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Research paper

New technologies and leisure activities for young people in Dakar: small screens connected to the conflicts between parents and teenagers in pikine

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Abstract

The almost irreversible and encouraged link between connectable computer terminals and playful juvenile occupation raises the issue of parental education in the family environment. The latter is characterized by its narrowness and the almost daily absence of parents, hence the question of the uncontrolled use of tablets and smartphones connected by Middle School students from Pikine. Thanks to qualitative methods and semi-structured interviews with fourteen (14) teenagers and their parents, we discover that fathers and mothers are missing from homes on a daily basis because of work. They give to their offspring these devices and the connection not only to occupy them usefully but also to protect them from the evil temptations of the outside. Free, these young people, devote themselves to video games, sports, music, pornography, etc. offered by different websites. Thus, they idealize and copy bad models taken from the net. Conflicts with parents arise. Sanctions follow and the most painful is the withdrawal of the devices.

Keywords: *Education; Family; Games; ICT; Youth.*

1. Introduction

In educational relations traditionally characterized by "the action and cultural transmission of adults to the younger generations" (E. Durkheim, 1922), modifications, resembling real "social change" G. Rocher (1968), seem to be taking place because of the development of computer science which, according to M. Mc Luhan (1967), promotes "a technical mode of expression and dissemination" corresponding to "the civilization of diffusion by electronic techniques" J. Caserneuve (1970, p.513). Indeed, nowadays, the screens of the smartphone, tablet, computer, game console, virtual reality headset, etc. are referents that have interposed themselves between parents and children in the relationship of education. The penetration rate of these computer technology tools in juvenile environments is quite high. "Young people aged 12 to 17 years are 86% equipped and used by these computer tools in general and smartphones in particular" (P.M. G. Hilario, 2020) and accessibility to the internet connection, as a governmental policy, has become easier. In the same vein, UNESCO (2006)[1] has promoted the creation of an international platform for the promotion and development of traditional games and sports (JST). In addition, the Organization encourages research for the constitution of a cataloguing of ludodiversity, the promotion of games in their cultural contexts and their development through new tools related to computers (websites, publication,) for their accessibility to all.

Lot of urban households, public and private establishments are equipped with WiFi[2]. The mobile connection that is most used one in Senegal is accessible to all of those who are equipped with these mobile computer tools. This global network (Internet), almost irreversibly, allows the dissemination of different cultural realities that are made of values and anti-values according to the norms, models and social rules of belonging of each other. As well, a wide variety of video games also called "computer games or "virtual game" (J. Perriault, 2012, p. 92) are offered. They are always accessible and downloadable. This is how young people in the suburbs of Dakar in particular, as part of this virtual, cultural and playful globalization, receive in their small screens and in abundance entertainment in a panoply of life situations. Young people's reorientation towards these new proposals of very absorbing entertainment is almost automatic in a context where "the Dakar family is nuclearizing more and more and which is generally led by parents with two contributors who rarely offer models of education" (S. Diallo, 2021, p. 122). This void is quickly filled for good or bad by these connectable computer terminals whose daily use makes you almost addicted. For this reason certainly, Lowenstein, W. (2005) wondered about "these new types of addictions and how to free oneself from them to become autonomous again?" to finally master the education of young people.

[1] UNESCO (2006) organized in Paris a meeting of experts and representatives of different institutions for a collective consultation with the aim of creating an international platform for the promotion and development of traditional games and sports (JST).

[2] WiFi is an acronym that stands for Wireless Fidelity" or literally in English "wireless fidelity" or, according to the official recommendation "wireless access to the internet".

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In addition, the scarcity of play spaces and the narrowness of houses in a city like Dakar obviously limit youth activities. Small connectable screens are emerging as a virtual and absorbing alternative. Therefore, the question of the formal right to leisure (UNICEF, 1989)[3] and that of the right to education of his offspring in the family context are raised. This is why this study is based on the following research question: Does the leisure and entertainment accessible to Dakar teenagers, particularly thanks to the smartphones, tablets, etc. that they have on a daily basis call into question the parental educational wishes of these young adolescents in the Pikine family environment?
In other words, it is a question of apprehending the place and the behavioral impact of the use, by the teenagers of Pikine, of these connectable computer terminals. Also, disappointments and parental reactions are highlighted and analyzed. With this in mind, we firstly defined the methodology. Then the research results are presented and analyzed. Finally, the discussion made it possible to show, compared to previous research, the contribution of the present study and to highlight the limitations.

2. Methodology

The study is carried out, between December 2021 to January and February 2022, in the area covered by the Education and Training Inspection of Pikine (populous suburb) which has six (6) colleges including four (4) attended by the targeted students. Thus, from the three (3) colleges (CEM Fadilou Diop, CEM Pikine9, CEM Chérif Mouhamed El Habib Tijani) attended by the fourteen (14) students surveyed, including 7 girls and 7 boys, and thanks to qualitative methods with the collection technique of semi-directive and directive interviews, we were able to exchange with their parents. These teenagers have the particularity of living in an environment where the internet connection is available 24 hours a day, of having used these small screens according to their convenience for several months and of having had conflicts with their guardians because of these computer tools. The exchanges focused on the deep reasons for the differences in relation to the uses of these computer terminals, the possibilities of education by the values that adults must propose, hedonic activities in these family environments of evolution and the conflicts caused by the uses of these devices. The answers obtained were recorded thanks to a dictaphone and a smartphone (IPhone X) and then transcribed textually and cross-analyzed. The quasi-conformity of the answers on the problem of education and the use of these small connected screens by these young people has facilitated the exploitation of the transcribed texts. Finally, the search histories performed on these devices for 26 days off were also analyzed. The data collected is set out in the results.

3. Results

The confrontation of the two (2) rights to education and leisure for adolescents raises the problem, in the Dakar context, of social change driven by the great breakthrough of new computer technologies. These latter are an almost irreversible alternative while promoting disputes between parents and children.

3. 1. Connected smartphones and tablets as an alternative for the respect of the right to leisure

The game is closely related to the nature of the child. "It's a response to his organic needs ..." (Ellis, 1973, p.13). Indeed, the playful activity participates a lot in the building of know-how, the intelligence, the sociability and self-esteem in young people. This is how P. Kergomard (1879) said: "Play is the work of the child, it is his job, and it is his life." For these reasons, the erection of juvenile recreational activities in law has arisen in terms of legal framework for the optimal development of children. Its respect in the Dakar context implies the consideration of three factors, namely the age of adolescence of the young respondents, the problem of space and time and family characteristics.

3.1.1. The right to leisure and the problems of space and time of young people: the alternative of video games

Adolescent development frameworks partly explain their orientation towards video games. Indeed, the question of space is recurrent in Dakar. Middle school students spend most of their time at home and a few times in the neighborhood in the group of friends.
The houses where the middle school students live are narrow. They are built on plots of 150 square meters. The building, in a single block, covers 90% of the area or more in 3 of our respondents. In the small free space is occupied by the faucet, the trash can and some luggage. "Kids can't play here, it's very small. Even toddlers do not indulge in fun activities here a fortiori these big children. These are the realities of Dakar. To play, they go to the opposite street" (Parents). In the building, parents prefer rooms that are about 9 to 10 square meters. The construction does not provide any space to play. None of the lounges visited exceeds 20 square meters. Inside, in an almost harmonized way, armchairs, a television set, a wardrobe and a lounge table occupy most of the space. The lounge is exclusively reserved for the reception of guests. With this configuration of the houses, the main objective is to have the maximum number of rooms that cannot exceed 3 except for the 5 college students who live in villas consisting of a ground floor and a floor (R + 1). In both cases, no play space where totally free can be used for recreational purposes is provided. The goal is clear, it is to go to bed and have where to receive friends. Faced with this situation, adolescents are in disarray. "We can't play football, marbles, hide and seek, etc. in homes and our parents don't digest seeing us outside for quite often. They think that with the insecurity and the vehicles passing through these small alleys, it is reckless. We could get injured. If we don't go to school, we can't stay all the time in front of the television where we often argue with our sisters or brothers for the management of the remote control" (College students). In addition, the neighborhoods where these young people live are very populous with a density of about 50,000 inhabitants per square kilometers. No alley exceeds 8 meters in width. It is almost impossible to start a game of football or other games without being interrupted several times by vehicles or passers-by. The discouragement of young teenagers is translated into complaints in these terms "It is at the moment when the game is very interesting that the referees whistle so that we remain motionless, on the spot, to allow adults to pass or cross. Sometimes you have to move a few meters to allow a car to cross the demarcated area of the game" (College students). However, some rare vacant lots quite far from the homes of middle school students are arranged for young people. They are used by adults for inter-corporation matches, political meetings and other events, by schools for PE classes, by football schools, etc. These spaces are more and more nibbled. Canteens are installed on the perimeters for commercial purposes. Parents are aware of this situation and to provide a solution, they prefer to equip their children with game consoles, tablets and even smartphones with a WIFI connection available 24 hours a day. "If with the TV, the games are offered and may

[3] UNICEF, 1989, United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 31.

not be to the taste of children, this is not the case for these computer terminals. They can indulge in all possible games. However, we do not allow them everything because their education is also a priority. Children have to play because it is related to their nature" (Parents). Thus, the guardians of these young college students hope to have solved the playful problems of their offspring even if the majority of them are unaware of the existence of the right to leisure for children.
In short, the houses in Pikine are very narrow. The buildings do not take into account spaces for children's leisure. Also, the alleys to which these college students fall in this locality do not allow the development of youth activities. To overcome this situation, parents provide their children with tablets, game consoles and smartphones. But what exactly is the situation in families?

3.1.2. Small screens connected to the place of parents in the family: does leisure take precedence over parental education?

The Dakar family environment is changing. Increasingly, houses are occupied by parents (mom and dad), children, housekeepers and some of the direct grandparents of the head of household. Sometimes foreigners from the interior of the country are welcomed for a short time. Those where 7 of the 11 adolescents surveyed live are characterized by the absence of parents on working days and hours. They are families with two (2) contributors. During the holidays and school holidays, the children are in the houses. It should be noted, however, that "the parental measures of confinement of girls are stricter and they are rarely smeared with domestic work because in each of the houses, one to two housekeepers take care of cleaning, cooking, linen, interior service, etc. Going out to meet the neighborhood's comrades are not at all encouraged by very doubtful parents because of the abduction and abduction of children in areas that have become very populous such as Grand Dakar and the Parcelles Assainies and where banditry is gaining ground" (S. Diallo, 2021, p. 121). For entertainment, teenagers are constantly absorbed by small screens more than by television. They are all equipped with these digital terminals. In the absence of the parents, there is no authority that can correct them in the domestic group. "We're all going to work, otherwise the house doesn't work. We have behind us the maids who are mature women and we have given them clear instructions about children. If they cannot correct them in case of slippage, they report to the least in the evening" (Parents). These adults have never received complaints about the behavior of highly influential children with their parents. For this reason, teenagers arrogate to themselves the right of chiefdom over these ladies whose work situation is not based on any formal contract. As a result, they can be revoked at any time.
In addition, this age of adolescence of middle school students complicates the educational task for parents who all want their children to be social role models. "I want my kids to be honest, intelligent, kind, non-violent, sociable, very balanced, blameless, ... Since I have no time, I put these electronic devices at their disposal" (Parents). But the moments of inculcation of good behaviors to their offspring are rare. In addition, these young people are in adolescence characterized by behavioral excesses related to the development of independence, experimentation, identity concerns and risk-taking. It is marked by puberty or the transition from childhood to adolescence, the transition from the family circle to the circle of peers (distancing adults), the transition from primary to secondary school and the preparation of the transition to adult life. "It is the childhood of maturity and the maturity of childhood," wrote (P. Jeammet, 2005). The "me" and its expression in the sense of self-identification with the adult become very strong and are transposed even into the playful activity. Are these middle school students in the path described by parents with the video games they actually play? Parents aren't sure because they claim they haven't checked their children's tablets and smartphones.
In short, the parents of these middle school students want their children to be role models and have rare moments to devote to their education at home because of work. Housekeepers are powerless in front of these young teenagers who are always connected and engage in uncontrolled playful activities.

3.2. The hedonic and virtual occupation of adolescents at home: from obscene virtual preferences to parent-adolescent conflicts

The observation of the attachment of teenagers to these small connected screens is real. This situation seems to be in line with the parental objectives in terms of the occupation of these young people at home. But faced with multiple site proposals and the age of adolescent crises, do these young people and their parents have the same perception of things? Correlations established between the favorite sites of middle school students in relation to their behaviors have made it possible to answer this question.

3.2.1. Internet and the hedonic and virtual preferences of adolescents

The Internet offers hundreds of thousands of virtual games. With the devices put at their disposal by parents to occupy them usefully, in the form of a birthday gift or encouragement after good grades obtained in class, teenagers discover several websites that captivate them. The analysis of the research histories made by these young people during the non-working days with tablets and smartphones made it possible to identify 36 sites in which the teenagers actually entered for 1149 hours in 26 days of history. The connection times to these five (5) categories of sites are distributed in the following table:

Table 1: Categories of Sites Regularly Visited by Adolescents

Type of sites regularly visited (36 sites)	Number of hours Attendance sites 7 G	7 F	Total	%
Fun sites	226	326	552	48%
Sports venues	187	54	241	21%
Filmographic sites and music	84	123	207	18%
Pornographic sites	79	47	126	11%
Other sites	9	14	23	2%
Total	585 H	564 H		
GRAND TOTAL	1149 H			100%

Source: Souleymane Diallo surveys, December 2021, January and February 2022

With their 585 hours of connection to the five (5) categories sites, boys total 21 hours more than girls. But the differences are more apparent in terms of preferences. Respondents of both (2) sexes are more common in gambling sites. Virtual reality games occupied these young people for 552/1149 hours in total or 48% in relative value. Girls are more present in these virtual fun activities than boys. They practiced them for 326 hours compared to only 226 hours for boys. Most of them are games that simulate captivating family and social realities. On average, each of them was present daily in these sites for at least 90 minutes to play via their small screens "makeover", "shopping", etc. Each boy only totals about 60 minutes for obstacle courses, football, war, etc. with possibilities of choosing famous

people in almost all areas. These games develop attention, intelligence, speed of execution of movement, etc. For these types of uses, parents are proud to have made these devices available to their children. However, it was discovered in six (4) devices of these teenagers pornographic sites and games reserved for adults.
Sports sites come in second place in terms of audiences (21%) especially for boys who have observed entire matches, summaries, comments, etc. in sports disciplines like football, basketball, etc. for 187/241 hours in total. The African Cup of Nations (CAN), the Champions League, the biggest football championships are closely followed by these teenagers. In addition, they trace in a very easy way the careers of some famous players, their origins and even record sequences of their matches. The 7 girls, less concerned about sports, were only in these sites for 54 hours. The elimination run, the participation and victory of the football lions of Senegal, etc. were at the origin of these hours devoted to these sports sites and which they consider a record. In both (2) cases, the biggest constant is the omnipresence of Sadio Mané in all the computer terminals of these young people.
Films and TV movies are also a concern of middle school students who have devoted 207/1149 hours (18%) of the time spent at home to specialized sites such as "allocine", "télérama", "SensCritique" Studio ciné live", "Soundcloud", the ABCdr of sound", etc. Girls total 123 hours of observation of films and TELEVISION films inherent to reality TV, Senegalese series, Nigerian series, etc. compared to 84 hours for boys. The latter are looking for movies of action, war, Karate, etc. In addition, teenagers devoted 126/1149 hours to purely pornographic sites, 79 for boys and 47 hours for teenage girls in 26 days of use of small connected screens. Precisely, "Tukif" and "XNXX" captivated these young people.
Finally, in the mention "Other sites", are grouped the social networks (Facebook, WhatsApp, TikTok, YouTube, etc.) frequented by these college students for 23 hours. The girls stayed there the longest because they total 14 hours. The objectives of young people are multiple in these types of networks. Where girls most frequently post their photos or communicate with friends and relatives, boys focus on video clippings made by other people.
In short, with the use of tablets and smartphones, the first occupations of young college students are virtual fun activities and sports primarily football matches or football-related broadcasts. Then, it is movies, music and sites that are prioritized by young people at home. Finally, social networks have offered these teenagers several types of occupations.

3.2.2. From playful uses of computer terminals to parent-child conflicts

By keeping teenagers at home, parents relied on the safety and preservation of their offspring from role models that were reprehensible from the outside. Indeed, assaults, cases of theft, rape, banditry, juvenile delinquency are very frequent. "With the age of these young people, it's better to try to keep them at home as much as you can. Adolescence is also the period of great influences especially of peers, of the group of friends of the area" (Parents). But the physical temptation from outside the house often caused by the contacts, exchanges, frequentation, etc. of people known or not, has given way to the temptation from the inside thanks to connected tablets and smartphones. These electronic tools and video games and other sites that have captivated middle school students promote fiction, dreams, domination on the sporting, musical, emotional, sexual levels, identification with a hero or a star, etc. These virtual proposals have really impacted the behaviors of Pikine teenagers. Indeed, "I was flabbergasted when one day my daughter came back from school, at dusk, with a totally indecent accoutrement. I couldn't believe it in my eyes. She was almost naked with part of her chest and navel not at all covered by the suit, with torn panties that covered almost half of her thighs, etc." (Parents). The adults have all complained about it and for the boys, they wear pants lowered to half of the buttocks. They knowingly tear them apart in many parts. Faced with the anger of parents, young people prefer to camouflage them, get out of the house and highlight them at a friend in the neighborhood. Asked about this outfit, the students confirm the parents' words and add "it's fashion; young people dress like that. Do you follow the stars of football, music, dance, actors of movies and TV movies, etc.? » The relationship with the sites frequently visited by these young people is quickly made. Parents always ask themselves the questions of when did they buy his types of clothes for their children? How did they get them and where? In the same vein, hairstyles reminiscent of stars in several fields are visible on the heads of some boys. They are not at all appreciated by heads of families. "These types of hairstyles are worn by thugs. If children imitate them, it's a disaster. Secondly, these so-called star characters are neither doctors, nor engineers, nor ministers, nor businessmen. They are in football, dance, music, theater, movies, etc. It's all a game. How can we develop a country with simply young people who have these people as models? (Parents).
In addition, the parents of the 5 girls out of the 7 concerned by the study discover at the last moment that their girls have become very distracted. They begin to distance themselves from their tutors who have become very critical of them. In reality, they have boyfriends. Some love messages read in WhatsApp in their small connected screens have made it possible to convince themselves of this. For girls, it's a banality and not having one is synonymous with CR (Failed Civilization) or simply not at all in tune with things. In fact, TV movies, series (the infidels, In my last breath, the Bet of love, Love at all costs, etc.) have finished breaking taboos when it comes to young people's sexuality. This situation is also confirmed by V. DELAUNAY, A. GUILLAUME (2007) who argue that "young people have their first sexual intercourse at 10 - 11 years on average." Boys are also distinguished by bizarre behaviors. Indeed, they begin to revolt at the slightest suggestion of the parents. They see themselves as adults in front of their elders. Faced with this situation, parents take listed sanctions as follows:

- Punishments (prohibition to go out),
- Reduction of the sums of money allocated to them daily for the snack at school, or preparation of the snack at home,
- Reduction of TV time by encryption of certain channels,
- Checking girls' wardrobes and eliminating everything indecent,
- Withdrawal of these electronic tools.
- Payment of supervisors of girls' itineraries,

It should be noted, however, that the most felt sanctions that have caused revolts of these young people are above all the withdrawal of the devices. Some teenagers threaten not to go to school anymore and have even been scolded. Others, in the minority, have bowed to the demands of adults to negotiate the recovery of devices and regain the trust of parents they consider exemplary.
Basically, the absence of parents from the house has had as its main consequence the empowerment of young people and their exposure to other models different from those desired by family leaders. In reality, have parents offered models to their children? The answer is "no" because they admit in the image of this couple with two (2) contributors[4]: "we work every working day. We leave the house very early in the morning around 5 am and come back in the evening exhausted. Moments of exchange with our children are only really possible on Sundays and certain holidays. In short, we blame ourselves for this lack of time to devote to our offspring. But we have no

[4] A couple with two contributors is a couple where the woman and the man head of household each have a stable job that occupies them during working hours and days.

choice. (Parents). In this situation almost consecrating the impotence of parents in the face of this almost implacable attraction playful proposals and other deviance sites accessible to young people via the connected devices they hold, parents admit their impotence. They are content to save what can still be saved in the education of adolescents.
In short, the behavior of middle school students relating in particular to their clothing, hairstyles, their reactions to parental directives, etc. have convinced adults that their children have bad extra-family models that they copy without reservation. The relationship with the uses of tablets and smartphones is obvious. Conflicts and sanctions between these young people and their parents were born.

4. Discussion

Young people's right to leisure often comes up against social and environmental realities that are difficult to circumvent. Indeed, the social anchoring of connectable computer terminals as almost indispensable elements has given rise to several scientific writings oriented towards different angles. E. A. Matéo (2008) was interested in "the networking of the playful phenomenon" leading to "unified platforms whose use requires the provision of mobile devices (telephone, PDAs, etc.) computers, interactive televisions, etc." (S. Natkin, 2003, p.16). To highlight this system, N. Bouillot (2002) uses, in the field of playfulness, the expression "Metaphor of the Virtual Orchestra" whose "effects on the mind and cognition" are related both by S. Papert (1981), by P.M. Greenfield (1984), by J. Perriault (1994) etc. The latter (J. Pierrault, 2004), if any, seems to be the only one to be distinguished in the sociocultural analysis of the uses of these technological screens among adolescents. Social change and notions of education and family, deviances, etc. fostered by these connected terminals used by young people are not deeply addressed. This study is a contribution to the analysis of the educational effects, in the family context, of these electronic tools allowing access to thousands of video games and other prohibited sites. Social change and notions of education and family, deviances, etc. fostered by these connected terminals used by young people are not deeply addressed. This study is a contribution to the analysis of the educational effects, in the family context, of these electronic tools allowing access to thousands of video games and other prohibited sites.
In addition, the question of completeness, which makes it possible to get as close as possible to the truth, raises questions about the generalization of results in this suburb. Indeed, only 14 middle school students were investigated on thousands of teenagers using these small screens connectable to and from school. The same applies to the parents surveyed living next to other adults experiencing this phenomenon with their children.
Finally, during the interviews, divergent positions of adults were noted and not taken into account in the analyses because they were very minority. Their confrontation, which was lacking in this study, could favor the relativization of the results. Moreover, B. Jourdant (1998, p. 279) rightly stated: "that it is necessary to take into account the divergences, to multiply ever more the elements of a situation in order to create the conditions for a positive controversy on the validity of the results".

5. Conclusion

In the end, smartphones, tablets, game consoles and other electronic devices that can be connected to the internet have definitively settled in the daily lives of young college students from Pikine. For good reason, the lack of play space in houses and narrow alleys have favored the use of these computer terminals. An almost uninterrupted internet connection made available to teenagers surveyed by their own parents. The objectives of the latter were to occupy and brighten them up in a useful way. Thus, their offspring would be less exposed to bad examples from outside and better educated in the family setting. But the moments of family reunion between all the parents and children are not daily. Adults (fathers and mothers) are too busy with work. On working days, they go to work early and come home in the evening. Small moments of exchange punctuate interactions with teenagers. The initiative left to housekeepers to reorient children has not been successful. They are, in fact, powerless in front of these children of their employers. As a result, these young college students are still glued to their small connected screens whose uses are almost uncontrolled. Video games and other sites hold the attention of young people for several hours a day. In particular, the preferences of middle school students are: virtual fun activities, sports (football and football-related shows), movies and TV movies, music and pornographic sites. In addition, these investigated teenagers are common in social networks like WhatsApp, Facebook, Tik Tok, etc. With the possibilities of calls, video calls, photo sharing, video, etc., they discover other people and other realities that transcend those of the home and the neighborhood. The adoption of behaviors inherent in the reference to celebrities, idols, etc. in several areas becomes worrying for parents after the observation of changes in language, accoutrement, and hairstyle ... Adults end up convincing themselves that their children are copying bad extra-family models and without reservation. This situation leads to deviance. Better still, the correlations between the attitudes of middle school students and the use of the connected computer terminals they have is obvious. Parents' reactions to correct them cause conflicts with young people. Among the sanctions applied, the removal of tablets, smartphones, etc. are the most felt by teenagers. While some have bowed to parental requirements, others have rebelled and threatened parents with no longer studying seriously.

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