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RESEARCH ARTICLE

SOCIO ANTHROPOLOGICAL PRACTICE OF INFANTICIDE: BAATOMBU IN BENIN

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ABSTRACT

The infanticide of Baatombu is a ritual practice that raises faiths, myths and local representations. To analyze its various characteristics and foundation, we drew on the reports of seminars (seminars), workshops, drills organized by NGO (non-governmental organizations), national and international documents, and we questioned about ten people as resources. After analyzing all of this information, we found that the phenomenon of the infanticide is practiced in several cultures: Europe, Asia, and Africa. In Benin, an analysis of the phenomenon showed that, under the influence of the faiths and myths, children being born in abnormal conditions are accused of witchcraft. In these circumstances, the incriminated children are either eliminated by the executioners or repairers, or marginalized or abandoned in bad weather. At best, they are freed of the evil "that they shelter," in the hopes of full recovery, by a person of willingness or a charitable organization. This practice has fatal consequences psychological, economic, and social to both the family and society. In spite of a legal and institutional environment suited for the protection of the children and the raising of awareness, the infanticide still persists in zones moved back by Benin.

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INTRODUCTION

The infanticide is a heinous crime of murder, which is, unfortunately, still taking place in continents such as Africa. To most of the world, children are regarded as innocent and precious. Every child that comes into the world is full of hopes and dreams for communities (Atténoukon et al., 2013, 4). So, the impatience to have a child who will continue a family's lineage, protect their parents in their old age, and will insure their respectable burial, is the concern of any couple (Dayan on 2012). To the Baatombu, the birth of a child is a joyous occasion, but can also arouse concerns about whether they will fit into society. Indeed, in this community, the circumstances of childbirth and physical features feed myths and faiths harmful to the survival and well being of children. According to these various characteristics, the newborn child will be taken sometimes for an ancestor of return (reincarnation) or for a

recent dead man in the family or village; this child is then regarded as a child wizard, or "bii yondo" or "bii yombu." These child wizards are believed to be harmful to the happiness of their family. In these circumstances, the incriminated child is either eliminated or abandoned (as referenced above).

The big question, of course, is how can a society deem a child an evil wizard, and then decide whether to execute or shun them? The objective of this study is to make known the ritual infanticide practiced amongst the Baatombu, its origins, its characteristics, its foundations (both sociological and anthropological), and its consequences. What strategies can be implemented for its eradication?

Frame of this Study

The frame of this study is the Republic of Benin more exactly the Borgou. The Republic of Benin is situated in West Africa. It is limited to the South by the Atlantic Ocean, in the East by the Federal Republic of Nigeria, in the North by the River Niger, in the Northwest by the Republic of Burkina Faso, and

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in the West by the Republic of Togo. Its political capital is Porto-Novo, and its most populated area is Cotonou. Benin has six major departments: the Atlantic Ocean, the Atacora, the Borgou, the Mono, the Ouémé and the Zou. The zone concerned by this investigation is Borgou, and the targeted municipalities are Tchaourou, Parakou, N'Dali, Nikki, Pèrèrè, Kalalé, Sinendé, Bembéréké, Ségbana, Kandi, Banikoara, Gogounou, Kèrou, Wassa Péhonco, and Kouandé. These municipalities (territories of investigation), share the same history and similar social organization, making them almost homogeneous groupings.

Context of the Study

Baatombu was very aware of fatal consequences, which would undergo the newborn children if these were not born and did not grow up in normal conditions required by their society. To avoid the anomalies, which risked newborn children, Baatombu took drastic measures:

- Before marriage, it was necessary to conduct an investigation into every family to know if there were any congenital or contagious diseases running in the family. Even if these precautions were taken, the last trimester of the pregnancy was considered very sensitive; one of extreme vulnerability (Dégbèlo, 1999).
- A test of discretion and sobriety was dictated to the parturient.
- Mothers were required not to wear jewels or adorn themselves so as not to draw attention. This was to avoid possible manipulations of the fetus by opponents.
- The husband of the parturient has to stop activities, which opponents could exploit for damage. For example, no hunting was permitted, as it was thought the fetus could be transformed into an animal, which the father could kill while hunting.
- The pregnancy is lived with the husband riddled with anxiety.
- At the same time, acts of violence against animals are prohibited by the parturient. Any violent act exercised by a woman would echo on the fetus and could even make it handicapped.
- Décoctés (used to make sure mother and child were doing well) was absorbed by the woman in state of pregnancy until eight lunar months.
- A whole medication, intended to drive the pregnancy forward and fight against bad effects of childbirth, was mobilized.
- In all these precautions, it is necessary to add prohibitions such as the consumption of snakes, night-exits, sexual intercourse soiled by deceptions, and night-bathing.

Abstract Clarification

This clarification concerns two concepts: the infanticide and the witchcraft.

The Infanticide

Infanticide is a polysemous term. For Dayan (2012: 47) and according to the French law before 1995, infanticide was

defined as the manslaughter of a newborn child before a name was attributed and declared to the registry office, within the limits of 72 hours after birth. For Prud'Homme (2012), infanticide is a term always used to define the murder of a child. However, it sometimes indicated the murder of the child by the mother, sometimes by one of his parents/relatives or by someone foreign to the family. For Cimpric (2010: 49), gives a legal content to the infanticide and indicates it at the same time as the murder of a child, particularly a newborn child, and an author of such an act. The Baatombu of Benin, according to the NGO Hope Fights Against the Infanticide in Benin (during an interview in 2010), the ritual infanticide consists generally of killing a newborn child and this by diverse methods. The community has condemned this newborn child because they have been born in conditions harmful to the peace, happiness, prosperity, or environment. For this community, it is a question of begging the evil spell, which threatens it with the birth of a child considered a wizard "bii yombu" or "bii yondo".

The Witchcraft

Augé (in 1974: 53) defined witchcraft as a set of faiths structured and shared by a given population, at the origin of the misfortune sometimes disease or death and all the practices of detection, therapies and penalties which correspond to these faiths. These faiths are widely spread in various countries of sub-Saharan Africa. For Cimpric (2010:5), witchcraft is defined as a capacity to damage thanks to mystic power. Consequently, the wizard or witch embodies this malefic character, urged to hurt under influence of this power of witchcraft. It is this conception that has made the Baatombu of witchcraft, which they call "yondorou". The urbanization, modernization, schooling, and influence of the Christian and Muslim religions were not able to remove the faiths and practices of witches. Far from disappearing, these social and cultural representations remained in the Baatonu community because the charges of witchcraft had important effects on the structure of society. The presence of the charges of witchcraft existed where the order was disrupted, where social relationships were deconstructed, and where expectations and obligations of the members of society were not achieved (Cimpric on 2010;13).

Revised by Literature

This section of our study will allow us to review the various authors who approached the question of infanticide. For Prud'Homme (on 2012: 28), infanticide is a phenomenon, which crossed centuries, ceaselessly in movement. In the French context, infanticide is perceived as a commonplace act when society gave to the father the power of life and death over a child. This crime is thankfully more reprimanded today. About this practice, Bouthoul (1968) distinguished four sorts of infanticide: it is about the religious, magic infanticide, that which is connected to customs, and to economic causes. The religious infanticide is respectively noticeable at the Jews, in China and in Antiquity in Europe. At the Jews, at the time of the patriarch of Abraham (as shown by the Holy Bible), the sacrifice of the children to a supreme being existed. The passage where Abraham wanted to sacrifice his only son, Isaac, is an illustration. Indeed, God tells Abraham, "Abraham,

take your son, your only, whom you love, Isaac, and go away in the country of Moriyya and there, you will offer him in holocaust on a mountain which I shall indicate you" ([The Bible of Jerusalem 2013](#)). In China, the custom allowed to put to death the newborn children presenting certain signs, or which had been born on certain days ([Prud'homme 2012](#)). As for the shape of the magic infanticide, we notice it at the Aztec's in the form of human sacrifices of children. The infanticide according to [Bouthoul \(1968\)](#) was practiced widely in Antiquity. It had legal foundation everywhere for the father to decide whether to welcome a child into the family. This power of life and death existed until the IVth century. In the religious and magic infanticide, it is necessary to add the one who holds the customs and the economic causes. The importance of the abolition of the newborn children in societies is attested by the place, which holds the children exposed or abandoned in the legends.

So, according to [Bouthoul \(1968\)](#), in Europe in the Middle Ages, we thought that the newborn children were the seats of dark forces; that they were inhabited by the devil. We were thus wary of children arisen in abnormal ways and from those whose childbirths coincided with an unfortunate event (in particular, the death of their mother). The author also indicates that the Persians buried children alive. For the Egyptians and the Hebrews, abortion was forbidden, but only two children (at most) were protected to insure the continuity of the lineage. If not sold to serve as a slave, the rest of the sib's hip was eliminated. [Marinopoulos \(2010\)](#) just like [Bouthoul \(1968\)](#), notices that today still, the continuous infanticide in European countries through the abortion and killing of newborns by their mother. [Dayan \(2012\)](#) and Member of the labor relations board (2012) stated that the newborn children girls are not welcome in certain countries. For [Dayan \(2012\)](#), in India, the female newborn children are simply eliminated because they are judged useless responsibilities.

It is possible to move forward the hypothesis that any society or the status of the woman is profoundly depreciated outside its procreative role. [Prud'Homme \(2012\)](#) explains that he returns to the woman to give the dowry to her husband; what certain parents prefer to avoid from the birth of a female child. As in other continents, the African continent practices infanticide. In time, this phenomenon is abandoned in certain cultures. On the other hand, in others, it persists and resists modernity and the integrity of the human person. In Senegal, newborn children girls are systematically eliminated because of diverse faiths ([Seck on 2009](#)). According to [Bonnet \(1981\)](#), [Achebe \(1967\)](#), and [Bastian \(2001\)](#), the birth of twins constitutes a sign of curse for the concerned family. So, [Bonnet \(1981\)](#), having made a study on Mossi of Upper Volta, reported by [Prud'Homme \(2012\)](#), noticed that the infanticide was being committed on twins. This act justified itself because twins' birth was synonymic of curse with a risk of mortality of the community. The death of twins was perceived as what allowed the protection of the whole chalk-lining. [Achebe \(1967\)](#) noticed that to Ibos of Nigeria, twins were considered an abomination to the divinity of the earth, and were thus systematically eliminated. The studies led by [Bastian \(2001\)](#) asserted that twins' births in this community represented a disaster for the whole country.

Today, the practices of twins' murder are not socially valued any more. According to [Cimpric \(on 2009; on 2010\)](#) accusing children of being wizards would especially take into account circumstances of their birth. The author still underlines that in Central Africa, contrary to children wizards, the albino children undergo violence and are essentially killed to return more powerful, rich and prosperous people. Certain parts of their bodies in particular the skin, the language (tongue), the hands, the ears, the crane, the heart, the genitalia are supposed to contain mystical powers, so they're used in the manufacturing of potions and amulets. These spare body parts are marketed at a high price.

Problem

The Baatonu society attaches importance to the physical and moral integrity, in the notion of strength and vigor. It's always conscious of the fact that life is a perpetual fight. It is from the signs of pregnancy, the characteristics of birth and growth, that the child can face the adversities of life successfully. It is this conception of the man that has made Baatombu resort to the infanticide of every child who would not respect these values.

To admit this practice in the collective consciousness, Baatombu surrounded the birth and the growth of certain children with myths and faiths. It is these myths which are used as justification, as pledge to all the guards of the tradition, to all those who held the power and who were not ready to abandon it ([Laplantine, 1974](#)). If it is true that every society builds a vision of the world, which we qualify as mythical, which answers the question to which no objective answer can be given [Dayan \(2012\)](#).

This could not justify the infanticide because in of which a society can decide to put to hand some of his (her) innocent children to executioners considered as repairers, just because these threaten its peace of mind and its happiness, especially whom we are in a technically poor society, in subsistence economy, which needs many arms to produce the goods of consumption and services? The infanticide so appears as a murder, which is necessary to banish from the Baatonu society because there is an agreement relative to children's rights, which Benin signed, as well as laws, which protect children whom it ratified on August 3rd, 1990. The present study concerns the children who were born and grew up in abnormal conditions, and who were accused of witchcraft. If in other societies infanticide is practiced for economic or demographic reasons, [Prud'Homme \(2012\)](#), religious and social [Bouthoul \(1968\)](#), to Baatombu, it is caused because of the faiths, myths and local representations. This is why we suggest trying to have a better understanding of the sociocultural representations of this phenomenon. To have this profile defined by the criteria relative to the duration of the pregnancy, the birth and in the growth of the children is imperative.

Methodological Approach

The infanticide is a practice, which lives in the intimacy of the household, families and communities. To lead this study, we leaned on several different sources. At first we were interested in the reports of the seminars, workshops, and to those organized by NGOs (such as Hope Fights Against the Infanticide in Benin, the Association For the Unfortunate Child

Welfare, Franciscan-Benin, and Fair Grants Investigations) were financed by UNICEF and the NATIONS UNITED. To have reliable information, it is not advised to approach the phenomenon directly. The strategy of the NGO, the works of which served as a basis for the present research, was to pass by the structures of health, orphanages, associations of young people, members of a religious order, traditional leaders, and staff of the law and order, as the gendarmes to collect information concerning the practices of infanticide, the deserted children and recycled. This option justifies itself by the fact that these various structures generally know about social practices of communities to have been in direct contact with them. Then, we had to consult various documents, which dealt with the definition, the causes, the origin, and the various practices of the ritual infanticide. All these documents supplied enough information on the practice, the existing legal and statutory requirements, as well as the recommendations made for its eradication. To complete our research, we spoke to ten people to collect information relative to the current practice of infanticide and its survival in the cultural area Baatonu. In these conversations were scientific analyses and general practitioners' testimonies Chabi-Kinnou to Parakou de Séidou Alasane to Kandi, and those of Béatrice Aguessy Professor aggregated by gynéco-obstetrics into the university of Abomey-Calavi (UAC).

Presentation of Results

In this section, we present the results of the conversations of two people who are relatives to the origin of the infanticide. The first one is of B.Y. of Kali (Bagou), municipality of Gogounou, who provided a source of the practice, the birth at Nikki of a newborn child, who came by feet and already had a set of top teeth. All the time that this child lived, Nikki knew inexplicable and uncontrollable deaths. Then, King Dobidia asked his soothsayer to consult the oracles on the causes of this unusual phenomenon. The baby being born feet-first was indicated as being the root of all-evil. Then, the sovereign ordered the killing of every child who was born in an abnormal way. The second set of information was collected in the municipality of Kandi. This places the origin of the infanticide in age-old times to Baatombu. According to Y. N. an annual consultation of the oracles would have revealed the birth of a child in a particular way.

This child will be hard of character and will cause damage in the country if they did not eliminate them at once. After this preaching, a child was born after 12 months of pregnancy. Four months after its birth, it began to push teeth through the top. At the same time, it began walking. While these events took place, the uncle of the baby died, followed by the death of a pregnant woman and a child in the same family. The soothsayer exclaimed it was the child announced by the oracles. It was necessary to eliminate it to avert the evil. Otherwise, the entire country risked death. This is the way those who were born in a irregular way were considered as evil coming to commit a faintness whose remedy would be themselves. Then, it is necessary to eliminate them to aver the evil. Now, we present the results of studies financed by UNICEF, which indicate the characteristics of the children predisposed to the infanticide and the various forms of

infanticide, confirmed by the conversations of the people detailed and resourced above.

In this cultural area of Baatonu, several pre-established empirical criteria determine the course to follow for the physical elimination of a child wizard or shunning from society. The various positions taken by the newborn during childbirth, and the conditions of its birth, determine its survival or its murder:

- A child who is born after a pregnancy of eight or 10 months is declared a child wizard.
- On the other hand, the seven-month-old premature baby is tolerated.
- The one who, during its birth, presents any part of the body other than the head first, is declared child wizard. Even if the child comes out headfirst, if the face is turned anywhere but directly to the sky, they are considered as "bii yondo".
- The one who does not give the first cry during childbirth is considered as "bii yombu". The same goes for a child who's mother dies during childbirth.
- The child born on the last Wednesday of the month "alaruba kokoro" in Baatonu is accused of witchcraft.
- Every child who is born with teeth is thought to be a wizard.
- All children with visible deformations (fingers and/or supernumerary toes) are believed to be wizards.
- Siamese twins are also tidied up in this category of child wizards.
- Having crossed all these preliminary stages, it is necessary to him to make for it so much for others who wait for him in the growth :
- He should not push the first teeth before the age of seven months.
- He should not have germs of teeth in the upper jaw.
- Besides these criteria, there is a case where the child begins to walk (work) at the age of 7 months.
- A child suffering from deformations or from a mental retardation is a member of said children wizards.

Children with one (or more) of these criteria or deformations are either killed by an executioner, or offered to the Fulanis (who consider themselves as geniuses), who can exorcise them. The forms of infanticide vary according to the methods used to hide children with these issues. According to executioners, the methods can be rough or silent. In the past, physical elimination was most used. The elimination of the child was done in the forest, with sharp objects out of sight and witnesses. Then, we have the magico-spiritual elimination. To eliminate the child, the parent or the third person used a potion or a cream. Then, they stared at the child who passes on. During the investigations, they recognized that it is possible to eliminate a said child wizard by incantation. Breathlessness or by drowning was the common method most used by executioners.

This drowning was often done at home, as soon as the child was discovered to be a wizard. The family would then tell the community that there was a miscarriage. Poisons were also often used, and kept in homes in the event of a child wizard being born. The elimination by trauma was the cruelest. The baby was brought outside the village, placed at the foot of a

tree, and then smashed across the head until it died. The people responsible for the beating often took organs from the child to make herb teas. In the case of a child not being eliminated, there are situations when the child is taken away from its family and placed with people asked to educate, integrate, and eventually submit back to society by exorcising the evil out of the child. These people are believed to have supernatural power. They give medical beverages to the child until the evil is suffocated (forcing it to vacate). After the extraction is complete, the children are sent to salvage dealers (people who aim to save these children from death).

The aimed objective is the reassurance of the other members of the family. The privileged destinations of these children are the Fulani camp, where they keep the social status of Gando which means somewhere else it is better or good, which are neither Fulani nor Boo, nor Baatonu and are considered as slaves, or belong to the families of recyclers or salvage dealers who become their new living environment. Finally, Baatombu established its hopes of survival on a child only when one managed to pass these two final examinations. For Baatombu, a normal child is one who was born after nine lunar months of pregnancy; not before or later. They have to be born head-first with the face turned to the sky, and the newborn must cry out. During its growth, it has to begin to push teeth by the lower jaw.

Comments on the Results

As pointed out by [Marinopoulos \(2010\)](#), the problem of the infanticide is too serious to approach with preconceived ideas rather; we must approach with caution and without hasty judgments. If society defines what is good and bad, beautiful and ugly, honorable and shameful, pleasant and unpleasant, why it is worth living, and possibly dying? ([Mendras 1975: 92](#)). It's on this basis that numerous murders and abandonments of Baatombu children occur. According to [Laplantine \(1974: 66-67\)](#), a social group even a whole society evolves inside a guiding myth of what is ideal. Absolved from explanation of the world, this society is in the obvious impossibility to create critical distance with regard to what it establishes in a laudatory way and exclusive matrix of meanings. In the psychological point of view, [Dayan \(2012\)](#) underlines that the entertainment of the destruction of a child is unbearable, more specifically for a mother. It is for that reason that the infanticide is committed in private, away from society. The fact that a baby who hasn't been potty trained yet is torn away from its mother is unbelievably cruel.

This psychological infringement can lead certain women to become sterile because they're afraid of having a child who risks undergoing the same fate. The mother has already gotten used to loving her child, and one day we come to deprive her of it. The anger appears, which sometimes leads to the despair. This practice puts all the mothers of child in a difficult situation first months of the pregnancy because it is the period of concern for all the mothers especially those who are in their first gesture (movement). So, the birth appears as a disaster bewildering the thought and the act, leading (driving) in a kind of recurring negative concern ([Dayan on 2012: 47](#)). The child accused of witchcraft will profoundly be marked all his life. It is also a risk factor for its survival because any unfortunate

event arisen in the family or in the community, can be imputed to him (her) just because the misfortune which haunted him (her) did not completely disappear. It is to avoid that the family is confronted with such difficulties as a code of good behaviors is often proposed in parturient and in future fathers to protect them of the infanticide.

The economic impacts of this practice are smelt both at the level of the family and at the level of the quite whole society. At the level of the family, the child victim is considered as a being endowed with strong powers, but unfortunately malefic which whoever cannot approach. To do it, it is necessary to eliminate him by executioners against payment of the service provided. So, the tearful family then has to pay a high price for this painful separation. The levy to be paid goes of simple animals and clothes in of fabulous sums according to the municipalities of our zone of investigation. Accordingly, the family, which made every effort to prepare the arrival of the child, sees itself more impoverished because she has to pay immediately the executioner and thank him for her indulgence. Except the immediate expenses to cover the murder, it is necessary to recognize that the family loses one of his (her) members whose presence could allow increasing the production. At the level of the society, the consequences of the infanticide are also grave. Indeed, among the children treated with wizards, it would be possible that some of them may be very talented. Every time we murder a child, it could be a nice farmer, an engineer, a doctor, a big political leader, an industrialist who disappear because of the search (research) for a profile of given man or a talented athlete without ever having had the opportunity to put feet on stadiums.

A comment of the explanations given by the informants seems to place the foundation of the practice in the concern to avert the evil and to insure the community happiness, a peace or a peace of mind, a proof that Baatombu is very worried by the automobile preservation and the fear of the wizard. Besides, fact to believe in the revelations of the soothsayers, which accuse an innocent child of wizard and criminal, let think that the society Baatombu is a society, which lives and feeds on the superstition. The infanticide would thus have arisen from the incapacity of the Baatombu people to explain certain unusual, extraordinary, strange or unusual phenomena. In the impossibility to push farther his (its) curiosity, he (it) makes a myth, a mystery or a taboo about which we cannot speak no matter how. The only appeal remains the consultation of the soothsayer, which will have to specify the reasons and the circumstances of the arisen of the drama. The result of the consultation of the soothsayer has a value of the universal truth and the prescriptions, which arise from it, are enforceable by the fact that maintained by the fear and the ignorance.

Finally, the very selective nature of the society Baatombu is going to develop a principle of the profile of the man which it is necessary: he must be physically irreproachable at first, his birth has to respect the standards required by the society and afterward he has to have a greatness of spirit and a good morality under tightened by the euthanasia principle according to which has "*sekubaka dora a ka goom bwura dwe*": *sell the biggest shame to buy the most beautiful death*. Every individual who does not answer these criteria is disqualified; consequently it is necessary to eliminate it or to exile it. It is

also one of the reasons that explain the infanticide to Baatombu. Considering these standards and sometimes-stiff social principles, which predestine the life of the community, all the behavior of the members of the society is governed by this predisposition.

The unconditional obedience and the submission, which Baatombu owes to the faiths, make of them beings who believe only in the fate. *It's as though the human community whatever it is was in the structural incapacity to work without giving itself absolute values, hope, (Laplantine on 1974 63).* What we can hold Baatombu, it is that they are warlike, belligerent and expansionist who want to impose it to the others. Just like Kwakiut, according to Mendras (on 1975: 23) *They consider that the man worthy of the name asserts himself against others, triumphs over the reality, is excited by lowering others and by trying to dominate the world.* It is what explains the number of chieftainships in the kingdom of Nikki (Kika, Sandiro, Kouandé, Bouè, Kandi, etc.). To achieve these exploit, Baatombu needed people physically strong and morally honorable to be useful for the society. So, Baatombu thinks that the defeat is inconceivable and that is why he asserts that: *"Sékuru ka goo, goo burambo": "between the death and the shame, the death is preferable".* It is all these considerations, which could be the cause of the infanticide and the abandonment of the newborn children, come into the world in abnormal said conditions.

Can the phenomenon of the infanticide come to an end one day? *Nothing is less safe because the traditionalists who make immortalize this kind of practice are minority, but so powerful in their environment as there is practically no possibility of standing up to them without undergoing grave consequences, unless we decide to go to settle down farthest possible of the village and to turn the back on him (her) definitively.* (Undated Avimadjessi: 22). Furthermore, according to Barker (1992), we hold (like) our paradigms because they became regular visitors and close friends. In the society Baatombu, the infanticide is a phenomenon known and accepted by all to which families are used even though it is made in secret. The executioners feel at ease in this practice, which they justify by qualifying the infanticide of act of purification of the lineage, the family victim of a stain arisen by the birth of such a child. So, these executioners are afraid of seeing their decreased and changed income their standard of living because of the ban on the infanticide.

So, they make smooth the specter of the insecurity over families. In spite of the fact that the ritual infanticide deprives the children of their right to life, the actions undertaken by the various programs of cooperation Benin-UNICEF, in spite of their success, have not affected all the categories of children susceptible yet to undergo the infanticide. Now as says it Rock (on 1968: 20), the social change is inevitably a collective phenomenon, that is he has to involve a community or a considerable sector of a community; he has to affect the conditions and the lifestyles, or still the mental universe furthermore than some individuals only. So that we can speak about change, the majority of the community Baatombu have to be more made sensitive and the laws taken to protect the

right of the children have to be more repressive in their application.

Conclusion

The infanticide is a practice, which finds itself in almost all civilizations, and we could assert that its origin is connected to that of humanity. The analysis of the results of our various inquiries shows that the infanticide is practiced on children among whom the birth and growth did not respect conditions required by Baatombu society. Indeed, according to faiths and standards, these children are said to be wizards embodying malefic powers, able to create misfortunes in the family and in society. Now, the search for a profile of a given man and faith should not drive the practice of infanticide. Today, in spite of the tightening of laws punishing the infanticide, and the raising of awareness, there are still some tracks and resurgences of this practice. The various people who fight for the eradication of Baatombu's infanticide have to remember that any action to reduce or end a phenomenon has to take into account the sociocultural context of its appearance (because, at first, the faiths resist modernity).

It seems clear that the infanticide, whatever place and time that it is practiced, finds its foundation in the search for safety and peace of society, the preservation of a throne, and the testimony of a faith. Whatever arguments are made about infanticide, there is a common point, which gets free: the birth and death of children is questioned. That is why *efforts must be maintained to strengthen the collection of data, the follow-up of research on the abuses, the ill-treatments and the carelessness undergone by the children, and the obstacles to the protection of the children* (Lachman, on 1996; on 2004; Unicef, on 2007) quoted by (Delauney on 2009: 5). It is by this strategy that we shall manage to end the practice of infanticide in Baatombu, and in other cultures.

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