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EVALUATION OF THE PLANNING AND HOUSING INSTITUTIONS
IN THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: A CASE STUDY OF THE
IVORY COAST

By

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Housing Problem

Housing represents one of the basic human needs. Substantial housing affects human health, welfare, productivity, and social attitudes. But, despite the importance of housing in human life, the world has been facing serious housing problems. The housing situation is particularly serious in developing countries because of two major factors, which are:

1. The rapid urbanization and population growth, especially in the capital cities
2. The inadequate approach to housing problems

According to Michael A. Cohen in his article entitled "Cities in Developing Countries,"¹ the rate of growth in developing countries is between 2.5 and 3 percent a year compared to the .5 percent rate of growth in Europe in the period of rapid urbanization. This rapid growth consists of rural-urban migration and the natural population increase.

The rapid growth has been accompanied by the development of slums and squatter settlements with all their social costs, as the

¹Michael A. Cohen, "Cities in Developing Countries," Finance and Development 13 (March 1976):

absorptive capacity of the cities for more and more population becomes reduced.

According to projections of the United Nations, urban populations over the next 25 years will increase by 1.3 billion in developing countries. If present trends are permitted to continue, 75 percent of the populations will be slum dwellers.

The Ivory Coast is a typical example of this type of housing situation. It was established during the first population census held in April 1975 that the total population was 6.7 million, about half a million higher than previously estimated. Population growth accelerated from a rate of 1.4 percent a year for the period 1920-1945, to 2.8 percent for 1955-65, and to 4.0 percent for 1965-75. The increase in the indigenous population is estimated at 2.5 percent of the total population, the balance coming from heavy immigration. The proportion of the population living in urban areas rose from 13 percent in 1955 to 31 percent in 1973. The capital city, Abidjan, is one of the fastest growing cities in the world. The population of Abidjan increased eightfold in 20 years and was estimated to be about one million in 1975 or some 50 percent of the total urban population.

But, as in most developing countries, the Ivory Coast has very centralized policy-making institutions which are dependent on both western capitals and western technology and labor.

As a result, the institutions are forced to adapt models developed for western technologically-advanced countries. The costs of this irrational approach are usually born by the poor majority of the population.

Objectives

The objectives of this research paper are (1) to evaluate the housing policy-making institutions of the Ivory Coast, and (2) to relate the findings and propose to the government some alternative strategies for a more efficient institutional organization.

The evaluation of the structure of the decision-making institutions in planning and housing is the first stage in evaluation of the overall housing situation. The housing institutions are the ones which formulate and apply housing policies. Therefore, sound planning and housing policies are impossible without sound institutional structure. An efficient approach to housing problems can only be adopted within a rational housing institution framework.

Housing policy and design should take place within the context of the society which is to use it. The social, economic, environmental characteristics, as well as the ideology of the society, are to be considered first in an efficient housing program. All the above elements, however, cannot be considered if we depend on western countries for capital, labor, and technology.

Scope and Methodology

The study of all the aspects of the planning and housing situation in the Ivory Coast is very complex and, therefore, requires more time and resources and goes beyond the scope of a Plan B research paper.

It is, therefore, the researcher's intention to concentrate only on the institutional aspects of planning and housing in the

Ivory Coast. The research will be based mostly on secondary data from previous research done in the housing field by some European, American, and African authors and also by the World Bank and the United Nations. Some findings will be based on my own experiences as an Ivory Coast citizen.

There will be three major points discussed in the paper and they are as follows:

1. Description of the planning and housing institutions in the Ivory Coast
2. Problems and conflicts within the institutions
3. Recommendations

Before analyzing the institutions, the Ivory Coast will be described.

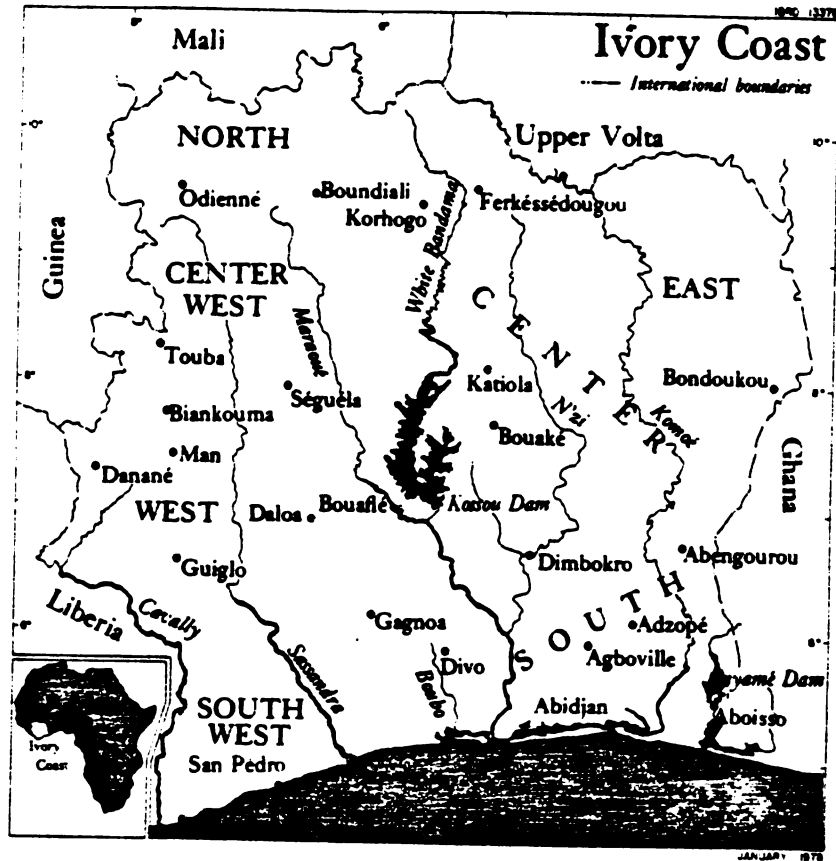
Description of the Ivory Coast

Geography

The Republic of the Ivory Coast lies at the western edge of the Gulf of Guinea between the fifth and tenth parallels north of the equator and is bisected by the fifth meridian west of Greenwich. With an area of about 124,000 square miles, it is almost twice the size of New England. It is bordered on the west by Liberia and Guinea, on the north by Mali and Upper Volta, and on the east by Ghana. There are 500 kilometers of Atlantic Ocean shoreline which form the southern boundary.

Major Geographic Regions

Almost all of the country is little more than a wide plateau, sloping gradually southward to the sea. There are no large rivers,



Map 1.--Map of the Ivory Coast

mountains, or marked climatic differences dividing the land into distinctive geographic regions. The land is differentiated by zones of natural vegetation, extending east and west across the entire country, parallel to the coast line. There are three main regions corresponding to these zones and they are:

1. The lagoon region which is a narrow coastal belt extending along the Gulf of Guinea
2. The dense forest region which forms a broad belt that covers roughly a third of the country north of the lagoon region
3. The savanna woodland region which comprises all of the Ivory Coast lying north of the forest

The sizes, types, and density of tree growth diminish progressively from south to north.

Climate

The dominant characteristics of the climate are sustained heat and seasonal rainfall. Since the entire country lies close to the equator, days vary little in length and solar radiation received is more intense and more uniform than in temperate latitudes.

The features of winter and summer are absent. Instead, the alternate north-south movements of continental and maritime air masses bring about marked periodic differences in rainfall to distinguish the climatic seasons. In the North are the dry harmattan created by the continental air mass and its prevailing northeast wind. In contrast is the warm maritime air mass with prevailing winds from the southwest in the South.

In the southern part of the country there are two rainy and two dry seasons. Further north, the two rainy seasons merge into a single period of rain, alternating annually with a season of dry weather. The two resulting types of climate are named equatorial climate (south) and tropical climate (north).

Relative humidity is highest during rainy seasons. In the South the average is about 80 percent for the year and both the annual and bi-annual ranges are very small.

Toward the north where the drying effect of the harmattan is stronger, yearly averages are 60 to 70 percent and the ranges are much more pronounced. Temperatures are warm throughout. In the southern third of the country, average minimum temperatures during the coolest months do not fall below 70°F. The average maximum temperatures during the warmest months may exceed 90°F but only in the far north.

People

Population characteristics.--The April 1976 population census estimated the Ivorian population at six to seven million people with an average of 21 inhabitants a square kilometer.

The population has increased at a rate of 1.4 percent a year from 1920 to 1945, to 2.8 percent from 1955 to 1965, and to 4.0 percent from 1965 to 1975. In 1973 it was estimated that about 25 percent of the total population was foreign born. When children born to foreign parents are included, the number in the foreign population would be two million or 30 percent.

About 100,000 Lebanese and Syrians and approximately 50,000 Europeans live in the Ivory Coast. The urban population, which was low in 1955 (13 percent), has increased rapidly to 31 percent of the total population in 1973.

Projected figures for 1985 place the overall population at 7,070,000 with an urban sector of 42 percent.² The rapid population growth is due mostly to foreign immigration, plus an estimated natural increase of only 2.5 percent. Table 1 gives the growth of total and urban populations from 1955 to 1975.

TABLE 1.--Growth of Total and Urban Populations^a (thousands)

Year	Total Population	Urban Populations ^b		
		Total	Percentage	Abidjan
1955	2,662.2	346.0	13.0	125.0
1965	4,302.5	946.0	21.0	340.0
1970	5,125.0	1,435.0	28.0	590.0
1975	6,700.0	2,300.0	34.3	1,000.0

^a"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," A World Bank Country Economic Report, p. 125.

^bThe term urban means settlements of over 4,000 inhabitants.

As in most African countries, the Ivory Coast is characterized by a great ethnic diversity having two main types of people: the world of savannah (North), and the peoples of the forest (South).

²"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," A World Bank Country Economic Report, p. 6.

Customs, tradition, social organization, and language divide the population into 60 ethnic groups. But these 60 ethnic groups can be classified into four main groups: the Akan group, the Krou group, the Mande group, and the Lagunaire group.

No ethnic group comprises more than about 15 percent of the total population. One ethnic group, the Senoufo (North), makes up 15 percent, but plays almost no role in the modern life of the country. Another group, however, of equal size, the Baoule (centre), together with culturally and linguistically-related groups of the south, runs the country.

French is the official language and also the principal language of communication. Bambara (sometimes called Dioula) is the major African language used in trading.

Most people practice the traditional tribal religions of their ancestors, but about 23 percent of the population, mainly in the North, have been converted to Islam, and about 13 percent, mostly in the South, are Christians. Adherents of Christianity and Islam have not necessarily discarded all the beliefs of their tribal religions. The government is officially secular, tolerant of all religions.

Historical Setting

The different ethnic groups in the Ivory Coast were first brought together by the accident of colonial conquest and made an entity for administrative convenience.

The history of the country as a political unit dates only from 1893 when it became a French colony. Before that time the story

was one of disjointed tribal activities and of the encroachment of European traders along the coast. Penetration on the coast through the dense forest and into the interior was a slow process.

The French did not fully pacify the country and win effective control until after World War I. And intensive development was not undertaken until World War II.

Throughout the colonial period the country had a measure of autonomy in local matters, but it was enjoyed only in the restrictive framework of the hugh French West African federation whose seat was in Dakar (capital city of Senegal). In fact, until 1958 the only ways in which the French colonizers treated the Ivory Coast as a distinct political entity were by establishing a territorial assembly to assist and advise in local administration and by requiring the colony to pay its own way in financial matters.

The concept of a completely distinct nationality existed only a few years before August 7, 1960, the date of independence. There are two other fundamental legacies from the colonial history which continue to permeate economic, political, and cultural life. First, the nation's leaders were educated in French schools, steeped in French culture, and trained in French political institutions. Therefore, they not only think and act as Frenchmen, but apply, as a basic principle of government, the French theory of "etatisme," the concept of the supremacy of the state and strongly centralized administration. And, secondly, the French social organization and education were adopted. Schools teach history from the European standpoint, rather

than the African standpoint. No real attempt has been made to Africanize the educational system.

Since World War II, the dominant political figure of the country has been President Felix Houphouet-Boigny. On November 27, 1960, Houphouet-Boigny was elected President, and has been reelected up to now. The Ivory Coast has a presidential system with a single legislative chamber elected by universal suffrage and a single political party, the "Parti Democratique de cote d'Ivoire" (PDCI). The President is elected for five years and is the sole executive authority.

Economy and Transport

The Economy

The French introduced primary export crops before World War II but it was only during the 1930's that coffee and cocoa began to make substantial gains in the economy. These gains were intensified after World War II. In 1950 the opening of the Vridi Canal at the capital city, Abidjan, made it possible to build a modern seaport with facilities for handling all kinds of shipments on a large scale. The creation of the port in Abidjan encouraged the diversification of the export trade and built up domestic industry.

Agriculture is still the prime factor in the economy. Most of the population, 90 percent, makes a living from the land and 75 percent of the total production of the country is from agriculture and animal husbandry. For climatic reasons, livestock breeding is well-developed only in the north and provides only a small portion

of the country's meat requirements. The major food crops are yams, bananas, and rice. Coffee, cocoa, timber, bananas, and pineapples are export crops. The Ivory Coast is the world's third largest producer of coffee and cocoa and the world's fifth largest producer of bananas and pineapples. Timber provides over 20 percent of exports. Since 1960 there has been remarkable expansion of the textile industry.

The country has valuable deposits of manganese, iron, bauxite, copper, chromite, gold, diamonds, tins, and oil.

Domestic industry (both mineral and agricultural processing industries), practically nonexistent before the end of World War II, has shown substantial growth in recent years.

The Transport Sector

Transportation is centered in the capital city, Abidjan. There is a solid communication infrastructure, although it is unevenly distributed throughout the country, the southern half is much better equipped than the north is. This relatively well-developed transport infrastructure has been instrumental in the rapid growth of the country's economy.

The government has placed major emphasis on transport investment and has provided a reliable and efficient infrastructure for the shipment of the major export products. The transport network of the southeastern region of the country links the area with the port of Abidjan. Economic development took place initially in agriculture and forestry; products were first shipped to Abidjan by rail

and later over a system of paved roads. A similar pattern of development is currently underway in the southeastern region of the Ivory Coast where, in 1971, the deep-water port (second port of the country) at San Pedro was opened. This pattern of growth has highlighted the regional imbalance between the south and the north, an area that has not been allocated comparable investment funds in the past.

The government is now conscious of the need for a more balanced system of regional development. There has been an increase in total transport sector investment due in part to cost overruns, but also to the addition of new projects. The transport sector investment as a whole during the 1971-75 period was estimated to be on the order of 53 billion as against the initial target of 43 billion or 22 percent higher. As a whole, the program represents about 22 percent of total public investment planned, with the road program accounting for 50 percent of total sector investment.

In 1975 the network consisted of more than 38,000 kilometers of roads (of which some 2,200 kilometers were paved), 640 kilometers of railroads, two major seaports (in Abidjan and San Pedro), 400 kilometers of navigable lagoons (the rivers are not navigable), two airports of international standard, and eight domestic airfields.

The transport sector constitutes an important source of employment. Roads are the principal mode of domestic transport, carrying about 78 percent of interurban passenger traffic and 70 percent of freight traffic.³ With the improvement in the road

³"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," p. 269.

network over the years, the role of the railway as a long-distance means of transportation has been accentuated.

The National Development Strategy

The development strategy on the Ivory Coast is based on the productivity of export crop agriculture to support a modern urban industrial sector. This strategy requires cheap agricultural labor to maximize agricultural earnings and trained workers to operate the technology of agricultural growth.

The Ivory Coast leaders have encouraged foreign African labor to work on coffee, cocoa, pineapple, banana, palm oil, and other agricultural plantations and trained Europeans, mostly French, to organize and expand the enterprises of modern commerce and industry. Foreign investment has been used to stimulate the industrial sector and develop modern infrastructures to promote rapid economic growth.

The implementation of this strategy has involved a combination of a free enterprise system strongly encouraging foreign investment and a strong state capitalism. This mixed policy reflects the government's continued economic and political reliance on France. The government attracts investors from many developed countries and uses a percentage of the profits of foreign firms for its own development projects. This statement from President Houphouet Boigny to the 1965 PDCI Congress emphasized the importance of foreign participation in the economy: "We have affirmed with force that in the Ivory Coast we have no factories to nationalize, but to create; no

land to redistribute, but to improve; no commerce to publicly control, but to organize."⁴

State capitalism is organized through more than thirty state-owned corporations which produce a wide variety of goods and services including palm oil, hardwood, rubber, pineapples, bananas, technical studies, and construction equipment. The profits of these corporations are intended to expand activity within their individual sectors while being coordinated by the National Ministry of Planning and Economic Affairs.

This strategy has produced spectacular indications of short-term economic growth. According to a World Bank report in 1978 on the current economic position and prospects of the Ivory Coast, "the annual growth rate in real terms of over 7 percent during the past twenty-five years is unique on the African continent." In 1950 with a per capita income of around \$70, the Ivory Coast ranked among the poorest nations. At independence in 1960, per capita income had risen to \$145 and in 1974 it reached \$450.⁵

The History of Urbanization

As any developing country, the Ivory Coast is characterized by its extremely high rate of urbanization. The economic development is illustrated by the rapid growth in the capital, Abidjan, and by the slower, but progressive, growth of the upland cities. Table 2

⁴Michael A. Cohen, Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa: A Study of the Ivory Coast (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

⁵"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," p. 1.

TABLE 2.--Urban Population^a

Year	Total Population	Urban Population	Urban Percentage	Population of Abidjan	Population of Abidjan in Relation to the Total Urban Population
1955	2,662,200	346,000	13.0	125,000	36.1
1965	4,302,500	946,000	21.8	340,000	35.9
1970	5,125,000	1,435,000	28.0	590,000	41.1
1973	5,879,500	1,830,500	31.1	811,000	44.3
1975	6,445,000	2,200,000	31.1	1,000,000	45.4

^aCote D'Ivoire: Rapport Economique de Base, p. 1.

reflects the extent of urbanization on the Ivory Coast. The April 1976 population census gave a total population of 6.7 million people. The history of the Ivory Coast has been a history of urbanization since the end of the 19th century. From the early stages of French colonization in the 1890's to the present, most of the important political, economic, social, and cultural events and processes have occurred in urban areas.

The definition of the colonial territory along the Gulf of Guinea, and later of the independent Republic of the Ivory Coast was based on the creation of urban centers to perform specific functions. The new towns were integral portions of the colonial structure serving as markets, transportation depots, and headquarters for administrative circles and subdivisions.

After independence, the towns of the Ivory Coast were assigned specific roles within the national strategy for economic development. The concentration of nonagricultural economic activity in Abidjan, the national capital, explains the national attention focused on the city and differentiates it from the other urban settlements in the country. Intensive production of export crops such as coffee and cocoa have brought large cash revenues to the country and have supported, in part, the development of the urban industrial sector located in Abidjan.

The urbanization of the Ivory Coast is reflected by many changes in the country since 1900. The growth of Abidjan, stimulated by the opening of the Vridi Canal to the Gulf of Guinea in

1950, permitted the rapid expansion of export crop agriculture and the emergence of Abidjan as a major marketing center. The consequent commercial development of the city and its attraction for French private investment and personnel were further supported by the location of administration and government centers. First, the colonial administrative capital and later the national government were located in Abidjan. Since 1934 this concentration of function in Abidjan has led to gradual population shifts from up country villages to the towns of the south and especially to Abidjan.

Since 1950 Abidjan has doubled its population every six years, reaching 500,000 in 1970, and 1,000,000 in 1975. The population forecasts for the period from 1976 to 1990 give the following rates of natural growth for the Ivory Coast (Table 3).

TABLE 3.--Projected Rates of Natural Population Increase in the Ivory Coast from 1976-90^a

	1976-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990
Rate of growth in rural areas	2.0	2.0	2.0
Rate of growth in urban areas	3.9	4.1	4.2
Rate of growth in Abidjan	3.9	4.1	4.2
Rate of growth in other cities	3.9	4.1	4.2
Total rate of growth	2.5	2.75	3.0

a

Table 3 illustrates the extremely high natural increase rates for the entire country.

Within the Ivory Coast, the capital city, Abidjan, will have the highest rate of natural increase since it alone has the same rate as all the other cities put together, that is 3.9 in 1980, 4.1 in 1985, and 4.2 in 1990. Abidjan will also have the highest rate of rural-urban migration among the cities of the Ivory Coast. According to Table 3, both Abidjan and the other up-country towns will average 50 percent of rural-urban migration rate from 1976 to 1990.

Continued French economic involvement in the Ivory Coast, with both extensive investment and participation of French nationals in the economy, has made Abidjan a cosmopolitan international city.

CHAPTER II

POLICY-MAKING INSTITUTIONS

The formulation and implementation of urban and housing policy in the Ivory Coast is an activity involving most institutions in the government. However, there are three major central institutions which are in direct control of the planning for urban problems and they are: (a) the Joint Ministry of National Planning, Economy, and Finance, (b) the Joint Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, Construction and Town Planning, and (c) the Ministry of the Interior which is the central government body in control of regional and local subdivisions. All three Ministries make decisions and implement programs which affect urban areas.

This chapter will describe the functions of both those central institutions and the so-called local and regional institutions in charge of urban and housing planning.

The Joint Ministry of National Planning Economy and Finances

This Ministry formulates and implements the planning goals and objectives and investment programs at the national, regional, and local levels. It has three technical departments: D.A.T.A.R., D.D.P., and C.I.D.R.A. which coordinate the various urban development programs.

The "Direction de l'Amenagement du
Territoire et de l'Action Region-
ale" or DATAR

DATAR represents the department of land use. It is in charge of the preparation of national land use and urban development objectives to be adopted in the National Development plan. In addition to the preceding function, DATAR serves as representative of the Ministry of Planning, Economic Affairs, and Finance in all the council meetings of such urban and housing agencies as DPP, CIDRA, SOGE-FIHA, SETU, OSHE, and BNETD, and so forth. This intergovernmental cooperation function helps DATAR share housing information with various agencies and units of government and participates in the decision-making process.

The "Direction des Programmes
Pluriannuel" or DRP

The second service of the Ministry of National Planning in charge of urban and housing problems in DPP. It is a more technical department which participates in the preparation of triennial urban development projects and evaluates all grant proposals for housing and urban development projects. DPP also considers, with the Department of Economic Affairs and Finance, the availability of potential funds to be allocated to various individual projects. But, only the Department of Economy and Finance within the Joint Ministry has the power to approve the grant proposals. Also, implementation of the projects approved by the Department of Economy and Finance is the responsibility of the Joint Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, Construction, and Town Planning.

The "Commission Inter-ministerielle
pour le Developpement de la Region
d'Abidjan" or CIDRA

CIDRA is an intergovernmental committee for the development of the Abidjan metropolitan area. It was created in 1966 to coordinate the growth of the capital city Abidjan and all the projects implemented in the Abidjan metropolitan region.

The Joint Ministry of Public Works, Transportation,
Urban Planning and Construction

History of the Ministry of
Construction and Town
Planning

In 1958 a service of HABITAT and urbanization was created within the colonial government to coordinate town planning and housing policies and programs. This service was later transformed into the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning (MCU) after independence in 1961. It was given the following responsibilities:

- Control of studies of construction and maintenance of administrative buildings and housing
- Programs for sewage works
- Studies and implementation of plans for infrastructure and town plans
- Technical operations concerning land use
- Study and implementation of zoning plans

These activities were coordinated by an interministerial committee which was to approve all legislation concerning town planning. In addition, departmental commissions on town planning and construction

were established to rule on local activities. Within the Ministry numerous services were created to fulfill the above responsibilities.

The major services were:

--The service du domaine urbain created in March 1963, which is responsible for the allocation of state-owned land in urban areas

--And the service de l'Habitat et de l'urbanisme (DHU) which is divided into nine different services: construction permits, architecture, housing, land control, town-planning, urban-housing, rural housing, work and technical assistance, and general services.

However, because of major financial, staff, and technical problems to be explained in Chapter IV, all these responsibilities of the Ministry of Construction and Town-Planning were later modified by the 1970 decree concerning reorganization of the Ministry. The Ministry was then organized into the following areas.

1. Department of urban-planning and architecture
2. Department of topographical works
3. Service of de Domaine urbain (service managing public properties)
4. Department of construction
5. Department of public housing (housing for civil servants)
6. Technical training center
7. Department of financial and administrative affairs
8. General services

The Ministry has four main functions which are:

1. Preparation and implementation of town plans
2. Preparation and implementation of housing for public use
3. Formulation of laws and ordinances concerning urban planning, land use control, and housing
4. Control of the building industry

In 1968 the Ivory Coast government also encouraged a specialization of functions within the different state departments. This specialization of functions consisted of assigning the responsibilities of various urban and housing projects to various state firms which depended either on the Ministry of Construction and Planning or on a different ministry. In housing these responsibilities have been divided between such state firms as (1) SICOGI, (2) SOGEFIHA, (3) OSHE, (4) BNETD and (5) SETU.

In addition to the Ministry of Planning, the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning, these five state firms have important responsibilities in urban policy decisions. Their roles are as follows:

SOGEFIHA

The "Société de Gestion Financière et de L'Habitat" (SOGEFIHA), was created in 1963 as a state firm in charge of the management and administration of public funds allocated to rural and urban housing, issuance of credit in materials for housing, and the construction of

public houses. SOGEFIHA is under the direct control of the Ministry of National Planning, Economic and Financial Affairs, but follows the guidelines on housing programs and policies formulated by the Ministry of Construction and Town-Planning.

SOGEFIHA developed and administered over 27,000 housing units from its creation in 1963 to 1974. Its housing programs consist of rural and urban housing. They are allocated in the following ways:

TABLE 4.--Housing Allocation^a

Location of Housing	Units already occupied in June 1974	Units Being Built	Total
Rural Housing	5,200	2,000	7,200
Abidjan	8,600	9,000	17,200
Other Cities	1,800	1,300	3,000
Total	15,600	12,300	27,400

a

Although SOGEFIHA is a state firm, it does not totally depend on state funds for its operation. The majority of its housing projects are financed from foreign loans borrowed from several European countries and from the United States.

OSHE

The Office pour le Soutien de l'Habitat Economique or OSHE was created in 1968 to promote the construction of low and moderate income housing development. Contrary to SOGEFIHA or SIGOGI which receive state grants and subsidies, OSHE is a financial institution created to provide low and moderate income housing projects with land development subsidies (drainage, sewage works, water, and electricity installation).

OSHE is under the control of both the Ministry of National Planning and the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning. Its function is to use tax revenues to finance land development and basic urban service works for low and moderate income housing programs. Its programs must conform with the goals and objectives adopted by the two ministries. OSHE uses three kinds of public revenues which are:

1. 1 percent of income taxes
2. 1 percent of service taxes
3. Three Francs CFA on each liter of gas sold in the country

SICOGI

The Societe' Ivoirienne pour la Construction et gestion immobiliere (SICOGI) is a mixed society, created in 1965 to develop and manage public housing projects. It was created from the combination of two housing enterprises, the SIHCI and the SUCCI, created during the colonial period and financially supported by France. The first objective of these two enterprises was to develop modern

housing in the Ivory Coast for middle-income people. Later low income housing development was its objective.

SICOGI still serves the French purposes and interests because it is the main housing agency in the Ivory Coast in charge of the transfer of both French capital and technical assistance in the housing field. It also continues to use loans, offered by France at a relatively low cost, to solve its financial problems.

The Ivory Coast provides a little more than half of its capital. The rest is owned by several private institutions, especially two French enterprises which are the Caisse centrale de cooperation economique (CCCE) and the Caisse de de'pots et consignations (CDC).

More than 25,600 housing units had been developed and administered by SICOGI by the end of 1974 and among the 25,600 units, 22,512 were built in Abidjan.⁶ The housing units are mostly high rise buildings, apartment complexes and small contiguous houses built in rows.

SICOGI has been trying several types of housing with different costs and has adopted four main types with varying monthly rents. These four types are shown in Table 5.

BNETD

The Bureau National d'Etudes Techniques et de Development (BNETD) was created in 1966 as a state firm in charge of developing technical studies of many types. It is under the direct control of the National Ministry of Planning, Economic and Social Affairs, but

TABLE 5.--Four Main Types of Housing^a

Type	Monthly Rent
Normal high income	20,000 and more
Normal middle income	18,500 - 21,500
Low income housing	8,500 - 11,500
Very low income housing	4,500 - 7,000

a

its executive council is made up of representatives from almost all the Ministries in the country. After 1966 with the existence of BNETD, the former service de l'Habitat et de l'urbanisme (DHU) in charge of construction permits, architecture, housing, land control, town-planning, urban-housing, rural-housing, work and technical assistance and general services, found itself less qualified to propose town plans or offer advice to the Ministry of Town Planning and Construction (MUC).

It consequently subcontracted most of its creative work to BNETD or various architectural firms in Abidjan or Paris while continuing to perform its functions such as issuing construction permits, distributing suggested plans for individual houses or approving plans for small upcountry towns. This decline of the DHU as the locus of urban policy decisions was stimulated by the creation of the Atelier de l'urbanisme pour la Region d'Abidjan (AURA) founded in

1968 within the BNETD and now called Direction central des Etudes Techniques (DCET). DCET has three main functions which are:

1. To conduct studies on master plans, development plans, and urban infrastructures
2. To provide technical solutions for urban problems
3. To examine and review housing and urban development contracts

DCET plays a very important role in urban problems because it is the most important governmental agency in charge of studies concerning not only the cities, but also neighborhoods and individual projects.

The expansion of such housing, planning, and land use agencies as SOGEFIHA, SICOI, and the 'Societe' d'Equipement de Terrains Urbains (SETU) also led to increasing the activities of DCET. DCET conducts urban studies for the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning, conducts land development studies for SETU, and conducts architectural studies and land use studies for SOGEFIHA and SICOI.

SETU

The Societe' d'equipement de terrains urbains (SETU) is another state firm founded in 1972 to help the other housing and urban firms in their multiple functions.

Until the creation of SETU, such housing agencies as SICOI, SOGEF, HA, AND OSHE were in charge of the development on their land before house building (sewage work, drainage, electricity, and water installation). However, these housing agencies lacked the competence

and technical expertise to provide qualified land development. SETU was then created to cope with all the land development work for residential users. Later, SETU also developed land for industrial uses in the capital city and did land development work outside the capital city. SETU is known for the competence and technical expertise of its staff and the quality of their work.

The main difference between SETU and the other urban institutions, which results in their competence, is that SETU does not rely on government transfers. It bills all its clients (SOGEFIHA, SICOGI, OSHE) for the total of its operating costs.

All the government subsidies allocated for land development and land equipment projects are transferred to the housing institutions through OSHE. Then, SETU bills them for its expenses.

The Ministry of Interior

The political and administrative subdivisions in the Ivory Coast are similar to those in France. The authority in charge of the subdivisions is the central government and especially one of its ministries, the Ministry of Interior.

As in France, the Ivory Coast is subdivided in prefectures or regional units of government and subprefectures or local units of government. It is subdivided into 24 prefectures and 127 subprefectures. The head of the prefectures, called Prefect, and the head of the subprefecture, called subprefect, are representatives of the central government (that is, the Ministry of Interior) in the upcountry regions and are, therefore, elected by the central government.

Besides the prefects and subprefects, the ministries of the central government have their representatives in the upcountry regions. Prefects, subprefects, and representatives from other ministries such as agriculture, social works, health and education, all play key roles in implementing the central government policies in the regions.

The system of municipal government was created in 1956 and was based on 1884 French municipal law. The municipal government was organized according to the size of the population in the city. The municipal reform of 1956 created three "communes de plein exercice" (municipalities with locally elected mayors) in Abidjan, Bouake and Grand-Bassam and six "communes de moyen exercice" (municipalities with centrally appointed mayors) in Abengaurou, Abgenville, Daloa, Dimbokro, Gagnoa and Man. However, the local municipal governments have declined during the post-independence period. Municipal elections have not been held since 1956 resulting in declining membership in municipal councils and their inability to meet city expenses through the collection of property and sales taxes. Local mayors have been increasingly controlled by the Ministry of Interior, which has final authority in most municipal affairs.

Concerning regional planning and housing institutions, there are no such organisms in the Ivory Coast.

As for local policies, regional policies are controlled directly from the capital city, Abidjan, by the central authority. Regionalization, in general, has received increasing emphasis only in

the last two Ivorian development plans. In the years immediately following independence, all the investment efforts were concentrated in the Abidjan region and the cocoa area known as the Coule du cacao.

The recent objectives of the regionalization policy are the reduction of regional disparities in income and development and the pressure of large-scale migration to the south, especially to Abidjan, and the population pressure in the developed areas. The 1971-1975 plan recognized regional problems and began to identify investments by areas as well as by sector. In 1972, the Direction de l'Amenagement du Territoire et de l'Action Regionale (DATAR) was created in the Ministry of Planning to coordinate the regional aspects of the plan and to develop specific regional programs.

CHAPTER III

PROBLEMS AND CONFLICTS WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONS

Organization of Planning and Housing Institutions and Decision-Making System

General Structure of the Institutions

One of the major problems faced by most developing countries and particularly by the Ivory Coast is the extreme centralization of public planning and decision-making institutions. All the three major planning and housing institutions in the Ivory Coast are part of the central government body and are all located in the capital city of Abidjan. From the capital city they all make planning decisions which affect the entire country.

Fearing the urban political opposition, the President has refused to allow greater local participation in urban affairs. Instead, he has adopted a very strong territorial organization which is composed of 24 prefectures and 127 subprefectures.

Prefects and subprefects are the only accepted single party members who are the instruments of the central governments and appointed by the central government through the Ministry of Interior. Agents of the central government, they have total authority on all local affairs and they apply the decisions adopted by the central government in terms of urban development projects and resource allocation. This centralized institutional structure and decision-making

system has weakened the municipal governments. The central government assigns the municipalities relatively few functions and correspondingly few resources.

No new communes can be created until the central government decides that political conditions permit it. As a result, the municipal governments have declined during the post-independence period. Municipal elections have not been held since 1956, resulting in declining memberships in the municipalities. From an administrative point of view, and in the words of an official in the Ministry of Interior, "the majority of our communes are either under-represented or composed of a majority of elements which are ignorant and too old to be accustomed to the requirements of modern communal administration."⁷

The local government has little influence in the formulation and implementation of urban policy. Even in the capital city, Abidjan, where the mayor is the most powerful, the intervention of the central government in the big projects concerning the growth of the city has reduced the decision-making power of the municipal council.

The municipalities are no longer able to collect taxes from local populations. The fact is that while the city of Abidjan has doubled its population every six years, municipal revenue has declined in absolute terms from 1966 to now.⁸ The quality and quantity of

⁷Cohen, Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa: A Study of the Ivory Coast, p. 224.

⁸Ibid., p. 225.



public services such as police, garbage collection, street maintenance are all tied to the "far-off" centralized institutions, but the problem is that the central institutions have been unable to solve the local problems because of the multiple tensions between the prefects, subprefects, the local municipal officials, the single party representatives (the Democratic party of the Ivory Coast) and the various ethnic groups in the population.

Regional planning has also been conducted by a central planning office (DATAR) with a national orientation and with central control of the allocation of funds. An analysis of the government's realized and projected investments by region for the 1970's reveals inequalities in the government's own investment program. The country has been divided into seven regions plus the greater Abidjan area and the allocation of investment expenditure has been calculated in Table 6. However, there are some disparities both within and among regions. The variations in expenditure for different parts of the area can be very large, for example between Bouake (the country's second major city) and Yamoussoukro (the President Felix-Houphouet Boigny's home village), both in the country's center. The city of Abidjan gets the "lion's share" of public investment (30.3 percent), but large shares go to the north (17.8 percent), south (18.2 percent), center (14.8 percent), and southwest (14.0 percent). The west (2.8 percent), the center west (1.7 percent) and the east (.4 percent) are the most disadvantaged regions.

TABLE 6.--Percentage Distribution of Planned Public Investment by Major Program, 1975-77

	North ^b	East	South	West	Center West	Center	South- west	City of Abidjan	Total Allocated	Grand ^c Total
Economic development	57.8	0.0	18.8	28.2	11.9	23.2	39.2	10.9	26.9	26.9
Economic infrastructure	27.0	58.4	76.2	68.6	34.0	39.7	41.8	26.4	41.4	39.6
Social development	9.2	30.8	2.8	0.4	31.6	18.6	14.9	41.5	20.2	19.6
Cultural development	5.4	5.1	2.0	2.9	22.5	17.2	3.7	11.3	8.3	7.8
Central government	0.7	5.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	1.2	0.4	9.9	3.4	6.1
Total (percent)	17.8	0.4	18.2	2.8	1.7	14.8	14.0	30.3	100.0	100.0
Total (CFAF billion)	46.9	1.0	47.8	7.4	4.5	38.8	36.9	79.6	263.0	378.7

^aIvory Coast: The Challenge of Success," A World Bank Country Economic Report, p. 87.

^bDoes not include all expenditure for the Programme du Nord.

^cIncludes defense

The last striking point of the decision-making system in the Ivory Coast, to be considered in this chapter, is the absolute dominance of the President Felix-Houphouet Boigny. In theory, most public decisions are made in meetings between the President and his ministers. But, in fact, the ministers are dependent on presidential favor. Local officials justify their actions on presidential approval and are careful to anticipate presidential preferences in proposing policy measures.

This situation has important implications for both the quality of decisions and the possibility of long-term planning. For example, presidential preferences prevail in spite of demands to create new municipalities.

In his acceptance speech after the 1970 election, the president suggested that the daily affairs of state should be handled by others, leaving him to deal only with the critical questions.⁹ This has two effects which are the delegation of some responsibility to others, but also the location of the ultimate authority in his own hands.

Conflicts Between the Planning Institutions

Two major problems need to be considered within the planning institutions and they are the extreme proliferation of the institutions and the lack of coordination between them.

⁹Cohen, Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa: A Study of the Ivory Coast, p. 227.

As explained in Chapter II on the institutions, there is not one but three central government bodies responsible for urban and housing policy in the Ivory Coast: the Joint Ministry of National Planning, Economy and Finance, the Joint Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, Construction and Town Planning, and the Ministry of Interior. Each of these central government bodies are themselves divided in a multitude of housing and planning bodies dealing more or less with the same problems and all making separate decisions which affect urban and housing development projects. They all have interrelated functions but there is little coordination between them--only one of the central government bodies, the Ministry of National Planning, Economy and Finance has two intergovernmental agencies, DATAR and CIDRA (already described in Chapter II).

- DATAR participates in most meetings held by the board of councils of CIDRA, SOGEFIHA, SETU, and OSHE and shares planning and housing information with them
- CIDRA is in charge of the coordination of all projects concerning the capital city Abidjan

The two other central government bodies lack such inter-governmental agencies.

Financial Problems

The housing institutions in the Ivory Coast face heavy financial difficulties. There are two major reasons for their financial problems: the high standard policy and the inability to bill their clients.

High standards are a common feature of urban services provided by the government in the Ivory Coast and public housing is no exception. High quality housing, building standards, capital intensive infracturctures, incentives for growth producing industries rather than employment generating enterprises, and spatial planning reflect official intentions to develop urban areas according to ultra-modern standards.

In a public speech in November 1969 the Minister of Construction and Town planning declared: "We want dynamic town planning to accelerate the promotion of our town and to incite investors to accomplishments of quality. Each operation succeeds as a multiplying power in the development of our towns by the effect of emulation which it creates."¹⁰ Speaking of the growth of urban policy, the same Minister declared at the 1965 PDCI Congress, "Formerly reserved for quarters inhabited by colonies, notions of urban planning and lottissement are now widespread in the country following the government's campaign for the modernization of villages."¹¹

In 1965, at the PDCI Congress, President Houphouet-Boigny declared, "Our goal, as you know, is the elimination of all slums in

¹⁰Ministere de la Construction et de l'urbanisme. Address presented to the Atelier de l'urbanisme de la Region d'Abidjan on World Town Planning Day, 8 November 1969, p. 7.

¹¹Fraternite' Natin, November 1965, p. 4.

the Ivory Coast within the next decade."¹² This situation led some observers to characterize the urban policy in the Ivory Coast as a "double or nothing" policy.¹³ This means either ultra-modern development or nothing. There are no intermediate goals for the poor people who have to resign themselves to the slum areas.

Standards are applied to brick quality for construction, lot size, width of roads, utility deposits, and even cost and interest rate. The housing units are divided into four major categories or strata, (Strata A, B, C, D), according to the quality and the cost value which, in the Ivory Coast, depends on the quality. A minimum cost is imposed on housing units in categories or Strata A, B, and C by the government. The unit cost increases from 400 thousand Francs CFA for Strata D (or low income housing unit) to 5 million Francs CFA for Strata A (or high income housing unit).¹⁴ The difference is a ratio of 1 to 11. This means that the high standard policies adopted by the government force the subsidy of one housing unit instead of eleven. The resulting problem is that more demand could be satisfied by adopting lower standards and building fewer expensive housing units.

¹²Statement by Felix Houphouet Boigny on September 23, 1965, quoted from "Town Planning and Rural Housing Modernization in the Ivory Coast" (Abidjan 1968), p. 5.

¹³Philippe Haeringer, "Quitte or Double--Les Chances de l'Agglomération Abidjanaise," Abidjan, ORSTOM, 1969 (Mimeographed).

¹⁴Cote d'Ivoire, Rapport Economique de Base, p. 76.

In adopting such expensive standards, the government objective was to build a large number of houses of high standard to be let to occupants at subsidized rents. The problem is that the government underestimated the cost of the programs and, therefore, failed to provide the public housing agencies with the necessary financial means.

A typical example of such a problem is the case of OSHE. This agency was organized in 1968 to put more attention on the problems of low income housing. Although widely publicized as the organization to solve urban housing problems, OSHE was given only 100 million CFA Francs for its first year of operation, enough to build 350 houses.¹⁵

In trying to meet ambitious construction targets, the public agencies have to turn increasingly to expensive suppliers' credits and "the Euro-dollar market." By the beginning of 1975 the two major housing institutions (SOGEFIHA and SICOGI) had built about 45,000 units and one of them, SOGEFIHA, had accumulated debts totaling 36.8 billion Francs CFA by mid-1975.¹⁶

SICOGI had a special statute which favors it. It represents French interests in the housing field in the Ivory Coast and receives financial aids from the French government to meet its high standards

¹⁵Cohen, Urban Policy and Political Conflict in Africa: A Study of the Ivory Coast, p. 32.

¹⁶"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," p. 76.

requirements. There is 10 percent French capital in SICOGI.¹⁷ As with other housing institutions, it will start facing heavy financial difficulties if the French stop supporting it.

The second major cause of the financial problems faced by the housing institutions in the Ivory Coast is their inability to bill their clients directly. Unlike the Federal Government of the United States, the central government of the Ivory Coast acts more like a bank than like a political and administrative institution. No public housing agency, except SETU, is given the power to bill its clients. They cannot, therefore, meet their operating expenses and rely on central government transfers and foreign loans.

In recent years dependence on foreign capital has resulted in a more rapid increase in debt and debt service than in exports or national income. Public foreign debt payments reached a level of about \$200 per capita. This public foreign debt payment has reached a level of about 10 percent of exports of goods and nonfactor services, to which should be added an estimated 4 to 6 percent for foreign debt (including net direct investment income) in the private sector.¹⁸

Consolidated gross foreign capital drawings (including grants) of the central government and public enterprises rose from an average of about CFAF 10 million in 1965-67 to about CFAF 80 billion in 1975, reflecting a 26 percent annual growth rate. Public debt service also grew rapidly from CFAF 5.5 billion in 1965-67 to about CFAF 33

¹⁷"Ivory Coast: The French Factor," West Africa (April 30, 1979): 743.

¹⁸"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," p. 7.

billion in 1975. Table 7 shows the total external debt, repayable in foreign currency. Annual increases between 1969 and 1975 are as follows for the different categories: debt outstanding, including undisbursed, 25 percent; commitments, 38 percent; disbursements, 38 percent; and service payments, 29 percent.

The Planning Staffs

The Ivory Coast is also characterized by its heavy reliance on foreign factors of production: both Africans non-Ivorians, and western, mostly French, labor. It is officially estimated from the 1975 population census that out of a total of 6.7 million residents, about 2 million were originally from other African countries. There are also 50,000 French residents in the Ivory Coast, three times as many as at independence, and about 100,000 Syrians and Lebanese.¹⁹ Conforming with its high standard plans required a large technical staff, which is still predominantly French expatriates.

Concerning the distribution of labor force, those expatriates dominate a number of high level manpower occupations, are involved in actual policy decisions at the level below the ministers and represent the technical and even political advisors. The large number of non-Ivorian Africans, most of them unskilled, occupy very nearly half of the salaried jobs in the economy. Ivorians dominate the middle level manpower occupations.

¹⁹"Ivory Coast: The Challenge of Success," p. 89.

TABLE 7.--Development of External Public Debt, 1969-77^a (in Millions of U. S. Dollars)

	Debt Outstanding as of December 31, 1975		Developments During the Period		Debt Service Ratio (Percent)
	Disbursed Only	Including Undisbursed	Commitments	Disbursements	Service Payments
1969	207.7	388.5	66.1	48.0	29.7
1970	256.1	424.3	68.9	76.4	38.6
1971	351.7	539.3	119.6	107.3	44.7
1972	399.9	702.9	198.4	82.7	57.9
1973	578.6	923.4	274.9	228.0	72.3
1974 ^b	738.0	1,200.3	328.8	218.8	115.1
1975	973.8	1,536.0	448.6	335.6	137.8
(1976)	n.a. ^c	n.a.	n.a.	226.1	188.4
(1977)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	148.9	187.9

^aIvory Coast: The Challenge of Success." A World Bank Country Economic Report, p. 7.

^bService payments in 1974 went up to an artificially high level, as U.S. \$20 million of a Eurodollar loan was rolled over before it was due.

^cn.a. means not available.

The weakness of the Ivorian political and economic system is due to the large involvement of nonlocal people (mostly western) in the decision-making process. A breakdown of the French occupations gives a much clearer idea of the spread of French involvement: about 20,000, 25 percent of whom are women, work in the private sector; 6,000 in the public or parapublic sector; 3,664 of these are cooperants or aid workers sent by the French government, 85 percent of whose salary (20 billion CFA Francs) and whose entire lodging (25 million CFA Francs) is paid by the Ivorian government. There are approximately 1,500 French specialists employed on contract by the Ivorian government in various departments of the government, parastatal companies or as researchers. Of the cooperants, 3,004 are teachers.

The main divisions of the rest are as follows: 248 in the Ministry of Health; 118 in the Ministry of National Planning, Economy and Finance; 107 in the Ministry of Public Works, Transportation, Construction and Town Planning, and 58 in the Ministry of Agriculture.²⁰ Their numbers: 118 in the National Ministry of Planning and 107 in the Ministry of Construction and Town Planning and at key positions can help one understand why the Ivory Coast urban and housing policies are based on western values and standards.

Their presence also affects the educational and consumption standards of the Ivory Coast. Receiving high incomes, the French expatriates establish certain standards of consumption which can be met by only those in high and middle-level positions. Since access

²⁰"Ivory Coast: The French Factor," p. 743.

to these high and middle-level jobs is dependent upon formal schooling, the presence of expatriates stimulates an excessive demand for education, which is now inadequate in developing countries and which benefits only a small percentage of the population.

One of the consequences of this excessive demand for education and highly skilled workers is the mass unemployment and the mass migration into cities (especially Abidjan) where the modern sector jobs are supposed to be. However, what those unskilled migrants ignore is that those modern sector jobs created in the few big cities are capital-intensive rather than labor-intensive jobs and usually call for skilled workers.

Summary of Problems and Conflicts

The Ivory Coast is thus entrapped by the western countries in terms of both labor force and capital. There are many serious disadvantages to this situation of dependence, especially for the majority who bear all the costs. The western loans perpetuate the situation of dependency because the lenders usually dictate to the borrowers how to use those loans. And, in imposing their requirements, their intention is to maintain their own economic, political, ideological and cultural interests; therefore, to perpetuate the dependency. Consequently, the more dependence there is on western power financially, the less freedom there is to adopt policies which favor the majority of the population who are still poor and practice the traditional way of life. The country is forced to adopt western standards and institutions, therefore, a western labor force is needed.

In the Ivory Coast, there exists a big gap in communication between the designers of housing (either European experts or a few natives with Western education) and the users, who represent the people without Western education. Each of these two groups represents different cultures and thus have conceptions of housing and cities which differ. The designers who are generally part of the decision-makers' staffs, or the decision-makers' advisors thereby impose their own values and standards on the users. This is why the new approaches to urban design are usually based on economic criteria judged by Western values, technology, scales, materials, service, climate, ecology.

For example, the clusterings, especially the ethnic clusterings, provided mutual support and support of specialized cultural and educational facilities which help maintain the African culture. Unfortunately, most modern housing planning programs have broken up such clusterings by rehousing. In Abidjan, for example, this housing program has, most of the time, led to the weakening and sometimes the loss of language and culture, thus identity. Children, especially in the upper class neighborhoods, can hardly speak their own language because they live in a racially and culturally mixed neighborhood. French is the only language they usually speak. They usually adopt Western styles of life and thought.

The modern, spatial organization of housing does not meet the peoples' needs in West Africa. For example, the high-rise housing development in Abidjan has ignored the traditional inner courtyards

and their role as a family gathering place and as space for small livestock, cooking space, and clothes drying space. The courtyards have been replaced by very small living rooms which are described by most old people in the Ivory Coast as prisons.

The extended family has also been completely left out in most housing programs. In a study made by a French urban sociologist on Rural and Urban Relationships in Abidjan, it was found that most housing was built for the nuclear family, while the majority of the people in the sample has an extended family. Most of the apartments had one, two, or three rooms for a family which needs at least 15 rooms.²¹ The result of such a program is extremely overcrowded housing. It also breaks down the traditional lineage and social relationships between members of the same family, since it obliges people to live separately all over the city, without any community, family obligations, responsibilities, and solidarity. Thus, social deviance is becoming an urban problem in most West African cities.

The services provided by most housing programs are not adapted to peoples' needs. For example, in the Ivory Coast, pounded casava, yam, and plantain are among the major meals. But the high rise buildings recently adopted do not provide any convenient space to pound such meals. There is also no convenient space to dry clothes in the high rise buildings because of the lack of courtyards. This situation becomes very serious because only a few Africans can afford an electric dryer.

²¹ Jean-Marie Gibbal

Tin roofing, concrete and cement were all introduced without any consideration for the hot climate of Africa. The result was culturally and climatically, ecologically undesirable houses.

As a direct consequence of using these new materials, there was a need for new highly sophisticated technology and a modern labor force to replace the traditional techniques and craftsmen. And, since there were no highly qualified workers in Africa, Western experts were imported. This led to a high rate of unemployment among African craftsmen.

The experts brought the technique of building two story houses and, with it, house buildings as a specialized occupation or rather groups of occupations with wall makers, plasterers, and painters. One of the consequences of this new labor structure and new organizational needs was the distribution of the traditional labor associations that served economic interests. Transmission from father to son resulting in specialization by compound in traditional society was no longer prevalent. The craft industry, as well as the social life of the lineage related to it, were destroyed.

The transition from the traditional to the modern type of craft organization represents a change over from a situation in which craft occupations, from father to son, were still transmitted from father to son, to one in which craftsmen are recruited and trained on a nonkinship basis with only a work relationship.

All these new and expensive types of materials, technology, and labor, combined with the change in land statutes have contributed

to the high cost of housing. The disfunction between people and their environment led to such social problems as juvenile delinquency, neurosis, alcoholism, crime, unemployment, robberies, a high rate of divorce among youth, etc. They also contribute to an increasing environmental deterioration (oppressive slums, industrial pollution) and uncontrolled urban growth.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The present chapter is not intended to offer the details of all the possible solutions to the institutional problems in the Ivory Coast. It will rather propose some general principles and ideas to reorient both the housing policy and the housing institutions toward more effective actions.

As stated in the previous chapters of this paper, the Ivory Coast, like most developing countries, is characterized by its excessive institutional centralization, its regional disparities, its dependence on western manpower and capital and, therefore, its dependence on western policy, ideology and standards. The Ivory Coast, it is true, is a member of the international world and its economy and social values cannot escape from international economic and cultural trends. The Ivory Coast also cannot afford to live in complete isolation from the rest of the world.

If the purpose of development is to bring help to those who need it, that is the poor majority, then the Ivory Coast as well as the Third World authorities will have to use some selection in the design of their policies. Planning is a selective process; it demands evaluation and choice.

The Ivorian people can be housed and their housing conditions can be improved without depending on western powers and their ultra-modern standard. In order to reach this goal of housing the majority of the population, some fundamental principles have to be kept in mind and they are:

1. To consider the human environment as a whole whose elements (social, personal, and natural) cannot be separated
2. To consider the society as the end of our policy
3. To relate the means to reach the end to the society as a whole

The real tasks of any policy maker in the Third World are underlined by the distinguished E. F. Schumacher in the following ways.

1. The work places have to be created in the areas where people are living now and not primarily in metropolitan areas into which they tend to migrate.
2. These workplaces must be cheap enough so that they can be created in large numbers without this calling for an unattainable level of capital formation and imports.
3. The production methods employed must be relatively simple so that the demands for high skills are minimized, not only in the production process itself, but also in matters of organization, raw material supply, financial marketing, etc.
4. The production should be mainly from local materials and mainly for local use.

But these tasks cannot be accomplished within the present centralized institutional structure.

In order to have a fairly even spread of population, industry, agriculture, and housing, and no tendency towards the formation of excessive concentration, there is a need for a regional approach to development. Each region must have some sort of internal cohesion and identity and possess at least one town to serve as the region center. The region must have both cultural and economic autonomy. No effort to improve the structure of communities and cities will be effective without redefining the areas of territorial association in relation to the objective geographic, economic, and social facts.

Although regions should become the basic units of political and economic life, the inter-relation of regions within the country is no less important because both conflicts and cooperation must take place over these wider areas. Planning and cooperative enterprise must take the place presently occupied by political boundaries.

Organization of the Housing Institutions

Central Institutions

The centralized planning and housing institutional structure must be replaced by three level institutional structure composed of the central or state institutions, the regional institutions, and the local institutions.

The housing institutions at the national level must take the developmental actions that affect the physical, social, and economic environment of the state, the regions of the state, and the localities of the state. The state planning program should not be concerned with the detail of departmental project planning or of internal

administrative management. The state planning and housing institutions, on the contrary, should be concerned with overall integrative programming of all programs and activities in terms of time, emphasis, scale and general location. The function of the state planning and housing institutions must be to look at the country as a whole, at its resources, its population, and its economy.

Given the diverse population, economy and locations, the state institutions should set the overall guidelines, the national goals, broad enough to give the population different options. They should not have approval authority but the right of comment on regional and local plans, provide some financial assistance to regions and local units of government, and create and maintain an administrative structure for designing and delivering domestic services. The regions and local units of government must have some say on deciding priorities for national policies and funds.

Regional Institutions

The regional planning and housing institutions should be the center of all the regional activities. The task of the regional institutions must be the orderly development of the region and its cooperation with other regions.

The development of a comprehensive regional plan is an essential element of the regional planning process. The housing element of this comprehensive regional planning must include:

1. The general goals and policies, strategies designed to achieve the housing goals and policies of the region

2. The analysis of existing housing stock and projection of future housing needs
3. The implementation plan including the programs and resources available to carry out the regional housing plan

Regional housing institutions should take into account both the national guidelines and the regional and local requirements. The program review procedure should be set at the regional level in order for the regional housing institutions to review and comment on proposed housing projects in the region.

The review process is the major tool the regional institution can use to impact housing programs affiliated with the central and the local government and to make the programs meet the regional requirements.

Technical planning assistance to local governments and individuals is another function of the regional institution. It should provide information regarding housing programs to local governments and agencies.

There should also be intergovernmental and inter-agency cooperation and coordination at the regional level in order to alleviate duplication and provide coordination of housing activities with all the related development (transportation, land use, community facilities) within the region and between different regions of the state. All the functional planning divisions should use the same data regarding population projections, land use, community facilities, transportation and the like.

Besides its planning function, the regional institution should be an authoritative decision maker at the regional level. It should also have implementation authority because, with only the planning function, it may be difficult to ensure that plans are carried out by local government in performing their responsibilities.

In summary, there should be created an authoritative and responsible regional decision maker and a multi-purpose regional unit capable of linking planning, implementation and coordination. This regional agency would have the powers to:

- Encourage joint problem solving among subregions and cities and provide technical assistance and services
- Adopt and publicize regional policies and plans, along with a program for their implementation
- Assume basic responsibility for implementing central government supported area wide planning, programming, and coordinating programs
- Develop land and administer subsidized programs
- Act as the policy board and advisor for the region as a whole
- Resolve differences between certain central government agencies and local government programs within the region and inter-regional conflicts

The regional institution should also not totally depend on central government revenues for its operation. Besides central government subsidies, the institution must have the power to bill its

clients, have some kind of bonding power, and be a mortgage lender at a relatively low interest.

Local Institutions

There is also a need for decentralization of power at the city level. The cities must be given some measure of autonomy in terms of resources, planning, zoning, and subdivision regulation powers. The cities must be given some legal strength in order to encourage urban improvements.

This increase in the power of cities is intended to bring the administration closer to the administered while reducing distances and permitting the authorities in the cities and the planners to maintain close contact with the residents. If the cities are to prosper, it is necessary to include local participation.

Local governments have never been considered agents for the mobilization of investment funds, a fact that is illustrated by the excess of central government transfers over municipal investments. A strengthening of the fiscal bases of the cities can reverse this situation. Taxation at a local level is difficult and competent tax personnel may be scarce, but real estate taxes can be better administered by local authorities, especially if they rely on this revenue for the financing of expenditures. Their knowledge of local conditions and circumstances is also not to be ignored and can be a valuable asset.

Local governments must be given the necessary powers to collect the taxes due and must be required to exercise their powers.

Municipalities must play a major role in implementation and they will need an improved tax base to generate the resources required to execute this new role.

All this decentralized or regional approach cannot be successful unless it is based on the use of an adequate technology in the developing countries in general and the Ivory Coast in particular.

A modern and highly sophisticated technology can only be productive in a modern environment and is, therefore, unlikely to fit into a region consisting of rural areas and a few small towns. There will always be a problem of transport, raw material supplies, marketing facilities, finance, and organization.

What the poor majority in the developing countries need most is ample things such as clothing, household goods, building materials, agricultural implements and so forth. The introduction of "intermediate technology" will mean a move toward an area where heavy cost and complicated production methods are avoided and labor-intensive and small-scale industries are created. Since poverty is one of the major problems in developing countries, the housing problems will not be solved unless the governments rely on themselves and adopt an intermediate technology strategy.

Action programs on a national basis must be undertaken to develop intermediate technologies capable of promoting full employment. Some of the traditional technologies must also be improved. This intermediate technology recognizes the economic boundaries and limitations of poverty and will be much cheaper than the modern one and more labor intensive.

The work opportunities created in the region will be within the reach of the poor majority, not only in financial terms, but also in terms of their education, aptitude, organizing skills, and so forth. The equipment will be simple and, therefore, understandable, easy to maintain and to repair on the spot. People will be more easily trained and supervision, control, and organization will be simpler.

It is only by adopting regional approaches to planning and intermediate technology that developing countries will be independent from western experts, capital, and their ultra-modern standards.

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