

Original Research Article

Logics of Adoption of Perennial Crops in the Ivorian Forest Zone: The Case of Heveaculture in the Sub-Prefecture of Bonoua

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Abstract: The aim of this study is to define the logics that favoured the adoption of rubber cultivation to the detriment of pineapple cultivation in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua. In a mixed study, we collected information from actors who, by virtue of their function and social position, are in a position to inform us of the realities on the ground. To this end, we conducted the study with local authorities, administrative bodies, people working with or related to rubber, and the youth of Bonoua. We also interviewed representatives of the Burkinabe communities of Bonoua and Tchanchévé. With regard to data collection techniques, we used documentary research, observation and semi-directive interviews. These data were collected using an interview guide and a questionnaire. Based on the empirical study, we traced the history of the shift from pineapple to rubber and defined the logics of adoption of rubber farming on the basis of the theory of social change. This research is part of the sociology of rural development.

Keywords: Pineapple, rubber, perennial crops.

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INTRODUCTION

In Cameroon, falling wages and the dismissal of many urban workers have created a wave of urban dwellers returning to the land to diversify their sources of income. The crop of choice for these new rural land actors has been oil palm because of its regular income, the high price of oil, the length of time it can be farmed, and the buoyant local market. In addition, there is the social prestige, the preparation for retirement and the constitution of a land heritage. The creation of a palm grove can also constitute a recourse in the case of land disputes between two families or lineages. In addition, there is money laundering (N'djogui and Levang, 2013).

In Côte d'Ivoire, important land assets such as land availability and soil fertility led settlers to introduce and intensify export crops. Migrants were able to exploit the land resource in south-western Côte d'Ivoire thanks to the flexibility of the land tenure system in place (Dozon, 1977). The government's policy of diversification also allowed the introduction of other crops such as rubber, palm oil, cotton, sugarcane and food crops (D.G.E.C.I. 2007). In Adaou and Assouba, two villages in Aboisso, most of the managers are interested in agriculture and cultivate rubber trees because it guarantees a monthly income over several decades (Kouamé, 2012).

The privatisation of agricultural sectors such as cocoa, coffee and oil palm, which has led to a fall in the prices of these crops, has led the farmers of Dabou and Tiassalé to grow rubber trees. This adoption, which has often led to the destruction of the former crops in favour of rubber, is due to various reasons for abandonment, including insufficient income to cope with their daily problems, seasonal or annual income from coffee and cocoa, and the fall in field prices, which has led to difficulties for farmers in the palm sector. Moreover, the abundant productivity and regularity of income from rubber compared to coffee or cocoa have been factors favourable to the adoption of rubber to the detriment of other crops (Kouadio, 2014).

In Bonoua, in the recent past, the sub-prefecture was partly covered by large pineapple farms. It was therefore called the city of pineapples. This crop occupied more space than the other agricultural crops because of the high income it provided to the actors. It occupied almost the entire population and enabled them to make a fortune. Land management at the time allowed migrants to grow this crop as well. Pineapple cultivation was the dominant crop in the sub-prefecture until it was replaced by rubber cultivation. With all these achievements, how did rubber farming supplant pineapple cultivation until it faded away? In other

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words, what is the rationale for the adoption of rubber cultivation at the expense of pineapple cultivation?

1-METHODOLOGY

The objective of this research is to define the logics that favoured the adoption of rubber cultivation to the detriment of pineapple cultivation in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua. The study took place in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua, more precisely in Bonoua (village), Samo, Abrobakro and Tchanchévé. The sub-prefecture of Bonoua is located in the south-east of Côte d'Ivoire.

The actors with whom we spoke were selected on the basis of their function and position in the social arena; we believe that they are in a position to inform us of the realities on the ground. To this end, at the level of local authorities, interviews were held with village chiefs, the king's advisors, notable chiefs, and chiefs' spouses, as they are responsible for managing the kingdom of Bonoua, the localities they administer, and the settlement of conflicts within it. In addition to these individuals, meetings were held with the secretary of the royal court of Bonoua, as he is informed of everything that happens in the kingdom by virtue of his position as secretary to the royal court. Concerning the administrative authorities, the sub-prefect, in her capacity as the first administrative authority, was met in order to obtain information on her constituency. Subsequently, discussions were held with agents of the sub-prefecture; the head of the Bonoua agriculture sector and his collaborators as a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture and also because his department is responsible for regulating all matters relating to land in the Bonoua sub-prefecture. The Burkinabe community leaders of Bonoua and Tchanchévé were told that their compatriots are very much involved in agriculture in the Bonoua sub-prefecture. As representatives they have information about their community's involvement in agriculture in Bonoua and Tchanchévé. The people who work with or are connected to rubber trees are the rubber planters, the presidents and directors of the rubber cooperatives. In addition to these actors, representatives of Bonoua youth in local and modern institutions were interviewed as actors in the local agricultural system.

This research is part of the sociology of rural development, specifically the theory of social change. This theory stipulates a mutation in the structures of the rural world. In this study we used documentary research, observation and interviews as data collection techniques. The data collection tools used were the interview guide and the questionnaire.

The parent population of this research is all the farmers in the 4 study locations. The population is estimated at 4000 farmers. As it was not possible to extend the study to all these farmers, a sample of 10% of the total population, i.e. 400 individuals, was selected

(Ghiglione and Matalon, 1998). The population is made up of actors who live outside the sub-prefecture of Bonoua. They have specific times and places where they are available in large numbers. Outside these times and places, it is difficult to meet with agricultural stakeholders.

This situation led us to choose the accidental sampling technique. The inclusion criteria were the ownership of a farm in the Bonoua sub-prefecture. Thematic content analysis was used in this study.

II-RESULTS

II-From pineapple to hevea farming

II-1-From the fall of pineapple to the adoption of rubber

II-1-1-From the strong presence of pineapple and the endogenous development of Bonoua

For a long time, pineapple cultivation held a special place because it concerned almost the entire population of Bonoua, including the managers. Pineapple has enabled the Bonoua sub-prefecture to develop through community organisations such as AREEBO and individual (personal) organisation, which has enabled each actor to be autonomous. This is corroborated by the words of A.M (rubber and oil palm farmer, company director and president of a cooperative union):

"The pineapple changed the behaviour of the Abouré people. All the pineapple farmers used to go on holiday to Paris; they all had Patrols, this lane (which connects the USCHESCO cooperative union to the royal court) was called the Pajero lane. Everyone should have a Pajero; in those days it was cheap. The planters have become like civil servants. Every morning they were in Abidjan, everyone had a car. That was the period when Bonoua was under construction".

Pineapple has allowed its actors to reposition themselves, to identify with a social group and to distinguish themselves from other farmers.

II-1-2-The fall of the pineapple industry

The advent of the rubber tree is not the factor that led to the decline of the pineapple sector in Bonoua.

The difficulties of the pineapple sector were caused by various factors from the 2000s onwards.

Firstly, pineapple cultivation was reserved for a category of actors: those who had sufficient financial means, because its cultivation required a lot of money; at least 1,000,000 CFA francs (million CFA francs) for one hectare, if the farmer had rejects, according to A. M (rubber and oil palm farmer, company director, company director and president of a cooperative union): 'Everyone grew pineapples according to their means because pineapples required much more money; that

was the only difficulty... Pineapples, if you don't have at least a million francs cfa, you can't start; it's not possible!"

Having enough money before starting pineapple cultivation limited its actors. It was at times called the crop of the rich. Only a few individuals had large holdings.

The others invested in this crop according to their financial means. Then there was also the denigration of village plantations by industrialists. They did this to slow down the export of pineapples. The words of A.M (rubber and oil palm farmer, company director and president of a cooperative union) support our assertion: "...

Among other things, they said that we were defecating in our plantations...". In addition to this, the global economic crisis caused pineapple to be poorly sold.

As a result, buyers stopped coming; the produce rotted on the farms. Finally, the farmers felt cheated at some point and D.A. (Ex-secretary of the Royal Court of Bonoua): "There are people who don't want to hear about pineapples anymore because they have lost everything. Sometimes you send your shipment and when they come back they say you have to pay. Not only do they not give you the money, but you have to pay again. So this guy, when you talk to him about pineapples, if there's a gun next to you he's going to shoot you.

This situation, as explained by D.A., led to pineapple farmers always being in debt, and therefore covered in debts after each shipment. They could no longer pay the labourers. As the sector is now experiencing difficulties, the actors are finally abandoning pineapple cultivation. Those who had produce abandoned it on the farms to let it rot as a sign of their anger and indignation at what they were experiencing. In parallel with this crisis, the cost of purchasing the cup base began to rise. This situation pushed the actors of the pineapple sector and those who could not exploit pineapple, for lack of financial means, to turn to rubber cultivation.

II-2- Brief history of the adoption of rubber cultivation in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua

The non-edible nature of rubber and the possible difficulty of evacuating it in the event of a shortage of sales led villagers to refuse to adopt rubber from the outset. They were afraid to adopt and spread it because they had no other alternative if production was refused by the only (external) market they had. The other crops mentioned above have the advantage of being consumed locally in case of difficulties in the sector; they are also well known by the population. The

situation is quite different for rubber. The agricultural partners (SAPH) had to use stratagems to get it adopted. These include sharing or donating food, setting up the farm and facilitating the payment of nurseries. Sharing food together brings people together and creates close ties. Donations strengthen the ties between donor and recipient, and providing payment facilities attracted more farmers to rubber plantations. They didn't feel the repayment because it was so crippling to their income. They felt assured by the strategy SAPH used to motivate them to grow rubber.

The first rubber farmers did so out of curiosity, but also with a taste for risk. The particularity of Samo is that the first rubber farmers were non-natives from the north of the Ivory Coast. This can be explained by the fact that the exploitation of oil palm was forbidden to non-Aboriginal people, and that rubber tree exploitation did not interest the natives, so the non-Aboriginal people who had the land resources decided to try it. This taste for risk can also be explained by the adventurous status of non-natives. Migrating to an area is a leap into the unknown even if one has some information about the destination. It is the second risk one takes after leaving everything behind. It is the extension of the taste for risk that motivated the non-natives to venture into rubber plantations. We had to wait for the first harvests before rubber cultivation was disseminated in Bonoua. It was from the results that the other villagers rushed into rubber cultivation.

II-3-Economic factors linked to the exploitation of rubber in bonoua

➤ The transformation of the plantation economy in Bonoua

The introduction of the market economy in rural areas has had an impact on the habits of peasants. Through this economic fact, we have gone from before independence to the present day, successively from coarse grain coffee to French cocoa and then to Brazilian cocoa; then came the cultivation of cola nuts and then that of pineapple with the arrival of S.A.L.C.I. in Ono. We are now in the era of oil palm and rubber. The fall in the cost of pineapples has led its actors to rubber cultivation. All of these changes are economic. Farmers move from one crop to another depending on their financial profile. This is why we observe a predominance of one culture over others with the evolution of time.

The population of Bonoua, which in the past was reluctant to exploit rubber cultivation, has for some years been much more focused on this crop, even if it seems to have decreased in terms of surface area in recent years. The practice of rubber cultivation allows them to reposition themselves in the social fabric through the monthly income it provides them. Also the relatively very high cost (around 1000 CFA francs per kilogram) before the post-electoral crisis has further increased the number of growers of this crop.

It was after the 2000s that rubber grew in size in Bonoua, and thanks to the rising costs, the actors invested more in its exploitation compared to other

crops. The populations practice the crops that bring them the most money compared to other speculations but also that require little physical effort.

Table 1: Logic of adoption of rubber cultivation by social actors

Logic compared to the rubber tree	N.b.Cit	Freq.
No response	5	1.3%
a-To always have money	374	93.5%
b-To reforest the forest	43	10.8%
c- To be respected	177	44.3%
d-To be remunerated each month as a civil servant	333	83.3%
e-To preserve the forest in the family heritage	136	34.0%
f-to have the means to help the family	276	69.0%
g-To do like everyone else	132	33.0%
Total Obs.	400	

This table defines the logic of adoption of rubber cultivation by social actors. Among these motives, the economic component is dominant. We can group under this component several modalities such as “To always have money”; “To be paid each month as a civil servant” and “To have the means to help the family”. The actors exploit the rubber tree in order to have money to face their daily difficulties. Instead of being paid once or twice a year after harvest and falling back into the same financial difficulties during the lean season, farmers prefer to exploit rubber. With this speculation, they can make several harvests in the month, accumulate them and choose a moment to sell the whole harvest. This allows them to have money every month. Therefore they regard themselves as functionaries; function to which they have always wanted to be assimilated because of the monthly remuneration.ource: our 2019 survey.

In rural areas, community life and family ties are clearly visible. The problem of a family member becomes communal. When a member is in difficulty, all the others come to his aid; especially the head of lineage or family cannot remain indifferent to the difficulties of a member. Some actors have the management of the land resource in order to exploit it and meet the needs of the members for whom they are responsible. To this end, they exploit the rubber tree in order to have money to help the family. Helping family members in general and those for whom they are responsible in particular is an act of gratitude towards the matrilineal family.

Land used for farming is generally land that belongs to the clan family. Those who exploit them are managers; and being a manager, in addition to taking care of his nuclear family, it is desirable to take a look at the clan family to come to his aid when the need arises. The good land manager is the one who in addition to these charges also takes care of his clan family. In this regard B.C. (retired aeronautical technician) gives us his testimony: “...It serves as a fund for you to meet family expenses in case of

misfortune or happiness. This is our strategy personally in the family”.

The fact that the members of the clan own a plot of rubber trees protects the family from any humiliation when the need arises. Some, in inheriting the land resource had in front of them the orphans and the widow of their predecessor. As D.N' says. (Executive at the Ministry of Agriculture in Bonoua): “For some, it was to have the means to help the family (clan) because they were in charge of the family (clan)”.

To have the money and face the various charges of his nuclear family and his clan, the actor preferred to exploit the rubber tree in order to always have the money.

Some categories in the table can be grouped together because they are correlated. These are “to always have the money, to be respected and to do like everyone else”. Respect within the community requires a (good) social positioning which is related to the possession of "sufficient" financial means. According to O.R. (Planteur Abouré in Bonoua): “When there is money, there is respect”.

Having enough money commands respect in one's community, makes it essential when making important decisions. In addition to having respect through money, owning a plot of rubber trees was a guarantee of pressure and domination in the community. The exploitation of rubber trees generating money each month, frees the operator from many daily worries including the fact of being challenged. This culture also allows him to impose himself and position himself within the community. Having enough money leads people to rally to your cause, to your opinion even when you sometimes deviate from the right path. Financial wealth becomes like a “magic stick” that dictates what should be; accepts everything, does everything...it subjugates those who are financially less fortunate. In this regard N.N'.I. (village chief, farmer) explains: “People planted rubber trees to gain respect,

to impose themselves, to dominate. When he says it's red everyone says it's red.

Rubber being the dominant crop in Bonoua, it is exploited by the majority of farmers. In view of the financial advantages it provides, those who want to exploit a crop do not want to be outdone, they do like everyone else, that is to say rubber growing, to have money. And what everyone is looking for is "always to have money"; only rubber cultivation makes it possible to have money regularly, every month in the present context, without investing too much beforehand.

The pineapple-crop, because it required a lot of financial means for its exploitation, is considered as a culture of the "rich" unlike the rubber tree which requires very few financial and human resources. Consequently, the peasants prefer rubber cultivation to the exploitation of pineapples.

II-4-Cultural factors linked to the exploitation of rubber in bonoua

➤ Rubber trees, a fashion and cultural effect

The rubber tree was planted out of fashion, as B.C. (retired aeronautical technician) and A.M. (rubber tree and oil palm farmer, company director and president of a cooperative union) say. When the farmers of other speculations saw the income generated by the first harvests of rubber cultivation, they wanted to become as rich as those who exploit it. So they decided to do like the others who are involved in the rubber industry, that is to say, to adopt the "new" culture. She was now in fashion and everyone wanted to exploit her.

Also, the cultivation of rubber trees has become a cultural fact, which leads A.C. (farmer of rubber trees, oil palm, president of a cooperative): to say: "...It is also due to the fact that our parents don't do the coffee-cocoa pairing too much but rather the rubber tree, that's what also pushed us to the rubber tree". Rubber cultivation creates social reproduction among the indigenous Abourés; the youngest continue to exploit what they know, what they have known from their elders, from their father. They imitate their father.

Rubber cultivation has also become an element of social positioning for Abouré men (male sex). Male individuals who own rubber farms have a good position in Abouré society, they have the esteem of society; we swear by them. Thus, the fact of exploiting the rubber tree in Bonoua has become a fashion effect because everyone wanted to have the esteem of society, everyone wanted to be considered among their own. And according to K. N'. (Farmer in Bonoua): "At a given time it was the fashion effect. So the future sons-in-law planted the rubber tree to be fashionable". To be fashionable as a man, you have to embrace the rubber tree. Owning a rubber farm is a major asset for the future son-in-law. This fact removes many obstacles to his matrimonial project. The future parents-in-law see

in their future son-in-law a rubber tree operator an individual capable of making their daughter happy in her home by satisfying her various needs. On this subject A.M. (a rubber and oil palm farmer, company director and president of a cooperative union in Bonoua) confides in us:

"...To be a man (male) you had to have at least a few hectares. When you leave to ask for the hand of a young girl, you are asked if you have a rubber plantation. You had to have the rubber tree to be a man. The fact of planting rubber trees in Bonoua is a cultural fact... Social rank is estimated in hectares of rubber trees, it is a fashion effect; everyone wants to have rubber trees."

Rubber cultivation is associated with wealth, i.e. its practice enriches the operator. Rubber cultivation is now part of the socialization of the abouré people. He was at one time even indirectly associated with the selection criteria defined by the parents-in-law that the future son-in-law must meet in order to hope to obtain the hand of their daughter. Cassava is considered a crop for women and rubber for men. A.M. (rubber and oil palm farmer, company director and president of a cooperative union) tells us more about this:

"...Also cassava for a man was not well seen; yes, our culture says so, cassava is for women. Even if you have a plot that you take people to plant cassava on your behalf, it looks like you are not a man. Men are coffee, cocoa, rubber".

Thus considered (the cultures of cassava and rubber) by custom, the natives can only comply with it so as not to be seen otherwise or sanctioned by collective morality. No one wanted to be left out of this fashion.

In addition, the adoption of rubber was a challenge to take up to position his family (clan) according to B.G (farmer in Bonoua):

"By planting the rubber tree it was to gain respect because it is a challenge to be taken up within society, an honor to be taken up. If the land is not developed, there is the possibility of losing it to another member. Each clan wanted to show that they have the money. This could be seen through the competition and also through the achievements made".

An individual who receives a plot and who is not able to develop it by exploiting the rubber tree is accused of laziness, of non-ambition. He must exploit the rubber tree to increase the financial heritage of the clan family. The objective is to have the maximum number of people who exploit rubber within the clan or to have a large part of the land resource of the clan comprising rubber.

II-5-Environmental factors linked to rubber operation in bonoua

II-5-1-Rubber cultivation and environmental protection

Planting rubber trees in Bonoua is not directly linked to the desire to preserve the environment, although the forest plays an important role in protecting the ecosystem. In this regard, A.M. (a rubber and oil palm farmer, company director and president of a cooperative union) will say:

“When the State of Côte d'Ivoire came to plant rubber trees through SAPH, it did not say that it was to preserve the environment. It was later in our readings that we discovered that rubber preserves the environment, that it is an ecological product. But that's not why we plant it...”

However, the preservation of the environment was an argument that facilitated the adoption of rubber in certain localities such as Abrobakro, as L.S. said to plant rubber, there it will become a forest and the rain will come. It encouraged a lot of things."

In Abrobakro and Samo the adoption of rubber cultivation had three functions that it fulfilled. Initially, this adoption aimed to change the savannah into a forest in order to modify the rainfall in favor of food crops. It also aimed to ensure ownership of the land resource; she was a land marker. And finally the last objective was to take advantage of the financial income that this speculation would generate. After the pineapple crisis, the sub-prefecture of Bonoua had another physical aspect: it was the savannah. So the adoption of the rubber tree allowed the sub-prefecture to change its vegetation, as A.K.H. had transformed Bonoua into a savannah, so the rubber tree was welcome...it was planted because of reforestation...". This represents a real danger for the Bonoua region from an environmental point of view because if one day all the rubber players, like a few, decide to cut down all the rubber plantations for any reason, it will be an ecological disaster. Because the "rubber forest" regulates the atmosphere and gives a beautiful climate to Bonoua and its surroundings. Preserving the environment and improving rainfall were arguments used by SAPH to encourage the population to adopt rubber. This disaster is imminent because of the deferred development zone of Abidjan.

II-5-2- The rubber tree and the management of conflicts or the rubber tree as a means of delimiting family property

A rubber plantation was a sign of ownership of a land resource because of its durability. In localities such as Samo and Abrobakro, allochtones and non-natives have been able to maintain their agricultural landholdings thanks to the cultivation of rubber trees. You had to have a perennial crop such as rubber on your property to be sure of keeping it. On this point

Y.A. (Baoulé de Bocanda living in Abrobakro, farmer) gives us his example: "...I planted the rubber tree to keep the land in the family patrimony because I am not Abouré. If I don't, I risk losing the land. », and to L.S (Odiennéka non-native living in Abrobakro, rubber tree farmer) to add:

“...After when the lands became rich there, the abourés took over...their land...but those who could not plant wood (rubber or coconut...) the Abourés took over...we our parents saw in it they planted coconut quickly, as they highlighted it stayed with them”.

During the period of forced labor, individuals benefited from portions of forest. After their death, the Abourés recovered the plots on which there were no perennial crops. The fact of having a perennial crop on a plot marks the property, especially by the fact that the holders are not Abouré. This is why the indirect claim (FVI) did not concern perennial crops. L.S (Odiennéka non-native living in Abrobakro, rubber tree farmer) tells us about the case of Abrobakro: "There are people who after forced labor stayed here, we gave them space, they worked on it until to they died. Their children did not work the land, the Abourés also took the land”.

There was also the case of usurpers of property. After a long period of neighborhood or indirect assertion, the neighbor or laborer can arrogate the right of ownership of the land resource. The neighbor generally exceeds the limits of the property but maneuvers it, uses mystical methods to attempt the life of the owner and seizes the property by evoking a purchase contract from the deceased to his parents. We have on this subject the explanations of N.N'I. (village chief, farmer): “People planted rubber trees to keep the land in the family because laborers after several years of renting killed the owners by mystical processes and seized the land definitively. by A.K.H...(ex-advisor to the previous king of Bonoua, oil palm and rubber tree farmer): “The rubber tree was also planted to recover the land in the event of a conflict...”, by A.A.H. (Abouré, former retired soldier, farmer of palm trees, rubber trees, etc.): “people planted rubber trees to prevent usurpers from taking over the land”.

III-DISCUSSION

The hypothesis of this research is: The social logics underpin the adoption of rubber cultivation in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua; with the aim of defining the social logics underlying the adoption of rubber cultivation in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua.

This research has made it possible to discover the logic behind the adoption of rubber cultivation to the detriment of pineapple in Bonoua. Speaking of cultural or social fact, it turned out that rubber cultivation was the only alternative available to farmers while the pineapple sector was in difficulty; given the advantages it offered. And the SAPH had “undertaken”

to offer farms to the villagers. His commitment aroused the curiosity of certain actors who tried their hand in this new culture until it became a cultural fact, an element of the socialization of the Abouré people. Rubber cultivation ensured social repositioning, a guaranteed retirement, and being fashionable, it had to be exploited to be so.

The economic factor allows us to know that social actors have adopted rubber cultivation because of its multi-year production compared to pineapple. This allows them to always have money every month like a civil servant, a situation they have always dreamed of, to face their problem and help their family. On top of that, the cultivation of rubber trees was more accessible compared to that of pineapple, which at one point only made them perpetual debtors (indebted). Pineapple fruits were left on the farms to show the dissatisfaction of the farmers. The environmental factor comes down to the fact that it is a land marker in the sub-prefecture in general and in particular in Samo and Abrobakro. In addition, it (rubber cultivation) is ecological. Indeed, thanks to the cultivation of rubber as a perennial crop, many conflicts have been resolved. Several non-abourés have been able to preserve the land resource thanks to it. Rubber cultivation was adopted in order to do forestry because of the pineapple. All this to have the rainfall in its favor of the locality.

Going back to the hypothesis, we find that it is verified. Social logics were the basis for the adoption of rubber cultivation in the Bonoua sub-prefecture.

We show the agreement between our obtained results and those of previous research. N'djogui and Levang (op.cit) affirm that in Cameroon, the new actors in land devote themselves to the cultivation of oil palm because of social prestige, preparation for retirement and the constitution of a heritage land. They add that the creation of a palm grove can also constitute a remedy in the case of land disputes between two families or lineages.

Kouamé (idem) and N'djogui and Levang (op.cit) argue that the adoption of perennial crops is due to the fact that they guarantee monthly income over several decades. To this N'djogui and Levang (op.cit) add the search for a diversification of sources of income and money laundering. Kouadio (op.cit.), is not to be outdone, he agrees with Kouamé (idem) and N'djogui and Levang (idem) he stipulates that the abundance of productivity and the regularity of the income of rubber compared to coffee or cocoa were favorable factors for the adoption of rubber to the detriment of other speculations.

There are factors that we have overlooked but which have been noted by our predecessors. These are land availability and soil fertility, flexibility of the land tenure system in place according to DOZON (op.cit).

Land availability and soil fertility that enabled settlers to introduce and intensify export crops; the flexibility of the land tenure system having enabled migrants to exploit land resources in the South-West. BABO (op.cit) follows suit to say that migrants were able to exploit cocoa in Tabou because of the disinterest of the natives in agriculture. He cites ZOLBERG (1964) by noting a political factor to say that the policy of integration of foreigners wanted by the colonial administration and the Ivorian authorities allowed migrants to exploit cocoa in the Southwest.

CONCLUSION

This study focused on the logics that favored the adoption of rubber cultivation to the detriment of pineapple-culture in the sub-prefecture of Bonoua. Through the empirical study, we find that after the difficulties of the pineapple sector, several logics led the farmers to exploit rubber cultivation. However, the economic factor predominates over the others. This factor has enabled the population to make rubber farming an element of the socialization of the abouré people. However, in some localities, actors have adopted rubber cultivation so as not to lose their land resources, either because they are not indigenous or because of usurpers such as laborers or neighbours. Possession of a plot of rubber or coconut trees was a sign of ownership. It allowed you to mark your territory. This is why I.Z. (Gourmantché (Burkinabé) living in Tchanchévé) specifies that “here foreigners produce cassava and pineapple and the Abourés produce rubber”.

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