



RESEARCH ARTICLE

RETURN FROM MIGRATION, LAND GAME, STAKEHOLDER CONFLICTS AND DEVELOPMENT CHALLENGE IN ZOUKOUGBEU IN WESTERN IVORY COAST

¹DZAMBLE Bi Zamblé Boris, ²MLAN Konan Séverin and ³YAO Kouassi Ernest

¹Doctorate Candidate in Sociology at Alassane Ouattara University (Ivory Coast)

²Lecturer-researcher, Jean Lorougnon Guédé University (Ivory Coast), President of the NGO Rural Land for All, Environment and Development (FRED in French)

³Jean Lorougnon Guédé University (Ivory Coast), cities, societies, Territories Laboratory

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received 20th September, 2020

Received in revised form

16th October, 2020

Accepted 24th November, 2020

Published online 30th December, 2020

Keywords:

Returning Migrants, Land Game, Actor Conflicts, Native/Landowner, Development Challenge.

ABSTRACT

This study explores the question of the reintegration of migrants into the land game of their native region, and therefore attempts to highlight the social issues linked to their reintegration. The recent political crisis of 2010 in Ivory Coast has indeed affected migratory flows in some regions of the country. We have therefore seen the massive return of some populations to their regions of origin. The objective of this study is to understand the strategies developed by resident populations and migrants in the latter's quest to integrate the land arena of their families of origin. At the end of the field investigations which mobilized both the investigation, the interview and the observation, in the constituency of Zoukougbeu and Gregbeu (Western Ivory Coast), the study shows that the final or partial return of migrant reflects a repositioning challenge, both for them and for residents. There is real paradox with the returning migrants. Although they are frustrated by land scarcity, their contributions in the social, economic, and political governance are very important. In short, this study is an advocacy for modernizing rural's agriculture so that the hope of the returning migrants leads to a successful integration, with productive investments.

INTRODUCTION

As soon as it gained independence, Ivory Coast oriented its social and economical development strategies on agricultural production (Traoré, 2012). These strategies have enabled it to be the world's largest cocoa producer and the third largest coffee producer (Traoré, 2012; Mlan, 2004). The results of these strategies favored a policy of uncontrolled internal and external migration of populations to forest areas (Mlan, 2015c; Lesourd, 1982; Léna et al, 1977). In fact, Ivory Coast ranks as one of the best players in the international migratory flows and the best in the African region. We can see that internal migration flows are very intense throughout West Africa. Countries like Senegal and Côte d'Ivoire have internal migration rates of around 62% of total migration flows, followed by Mauritania (54%), Mali and Guinea (51%) and Niger (47%) (IOM, 2008). Thus the recent political crisis of 2010 in Ivory Coast has generated an increase in the migratory flows throughout the country : from the North to to South and from Abidjan to other regions of the country. Notwithstanding the above, We are also witnessing the arrival of many migrants in their area of departure (Mlan, 2013). In the 1980s, the slogan "back to the land" was almost exclusively aimed at young people who seem idle in the cities (Ibo, 2006).

However, the last decade has seen a flow of migrants of all ages and professions arriving in their areas of origin (Zamblé, 2018; Mlan, 2013). What is striking is the fact that this return migration is mainly guided by the desire of migrants to be part of the family land game or in the large region of origin in order to prepare for their definitive return (especially when they are retired) (Zamblé, 2018; Mlan, 2013). Executives, employees, farmers, political elites and business men in full activity or near retirement are increasingly beginning to regain control and use of the land in their regions of origin (Yao G., 2008 ; Tarrouth, 2016). If these returns to land encounter hostilities (opposition to recognizing the share of land inheritance, mysticism and assassination, mockery) on the part of residents, we note, however, that returns to rural land are becoming key players in the development of rural areas. Ivorian women upon their final return. In areas of origin, in fact, returning migrants become village chiefs, chairman of village rural land management committees, chiefdom notables, large producers of export products such as annual crops, etc. (Zamblé, 2018). Zoukougbeu, in western Ivory-Coast, has significant forest resources between the tributaries of Bandama and the Sassandra rivers' basin. We note that the phenomenon of a return to the control of rural lands and the functioning of villages is very noticeable in this populated locality. Native Gnamboua and migrants Baoulé, Djimini, Burkinabè, Malians, with a spike in land occupation at the time of the rebellion from 2002 to 2011. The objective of the present study is to understand the strategies developed by migrants and residents in the land arena of the constituency of Zoukougbeu and

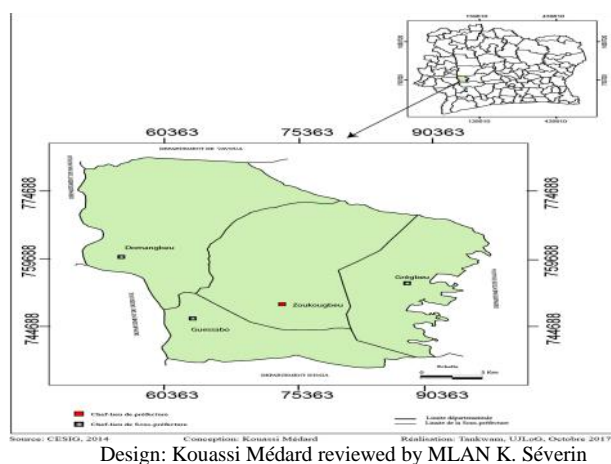
*Corresponding author: **DZAMBLE Bi Zamblé Boris**,
Doctorate Candidate in Sociology at Alassane Ouattara University (Ivory Coast).

Grégbeu, with in the background, role plays in the development of villages. The theoretical framework of this study lies in the theory of organizations, that is, the theory of strategic analysis proposed by Crozier and Friedberg (1977). Strategic analysis is understood to mean the analysis of the behavior of actors, perceived as strategic behaviors. This theory seeks to explain the construction of rules (the social construct), calculating and interested from the game of empirical actors. These players are endowed with rationality, autonomy, economic and human resources, and interact in a system that helps to structure their games, their actions and their positioning.

METHODOLOGY

Geographic and social scope of the study

Note that this research was carried out in the constituency of Zoukougbeu, of which Daloa is the head of province (Haut-Sassandra). Like Daloa, Zoukougbeu is located in the western of Ivory Coast (see Kadet et al, 2019).



Map. Presentation of the study area

The research focused on native (Gnamboua), non-native (Gouro, Baoulé, Sénoufo, Guéré, Bété) and foreign (Burkinabé, Togolese, Malians) returning migrants from the constituency of Grégbeu (village of Belleville and Grégbeu) and Zoukougbeu. By reasoned choice sampling, the survey population is made up of 81 people. See table below.

Research techniques: Through individual semi-structured interviews and direct observation, the survey and analysis were structured around four points, notably (i) the profile of returning migrants, (ii) the reasons for the return migration and the type of reception, (iii) the conditions implemented by migrants with a view to a resocializing return, (iv) the contribution of returning migrants to the development challenge of their land of origin, and (v) a discussion of the migrant's hope and reality. The data collected was subjected to a content analysis using a descriptive and quantitative approach.

RESULTS

Profile of returning migrants: What is the profile of returning migrants? This study reveals that returns to the land are marked respectively by the secondary level (37 out of 81 surveyed), higher (20 out of 81) and primary (18 out of 81).

Then, concerning the professional profile, we note that 54 of the 81 respondents (ie 66.67%) work in the public sector (see table below). These data show that the people of Zoukougbeu understood the importance of education. This has resulted in competition between families (Mlan, 2020). At least one family member had to live in town or even in Europe. T. G (a respondent from Grégbeu) explains his migration:

"My older brother had a friend who worked in a private company. One day at the company, the Human Resource manager needed someone who had a master's degree in geography, precisely a cartographer. So my brother contacted me and I went to Abidjan for the interview and got hired. I worked at CARGIL for seventeen years before I came back to the village".

Even returns to the land made up of farmers (16 respondents, or 19.7%) mostly went to school (10 out of 16), stopping their studies at the basic school level. Regarding the low rate of illiterate return migrants (with a rate of 13.58%), the study reveals that the return for an investment in land requires enough resources. It is therefore the executives and other businessmen who contemplate the return with serenity. As the majority of returning migrants are public sector workers, the idea that is spreading among them is that returning home can be a good condition for being able to carry out profitable activities. Nevertheless, the unemployed (with a rate of 13.58%) have decided to return, because the initial objectives have not been achieved, and the situation is increasingly unbearable in the city, due to the crises, strikes, poverty, and bankruptcies. The interviewees therefore affirmed that they had chosen to reside in the village and not in the farms in order to benefit from the amenities close to the city.

Motivations for the "land" return of migrants and reception: There are many reasons for social actors to choose to go back to the land of origin. The reasons for the return to "land" are numerous: the country's economic fragility due to numerous political crises, lack of opportunities and jobs, high cost of living in the city, poverty of farmers in most rural areas (Mlan et al, 2018), difficulty in educating offspring, threat of expropriation of family land assets by residents, political and economic elites, attraction of certain agricultural speculations (cashew, palm oil, rubber, tomato, pepper, fresh pepper and dry pepper, fresh and dry okra, etc.), pressure from the family to provide for the needs of the brothers and parents who remained in the village. Rachele (respondent from Zoukougbeu – town) declares: "When I was in Abidjan, every day my mother called me to come back to the village because she wanted me to come and build, that's how I arrived". In addition, the fire of employed migrants appears to be a major cause of return.

The contenders and returnees of migration are thus galvanized by this Ivorian saying: "the land never betrays; she feeds her man!". In addition, the reception may be favorable or antagonistic. If the migrant has had a good relationship with his parents who remained at home, then the welcome is favorable, cordial, fraternal upon return. In terms of favorable reception, in fact, the migrant is received by the family and also by the village. Listen to the words of resident Taourou (Grégbeu): "my brother is my brother, he helped me a lot when there is a problem in the village, and when I call him he reacts in any case I am very happy that 'he be with me'.

Table 1. Survey population

Study zone	Categories of people	Number of interviewees
Zoukougbeu	Gnamboua indigenous return migrants	30
Grégbeu, Belleville	Migrants of non-native returns	Gouro 04 Baoulé 13 Sénoufo 06 Bété 04 Guéré 05
	Migrants of foreign returns	Burkinabé 10 Togolais 05 Maliens 04

Source: Zoukougbeu, November 2018

Table 2. Level of education linked to socio-professional profile

Level of education professional profile	Socio-	Illiterate	Basic school	High School	College or University	Absolute Values	Relatives Values %
Farmer		05	10	01	00	16	19,75
Public sector		00	00	34	20	54	66,67
Unemployed		01	08	02	00	11	13,58

Source: Zoukougbeu, November 2018

The migrant is welcomed by the smile, the hugs, the friendliness, the cordial exchanges during requests for news, the offers of food, 'integration in the management of the village, the consultation and advice in case of problems in the village (especially for retired), etc. A relative indicates to him the land that he can develop, as loan or gift. The reception is said to be antagonistic when the migrant is subjected to a certain number of problems by the residents: mockery, indifference of his resident parents, opposition to have access to family land, to seeing him participate in social activities (settlement of disputes, religious or celebratory ceremonies).

Daniel K from Zoukougbeu protests: "My brother has no place here, although he is my big brother, but the land that for 45 years I have worked on with my hands and today, it comes to claim his share; it's not possible, if it's to kill oneself, I'm ready. "

The returned migrants then discover the wickedness of his parents:

"My brother who is in the village is very bad because he alone wants to take the family property. When I arrived, I saw that he sold our land all over. According to him, he sold the forest for his personal needs while it was me every end of the month I sent him money for the upkeep of the cocoa field that our father left " (Ibo, migrants from return to Belleville).

Returning migrants may therefore be the victim of unfavorable, staring looks and arguments from resident women with their wives and daughters. Conditions implemented by migrants for their re-socialization in their areas of origin. "Propitiatory" strategies developed by migrants before return Surveys have shown that migrants implement factors favorable to their return. This is their participation in the funeral of parents by sending money to members of the deceased's family, taking initiatives, contributing to the development of the village (cash donations for school construction, hydraulic water's pump, health center, youth center). The migrant can also sponsor ceremonies organized by young people: football tournament, holiday courses for pupils. At the family level, the migrant organizes himself to find employment for his family members and even for the village. He builds houses for members of his family (especially for his restricted family, the

head of the family or uncle). He regularly sends food to parents, especially on the eve of the New Year's Eve or Easter. In addition, migrants can initiate development projects that improve living conditions and social cohesion: creation of associations, farming cooperatives. Thus, the returning migrant supports the young people during the outings to the panther party.

Again, it should be remembered that each time the migrant arrives in his native land, he strives to be adopted by immersing himself in the lineage clans to participate in the village activities (panther dance and other sacred woods , condolences to bereaved families, visits to relatives in concessions, offers to eat and drink at his home, etc. He does not forget to visit his promotional acquaintances in the village. Let us follow the words of T. Ange (migrants) back to Zoukougbeu): "my family and I, there was no problem when I arrived in the village because I came to greet the parents in the village. At each vacation, I took the children of my two brothers to do them come to Abidjan and when the start of the school year, I would buy their full supply. "In other words, the offer of presents (new clothes, shoes, telephone, watch, cooking oil, rice, tin of tomatoes or sardines, bread, apple, sheep for a parent's funeral) at each visit constitutes a major "propitiatory" condition for a welcoming return (Mlan, 2014).

Strategies for devolving family land to return migrants:

Today, the modes of access to land reflected by the land dynamic in Zoukougbeu are purchase / sale, rental, loan, planting-sharing (long-term rental for perennial crops) (Kouamé, 2014 ; Ruf, 2011). With most of the land being sold, the modes of devolution of land to returning migrants include donation of family fallow plots, temporary loan and purchase / sale. Concerning the transfer of part of the family heritage to the returning migrant, residents help returning migrants to know the family heritage and orchards, to understand their limits, to know the lands occupied by non-natives and foreigners. . Thus, the head of the family or the manager of the family land interstices chooses the portion of land to be given. The possibilities are not great, since the rush of migrants in this area has led to large transfers in all families. The luck is that you do not give or cede the land to a migrant who has not prepared his return by social acts. In the study, half of return migrants were able to integrate family land.

So when the family portion is not sufficient, then the returning migrant opts for the purchase of land in the same village or in the region. The study revealed 05 return migrants who acquired land by purchase in villages other than their own, often with non-natives or foreigners. In the absence of means, the returning migrant rents the land from the estates of other families in the village or he requests a short-term loan to cultivate rice, vegetables, plantains, etc. This is the case with Ibo (a notable in the Gregbeu chiefdom) who was forced to reach out to another notable to grow food for his family. To get around these obstacles, some returning migrants have not hesitated to infiltrate the Haut Sassandra Classified Forest: they cultivate cocoa trees there. Thus, the migrant socializes and becomes familiar with the residents by sharing meals at home together. Indeed, it will build trust and unity between them. Also, he becomes part of the actions of the family by providing help and experience. He participates in the development of the village. He made himself loved, he joined associations, mutual societies or mutual aid groups in order to initiate cohesion between himself, his wife, his children and the rest of the village (his new guardians). The resocializing action of the return migrant has the merit of prompting the donation of food for relatives or friends. An interviewee from Zoukougbeu (Digbeu) mentioned that sometimes women invited his wife to accompany them to the field. On their return, he finds her with her hands loaded with food.

Obstacles in the land game against returning migrants: The issue related to the integration of returning migrants (having access to family land as a beneficiary) triggers multiple forms of hidden (mystical) or visible obstacles. We note that migrants are exposed to wickedness from members of their families: mortal spells, bewitchments, insults, witchcraft, opposition to allow cultivation, destruction of crops. Bouazo (from Zoukougbeu) is more than clear: "my own big brother refused me the plot of our parents because he considers that I came to compete with him and the worse of all is that he sold the forest so that I cannot exploit it ". The investigation uncovered the extent of the wickedness against returning migrants. From Gregbeu, Belleville, Zoukougbeu, the interviewees reported several deaths of returning migrants due to spells and other spells. This is the case of Digbeu from Nimé Zahirougbeu (district of Zoukougbeu):

"He obtained a plot of 3 hectares with his maternal parents. As a retiree of the Ivorian National Assembly, his means enabled him to plant oil palm on 2 hectares. In the second year he had the rest of the plot obtained cut. He was planting cashew nut when he had a curse in his throat. Neither modern medicine nor powerful healers have been able to provide it with care. And before his death, he said that it was his big brother T. K (resident) who was at the root of his illness ".

However, threats against returning migrants carry much more the mark of intra-family opposition. Since witchcraft is a family practice (generally concerns members of the same family), when attempts at bewitchment do not work, witchcraft appears as the last weapon of resident criminals (Henry Chr. And Kadya TE, 2008; Gadou D , 2004). Mich. (resident of the Djoulabou district), do not hide it:

"I never thought that my big brother was going to come and ask me for the land, what is he going to do with it? If it's the money he has, he even built it, so he just has to leave me where I am, it's for me and my children, if he wants to live a long

time, he would have to let him go find a place elsewhere if not where he sleeps, I have already slept there ".

On the wickedness, the opposition and the resilience of the residents, Mr. K (returning migrant from Belleville) still cannot believe: "the black man is not so good, I did not even think that one day my nephew was going to do this to me. But I was the one who told him to work on my father's plot before going to Abidjan and today he refuses to give me a place. All in all I'm not going to let him. " And these wickedness can lead to open conflict.

Resident and returning migrants conflicts in the land arena: In families, returning migrants do not allow themselves to be fooled, humiliated or manhandled. They do not accept being denied their parents' land. Conflicts are recurrent: 30 of the 81 respondents reported these cases of conflict in their families (Tano, 2012). Conflict sometimes arises when one sabotages the work of the return migrant, destroying crops, putting fetishes in the plots that the return migrant tries to highlight. The words of K. T (resident) betray him: "My brother there, he doesn't know me yet. When our father died, they gave the plot and the cocoa field to me and at that time he said nothing, why is he claiming his right today? He even said he had nothing to do with it since he's not in the village. So take care of it all. "

Between residents and foreign returning migrants, there are oppositions and conflicts over family property. Ouedraogo (economic operator returning to Zoukougbeu) testifies:

"My little brother brought people from our home (Burkina Faso) to give them our land without informing me. When I arrived in Zoukougbeu, I took people to go and clean part of the plot. A week later, I go to the field and find that someone has planted their rubber trees where I cleaned. I arrive in the village, I ask him and he tells me clearly that it is him because I have no place here. So to avoid any fuss, I went to see our first representative (leader of the Community). At this level, it was not successful, the chief took us to the village chief ".

Method of settling land disputes: First, the settlement of land disputes takes place in the family between the actors involved, that is, the returning migrant and the residents. If there is no agreement, then the case goes to the court headed by the village chief, who in turn tries to unite them. And it is in the event of failure of the settlement by the customary authorities that the administrative authorities are referred. Here is the intervention of the village chief (ex-surveyor at BNETD):

"Here in Zoukougbeu, when two people are arguing over their land, first I appeal to the two opponents to explain the problem to me. Once I understand the problem, then I ask them to forgive each other, I mean brothers. Finally, I try to unite them. But recently two brothers had the same problem, the returning migrant came to summon his brother, and when I appealed to his resident brother, he refused to come. He goes to his brother's field to remove and dispose of the rubber tree nurseries that his brother has planted. "

But, between returning migrants and non-Ivorian residents, the path of the tutor or son of the tutor is first explored. If the conflict does not find a solution then the village chief is seized. Between non-Ivorians, conflicts are rare and find solutions with village authorities.

Development challenge and contribution of returning migrants to their emigration localities

Development challenge: Migration can be considered as a brake on development (Kouakou and Mlan, 2019 ; Mlan, 2014, 2013). In areas of high migration, the development challenge is strong. This challenge presents requirements : young, qualified and available labor, availability of land and natural resources, good rainfall and temperature, production of value and valuation of production. According to Mlan (2013), the Ivorian countryside is characterized by:

-) "the aging of the population, which often means that in concessions only old people with their grandsons to feed are found;
-) food insecurity in most families due to the lack of able-bodied arms and the increase in mouths to feed;
-) *the increase in uninhabited concessions due to the death of the parents and the non-return of the children;*
-) *the accentuated dilapidation of the concessions explained by the non-return of migrant populations;*
-) *the absence of lucrative activities due to the fact that the resident populations were able to convince themselves that no food crop can provide them with substantial income; this belief is also cultivated by the executives who do not invest in the land of their village, preferring to be cocoa, oil palm and rubber planters in other regions "*.

Farmer living in rural areas in Côte d'Ivoire are marked by a high rate of poverty (Kouakou and Mlan, 2019; Mlan et al, 2018; Ruf, 2010; Ruf and Tanoh, 2009). Those of the western, and precisely of Zoukougbeu or neighboring Daloa are also. Poverty therefore creates a real development challenge. According to the Governor of the Zoukougbeu's province in office (2020), "the youth is jobless. There is no business, no trade. The land has been saturated with cocoa farming. The need for more profitable agricultural activities is real ".

Contribution of returning migrants to their migration areas

Returning migrants in the land arena of the Western region contribute at various levels to the development of their villages or towns.

Economic contribution: Analysis of the respondents' comments shows that their attendance or visits to their families are highly appreciated overall. For 50 respondents (out of 81), migrants constitute the main financial support for the family remaining in the village. Apart from hostilities over the integration of the return migrant into the land arena, residents are pleased with the regular visits and attendance of migrants. The principle is that when the migrant begins to invest in his village or a village in the region of origin, he goes regularly to his village, with provisions. He is active during funerals, in the activities of the village development like mutual society (Yao G., 2008). He does not hesitate to come to the aid of the sick, sending them to hospital or giving them money for treatment. If he is a retired (definitive return), each month, when he takes his pension, he brings fish, rice, oil, meat. He does not hesitate to find resources for the creation of orchards for family self-consumption. The family therefore finds itself with a permanent "financial support". You b. (returning migrant to Nimé Zahirigbeu) rejoices:

"Since my return, I have been satisfied with one thing, the improvement of the quality of life of the family by investing money in the education of my siblings, by improving the food of the family. From an extended family perspective, everyone respects me because I am helping. "

Migrants in Europe, Africa or America are not left out of the mobilization of the diaspora not yet returned definitively. Mr. Batiez (from France) explains: "God has given me the grace to go to Europe. I'm very happy to be able to give change today, as they have contributed in one way or another to my success. During my visits, I meet brothers, cousins, nephews to whom I provide financial support ".

On analysis, these comments clearly explain that migration still does not create a break with the family back home. Residents say that migrants provide financial support to most families, whether in Grégbeu, Belleville or Zoukougbeu. Those who have investments in the study area as in Abidjan (in building, purchase of land in reserve, planting of perennial crops, etc.) are active, especially for parents' funerals, food needs of those left behind. town. Breaking away from the family definitively by not returning to the region of origin is not appreciated in Africa (Mlan, 2014: 271):

"The other element seen as a trap concerns families who are finally breaking away from their villages of origin. They are plenty. This is the case of the Moundou and Allou K. d'Abigui family. The first remained in the countryside of the province of Issia while the second in Bongouanou: their children and grandchildren came from the regions. [...] This breaks with the tradition of Baoulé which goes to other peoples in the region. The only goal is to look for the means and to return regularly with the arms loaded with the goods. During the investigations, I was edified by the sanctions against people who rarely return to their villages ".

Political contribution: At the level of political governance, we note the presence of returning migrants. The results showed that definitively returning migrants restructure political relationships. They are increasingly becoming village chiefs, neighborhood chiefs, representatives of political parties, president of a village committee for rural land management or member of said committee, heads of families, notables of village chiefdoms, municipal councilors, presidents of parents of students, youth or cooperative presidents (Mlan, 2013). Moreover, the head of the current village of Zoukougbeu is a returning migrant. In addition, he is the representative of the chiefs of the surrounding villages. It constitutes an example and a profitable return for the population.

At first, the presence of returning migrants eases the political game and also political oppositions between Gnamboua migrants against non-native and foreign migrants. The means at their disposal help to govern, to maintain an increasingly contested authority (Mlan, 2015a). They easily travel around town to resolve problems (land, marriage, funerals, invitations to administrative or political authorities). They appear to be credible people who help these localities politically. They thus respond to their wish to contribute to the change of the village thanks to their experiences and knowledge acquired in the city during their migration. During this study, an interviewee said that the village chief of Doboua (Bété village near Daloa) is a returning migrant, a retired National Assembly agent.

Social contribution: For some respondents, helping parents to have a house, for example, is one of the good reasons for the satisfaction of a duty accomplished towards the family, because once the building has been completed, it does not create joy for the parents alone, but also from the whole family and the population of the village. The house becomes a meeting place for various family ceremonies. The house is a factor in the outcome of life, the stability of families, respect, attraction or aura of the builder. Anatole (retired public service worker in Grégbeu) explains:

“When I returned, my father and mother had only one concern: to have a solid house. I had to do everything to build a house for them. Thanks to my work, I was able to build a house in which the whole family is there. I bought a house with a brother in Daloa that I rent. It gives me a feeling of satisfaction with my family”.

One of the social contributions is marriage. Return migrants enter into a marriage relationship with village girls, and this creates harmony between two families, that is, the family of the returning migrant and that of the wife. In Africa, particularly in Ivory Coast (Zoukougbeu), marriage constitutes a very important stage in the life of social actors. Given the place of the returning migrant in agricultural and political activities, having him as a son-in-law is considered a good thing, a beneficial act, a victory.

DISCUSSION

Between hope and reality: The return of migrants strengthens the peasantry : the reduction in the influence of the peasantry (availability of land and resources, available labor, soil productivity, favorable climate) suggests "the end of the peasants", according to Henri Mendras (1967). Fortunately, the returning migrants are, for the most part, endowed with both experience (the possibility of cultivating crops that have good profitability and customer) and financial means, compared to the local peasants. But, the Ivorian countryside has its reality which supplants hopes. On the one hand, the young people returning (definitively) observe two demotivating asymmetric phenomena: degraded vegetation, made up of old cocoa trees (Ruf and Tanoh, 2009), encrusted in a fallow of Eupatorium odoratum and weeds, and occupation of most of the land by immigrants. Admittedly, they are not “neo-rurals”, but they are rediscovering “their” countryside with a reality other than that which prompted their return (Cornu, 2005). They have difficulty accepting this paradoxical reality: indigenous landless. According to the land tenure literature, throughout the Ivorian forest campaign, the logics or ideologies of native rural areas call into question those excluded from the possession of the land of their ancestors (Koné et al, 2017; Ibo, 2006; Montaz, 2005). From the Gnamboua to the Néyo, passing through the Bété, Dida and Bakwé, native appears as the logic of claiming land, whether they are returning young people or cadets who have come of age (Ibo, 2006). On the other hand, residents and returning workers (retired or absentee farmers according to AFFou Yapi) find that the material factors of production have hardly changed. The logic of productivity based on the modernization of production tools (mechanization, equipment), the industrialization of production (by the transformation of products) comes up against an archaic, rudimentary model of agriculture using the machete, the daba, the hoe (Anikpo D., 2015).

Minister Anikpo - Minister of Trade and Industry - (2015: 1) calls for a change in agricultural policy:

“Instead of designing and preparing an agrarian and land reform inspired by the industrialization of the national economy of Côte d'Ivoire, redistribute new plots of land to young graduates and women returning to the land and agricultural function, industrialize and provide them with modern and industrial working tools, equipment, machinery, apparatus and modern agricultural instruments, the country continues to make this rearguard agricultural policy which consists in making a comeback empty of the overflow of cities”, to land and subsistence agriculture”.

Calls for the return of young scholars, women and graduates to the land are multiplying, more and more, as at the end of the 1980s (AIP, 2017 ; Aidjan.net., 2015). While waiting for a new policy of modernization of agriculture, one mobilizes the young people to a return "fair" to the land by a new cultural model centered on the market gardening cultures : the culture of pepper, garlic, chilli , etc (N'Doli Didier, 2018). This issue should really interest those in power, because it can be one of the brakes on their "fatal" exodus to Europe.

Conclusion

This study, based on the theory of organizations, and therefore of the strategies put in place by the actors involved, gave rise to an analysis of the problem of the reintegration of migrants into the land arena of their regions of origin. The return of migrants constitutes a double challenge: on the one hand, for the populations who have remained there, who expect their "adventurers" to take charge of financial resources and projects, and on the other hand, for the migrants themselves, who consider the departure area as the place of retreat. This form of socio-political logic is widely shared in Africa and particularly in Ivory Coast where the migrant is eagerly awaited in order to bring well-being to his family and village. The concept of the return of the migrant refers here more to the possibility for the migrant to reintegrate the family property and to become again a manager or customary owner. Upstream, in the context of land saturation and the reduction of family land assets, in relation to the transfers that have taken place in the absence of the migrants, the return consists in obtaining land outside the family or in other villages in the region. Also, creating conditions for a favorable reception is an imperative, a determining factor for the migrant: regular visits to relatives who have remained in migration areas, sending financial resources in case of need or solicitation, etc. Conversely, the too prolonged absence and indifference to members of his family, from his native village baited as sources of opposition, refusal and even spite against any attempt to gain access to "his" part of the family property. In a situation of land scarcity, a native presents itself as an outlet, a powerful ideology that forges a questioning of the established order, of frustration. In short, returning migrants (definitive or not) are like "grain water carriers" of the resident populations. More and more, and the writings show it well, the returning migrants appear as agents of development, endowed with the experiences and the financial means which bring a new breath to those left behind. Succeeding in mobilizing the diaspora or the migrants to the cause of development is presented in all the African and Ivorian countryside as a real issue for which the rulers must think about it, through a new more modern agricultural policy.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abidjan.net, 2015. *Chronique/Retour à la terre et à l'économie agricole de subsistance: la grosse colère du ministre Daniel Anikpo*. Aidjan.net. Publié le 13 juin 2015. <https://news.abidjan.net/h/555120.html>
- Agence Ivoirienne de Presse. 2017. *Côte d'Ivoire / Des jeunes sensibilisés au retour à la terre à AgnibilékrouAgnibilekrou*. AIP. publié le 11 septembre 2017
- Babo A. (2003). *Dynamique sociale et mutations dans le système dans la gestion du foncier en zone de savane : une réflexion à partir des cas des villages Baoulé d'Allokokro. Kouakro. Mandéké et Sakounty*. Thèse de doctorat unique. Université de Bouaké. Côte d'Ivoire
- Cornu Laetitia. 2005. « Jean-Yves FERRI et Manu LARCENET. *Le retour à la terre ; tome 1 : La vraie vie ; tome 2 : Les projets ; tome 3 : Le vaste monde. Poisson Pilote. Paris. Dargaud. 2002-2003-2005. 48 p.. 48 p. et 48 p.* ». Ruralia [En ligne]. 16/17 | mis en ligne le 21 août 2006. consulté le 19 avril 2019. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/ruralia/1111>
- Gadou D. M. 2004. « Les prophétismes en pays Dida et la logique du marché (Côte d'Ivoire) ». *Journal des anthropologues*. 98-99 | pp147-170
- Henry Chr. et Kadya T. E.. 2008. « La sorcellerie envers et contre tous ». *Cahiers d'études africaines* [En ligne]. 189-190. mis en ligne le 19 novembre 2013. consulté le 21 septembre 2020. URL : <http://journals.openedition.org/etudesafricaines/>
- Ibo G. J.. 2006. *Retraits de terres par les « jeunes » autochtones sur les anciens fronts pionniers de Côte d'Ivoire : expression d'une crise de transition intergénérationnelle*. Colloque international "Les frontières de la question foncière – At the frontier of land issues". Montpellier. 21p
- Isambert Fr.-A.. 1967. Mendras H.. La fin des paysans. innovations et changement dans l'agriculture française. [compte-rendu]. *Revue française de sociologie*. 8-4 pp 577-579
- Kadet G. B.. K. M.. Anoh K. P.. 2019. Les déterminants de la distribution spatiale de l'ulcère de Buruli dans le département de Zoukougbeu . *Revue Espace. Territoires. Sociétés et Santé* . " [En ligne] 0. mis en ligne le 30 Juin 2019. consulté le 2020-10-30 01:15:38. URL: <https://www.retssa-ci.com/index>
- Koné M.. 2015. Les jeunes ruraux et la gestion foncière dans le département de Soubré. *Revue Société & Economie. Revue du Laboratoire de Sociologie Economique et d'Anthropologie des Appartenances Symboliques*. Abidjan ? N°6. pp.80-96
- Kouakou F.. Adjet A.. Dalougou G.. 2018. Modes d'acquisition des terres et conflits fonciers entre autochtones Bété et migrants Baoulé à Zéprégué (Côte d'Ivoire). *International Journal of Multidisciplinary Research and Developpment*. Volume 5 Issue 10
- Kouakou Y. Fr et Mlan K. S.. 2019. Raréfaction foncière. absence de main d'œuvre et stratégies d'adaptation dans les activités agricoles à Boguédia (Issia Côte d'Ivoire). *Revue Africaine de Criminologie*. Abidjan. n25. pp211-221
- Koné G.. HYPERLINK "<https://www.cairn.info/publications-de-Ba%20Morou-Ouattara--679489.htm>" Ouattara B. M.. Akindès Fr.. 2017. L'autochtonie. la terre et les jeunes à Sassandra (Ouest-Côte d'Ivoire). *Politique HYPERLINK "<https://www.cairn.info/revue-politique-africaine.htm>"* africaine /4 (n° 148). pp69-88
- Kouamé G.. 2014. Dynamique du système agricole et pratique de contrats « planté- partagé ». en pays Agni-Sanwi (Côte d'Ivoire). *Territoires d'Afrique*. 4 : 35-42.
- Lesourd M.. 1982. *L'émigration Baoulé vers le Sud-ouest de la Cote d'Ivoire*. Thèse de doctorat de 3^e cycle. Université de Paris X. faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines. Institut de Géographie
- Mlan K. S.. 2019. Gouvernance des ressources. psychologie politique des peuples de l'écotone Agni-Baoulé : perte de légitimité des élus et l'ouverture sur l'ailleurs. *International Journal of Advanced Research (IJAR)*. 7(10). PP148-157
- Mlan K. S.. 2015c. Migration Baoulé et résilience culturelle par les palmiers en Côte d'Ivoire. *Revue du Laboratoire de Sociologie Economique et d'Anthropologie des Appartenances Symboliques*. n°6. Vol.2. Université Felix Houphouët Boigny. Abidjan. pp36-53
- Mlan K. S. Zadou D. A.. Akaffou S. D.. 2018. Dégradation côtière. aménagement de la forêt et changement climatique en Côte d'Ivoire: quelle résilience ? *Revue Sociétés & Économies*. Abidjan. n°14. pp93-110
- Mlan K. S.. 2013. Le rônier. *Borassus Aethiopum* Mart.. dans la vie sociale et culturelle des Baoulé Aitou de Dimbokro. Thèse de Doctorat Unique. Université Félix Houphouët Boigny Abidjan. 443p.
- Mlan K. S.. *Le processus de valorisation des écosystèmes secondaires et son impact sur les rapports : cas de Gnamagui dans la sous-préfecture de Méagui (Soubré)*. Mémoire de Maîtrise. Univ. Cocody. Abidjan
- Montaz L.. 2015. *Jeunesse et autochtonie en zone forestière ivoirienne. Le retour à la terre des jeunes Bété dans la région de Gagnoa. Côte d'Ivoire*. CEPED | Cahier du Pôle Foncier n°9
- N'Doli D.. 2018. *Côte d'Ivoire: une fédération encourage les jeunes au retour à la terre*. FENOPJERCI. Consulté le 12 octobre. 2020
- Outtara B.. 2012. La réinsertion socioprofessionnelle des migrants de retour dans leur pays d'origine. L'exemple des migrants maliens de retour de Côte d'Ivoire". Rapport Final. *International Labour Organisation*. Genève.
- Ruf Fr.. 2010. « Les Baoulé ne sont pas des oiseaux pour manger du riz ». *Anthropology of food* [Online]. 7 | consulté le 20 décembre 2015. <http://aof.revues.org>
- Ruf Fr.. Tanoh R.. 2009. Malédiction cacaoyère et une difficile diversification des revenus en Côte d'Ivoire. *Grain de Sel* (45) : 12-15
- Soro D M.. 2009. Dynamiques des systèmes de production. Droits fonciers et gestion intra-familiale de la terre chez les migrants Senoufo dans le Sanwi. *Thèse de doctorat*. Université d'Abidjan-Cocody. Côte d'Ivoire.
- Tano A. (2012). Conflits fonciers et stratégies de sécurisation foncière au sud-ouest ivoirien. *Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français (BAGF)*. http://www.persee.fr/docaspdf/bagf0004-5322_2012_num_89_3_8287
- Yao G. R.. 2008. « La production d'une identité autochtone en Côte d'Ivoire ». *Journal des anthropologues*. 114-115. 2008 : 247-275