feeding at the funeral. Rice, super food is usually consumed in times of peace, festive. But we see that increasingly, cassava foutou is also magnified as rice. It is now entering the menus of major festivities, so at weddings, baptisms and especially the New Year, cassava foutou occupies the place of choice in yacouba. *"When you cannot find the cassava foutou on the table a yacouba January 1, it is not a true yacouba".* In this logic, rice works at home as the super food of fact; cassava foutou steals the limelight in the festive and unfortunate circumstances. By cons, in Guéré, cassava and rice foutou play asymmetric roles. Rice functions as the super food as cassava foutou is known as resistance food used to feed the family. *"For us, if there is not some rice next cassava foutou, it does not feel having eaten. We need the true Guéré tastes a little rice following the cassava foutou".*

The little rice association and table devoted to cassava these foods as the mainstay of the diet in Guéré.

Cassava foutou is certainly consumed in other ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire, but individualized way. Some individuals consume cassava foutou between harvests bananas or yams. There is talk of individualized consumption of cassava foutou opposing mass consumption where the effect is more or less cultural.

### **Individualized consumption of cassava foutou in Ivory Coast**

Considering the symbolic and health judgments cassava, most ethnic groups in Côte d'Ivoire are afraid to regularly consume cassava, especially in its derivative are less processed than foutou and cooked with steam or fire cassava. For Akyé the Adjoukrou the Ebrié, the Baoule *"cassava would contain poison that causes stomach ache."* This belief is likely when we hear doctors say, *"there is a toxic substance in some varieties of cassava: this is cyanide. This substance acts on the lining of the stomach and small intestines causing severe pain"*. However, one can easily remove that substance. The removal of this substance passes through along the cassava transformation process: peeling cooking semolina cassava passing grinding, dewatering, pressing and drying (ATSE, 2013). Semolina obtained after this long process helps prepare attiéké, placali, gari,

the atougbou which are mostly consumed by the majority of Ivorians. Along cassava roots transformation process devotes the safety of these derivatives (Bom et al, 2001). But the consumption of cassava roots as foutou of steam and fire cassava could expose consumers to the effects of cyanide, is the insufficient removal of this toxic substance in food trial of the cassava forms. That is why these ethnic groups socially index these forms of lower quality supply cassava, intended for " poor " and " lazy ".

However, during the lean period of the banana, individualized cassava consumption is increasing, but mixed with a therapeutic practice to cure or prevent the probable discomfort associated with the consumption of food from the little processed cassava (manioc foutou, steam cassava and fire). Palm oil satisfies this therapeutic need.

### **"Therapeutic virtues" of palm oil consumption in individualized cassava**

Palm oil is not known only for its nutritional properties in traditional societies in Ivory Coast. It also combines the therapeutic properties that some ethnic groups operate daily.

Indeed, some Ivorian use palm oil as a " antibiotic " to heal the wounds, including wounds (circumcision navel) of newborns. Beside this type of utility, palm oil or red oil works very often as "syrup" to treat all forms of food poisoning. Thus, anyone who eats, consciously or not, a food mixed with toxic product she receives a significant amount of palm oil. This solution would promote intense vomiting in the victim. *"The red oil brought out by vomiting everything go as toxic, she washes the belly rid of the toxic"* they say.

This belief motivates some Ivorian representational " hostile " to the consumption of cassava, using the same red oil in the production of cassava foutou (ATSE, 2013). Note also that even attiéké obtained after a long cyanide removal process is often smeared with this oil before the actual consumption in Ebrié lagoon and other peoples.

The use of red oil in cassava foutou in Akyé, if it "hides the economically weak social status" (ATSE, 2013), also functions as a means of prevention against probable discomfort may come from a cassava cyanide which is not eliminated. *"In the absence of banana, it takes a little red oil to prevent stomach aches."*

This behavior is observable in prevention and Aboure Ebrié consuming cassava often with seed sauce. The Baule, in turn, consume the cooked cassava steam or fire with palm oil.

Basically, if this prevention by palm oil is effective, it is not far from an ethno-medical ideology correct nutritional doubt. Indeed, cassava mainly consumed in developing countries is believed to be as rich as containing protein 1.5% and 84% starch (HOVETTE et al, 1992). In this logic, the red oil (lipid) would fill this nutritional gap.

### **Discussion of Results**

Cassava is an important food for the developing countries. Introduced in Africa since the sixteenth century, the food by these multiple derived from its transformation, allows several African countries to be close to food self-sufficiency. Several authors have studied the use of cassava as a staple food in African societies. This is the case of (Trèche; Massamba, 1989) when they analyze the psychological meanings, social, cultural and symbolic use of derivatives of cassava in Congo. They point to the symbolic role of cassava by the place it holds in all the customary character ceremonies withdrawal of mourning tombstone laying, wedding celebration, etc. .. These results converge to ours and when yacouba Guéré Ivory Coast, using cassava as the "food of mourning." Apart from this symbolic aspect, cassava also functions as a solidarity support through food assistance in situations of mourning. It is practically the most food consumed in these regions and almost all of Ivory Coast. However, the rule of consumption of cassava in all households encounter a " social resistance ", a kind of pejorative judgment by several ethnocultural groups in Côte d'Ivoire; these include Akan (Baoule, Agni, the Akyé the Ebrié, etc). This " denigration " Cassava is a positioning fight the super food. Indeed, given the ease of production and especially the overproduction of cassava, all Ivorian fans starchy foods will be forced " forget " their great, especially the latter are experiencing climate change. Now, we understand with (Kouassi, 2009) that the yam is the soul of the Baoule; Throughout their history, in terms of social, political, religious and cultural, has its basis in yams. Similarly, plantain organizes socially Akyé and certain ethnicities. This is where cassava is considered the food "poor" and "lazy".

On the bottom of these socio-anthropological considerations, ideologies are produced to protect the role of these basic foods are yams and bananas. We could now understand the underlying reasons that index cassava as containing goitrogenic substances. While cassava gives goiter as demonstrated (Delange, Ahluwalia, 1985); (Hovette et al, 1992), techniques exist to eliminate this substance and all companies handling these techniques to ensure the safety of what they eat always. But these " denigration " translated by the expressions "gives cassava goiter" is an interpellation to the food safety on one hand. For this popular knowledge, which does not differ fundamentally scientific, sharpening health awareness among people about the likely risks cassava? We can now see applied to properly process the cassava before eating. Even better, they 'consolidate' their health with oil palm socially thinking as the " poison " damaging effects of cassava.

### **Conclusion**

The study reporting the Ivorian compared to cassava. This root is indeed predominantly consumed by most Ivorian companies, however some ethnocultural communities have developed a cultural aversion certain derivative cassava, including foutou, cassava steam and cooked to fire cassava. They accuse these derivatives contain

goitrogenic substances and other pathologies responsible for stomach pains. To prevent these evils must be according to them, treat first cassava by techniques that eliminate toxins, but better, the next mix red oil consumption of cassava in all its derivatives, whether consume the lean period of plantain or yam. These last two politically structuring commodities and socially Akyé and the Baoule. They promote their social roles and 'oppose' 'socially against cassava which is required increasingly by its quantities produced and its multiple derivatives for providing security and food self-sufficient. But with the advent of climate change and the decline in production of banana and yam, can do you still believe in a few years, cassava will feed the lazy and the poor? This question may arise as questioning places to capture the predominant role of cassava in the Ivorian households.

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