

The case of Abidjan, Ivory Coast

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I. INTRODUCTION: THE CITY

A. URBAN CONTEXT

1. National Overview

The Ivory Coast's plantation economy was characterised by continuous growth from soon after independence until the 1980s. This growth, of which the pace, extent and continuity are exceptional in the West African sub-region, exercised an undeniable attraction on migrants from far and wide, favouring a rapid process of urbanisation and a doubling of the country's population from 3.6 million in 1960 to 7.5 million in 1978. These trends remain significant. The population of Abidjan registered an average annual growth rate of 8.2 per cent between 1965 and 1978. The inland cities, for their part, found themselves with a rate of growth of approximately 7 per cent during the same period. The country's level of urbanisation was also increasing, at 31.8 per cent in 1975, 42 per cent in 1992 and reached 47.7 per cent in 1997 and it will probably reach 55.7 per cent in 2015 (PNUD 1999, p 200). This makes it one of the highest levels of urbanisation in the West African region.

The capital, Abidjan, subject to the same pace of accelerated urbanisation, has a cosmopolitan character, and welcomes migrants not only from regions throughout the country but also from its neighbouring countries, including Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, Ghana and the majority of West African countries. Abidjan accounts for 18 per cent of national employment, 52 per cent of secondary and tertiary urban employment and

50 per cent of the gross domestic profit in the country as a whole. Thus, it can be stated that "Abidjan has progressively become a major focus of attention throughout the whole of West Africa, more especially for the populations of the Sahel, affected by successive droughts" (Thierry, 1995, p 45). In 1978, only 35 per cent of the residents were natives of the city, of which a majority were children. In the 15 to 59 age group, only one individual in ten was born in Abidjan. Moreover, more than 38 per cent of the inhabitants of the Abidjan agglomeration are not originally from the Ivory Coast. Similarly, the number of inhabitants of the autochthonous ethnicity, the 'Ebriés', has experienced a noticeable decrease. Representing 37 per cent of the total population of the city in the 1936 census, it was only 6.8 per cent in 1955, 5.5 per cent in 1963 and 3.3 per cent in 1975 (Antoine et al, 1987).

2. History of Abidjan

Understanding Abidjan's development requires taking account not only of its colonial heritage, but equally of the implementation of the main infrastructure systems and development strategies put into practice soon after independence. In fact, the development strategy adopted from 1960 on is essentially based on the integration of the Ivory Coast's economy into the world market, the promotion and support of agricultural

exports and the demand for manpower and foreign capital. The implementation of these fundamental choices led to the concentration of activities around the port and to a demographic dynamism without precedence. This evolution led Haeringer (1977) to define the growth of Abidjan in three main stages.

The first stage of the development of the city was the colonial town period, during which time it was appointed the capital of the country in 1934 and when its expansion was closely linked to the railway, known then as the state-owned Abidjan-Niger Railway (RAN), which linked Niger to the sea. From 1930 to the post-war period, the town of Abidjan only consisted of three districts, with Le Plateau, the administrative centre and European Quarter, separated from the two African districts of Treichville and Adjamé.

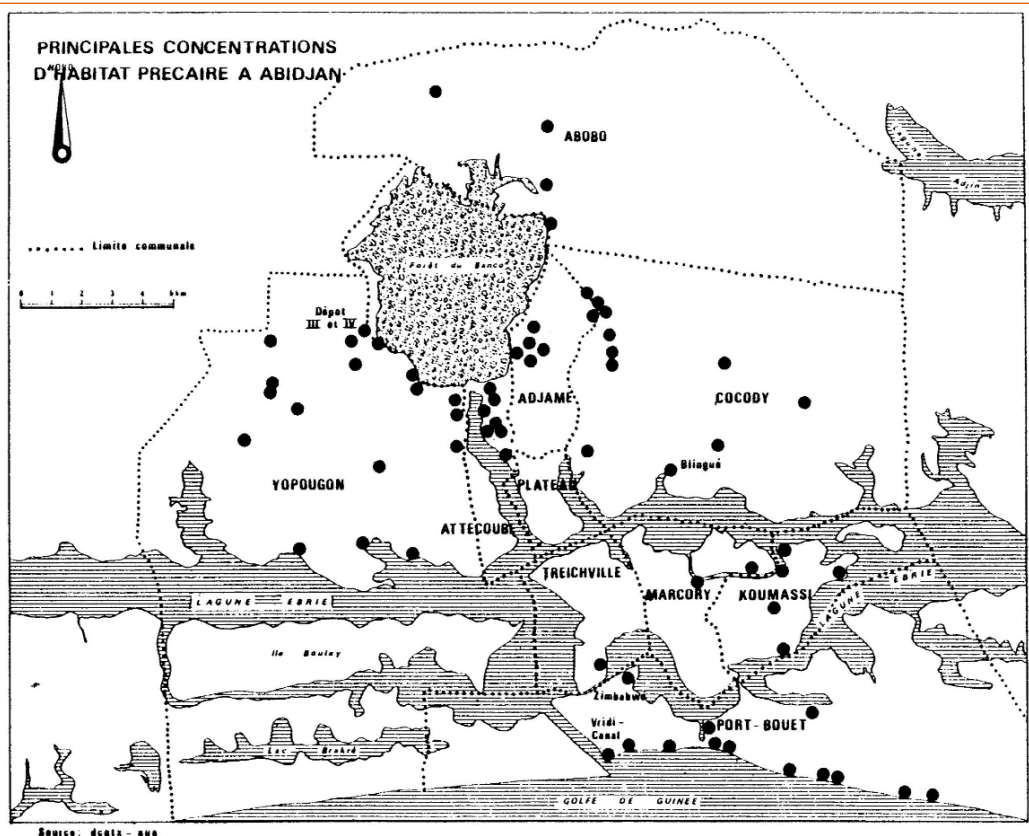
The current physical appearance of the town was sketched out in the Badani Plan of 1948. This plan dwelt on the planning and rationalisation of the organisation of the town and marks the passage from administrative centre to port. During the colonial period, Abidjan had 180,000 inhabitants, and became the centre of a system of exchange characterised by the export of primary products and some secondary goods, and the import of manufactured products and products for general consumption. This dynamism led to an increase in the population which grew from 330,000 in 1965 to 951,000 in 1975 and maintained the pace of growth at 10 to 11 per cent annually from 1935 to 1970, accounting for a

doubling of the population every seven years. However, this rapid growth experienced a weakening from the start of the 1980s, and it is now stable at around 4 and 5 per cent per year.

As regards the port, the second stage in the development of the town, it is characterised by the economic take-off closely linked to the opening of the Vridi Canal and the making of a deep-water harbour from the 1950s on. So, the urbanisation plan of 1952 emphasises the allocation of land and the laying out of roads, accentuates the division of districts and outlines the planning of the industrial zones in the south-west and living quarters in the north-east. Furthermore, the new planned living zones foreshadowed certain districts such as Adjamé-Nord, Cocody, Marcory and Koumassi. Le Plateau maintained its function of administrative and commercial centre of the town. According to Antoine et al (1987: 119), such a distribution of functions favours real imbalances in the distribution of the population and workplaces and leads to long and multiple daily journeys. The port led to the extension and population of the southern part of the agglomeration.

The new urban perimeter, which marks the third stage, is the product of sustained demographic growth which, from the 1970s, gave birth to districts which were more or less planned. In fact, during this period, the SETAP plan in 1960, the outlined structure of 1967, the main urbanisation plan of 1969 and the decennial perspective of 1980 can all be given as examples. To these must be

Map 1:
Greater Abidjan
Source: illegible



added the updating in 1998 of the planning outline of Abidjan. In 1980, the new perimeter was composed of Yopougon, on the plateau of Banco, and Abobo which, although originally a modest concentration of dwellings around a station, developed rapidly to constitute along with Yopougon the two most important communes of the capital. Deux-Plateaux and Riviera constitute the extensions north and east of Cocody.

3. The Physical City

Abidjan has 2.5 million inhabitants and covers an area of 54,000 hectares, of which 8,700 are lagoon areas. The site of Abidjan is composed of three quite distinct topographic elements, the coastal cordon, the lagoon and the plateaux. The coastal cordon separates the lagoon from the sea. To the north of the lagoon, there are a number of plateaux, with the first level rising to around 40 or 50 metres. Today, the bulk of urban growth takes place on these plateaux. If the presence of these plateaux is important on an aesthetic level, they are also a major obstacle for the correct structuring and functioning of the town, as the numerous discontinuities rupture the town. The division of the site has led to the dispersal of the urban units. This situation prompts problems of distance between the town centre and the periphery and between working areas and living quarters, leading to problems of transport, notably increasing volumes of traffic journey costs.

Climatically Abidjan is situated in a humid tropical zone with a high and relatively uniform temperature throughout the year with an annual average of 26.4°C. Annual rainfall varies between 1,540 and 3,040 mm, with an average of approximately 2000mm. The following are the main characteristics of the climate:

- A long rainy season from March to July with monthly rainfall levels which can reach 700 mm.
- A short rainy season during the months of October and November.

The relative humidity hardly varies with the seasons, remaining very high, with an annual average of 64 per cent. The permanent humidity associated with heat gives a 'heavy' climate.

4. Demographics

Table 1: Demographic Evolution of Abidjan after Independence

Year	1965	1975	1988	2000
Population	341,000	948,000	1,934,000	3,475,000
Rate of growth	10.8%	5.6 %	5.6 %	

Source: Institut National de la Statistique 1998

From soon after independence until the 1970s, Abidjan experienced a high demographic growth of approximately 11 per cent. From the 1980s, partly because of the economic crisis, this rate fell to 5 per cent. In 1995, the population was estimated at 2,720,000 inhabitants with an annual rate of growth of nearly 5 per cent. Abidjan's demographic explosion has not been controlled, because predictions are always thwarted by the speed and intensity of urban movements. The result is a splintered city, marked by an important imbalance between habitat zones and working areas.

In the General Census of Population and Habitat (RGPH) of 1988 (Institut National de la Statistique 1988), the city of Abidjan had approximately 1.96 million inhabitants, consisting of around 363,000 households, spread across the ten communes which make up the economic capital. However, ten years later, in 1998, the RGPH gave a population of 2,953,018 with 591,040 households (Institut National de la Statistique 1998).

Table 2: Distribution of Abidjan's Population by Commune

Commune	Population		Number of Households	
	1988	1998	1988	1998
Abobo	405,615	654,375	72,283	119,540
Adjamé	204,089	260,507	36,846	52,296
Attécoubé	164,751	214,638	33,561	45,235
Cocody	134,875	260,159	26,561	54,011
Koumassi	233,807	325,044	46,715	71,973
Marcory	149,668	180,192	29,338	41,176
Plateau	12,184	10,141	2,331	1,965
Port Bouët	171,002	216,287	35,065	51,607
Treichville	110,835	123,520	20,101	19,647
Yopougon	372,190	708,155	59,828	133,572
Total	1,959,016	2,953,018	362,629	591,040

Source: Institut National de la Statistique (1988 and 1998)

5. The Urban Economy

Clearly, the structure of the budget expresses a strong dependence of the city on duties from the communes and, therefore, the absence of its financial autonomy. In fact, Abidjan does not control tax returns on refuse collection for households with electricity. This situation stems from the electricity company's refusal to hand back sums collected in the name of household refuse collection on household electricity bills.

The city devoted 93.2 per cent of its budgetary resources in 1997 to operational expenses and the rest,

Table 3: Structure of Abidjan's Resources

Category	Total (in French African Community Francs)	%
State aid and commune contribution to city costs	16,220,170,039	81.9
Receipts of services provision	1,095,396,883	5.5
Tax receipts	1,920,147,430	9.7
Other receipts	404,305,596	2
Inheritance tax	165,218,665	0.8
Personal investment receipts	0	0
Total	19,802,238,553	100

Source: Administrative accounts of the city – 1997

Table 4: The Structure of Abidjan's Expenditure

Category	Total (in AFCE)	%
Expenditure on cleaning and collection of household refuse	9,039,689,156	68.7
Personnel	2,069,946,057	15.7
Other operational expenditure	1,133,417,124	8.6
Investment funds	933,045,328	6.1
Total	13,156,097,665	100

Source: Administrative accounts of the city – 1997

that is to say 6.9 per cent to investment. The most important item of operational expenditure consisted of household refuse collection charges, at 68.7 per cent, followed by personnel charges at 15.7 per cent. The other operational charges, consisting of supply and services and organisational labour, represented 8.7 per cent of budgetary resources. Expenditure on investment relates to equipment (acquisition of technical materials, public services and transport) and construction work for socio-educational and economic infrastructures.

6. Governance

Under the colonial administration, the first localities that benefited from the status of mixed communes were Grand-Bassam and Abidjan. They were appointed by the French Municipal Law of April 5th 1884 on the 31st December 1914 and the 29th October 1915 respectively. From 1978 to 1985, Law no. 78-07 of 9th January 1978 marked the first major municipal reform with the creation of 37 fully operational communes of which ten were in the agglomeration of Abidjan. The city is administered by a supra-municipal government known as the City of Abidjan. However, the institutional reform of 2001, resulting in the Second Republic, proposed making Abidjan a district with a special status and led by an appointed governor. This structure, in addition to the ten communes, includes the communes of Ayama, Bingerville and Songon and the governing bodies are the District Council, the President of the Council and the Office of the Council.

The innovations introduced in the new reform concern the district council in that this deliberating body consists of one third of members elected by the municipal councils, which make up the district, and two thirds are members elected by direct suffrage and by a proportional and majority list system in one round. The Office of the District Council is composed of the President, who is also President of the District Council, and five vice-presidents, a secretary and a deputy secretary. The competencies and powers of the District of Abidjan concern the protection of the environment, the managing of household and other refuse, the planning of regional development, the promotion of developmental initiatives, the struggle against insecurity, the promotion of traditions and customs, and the fight against the effects of urbanisation.

With regards to means, it is important to remember that decentralised collectives in general and Abidjan in particular, have access to transferred state resources, especially general endowments of decentralisation, special state subsidies, fiscal resources granted by the state, loans, donations, bequests and subsidies. Eventually, resources are shared either between the decentralised groups and the state, or amongst themselves.



II. SLUMS AND POVERTY

B. DIFFERENT TYPES OF SLUMS IN ABIDJAN

1. Types of Slums and Characteristics of Dwellings

The habitat typology used in the review of the urban sector carried out by the Working Party of Urbanism in Abidjan (AUA, 1994: 19) identified slums as being:

“(....) housing salvaged generally from prefabricated wood panelling or from recovered materials, and built in an often illegal manner, in zones that may or may not have a network of roads. This housing generally appears in a standardised mode of construction, as much as with regard to the materials used (prefabricated wooden panelling or salvaged frame sheet metal for the roof, and cement coating on the ground) as by the size of the rooms (3 m by 3 m, approximately 9m²). Occasionally inserted amongst these wooden houses are some ‘hard’ dwellings (agglomeration of sand/cement) or, more rarely, some made from ‘banco’ (dried mud over a wooden frame), with which it is sometimes possible to assimilate yard housing, and this is in spite of recommendations by the authorities not to build permanent housing but ‘dismountable housing’, in view of eventual abandonment. The living conditions are equally impoverished in this type of slum housing due to the smallness of the lodgings, which are generally bed-sits (one room lodgings), and by the rarity of sanitary facilities (shower, toilet)”

Descriptions of the physical characteristics of slum habitats are a subject of interest in the abundant literature produced between 1960 and 1990. Certain authors agree on the fact that a slum habitat is a ‘vegetal habitat’, while others maintain that this type of habitat represents constructions made from earth with a wooden framework. For others, this habitat consists of huts (shacks) made from unfinished planks. In any case, these constructions are characterised by their disorderly characteristics, in a situation of visual anarchy, in areas that have not been cleaned up. Furthermore, facilities and services are lacking and water is taken from the water table. The highways are a pedestrianised network like a network of veins. These observations are confirmed by the results of a joint investigation led by the AUA and ENSEA (the National Grande Ecole for Applied Economics).

This investigation found that 62 per cent of constructions are made from wood, 24.6 per cent from breeze-block, 12.9 per cent are made from cob or ‘banco’ and 0.50 per cent from sheet metal. These results confirm those obtained by Yapi-Diahou in 1987. In this study, 81 per cent of constructions are made of planks, 11 per cent from banco, 3 per cent from sheet metal, 4 per cent



Photo 1. Dwelling Constructed of Wood, Blingué

Boni Michel

Table 5: Characteristics of Dwellings

Designation	No. of households	Proportion (%)
Type of construction		
- individual houses	2,7503	7.5
- shared yards	887	88.5
- rooms, studios	203	2.4
- others	366	0.6
- unspecified	2,488	1.0
Total	36,693	100
Wall type		
- permanent	28,889	78.7
- semi-permanent	1,547	4.2
- wood	6,163	16.8
- banco	47	0.1
- unspecified	47	0.1
Total	36,693	100

Source: Investigation of urban poverty, Abidjan 1998

from breeze-block and 1 per cent from 'adobe' or cakes of earth. The observations of Blary et al (2000: 56) are consistent with many other authors in stating that in these districts, the dwellings are made from salvaged planks and sheet metal and the absence of minimal infrastructure sometimes gives the appearance of an encampment. The constant characteristic of this type of habitat lies in the precariousness of the materials used in its construction.

A final comment from the AUA (1992) concerns the classification of districts into three types. The structured type refers to the areas that are only physically distinguishable from legal habitat zones by their illegal land situation; the irregular framework type refers to estates with irregular frameworks; and the weakly non-structured type is characterised by areas poorly structured or non-structured. On the basis of this distinction it can be said that Vridi-Canal, Zimbabwe and Blingué are poorly or non-structured, while Zoé Bruno is structured following its 'restructuring operation'.

It should be added that the majority of households live in shared yards. In fact, 88 per cent of constructions have shared yards while only 7 per cent only of houses are individual.

2. Location

In terms of the location of the slum areas, a third are situated in the communes of the south, notably Treichville, Marcory, Koumassi and Port-Bouët. The remaining two-thirds are distributed among the other communes, although Le Plateau, does not include this type of habitat. However, with regard to surface area, the slum districts in the south, no doubt for reasons of their proximity to the industrial zone of Vridi, cover a larger area of 558 hectares of a total of 1053.

Within the commune of Port-Bouët, the slum districts of Vridi-Canal and of Zimbabwe and Pointe Aux Fumeurs are located in the northern and southern extremities of the important industrial zone of Vridi. Vridi-Canal stretches along the coast between the industrial zone and a housing zone, separated by a railway line. The birth of Vridi-Canal is linked to the construction of the canal between lagoon and sea. In fact, it was to work on this important building site that workers from Burkina Faso settled on this strip of sand of more than a kilometre in length. For its part, the district of Zimbabwe stretches over an area of 15.5 hectares in a triangle at the edge of the lagoon via its northern and eastern coasts and adjoins its industrial zone.

As for Zoé Bruno, in the commune of Koumassi, it dates from the early 1960s, and is also situated at the edge of the lagoon, adjoining the industrial zone of Koumassi. This neighbourhood results from the clearance of the industrial zone in 1964. The founder, Zoé

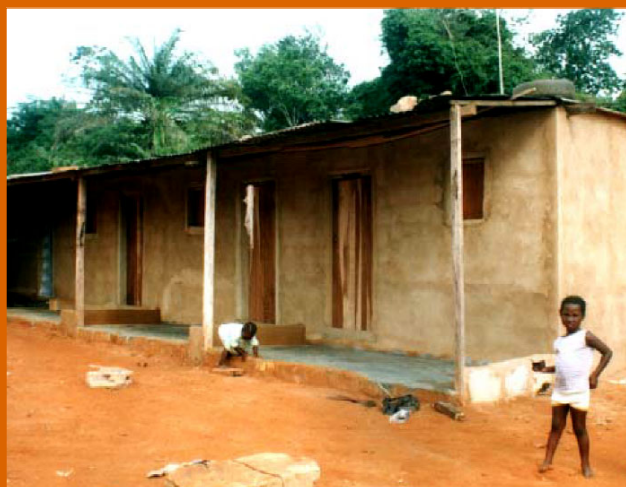


Photo 2. Dwelling with Cement Walls



Photo 3 - Dwelling with Earth Walls

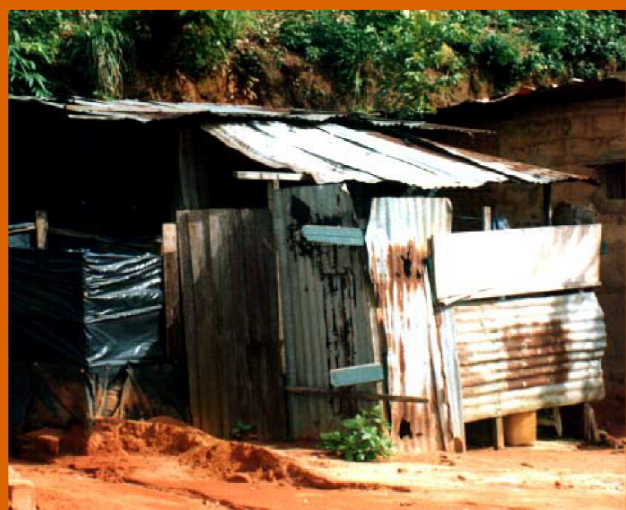


Photo 4 - Dwelling built of corrugated sheets

Bruno, decided to settle on this site, whose history is, as in the first two cases, linked to industrial development. The district, occupying a triangle with a surface area of 10 hectares, is situated on the southern extremity of the Koumassi industrial zone. Opening on to the lagoon via the south-eastern tip, it is limited on its northern coasts by the buildings of the industrial zone.

Stretching out over an area of 23 hectares, the last of the chosen districts is Blingué in the Cocody commune. This is composed of four blocks which stretch out across a valley liable to flooding, under banana trees and flowering plants. This undulating site represents the natural boundary of the University of Cocody and the Cocody embassy quarters and the Riviera. The first small group dates from 1950 and was initially inhabited by market gardeners from Mali, people from the Ivory Coast and farm labourers from Burkina Faso. During the 1970s, at the height of the clearance operations, the district welcomed new households driven from the areas of Danga and Gobélé in the commune of Cocody. Today, the capacity for extension of the Blingué district is virtually zero due to the natural limits of the perimeter.

The other four slum areas examined in the study of urban poverty (Kossounou, 1999) are Sagbé, Boribana, Grand Campement and Yaosséhi. The Sagbé district, commonly known as 'Abobo derrière rails' (Abobo 'behind the railway tracks') borders the Banco Forest. The Grand Campement district is situated in the Koumassi commune and is opposite the Police Station in the 20th district of the commune. The third district of Boribana is in the commune of Attécoubé. It is limited in the south by Lagoon Ebrié and in the north by the Northern Motorway. As for Yaosséhi, commonly known as 'Mon mari m'a laissé' (My husband has left me), is in the commune of Yopougon and stretches along both sides of Yopougon's telephone exchange, before the Saguiba Cinema.

3. Population Size and Characteristics

The residents of slum quarters are generally characterised by a heterogeneity made necessary by the constraints associated with lack of space. Thus, according to Blary et al (2000: 67), the "scarceness of space" favours mixtures and institutes a relative equality of rights. Moreover, a mosaic of people with Ivory Coast and other African ethnic groups cohabits in these slum quarters. This reality is confirmed by the socio-economic investigation by the AUA (1994), which reveals that of every ten residents of the slums of Abidjan, four originate from the Ivory Coast while the rest are from Burkina Faso (20 per cent), Mali (9 per cent), Ghana (9 per cent), with Togo and Bénin accounting for 12.3 per cent.

Following the example of the Abidjan population in general, the population of the slums are in the majority tenants. In fact, the General Census of Population and Habitat in 1988 (Institut National de la Statistique 1988) shows that 79 per cent of the households in Abidjan fall

into this category, while in the slums more than 60 per cent of the population are tenants. Similarly, an investigation by the AUA of the DCGTx in 1994 (AUA 1994), shows that on average 75 per cent of residents are tenants, 18.7 per cent are house-owners and 5.8 per cent are staying free of charge. The density of this type of habitat varies from one area to another, as is shown in table 6. Zimbabwe lies at the top with 340 inhabitants per hectare, with Zoé Bruno following with 254.5 and Vridi-Canal with 206. Blingué is in last position with the least dense concentration of 69.6 per hectare.

Table 6: Density by Slum Quarter

Quarter	Vridi-Canal	Zimbabwe	Zoé Bruno	Blingué
Population	14,540	4,922	7,743	1,716
No. Households	5,371	2,274	3,139	521
Household size	2.7	1.9	2.46	3.29
Area (hectares)	70.49	14.48	30.43	24.64
Density/hectare	205.97	339.9	254.5	69.6

Source: AUA, 1985

Table 7: Distribution of the Population by Area in 1998

Area under investigation	Population 1988	%	Number of blocks
Sagbé	46,206	56.6	302
Grand Campement	22,687	27.7	32
Boriibana	8,903	10.9	35
Yaosséhi/Doukouré	3,917	4.8	73
Total	81,713	100	442

Source: Institut National de la Statistique (1988)

Another characteristic to be highlighted is that which concerns the absent owners, that is to say those who do not live in the area but who have built one or more dwellings in order to let them out. These people are generally employed in the public sector and contribute financially to restructuring initiatives. In return, they receive plots of land as compensation.

The population of the slum quarters comprises all the large ethnic groups of the Ivory Coast. Table 8 indicates that the Akan group is in first place, followed by the Krou group.

Table 8: Breakdown of Ethnic Groups in Slum Quarters

Ethnicity	Abidjan (%)	Slum quarters (%)
Akan	48.8	48.7
Krou	31.2	13.8
Mandé du Nord	14.7	18.5
Mandé du Sud	7.9	10.4
Voltaïc	7.3	8.6
Others	0.1	-
Total	100	100

Source: Antoine and Henry, 1982; Yapi-Diahou 1987

Table 9: Distribution of the Resident Populations According to Ethnicity and Nationality

Ethnicity/ Nationality	Number of residents	Proportion (%)
Akan	30,739	17.7
KrouKrou	24,174	13.9
Mandé du Nord	37,435	21.6
Mandé du Sud	12,791	7.4
Tagouana	1,722	1.0
Sénoufo	13,829	8.0
Other voltaïc	1,741	1.0
Not specified	1,274	0.7
Guinea	7,919	4.6
Mali	18,505	10.7
Burkina-Faso	14,083	8.1
Niger	1,774	1.0
Other West African nationalities	6,388	3.7
Other African nationalities	472	0.3
Other continents	23	0.0
Without nationality	142	0.1
Undeclared	422	0.0
Total	173,432	100

Source: (Institut National de la Statistique 1998)

Another element in the identification of populations living in slum areas is that they originate from several West African countries, as shown in **Table 9**. In this way, those from the Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso are present in every area. On the other hand, if those from the Ivory Coast are located in greater concentrations in the areas near to industrial zones, (Vridi-Canal 52 per cent, Zoé Bruno 54 per cent), it would then follow that those from Burkina Faso are grouped together in the areas surrounding Cocody, such as Blingué.

With regard to employment, on the whole the heads of household work in the surrounding areas. Furthermore, jobs types are generally associated with the area's environment. In this way, in Vridi-Canal, the principle places of work of the heads of household are in the commune of Port-Bouët, (70 per cent), and Treichville, (20 per cent). In Zimbabwe, 35 per cent of heads of households are fishermen, clearly associated with the environment of the area and 70 per cent work in Port-Bouët. Blingué houses residents of which 90 per cent work in Cocody and 10 per cent in Le Plateau.

C. RELEVANT OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

1. Definitions and their Predominant Use

Slum areas are today the focus of the sustained attention of development partners. Since the 1990s, these partners have been in favour of the regulation of slums and of the social and economic integration of the poor. This new context enables the slum areas to enjoy a tolerance which shelters them from the savage clearances of the past.

Certain writers like Kobo (1984: 350) attempt to define slum habitats through the definition of informal practices which are infractions of the urban regulations in the process of access to land. This definition is supported by Durand-Lasserve (1987:31) who emphasises that informal land practices consist of a change in the allocation of land which marks the passage of a piece of land, initially of agricultural usage, or at least not of urban usage, to an urban piece of land. This conception is likewise shared by Yapi-Diahou (2000: 32) for whom spontaneous habitat is described as any localised habitat without official estate areas and for this reason considered illegal. In the main, writers attempt to define slum areas according to the physical aspect of this type of habitat or even in terms of their legal status.

Table10: Nationality - Residents by Slum Area (%)

Country of origin	Vridi-Canal	Zimbabwe	Zoé Bruno	Blingué	Total
Ivory, Coast	52	27	54	14	36.75
Burkina, Faso	52	28	26	74	41.75
Mali	-	22	8	12	10.50
Guinea	1.5	-	2	-	0.87
Ghana	-	15	-	-	3.75
Bénin	3	2	10	-	3.75
Sénégal	1.5	3.5	-	-	1.250.75
Togo	3	-	-	-	0.75
Nigéria	-	-	-	-	-
Niger	1.5	-	-	-	0.37
Cameroon	-	3.5	-	-	0.87
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources: Bonnassieux, 1982; Yapi Diahou, s.d.

the whole, the slum areas which welcome them can be seen as refuges in so far as they do not have to pay rent of the normal areas because of their status as low wage-earners, as the unemployed, as retired or divorced people or as prostitutes. This is the case for Alphonse, a resident in the electrical trade for many years in Yaoséhi/Doukouré:

"I'm an ex-employee of SONITRA and I lost my job following a reduction in personnel. I had to leave the house I was occupying in the Banco II district that I was sub-letting at 10,000 FCFA. Now, I've ended up in a two-room house with a rent of 5,000 FCFA. Here, you can get by with few contracts but it's not much fun".

But, unlike Alphonse who sees himself as an outsider from the legal part of the city, old Gabriel, veteran of the Second World War and retired from administration, benefits from a more self-actualising status. In fact, he plays the role of spokesperson for the community to the communal authorities:

"I'm the father of nine children and I live in a big shack with one room and I pay 3,000 FCFA a month. I know the land belongs to the state but I wish the mayor would take a kindly look at this area so that he could make some improvements. As head of the community, I receive complaints every day, mostly from couples. I summon the parties, I listen and I give my verdict".

D. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF SLUMS

1. Popular Understandings of Slums

On the whole, slums are stigmatised and are the focus of unfavourable prejudice. In fact, slum quarters are basically located within low-income areas. They have a bad reputation of being the dens of highwaymen, drug addicts and especially the hang-outs of impoverished foreigners who are incapable of living within the city legally.

2. Relevant Local Language Terms

The definition of slum remains complex and difficult, as shown by the perception of public opinion in Abidjan. In fact, slums are diversely defined as "campement" (encampment), "ville non moderne" (non-modern part of town), "village" (village) and "quartier spontané" (spontaneous quarter) in opposition to "ville moderne" (modern part of town) and "ville lotie" (estate development).

3. Slum Dwellers' Perceptions of their Own Status as Slum Dwellers

Representing 20 per cent of the population of Abidjan, spread across 72 districts in almost all the communes, the residents of the slum areas come from different places and perceive their status differently. However, on

E. OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY USED FOR POLICY PURPOSES

1. Definitions and their Predominant Use

The interim Strategy Document for the Reduction of Poverty (DSRP-1, 2002: 4) takes up, in part, the definition used in the National Plan for Fighting Poverty. In this way, poverty assumes three aspects: monetary and financial; accessibility; and psycho-sociological. Poverty is lived out just as much at an individual level as it is in groups. Poverty can equally be perceived as a feeling of insecurity, of exclusion, vulnerability and helplessness.

On the monetary and financial level, poverty is perceived by the population as being the state of someone or of a group without sufficient resources to satisfy primary and essential needs. The level of satisfaction of these needs varies according to milieu, lifestyle and accepted social norms and values. At the level of accessibility, poverty is an incapacity, or a lack of access by the individual to basic goods and social services (health, education, employment, drinking water, purification, electricity, tracks, etc.). At a psycho-sociological level, poverty is a state of mind, a feeling of exclusion, of frustration in terms of the family, clan and community (funerals, weddings, contribution to regional development activities, etc.). Furthermore, at the group level, a

community can consider itself poor by feeling excluded (being enclosed, insufficiently equipped with natural resources, or in socio-economic infrastructure or in development projects, or people (nationals) in jobs within high/senior administration or in large institutions).

However, the concept has now been enlarged as is indicated in the Report on Global Development 2000. According to this report, poverty is also:

- a. the fact of not having the right to speak because the slum populations need to have means to express their needs or to ask for explanations.
- b. The inability to take responsibility since the populations need to have means to express their needs or to ask for explanations.
- c. The absence of taking responsibility because populations need resources and power to take charge of the programmes that concern them.
- d. The lack of good governance because populations suffer when politicians are corrupt, deaf to local demand and not held responsible for their actions.

2. Changes to Definitions over Time

From independence to the 1990s, poverty in the Ivory Coast was described as rural. The majority of the poor used to live in a rural setting and so the definition of the concept of poverty was made in reference to the peasantry. In 1990, 70 per cent of all poor people and nearly 90 per cent of the very poor lived in a rural milieu (Grootaert, et al 1996: 218). The economic crisis of the 1980s necessitated several measures aimed at reducing its impact.

The devaluation of 1994 brought about a new distribution of poverty on a national level. Thus, poverty also came to be considered urban because of the emergence of a high level of poor households in Abidjan. In this way, in Abidjan, one person in five (approximately 20.2 per cent) was living under the poverty line during

the period March to May 1995 and a little more than one person in four in the other towns. Less than 1 per cent of the population was living under the poverty level in Abidjan in 1985 and approximately 8 per cent in other towns. In total, the proportion of urban poverty in poverty as a whole has passed from 20 per cent in 1985 to approximately 30 per cent in 1992. Thus, urban poverty has reached a critical point in the Ivory Coast and therefore can no longer be considered a uniquely rural phenomenon.

F. UNOFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF POVERTY

1. The Poor's Perception of their Own Poverty

Poverty is a multidimensional concept which is complicated to define. In the Ivory Coast, it took the National Plan for the Fight against Poverty to attempt to define this concept. The first meaning is economic and concerns consumption levels. The second relates to the satisfaction of basic needs, while the third one is the reflection of the perceptions drawn from a survey (INS 1995) conducted among poor households in the Ivory Coast. From this survey, it is revealed that poor people bring to the fore important dimensions such as "uncertainty", the "precariousness of their situation", "exclusion", "vulnerability", "the feeling of helplessness", which are constants when evoking poverty and lack of well-being. Thus, in the urban zones, the "lack of stable jobs and reductions in personnel are factors of uncertainty". It is the same for the poor areas of cities where the slum living conditions and the risk of eviction are recurring themes in the words of those concerned.

G. ORIGINS OF THE TYPES OF SLUM IDENTIFIED

1. Socio-Economic and Political Factors

The survey on poverty in the urban milieu carried out in 1998 (Institut National de la Statistique 1998) revealed that, in response to the question of why households have chosen to stay in slum areas, 23.7 per cent of heads of households refused to answer. Among those who did answer, 68.6 per cent cited the lack of means. The relatively cheaper cost of living in the slums was the basis of their choice. The average cost of rent in the slums is 7,603 FCFA. Another reason cited was family and tradition. For 18 per cent of households, family or traditional reasons (parents live there, they were born there, it's their village) are given to explain why they live in these areas. On the other hand, for 7.9 per cent of households, it is the proximity to the place of work which justifies their presence in these areas.

Table 11: Evolution of the Incidence of Poverty in the Ivory Coast (% of Poor People)

Zone	1985 (per cent)	1993 (per cent)	March-May 1995
Abidjan	0.7	4.8	20.2
Other towns	8.0	31.3	28.6
Eastern forest	15.2	37.3	41.1
Savannah	25.9	48.5	49.4
Western forest	1.6	35.6	50.1

Source: Report on Poverty in the Ivory Coast, World Bank, 1995

2. Census Data

On the whole, it is seen that in 1995, the poor and the very poor devoted a substantial part of their expenditure to food - that is to say 50.5 per cent for the very poor, and 56 per cent for the poor. On the other hand, in 1993, the poor and very poor households spent nearly 75 per cent of their income on the following three items: food, rent and utilities (water, electricity and gas).

H. DATA ON THE CITY'S SLUMS

1. Census Data

A survey carried out in 1995 by the INS REF identifies poor households as those whose average annual consumption per person is less than 144,000 F CFA. Ten per cent of extremely poor households have a consumption per person less than 94,600 FCFA per year. In Abidjan, the relatively higher poverty line was, according to this survey, 248,300 F CFA per person per year.

Throughout the African Financial Community (CFA), the rate of exchange varies according to foreign currency. This is the case for the dollar, which on 22nd August 2002 had the following value: US\$1 = 670 FCFA (As a consequence, each sum appearing in the text should be calculated according to the daily exchange rate).

Habitat: this survey reveals that each room was occupied by an average of 2.6 people in poor households and 3.5 people in extremely poor households. In Abidjan, some 70 per cent of the poor live in a single room which looks on to a yard shared by six to eight households. In this environment, nearly 30 per cent of extremely poor households have access to drinking water, 90 per cent to latrines, and 30 per cent of households enjoy a collection of household refuse service.

Poverty and size of households: the largest number of poor people are to be found in large families. Indeed, 8.1 per cent are households of one to three people with 47.3 per cent accounting for households of ten to twelve.

Poverty and level of education: in urban zones, the total number of years of schooling of the whole the household was an average of fifteen. Thus, the fact of having a diploma remains essential in finding a salaried job in the formal sector and raises the household income by 66,000 FCFA on average and reduces the threat of poverty by 8.4 per cent. The same goes for the informal sector where each year of study increases the household income by 52,000 F CFA on average and reduces the threat of poverty.

Basic needs and social services: the social indicators of the Ivory Coast are far from brilliant. They are expressed by a high mother and infant mortality rate, low schooling, poor literacy rate and a low life expectancy. In 1995, 51 per cent of children of school age were attending primary school and 49 per cent of adults knew how to read and write.

Table 12: Distribution of Households According to Reason Given for Living in Slum

Reasons for living in slum	Number of households	Proportion %
Lack of means	19,195	68.6
Proximity to the workplace	2,200	7.9
Lack of means and proximity to workplace	117	0.4
Family and/or traditional reasons	5,035	18.0
Lack of means and family reasons	42	0.2
Proximity to workplace and family reasons	70	0.3
House- and/or landowners	1,164	4.2
House-owner and family reasons	19	0.1
Lack of means, house-owner and family reasons	47	0.2
Lack of means, houseowner and work	19	0.1
Other reasons	89	0.3
Total	27,997	100

Source: (Institut National de la Statistique 1998)

Table 13: Breakdown of Household Consumption in Abidjan

Designation	1993			1995		
	Very poor	Poor	Not poor	Very poor	Poor	Not poor
Food	45.5	43.2	45.3	50.5	56.0	44.9
Rent	14.5	13.7	9.2	14.9	5.5	10.2
Utilities	14.9	14.2	9.9	15.4	20.3	11.1
Schooling	2.8	1.8	1.7	1.2	0.0	1.8
Health	11.6	5.5	7.0	3.0	0.2	12.8
Hygiene	2.9	2.3	2.1	2.0	3.4	1.5
Clothing	5.0	6.1	6.8	5.4	5.0	5.5
Transport	1.6	7.8	10.2	4.5	3.8	6.6
Various transfer	0.4	4.0	5.5	0.2	4.5	4.1
Durable goods	0.3	0.7	1.0	0.9	1.3	0.8
Household	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Leisure	0.4	0.3	1.1	0.3	0.0	0.7
Miscellaneous	0.0	0.4	0.1	1.7	0.0	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100

Source: INS, (1993 -1995)

III. SLUMS: THE PEOPLE

J. THE INHABITANTS OF THE SLUMS

1. Short Histories of Residents and Characteristics of Life in Slums

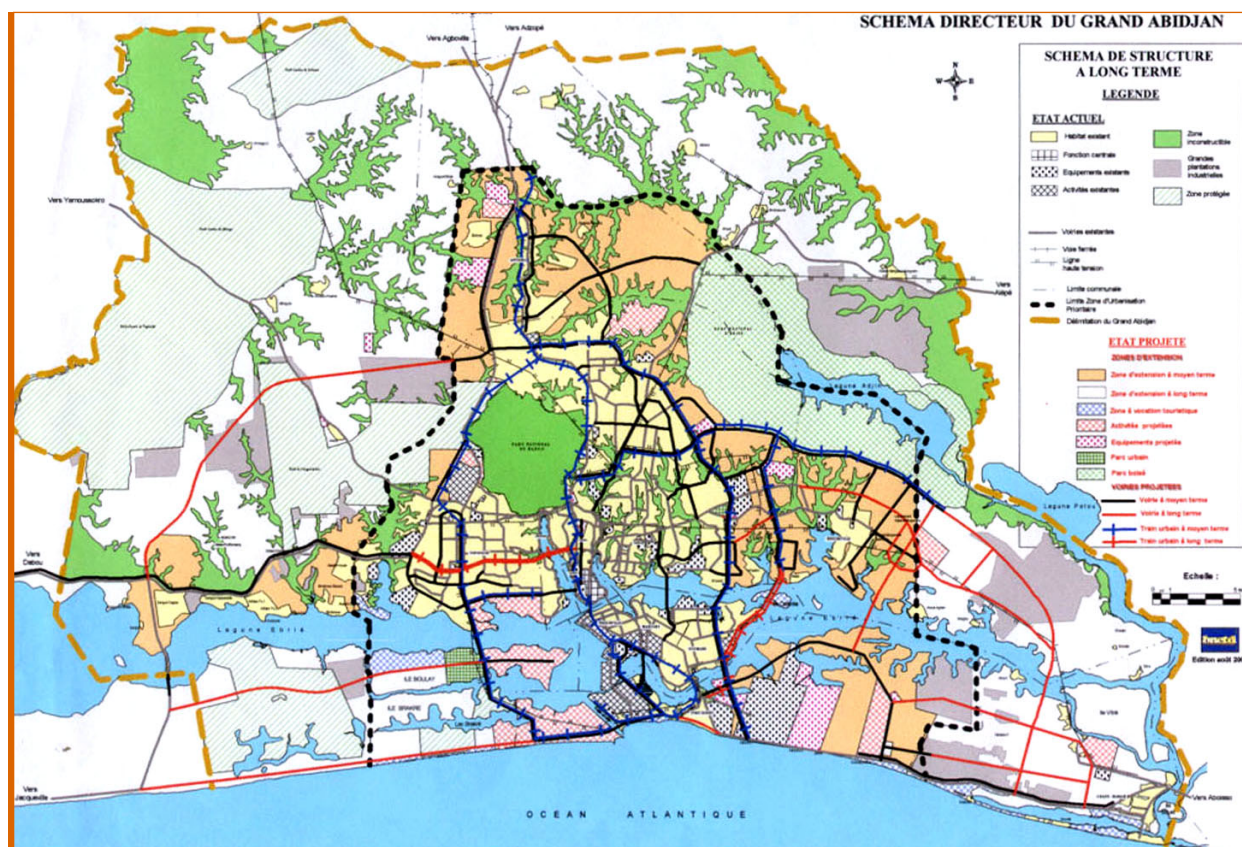
In general, life in slums is not easy, all the more so because the residents are composed of the non-educated, single mothers and the disguised unemployed ('les chomeurs déguisés'). A 'chomeur déguisé' is a person who works in the informal sector and the nature and responsibility of his activities are such that he is considered under-employed. The gap between the activities carried out and the potential of the individual is such that he is said to conceal his unemployment by working below his true worth. And so, according to the testimony of a female resident of Yaoséhi/Doukouré, "women from our area live in misery and are obliged to do whatever it takes to feed themselves and look after their children. The majority are prostitutes. Both the young single mothers as those of a certain age who call themselves "auntie" and who are often mothers of six to nine children. At nightfall, these women make their way to one of the many underground bars, mainly to "Mille Délices", in search of a few clients".

It should be added that this area is also a refuge for women who are fleeing difficult situations created by divorce or marriage disputes. This is the case for Jeanne:

"I was married to a young man from my region. After six children, he decided that we would not have any more. I accepted this. Without me knowing, he then started having a relationship with another woman, who became pregnant. I discovered this and we quarrelled. I left my children to escape the hatred of my in-laws. I came to Abidjan. As I could no longer return to my parents, I came here to be independent. I do not want to get into a serious relationship with a man. However, I have a boyfriend. Thanks to his help and my small business, I can cover my needs."

Men are also confronted with the question of returning to the village or the attraction of the city. Paul's reaction is an example:

"I stayed in school until lower sixth. I came to try my luck in Abidjan, and if that doesn't work, I'm going to the village. I've launched myself into the catering business, "Garbadrome", with my wife and in the evenings, I sell sandwiches at the cinema in Saguidiba. But my wife has left to be looked after in the village because I wouldn't be able to pay hospital costs and prescriptions here. I have four children, the eldest is eight and the youngest is three. The oldest one is at the village where he goes to school. I can't return very soon to the village".



Map 2: Principal Concentrations of Precarious Housing in Abidjan

It is the same for Abdou, an electronics engineer:

"I had to shut my repair shop because it wasn't working any more. I've been shut now for three months. I would like to return to the village but I don't even have enough to pay the moving costs. I find it absolutely impossible to economise because I have a big family, three children of my own, and eight others belonging to my brothers, one of whom is dead. As I no longer have a workshop or electricity at home, I go to colleagues' places to do little repair jobs that they give me. In spite of these troubles, I try to save the little I earn. I'd like to eventually return to the village but I can't go back empty-handed. I want to have some money to be able to reintegrate myself back into the village after so many years in Abidjan".

2. Aspirations, Plans and the Barriers to their Fulfilment

The populations of the slums perceive evictions/clearance as a threat hanging over their heads. From that moment on, their wish is to be able to stay on the site, even after it's been made into plots. In this regard, they also wish the state and aid organisations would help them to build economical housing in these areas.

Moreover, the majority of slums are badly served by public transport, especially Grand Campement and Sagbé. This is why the inhabitants here wish to see buses, taxis and local transport serving the area.

K. BASIC INDICATORS FOR THE TYPES OF SLUMS IDENTIFIED

1. Income

The average monthly income for heads of households in slums has been estimated at 45,000 FCFA (Yapi Diahou 2000, p 79).

2. Household Size

According to the 1998 survey of urban poverty, REF the average size of households in the slums is 5.1 people. This is less than the national average, which is 6 people. However, 32 per cent of households have six or more members (see Table 14).

3. Natural Growth and Fertility Rates

The survey on urban poverty (Institut National de la Statistique 1998) reveals that the average growth rate of the areas in question is 7.8 per cent, while the rates are 9.5 per cent in Sagbé and 13.1 per cent in Yaosséhi/Doukouré. This shows that the

growth of the population is strong in these slum areas. The economic crisis of the 1980s and 1994 could explain the massive influx of the new poor. On the other hand, this growth rate is -2.9 per cent in Boribana. This is because this area is restricted in the south by the lagoon and to the north by the motorway, rendering any growth impossible.

Table 15: Growth of the Population by Area in 1988 and 1998

Selected areas	Population in 1988	Population in 1998	Growth rate 1988-1998 (%)
Sagbé	46,206	114,050	9.5
Grand Campement	22,687	39,359	5.7
Boribana	8,903	6,617	-2.9
Yaosséhi/Doukouré	3,917	13,407	13.1
Total	81,713	173,432	-

Source: (Institut National de la Statistique 1998)

4. Types of Tenure and Terms of Occupancy

The results of the survey of urban poverty show that 81 per cent of households, are tenants of their dwellings, while only 14 per cent are owners (see Table 16)

Table 14: Distribution of Households According to Size

Size of household	Number of households	Proportion (%)
1 person	3,860	10.5
2 people	5,522	15.0
3 people	5,667	15.4
4 people	5,351	14.6
5 people	4,624	12.6
6 or more	11,670	31.8
Total	36,639	100

Source: Institut National de la Statistique 1998

Table 16: Distribution of Households According to Occupancy Status

Occupancy status	Number of households	Proportion
Tenant	29,728	81.0
Owner	5,067	13.8
Belongs to family	770	2.1
Housed by employer	217	0.6
Other	818	2.2
Undeclared	94	0.3
Total	36,693	100

Source: Institut National de la Statistique 1998

5. Literacy Rates

Table 17. Literacy Rates by Sex

Sex	Literacy		
	Illiterate	Literate	Total
Male	33	67	100
Female	57	44	100
Total	44	56	100

Source: (Institut National de la Statistique 1998)

6. Occupancy Ratios

At a national level 68 per cent of households have one to three rooms, 64 per cent in rural areas and 84 per cent in Abidjan. The number of households lodged in one room in Abidjan is 22 per cent as opposed to 16 per cent nationally. The ratios of dwellings are 3.6 people per room for dwellings of three rooms, 3.2 people per room in two-room dwellings and 3.0 per room in single room dwellings. The average national occupancy of rooms average is 2.7 people, with 2.6 people per room in the rural areas and 2.8 in the urban areas, while the average for Abidjan is 3.1.

7. Length of Household Residency in Slums

The survey on the urban milieu in 1998 (Institut National de la Statistique 1998), shows that the average residency in slum areas is 9 years. More exactly, households with a residency of between five and nine years comprise 25 per cent of the population, between 10 and 19 years 21 per cent, and 20 years or more is over 12 per cent. Data like this indicate that many households

have resided in the slums for at least five years. These recent settlements are linked to the devaluation of the CFA franc, which, on the whole, has considerably reduced the spending power of the population. This results in the increase in price of goods in general and of rent in particular (see Table 18).

L. THE COSTS OF LIVING SLUMS

1. Price of Water and Other Services

In Abidjan, 45.7 per cent of households buy their water from retailers and the same is true for the households in the areas studied in this report. Zoé Bruno lies in first position, with 97.8 per cent, while Vridi-Canal, Zimbabwe and Blingué follow with 97 per cent, 96 per cent and 96 per cent respectively (see Table 19). Wells represent another source of water for households, mainly for domestic needs such as dish-washing, laundry and toilets. The areas near to the lagoon use more well water than those situated on the continental plateau, due obviously to the proximity of the lagoon.

However, by obtaining their water from retailers, households end up paying more for the water they consume. This can be confirmed by the results of different surveys. In 1982, the first study conducted by the BCET, and supported by those in charge at SODECI in 1995, emphasises that while the official cost of a litre of drinking water is on average 0.18 FCFA, the dealers sell it for between 0.4 and 0.7 FCFA. Furthermore, the results of the 1998 survey on urban poverty (Institut National de la Statistique 1998), reveals that 75 per cent of households surveyed get their water supplies from the shopkeepers' pumps. The average monthly cost for water is 3,500 FCFA.

In slum areas, the connection of houses to electricity poses a genuine problem for the electricity companies. The following comments were made by one of the members of the Office of the Committee of Blingué:

"The CIE certainly doesn't want to hear about the electrification of our area; and yet, thanks to the 'Margouillat'i' ¹ we have their current in our homes".

Also, electricity represents for many households an extra source of lighting. In this respect, the most common method of lighting in these areas is the paraffin lamp, with 75.8 per cent compared to 17.9 per cent in Abidjan.

In terms of local services, notably sanitation, collection of waste, schools and retail businesses, the assessment differs according to each of these sectors. Although the

Table 18: Distribution of Households According to Length of Residency

Length of residency	Number of households	%
Less than 5 years	15,459	42.1
5-9 years	9,297	25.3
10-19 years	7,628	20.8
20 years or more	4,310	11.7
Total	36,693	100

Source: Institut National de la Statistique (1998)

Table 19: Methods of Water Provision

Area	Type of water provision		
	Tap (%)	Retailer (%)	Well (%)
Vridi-Canal	1.5	97	66.6
Zimbabwe	2	96	59
Zoé Bruno	1	97.8	79
Blingué	-	96	94
Total	1.13	96.73	74.65
Abidjan	53.4	45.7	0.9

Sources: Yapi-Diahou, 1987; Direction de la Statistique, 1986



Photo 4: Water vendor



Photo 5: Electricity in the Neighbourhood Chief's House, Blingué

city of Abidjan has been equipped with a guiding framework adopted since 1974 and put into practice in 1975, the slums, by definition not recognised as plotted land, are excluded from this. This is confirmed by the example of Zimbabwe, where the area is equipped with neither a purification network nor a drainage system and where the latrines and group shower facilities are fitted out on piles on the lagoon. In terms of household waste, it should be noted that in the slums where an effort is made to collect the waste, the skip is located at the entrance to the area.

Table 20: Types of Electricity Provision

Areas	Types of electricity provision (%)		
	Individual meter	Via Margouillat	Paraffin lamp
Vridi-Canal	46.6	17.3	50.6
Zimbabwe	5	21.6	76.6
Zoé Bruno	2	42	76
Blingué	-	6	100
Total	13.40	21.73	75.80
Abidjan	82.3		17.3

Sources: Yapi-Diahou, 1987; NOT IN REFS Direction de la Statistique, 1986

Boni Michel

This is the case in Vridi-Canal, Zimbabwe and Zoé Bruno. In Blingué, even though to begin with, the commune had agreed to provide a skip, as in the other areas, this arrangement no longer exists. Refuse is thrown into the ravines in the immediate surrounding areas.

Schools are to be found in nearly all the areas studied. In Zimbabwe, for example, the construction by the population of a primary school with six classes, in order to educate as many school-age children as possible, speaks for itself. As for the different types of businesses which are to be found in the slums: on this issue, we are in agreement with Yapi-Diahou who feels that all these areas are over-flowing with shops, such as grocers, chemists, hard-ware shops, which allow the residents to get their supplies. In reality, a great range of local products of every day use, from rice to cigarettes, milk products, oil, etc, is available. Different kinds of service providers are found too, such as furniture-makers, florists, managers of drink depots, sellers of food-produce, butchers, coal-sellers etc. The places of worship include mosques and catholic churches.

Boni Michel

2. Rental rates

According to the results of the Survey on Urban Poverty (Institut National de la Statistique 1998), the average rental charge in slums is 7,603 FCFA.

3. Availability of Housing Finance

As one of the major constraints to development activity, poverty remains a preoccupation amongst development partners as well as for African leaders. In the Ivory Coast, two principal categories of funds coexist:

■ **Fund for employment and decentralised investments:** On a national level, a collection of funds has been created with a view to bringing support to the poor. These include funds to support socio-economic projects, funds intended to create facilities, funds allocated to training and funds assigned to the creation of jobs in the context of the social funds programme.

■ **Multilateral and bilateral funds:** Many development partners, notably the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme and bilateral development agencies, have accessible funds for those from vulnerable social categories.

4. Health Problems (Exposure to Contagious Diseases)

The results of the survey of urban poverty (Institut National de la Statistique 1998), reveal the different aspects of the health problems experienced by slum residents. Amongst these problems, the most frequent ailments are parasitic diseases, accounting for 52.2 per cent of illnesses

reported by households. Infectious diseases come next with 7 per cent, with respiratory illnesses at 3.4 per cent and diarrhoea representing 3 per cent.

5. Job Discrimination

The results of the survey of urban poverty (Institut National de la Statistique 1998) show that poverty is concentrated in agricultural households and in the less-structured sectors of the economy.

6. Insecurity

Among the main problems experienced collectively by the slum residents, insecurity figures high. The concept of insecurity relates firstly to the sites of the slums themselves, which can be swallowed up by ground collapse, for example in Blingué, where residents have to deal with major landslides at the height of the rainy season. Insecurity can relate also to the crimes committed by out-of-work local youths or to the fact that these areas can be the hideouts for serious criminals from the urban centres. Finally, insecurity can be due to the sporadic visits from the police to check residency permits or, more particularly, due to eventual slum clearance operations.

Table 21: Cases of Ill-Health According to Illness

Illnesses	No. of cases	Proportion %
Mental illness	1,008	1.7
Infectious diseases	4,026	7.0
Dermatological illnesses	1,581	2.7
Respiratory infections	1,988	3.4
Motor system illnesses	245	0.4
Diarrhoea illnesses	1,635	2.8
Isolated symptoms	7,662	13.2
Parasitic diseases	30,215	52.2
Traumas	240	0.4
Cardiovascular diseases	1,255	2.8
Other illnesses	6,785	11.7
Not specified	1,206	2.1
Total	57,848	100

Source: Institut National de la Statistique, 1998

Table 22: Socio-Economic Classification of Poor Households in 1995

Socio-economic grouping of poor households	Poverty rate within the group (%)	Poverty rate in the total of poor people (%)
Planters and agricultural producers for export	43.2	33.9
<i>n.a.</i>	58.4	31.2
Agricultural workers	36.4	4.9
Public Sector Workers	14.0	3.6
Formal sector employees	7.5	1.7
Informal sector employees	31	15.7
Self-employed within informal sector	29.3	4
Unemployed	52.8	1.7
Not-working	19.1	3.3
Total	36.8	100

Source: Poverty Report on the Ivory Coast, World Bank, 1995

7. Financial Expenditure for Typical Slum Households

Table 23 shows that food expenditure represents more than half (55.2 per cent) of expenditure as a whole. The next most significant are 9.4 per cent for transport, 8.2 per cent for rent, 6.9 per cent for health and 5 per cent for clothing.

Table 23: Structure of Slum Expenditure

Type of expenditure	Proportion of total expenditure %
Food	55.2
Rent	8.2
Health	6.9
Water	4.0
Electricity	3.2
Transport	9.4
Interviews	0.5
Moving	2.0
Equipment /facilities	0.1
Education	4.1
Clothes	5.1
Other	2.5
Total	100

Source: Institut National de la Statistique (1998)

Boni Michel



M. ASSETS AVAILABLE TO SLUM DWELLERS

The capital of the slum inhabitants is divided into four categories: social capital, financial capital, human capital and physical capital. To illustrate these different types of capital in a concrete manner, the example of the construction of a primary school in the slum area of Pointe aux Fumeurs, in the commune of Port-Bouët, is offered. In fact, the absence of schools in this area had been blocking the development of children of school age. This problematic situation led to the people of this area taking charge of their own destiny. And so, they settled on two objectives: firstly, to have a local school which would allow the education of the majority of children of school age, and, secondly, to show the public authorities their ability to organise and to improve their own living environment.

1. Social Capital

The dissatisfaction in the heart of the area of Pointe aux Fumeurs led to certain members of this community setting up a framework for dialogue with a view to activating solidarity or even making good use of the existing networks of solidarity and exchange. The framework developed included of an annulment campaign with the chiefs and notables of the area, a clear definition of a common strategy to put into action, the convening of an assembly to elect a management committee and an awareness campaign.

The social and political organisation model of slums is such that the functioning of this campaign has experienced an evolution closely linked to strategies of survival in these areas. Because of the rural origins of the first dwellers, these areas were organised on the traditional model, with the leader as a chief surrounded by his notables. In the majority of these areas, the chief is thus the founder of the area, as is the case with Zoé Bruno.

However, the diversity of ethnic and national origins in the slums and the interplay of alliances with the sole political party, the Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast (PDCI), helped to inspire a model of organisation. From independence to 1990, this party controlled the country by setting up of ethnic and national committees. From that time on, in the slums, each Ivory Coast ethnic group

tions, all the more so because, “tenants, owners and other lodgers are admitted without distinction, with the guarantee of receiving training and social assistance” (Yapi Diahou 2000, p 224). One can also understand why, according to certain leaders of the slum, the operational structure used is “the most adapted to the control of the population”.

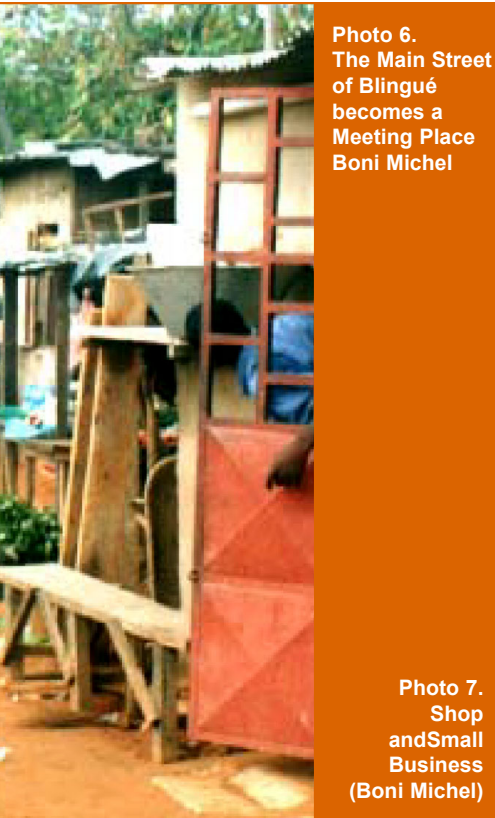


Photo 6.
The Main Street
of Blingué
becomes a
Meeting Place
Boni Michel



Photo 7.
Shop
and Small
Business
(Boni Michel)

Boni Michel

formed its own ethnic committee while each of the nationalities formed their own national committee. The designated leader in charge of a committee assumes the role of intermediary between his committee and the management of the slum. This leadership is in the hands of a leader who becomes the local “Committee President” and whose role is to establish a network of relationships with the outside world. It is also falls on him to initiate the steps with a view to gaining the recognition and later the regulation of the slum. In Blingué, the Head of the Central Committee, chosen in the four different blocks that make up the area, is in charge of an office composed of representatives from each block and the heads of the ethnic and national communities.

Although in Zimbabwe and Vridi-Canal, the controlling organisations and internal management have been simply calculated on the PDCI model, in Zoé Bruno, the leadership committee has become the “*Central Committee of Elders of Zoé Bruno*” (CCSZB). As such, on an organisational level, this slum area was considered avant-garde. The functioning of such a structure, according to many residents, answers their expecta-

2. Financial Capital and Human Capital

Within the scope of this project, the aim of the community to take control of itself aided the mobilisation of financial and human resources. As regards financial resources, a collection of 5,000 FCFA (US\$7.50) was made. This mobilisation was facilitated by the financial involvement of the town council of Port Bouët. As for human resources, the project management committee was able to mobilise the craftsmen of the area, who offered their expertise.

3. Physical Capital

The engagement of the committee and of the community enabled the completion of the project and provided the area of Pointe aux Fumeurs with a primary school. This school subsequently was integrated into the public system thanks to the efforts of the committee.

The slums, being recognised as such at a judicial and physical level by the public authorities, do not have access to different types of capital once they have the status of a legalised and restructured area. From that



Photo 8.
Primary school
in Blingué

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point on, the slum benefits from all the categories of capital to which the regular areas have rights: land access, services and equipment, micro-credit, with a view to creating lucrative jobs etc.

4. Resources Generated by Public Policies for the Poor

The question of the struggle against poverty appears today as one of the major axes of public policy in the Ivory Coast. In this respect, different funds were set up with the aim of financing the policies or sectoral programmes of the government with greater flexibility. The main examples are:

- Support funds for socio-economic projects in favour of the disadvantaged sectors of the population, in the form of micro-credits/allocations. An example being the Support Programme of the informal sector.
- Funds for training the poor e.g. the Support Project for the Training of the Active Population
- Funds destined to the creation of jobs in the scope of the Programme of Government Social Funds.

IV. SLUMS AND POVERTY: THE NATIONAL POLICIES

N. POLICIES AND ACTIONS TAKEN TO IMPROVE SLUMS AND ALLEVIATE POVERTY

1. Locational Targeting

The restructuring of the Ivory Coast was organised by the “Order of the 24th August 1977”. This targeted the modernisation of the area in question. In the framework of the PDU3, different under-equipped areas, notably the areas of Alliodan, in the commune of Marcory, Koumassi Remblai 2, and Zoé Bruno in the commune of Abobo, have benefited from the restructuring operations. In the analysis of these experiences, Dembélé (1994: 75), has shown that these interventions remain uncoordinated from a methodological point of view, without taking into account the fact that the conclusions and recommendations are dispersed amongst the many actors, including the DCGTx and the Ministry of Amenities, Construction and Urbanism.

The fact remains that since the 1980s, for the World Bank, urban management has been focused on mobilising wealth for the benefit of the town as a whole, in order to maintain and develop the infrastructure and the network of essential services for the activities of the agglomeration, but also to manage better the growing number of poor people (World Bank 1990, p 100). Thus,

from the 1990s onwards, the option of restructuring has really been the order of the day in the development programmes of the Ivory Coast authorities. The objective assigned to the restructuring is to 1) favour the urban integration of slums by actions aimed at improving access to essential urban services such as road networks, drainage, distribution of drinking water and electricity, 2) to put in place land security mechanisms, 3) to favour the development of economic activity and 4) to promote community development. In this perspective, the restructuring actions undertaken by the Ivory Coast authorities in slums such as Zoé Bruno in the commune of Koumassi, in Sokoura and in the Aboisso commune in the region of Abidjan are worthy of interest.

As well as these operations, the case of Washington or N'Dakro in the commune of Cocody, also merits a mention. In the new movement of restructuring, the inhabitants of this area have been moved to a new site by the name of Biabou-Washington in the commune of Abobo. In total, in spite of the rupture between the new tendencies in slum area management, and urbanism by bulldozer, the fact remains that the restructuring option forms part of a blow by blow process without a true national policy on restructuring. And yet, the perpetuation of the restructuring operations calls for the setting in place of an integrated policy of restructuring based on a proven methodology and a genuine involvement of all the actors.

1.1 The National Restructuring Programme

The issue of slums, through its complexity and the stakes it introduces, was for a long time managed by the Ivory Coast authorities by means of successive slum clearances. However, in the last few years, the tendency has changed, Appessika (1999: 46) explains, from repression to willingness to integrate slums into the urban fabric, as is shown by the restructuring of certain areas. However, the success of such an enterprise today demands more than ever a redefinition of relations between state, local groups and civil society. It implies equally the taking into consideration of the residents' participation and the consolidation of the NGOs involved. Such a vision seems to have already begun at Blingué, where a religious organisation has built a primary school for the local children.

Moreover, this realignment of relationships between partners has to have as a framework a nationally integrated policy of restructuring of slums and later a national programme of restructuring. This policy is all the more necessary because, in Sub-Saharan Africa, with the exception of some countries such as Senegal and Cameroon, not one other country has been able, until now, to capitalise its experience in terms of the elaboration of such a policy at national level. Attahi (1994: 2) attests that "the manifestation of a political willingness, emphasising or not emphasising the lessons learned, could never constitute a guarantee of success

for the launching of a programme of breadth. In order to avoid bad habits, useless blockages and improvisations, it would have to be equipped with a preliminary restructuring policy and with an operational strategy for this policy".

2. Socio-Economic Targeting

2.1 National Fight Against Poverty

In the framework of its poverty strategy reduction following devaluation², the Ivory Coast Government at the time provided the country with a National Programme for the Fight against Poverty (PNLP), under the leadership of the Ministry of Planning and Development. A cell of this national body was set up, in collaboration with the Plan Management, to maintain the monitoring and co-ordination of this programme. The objectives of the PNLN are articulated around the following points: 1) to reinforce and consolidate economic development; 2) to reduce the proportion of households living below the poverty line from 36.8 per cent in 1995 to less than 25 per cent in 2002; 3) to improve the purchasing power of the people; 4) to reinforce institutional capacities at national, regional and local levels in the formulation of putting economic and social policies into operation.

But specifically the targeted areas are, amongst others, social well-being, the development of human resources and the control of demographic development via the following areas such as population, education, literacy, health and HIV/AIDS, employment and revenue generating activities³, women and the family, the young and children, housing and living conditions and surroundings. In terms of strategies, these are to 1) lead actions in favour of the disadvantaged by an improved targeting of measures, investments and interventions; 2) redefine the role of decentralised authorities so that they can ensure the putting into practice at a local level of an economic and social programme of development; 3) create a more fruitful partnership between local authorities, NGOs, private sector, civil society and authorities; 4) follow the policy of inter-regional re-balancing; 5) accelerate the process of decentralisation; 6) make operational the structures of resident participation in decision making.

2.2 Local Plans to Fight Poverty

One of the main questions which must be faced by elected representatives and leaders of towns is, without doubt, poverty. In these conditions, and in parallel to the state's actions, many other actors, notably organisations of civil society and development partners, lead initiatives in order to contain poverty, albeit in a small way. In this sense, the municipalities in the region of Dakar have undertaken actions with a view to fighting poverty. It is in this perspective that the support project for the development of a municipal programme for the fight against urban poverty is undertaken, jointly initi-

ated by the Government, the city of Abidjan, the UNDP, the PGU and executed by the BNETD. This project is aimed at supporting the four communes of Abobo, Adjamé, Bingerville, and Port-Bouët develop their plan to fight poverty on their land.

In this respect, the expert of the PGU and co-ordinator of the poverty project (Fraternité Matin, 23 August 1999 p.13) indicates that this institution intervenes with the communes, the NGOs, community groups, and its aim is to assist the communes so they can establish plans of action, which they will use to reduce poverty (PGU, 1996 p.50). In more detail, the methodology to elaborate such a plan is firstly to establish a profile of the poverty situation, by questions such as, who are the poor? Where do they live? How do they cope? In Port-Bouët, for example, the first phase consisted of public consultations, which allowed the identification and definition of some problems of poverty. Amongst these problems, can be noted the precariousness of general living conditions in certain areas and the difficulties for some groups in accessing drinking water and educating their children. The solutions envisaged during these workshops are the creation of a guarantee fund for the attainment of social funds, the setting up of a municipal fund to finance commercial activities with government aid and sponsors of housing at reasonable rents to permit the disadvantaged to get decent housing. On the whole, the local plan to fight poverty or the municipal plan of action to reduce poverty allow the establishment of a profile of poverty, the holding of collective workshops and the leadership of monitoring activities.

2.3 Definition of a New Strategic Framework

Following its participation in different African meetings, the Ivory Coast created, in July 2000, a national consultative committee equipped with a technical body entitled 'Committee of Supervision of the DSRP'. This committee, made up, amongst others of representatives from the public sector, the private sector and civil society, favours the participatory approach to better defining the issue of poverty. In the framework of the new approach, the government presents the actual document named DSRP-1, which includes: 1) the situation of poverty (perceptions, profile and policies); 2) the definition of a strategy for the reduction of poverty (SRP); 3) a viable macro-economic framework which guarantees economic development; 4) a number of activities to reduce poverty (annex); 5) an agenda for the final DSRP and the participatory approach; 6) the mechanism for evaluation.

The DRSP is the product of several consultations with residents following the participatory approach⁴. This document is drawn from the exploitation of works, or stud-

ies, of results of consultants' work for specific studies, the evaluation of current programmes, and from the exploitation of the options of the presidential programmes. It also takes into account the economic and social policy options of the government, and of the aspirations of the residents, but also the constraints linked to the national and international environment. The outcome of the DSRP is the elaboration of the final report, based on the participatory approach.

The final document, which is due in July 2002, will allow the response to questions drawn from the DSRP-1, namely: 1) what is the state of poverty with the impact of the military transition and its influence on the drop in GNP per inhabitant in 2000? 2) What are the pillars of a strong and lasting growth, creating wealth and jobs, especially for the poor? What level of jobs? 3) How to take into account the size, specificity and regional priorities in relationship with national strategies? 4) How to reflect the question of the decentralisation process, notably the transfer of competencies and the pace? 5) How is the question of type integrated? 6) What place is civil society to be given? 7) What are the indicators for the monitoring, the evaluation (input/output) and for the impact, which must be maintained to measure the efforts made.

To attempt to respond to these questions, several in-depth studies were prompted by the Committee of Supervision with a view to a detailed analysis of poverty. Some sectors, which will be the focus of studies are notably: 1) determinants of growth (including infrastructure, growth and poverty); 2) types of poverty; 3) transport and poverty; 4) food security and poverty; 5) financial systems and credit access of the poor (including the decentralised system of financing and poverty); 6)



Photo 9. Absence of Sanitation in Blingué

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urban poverty and the new poor; 7) childhood, adolescence and poverty; 8) employment and poverty; 9) environment, forests and poverty.

3. NGO Interventions

The actions undertaken by the government for the last several years do not seem to have created the expected results, allowing for the reduction of the precariousness of living conditions of the poor, especially in Abidjan, inland towns and in certain rural zones, such as the rural savannah. The problems of public policies seem to be linked to the poor use of the participatory approach, based on a genuine involvement of organisations from civil society in the different programmes, and also to the insufficient targeting of categories and regions.

O. THE IMPACTS OF THESE EFFORTS

On the whole, the results of actions undertaken leads to the conclusion that certain progress has been made in terms of accessibility to essential social services: (improvement in schooling rates, the ratio of medical cover, job offers, habitat, rural electrification, and access to drinking water) between 1994 and 1998. This conclusion is supported by a number of indicators and the drop in poverty incidence from 36.8 per cent in 1995 to 33.6 per cent in 1998. Yet, the situation worsened in 1999 and 2000. Income per head of the population fell, the incidence of HIV/AIDS grew, the quality of social services failed to improve, the capacity for absorption remained weak, with deficits in the main infrastructures (not built or unfinished, existing health centres non-operational) and the persistence of governance problems disturbing the management of numerous programmes.

The participatory approach and decentralisation in the management of programmes remain weak, leading to a poor targeting of projects. The transition period and the accumulation of arrears, internal and external, led to the suspension of numerous programmes with development partners (e.g. road maintenance). In conclusion, it appears that the number of poor still remains significant and imbalances between the poor and the non-poor are widening.

Today, the richest 10 per cent consume thirteen times more than the poorest 10 per cent. More than half of the population is illiterate and 35 per cent of children of school age do not attend school. HIV/AIDS seriously and perniciously undermines the economic foundation, weakens the education, defence and security systems. In the rural environment, the percentage of households with access to drinking water and electricity remains weak.

1. Success Stories and Examples of Good Practice

Begun in 1994, with Operation Back-to-School, the first exchanges between the Focolari Movement⁵ and the slum of Blingué, consisted of the collecting of school stationery for children in the slums of Abidjan who could not pay for their own. However, very quickly, the GEN 3⁶ (New Generation 3), realising the state of destitution of the children of Blingué in general, and of six in particular (whose parents were dead), undertook to raise funds in order to provide the school fees for these children. Thus, the mobilisation of necessary funds consisted of organising a sale of their own stationery, especially pencils, set squares, pens, books etc.). The money collected allowed them to enrol the six children in school. According to the members of GEN 3, this spirit of solidarity helped to develop new relationships between them and the area. To be precise, since this gesture, the *“People of Blingué have started to know us and, at the same time, the welcome has become warmer, more profound. These different obstacles have become steps to create new relations and to build unity (...) They have enabled us to get to know the other people of the village: the chief, the primary school teacher”* (Tchilalo, 1999, p. 5).

In 1996, GEN 3 became aware of the slum conditions suffered by the children of Blingué, whose lessons were taking place in a hut, and they decided to build a permanent structure for the sixty to eighty children of the primary school. Following several meetings with the residents of the area, they finally understood the good grounds of this action and contributed to the common task. According to the members of GEN 3, *“it wasn't easy to get donations from the residents because they were suspicious about the correct usage of this money”*. However they added, *“the residents were so struck by our dedication that they decided not only to contribute to the purchase of material but also they started to work with us”*.

Furthermore, the school-teacher, who had wanted to leave the school, decided to stay and even contributed to the construction of the school. As a whole, the total cost of construction of the school was evaluated at 4,000,000 F CFA. The residents' contribution can be estimated at 20 per cent of the cost of the project, including the labour, with GEN 3, in the context of Focolari, bearing 80 per cent, of which 40 per cent came from labour, 40 per cent from donations and activities. Indeed, GEN 3, in addition to contributions obtained during the year, collected donations from across the entire world and sold clothes, in order to buy the steel and to pay for the labour involved in putting on the roof. This mobilisation of resources was followed by the laying down of the first stone in the presence of both the local Imam and Christian leaders and members of GEN.

Today, the construction of the school is virtually complete. All that remains to be done is the finishing

and the purchase of real school benches. In order to do this, a committee of parents was formed and given the responsibility of supervising the training of the teacher and the continuation of the work. The inauguration has been profitable in sealing the partnership between the head of the area and the residents. For GEN 3, the moment had come to publicise the partnership by meeting the head of the area and the Central Committee of Blingué, and proposing to them a meeting with the public. This would allow them to “say who we are and share our ideals”. The day of the meeting arrived with the participation of GEN 2, 3 and 4. Around sixty local adults and nearly 100 children also took part in the festival, called the ‘Day of Friendship’, which reunited 76 pupils and 150 people. This occasion also allowed the Focolari Movement to reaffirm its role, which consists of extolling values such as “universal fraternity”, “the importance of sharing possessions” and “the culture of giving”. In terms of the results of this movement, they consist of the supplying of school resources to the children of Blingué, the managing of the six pupils, in the construction of a classroom for the primary school and the running of two medical days.

The first of these medical days led to consultations for child-mothers and gave rise to parasite cleansing, with the participation of five doctors and two nurses. The second was a day of vaccinations with the collaboration of ‘Pierre Vivante’. One of the major challenges which the movement had to face during the mobilisation of resources, was certainly the destitution of residents but another of great importance was the fear of slum clearances. In anticipation of the start of works, the other families did not know to which saint they should pray. From that time on, the idea of contributing to the construction of a classroom on land whose fate was yet to be determined, and where land security was not guaranteed, presented too great a risk for the residents.

The suspicion relates to the fact that previous collections were not used for the causes for which they were made. The lessons learned relate to the fact that, in slums, the barriers linked to religion, to ethnicity and to nationality are blurred. Thus, only the values based on unity, fraternity, sharing and community life prevail. It is understood in these conditions why, at the time of the school’s inauguration in Blingué, all adhered to the proposition of making Blingué into a little paradise, an example district for the city set by their existence. And, on this point, the chief committed himself both personally and officially in front of the residents.

2. Reasons for Success

In its intervention, the Focolari Movement places a particular emphasis on the participatory approach, allowing the beneficiaries to engage in both the process and to have the building. Such an approach seems to be the guarantee of success in this type of local enterprise.

3. Lessons Learned

In the process of the fight against poverty, one of the vital factors for guaranteeing the durability of these achievements is the use of the participatory approach, which offers the beneficiaries the opportunity to take an active involvement in different projects that concern them.

P. COMMITMENTS TO REGULAR MONITORING, FEEDBACK AND ADJUSTMENT OF POLICIES & PROGRAMMES

1. Budget Commitments

The priorities regarding the reduction of poverty for the period 2002 – 2004 are presented according to the six main strategic axes: 1) stabilisation of the macro-economic environment; 2) promotion of the private sector as an engine of growth and support for rural development for the creation of wealth and jobs; 3) improvement in equitable accessibility to, and quality of, basic social services; 4) decentralisation as a method of participation for residents in the process of development and of reduction of regional disparities; 5) promotion of good governance and reinforcement of capabilities with the aim of ensuring a better allocation and utilisation of resources; 6) reinforcement of residents’ security and property. Public expenditure, apart from salaries, on poverty reduction, is 408.2 thousand million CFA in 2002, 32.7 per cent being primary expenditure, 5.7 per cent from the GNP. The budget figure for 2004 is 478.5 thousand million CFA, 33.6 per cent from primary expenditure and 5.9 per cent from GNP.

2. Political Commitments

The Government of the Ivory Coast committed itself to the DSRP process by laying down several acts. Firstly, it participated in the Libreville summit in January 2000, then in the subsequent meetings (Abidjan in March 2000, Yamoussoukro in June 2000). Then, it put into place in July 2000, later confirmed in February 2001, the institutional framework of the DSRP pilot project, under the authority of the Prime Minister, the Ministry of Planning and Development and the Head of Government. On May 28, 2001, the Prime Minister presented the Declaration of Government during a launch workshop in Abidjan, with the participation of 120 people from all the constituent parts of the population (administration, private sector, civil society, members of parliament, security forces (...) and development partners.

The government committed to the DSRP process for three main reasons: firstly, it is an opportunity offered to countries to formulate their own programme of develop-

ment by putting the emphasis on the problem of poverty. Secondly, it is a participatory process which takes into consideration the aspirations of the people. Finally, it is an initiative to which all the national and international partners adhere, thus multiplying its chances of success.

The Ivory Coast, following the example of numerous Sub-Saharan African countries, has made the fight against poverty a major focus of its development programme. Since June 1997, it has had a Programme for the Fight against Poverty. With the advent of the Second Republic on October 24, 2000, the Government is determined to go deeper into the question of poverty reduction, in order to make a priority axis for its social and economic programme. The constant is that, after many decades of independence, and in spite of its numerous development plans and programmes, poverty has not been combated efficiently and, in many cases, it has increased. That is why, already, in 1995 in Copenhagen at the World Summit for Social Development, and then in September 1999, at the Annual Meeting of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, the International Community (United Nations, other multilateral and bilateral institutions) approved the principal of adopting a new framework for programmes of development, placing the emphasis on poverty reduction, called the 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper' (DSRP).

It is in the framework of this new approach that the government has presented its latest document, namely the DSRP-interim which includes:

- situation of poverty (perceptions, profile, policies)
- definition of a strategy for the reduction of poverty (SRP)
- a viable macro-economic environment which assures economic growth
- a range of activities for the reduction of poverty (annex)
- a calendar for the final DSRP and the participatory approach
- a mechanism for monitoring

3. Commitment of NGOs to monitoring of slum conditions

In the framework of the DSRP-I, the inhabitants and organisations of civil society believe that the participatory approach includes, with their involvement, conception, operation and monitoring of programmes. They believe that it passes from the realisation of responsibilities of the local actors and a reinforcement of capacities. The actions will be led under the management of the residents and the different national and international partners with a view to translating the participatory approach, which is made on two levels, that is,

central/national and regional/local. This will be expressed by many actions, namely:

- validation of the DSRP-I (national seminar under the aegis of the National Consultative Committee with the participation of all the actors and beneficiaries)
- analysis of results from regional workshops with formulation of regional strategies at the regional/local level (taking into account the regional and local needs and priorities)
- thematic discussions at a central level (with the participation of homogenous groups: administration, private sector, civil society, elected members)
- consultation with elected members and members of CES (local representatives and public leaders)
- consultative formulation of DSRP – Final (national seminar under the aegis of the National Consultative Committee with all national (central/regional) and international partners.

Furthermore, in the role of the actors responsible for executing the actions, measures and projects, Civil Society will participate in the monitoring process, notably the correct usage and allocation of resources, the efficiency of expenditure vis-à-vis the beneficiaries, the role of pressure groups for a better targeting of projects. Civil Society will have to co-ordinate between the state, the economic operators and the residents, on the deviations, the role and responsibilities of one another, and on good governance. It will provide regular reports according to the case, at a national and local level. However, Civil Society activities will be co-ordinated by the DSRP Co-ordination (central and local) in the monitoring framework.

4. Commitment of Aid Agencies and International Co-operation

The development partners will have to play the role of technical and financial partners by getting involved in the monitoring by way of their procedures and structures as regards their relationship with the beneficiaries, the state and co-ordination (national and local). They will have to ascertain the destination and allocation of resources, which they inject into projects, and supervise good governance through periodic audits. Indicators will be fixed in agreement with individual parties.

They will be inundated with requests to finance the collection of qualitative and quantitative data on the execution of projects and on the poverty profile. The strengthening of both collection and analysis capabilities will be requested.

Development partners will be able to proceed with periodic evaluations, notably in the use of resources and the effectiveness of their interventions in the context of their support.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ The 'margouillats' are non-official intermediaries who sell water and electricity by allowing residents of slums to get access to a connection to the meter of a third party or to the public network. Payment of consumption is made according to the number of sockets or plugs
- ² In the analysis of L.N. Bamba (2001 : 62) on the subject of the state of poverty following devaluation, it is highlighted that devaluation caused a reduction in household revenue in Abidjan and so, an increase in poverty within the city
- ³ On this point, the study carried out by K. Appessika on the issue of Employment and Decentralised Investment Funds in the Ivory Coast in 2000, for the International Labour Organisation, is worthy of interest
- ⁴ In the context of this document, the residents believe that the participative approach goes through an involvement in its conception, its putting into practice and its monitoring. The participative approach goes through the taking on of responsibilities by the local actors and the strengthening of its capabilities
- ⁵ In the journal 'Afrique Nouvelle Cité', 2001 p ;27, it is stated that Focolari means the chimney-corner or fireplace ; the area where the family experiments with lighting and heat. It began in 1943, during the Second World War. This movement is also known as the charity Marie. Today, having become a large international movement, Focolari is represented in Africa, notably in Kenya, Cameroon and the Ivory Coast.
- ⁶ In the Focolari Movement, GEN 3 means New Generation 3 and is represented by girls and boys aged between 9 and 16, while GEN 1 refers to adults, GEN 2 is 16 to 30 year olds and GEN 4 are children from 3 to 9

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AUA:	Atelier d'Urbanisme d'Abidjan / Abidjan Urbanism Workshop
BNETD:	Bureau National d'Etudes Techniques et de Développement / National Office of Technical Studies and Development
CCSZB:	Comité Central des Sages de Zoé Bruno Central Committee of Elders of Zoé Bruno
CIE:	Compagnie Ivoirienne d'Electricité Ivory Coast Electricity Company
CNUEH:	Centre des Nations Unies pour les Etablissements Humains-Habitat
UNCHS	United Nations Centre for Human Settlements-Habitat
DGCTx:	Direction et Contrôle des Grands Travaux (Ex-Grands Travaux) / Management of Large-scale Works
DRSP-F	Document de Stratégie de Réduction de la Pauvreté- Final / Strategy for the Reduction of Poverty Document – Final Version
DRSP-I:	Document de Stratégie de Réduction de la Pauvreté –Intérimaire Strategy for the Reduction of Poverty Document – Interim report
ECVM:	Enquêtes sur les Conditions de Vie des Ménages Survey on Household Living Conditions
ENSEA:	Ecole Nationale Supérieure d'Economie Appliquée National Grande Ecole for Applied Economics
FCFA:	Franc de la Communauté Financière Africaine African Financial Community Franc
FPI:	Front Populaire Ivoirien Ivory Coast Popular Front
FSH:	Fonds de Soutien de de l'Habitat Habitat Support Funds
GEN:	Nouvelle Génération New Generation
INS:	Institut National de la Statistique National Institute of Statistics

- MECU: Ministère de l'Équipement, de la Construction et de l'Urbanisme / Ministry of Equipment, Amenities, Construction and Urbanism
- NGO: Non-Governmental Organisations
- PDU3: Troisième Projet de Développement Urbain
Third Project on Urban Development
- PDCI: Parti Démocratique de Côte d'Ivoire
Democratic Party of the Ivory Coast
- PGU: Programme de Gestion Urbaine / Programme of Urban Management
- PIB: Produit Intérieur Brut
Gross Domestic/National Product
- PNUD: Programme des Nations Unies pour le Développement / United Nations Programme for Development
- RAN: Régie Abidjan Niger
State-owned Abidjan-Niger Railway
- RGPH : Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat / General Census of Population and Habitat
- SETU: Société d'Équipement des Terrains Urbains
Society for the Amenities of Urban Areas
- SICOGI: Société Ivoirienne de Construction et de Gestion Immobilière / Ivory Coast Society of Construction and Housing Management
- SITA-RAIL: Société Ivoirienne de Transport par Rail
Ivory Coast Society of Rail Transport
- SODECI: Société de Distribution d'Eau en Côte d'Ivoire
Ivory Coast Society for Water Distribution
- SOGEFIHA: Société de Gestion et de Financement de l'Habitat / Society for the Management and Financing of Habitat