

Land Innovation and Its Threats to Sustainable Development in the Southern Part of the Mé Region (Côte D'ivoire)

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Abstract

In the southern part of the Mé region of Côte d'Ivoire, particularly in Akyé society, a land innovation emerged in the 1980s known as planting-share or "abouya- achi" in the vernacular language. The objective of this study is to show that this land innovation (planting - sharing or "abouya - achi") while leading to a logic of "feminization of the land" to threats to sustainable development. Free and individual interviews were conducted with elderly people who hold ancestral cultural values, village authorities, women beneficiaries of land innovation, women's leaders and non-native land demandeur leaders on behalf of the innovation. This land innovation "to plant and share" even if it did not balance the distribution of family land between the sexes, has led to the "feminization of land" long considered as "masculinized" by tradition. In addition, this land innovation will have an impact on sustainable development because of its devouring activity in terms of space and biodiversity and the conflicts that arise in its practice.

Keywords: *Innovation, Land, Sustainable development, "Feminization of land", "Masculinization of land"*

Résumé

Dans le Sud de la région de la Mé en Côte d'Ivoire, particulièrement dans la société akyé, une innovation foncière est apparue dans les années 1980 connue sous le nom de planter- partager ou « abouya- achi » dans la langue vernaculaire. Cette étude a pour objectif de montrer que cette innovation foncière (planter- partager ou « abouya- achi ») tout en conduisant à une logique de « féminisation de la terre » à des menaces sur le développement durable. Des entretiens libres et individuels ont été menés avec des personnes âgées dépositaires des valeurs culturelles ancestrales, des autorités villageoises, des femmes bénéficiaires de l'innovation foncière, des responsables des femmes et des responsables d'allochtone demandeurs de terre au compte de ladite innovation. Cette innovation foncière "planter-partager" même si elle n'a pas équilibré la répartition des terres familiales entre le genre, a

sucité la « féminisation des terres » considérées longtemps comme « masculinisées » par le fait de la tradition. De plus cette innovation foncière a des effets sur le développement durable à cause de son activité dévoreuse d'espace et de la biodiversité et des conflits qui surgissent dans sa pratique.

Mots clés : *innovation, foncière, développement durable, « féminisation des terres », « masculinisation des terres »*

I. INTRODUCTION

The land units that people own are larger and soil quality is better in all regions of the world. Women hold between 5% (in North Africa and West Asia) and 30% (in countries such as Botswana, Cape Verde and Malawi) of all land assets (FAO, 2011). This reality that women do not have the right to land and always remain attached to men in any agricultural activity is also visible in Côte d'Ivoire. Indeed, from South to Centre, passing through West to East and North Côte d'Ivoire, and whatever the geographical, ethnocultural or social area, women generally have difficulty accessing land, especially for the production of sustainable crops and for obtaining sustainable income (Koné et al, 2009). The rigidity of customary norms has often been blamed as the basis for women's marginalization in access to land. These traditional customary systems do not secure women's access to land; they are often not implemented and, while they allow land use, they provide no long-term guarantees and leave women in unequal situations (Charlier et al, 2014). As a result of customary doctrines, land governance is essentially devolved to men, to such an extent that we tend to say that land is "masculinized" because its management is the work of the male gender.

However, in Akyé society in southern Côte d'Ivoire, women's access to land, which has long been denied to them because of tradition, is gradually gaining momentum with the advent of the "abouya- achi" system. The relationships between the members of the lineage around the land are deconstructed, a relationship that was formerly based on the servitude of women (Affessi, 2018). Women's secure access to

land will be part of a logic of claiming and defending their economic rights (charlier, opcit). It is indeed in this same perspective that we include this study carried out in the Akyep rural environment to question not only the socio-economic issues of the planter-sharer which are the basis of women's awareness of the need to claim land but also the threats of this form of land management on sustainable development. The objective of this communication is to show that land is no longer owned by men today, but that women too, through the planter-sharing system, are increasingly becoming landowners. This practice (the planter-sharing system) is part of a dynamic of the destruction of natural resources.

II. METHODOLOGY

In order to test this objective, we use the data from surveys conducted in 2015 in a study on the traditional logics of rural land use in Akyé society; mainly in the Yakassé-Attobrou sub-prefecture in the south of Côte d'Ivoire in the Mé region; data that we updated in 2017 by extending our scope to another sub-prefecture, Annapé. The villages of Daisson and Bassadzin were surveyed over a two-month period (02) from August to October. This study used the qualitative approach with free and individual interviews in order to better understand the issues related to land management, the socio-economic issues of planting to share, the place of women with planting to share or the "final system". A total of forty-six (46) actors were interviewed in the principles of data saturation and distributed as follows: 05 elderly people depositories of ancestral cultural values, 04 village authorities, 25 women beneficiaries of the "abouya-achi" system or plant to share, 02 women leaders, 10 allochthones land seekers on behalf of the "abouya-achi" system. In addition, we consulted historical documents related to land governance and the tradition of the Akyé people.

The data collected from the various categories mentioned above were analysed using Crozier's historical method and strategic analysis to highlight the issues and strategies adopted by women to reclaim the land of the lineage that was not previously granted to them and that was opposed between women and men in the family or lineage.

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

A. *Genesis of land innovation and the "feminization" of the earth*

1. *The owner of the land before the land innovation*

The village plantation economy in Côte d'Ivoire developed between the 1930s and 1980s with the clearing of the forest for coffee and cocoa plantations (Colin and Ruf, 2011) has been successful in the Akyé country around a traditional land organization. The latter entrusted the management of the land assets to the chief of lineage. For Amon d'Aby (1978), the theory of land ownership among

black Africans is based on the fact that land, with all that it contains, is the work and property of God. Once and for all, he has delegated his rights as owner to the geniuses of the earth through whom he communicates with men. Men and not women are in interrelation with the gods of the earth through the power that God has given them. They are the ones who are entirely responsible for land ownership. The tradition of entrusting all power to men in the management of the land to men places women in the background. She does not have this right to be part of the land asset management crew. As proof, the custodians of tradition who are allowed to make libations, ceremonies around the earth are men. Nowhere will we find women. The arguments of this exagenarian chief of land testify to the recognition of land management by men:

"We respect tradition, we have never since our childhood seen a woman make libations to ask for clemency from her ancestors for activities on the land and the exploitation of forest resources. The one who pours the drink or makes sacrifices is always the man because tradition has imposed him in this way. He was chosen by our ancestors to govern the land in our society. The land is sacred and what is sacred cannot be managed by a woman. All the power lies with the man to do this work.

These words illustrate that the earth is a socially recognized heritage for man who is exclusively its holder. It is up to him to make the allocation. His power as manager and controller of the earth has a divine foundation. The words of this other sixty-year-old also enrich the fatherhood of the earth to man: "The earth is for man, the earth is a property of the masculine gender, it is man who has the power to work the earth, the earth is a matter of masculinity and not femininity" The "masculinization" of the earth finds all its meaning in the tradition of the Akyé people through the words of the depositories of the tradition. To perpetuate their property rights on land, man with the social division of labour carries out space-marking activities. Cocoa, coffee, which were the first agricultural activities of the Pakistani people, are essentially developed by men. The cocoa and coffee economy was a way of controlling and exercising all its power over the land. Women were engaged in subsistence farming. Their main crops are bananas and cassava, sometimes yams, and taro are annual crops that do not leave any traces of land use. They were men's companions. They help them to create their coffee and cocoa plantations. Here are the terms of a lineage chief land manager:

"You know, we have opted for extensive agriculture not only to make money but also to control our plots. Men who are physically powerful have been able to develop large cocoa and coffee plantations to gain control over the land. Even if today we do not have any manoeuvres to help us to repair all the plantations

we have created, no one can take it away from us. The cocoa and coffee trees are our witnesses, it allows us to see the traces of our activities. We are therefore the owners of all these spaces even if they are abandoned in nature... Cassava and banana fields cannot help us to have portions of land because after one year there are no more traces and these lands are coveted by other people who can be family members or close neighbours with whom we are limiting ourselves in the field.

The words of this other landowner enrich those of the first:

"In the race for land, a brave man has always been a landowner because he could create plantations that were his heritage. Even if tradition did not exclude women from land management, they do not have the same strength as men to create a cash crop plantation and to own the land.

The following testimonies show that in the configuration of Akyé society, land is first and foremost a human property, it is de facto "masculinized" because it is he who is the potential guarantor of all the rituals related to it (land). To desecrate the "masculinization" of the land, it must be possible to enhance it through cultures that mark space; women who do not have this power of enhancement have been doubly marginalized, first as girls, sisters or nieces, then as wives (Koné *et al.*, 2009).

2. History of land innovation: the "abouya-achi" or planter-share system

Historically, land innovation known as planter-sharing appeared in 1980 in the villages of Abongoua, M'bassoattié, Adjaméattié, Fiacé, Diangobo etc. It was from there that it took shape and gradually spread to other villages and took root in almost all the villages in the Adzopé department. Before that date, landowners gave land to non-natives who came to settle in Akyé territory. In return, they created plantations for the sellers. This practice is encouraged by the philanthropic behaviour of the peoples attié who were interested in their hosts by allocating part of their land to them (Affessi, 2018). For the service provided, the land claimants created large farms for indigenous farmers. Shortly afterwards, the content of the contract took a different turn and became "abouya-achi", literally translated as "let's divide to consume or eat". This new form of land acquisition now consists in ceding the land to Abron, Agni, Koulango, Mossi, Burkinabe, Togolese, etc., who came massively to settle in the attic villages thanks to the first forms of access to land to practice the "aboussouan" system and especially the very first contract (ceding the land in exchange for creating a plantation for the land owner). After maintenance and during periods of high production, probably in the 6th and 7th year, the plantation is divided into two parts.

One part for the landowner and the other part goes to the person who developed the land (Affessi, idem). During the time of creation of the plantation, the food planted by the applicant is exclusively under his responsibility. He is the holder in principle and if he wants, he can make small gifts of food to the one who gave him the land. Similarly, in the first years of production of the plantation, a period of low production, cocoa also belongs to the applicant for the land. He sells it and what he earns is used to offset the expenses incurred during the period when the plantation was created. It is a kind of compensation for the energy provided to create the plantation. The "planter-share" is also practiced timidly among Akyé natives who do not have a sufficient quantity of land. Women whose access to land was once almost non-existent are increasingly found in the "abouya-achi" system. Even though this land innovation was fought in the years 1975 to 1980 by some Akyé customary authorities, the "planter-share" experienced a boom and was a contractual practice that tended towards the "feminization" of the land.

3. The logic of feminization of land through land innovation: the "abouya-achi" system

The expression "feminization" of the land we use is the work of the women surveyed. During our interviews, they did not fail to say that the time has passed and that women must inherit from their biological fathers. She also participates in and contributes to the costs of preparing the parents' funerals. She must also benefit from the land to grow her cash crops. The land is for the man but also for the woman. And even we say "the land" and not "the land". If this is true then the land that is feminine must belong to the woman first since it is "the same article that defines the woman that is used to define the land". "Women and the earth are of the same body, they are united. These ironic expressions used by women to reclaim land are the result of this land innovation experienced by the Akyé people that extends beyond men. This mode of land use, inviting people outside the lineage to be landowners, was an alibi for women to claim their parent's land. Why give land to those who are not part of the lineage and give them a land right and women born to the same father and mother or to one or both of them cannot benefit in a sustainable way from their ancestors' land? This question raised another one. If it is true that men use as an argument "the inability (physical strength that cannot allow women to do the work that men do) of women to work the land to deny them; why with the advent of the "planter-share", why do women argue with men to access their ancestor's land? These questions have been at the origin of the awakening of consciousness of women who have mobilized to be landowners. It was from the two thousand years (2000), a period of land scarcity, that women became the majority in the plantation economy through "planting-share". Before this period, some women certainly had small coffee and cocoa

farms in the villages. These plantations were most often owned by their father who gave them to them during their lifetime. They were coveted by their brothers after the father's death when they were unable to properly maintain this inheritance due to labour. Their economy at that time was for the most part based on subsistence agriculture. They produced food crops that did not keep them on the land and sold the surplus on the local or urban market.

"Before we planted it, we worked our husbands' land and farmed cassava and bananas. It was difficult to have our parents' land at that time. When we made the land request to our brothers, they sent us back to our husbands. If they give it to us, it's on a temporary basis. But since the planter-sharer came and we saw that this activity allowed the men who made it to have plantations without losing energy, without even going into the field until the sharing of production which also leads to the division of the land in two, we women have taken note and are committed to fighting to have our share of inheritance as well. It was not easy, but today we own plantations and therefore land. Even if we are not totally satisfied, with the planting-share we can say that the land has been "feminized" because women indirectly through the land concessionaires have a land ownership right that no one can take away from them," reports the village women's leader.

Through these remarks, it emerges that land is no longer only a matter for men, they no longer have the power to hold the right to own land alone, but women also have this right because they have space markers (cocoa trees' feet) and can sustainably benefit from the land and give it to their offspring. The land is therefore with the "feminized" planter-share.

The awareness of women with the planter-sharer is reported by some village authorities.

"Women are calling more and more for their parents to come to us. They ask them to give up part of their ancestor's land for development. Other women use mystical means, they curse throughout the days their brothers who have taken over the family's lands and who do not want to give them also in this time of "planting and sharing". When they see the consequences of such acts that can lead them to death or misfortune, they give up a part to their sister who makes her noise. Fifteen years ago(15), they did not do all this to get land because they will have no one to develop it. So it will be useless. When they acquire the earth through our authority and the mystical means they use, it is the planting-share that they do. For them, it is the most guaranteed way to preserve the land received and pass it on to their children.

Based on the comments of the customary authorities, it can be concluded that the planter-partager was a land innovation that "opened the eyes" to women. It

has contributed to the "feminization" of the earth. It was a mechanism for the conquest of family land.

B.The threats of land innovation (planter-share) on sustainable development

1. Planting it and sharing it as an activity that weakens the social fabric

Yatabary (2015) defined sustainable development as taking development actions today to improve the well-being of contemporary populations without compromising the lives of future generations. Referring to this definition, the planter-share in its form is an activity that is related to development. The two parties who practice this activity, i.e. those who give the land and those who exploit it, improve their living conditions and their living environment. The economic and social importance justifies the well-being of this activity, but basically, the planter-share is an activity that compromises the existence of future generations as well as the weakening of the social fabric. Improving well-being also implies a peaceful living environment for future generations. The planter-sharing process takes place under unclear conditions where the clauses of the contract are not clearly defined and formalized with the competent authorities. It can only be an activity that will generate conflicts, tensions, oppositions for future generations:

"If we had been told before that after a number of years we would have had our part that we acquired through the planting-share system removed, we would not be committed to working the land. I say this because what we do, we do not only for ourselves but also for our children. They will also do it for their offspring since it is not mentioned in our papers that our activity is within a certain period of time.

As the contract clauses are vague or non-existent, a conflict is being prepared. In the opinion of the land concessionaires, they benefit from a definitive transfer. Both parties may be able to manage this situation during their lifetime, but how will their children in turn be able to do so. Due to the scarcity of land nowadays, the children of landowners who return to their respective villages are already challenging the contracts their parents have concluded with the land concessionaires. For them, these are obsolete contracts that deserve to be revisited. They forbid land concessionaires with the support of their parents to replant new cocoa or rubber plants in the acquired and anthropic areas. The landowners by refusing to comply with the landowner's or his children's request come into conflict with the landowners and both parties use swords (machete, iron, stone thrower) and clubs. One of the village chiefs of the Annépé sub-prefecture revealed this conflict to us:

"It was really hot, a whole stampede in the village, everyone was watching for their friend with machetes, prayer spears and clubs. They were heard at my home,

but it was really difficult to decide this case. No one could justify on paper the terms of the contract they established when I asked them to do so. We used our authority to calm the situation. But I'm sure it's not totally finished. Grievances are still there and it could happen again at any time.

Another village chief says this: "After us, our children and grandchildren and those of the new farmers (who are asking for the land to plant and share it) will tear each other apart and kill each other. Before our eyes what has begun are signs that do not deceive that it will happen.

The questioning of contracts alone does not explain the origin of conflicts. Tensions also arise on a recurrent basis following these facts revealed by land concessionaires and their owners. When it comes to dividing the plantation into two parts: if it is not the landowner who is dissatisfied with the part he has received, it is the one who has developed the land; when the plantation is not well maintained or when there is negligence on the part of the concessionaire and the landowner requests the withdrawal of his land; when part of the plantation is well maintained and another part is poorly maintained and when the two are competing over the well maintained part when they share. The latter case, Kouamé (2015) in his study on the dynamics of the agricultural system and the practice of "plant and share" contracts in Agni-Sanwin (Côte d'Ivoire) also exposed it. This was a dispute between old Kassi (the landowner) and SAPH agent Frederic (applicant for land for rubber cultivation) when the plantation was shared. The landowner objected simply because what the SAPH agent gave him was not well maintained and therefore not suitable for him. He reclaimed the agricultural agent's share on the grounds that the agent had poorly maintained the parcel of land assigned to him and it is the part that is good that he took and began to bleed. To ease the tension, the SAPH officer abandoned his part to exploit the part he had reserved for old Kassi while saying this: "I plan to bring the problem to the attention of the village chief, because there is no document showing that the plantation is shared. In my lifetime, there is no problem, but if I died and there is no paperwork, there will be talk. In short, these conflicts, tensions and disputes around the planting - sharing and especially around sharing modalities have as their source the non-existence of a real agreement or non-formalised arrangement contracts.

2. Share it as an activity that consumes space and biodiversity

Apart from conflicts that can arise and endanger sustainable development, the planter-share is an activity that depletes or swallows rural land. This resource is becoming increasingly scarce because of the strong pressure from applicants on behalf of the planter-share. They want to expand their crops to increase production. It is vast fields, especially cocoa

fields, that are created each year with the plant and share system. The proof is that they do not deal with landowners who have a small area. It is with those who have large areas that they conclude contracts (verbal or on small pieces of paper) for exploitation. With this activity there is no more forest reserve. It is now the fallows that are coveted to plant and share it; which was not the case during the first years of the practice of plant and share. In the same vein, Andrew et al (2009) also denounced the policy of free access to land as a factor in the destruction of land. This policy, pronounced in Félix d'Houphouët's speech saying that the land belongs to the person who develops it, had the force of law for several years, causing a real race to the land through techniques that destroy natural resources such as bushfires, all-out land clearing and long fallows.

Sharing it is also one of the major factors in the damage suffered by all living beings in the environments where the activity is carried out. Animals no longer finding refuge in brush and forests move elsewhere. Buffaloes, warthogs, gazelles, monkeys and other animals that could be seen in forests and brush have become rare animals. Even small animals like rats, hedgehogs, agoutis, woodland animals are becoming increasingly rare:

"It is true that the planter-share has made us have plantations and our living conditions have changed. But I fear very much for the next generation. Our grandchildren will suffer. They won't even know a rat. With the planter-share there is no more forest, which also leads to the movement of animals. They flee to areas where they can find lodgings.

We also observe with the planting system - sharing a loss of biodiversity directly related to the mechanisms used to practice agriculture. These chemical treatments pose health risks related to the consumption of agricultural products made from chemicals. They also cause pollution affecting pollinating insects, such as earthworms that regenerate agricultural soils. A study conducted by Affessi (2012) shows that "eating food produced using fertilizers and phytosanitary products is to eat the" photocopy ", the" unreal "the" denatured ". It is therefore consuming some of these products that not only give another taste other than that of the original, that is to say what was produced without the supply of fertilizer; But it is also shortening its life expectancy because these are diseases that are caught by eating these foods made from chemicals. Today, in the frontier areas of the planter-share, plant species are on the verge of extinction. Essences such as: "yatanza, anigré, tali, assamela, iroko called respectively in the vernacular language "cocochiacozakoi", "tébi", "lôh", "abocamedji" and "gni" are non-existent" expose a sexennial healer member of the traditional chiefdom. He continues :

"With the planter-share, to create a plantation the fire is placed next to all the trees and shrubs that die over time. It is very difficult to have bark from plants and some leaves and roots that have a medicinal significance for the treatment of patients. Sometimes I have to barge into the classified forest to steal these species if I have to treat the sick. 15 years ago I found all these species not far from the village in the forests, which have disappeared and are now replaced by cocoa and rubber trees because of the shared planting.

Affou (1982) had already mentioned the disappearance of the forest in the Akoupé area, saying that there is waste and waste of the forest due to the surface extension of the farms. Under these conditions, if this process is not controlled and controlled, the forest is likely to be exhausted in the long term and the soils to become depleted. This action will have an impact on the climate and on the very development of the crops for which these excesses are committed. The planter-sharer is therefore the cause of the depletion of natural resources due to the strong human pressure on the land, which must be managed in a rational way and the future generation must also benefit from it.

IV. CONCLUSION

The land innovation called "abouya-achi" is very well one of the last modes of land acquisition in the Akyé society in the south of the Mé region. It has made it possible to free oneself from the once very rigid customary norms that confined the soil to the hands of men alone in the family, and which gave only a "masculine" aspect (masculinization of the land). Today, with the planter-sharer, women in the family have a right to own the land even if the distribution is not done in an equitable way between men and women. Women have acquired land with this land innovation and claim to say that land is no longer only "masculinized" but also "feminized" simply because men are no longer the only holders. This land innovation, although beneficial to women, poses threats to sustainable development. On the social level, the activities related to the planter-share garden present a conflicting challenge. These conflicts are the fact that this activity takes place in a legal vagueness without the supervision of traditional and administrative authorities. In this case, future generations will have serious problems in sustaining the activities of the "abouya-achi" system. This new way of acquiring land in its development therefore presents environmental dangers: the race to land through techniques that destroy natural resources, land clearing in all directions, frequent use of pesticides and inputs leading to soil degradation, loss of biodiversity, and health hazards due to the consumption of agricultural products soaked in chemicals.

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