

# Social determinants of coffee and cocoa leakage in Agneby-Tiassa, Cote d'Ivoire

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## 1 ABSTRACT

The objective of this work is to analyse the social determinants of leakage of coffee and cocoa from cooperatives to other marketing areas. The qualitative method was used to collect data for this study. The results of the investigations led us to understand that the leakage of coffee and cocoa from cooperatives is related to farmers' conceptions of their different structures. At the scientific level, the present study allows us to affirm that the perception of the notion of cooperative by the cooperative farmers has an almost negative impact on the activities of cooperatives. This hinders the achievement of the objectives of the cooperatives enterprises in Agneby-Tiassa

## 2 INTRODUCTION

The precarious financial situation of coffee and cocoa growers in rural areas is almost universally noted through all social science research and is the subject of both national and international interest. NGOs and international financial institutions continue to express their dismay at the deplorable living situation of coffee and cocoa farmers (Tano, 2012). It is then for this reason that Morrisset (2019), an economist at the IMF, reporting on Ivorian coffee and cocoa, estimated (Morrisset, 2019) that one out of three farmers in Côte d'Ivoire lives in a precarious state. For a long time ranked as the world's leading, Côte d'Ivoire should work to improve the living conditions of the farmers whether they have joined a cooperative or not. At the institutional level, the reform of the sector led to the abolition of CAISTAB in 1999 and the creation in 2002 of new support and management structures for the sector (CCC, 2012). The break-up of the system then gives any legal operator license to buy and market coffee and cocoa with, of course, barriers issued by law. While it is certainly true that the general situation of farmers in Côte d'Ivoire is to

be decried, it is understood that certain situations are significant factors in their lack of well-being. During the three previous campaigns (2017-2018; 2018-2019 and 2019-2020), the overall production forecasts at Agneby-Tiassa level were at least 100,000 tonnes of cocoa beans and 5,000 tonnes of coffee. However, during this same period, the Agneby-Tiassa region produced only about 76,000 tons of cocoa beans per year and 2,500 tons of coffee representing respectively 3.36% and 2.57% at the national level. Of all these productions, the cooperatives sold 88.63% of the cocoa stocks against 11.37% for the other processors involved in the sector. For coffee, the cooperatives managed to collect a total of 82.63% of the region's revenue. Therefore 17.37% was collected by other buyers who are mainly exporters, product buyers and trackers. Faced with this situation of leakage of agricultural products, the local authorities of the Agneby-Tiassa region, that is the administrative body, the various officials of the rural world (the Regional Directorate of Agriculture and the ANADER), the heads of the cooperatives and

the supreme body, the CCC, regularly carry out campaigns to raise awareness among farmers. At the level of the cooperatives, so-called “peasant days” are organized with the aim of encouraging the peasant populations to take more responsibility; indicating to the farmer the advantage of selling his product to a single cooperative, given that the premiums allocated by the exporters and the rebates linked to their various sales can constitute additional income. The CCC, in agreement with the administrative authorities, is supported by security forces for control missions in order to deter all actors who operate clandestinely and encourage the leakage of cooperative products. Despite awareness and repression actions, we note the persistence of

### 3 METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Presentation of the locality studied:

The Agneby-Tiassa region is located in the south of Côte d'Ivoire. It includes four (04) departments, which are the departments of Agboville, Tiassalé, Taabo and Sikensi. The region has 197,630 inhabitants (RGPH 2014). Agneby-Tiassa is limited to the north by the regions of Moronou and Bélier; to the south by the regions of the great bridges, to the east by the Mé region and to the west by the Goh and Loh Djiboua regions. The choice of this region is because during our field surveys in connection with the preparation of the Master, we observed another phenomenon linked to the cooperatives of the department of Agboville. This is the problem of the leakage of products from cooperatives into illicit sales channels. We wanted to extend our work to the entire region to find out the motives behind these peasant reactions. Therefore, we visited eight villages and eight cooperatives at the rate of two villages per department and two cooperatives per locality visited. In practice, we visited the department of Agboville with the villages of Aké-Douanier and Ehouéguié, then the department of Taabo with Taabo-village and Ndénou, then the department of Sikensi with Gomon and Yaobou as the survey area. Finally the department of Tiassalé by visiting the villages of Tollakro and M'brimbo. This section presents the various

the leakage of these agricultural products. So, how can the dispersion of products by co-operators be explained? What are the fundamental social determinants of the flight of coffee and cocoa from Agneby-Tiassa cooperatives to other marketing channels? In view of the above, our objective is to analyse the determinants of the flight of coffee and cocoa from cooperatives to other marketing channels in Agneby-Tiassa. It is therefore a question of evaluating the different perceptions of the peasants of Agneby-Tiassa of the notion of cooperative (I) before indicating the impact of these perceptions on the leakage of products (II).

cooperatives under study. Thus, we can indicate cooperatives such as SCOOPS-BAD and SCINPA in Agboville, SOCOADETA-CI and ANOUANZE in Taabo, CAOSI and CAYSI in Sikensi and finally EWOUMBO and SCEB in Tiassalé.

**3.2 Data collection and processing:** This study mobilized three data collection techniques, namely documentary research, observation and interview. In this process, several documents were consulted in order to be able to obtain information that could help us to carry out this work. The documentary research focused on the flight of coffee and cocoa from agricultural cooperatives. The library of the Research Center for Action for Peace (CERAP) as well as that of the central library of the university helped us in consulting the documents. Which favoured the construction of our problem and to differentiate it from the others already carried out. Direct observation led us to observe, memorize, record and note all the variables of coffee and cocoa leakage from cooperatives in the Agneby-Tiassa region. Clearly, the recurrent lack of liquidity of coffee and cocoa cooperatives, the pressing need to have cash, the numerous delays of cooperatives in paying for products after consignment sales are all factors that favour flight and the interviews that also allowed us to collect a database. During this work, explanatory

descriptive analysis (Fortin 2010) were used. This enabled us to carry out a total of 29 individual interviews and 8 focus groups with the actors present. The size of this qualitative sample is justified by the principle of saturation (Mucchieli, 1991). The objectivity pursued has led us to diversify our sources of information. This data triangulation took into account the following categories of actors: 2 ANADER agents, 1 regional prefect, 4 sub-prefects, 1 regional director of agriculture, 3 departmental directors of agriculture and 2 officials coffee-cocoa advice. Then we carried out 8 focus groups with non-member farmers and 8 focus groups with other cooperative leaders. The data processing of our work was done manually. On this basis, we were able to focus on what seemed essential to better orient ourselves in achieving our various objectives. Therefore, we have mobilized essentially three methods likely to lead us to objective results. As a result, we have used both dialectical analysis, structural analysis and functionalism to understand the phenomenon under study.

**3.3 Theoretical approaches:** Theorizing is the fact of not only sketching the contours of a situation or the elements of a problem, but of integrating and articulating them with all of their ins and outs within the conceptual body that the was retained as the global framework applicable in his research (Aktouf, 1992). Therefore, "no field survey or database, whatever its scope and degree of precision, has ever generated and will never generate by itself sociological knowledge if they are not designed, guided, prompted, informed, fuelled by a theoretical imagination" (Lahire, 2004, 121). The flight of coffee and cocoa from cooperatives to other marketing channels in Agneby-Tiassa mobilizes three theories that allow us to explain the phenomenon. Crozier and Friedberg (1977) consider an organization as a social construct. These criticize the conception of the passive individual as it appears in Fayol's and Taylor's theory of organizations. It is the product of interactions between individuals with common goals. Therefore, any attempt to design organizations should respect this first principle

on which the construction of an organization is based. For them, between the members of the organization is established a set of relations of rules developed to respond to problems posed by the functioning of the organization. The organization is characterized by its interactions. These interactions determine how it works. The study of the structure and functioning of cooperatives has allowed us to see how they work to meet the aspirations of their members. We noticed that the cooperatives do not use their expertise to carry out common actions in the direction of the satisfaction of their members and to stimulate rural development. Certain peasant practices then put the established systems into crisis and collapsed. This undermines the proper functioning of cooperatives; thus limiting the prevailing theory. This is why to explain these limits we have summoned the theory of economic fact and habitus. If it is true that the cooperative principles establish as standards the collection, storage and marketing of products (therefore a deposit-sale), certain economic realities come to alter these principles of good faith. This social fact will then be elucidated by authors who explain the attitude of producers who are members of cooperatives. Economic sociology considers economic activity to be a dimension of social activity. For (Durkheim, 1895), quoted by Steiner and Vatin, the social is constituted by the ways of doing, thinking and feeling that are imposed on the individual (P. Steiner, F Vatin, 2013). Our study has shown that economic problems are mostly facts that are imposed on farmers. This reflection allows us to understand the different behaviours of farmers in a situation of "financial drought". If living decently presupposes financial means, the refusal to wait for consignment sales manifested in the flight of products seems to be well informed by the theory of economic and social fact. Financial problems are legion in rural areas and farmers do not intend to stay long without money, especially since opportunities are offered to them to quickly evacuate their products and to be efficient in a short period of time. Clearly, it is the recurring financial problems that lead

farmers to adopt infidelity behaviours to sell their products elsewhere. According to Bourdieu, the habitus (which is the third theory mentioned) is the way of being, the set of habits or behaviours acquired by an individual, a group of individuals or a social group (Bourdieu, 1981). By referring to this definition, we can easily understand the social fact under study. When peasants cannot get rid of their habits and behaviours that have been institutionalized by them, it is understood that abandoning them for other choices is not easy. If some peasants say they feel comfortable when they are alone, then

#### 4 RESULTS

In this work, two main results caught our attention. These are farmers' perceptions of cooperatives (1) and farmers' impact of these perceptions on farmers (2).

**4.1 Perceptions of farmers on cooperatives:** If it is certainly true that the

attitudes such as the lack of involvement in cooperative activities that lead to the flight of products seem to find their meaning from the moment these things are set up in fact of culture by the actors themselves. Indeed, the flight of products from cooperatives to other points of sale is due to the different habits of farmers. To understand the purpose of this study, we have on the one hand sought to analyse the socio-economic factors of the flight and on the other hand the impacts of the different perceptions of the farmers of the cooperative.

general situation of farmers in Côte d'Ivoire is to be decried (Tano, 2012), the way in which each peasant actor really perceives the notion of cooperative from a sociological point of view is given in Table 1.

**Table 1:** table retracing the perception of the notion of cooperative by producers

What does the cooperative mean to you?		
Type of perception	workforce	Percentages 100%
Social perception	254	36.92
Economic perception	308	44.77
Cultural perception	126	18.31
Total	688	100

Source: Our survey, September 2019

A total of three patterns emerge from table 1. First, the economic perception indicates that 308 peasants for a rate of 44.77% conceive the cooperative as an economic fact. For 254 other farmers who represent 36.92% of the overall rate, they assign the cooperative a social perception. The cultural perception represents 18.31% respectively. Clearly, it is a question of understanding within each heading the different attitudes of the farmers.

**4.1.1 Social perception:** For this segment of respondents, the cooperative is a charitable institution. At this price, it must be able, whatever the situation of the farmer, to find favourable answers. For them, the cooperative is a better-organized form of mutual aid structures

in the village. To this end, they must do their utmost to satisfy the said structures encountering a financial problem. It is in the name of this conception that K.L.P, a co-operator interviewed in the locality of Ehouégué in the department of Agboville will say:

*“I say well for us because I am not alone, the cooperative is there to help us when we are really stuck. If I have to run around asking for credit when they are the ones who pay for the cocoa in the village here, it is because it is good. Besides, they do not even help us. So even now, we do not care. We manage where we can.”*

From the above, the social factor that the cooperative takes means that when it is found

that the co-operators are not satisfied following a request, they turn to other points of sale other than the cooperatives. Cases of illness, cases of loss of a close relative for the funeral and also and especially the problem of schooling of the children of the peasants are situations which most often lead the peasants to seek their cooperatives in order to come to their aid. . Some co-operators, anxious to change their social aspect, ask their cooperative to support them in carrying out their projects. For the most part, the cooperatives fail to meet the requirements, because the cooperatives do not have enough means. This situation is unacceptable for some farmers who often make it known, as A.B.K., another co-operator interviewed in the locality of N'dènou in the Sub-prefecture of Taabo, points out here:

*“Look where I sleep, it’s not good! I tell the cooperative to give me a little money to make a good house, they are going to cut my sales a little bit, and they say there is no money. However, you see that it discourages!”*

If we consider these situations as frustrations, it is precisely because the producers have placed all their hope in their cooperative. To this end, the non-satisfaction of their various requests constitute points of discouragement which lead them to uncooperative behaviour which results in the various detours of the products towards other sales channels. There are also cases of illnesses that lead the co-operators to their bases. Clearly, being in financial difficulty, some farmers turn to their cooperative in order to obtain loans for their care; which are to be reimbursed during the campaigns, they say. Moreover, it is not always that these peasants have had satisfaction. This situation of dissatisfaction is also one of the causes of the flight of cocoa through other structures. Because dissatisfied with his cooperative, the farmer is tempted to sell wherever he sees fit. However, in these credit situations, some leaders have come out to shed some light, as K.Y.R, a cooperative leader, does here:

*“You see, the peasants think they're smarter than everyone else; they apply for loans that are granted to them. In addition, during the campaigns, instead of taking their product to the cooperative, they stay in their corners, to be sold with trackers. In addition, after when they are ruined, it is still us they come to see, you understand. To give credit you will have to pay your old credit, right? So let them have the courage to say what they are doing. Otherwise, even if we don't have everything they ask for, we still give a little”.*

For this respondent, the non-respect of the commitments of some farmers to repay loans within cooperatives is legion. They refuse to repay and therefore create enormous problems for the smooth running of the cooperatives. This situation affects the cooperatives, which until now have struggled to be self-sufficient. Another aspect that we have retained is the funeral cases. Some peasants say they have been refused loans to organize the funerals of their close relatives. To do this, they refuse to give their product or their entire product to their cooperative, which cannot satisfy them. In addition, this is what founds the words of K.M, a furious co-operator of his case with his structure:

*“I lost my father, I did everything to get some money to go to his funeral; zero, and I got nothing. It was a gentleman who had cocoa in the village there who helped me out. So that's how it is; you suit me, I suit you”.*

These words, which demonstrate the social aspect of cooperatives, make members rebel against their structures when they do not obtain satisfaction following their requests formulated to deal with a given situation. However, on the issue of funerals, one of the cooperative leaders in the person of Y.E.D.E, domiciled in Gomon told us the following:

“Peasants like “did you see me”, they like to organize big funerals, to make a mess when their money is periodic. It is the lack of management that tires them, otherwise we talk to them. It is because they are stubborn. The origin of this situation is the lack of management of the resources obtained during the coffee and cocoa

campaigns. Peasants like to attract the gaze of others, especially during the funeral of a close relative, just so that they are called wealthy peasants and capable of carrying out a certain number of tasks when in reality they do not have substantial means to insure large expenses. In other words, we say that the peasants squander their funds on funeral expenses. It is therefore this way of wanting to be seen at all costs that leads the peasant to go into debt.

One of the observations made is the scarcity of finances during the month of September when the peasant must ensure the schooling of his offspring. We specify that the return to school in Côte d'Ivoire has been held for more than a decade in September. The question of schooling remains sensitive. We had the opportunity to experience this reality during our surveys carried out during the back-to-school period. Most of the respondents have made loan requests to their various cooperatives, they say, to enable their children to go to school. However, they had not obtained favourable answers until the moment when we carried out our investigations. At that time, almost all the peasants were waiting for money to be able to send their offspring back to school. K.K.P, a co-operator indicates that the co-operatives do not help them there as he makes it known following the statement below: "You see, my children are there, currently they are all at home. They no longer want to go to the field. I am waiting for the cooperative to give me some money, but they say there is nothing. Yet they are the ones who pay for my cocoa. This little that we put in the sun, if a tracker passes, he manages me, I release them".

The question of financing and the availability of funds in a cooperative is crucial for its effectiveness. As we can see, some situations of dissatisfaction are due to the lack of liquidity through the cooperatives hitherto taken for the peasants as a social structure, which must help them whatever the problem raised. If some farmers are in the cooperative, it is to benefit from social action. To this end, this fringe of the survey population which conceives that the cooperative is a social entity considers that their

structures must come to their aid whenever they request them. The non-satisfaction of their requests constitutes for them a lack of honour, which sometimes leads to anti-cooperative behaviour. It is this level of understanding of the co-operators that animates another farmer interviewed T.K in these terms:

"We say to join the cooperative to earn a little credit when things are not going well but we are always told that there is nothing and then what do you want me to go and look for there? I will give my product to the trackers; at least they give me credit and then they cut me off a bit".

With this social perception that farmers have of their cooperatives, it happens that at times the cohabitation between leaders and members becomes difficult, especially when farmers do not have access to loans. It is this situation that Y.E.D.E, a cooperative leader based in Gomon, is once again trying to explain to us:

*"Peasants are often too picky. When they come to ask for a loan and we cannot satisfy them, they come into conflict with us and there, hold on tight, they do not even come to the cooperative anymore with their products. If we had the money, we would do it. Then for an experience we have of farmers, I have to tell you so that you go and tell whoever asks you. Farmers do not pay credit. If you gave your money to a planter this year, you can spend half the campaign without having a kilogram of cocoa with him. He will sell his cocoa elsewhere and that becomes a concern for us. That's kind of what's going on."*

All these situations are likely to create dissension between the various leaders and members. On analysis, it turns out that peasants and leaders do not agree on the question of loans. If for the peasants, the loans are legitimate and executory, the leaders do not stop proclaiming the lack of will of the members to proceed to the reimbursement of the loans contracted. For the leaders, the peasants play games of duplicity. Because, once a loan is granted to them, they turn away from their cooperatives. Aware that part of their income is spent in advance, some farmers flee their cooperatives to sell to pisteurs in order to have cash. These are all situations that widen the gap between co-operators and

managers and whose immediate consequence is the diversion of cooperative products to other marketing channels.

**4.1.2 The economic perception of the notion of cooperative:** For this category of members, the cooperative enterprise is the structure to which the farmer can go with his product and in return have the equivalent of his weight in terms of finances to be able to settle his affairs. This category of co-operators believes that people only go to the cooperative for economic reasons. In addition, the only link that unites them is cocoa for the cooperative and money for the farmer. The income from his production is the element that can motivate him to join a cooperative. The lack of liquidity is the result of the non-cooperative behaviours observed throughout our research area. Without the availability of funds in the coffers of the cooperatives, the peasants who conceive of them as structures of an economic nature seek elsewhere where to find satisfaction. The lack of finance within the cooperatives is therefore one of the causes of the leakage of products observed throughout this study. This is what emerges from the words of I.L.K, a co-operator in these terms:

*“My dear there is no time. We do not go there like that. When we go there, it is to get our money. I am going to sell my cocoa and move on. If they do not do it quickly, I go see the tracker with a little cocoa and life goes on.*

*Farmers visit their cooperatives less and most of the time this only happens during the countryside, as P.E.K, another farmer surveyed, adds:*

*“Me, I only go there to sell the little I have, otherwise what will I get there? If I have a little cocoa I go there and if they have the money we get free quickly or else I look for a tracker elsewhere”.*

The economic component occupies a prominent place in cooperative organizations, especially in the coffee-cocoa sector, which is seen as the bedrock of Ivorian agriculture. Another of the internal realities that the co-operators make of their different structures is the cultural conception.

**4.1.3 The cultural perception of farmers vis-à-vis cooperatives:** In the villages where we

carried out our surveys, the cooperative is perceived as a fact of culture. In fact, the cooperatives that have their origin since peasant groups, passing through the Cooperative Vocation Groups until today have accused the adherence of our parents. As a result, joining the cooperative has become a fact of culture. As we can see, it is of no particular interest that X.L, grandson of a peasant, today a peasant himself, joined the village cooperative. His words on this subject are clearly evocative:

*“This cooperative, my grandfather was in it, even if it is no longer the same name; but it's the same thing. It is for the village. My dad was there too. If today I refuse to go there, how will people see that? They will say that I am not well and that I refuse to be in the things that the village does. That is why we all go there if not what do people do for us here? Nothing at all! Me, I divide my cocoa into four. I deposit a little to my cooperative and the rest, I manage, and don't you understand? »*

These words translate here the social reproduction of membership and commercialization. Which means that in this universe, X.L occupies a position analogous or identical to that of the parents. This is the case of this respondent who is forced to align himself with the principle of life that his parents had. This moral constraint to join the cooperative is a kind of saving the honour of the generation. Obviously, it is with real contempt that some peasants are at the cooperative in their village. It is a real moral constraint otherwise, no motivation accompanies, as this planter means, his membership in the cooperative. If many farmers today belong to a cooperative, this is due to the sustainability of values. Some co-operators interviewed just want to take over from the parents. This is the basis of their subscription to the village cooperative. This is all the scenery we face. This is why the products are distributed all over the place through all the on-farm purchasing channels. This behaviour does not favour the progress of the farmer himself because the sale of his products does not benefit him in terms of rebates and acquisition of inputs because he is not affiliated with a cooperative,

which takes into account his sales for later reward. All these situations are the result of the conceptions that the co-operators have. Indeed, the confrontation of data collected in the field shows that some peasants consider it indecent to stand on the fringes of an institution for which the sons of this same area are involved. Not participating in the life of the cooperative constitutes an obstacle to the local principles of the village. It is then that some consider the cooperative as a fact of tradition. Because, as N.Y. said, another co-operator surveyed,

“My dad did, everyone next to me is in GVC, if I refuse, is that okay? Therefore, I have to. It is something we do in the village; I cannot refuse to do too. Look at! How will I be seen? »

This mentality drives some farmers to attend cooperatives by force without any real commitment. All these realities described show a declining participation of members in cooperative activities. This is because this population so far does not seem to understand the principles of cooperative grouping. In addition, this affects the level of attendance at the cooperative, of which others see it as a symbol.

#### 4.2 The impact of perceptions on coffee and cocoa leakage

##### 4.2.1 The lack of a cooperative spirit among cooperative farmers in Agneby-Tiassa:

One of the problems that most of the time cooperative structures encounter is the lack of cooperative spirit that is located first within the cooperatives. At the level of cooperatives, it should be remembered that the fundamental operating principle is that of democratic management through collective decision-making. However, management errors, in particular the lack of real communication often raised during our surveys, really influence the relationship between managers and cooperative members. Sometimes these different actors accuse each other. Leaders complain about the lack of interest shown by members to the detriment of their structures. For the leaders, cooperatives are only aimed at their economic interest. Leaders believe that producers only attend meetings of their cooperative during the

coffee-cocoa seasons. Beyond these periods, they no longer set foot there. At times, this disinterestedness of co-operators vis-à-vis their structures encourages them to make decisions themselves. Members lose all sense of responsibility and all will to act. For the leaders, it is the peasants who, because of their greed and their invaluable thirst for money, cannot manage to contain themselves and respect their commitment, as underlined by M.K, one of the leaders of the cooperatives visited:

“Some of our members, almost all of them, play a double game with us. They have at least two or three cooperatives. They are there ask them! They do not often come to the meetings to decide with us. They are only there during the open campaign and especially when their money is here. After that, we do not see them here anymore. Their behaviour causes us to lose weight on our annual forecasts, which means that we are not able to reach our weight goals.

The low participation or the non-involvement of the members in the activities of the cooperative leads the cooperatives to turn away from their fixed objectives. They are confronted with economic realities that are often contradictory with the cooperative ideal. For these members, the cooperatives in turn do not play a fair game. They recognize at times their lack of spirit of union as suggested by the cooperative principle but attribute all this to the failure to keep the promises of the leaders. For K.L.M.D.

“The leaders do not keep their promises they say that we are going to have inputs we see nothing oh! We do not talk about the weights (discounts) themselves. If the input did not come, it is not the money they will give us! Look ZZ! We have not told him since; he is the one helping us here. At least he always has money on him.

Pursuing M.N.F who vehemently criticizes the leaders adds:

“When my cooperative gives me nothing as products to treat my field, it is ZZ who gives me fertilizer there with the other products and then I reimburse a little, a little. With that, to spend all my time at their meeting to get what even, if there is an agreement campaign if not me never! »



As we see, the lack of cooperative spirit results in the non-involvement of members in the activities of cooperatives. In fact, the deterioration in the prices of raw materials resulting from the deterioration of the terms of trade and the skilfully orchestrated speculation on the international market establishes an additional parameter for the deterioration of the harmony and the hope of the improvement of the living conditions of the members. It is therefore in view of these difficulties that some farmers are turning away from their cooperatives to sell through other channels; often within the same geographical area and sometimes well beyond. Even more, the mutual accusations between members and managers are likely to deteriorate the climate of trust that existed prior to the establishment of the cooperative institution. This situation, which affects the relationship between the cooperative structures and their base, is able to alienate the member from his base through his constant infidelity, which, moreover, pushes him to individualism.

**4.2.2 Peasant individualism:** As far as the individualization of peasants is concerned, we want to understand that individualism is a political, philosophical, social, or moral conception, which tends to privilege the rights and interests of the individual over those of the group. Its principle is that the individual is the only entity against which the moral value of an action can be measured. One of the reasons for this solitary politics is self-assertion. In addition, this most often contrasts with the definition that farmers give us of the notion of cooperative when they stress that “unity is strength”. The individualism of the peasants then has several explanations. It is true, individualism is a system of isolation in the labours and efforts of man; system whose opposite is the association that characterizes cooperatives. From what precedes, the individualistic tendencies of the farmers then seem to find foundations. Some peasants like K.N.M attest to the following qi:

*“The union may not work! I go to the field alone. I prefer to do my business alone. The cooperative will make me late. In the morning, I get up, I go to the field; I do what I can and I come home. It is progressing very well. I do*

*not wait for my friend to work in my field. And besides, even, people sort people here. I do not like that; talking too much is not good my brother. I work alone in my field, which is all! »*

It is clear, as a producer points out, that due to certain social realities, personal interests tend to prevail over collective actions with the categorization of actors. As a result, the less fortunate feel aggrieved in a structure where one group always dominates the others. The first reason mentioned by some co-operators is the lack of clarity in the financial transactions carried out by the managers. The members believe that the leaders enrich themselves at the expense of the various co-operators who live poorly and sleep in indecent dwellings. This way of managing the joint enterprise by the Presidents of the Board of Directors and the Presidents of the Management Board is one of the motivations for some farmers to work alone. The second reason for these withdrawals is the lack of inputs for farmers. Indeed, the problem of distributing inputs to members has been revealed throughout this study. For co-operators, there are glaring inequalities in the distribution of inputs and rebates. The confiscation of products by the tenors of cooperative enterprises for their sole cause is often decried by peasants who agree with J.M, a member of a cooperative in the locality of N'dènou that:

*“People take the products that we have to be given to go and pump their cocoa. We are given a box of engrais even if you have ten hectares of cocoa. What can it do between us? We have to pay for fertilizer and other products to treat our plantations”.*

These inequalities revealed at the level of the governing bodies militate in favour of the bad behaviour of the peasants. Indeed, the distribution of inputs is part of a tripartite system and connects the Coffee and Cocoa Council, the services of ANADER and the cooperatives. This system makes it possible to have control over the distribution operations in order to give the planter what is due to him. However, these operations, it seems tedious for the illiterate farmer, lead to their failure. Benefiting from

inputs supposes having completed an operation cycle while respecting a grid of evaluation criteria. As such, the first criterion that seems quite legitimate is the simple fact of being a cocoa and/or coffee producer. As a result, any farmer who owns a plot of cocoa and/or coffee can theoretically benefit from inputs. However, this sole and simple criterion is not valid for the Café Cacao Council, which considers that the farmer applying for the free distribution of phytosanitary products is also affiliated with a cooperative duly registered by its services and in real activity. After which, the farmer is invited to register on a list via software called SICOPS; then the farmer will have to be actually registered in the SICOPS database to hope to benefit from it when the time comes. Finally, the lengthy process that distribution takes hinders efficient operations. The peasants then say that they are marginalized because of their academic handicap by this system and prefer to be alone. Asking them to connect to the Internet with a Smartphone and carrying out such large-scale operations constitutes for them scenes of mockery, as underlined by M.K, a co-operator for whom the use of such a device is for city dwellers and especially for those who can read: *"We don't know how to read. We are asked to register on the internet before they will give us products; they just have to take it, I will manage on my own"*.

## 5 DISCUSSION

The purpose of this work was to analyse the determinants of the flight of coffee and cocoa from cooperatives to other marketing channels in Agneby-Tiassa. Based on their various investigations, we have come to understand that the perceptions farmers have of their cooperatives have a negative impact on their activities. Indeed, the different interpretations of the concept of cooperative made by the actors on the spot undermine the ambitions of many cooperatives. Which are for the improvement of the living conditions of the members and above all, the search for rural development. In reality, this notion of leakage has already been addressed in previous works. For Ouattara (2019), the establishment of world-class operators in Côte

With such remarks, the peasant who feels incapable of using computers prefers to withdraw, from cooperative enterprises to go their own way. In reality, with such operations, the cooperatives and the Café Cacao Council plan to support producers by providing them with some phytosanitary products. However, because of their inability to use the computer tool, the farmers do not take any interest in it. Sometimes, some co-operators agree to be enrolled via the guardianship on presentation of their identity document; but these operations remain without follow-up.

This is the result of a lack of follow-up or even lack of interest on the part of the leaders. Some peasants link these shortcomings to their illiterate situation and that the leaders who have noticed this are playing dishonesty by putting their contributions in their personal names. Hence the words of M.K.E, a peasant member: *"We don't know how to read, we don't know how to write, we are asked to send a document, they will write our names on the papers and then they come to tell us that our names have not come out too. Who took products there? It is them my dear; they do that and then they take to pump their fields while we have nothing. Me, I am tired of all that, I prefer to buy one or two boxes with my little money and then I will work with that. Otherwise if you count on the people there, you are dead"*.

d'Ivoire is a source of real change in the commercial circuit of coffee and cocoa. If for us the leaks emanate from the different perceptions and individualism of the primary actors who are the peasants, Ouattara (2019) considers that the changes, both social and spatial, of the coffee and cocoa marketing chain result from a vast global movement to liberalize agricultural markets driven by the Bretton Wood institutions, through the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP). This policy essentially consisted of the abolition of State marketing boards in order to improve the income received by the producer. This vision is manifested in the reorganization of the Zamblé supply chain, (2015). However, these various changes resulting

from the liberalization of the sector have only brought with it a gradual loss of control of local public and private actors and above all the weakening of their influence as underlined by B. Losch (2002) quoted by Zamblé (2015). Some authors such as Barjot (1988) believe that the lack of input support; the inability of cooperative structures to grant credit and the unavailability of substantial working capital for the free purchase of coffee and cocoa are inherent factors in the flight of products. Thus, the passage from the feeling of dissatisfaction to the flight reaction allows us to define discontent as a feeling of dissatisfaction whose origin is social. The state of mind of the producers will thus influence their participation in the various activities of their basic structures. M. Bresson (2014) claims that the result of all leaks is a lack of participation by local actors (members). For her, it is appropriate to think of a real and collective participation of the members of the groups in order to have a common vision. Durkheim (1893) believes that the proper functioning of a society is based on the principle of solidarity between the individual and the

## 6 CONCLUSION

This article will have helped to elucidate the determinants of the flight of coffee and cocoa from agricultural cooperatives in Côte d'Ivoire and particularly in Agneby-Tiassa. The culmination of this work contributes to understanding the sources of the dispersion of coffee and cocoa outside approved structures. Indeed, the economic difficulties of farmers in Agneby-Tiassa remain perceptible through their

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collective conscience. This then promotes their integration. This contrasts with the idea that the strongest man is the loneliest man. In other words, the individualist, that is to say the individual most conscious of his uniqueness, who has been able to achieve his autonomy the best, is the strongest man (Isben, 1864). Another aspect of flight, as effective as it is, is the indecent life of certain producers who live despite everything in a state of total poverty. These low-income farmers do not intend to keep their production for a long time in a cooperative for a consignment sale. They prefer to “deliver” to the first buyer who has offered cash regardless of the price, with a view to ensuring the minimum. This contrast is underlined by a World Bank report, which shows that 54.9% of Ivorian cocoa producers and their families live today below the poverty line, while the country alone provides 40% of the world productions. The farmer receives only 5 to 7% of the gains generated by this sector at the global level (B. Mondiale, 2019). In any case, the coffee and cocoa flight finds its source in the institutional and political failures highlighted in this study.

daily lives. The social phenomenon studied has its source in various factors including the perception of the concept of the cooperative that leads to the individualism of the peasants and by extension to their lack of cooperative spirit. In any case, the financial difficulty of producers since the liberalization which has turned into a decoy constitutes a successful passage in the marketing of products.

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