



Evil Power and the Failure of Young People in their Studies Through the Consultation of the Sikidy Karata in Mahajanga

Jean Baptiste Rakotoarivelo ¹,

¹, IUGM, Université de Mahajanga, rue Georges V, Bâtiment Kakal, Mahajanga be, BP 652 Mahajanga 401 Madagascar.

ABSTRACT: The manifestation of academic failure, even at university, can take different forms depending on the point of view adopted and other criteria. It is essential to clearly define the contours of this notion, which is based on the intersection of several criteria, including psychology, pedagogy, political and economic interests. The aim of our approach is to reorient the way we look at failure, by exploring different perspectives that give it meanings and degrees relative to evil power. Our research focuses specifically on the city of Mahajanga, where we seek to unveil the results of malefic influences at the root of educational failures among young people, with reference to sikidy¹ karata² consultation. Sikidy remains a traditional practice handed down from generation to generation in Madagascar, and its flourishing use throughout the country raises questions. We explore how consulting the moasy³ (diviner) has become a common belief in this city, with tangible results stemming from this therapeutic practice. As an analysis method, we adopt the "PROMETHEE" approach, commonly used in computer science. This approach aims to establish that the failures of the students consulted through the use of sikidy karata are attributable to witchcraft, inflicting damage to the body or mind of the victims, thus jeopardizing their social order. This research is part of a cross-fertilization between anthropology, medicine and computer science, both locally in Madagascar and on a global scale. Our aim is to enable patients to understand and integrate the principle of realism based on the events and situations related to them.

Keywords: witchcraft, failure, sikidy, moasy, promethee.

I. INTRODUCTION

The use of Sikidy is widespread in all regions of Madagascar. Nevertheless, our research focuses specifically on Mahajanga, where consulting the ombiasy has become an ingrained belief. We detail the survey methodology for those wishing to apprehend the divinatory art that is sikidy karata, encouraging them to study it in its socio-environmental context (J.B. RAKOTOARIVELO, 2020). At the origin of this practice, the fear of "bad luck" persists in all thoughts, even in those who try not to adhere to it. Crucial areas of life, such as health, education and work, are impacted. It's clear that the belief in malevolent spirits is firmly rooted in people's mentalities in all regions of Madagascar. However, belief in spiritual entities exerts considerable influence within society. Moreover, mystical therapeutic practices are an integral part of village communities.

¹ Jean-François Rabedimy, Divination Practices in Madagascar. Technique du Sikidy en pays sakalava-menabe, Paris, ORSTOM, n°51, 1976.

² Karata: special name of the "card" in the Boeny region of north-west Madagascar, decks of 32 cards

³ An ombiasy (or moasy or dadarabe or mpisikidy) is a traditional healer in Malagasy society. They are the custodians of ritual and religious knowledge. An ombiasy can prescribe medical care, intercede with spirits, divine the future, break evil spells by providing his clients with charms. He is remunerated for his services

There are five (5) causes of academic failure in young people, from basic to advanced levels: **bad luck**, often interpreted as a disease, is treated by the ombiasy, who not only looks for the cause, but also suggests remedies. **A curse**, considered to be the victim of an "evil spell" or bewitched, disrupts the tranquillity of society. **Myth**, an ancient belief that persists over time and serves as a model for individual social behaviour, encourages young people to seek out ombiasy or other practices such as tromba⁴. They aspire to success in exams and other aspects of individual life. **Belief in the spirit world or supernatural forces**, which encompass two aspects of reality (the visible and invisible worlds), represents a present-day force threatening any individual whose non-conformist behaviour undermines social homogeneity and traditional values. It's also an intrusion of mystery into everyday life. The link with these practices lies in the belief in a supreme being, a power capable of bringing happiness and comfort, likely to change the course of our lives. **Evil acts** aim to provoke bewitchments, using spells to cause harm (BOUKANDOU A. P, 2005). We were able to see the depth of technical knowledge that the ombiasy must master, underlining that divination by sikidy karata is not simply improvisation or charlatanism, as some might claim. That's why we use the PROMETHEE method to deepen our analysis.

II. CONTEXT

The saying goes that a witch who walks in the night does not go unnoticed. As a result, it's often observed that schoolchildren shine in their studies at college, high school and university, always with excellent results in class. However, there is a recurring phenomenon: on the eve of the exams, the learner is unfortunately in poor health, with a vulnerable, feverish state, accompanied by bodily pain bordering on paralysis.

This discomfort deprives him of the examination session, sometimes resulting in wastage. The same phenomenon recurs time and again, preventing students from reinvesting their efforts in their studies and sometimes leading them to drop out. Unconsciously, every act of witchcraft is linked to the school year. However, the obstacles encountered are often attributed to spirits, hindering success in exams. The Malagasy clearly distinguish between so-called *natural illnesses*, identifiable and easily diagnosed, and so-called *supernatural illnesses*, resulting from an unexplained unnatural cause. The population believes they are of magico-religious origin, caused either by supernatural or anthropological powers.

Illnesses caused by supernatural powers are considered to be disease-sanctions (aretin-dratsy) resulting from non-compliance with the Fady (prohibitions) of the ancestors, *tsiny*⁵ (sin, curse) or a Fady (a sacrilege returned to the person who committed it in the short or medium term). In any case, these supernatural illnesses refer to acts of witchcraft, reflecting social or family conflicts, and in this case are known as *tolaka*⁶. It is then necessary to identify the aggressor by means of the sikidy karata, performed by the ombiasy, who plays the role of mediator between the world of the living and the invisible world.

Illnesses inflicted by Zanahary (God) are considered the consequences of a bad destiny or *vintana*⁷, (where each person has his or her identity linked to the month of the year, the moon, the date of birth, a kind of predisposition). This context leads us to believe that an evil is the sign of a disorder, and it is crucial to determine the causes in relation to young people's failures in their studies through the sikidy Karata.

⁴ Throughout Madagascar, the word "tromba" is used generically to designate all spirits who possess in an instituted manner, as well as the phenomenon of possession.

⁵ Tsiny" (translated as "censure" or "reprimand"), a kind of punishment for those who have, in spite of themselves, transgressed the many rules and customs that punctuate island life. Tsiny" is a flaw in the order of things

⁶ Harmful fate imposed by the opposing party in a dispute or conflict.

⁷ The vintana astrological system reflects Malagasy culture and civilization. As with all countries, Madagascar has its own traditions and customs. It also has its own horoscope. The Malagasy Horoscope or manandro is defined as the prediction of good fortune or "Vintana". The Malagasy speak of "good destinies" and "bad destinies".

III. PROBLEMATIC

Failure at school can have devastating repercussions, affecting not only academic progress, but also social and family aspects, often undermining self-esteem. Ignorance of the origins of illnesses, deformities and failure at school led people to turn to the ombiasy (diviner-healers), relying on divine revelations, and to seek remedies (aody). The powers attributed to the sorcerer are vast, extending his influence over various domains.

Thus, failure at school is not simply an observed event; it represents a way of expressing experience, lived experience and practice, influencing the perception and categorization of the social world. The broader the category thus constructed, the more polysemous and ambiguous it becomes (BERNARD Charlot, 1997). Consequently, school failure poses a major challenge for young people in school, potentially associated with the development of depression. The latter is characterized by a profound change in mood, dominated by sadness and moral suffering, often accompanied by anxiety. It engenders a feeling of helplessness and fatality, and can lead to suicidal ideation, or even to its implementation (BLOCH Henriette, 1992).

In the context of our research, we pose the following question: What are the links between school failure and the mental health of schoolchildren, particularly with regard to the development of depression? To answer this question, we formulate the following hypothesis: We hypothesize that failure at school can have serious psychological consequences for young people, including the development of depression. We believe that the cultural and social perceptions surrounding school failure play a crucial role in how it is experienced and interpreted, and that these perceptions can influence the mental health of individuals.

3.1. Objective

The aim of our study is to detect the symptoms of evil power leading to the emergence of school failure through the consultation of sikidy karata⁸. This approach aims to answer our fundamental question: why is the use of sikidy expanding so rapidly throughout Madagascar? To this end, we have undertaken a comparative analysis of five (5) types of causes that can lead to the consequences of school failure, covering the primary cycle through to high school and university.

3.2 Methodology

Despite the pandemic that was raging during the period of our survey, we carried out our study with 240 schoolchildren from four distinct establishments: Public Primary School, College, high school and University, as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Summary of surveys by school.

Public Primary School		College		High school		University	
Firaisana	20	Ampisikina	25	Philibert Tsiranana	20	University Mahajanga	30
Fiofio	20	Tsararano	20	Antanimandry	20	ESIGE	15
Tsramandroso	20	Mahabibo	15	Mangarivotra	15	Saint-Gabriel	20
Total	60	Total	60	Total	60	Total	70

Author: May 2019 – 2020

We opted for public schools, characterized by diversity within the various socio-professional categories. At the same time, however, we included two private schools, ESIGE and Saint Gabriel Missionary School, in order to compare results in terms of school failure. This was followed by PROMETHEE processing, where the names of the establishments were classified as alternatives or evaluations, with the 5 causes of failure serving as criteria. Finally, we resorted to consulting sikidy karata, highlighting the specific case of "evil possession" for analysis.

⁸ Karata: special name for the "card" in the Boeny region of northwest Madagascar, 32-card decks.

IV. TREATMENT OF PROBLEM

The processing is divided into four distinct phases: (1) transcription of the values in Table 1 using the PROMETHEE method, (2) interpretation of the preference index results. In phase (3) of the treatment results, we drew up the graphic representation of a scenario, and finally (4) we presented the case of a young female student affected by the disease "Ambalavelona", detailing the treatment of this problem and the principle underlying the sikidy karata consultation.

4.1. Step 1: Value transcription using the PROMETHEE method

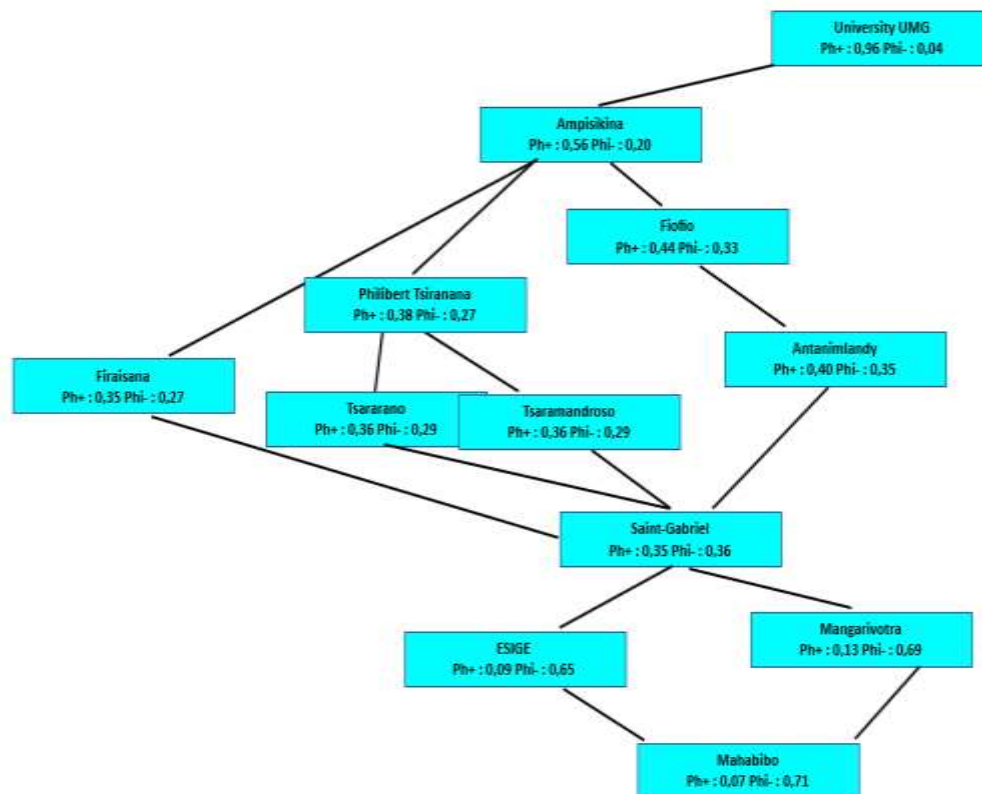
The aim of this transcription is to establish the relationships of outranking, indifference and incomparability between two scenarios (criteria and evaluation), ranking from best to worst. To this end, we assigned a weight to each criterion in order to evaluate the preference index of one scenario over the other. This index plays a crucial role in calculating the attractiveness of one scenario over another, determining the disparity between the dominance of the scenarios and the submission of this act over the others. The allocation of weights to each criterion is illustrated in Figure 1 and its associated graphic presentation 1.

	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Scénario1	Misfortune	Curse	Myth	Belief	Maleficent (E...)
Unité	unit	unit	unit	unit	unit
Cluster/Groupe	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
Préférences					
Min/Max	max	max	max	max	max
Poids	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00	1,00
Fn. de préférence	Usuel	Usuel	Usuel	Usuel	Usuel
Seuils	absolu	absolu	absolu	absolu	absolu
- Q: Indifférence	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d
- P: Préférence	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d
- S: Gaussien	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d	n/d
Statistiques					
Minimum	2,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	4,00
Maximum	6,00	7,00	6,00	6,00	8,00
Moyenne	3,67	3,58	3,83	3,67	5,25
Ecart-type	0,94	1,38	0,90	1,11	1,16
Evaluations					
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Firaiana	4,00	4,00	3,00	4,00	5,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Fiofio	4,00	3,00	4,00	3,00	6,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tsaramandroso	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	5,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Ampisikina	4,00	7,00	3,00	4,00	7,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tsararano	3,00	4,00	4,00	4,00	5,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mahabibo	3,00	3,00	3,00	2,00	4,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Philibert T	4,00	4,00	4,00	3,00	5,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Tanimalandy	3,00	3,00	5,00	4,00	5,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Mangarivotra	2,00	2,00	4,00	3,00	4,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> University umg	6,00	5,00	6,00	5,00	8,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> ESIGE	4,00	2,00	3,00	2,00	4,00
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Saint Gabriel	4,00	2,00	3,00	6,00	5,00

Figure 1: Weight allocation for each criterion

Source: Author, 2020

In our context, represented by Figure 1, we have classified the 5 causes of school failure, namely Misfortune, Curse, Myth, Belief and Evil, as criteria. The alternatives or assessments are made up of the names of establishments such as Firaiana, Fiofio, Tsaramandroso, Ampisikina, Tsararano, Mahabibo, Philibert T, Tanimalandy, Mangarivotra, University of Mahajanga (UMG), ESIGE, and Saint Gabriel. The weights assigned in Figure 1 are intended to evaluate the preference index in order to determine which causes of failure predominate over others.



Graphic 1: Comparison of 5 causes of failure among schoolchildren
Source: Author, 2020

Graphic 1 illustrates the comparison of the 5 causes of failure among schoolchildren, where the alternatives (Actions) overlap due to criteria of equivalent value. To make these values even clearer, we've transcribed them and presented them in Excel, setting the scene for the graphic presentation 2 to come. This new presentation, arranged in descending order, highlights the predominance of malefic factors with regard to the 5 criteria we previously studied. Figure 2 below details their rankings, together with their preference indexes.

4.2. Step 2: reading preference index results

Flux PROMETHEE

Rang	action	Phi	Phi+	Phi-
1	University umg	0,9273	0,9636	0,0364
2	Ampisikina	0,3636	0,5636	0,2000
3	Fiofo	0,1091	0,4364	0,3273
3	Philibert T	0,1091	0,3818	0,2727
5	Firaisana	0,0727	0,3455	0,2727
5	Tsaramandroso	0,0727	0,3636	0,2909
5	Tsararano	0,0727	0,3636	0,2909
8	Tanimandy	0,0545	0,4000	0,3455
9	Saint Gabriel	-0,0182	0,3455	0,3636
10	Mangarivotra	-0,5636	0,1273	0,6909
10	ESIGE	-0,5636	0,0909	0,6545
12	Mahabibo	-0,6364	0,0727	0,7091

Figure 2 : classement par ordre de préférence

Source: auteur 2020

We compare positive (Phi+) and negative (Phi-) flows, the difference giving the value of the preference index flow (Phi). The Ampisikina college share and the Firaisana EPP.

$$(\varphi) = (\varphi+) - (\varphi-) = 0,9091 - 0,0909 = 0,8182$$

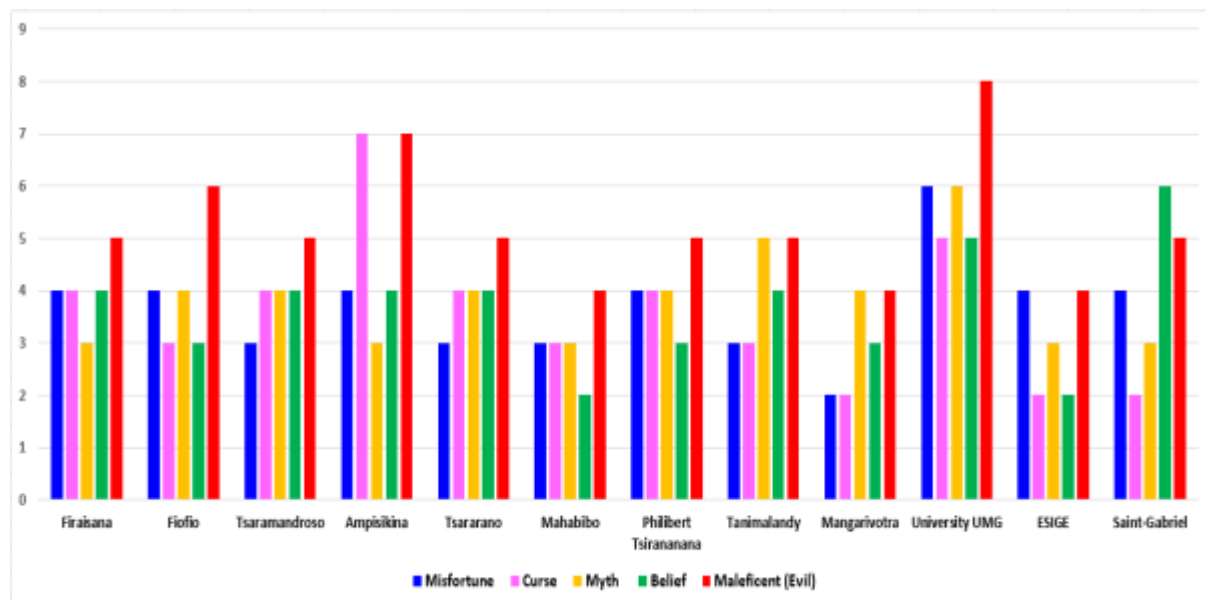
$$(\varphi) = (\varphi+) - (\varphi-) = 0,2727 - 0,2727 = - 0,0000$$

Thus, the Ampisikina share is fevered over the Firaiana share, as a comparison of their preference indices indicates that Ampisikina's is closest to 1. This means that the Maleficent factor at Ampisikina college is more pronounced than at EPP Firaiana. The least favorable situation is at the University of Mahajanga, where different cultures and rituals come together to form a group of friendships in which different customs mingle.

For a clear graphical representation of the weightings assigned to the criteria, we have summarized the results of our processing in Graphic 2, providing an overview of our findings.

4.3. Step 3: Scenario graphic representation

Graphic 2 simplifies the comparison of the 5 causes of failure among young people in school, as outlined in the previous introduction.



Graphic 2: Comparison of the 5 causes of failure among young people attending 4 schools.

Author : 2020

Among the 4 schools examined, results varied according to the 5 causes of school failure:

At EPP Firaiana, Fiofio and Cite Tsaramandroso, young people's failures due to bad luck are almost equivalent, indicating that failure to progress to the next grade or in examinations is tolerable. Nevertheless, this does not prevent parents from seeking remedies from the ombiasy (diviner) to alleviate these failures. Some parents, worried about their children's future in this environment, fall for the Myth, and in our case, the three EPP establishments are of a similar level in terms of belief, whether religious or mystical. Curse-related concerns also drive parents to consult the ombiasy, although the level of cursing is comparable for all three EPP establishments. In addition, the EPP is located in overcrowded neighborhoods, encouraging the rapid circulation of information such as rumors and doubts. Evil power, on the other hand, plays a more prominent role, with circumstances linked to chance events leading to the deaths of young people.

As for College Mahabibo, Tsararano and Ampisikina, failure seems inevitable in these public schools, where young people are going through puberty, becoming vulnerable prey to the many changes of daily life. That's why managing psychology is going to be difficult. Failure due to bad luck is likely, whether at the next grade level or at exams. The notions of curse and evil are particularly present in all three establishments. Overall, belief and myth are influential factors in the puberty phase, exposing young people to reckless acts that jeopardize anthropology and cosmogony.

At the Lycée level, comprising the Philibert Tsiranana, Magarivotra and Antanimandry schools, young people are approaching young adulthood, with concerns about their future. Often, they face failure due to bad luck, whether in moving up to the next class or in exams. Some seek help from the ombiasy, the Doany or the tromba in the hope of passing their exams. Failure due to cursing is almost equivalent in all three establishments, with young women often falling victim to this practice. The Myth dimension is becoming increasingly important, as young people's thoughts develop in relation to their environment, influencing their behavior and mentalities. Belief and evil are common among Lycée students. Whether they adhere to a mystical or religious belief, considered good or bad, these elements also become obstacles to young people's success. Evil is a reality for high school students, manifesting itself in various ways, notably through tolaka, which hinders the pursuit of their studies.

At university level, encompassing the University of Mahajanga, ESIGE and Saint Gabriel, we find ourselves in the higher cycle where young people have reached social and psychological majority. Failure attributed to bad luck is frequent and varies according to various factors, while the influence of the curse is generally less apparent, with the exception of the University of Mahajanga due to its large enrolment and the diversity of its students, characterized by their customs and lifestyles linked to student life. Each individual has his or her own state of mind, where myth and belief depend on their anthropological origins. These two aspects play a major role in student failure. Evil is often linked to their origins, and integration into the student group is inevitably tainted by the potential for harm.

4.4. Step Treatment of the problem and sikidy karata consultation principle

The challenge concerns a youngster affected by an evil power, the result of multiple academic failures among students. The root of this problem lies in failure at school, whether in the transition from one grade to the next or in exams. Faced with these obstacles, young people turn to ombiasy to anticipate the future through sikidy karata. In our particular case, a young girl was affected by a disease similar to epilepsy (*Ambalavelona*⁹). As a result, parents are forced to consult the ombiasy for advice and remedies for their children.

4.3.1. Consultation principle

The experience we followed closely, from the beginning to the complete recovery of a 19-year-old girl, involves a 56-year-old ombiasy. This practitioner expertly handled the 32 cards, shuffling them while interviewing the patient to gather information related to the problems to be treated, such as circumstances, the course of family events and other relevant details. She then laid out these 32 cards on her table, asking the patient to cut them in half, only to take them back and rearrange them by inverting the two cut halves. The arrangement method adopted was as follows: the ombiasy would simultaneously take two cards from the top section followed by the bottom section, then arrange them from left to right, forming four rows and eight columns, as shown in figure 3.

⁹. Ambalavelona is a symptom resulting from great psychological distress or deep anguish that affects both the body and the mind, even the soul of the individual".

This disease, already known for centuries in Madagascar and other countries, affects many teenage girls. "The victims are mainly girls aged between 10 and 17, who are more vulnerable because they may be going through a period of instability at this age". Ambalavelona can manifest itself discreetly, or in complicated ways such as hallucinations, delusions and instability.

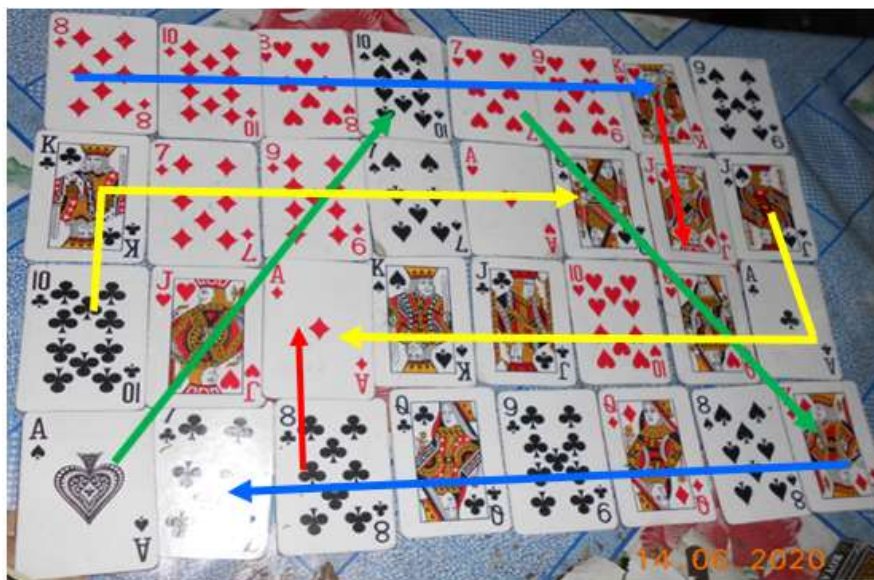


Figure 3: Arrangement of the Sikidy karata
Source: Author 2020

4.3.2. reading the 32 cards

Each card suit has its own characteristics. There are different ways of reading the cards on the table, such as:

horizontal reading by line: from left to right or vice versa, in counting order from 1 to 7 (blue arrow).

diagonal reading: can be carried out at different points on the map, counting from 1 to 4, either upwards or downwards (green arrow).

column reading: count from 2 to 2 per column, in the order of the different reading directions (red arrow).

reading from bottom to top and vice versa: counting starts with the first card from bottom to top and from left to right, always in the order 1 to 7. This method of reading is valid in all directions of the cards on the table (yellow arrow).

zig-zag reading: the ombiasy combines all reading directions, always respecting the counting order of 7.

The reading of the card is the final object of the consultation result with the prescription of the corresponding medication.

V. RESULTS

Each of the 32 cards has characteristics symbolizing different colors. Based on these characteristics, the ombiasy has concluded that a man in his environment has cast a bad spell on him (Tolaka). A man symbolized by the black King of Spades card seems to have fallen in love with the young student represented by the Queen of Clubs card. However, the latter doesn't seem to react in the same way. This curse is symbolized by the 8 of spades, indicating that he brought this gris-gris onto the path the young girl took, probably deposited in the morning, as suggested by the 8 of diamonds. The result went awry, resulting in the young woman's illness. So, the parents sought a cure from the soothsayer (ombiasy). The problem was solved in a single step: stopping the girl's unhappiness. The moasy¹⁰ prescribed the following medicines: *Manavodrevo*¹¹, *Maharôka*¹², *tsy voanino*¹³

¹⁰ An ombiasy (or moasy or dadarabe or mpisikidy) is a traditional healer in Malagasy society. They are the guardians of ritual and religious knowledge. An ombiasy can prescribe medical care, intercede with spirits, divine the future and break bad spells by providing his clients with grigris. He is paid for his services

¹¹ *Manavodrevo*: Tree with medicinal virtues (from the root manavotra avotra: to pluck, to redeem, to come to the aid of, and revo: plunged into embarrassment, into difficulties, therefore "that pulls out of trouble the one who is in difficulty") *(sakalava) Name especially given to *Micronychia perrieri* (Courchet) Capuron ined, to *Protorhus oblongifolia*.

¹² *Maharôka*: eradicates evil spells

¹³ *Tsivoanino*, "which cannot be reached: *Vitex betsiensis* Humbert (Verbenaceae) remedy for: Stomach ache, against poisoning, protection

, *famanto*¹⁴, *Mahavalia*¹⁵, *hazombia*¹⁶, *hazopika*¹⁷, *mandresy*¹⁸, *tsy voamborika*¹⁹ They were mixed to form a powder, then added to a bucket of water to create a bath. The mixed powder was also placed under the young woman's pillow. The end result: all the misfortunes disappeared, giving way to a serene and harmonious life. Thanks to the intervention of the sikidy karata, the ombiasy was able to save the young student's life.

VI. DISCUSSION

The discussions raised important concerns about the potential impact of traditional practices on young people's education and well-being. We have provided some food for thought to explore:

Impact of traditional beliefs: Practices such as sikidy karata consultation are rooted in deep-rooted cultural and traditional beliefs. It is important to discuss the influence of these beliefs on young people's behavior and their perception of education.

Risks to academic success: consulting sikidy karata can lead to dependency and excessive preoccupation with predicted results, which can divert young people's attention from their studies and compromise their academic success. It is crucial to examine how these practices can contribute to academic failure, and to identify ways of supporting young people in their educational journey.

Perception of success: young people can be influenced by the predictions of sikidy karata in their perception of what constitutes success and failure in life. It's important to discuss young people's values and educational goals and help them understand that academic success is based on hard work and commitment, rather than divinatory predictions.

Awareness-raising: It is essential to organize discussions and awareness-raising sessions to inform young people, their families and the community about the potential implications of consulting sikidy karata on their education and future. This could include information on mental health risks, alternatives to sikidy karata counseling and resources available to support young people in their studies.

Collaboration with traditional practitioners: Rather than demonizing sikidy karata practitioners, it may be more productive to establish a dialogue and collaboration with them to promote healthy educational practices and support young people in their educational journey. This could involve partnerships to organize awareness-raising workshops and educational support programs.

Discussions on the evil power and failure of young people in their studies through consultation of the sikidy karata in Mahajanga highlight the importance of raising awareness and supporting young people in their educational journey. By addressing these issues in an open and collaborative way, it is possible to promote sound educational practices and strengthen the future prospects of young people in the region

VII. CONCLUSION

We've just explored the evil power at the root of school failure among young people through the consultation of the Sikidy karata, giving us a better understanding of the phenomenon of student drop-out. In the end, these complex problems go beyond the confines of the family, and form part of a global education policy at regional and national level. Moreover, dropping out of school is often a component of academic failure (BASTOS Horla, 1991). Indeed, young people are regularly confronted with numerous academic failures that demotivate them, leading them to abandon their studies. Even if evil power has an impact on young people's schooling, it's essential to take into account the level of schooling in Madagascar. According to INSTAT data (2013), the level of schooling among young Madagascans aged 15 to 29 is relatively low: only 1% have reached

¹⁴ Famanto: what's left over

¹⁵ *Mahavalia*: action of returning the favor, avenging an insult, an affront, hence "who can return the favor"). Name given to several plants whose infusion is drunk when the victim of an insult utters imprecations against the author of the insult. This practice is supposed to turn the curse against the offender.

¹⁶ *Hazombia*: translates as: hard, unable to introduce any evil spell

¹⁷ *Hazopika*: translates as: who can pass any event

¹⁸ *Mandresy*: *Ficus grevei*: a word meaning, in its general sense: to overcome, to prevail over someone. In this case, most often, to neutralize a curse.

¹⁹ *Tsy voamborika*: translates as: rescued from evil spell

higher education, 30% have completed secondary school, 49.7% have reached primary school and 21.1% have never attended school. Women are proportionally more likely to be uneducated, with a higher percentage of young men having primary school education or higher than young women. In urban areas, young people are generally better educated than their rural counterparts: only 12.7% of young people in urban areas are uneducated, compared to 23.4% in rural areas. However, the proportion of young people reaching primary school is higher in rural than in urban areas, probably due to efforts to encourage education for all, particularly in rural areas. Finally, the proportion of young people with secondary or higher education is higher in urban than in rural areas.

VIII. REFERENCES

1. BASTOS Horla L.C. (1991). L'abandon scolaire au Brésil, l'enquête sur les représentations de parents d'élèves face à l'école. Thèse, Paris 5, pp 184.
2. BERNARD Charlot, (1997), Du rapport au savoir ; éléments pour une théorie, Ed. Economica, Paris.
3. BOUKANDOU Annie-Paule. (2005). Esthétique du roman Gabonais : réalisme et tradition orale, Thèse de doctorat En Langue et Littérature Françaises.
4. BLOCH Henriette et al. (1992), Grand dictionnaire de la psychologie, 2ed, Larousse, Bruxelles.
5. ISNTAT. (2013) Enquête sur la transition des jeunes vers la vie active, ETVA Madagascar.
6. MARCIA Ascher. (2000). Chapitre VI "Divination », p66.
7. RABEDIMY Jean-François. (1976). Pratiques de divination à Madagascar. Technique du Sikidy en pays sakalava-menabe, Paris, ORSTOM, n°51.
8. RAKOTOARIVELO Jean Baptiste. (2020). La méthode PROMETHEE pour l'aide à la décision multicritère : l'informatisation du principe des réalismes aux résultats des consultations par le sikidy karata typiquement Malgache avec prescription des médicaments y afférents. Cas de la région Boeny Mahajanga Madagascar, E-PROMETHEE days, Maroc.