

Chapter 4.

A territorial approach to food security and nutrition: The case of the Côte d'Ivoire

The Côte d'Ivoire's approach to rural development has long been oriented towards agricultural development. Since the civil conflict, the government has relied upon a sectoral approach to food security and nutrition (FSN) and rural development. Current policies focus on the organisation, management and "institutionalisation" of a number of value chains within the agricultural sector. Food insecurity in the Côte d'Ivoire is spatially concentrated. Chronic malnutrition is highest in northern parts of the country and in the regions of Nord (39.3%), Nord Est (39.3%), Ouest (34.2%) and Nord Ouest (31.8%) in particular. The lowest levels of chronic malnutrition are found in the capital region of Abidjan (17.9%). Households that are afflicted by chronic malnutrition tend to be those reliant on subsistence farming or on the production of handicrafts, and those headed by individuals with lower levels of education. Innovative policy tools will be required to address rural development and food security in the coming decades. These tools should account for regional differences and be capable of co-ordinating actions in different sectors, focusing not only on agricultural intensity and diversification but prioritising non-farm activities.

Key findings¹

Food security and rural development are intimately related. Issues of food insecurity and malnutrition in the Côte d’Ivoire are concentrated in rural areas, many of which have higher levels of poverty. Diversifying economic activities, creating non-farm employment opportunities and providing better access to basic services to rural populations will contribute to food security and enhance standards of living in the country.

The Côte d’Ivoire’s approach to rural development has long been oriented towards agricultural development. Public and private investment channelled into export crops in the 1960s led to rapid development and urbanisation along the southern coast. This created North-South disparities that the five-year plan of 1971-75 sought to address through the extension of education services to rural areas, the creation of nucleus villages with improved public services and by establishing regional development funds. While disparities persisted, this represented a concerted effort to promote more territorially equitable development. A global collapse in commodity prices and local drought caused an economic downturn in the 1980s that bred social unrest. A series of liberalisation measures were implemented as part of broader structural adjustment programmes in 1994 in an effort to place the Côte d’Ivoire back on an upward development trajectory. Civil conflict between 2002 and 2011 halted many government functions that the new government is working to put back into action.

Since the civil conflict, the government has relied upon a sectoral approach to food security and nutrition (FSN) and rural development. Current policies focus on the organisation, management and “institutionalisation” of a number of value chains (*filiales*) in the agricultural sector.

Rural areas in the Côte d’Ivoire have undergone a significant transformation in recent decades. The fertility rate is high (4.9 children per woman), and the rural population has continued to increase in absolute terms (from 2.9 million in 1960 to 9.5 million in 2013). In relative terms, however, the rural population has decreased. In 2013, the rural population only accounted for 47% of the total population. The prevalence of agriculture in national economic output has also decreased – agriculture only accounted for 22% of the Côte d’Ivoire’s gross domestic product (GDP) in 2013. In spite of this, unemployment remains high and the road network, once one of the more developed in the sub-region, has suffered from underinvestment.

Food insecurity in the Côte d’Ivoire is spatially concentrated. Chronic malnutrition is highest in northern parts of the country and in the regions of Nord (39.3%), Nord Est (39.3%), Ouest (34.2%) and Nord Ouest (31.8%) in particular. The lowest levels of chronic malnutrition are found in the capital region of Abidjan (17.9%) (MICS, 2006). Households afflicted by chronic malnutrition tend to rely on subsistence farming or the production of handicrafts and those headed by individuals with lower educational levels.

The shortcomings of sectoral approaches to rural development are exemplified by the Ivorian experience. The existing value chain-oriented approaches to rural development tend only to benefit those directly involved in the chain. A lack of cross-sector co-ordination has also had a negative impact on natural resources and environmental services.

Any future efforts to address rural development and food security must consider the rapidly growing youth population. Annual entry into the workforce is expected to double, from 400 000 people to 800 000, by 2050. Such efforts to promote rural development must also prioritise non-farm activities, rather than focusing solely on agricultural intensity and diversification, as is now the case.

Introduction

Food insecurity and malnutrition tend to be more acute in rural areas and among low-income groups. This is very much the case in the Côte d'Ivoire, where poverty, food insecurity and malnutrition are concentrated in a few regions that have lower population densities and poor accessibility. A lack of non-farm employment opportunities, low agricultural productivity and political instability, as well as ongoing conflict, are the main challenges authorities face in promoting rural development and FSN in the Côte d'Ivoire. These domestic challenges have been compounded by a variety of negative international macroeconomic shocks that have weakened the Ivorian economy and adversely affected the purchasing power of the population.

Ivorian authorities have employed a wide variety of strategic approaches in their efforts to mitigate these challenges, address issues of FSN and increase rural development. The diversity of the strategies employed is a product of the heterogeneity of domestically and internationally imposed challenges the Côte d'Ivoire has encountered in recent decades. Its approach to rural development thus far has been fragmented and overly reliant on agricultural activities. The uni-dimensionality of rural development approaches and their failure to account for the multitude of factors that impinge upon rural livelihoods has only exacerbated problems of poverty and, in turn, malnutrition in rural areas.

The objective of this case study is twofold: First, it describes the evolution of the Côte d'Ivoire's rural development and food security strategies. Second, it provides guidance for improving future policy actions that aim to increase living standards in rural areas and reduce food insecurity and malnutrition.

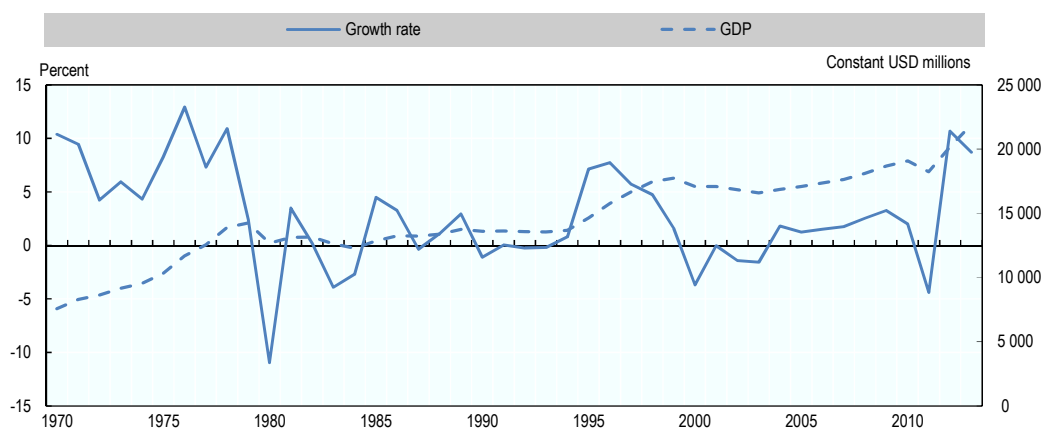
The remainder of the case study will proceed as follows. The first section provides an overview of the Côte d'Ivoire's development trajectory from 1960 to present. The second section disaggregates this development trajectory into its key phases and explores the rural development and food security policies associated with each phase. The third section contemplates the effectiveness of the strategies outlined in the second section. Finally, the case study provides a series of concluding remarks.

The Cote d'Ivoire's development path, poverty and food security

The Côte d'Ivoire's development trajectory may be distinguished into four distinct periods. The first includes the 20 years after independence in 1960. In this period, the country was considered the “West African miracle”. The expansion of the agricultural sector and development of the manufacturing and service sectors in Abidjan led to annual increases in GDP that, in some years, exceeded 10%. The start of the second phase was marked by the collapse of the international prices of cocoa and coffee in 1979. The sharp declines in commodity prices, coupled with increasing debt, triggered a deep recession in 1980, followed by a 15-year period of economic stagnation. This economic crisis forced the country to pursue difficult structural reforms (Figure 4.1). Political tensions led to a military coup in 1999 that marked the beginning of the country's third developmental phase. The ten years that followed the political crisis brought further economic turmoil, recession and armed conflicts. The present phase of development began in 2011. GDP has grown at a rate of 8-10% since the start of this fourth phase, and the Côte d'Ivoire recently established the objective of becoming an “emerging nation” by 2020. The perceived feasibility of this objective is a product of robust internal and external demand,

major public and private infrastructure investment for reconstruction, strong donor backing and positive international prospects.

Figure 4.1. Evolution of GDP in the Côte d'Ivoire, 1960-2013



Source: World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>.

Agriculture remains the engine of the Ivorian economy. There is, however, evidence of some economic diversification. The share of GDP attributable to agricultural activity, for example, fell from 50% in 1960 to approximately 27% today (Figure 4.2). Similarly, employment in agriculture as a percentage of total employment fell from 82% in 1960 to 38% in 2010 (FAOSTAT). The Côte d'Ivoire's changing economic profile is a reflection, among other things, of urbanisation in a context where the rural population remains dependent on agricultural activities. Industrial activities and extractive industries (oil, gas and gold), by way of comparison, account for 15% and 7% of GDP respectively. The service sector in the Côte d'Ivoire has also come to account for an increasingly large share (48%) of GDP.² The growth of the sector is attributable, most immediately, to the increasing importance of the trade and transport of agricultural production and increasing urbanisation.

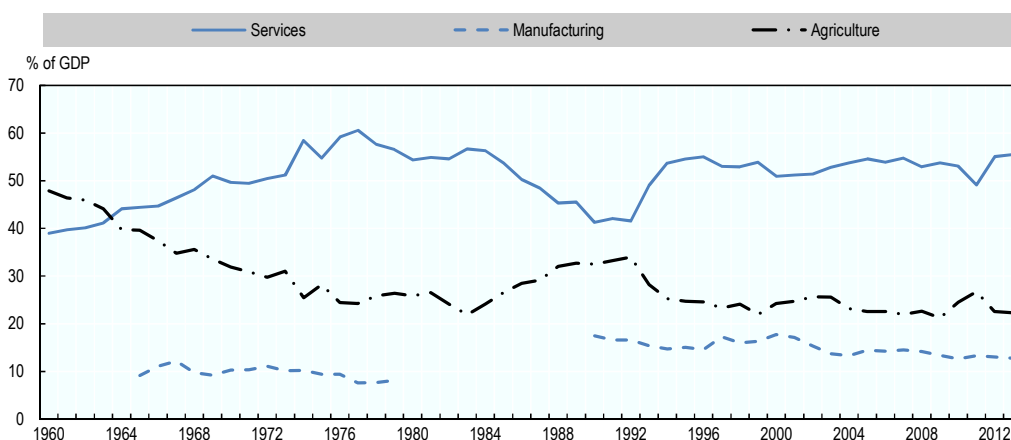
The Côte d'Ivoire's demographic transition is more advanced than many of its counterparts in sub-Saharan Africa. That said, job creation to accommodate an increasingly large working-age population is likely to present a challenge in coming decades.

The Côte d'Ivoire's population has increased more than six-fold in the last 20 years – from 3 million in 1960 to 20 million in 2013 – and is only expected to increase. The population growth rate in 2012 was 2.3%, and projections indicate that the population will double, to 44 million, in the next 35 years (UN medium scenario).

Moreover, the Côte d'Ivoire's younger population is exceptionally large. In 2015, individuals of 15 and under accounted for an estimated 41% of the total population. Individuals of age 25 or less made up 61% of the population. The youthfulness of the population means that the number of young people entering the labour market will increase from 430 000 today to 800 000 by 2050. In the next ten years, the country will have to provide jobs to 7 million young people. Moreover, nearly half of new workers will live in rural areas. There is evidence, however, to suggest that a demographic transition is under way. The fertility rate has decreased from approximately 8 births per

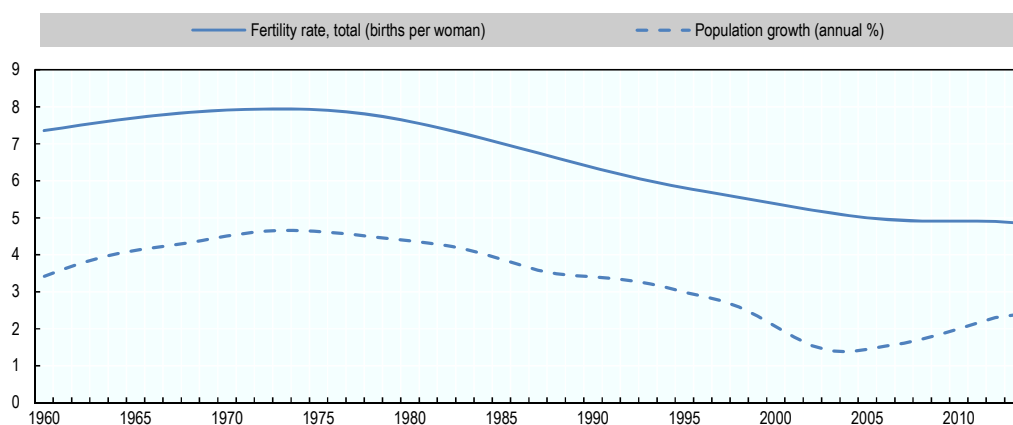
woman in the early 1970s to less than 5 today (Figure 4.3).³ This has had the effect of increasing the activity ratio to levels that exceed the Social Security Administration average (1.15). The Côte d'Ivoire's activity ratio stands at 1.23 active persons for each inactive person and is anticipated to reach 1.65 by 2050.

Figure 4.2. Evolution of sector contribution to GDP in the Côte d'Ivoire, 1960-2013



Source: World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>.

Figure 4.3. Evolution of population growth and fertility rates in the Côte d'Ivoire



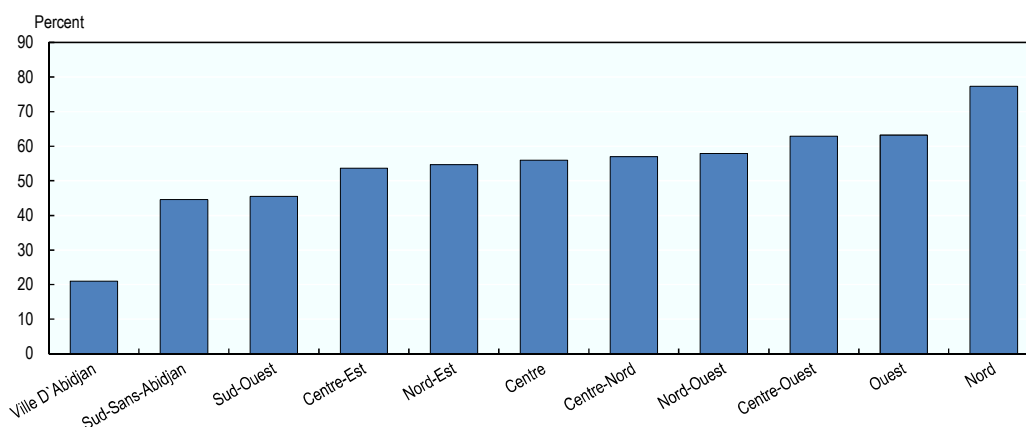
Source: World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>.

The Côte d'Ivoire also has one of the highest immigration ratios in the world, fuelled by a steady flow of immigrants over the last 50 years. Before the political crisis in the later 20th century, individuals of foreign origin accounted for an estimated 25-30% of the total population. Immigration has, however, tapered off.

At 55%, the Côte d'Ivoire's urbanisation rate is high by SSA standards. The country urbanised rapidly during the first phase of development (7-10% per year). The pace of urbanisation has since declined (3-4%), in large part due to the economic woes that plagued the country during the 1990s and 2000s. The Côte d'Ivoire's urban structure is best described as asymmetrical – its primacy index is 6.3. Abidjan, the main economic hub and harbour, is its only large city, home to 4.5 million-5 million inhabitants.

Poverty in the Côte d’Ivoire has increased in recent decades and has become increasingly concentrated in rural areas. Conflict and political crisis have contributed to an almost 40% increase in the poverty rate.⁴ In 1985, the poverty rate was 10%. By 2008, it had risen to 49%. Perhaps even more worrying is that the poverty rate has increased faster in rural areas. The rural poverty rate reached 62% in 2008 (DSRP, 2009). Moreover, certain regions are more impoverished than others. Poverty rates are highest in northern and western regions of the country. In 2008, the Nord region had a poverty rate close to 80%. Poverty rates in the Ouest and Centre-Ouest regions were close to 63% in the same year (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4. Territorial distribution of poverty in the Côte d’Ivoire



Source: DSRP (2009), “Stratégie de Relance du Développement et de Réduction de la Pauvreté”.

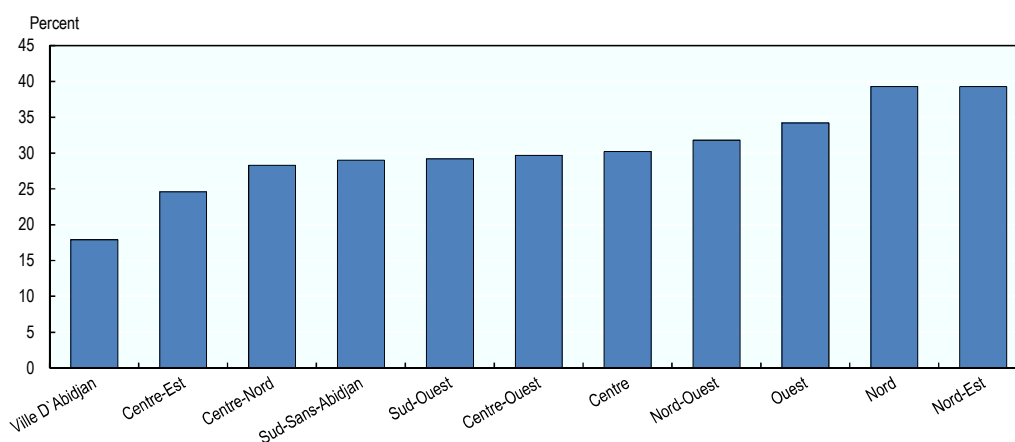
Issues of FSN are especially pronounced in rural areas. In 2012, 35% of children aged 5 and under in the Côte d’Ivoire’s rural areas suffered from chronic malnutrition, compared to 21% in urban areas. Chronic malnourishment among children was the highest in the Nord (39%) and Nord-Est (34%) regions (Figure 4.5). Chronic malnutrition is further concentrated in the most marginalised segments of society. In 2012, for example, 38% of children aged 5 and under from the poorest segment of the population suffered from stunted growth. Only 16% of children from the richest segment suffered from stunted growth (Table 4.1 and Annex 4.A1). Patterns similar to those highlighted above may be observed in statistics concerning the share of underweight children. The regions with the highest percentages of underweight children were Nord (20%) and Nord-Est (24%). The share of underweight children also tended to be higher in the poorest population group (21%) relative to the richest group (10%) (Table 4.1 and Annex 4.A1).

Evolution of strategies for rural development and food security

With the exception of a few isolated, short-lived programmes, the Côte d’Ivoire has yet to implement a policy oriented explicitly towards promoting rural development. After independence, the government prioritised agricultural development to increase economic development. It was anticipated that by prioritising agricultural production, efforts to increase farmers’ incomes, and increased public investment funded by tax revenues, would naturally and inevitably yield rural development. Efforts were therefore made to modernise and increase the intensity and productivity of agricultural activities. A *laissez-faire* approach was adopted towards the production of coffee and cocoa, though peasant

farmers were provided with minimal technical support, to encourage productivity. State intervention was employed to encourage diversification and in the promotion of exports. The evolution of this system can be split into four periods.

Figure 4.5. **Territorial distribution of chronic malnutrition in the Côte d'Ivoire (children less than 5 years old)**



Source: EDS (2012), *Enquête Démographique et de Santé et à Indicateurs Multiples*.

The filière approach (1960 to mid-1970s)

The government established a number of *ad hoc* organisations dedicated to the development of specific areas of production in an effort to promote agricultural diversification.⁵ These public enterprises and joint ventures had their own board, CEO and personnel and were managed like private companies. Each was linked with research institutions that provided higher quality seeds and technical assistance to support the production of profitable and exportable productions. The production of staple food crops, on the other hand, did not benefit from any dedicated body. Farmers did, however, elect to cultivate staple crops alongside coffee, cocoa and other products prioritised by newly formed organisations. This ensured that sufficient quantities of staple crops were produced to meet the growing demand of an increasingly urban population.

The marketing of coffee and cocoa – the two main export crops – was traditionally managed by the private sphere. This legacy of minimal state involvement was retained in the new system. The role of the state was limited to: 1) setting the rules in agreement with private operators; 2) defining a yearly unique farm gate price and regulating downstream costs; and 3) controlling exports through the marketing board – the Caisse de Stabilisation – which taxed and approved them based on a price target. Under the *filière* approach, annual increases in the guaranteed price, the president's personal political support to “planters” and the facilitation of access to land resources for any producer – including foreigners – created an effective set of incentives that resulted in booming production of non-staple products.

Under the *filière* approach, agricultural growth and increasing farmers' incomes were the pillars of rural development. A National Agency for Rural Development existed briefly in the early 1970s. Policies aimed at improving education, health, living conditions and transport infrastructures were place-neutral and did not specifically target rural areas. In this period, FSN was addressed indirectly via policies targeting agricultural productivity and growth.

From the mid-1970s to 1989

In the mid-1970s, the Côte d'Ivoire attempted to adopt a regional approach to rural development to tackle growing regional asymmetries between the southern part of the country, which was benefiting from the cocoa boom, and the lagging north. Major infrastructure projects, like the construction of a hydroelectric dam on the Bandama River and the development of a new harbour in San Pedro were put into operation in the central region. Efforts were also made to promote the development of the Southwest region, including the “railway cities operation” that supported enterprises in small towns along the Abidjan-Ouagadougou railway, as well as accelerated urban planning operations in secondary cities. Another major initiative supported the development of cotton production, in the savannah region. The initiative resulted in cotton production increasing from 35 000 tonnes per year (1970) to 400 000 tonnes (late 1990s).

In 1977, competition between *sociétés de développement* caused inefficiencies and regional overlaps and ultimately led to the restructuring of the extension system. Leadership was divided along regional (and by extension, sectoral) lines between the Development Corporation of Oil Palm (SODEPALM) in the south; the *Société d'Assistance pour la Modernisation de l'Agriculture* (SATMACI) in the middle region; and the *Compagnie Ivoirienne de Développement de Textiles* (CIDT) in the north.⁴ Several agro-industrial estates and regional development programmes associated with the previous approach were, however, maintained. This bred institutional complexity that contributed to the economic crisis of the late 1980s. Returns from the efforts to promote regional development were minimal over this period, and rural development remained a by-product of agricultural and sectoral growth.⁶

Standardisation and privatisation (1989-2011)

The extension system was profoundly reshaped with the structural reforms in the early 1990s. In 1989, the World Bank launched the “National support project to extension services” to restructure the extension systems. *Sociétés de développement* were absorbed into a public-private partnership called the National Agency for Rural Development. The agency, which sought to enhance agricultural production and improve farmers' access to inputs, was privatised in 1998.

Easy access to land, coupled with migration flows, created social tensions that were exacerbated by a deep economic crisis. A new law was enacted that formally limited the ownership of land property to the state, local governments and Ivorian nationals. The situation of immigrants deteriorated as a result of the law.

International donors pressured the government to liberalise the coffee and cocoa sectors. Fixed producer prices were progressively removed, and the Caisse de Stabilisation implemented a more transparent system for sales management. In 1999, the country experienced a military coup. During the 2000s, private governance prevailed in the coffee and cocoa sectors. New administrative bodies were created with representatives from exporters, carriers, grinders, banks, producers' organisations and the state, including the *Bourse du café et du cacao* (a regulation fund) and the *Autorité de régulation du café et du cacao*. The pre-existing taxation system based on exports remained. The *Comité de gestion de la filière café-cacao* (CGFCC) was set up in 2008, providing a new regulatory system. Under the CGFCC, taxes were no longer linked to the exported volume, and instead were applied to the value added and limited to 22 % of the CAF price.

Issues of food security and nutrition were mainly addressed in the National Health Development Plans that covered the periods between 1996-2005 and 2009-13. A variety of other smaller policies and projects targeting malnutrition were also implemented through national initiatives or in partnership with international donors. According to the *Programme National de Nutrition* (PNN, 2010), some of the most relevant policy actions in the early 1990s included: the *Initiative Hôpitaux Amis des Bébés*, a project funded by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to fight micronutrient deficiencies; campaigns against iodine deficiency; and inter-ministerial actions authorising and promoting salt iodisation for human and animal consumption. In the late 1990s, the National Action Plan for Nutrition set up the National Nutrition Programme within the Ministry of Health and Public Hygiene. This was one of the most effective actions for tackling FSN-related problems. In the late 2000s, free health care was granted to malnourished children in areas where issues of FSN were prevalent, and the Ivorian Agency of Food Safety was set up (PNN, 2010). The Poverty Reduction Strategy launched in 2009 (DSRP, 2009) incorporated food security as one of its main pillars. In 2010, discussions for the review of the National Nutrition Plan started and a new protocol for managing malnutrition was adopted in 2009 and later revised in 2013.

Renewal of the filière approach (2011-present)

The top priority of the new regime is to restart the Côte d'Ivoire's economic engine. To this end, the *Plan National de Développement* allocated 25% of its resources to infrastructure and transport development, 15% to the energy and mining sectors, and 8.5% to the agricultural sector. Investment objectives were based on the *Programme National d'Investissement Agricole*, and later the *Programme d'Investissement Détaillé*. The *Plan National de Développement* does not explicitly address rural development. It is, however, reflected in its thematic actions, related to education, health and living conditions. New regulating bodies, including the *Conseil du Café-Cacao* and the *Conseil du Coton et de l'Anacarde* were also established in 2012. These are jointly managed with the private sector.

The adoption of an integrated approach to agricultural development is another priority of the new regime. The approach is based on “multi-stakeholder platforms” (*interprofessions*),⁷ whose responsibilities include: the definition of an overarching strategic vision, the identification of objectives and actions, the dissemination of research and knowledge, the provision of training and education, and the promotion of agro-industrial development. The prioritisation of an integrated approach to agricultural development is founded in the perception that such an approach will yield a more equitable distribution of the benefits from growth and development. *Filières* are once again the focus of the new strategic approach. Rural development is not, however, explicitly prioritised in the new approach.

The *Programme National d'Investissement Agricole* has been one of the main tools for addressing FSN. The estimated amount of money to be dedicated to the implementation of this plan is CFA 71 632 million in West African francs (PNN, 2010). The programme is guided by the objective of achieving national food security by 2015. In addition to promoting family farming, the *Programme National d'Investissement Agricole* targets FSN via efforts to revitalise the animal, fishery, aquaculture and vegetable sectors. The initiatives employed in the pursuit of the programme's objectives include: projects promoting the rice sector, investment in maize and soy production for animal nutrition, projects encouraging animal and fish food production, projects supporting the production of vegetable crops, and projects to rehabilitate and equip breeding stations.

Overall assessment

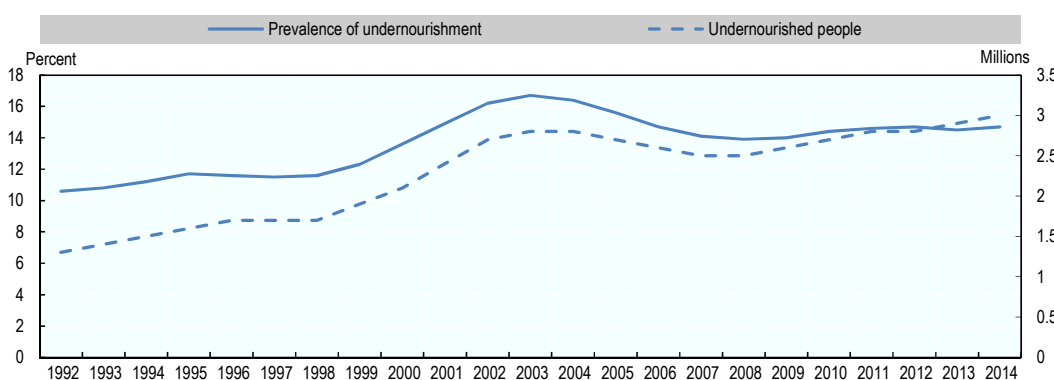
The Côte d’Ivoire has built a strong commercial agricultural sector through pro-active policies. Cocoa and coffee are the country’s main exports. Agricultural diversity has, however, increased significantly in recent years. Natural rubber, cashew and palm oil are now important exports (FAOSTAT). Moreover, the share of food in total merchandise imports has fallen in the last decade to 10%, in large part due to a combination of improvements in staple production (notably rice in recent years) and an increased reliance on locally produced food as a result of the economic crisis.

Economic successes have not led to human development in rural areas. Levels of human development are low in the Côte d’Ivoire. In 2013, it ranked 171st out of 187 in terms of human development. It was plagued by political and economic crises. They are not, however, the only factors to which the failure to translate strong agricultural production to human development may be attributed.⁸

The consequences of the inability to transform agricultural performance into human development are especially pronounced for rural areas. The government has never explicitly targeted rural areas. It has proceeded to gradually equip the administrative centres of each *département* with health facilities, electric power and schools, but infrastructure in rural areas remains underdeveloped.⁹ North-South disparities persist alongside the pronounced urban-rural divide. Abidjan’s primacy has contributed to the pro-South polarisation of the territorial organisation of the country, and the coffee- and cocoa-producing regions in the south have benefited from a dense transport network and early connection to the power grid.

Malnutrition and rural poverty have increased in recent decades, despite government efforts. Economic turmoil and conflict have contributed to an increase in the incidence of malnutrition – the number of undernourished individuals doubled between 1992 and 2014. Aware of this issue, the government is attempting to implement universal health care. A pilot project was scheduled for 2015.

Figure 4.6. Evolution of undernourishment in the Côte d’Ivoire



Source: World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>.

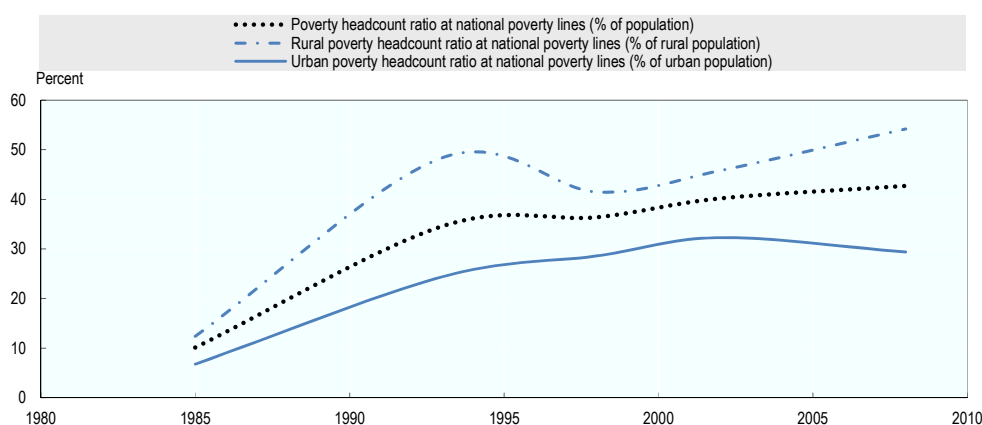
In the 1980s, only 10% of the population was living below the national poverty line (WDI). In the 1990s, however, the situation worsened. Extreme poverty increased from 8% in 1985 to 30% in 1998. Over the same period, the percentage of the population living below the USD 2 poverty line increased from 21% to 57% (WDI). The situation grew

more dire during the 2000s: by the end of the decade, 60% of the population was living under the USD 2 poverty line. GDP per capita also fell back to levels seen in the early 1960s. Rural areas have always been more deeply affected by poverty – poverty ratios in rural areas are twice those in urban areas. The urban-rural gap has persisted: in 2008, 54% of rural dwellers were living under the national poverty line (Figure 4.7). Sharp regional differences have persisted as well. Until 1985, rural poverty was higher in the northern savannah areas. The drop in cocoa and coffee producers' prices in 1989, however, led to a dramatic change: poverty spread to the forest zone, especially in the Western region. Abidjan was somewhat sheltered from the collapse until 1993. The geographic proliferation of poverty led to a decrease in income inequality in the early 1990s (WDI), but institutional and governance challenges led to an increase in the Gini coefficient, from 32 in 1990 to 42 in 2010.

In the 1980s, 31% of the Ivorian budget was allocated to education and the development of pro-active education policies.¹⁰ During structural adjustment, however, this dropped to 22% (1990-93) and then to 19% in the late 1990s. Gross enrolment levels in primary school also declined in the 1990s (WDI). Today, the average Ivorian has 2.8 years of schooling (WDI). The situation is even worse in Northwest regions – more than half of children in the Northwest do not attend school. The literacy rate (40%) has been almost stagnant for 20 years (WDI). The Côte d'Ivoire also suffers from low levels of enrolment in secondary and tertiary education.

Access to infrastructure in the Côte d'Ivoire is relatively good by regional standards despite the minimal progress made in recent years. Progress is most noticeable in access to water. Nearly 70% of the population in rural areas now has access to water (WDI). Sanitation infrastructure, on the other hand, is grossly underdeveloped. Only 10% of rural dwellers have access to adequate sanitation. The Côte d'Ivoire is an exporter of electricity to its neighbouring countries. Less than 40% of rural areas, however, are connected to the power grid, and in several *départements* in the north, fewer than 15% of the population has access to electricity. The road network is relatively well developed by Social Security Administration (SSA) standards, with paved roads connecting main urban centres. This is not the case, however, in the Northwest region, where infrastructure deteriorated during the 2000s. Its rehabilitation is now a public investment priority. The secondary road network is poorly developed both in the north and across the country more generally.

Figure 4.7. Evolution of poverty in the Côte d'Ivoire



Source: World Development Indicators, <http://data.worldbank.org/data-catalog/world-development-indicators>.

Concluding remarks

The Côte d’Ivoire’s early economic achievements are attributable to the establishment of a clear strategic vision that built trust and reduced risk for farmers. The development of a powerful agro-industrial sector was a product of pro-active public policies and the promotion of public-private partnerships. The integrated commodity chain (*filière*) approach provided knowledge and information as well as extension services through dedicated agencies. The broader strategic framework relied on economic openness; easy access to land and migrant labour; a stable price environment; guaranteed commercialisation based on public-private agreements; and strong political support to farmers. This framework bred trust amongst agents, reduced risk and ultimately led to increased investment and diversification.

This model proved too inflexible to adapt to evolving conditions. The economic “miracle” ended abruptly in the early 1980s as a consequence of an overspecialisation in exports; falling commodity prices; an unfavourable US dollar to CFA franc parity; a lack of anticipation of the need to improve productivity and investment in human capital; deteriorating governance and the mismanagement and successive postponement of reforms. The Côte d’Ivoire’s agricultural boom had relied on the extensive exploitation of natural resources and labour. This resulted in considerable increases in agricultural output, without comparable increases in productivity or economic diversification. Reliance on natural resources and labour was sustainable so long as factor inputs were easily accessible and widely available. The system was, however, unable to cope with increased pressure on and demand for natural resources. As the agricultural sector suffered, a lack of employment opportunities in other sectors led to tensions between local and immigrant populations, both of which were competing for relatively few jobs.

Conflict also had systemic and profound adverse effects. The political and social tensions led to a political crisis and, in turn, a civil war. This only served to weaken the overall economy¹¹ and exacerbate poverty.

The Côte d’Ivoire’s agriculturally oriented approach left important rural challenges unaddressed. Agricultural production and diversification were prioritised and rural development *per se* was never an overt priority of public policy – it was anticipated the agricultural expansion would give rise to rural development. What minimal public investment was made in rural infrastructure and services yielded limited results.

The Côte d’Ivoire’s agricultural expansion failed to trigger a sustainable process of accumulation in the modern sector, which would have provided the resources to plough investment back into rural areas on a large scale. Capital accumulation in the modern sector – largely financed by “taxing” the proceeds of capital accumulation in the agricultural sector – did not yield productivity gains. The low quality of public investment¹² and financial mismanagement therefore prevented a new, sustainable process of accumulation and led to an erosion of existing capital. Unlike the People’s Republic of China or Thailand, the Côte d’Ivoire could not reach a stage in its development where the proceeds of growth in high-productivity sectors, e.g. industry, could be reinvested in rural development.

The shortcomings of sectoral approaches to rural development are exemplified by the Ivorian experience. The existing value chain-oriented approaches to rural development tend only to benefit those directly involved in the chain. A lack of cross-sector co-ordination has also had a negative impact on natural resources and environmental services.

Future efforts to address rural development and food security must consider the rapidly growing younger population. Annual entry into the workforce is expected to double, from 400 000 people to 800 000 by 2050. Future efforts to promote rural development must also prioritise non-farm activities and not focus solely on agricultural intensity and diversification, as is now the case.

Notes

1. The information on rural development policies in this report was collected through a consultancy carried out by CIRAD under the supervision of the OECD Development Centre.
2. This figure does not reflect the frequent provision of services in the informal sector.
3. The ratio was estimated at 4.6 in the 2000s (WPP, 2010) and is estimated at 4.9 now.
4. The national poverty line was established in 2008 as 661 CFA francs per day, which is approximately USD 2.35 PPP (2005).
5. Several *sociétés de développement* or SODE were set up: the *Société d'assistance technique pour la modernisation de l'agriculture en Côte d'Ivoire* (SATMACI), initially created in 1958, focused on coffee and cocoa; SODEPALM on palm and coconut, associated with PALMINDUSTRIE for oil production; SODEFOR on timber; SODEFEL on fruits and vegetables; SODEPRA on animal production; SODESUCRE on sugar; CIDT for cotton, etc. They were “flagships of progress in rural areas” (Sawadogo, 1977). For *filières* where private firms were in place – rubber, banana and pineapple – the state would delegate the role of supporting farmers.
6. Technical ministries continued to develop their own programmes with the objective of improving ratios of population coverage.
7. The *Fonds interprofessionnel pour la recherche et le conseil agricoles*, for example, finances research, extension, training and support to farmers’ organisations. It receives support from the government and donors. Actions are implemented through the National Centre for Agricultural Research and the National Agency for Rural Development, which depend on these product-targeted funds for developing their activities. As a consequence, in spite of its name, the National Agency for Rural Development only provides occasional support to local governments engaging in territorial rural development planning.
8. The “big push” of the 1960s and 1970s, for example, did not translate into significant improvements in living standards. During the 1980s, the Côte d’Ivoire was not performing better in terms of human development than other sub-Saharan African countries with lower GDPs and lower growth rates.
9. One limited exception were the *Fonds régionaux d'aménagement rural* (FRAR) created in 1974, which co-funded schools, water access, roads, health centres, etc. with villagers contributing 40-60% of the investment (more in the richer south, less in the north).

10. Including an innovative system of educational TV (*télévision scolaire*) targeting rural areas in the 1970s.
11. GDP per capita moved back to levels last seen in 1960s.
12. This was exemplified by the poor performance of public companies such as Sodesucre, or the building of “cathedrals in the desert”, such the world’s largest basilica in Yamoussoukro.

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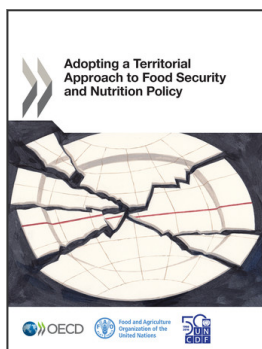
Annex 4.A1.

Nutritional status of children under 5

Table 4.A1.1. Nutritional status of children under 5 years old, 2012

Height-for-age Centred mean score	Weight-for-height			Weight-for-age							
	% below 3 SD	% below 2 SD	Centred mean score	% below 3 SD	% below 2 SD	% above 2 SD	Centred mean score	% below 3 SD	% below 2 SD	% above 2 SD	Centred mean score
Centre	15.1	30.2	(1.3)	1.1	9.3	0.9	(0.4)	6.1	17.3	0.4	(1.0)
Centre-Est	6.7	24.6	(1.1)	0.7	7.4	3.2	(0.3)	2.3	13.4	1.7	(0.8)
Centre-Nord	13.9	28.3	(1.3)	0.6	4.0	4.1	(0.0)	3.1	9.6	1.5	(0.8)
Centre-Ouest	13.1	29.7	(1.3)	3.3	8.1	4.5	(0.1)	2.8	14.8	1.2	(0.8)
Nord	17.6	39.3	(1.5)	0.7	5.8	2.4	(0.3)	4.7	20.1	0.0	(1.1)
Nord-Est	16.4	39.3	(1.6)	3.3	11.1	2.0	(0.5)	6.9	24.2	0.0	(1.3)
Nord-Ouest	12.8	31.8	(1.3)	1.7	6.3	2.3	(0.1)	4.1	14.6	1.2	(0.9)
Ouest	14.9	34.2	(1.4)	0.7	6.2	2.6	0.0	2.5	16.2	1.1	(0.8)
Sud	11.7	29.0	(1.1)	1.3	9.3	2.7	(0.2)	3.1	15.6	1.9	(0.8)
Sud-Ouest	7.0	29.2	(1.0)	2.4	7.5	2.9	(0.1)	2.8	12.9	0.7	(0.7)
Ville d'Abidjan	5.2	17.9	(0.8)	2.0	8.3	3.4	(0.2)	2.4	10.6	0.7	(0.6)
Mother's educational attainment											
No education	13.8	31.8	(1.3)	1.7	8.0	2.8	(0.2)	4.2	16.1	0.7	(0.9)
Primary	9.5	28.7	(1.1)	2.3	8.9	3.3	(0.2)	2.0	13.8	1.4	(0.8)
At least secondary	3.7	16.2	(0.7)	0.7	4.1	2.5	(0.2)	1.1	8.3	0.7	(0.5)
Quintiles of well-being index											
Poorest	19.4	38.4	(1.6)	1.6	10.0	2.4	(0.2)	6.0	20.7	0.4	(1.1)
Poor	13.1	35.5	(1.4)	2.0	5.9	3.6	(0.1)	2.6	16.0	1.6	(0.9)
Middle	10.9	27.7	(1.2)	1.5	6.9	2.9	(0.2)	3.0	12.8	0.8	(0.8)
Rich	8.1	24.2	(1.0)	1.6	7.4	2.3	(0.2)	3.0	11.7	0.9	(0.7)
Richest	4.9	15.5	(0.7)	1.8	6.9	4.2	(0.2)	1.0	10.0	1.3	(0.5)
Total	12.2	29.8	(1.2)	1.7	7.5	3.0	(0.2)	3.4	14.9	1.0	(0.8)

Source: EDS (2012), *Enquête Démographique et de Santé et à Indicateurs Multiples*.



From:

Adopting a Territorial Approach to Food Security and Nutrition Policy

Access the complete publication at:

<https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264257108-en>

Please cite this chapter as:

OECD/Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations/United Nations Capital Development Fund (2016), "A territorial approach to food security and nutrition: The case of the Côte d'Ivoire", in *Adopting a Territorial Approach to Food Security and Nutrition Policy*, OECD Publishing, Paris.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264257108-7-en>

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