

From Rural Exodus to Back – Migration in Bonoufla Village (Côte d’Ivoire): Local Issues and Changes

Gué Pierre GUELE ¹, Kopeh Jean-Louis ASSI ², N’Zué Pauline YAO ³

¹ Geographer, University of Jean Lorougnon GUEDE, (Daloa, Côte d’Ivoire)

² Geographer, University of Jean Lorougnon GUEDE, (Daloa, Côte d’Ivoire)

³ Geographer, University of Alassane Ouattara (Bouake, Côte d’Ivoire)

Abstract

The rapid urbanization in African countries in the past few years is partly underpinned by a significant migratory flow originated from rural areas. The disparity of incomes, equipment standards, job opportunities, etc., are the main reasons why rural dwellers are moving to the cities. Most of these neo-citizens, overwhelmed by their inability of integration in city life, decide to go back to their native village. This study focuses on the issues of this migratory process, and the impact of the migrants on the socio-economic transformation of these villages. The methodological framework is based on a review of literature, in line with a field survey of 52 migrants back to Bonoufla, a village on the outskirts of the town of Daloa. The survey revealed that (40.4%) of those migrants are motivated by a desire to protect their family land in a context of land overcrowding and a massive influx of non-natives. By practicing agricultural and non-agricultural activities (trade, sewing, etc.), they contribute to the socio-economic development of the village.

Keywords: Rural Exodus, Back-Migration, Village, Land overcrowding, Bonoufla.

Résumé

L’urbanisation galopante constatée ces dernières années dans les pays africains est soutenue, en partie, par un fort courant migratoire qui tire son origine du monde rural. La distorsion entre les revenus, le niveau d’équipement, l’offre d’emploi etc, sont les principaux mobiles de ce déplacement des ruraux vers les villes. Ces néo-citadins, pour la plupart, désespérés du fait de leur non intégration en ville, décident de retourner dans leur village d’origine. Appréhender les enjeux du parcours migratoire et les apports de ces derniers dans la mutation socio-économique de ces villages constituent l’angle d’analyse de ce travail. La méthodologie adoptée repose sur la revue documentaire couplée à une enquête de terrain menée auprès de 52 personnes de retour à Bonoufla, un village situé dans les encablures de la ville de Daloa. Il ressort de l’enquête que les migrants de retour sont guidés par la volonté de protéger la terre familiale (40,4 %) dans un contexte de saturation foncière et de l’arrivée massive d’allogènes. Avec la pratique des activités agricoles et non agricoles (commerce, couture etc.), ils participent au développement socio-économique du village.

Mots-clés : Exode rural, Migration de retour, Village, Saturation foncière, Bonoufla.

1. Introduction

The return of immigrants from northern countries has been the focus of much attention in the past few years. This particular attention is due to the context surrounding the irregular migration to these countries. In fact, crossing the Mediterranean, with its series of deaths, the conditions of detention of potential immigrants in transit countries such as Libya, and the irregular situation of young Africans once they reach Europe, are some of the subjects that motivate debate between the countries of origin and the host countries. The preoccupation about this form of immigration seems to undermine the return of rural populations who have migrated to cities across the continent. Indeed, in the past few years, urbanization has been part of the socio-spatial mutations experienced by Côte d'Ivoire, as in the other southern countries. According to the World Bank (2016, p. 10), the urbanization rate in Africa is set to rise to 60% by 2025 and exceed 70% by 2050. For TCHAWÉ HATCHÉU ÉMILÉ (2000, P.1) “a high proportion of the African population will be clustered in large urban agglomerations”. (our translation). This expansion of the urban population, in addition to international immigration, is particularly rooted in the rural areas, which are often under-equipped, and suffer from poverty. Thus, the image of elitist cities that emerged just after independence, with many opportunities for socio-economic integration, attracts young people from rural areas. Despite the disparity in development between rural and urban areas, does this image have the same effect on rural people today? As in other countries, African city dwellers are increasingly facing many problems. Regarding the sub-Saharan region, Gubry (2006, p.424) finds that “the economic crisis affecting sub-Saharan Africa and structural adjustment policies have considerably strengthened the living condition of urban dwellers, particularly in large cities” (our translation). For rural dwellers, particularly living in big cities, with generally no qualifications, these difficulties are limited to socio-professional integration, which in turn gives rise to the desire to return. Gubry (opt.cit.) suggests that the main reasons for this return are the difficult living conditions in the host city, unemployment, integration difficulties, failure at school or health problems. Between 1988 and 1993, there was a reversal in migration flows in Côte d'Ivoire, with the countryside benefiting from migratory exchanges between rural and urban areas, Beauchemin Cris (1999, p. 1). For authors such as Bocquier and Traoré (1995, p 1), “In Côte d'Ivoire, more Ivorian migrants are leaving Abidjan to the countryside than vice versa” (our translation). Does this massive return affect the host localities in terms of socio-spatial changes? In other words, what is the impact of those back-migrants on their villages? On this subject, J.P Chauveau (1997) in Beauchemin Cris (opt.cit.) finds that: “in Côte d'Ivoire, we can see that young back-migrants are turning away from farming more or less temporarily: some are developing innovative activities for the rural environment (photographers, bicycle repairers, etc.), while others are making the most of their schooling by taking up intermediate positions (secretary in the office of a cooperative)”(our translation). According to the authors, this diversification of economic activities into non-agricultural sectors contributes to *rurbanization*. This study, which is in line with the general issue of the development of rural areas, aims to analyze the socio-spatial impact induced by back-migrants in Bonoufla.

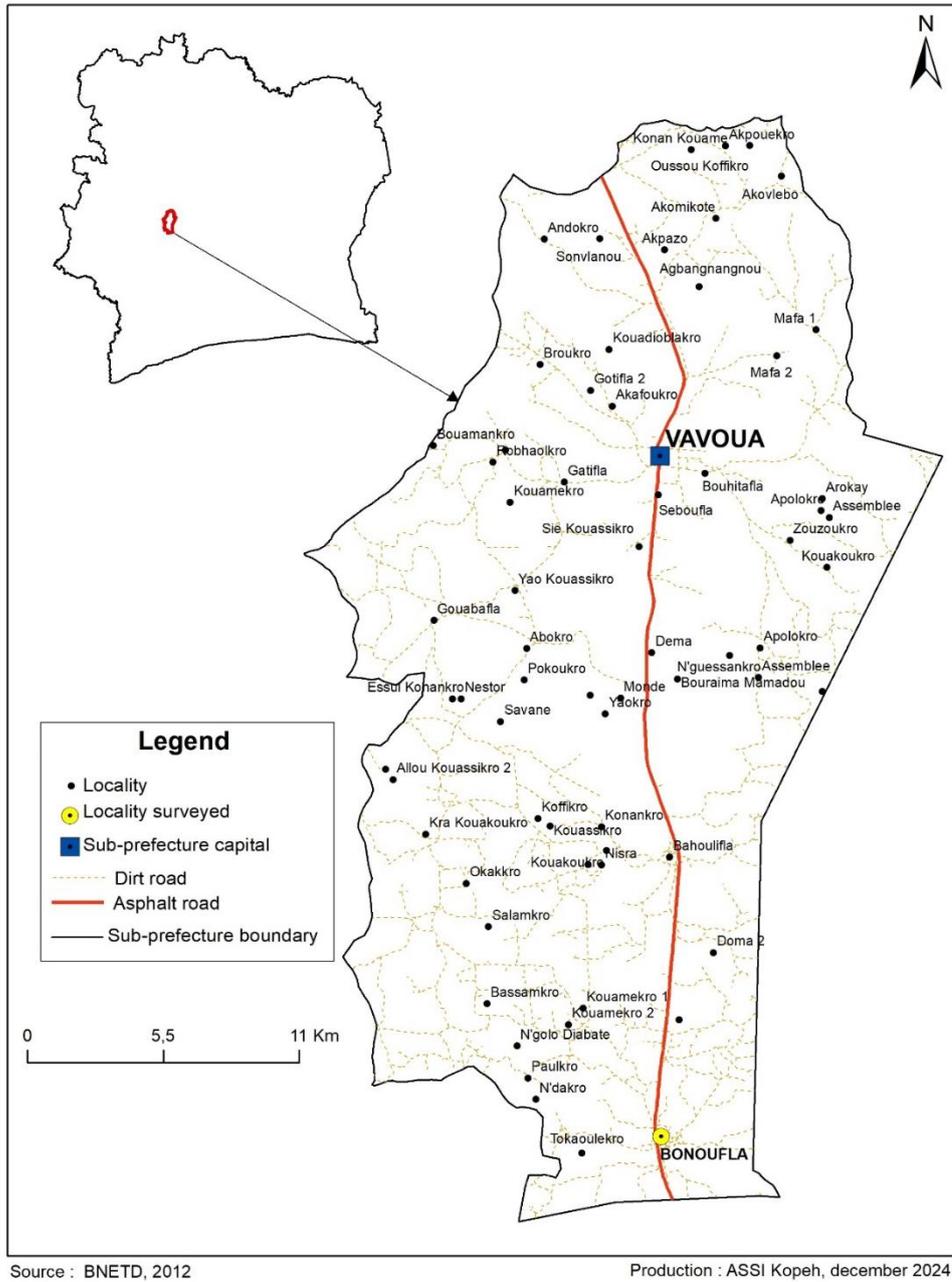


Figure 1: Localisation of the village Bonoufla

The underlying hypothesis is that back-migrants, although originally from the village, find it difficult to be economically integrated. Thus, firstly, this study will draw up a socio-demographic profile of the back-migrants and their migratory path, and secondly, it will show the socio-economic changes brought about by the return of those migrants to this village (Table 1).

2. Materials and Methods

As main approach, this study is conducted through a literary review, and a survey of back-migrants in Bonoufla. The secondary or empirical data addressed migration issues in general, but particularly back - migration, and the development of the native area. The survey involved 52 inhabitants of Bonoufla, who spent more than a year in town. This selection was made at random. Analysis of variables included age, gender, nationality, level of education, year of departure, year of return, reason for departure, reason for return, host town(s), activity carried

out in town, current occupation after return, achievements before and after return, etc. The questionnaire and answers were entered into sphinx software, from which the tables and graphs used for analysis were extracted. Cartographic processing was carried out using Qgis 3.20 software.

3. RESULTS

The town, for a long time, a place of refuge for many rural dwellers, is gradually being emptied from this overflow of people, because of the predicaments it afflicts to them. In Bonoufla, many people have migrated to different towns before choosing to return to the village.

3.1. Socio-demographic profile of back – migrants

This part of the study examines some of the socio-demographic characteristics of the survey about back-migrants. It is mainly about variables related to age, sex, marital status, level of education, etc.

3.1.1. Back-migration dominated by men

The dispatching of people who have been interviewed by gender shows a high proportion of men (table 1).

Sex	Number	%
Male	38	73,1
Female	14	26,9
Total	52	100

Table 1: Gender surveyed

Men are more disposed to return (73.1%) than women (26.9%). Women may be held back by marriage ties or integration into the informal sectors that abound in urban areas. These trends can also be generally observed in immigration, with men leaving in search of better living conditions before bringing their families.

3.1.2. A high proportion of back-migrants under-30 years old

The migration issue affects all social strata. However, this study shows that young people under 30 prefer to return to their villages (figure 2).

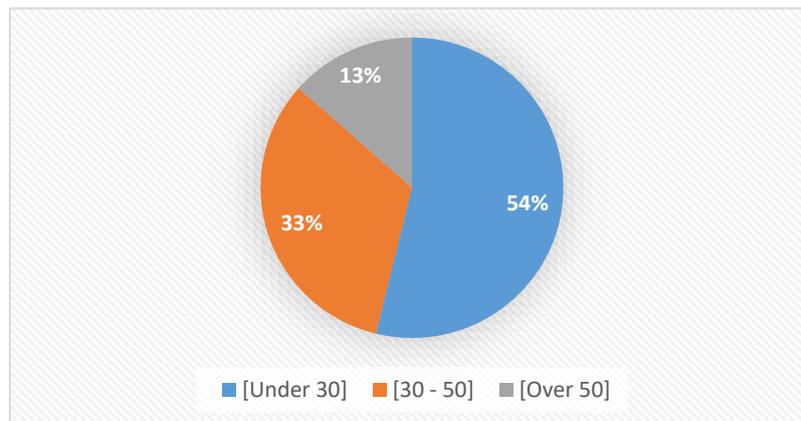


Figure 2: Dispatching of back-migrants by age

Those back-migrants to the village are young people under 30 (53.8%), followed by those between 30 and 50 (32.7%) and those over 50 (13.5%). A cross-tabulation of age and gender shows a strong male presence in each age range.

3.1.3. The divorced and widowed constitute a marginal proportion of back-migrants

The marital status of back-migrants is as follows (table 2):

Marital Status Age	Married	Divorced	Single	Widowed	Cohabitation	Total
Under 30	4	1	18	1	4	28
[30 - 50]	4	2	4	0	7	17
[Over 50]	1	0	0	3	3	7
Total	9	3	22	4	14	52

Table 2: Dispatching of back-migrants according to marital status and age

This table shows that most urban back-migrants are single (42.3%), followed by those in cohabitation (27%) and then married (17.3%). The high number of bachelors is related to age, as many migrants are under 30 years old. The rate of divorcees and widows is lower, 6% and 8%. Divorced people are more likely to be in the age between 30-50 years old, while widows are more likely to be over 50 years old. Many back-migrants marry before the age of 50.

3.1.4. Education level: high rate of primary Education

In the village of Bonoufla, most of the back-migrants, depending on their sex, attended school (table 3).

Sexe Education level	Male	Female	Total
None	8	7	15
Koranique	4	0	4
Primary	15	3	18
Secondary	9	3	12
Higher	2	1	3
Total	38	14	52

Table 3: Dispatching back-migrants according to the education level and gender

According to this table, 34.6% of interviewees have a primary school education, 29% of male and 6% female. They are followed by those with no education level (28.8%); with an almost balanced proportion by gender (8 males to 7 females). Secondary education follows with 23.1%, 17.3% of whom are men and 5.8% women. Among those interviewees, 7.7% had attended Koranic school, followed by 11.5% of higher education.

3.2.Rural Exodus Factors and migratory route

Many factors have led those people to migrate, with each one in different experiences.

3.2.1. Factors of Rural Exodus

The main reasons are in the following table (Table 4):

	Number	%
Health problem	5	9,6
Job finding	28	53,8
Land conflict	2	3,8
Shortage of arable land	6	11,5
Education reason	11	21,2
Total	52	100

Table 4: Dispatching interviewees according to the reasons why they left the village

Migration to the cities is mainly motivated by job finding 53.8% of those who were interviewed. The question of employment is a serious issue in Côte d'Ivoire, and particularly affects young people under 30 years old, as they are in many cases unemployed. School-related reasons follow with 21.2%. They could also be correlated with age, especially those under 30, among whom we find the school and university population. The issue of land also led 11.5% of interviewees to migration. This is also a crucial issue in a country with a large farming population that puts pressure on the land. In some places, this pressure has led to land conflicts, which caused 3.8% of interviewees to leave. Health reasons led 9.6% of the population surveyed to move to cities.

3.2.2. Departure age from the village: young people more adventurous

Young people under 30 years old are the most likely to migrate to cities (figure 2).

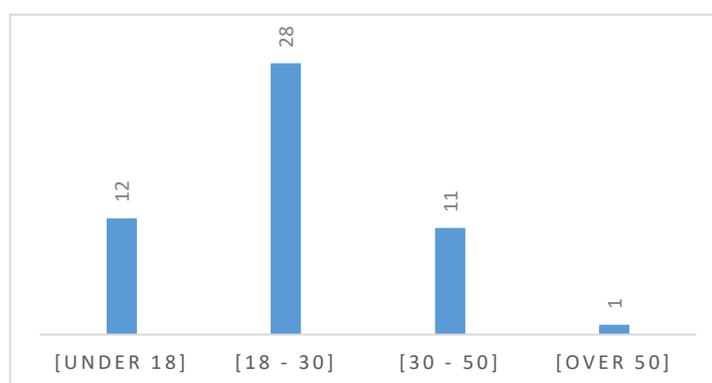


Figure 3: Dispatching of back-migrants according to the departure age to the city

This figure shows a large proportion of young people who decided to migrate. The largest numbers are from 18 to 30 years old, followed by those under 18. These two age categories, according to the intersection of the variables age of departure and reasons for departure, concern unemployed and educated people. It also shows that a significant proportion of the over-30 years old migrate, i.e. 23.1%. These are led to migrate for reasons of job finding, health and lack of land.

3.2.3. Agriculture as the most likely job before migration

Before migrating, interviewees did different jobs as shown in table 5.

	Number	%
Agriculture	27	51,9
Trade	10	19,2
Student	11	21,2
None	4	7,7
Total	52	100

Table 5: Dispatching interviewees according to the job before migration

51.9% of people who were interviewed were farmers. 28.8% of them left in search of employment, while 9.6% talked about health problems and land shortage, and 1.9% talked about land conflicts. This massive departure in this sector may be linked to its unstable and arduous nature. Students (21.2%) follow. In fact, once they have passed the primary school stage, they are called upon to move to the city to continue their studies in high schools, colleges and universities. Traders (19.2%) are among the candidates to rural exodus. In the villages, these commercial activities are of little importance and may not be profitable, as they cite the search for employment as their reason for leaving. Those who had no activity in the village are also among those leaving the city (7.7%).

3.3. Migratory route

Back-migrants have experienced a variety of destinations in their migratory route

3.3.1. Northern cities, the first destinations

Many of the migrants surveyed headed to northern cities first (table 6).

	Number	%
Cities of Northern region	24	46,2
Abidjan	12	23,1
Daloa	11	21,2
Cities of Eastern region	2	3,8
Bouake	3	5,8
Total	52	100

Table 6: Dispatching interviewees according to their destination

Northern towns, mainly Korhogo and Ferkessedougou are the main destinations, with 46.2% of interviewees. This choice could be justified by the flourishing of gold panning activities in this area. The city of Abidjan follows with 23.1%, as it is a city with numerous employment and educational opportunities. Many migrants chose Daloa (21.1%) for its proximity. In addition to being a school town, Daloa could be a transit zone for other destinations.

3.3.2. Changes of destination during migration: involvement of a very small proportion of migrants

Migrants have chosen several destinations for various reasons. Those who decided to stay in the same town before returning to the village represent 69.2%, while 30.8% changed their place of dwelling. The chosen destinations are northern towns (58.8%) and central-western towns (29.4%). Southern cities, including Abidjan, and eastern cities, with 5.9% each, were the second

most popular destinations. The attractiveness of Abidjan seems to have taken a secondary place among migrants, in favor of other destinations.

3.3.3. A glance at some issues faced by migrants in town

Migrants experience varying fates during their journeys. From the village, 71.2% went alone, while 28.8% said they went with their families. During their arrival, 38.5% stayed with a relative, 34.6% with friends, while 26.9% depended on themselves. In terms of integration, 73.1% said they had a job in the city, as opposed to 26.9% of those who were interviewed. The main sectors of activity are the primary sector (10.3%), the secondary sector (33.3%) and the tertiary sector (56.4%). Thus, 51.9% found their integration acceptable, while 40.1% found it difficult and 7.7% found it very acceptable. In terms of monthly earnings, 51.9% earned between 100,000 and 200,000 CFA francs, while 30.8% earned less than 100,000 CFA francs. This stay in town enabled 55.8% to make achievements in the village before their return, compared with 44.2% who were unable to do so while in town. The table below (Table 7) shows the different achievements made in the village before the final return.

	Number	%
House	7	24,1
Store	9	31
House/Store	4	13,8
Land purchasing	2	6,9
Farming activity	4	13,8
Other things	3	10,3
Total	29	100

Table 7: Dispatching of migrants who completed projects in the village, according to the project type

The yearnings are mainly used to build stores (31%). This option is in line with the diversification of activities in rural areas. Secondly, migrants opted for house building (24.1%), followed by store and house building, then agricultural activities. It also emerges that many migrants have lived in town for more than 5 years. The distribution by class is as follows: 59.6% have lived between 5 and 10 years, and 17.3% have lived more than 10 years in town. However, 23.1% spent less than 5 years in town before returning to the village.

3.4. The return and local changes

After a certain period in town, some migrants decide to return to their village, as is the case with the Bonoufla interviewees. Despite some integration problems, they do their best to participate in the socio-spatial transformation of their locality.

3.4.1. A return due to diverse reasons

There are several reasons that justify the return to the village (table 8).

	Number	%
Urban problems	17	32,7
No jobs	11	21,2
School failure	7	13,5
At family request	21	40,4
Other things	10	19,2
Total	52	100

Table 8: Dispatching of migrants according to the reason of their return

This table shows that 40.4% of the return from exodus occurs at the request of the parents. This trend could be justified by the ageing of the progenitors, the lack of manpower capable of feeding the descendants and maintaining the family farms. It is also in line with the desire to preserve family assets. Secondly, 32.7% of interviewees reported difficulties in the city as the second most important reason. These difficulties include access to a decent job, the high cost of rent and transport, etc. Lack of employment followed with 21.2%. It should be noted that 13.5% of them return to the village after failing school. Other reasons account for 19.2%. These include death of spouse, death of parents, loss of job, etc.

3.4.2. No more than ten years in the village

While the return to the village may have been motivated by several factors, it should be noted that most of the interviewees had only recently arrived (Figure 4).

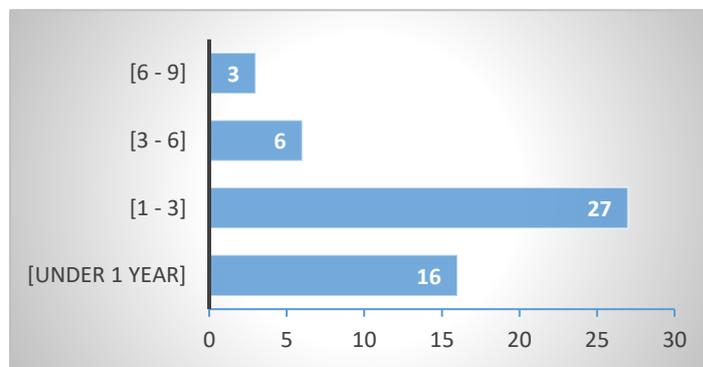


Figure 4: Dispatching of migrants according to the time in the village since their return

This figure shows that 51.9% of migrants have been in the village from 1 to 3 years. They are followed by those who have been in the village for less than a year (30.8%). 17.3% have been in the village for more than 3 years since their arrival.

3.4.3. Back-migrants, between agriculture and several non-agricultural activities

On their return from the exodus, many migrants have turned to a variety of socio-economic sectors (table 9).

	Number	%
Agriculture	21	40,4
Trade	19	36,5
Sewing	3	5,8
Fishing	2	3,8
Other things	7	13,5
Total	52	100

Table 9: Dispatching migrants by activity after their return

Most of the back-migrants practise agriculture as one of the main sectors of activity (40.4%). In fact, it was their main activity prior to their departure. There was a drop of 11.5% after returning. As this table shows, they have probably moved into other non-agricultural sectors. For example, trade, which employed 19.2% of migrants before departure, now employs 36.5% after their return. Several other non-agricultural activities, such as sewing, are also practiced by back-migrants. These are related to the lack of land, the arduous nature of agricultural work and the regular earnings generated by non-agricultural activities. These activities generate substantial income. Thus, 46.2% earn between 100,000 and 200,000 CFA francs per month. 36.5% earns less than 100,000 fr CFA. These proportions are close to those they received during their stay in town.

For those who chose to farm, land was acquired by family donation (50%), purchase (23.1%), bequest (15.4%) and rental and squatting (1.5%).

3.4.4. Achievements after the return to village: towards other activities

Back-migrants are involved in modifying their home areas in several ways (figure 5).

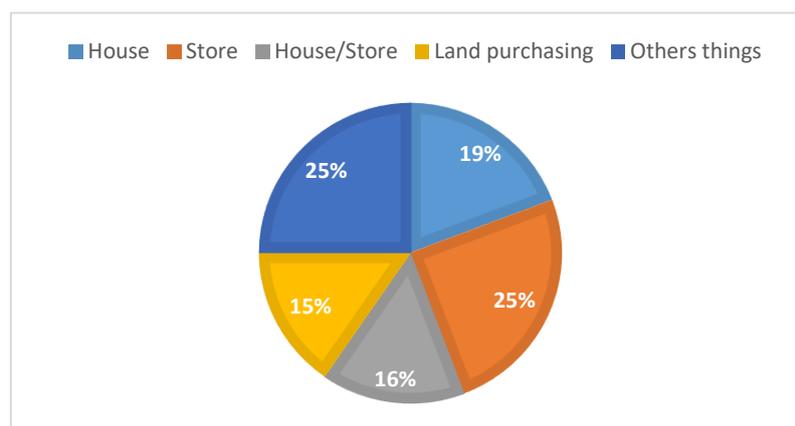


Figure 5: Dispatching of migrants according to their achievements into their village

Back migrants invest in the construction of stores and the creation of several other activities. In fact, Bonoufla is a large rural town, with a strong foreign community, where commercial activities play a major role. Stores are rented out to shopkeepers. Investments in housing followed with 19.2%. For those people, the house represents a symbol of social success and is a marker of autochthony and permanence in the village. The purchase of a portion of land is an

option for 15.4% of back-migrants. In the context of land shortage, it proves to be an ideal way of guaranteeing the sustainability of agricultural activity.

3.4.5. Back-migrants: between leaving and staying

There are many reasons that have led to their return to the village. However, migrants are faced with the dilemma of whether to return to the city or stay permanently in their village. This decision depends on their integration after their return (table 10).

	Number	%
Very good	6	11,5
Good	28	53,8
Little good	16	30,8
difficult	2	3,8
very difficult	0	0
Total	52	100

Table 10: Dispatching interviewees according to their integration situation

Migrants have generally appreciated their integration into the village since their return. Indeed, more than half (53.8%) find their integration good, followed by those who find it a bit good (30.8%). A small proportion find their integration difficult. This assessment is linked to the new occupations after their return. For 76.9% of them, the other villagers welcomed them, against 23.1% who feel they are the victims of bad looks from their fellow villagers. With different opinions of the village's inhabitants, the question of whether to leave or stay is on everyone's mind. Thus, 55.8% said they were prepared to stay, compared with 44.8% who were ready to try the town's adventure again if the opportunity arose. On the other hand, 69.2% of migrants advise rural exodus in view of several factors, such as job opportunities (44.4%), the dynamics of social life (36.4%) and personal challenges (22.7%). In contrast, 30.8% rule out rural exodus, citing the high cost of living (64.7%), poor quality of life (23.5%) and insecurity (11.8%) in the cities.

4. Discussion

This work mainly examines the issue of back-migration and local development. Specifically, the study focused on migrants before and after their return. It particularly addressed the socio-spatial changes brought about by back migrants in the village of Bonoufla. Thus, concerning the socio-demographic profile of back-migrants, our study is in line with the one carried out by IOM (2021, p.10) between 2017 and 2020 among back-migrants in Côte d'Ivoire. Both studies show a clear male dominance among them. They are also in line with the aspects related to the age, marital status and level of education of back migrants. Indeed, most back-migrants are young people under thirty, single and who attended secondary school education. The departure of rural people to the cities is motivated by various factors that can be summed up as the “repulsive” nature of rural areas. This “rejection” stems from the lack of land, land conflicts, the virtually non-existent job offer and the low level of equipment in these localities. Our study reveals a significant proportion of departures linked to the lack of employment, education and land scarcity. These difficulties are mentioned by (C. Herry 1988; A. Hamani 2015) in S.M Karimoun and A. Saadou (2021, p.146) who consider that: “Many migrants leave the villages

for various reasons, in this case, low income linked to the lack of employment opportunities to contribute to local, regional or even national development” (our translation). For S.M Karimoun and A. Saadou (2021, p.146), the scarcity of available resources in the place of departure is the main reason for their decision to migrate. Montaz Léo (2020, p.4) s'analysis is also in line with the ones of those of the aforementioned authors. He suggests that rural exodus is motivated by the search for work or better living conditions. Their point of view is also strengthened by Patrice LeBlanc et al (2003 p. 35), who consider that “young people leave their region for a variety of reasons that include, more generally, the need to free themselves and be responsible for their lives” (our translation). These authors conclude that these reasons for leaving are linked to the vulnerability that characterizes some regions.

Towns and cities are the main destinations for these rural dwellers. They are attracted by job opportunities and architecture marked by facilities and other infrastructures not found in villages. Our study reveals a high proportion of migrants (73.1%) who have been able to find employment in the city. The main areas of integration are the tertiary sector (56.4%), the secondary sector (33.3%) and the primary sector (10.3%). In many cases, these activities are precarious and do not guarantee a better quality of life. Leo Montaz (2020, p. 4) describes these sectors as a “makeshift” sector, as they are made up of odd jobs that cannot provide for their needs in the city. These employment and integration difficulties have become more acute in African cities in recent years. They are the result of political, economic and social crises that are particularly acute in urban areas. As a result, Patrick Gubry (1996, p. 427) believes that the difficulties of living in the place of destination will encourage back-migration. Like Patrick Gubry (opt. cit.), our study reveals reasons such as difficulties in the city, which are based on the issue of employment, and academic failure of younger people who have migrated for academic reasons. One of the reasons for the return revealed in our study is the family's desire to stay in the village. This is linked to several factors, including the parents' old age, inheritance issues, land issues and the migrant's poor situation in town. In short, the economic deterioration of the urban fabric described by Patrick Gubry (opt cite) epitomizes all the motivations for a return to the village. For him, back-migration is certainly a response to the crisis but is no longer a solution. Once back in the village, these migrants also represent a source of innovation in rural areas that are still very traditional, Ronan Boudigou et al (1998, p 226). Leo Montaz (2020, p 4) opt cited studies of the new economic strategies of these young people, in particularly their entrepreneurial strategies. They describe them as “rural entrepreneurs”. The main activities mentioned include commerce (hairdressing shops, telephone stores, mechanics' workshops, etc.). In our study, commercial activities take second place in agriculture, which was the main activity of many of the interviewees before they migrated to the towns. In Bonoufla, the integration of back-migrants has been easy, which is a major asset to their contribution to the socio-spatial change in the locality. Between building stores and houses, buying land and setting up several other activities, back-migrants are rising to the challenge of local development. This is why S.M Karimoun and A. Saadou, op. cit. Saadou op. cit. think that migratory movements are a real engine for local development.

5. Conclusion

The return from rural exodus is part of the large migratory movements that affect people's daily lives. The elitist and attractive nature of the cities, along with the lack of opportunities for integration in the villages, have led young people of Bonoufla to migrate to different urban localities in Côte d'Ivoire. Between changing localities for some, and settling in the same town for others, these neo-citizens have experienced different fates in their integration into an urban environment increasingly afflicted by various crises. More than half of these migrants have found employment, particularly in the precarious tertiary and secondary sectors. For many of them, the decision to return to the village is a choice between a demand from their parents to perpetuate their family's achievements, particularly in terms of land management and inheritance issues, a lack of decent employment, failure at school and the challenges of urban life. This return is often prepared through investments in the village or town by some of them, while the majority want to be integrated on their arrival. As the villages become more dynamic, many back-migrants turn to a variety of activities. The main sectors are agriculture, the main activity before departure, trade and several other non-agricultural jobs. The impact of these back migrants on local change is significant. They invest in the construction of houses and stores, the purchase of land and community projects. For a significant proportion of them, this return does not appear to be a permanent one.

References

- Beauchemin Cris**, 1999. « Émigration urbaine, crise économique et mutations des campagnes en Côte d'Ivoire ». In: Espace, populations, sociétés, 1999-3. Mélanges. pp. 399-409; doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/espos.1999.1906> https://www.persee.fr/doc/espos_0755-7809_1999_num_17_3_1906
- Bocquier, P. & Traore, S.** 1996. « Migrations en Afrique de l'Ouest: de nouvelles tendances ». La chronique du CEPED, n° 20, janvier-mars, Paris, p. 1-3
- Chauveau J.-P.**, 1997, « Jeu foncier, institutions d'accès à la ressource et usage de la ressource : une étude de cas dans le Centre-ouest ivoirien », B. CONTAMIN (dir.), Le modèle ivoirien en question, Paris : Karthala-ORSTOM, p.325-360
- Gauthier, M., Côté, S., Molgat, M. & Deschenaux, F.** (2003). « Pourquoi partent-ils? Les motifs de migration des jeunes régionaux ». Recherches sociographiques, 44(1), 113–139. <https://doi.org/10.7202/007193a>
- Gubry Patrick**, 1996. « Le retour au village est-il une solution? le cas du Cameroun ». Les études du CEPED, n° 13, p 423-441
- Karine emsellem.**, 1998. « Vers la ville, vers le village, tendances récentes du peuplement en Roumanie » (Towards the city, towards the village, recent trends of settlement in Romania). In: Bulletin de l'Association de géographes français, 75e année, 1998-4 (décembre). La nouvelle Europe médiane. pp. 486-503, doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/bagf.1998.2086> ; https://www.persee.fr/doc/bagf_0004-5322_1998_num_75_4_2086
- Montaz Léo.**, 2020. « Retour au village - Jeunesse et pouvoirs en Côte d'Ivoire », Karthala - Les Afriques, 262 p
- OIM.**, 2021. Rapport de profilage des migrants Ivoiriens, 2017–2020. 33 p
- Patrice LeBlanc et al**, 2003. « La migration des jeunes et le développement régional dans le croissant péri-nordique du Québec ». Recherches sociographiques, 44(1), pp 35–55. <https://doi.org/10.7202/007190ar>
- Ronan Boudigou et al**, 1998. « Le retour au village des migrants comme exemple des interactions ville/forêt au Sud-Cameroun ». BLEY Daniel, CHAMPAUD Jacques, BAUDOT Patrick, BRUN Brun, PAGEZY Hélène, VERNAZZA-LICHT Nicole (eds). Villes du Sud et environnement, Editions de Bergier, pp.225-241, Travaux de la Société d'Ecologie Humaine, 2-9511840-2-6. fihal-01516658
- Souley Moussa Karimoun et Aboubacar Saadou.** 2021. « Apports socio-économiques de la migration des jeunes du plateau de la commune rurale d'allakaye (département de bouza) au développement local » ». Akofena, n°003, Vol.1. pp 145-162
- Tchawe Hatcheu Emile.**, 2000, « Les commerçants et les transporteurs dans l'approvisionnement vivrier et la distribution alimentaire à Douala (Cameroun) », Bulletin de l'APAD [En ligne], 19 | 2000, mis en ligne le 12 juillet 2006, consulté le 21 décembre 2020. URL: <http://journals.openedition.org/apad/431>; DOI: <https://doi.org/10.4000/apad.431>
16 p
- Walther Olivier**, 2004. « Au-delà de l'opposition entre villes et campagnes. Éléments pour un modèle territorial dynamique en Afrique de l'Ouest ». In: L'information géographique, volume 68, n°4, 2004. pp. 308-319; doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/ingeo.2004.2965> https://www.persee.fr/doc/ingeo_0020-0093_2004_num_68_4_2965