SITE SELECTION IN IVORY COAST

Report of the Field Survey Team
for the Office of Urban Development's
Land Use Programming In An
Intermediate-Sized City Project.

by

Eric Chetwynd, Jr.

Michael L. McNulty

June 27, 1975

Office of Urban Development
Bureau for Technical Assistance
AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20523

CONTENTS

Foreword

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSIONS 1

NATIONAL AND URBAN DIMENSIONS 2

Ivory Coast
Dominance of Abidjan
Bouaké
Korhogo-Ferkéssédougou
Man
Site Selection

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT 6

Ministries and Agencies
Urban Planning
Agboville: An Example of Planning at the Prefecture Level

SUMMARY 13

Foreword

Following a research study into the feasibility of land use programming in small- and intermediate-sized cities in developing countries, which Rivkin/Carson, Inc., conducted under contract, the Office of Urban Development in the Bureau for Technical Assistance (TA/UD) in the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID/W) designed a project to demonstrate the application of the conclusions of the research study report.

Potential sites were selected initially with the cooperation of the regional bureaus in AID/W, and the field missions were consulted. On the basis of the nomination of site cities by the host countries and the field missions, an AID/W field survey team was organized for each of three regions -- Latin America, East Asia, and Africa. The teams visited the countries and the prospective site cities, and in cooperation with local host government and AID officials selected a site city in each region.

The initial descriptions of the TA/UD land use programming project were broadly drawn and a considerable degree of flexibility was initially provided for in order to permit the specific project design to account adequately for and reflect local conditions in prospective host countries. However, several broad criteria were considered necessary for the successful implementation of the project. In terms of the alternative sites in Africa, these criteria included:

(i) intermediate size: while this criterion is a relative measure, it was inclusive of cities of between 50,000 and 200,000.

(ii) location: preference was given to cities located at sufficient distance from the primary cities to act as growth centers in formerly less developed areas.

(iii) urban growth: primary consideration was given to cities which exhibited recent, rapid urban growth and which might be experiencing related urban problems.

(iv) agricultural role: the role of the city as a major center of agricultural development, as a market center for collection, distribution, processing, and servicing an expanding agricultural hinterland.

(v) decentralization: the extent to which decentralization is a policy goal of the government and the extent to which administrative and political mechanisms exist to effect such decentralization.

(vi) national commitment: the degree of national commitment to effective planning and development of centers outside of the major city or cities, including fostering of local planning and implementation capacity.

(vii) interest: the extent to which interest is shown, at both the national and local levels in the major objectives of the project.

(viii) demonstration: the degree to which the project site might be expected to act as a demonstration city for others within the country, or similar cities elsewhere.

The field survey team for Africa consisted of Eric Chetwynd, Jr., Project Manager and Urban Development Advisor, TA/UD, and Michael L. McNulty, Professor of Geography and Director, Center for the Study of Urban Growth in Developing Countries, University of Iowa.

The team went to Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Herewith is a report of the team's visit to Ivory Coast.

INTRODUCTION AND CONCLUSIONS

The survey team was invited to the Ivory Coast to examine the potential of Bouaké and several other Ivorian cities as prospective sites for a demonstration of the TA/UD Land Use Programming project. While the team found an extremely interesting approach to planning and development of small- and intermediate-sized cities in Ivory Coast, it concluded, for reasons discussed in the body of this report, that this approach did not lend itself well to the approach which underlies the Land Use Programming project; namely, the development of local planning and implementation capacity.

While the project could no doubt be made to work within the Ivorian planning context, the team was faced with a choice between prospective sites in the Ivory Coast and Ghana, and concluded that conditions in Ghana were more favorable for the project.

The centrally operated urban planning and development system of the Ivory Coast appears to be functioning well and offers an interesting contrast to the decentralized approach being initiated in Ghana. Some professional exchanges between the two countries during the course of the Land Use Programming project in Tamale, Ghana, would be useful and instructive for all concerned.

NATIONAL AND URBAN DIMENSIONS

The Ivory Coast had an estimated population of 5,015,000 in 1973. The capital city, Abidjan, had an estimated population of 500,000. As with other West African countries, the Ivory Coast exhibits a marked contrast in development between the southern and northern sections of the country. Among the principal exports are coffee, tropical woods, cocoa, and bananas. Other exports include cotton, palm products, pineapples, and such minerals as manganese and diamonds. The development of a new port facility at San Pedro on the southwest coast has expanded greatly the export of timber, which currently accounts for the largest foreign earnings.

The lack of a complete national census precludes any detailed analysis of demographic characteristics; a series of sample censuses have been taken and provide the basis for administration and planning.

The administrative structure includes four departements made up of some 24 prefectures. The administration of the country is relatively centralized with the head of each prefecture being appointed by the central government. There also are some 115 subprefectures. Both Abidjan and Bouaké have a major and elected councillors.

Dominance of Abidjan: The dominance of Abidjan in the national urban system of the Ivory Coast is clear from the following urban population figures for the largest departements:

Departement	Population in Centers of 10,000+
Abidjan	906,000
Bouaké	180,000
Dimbokro	71,000
Daloa	55,000
Man	50,000

With such primacy represented in the urban system, it is difficult to identify "intermediate-sized" cities. The criteria for the TA/UD project was broadly defined as centers between 50,000 and 200,000. In terms of population criteria alone, the most likely center for consideration was Bouaké. However, in discussion with representatives of the Ivorian Government, it was noted that their conception of what constituted "intermediate-sized" centers was based more on future population and role of centers. They were anxious that we consider several of the smaller centers as potential sites for the TA/UD project. The most serious discussion centered on:

(i) Bouaké
(ii) Korhoga/Ferkéssédougou
(iii) Man.

Bouaké. The City of Bouaké is the administrative center of the Departement du Centre, and has an estimated population of 120,000. Bouaké, the second largest city in the Ivory Coast, serves as the major inland center in a region of mixed food and export crop production. It is the principal interior center for the collection and processing of agricultural products. Its centrality derives from its location on the railroad which runs from Abidjan to the northern border and eventually to Ouagadougou in Upper Volta. In addition, Bouaké is the primary junction of a series of roads connecting the northern and southern parts of

the country from which a subsidary network of roads extends both east and west.

Bouaké also has become a major inland center of manufacturing and agricultural processing. It was the site of the first cotton spinning mill established in West Africa (1922), and was also the first center in which the French installed rediffusion boxes in 1959. This proved to be an immediate success, with the original two hundred loudspeakers giving rise to some 1,000 subscribers in Bouaké in a few weeks.

Bouaké is the leading collection center for a vast agricultural hinterland. In addition to producing cotton, the region is the leading producer of manioc, and some of the best reported yields of yam also come from this region.

Of the inland centers, Bouaké is clearly the most developed, benefiting from its central location and its role as administrative center and primary locus for the collection and distribution of goods and services. Its central location on transportation networks would seem to make it a most appropriate center to be developed as an alternative to Abidja

Korhogo/Ferkéssédougou. The centers of Korhogo and Ferkéssédougou, located in the northern section of the Ivory Coast are to be planned together. It is intended that complementary functions be developed in the two centers and that population growth be encouraged along the road

(approximately 50 km. long) connecting the two. Korhogo will be developed as an administration center and Ferké (at it is commonly called) will be the site of agro-industrial development. Ferké is located on the railway from Abidjan to Upper Volta and will serve as a collection and processing center for the agricultural hinterland.

Man. The City of Man, located in the western part of the Ivory Coast, is planned as a major mining center. While the representatives of the Ivorian Government suggested Man as a possible site for the TA/UD project, it was not seriously considered since its future role is primarily that of a mining center, rather than an agricultural center -- an important criterion for the project.

Site Selection. After considerable discussions with various representatives of the Ivorian Government, it appeared that Korhogo/Ferké was of most interest. However, the TA/UD team felt that the current population of Korhogo, which was of principal interest, made it a less desirable site for the project. Although it was decided that a trip to Korhogo was not necessary, the TA/UD team felt it would be useful to visit a center outside of Abidjan, in order to appreciate more the planning concept and implementation strategy of the Ivorian Government. Therefore, the TA/UD team visited Agboville, a relatively small center being developed as a satellite town about 60 km. from Abidjan.

PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

Ministries and Agencies. The principal government agencies responsible for urban planning and development on a national scale in Ivory Coast are the Ministry of Planning, the Ministry of Construction and Urbanism, and the National Bureau for Technical Developmental Studies (BNETD). Other organizations which are involved in this area are responsible primarily for the Abidjan region. These include the Interministerial Commission for the Development of the Abidjan Region (CIDRA), presided over by the Ministry of Planning; Office of Urbanization of the Abidjan Region (AURA), a service of BNETD; and the Urban Land Development Society (SETU), a state society having many of the attributes of a private corporation. The TA/UD team visited the three agencies with national scope and SETU which, on request, can provide services beyond the Abidjan region.

The Ministry of Planning is responsible for guiding and coordinating national planning efforts, and is itself deeply involved in planning at the regional level. For this purpose it establishes formal planning teams and teams to help with implementation. In addition, the Ministry maintains a Minister - Delegate in each region to coordinate all economic plans. By the end of next year five of the country's nine regions will have been covered by regional plans — namely, Abidjan, North, Central West, East, and South. The plan for the North Region is published already, and it is a most impressive study.

While these plans focus on rural development and resource exploitation, the role of urban centers is integrated into the planning schema. When detailed urban plans are required, they are carried out by other national level agencies, such as BNETD and the Ministry of Construction and Urbanism.

However, these are not done merely on a random basis. The Ministry has articulated a broad growth pole strategy within which specific centers are to be given priority in terms of planning and development.

The growth pole strategy is in large part a reaction to the primacy of Abidjan and pressures from the regions for a greater share in national development. Abidjan's population has been growing persistently at 11.5% per year as might be expected given the enormous level of investment that has gone into the city. The strategy is aimed at decentralizing urban and regional growth, and slowing the population growth rate in Abidjan through fostering growth points in the regions and by stimulating growth of a system of satellite towns around Abidjan.

Growth points have been identified and assigned one of three levels of priority, depending upon the immediacy of their import to various regional development schemes. On the first level are Abidjan, Bouaké, and the new town of San Pedro. Towns in the second level are Man (iron mining) and Korhogo and Ferkéssédougou (closely linked towns in a heavily populated sugar growing border region to the north). Third level towns include Odienne, Bondoukou, Daloa, Touba, Guiglo, Soubré, Gagnoa, and Abengourou. Proposed satellite

towns around Abidjan are Divo, Agboville, Aboisso, Doudo, Dabou and Boubelle.

Detailed study and planning for target urban centers is the responsibility of BNETD. This agency is loosely under the control of the Ministry of Planning and its work obviously complements that of the Ministry. It covers a wide range of developmental fields, including architecture and building, infrastructure and transport, systems management, rural development, and urban development. The TA/UD team was interested primarily in the work of the urban development division, although there was a brief discussion with the head of the rural development division. BNETD has prepared basic plans at least on most of the cities in the country and has done very detailed analysis and planning for some (e.g., Agboville, Korhogo, Ferkéssédougou and at least nine others). These studies are very comprehensive and complete, and appear to be of high professional quality. Often the work is contracted out to expatriate firms and sometimes it is done directly by the BNETD technical staff. BNETD now has regional offices with one or two professionals in Odienne, Korhogo, Ferkéssédougou and Bouaké. Ordinarily, however, studies and plans are done out of the central office based on field visits.

BNETD is attempting to make its plans more practical and easier to implement by breaking them into discrete components, each of which is costed out, thus enabling the local mayor or representative to make specific and time-phased budget requests. (This new approach was in operation in Agboville). BNETD does not directly involve itself in the implementation process.

The agency most directly involved in implementation of urban development is the Ministry of Construction and Urbanism. For example, one of its primary tasks is to design and help to implement projects within the framework of urban plans produced by BNETD. It is engaged also in research and development on construction and implementation methodology, and it plays a role in control and coordination of urban development projects.

SETU, as noted, is a state society created in 1971; it functions for all practical purposes like a private land development company. It has 1,200 employees and operates primarily in the Abidjan region. Its major task is the planning and development of urban services in response to or in anticipation of new demand. Occassionally on special request SETU, although it was initially created to service Abidjan, provides these services outside of Abidjan—e.g., recently in Bouaké.

Urban Planning. Urban planning in the Ivory Coast is a highly centralized function performed at the national level. However, it does involve a number of government ministries, and draws upon expertise and technical support services in parastatal (BNETD) and private organizations.

At the national level the government has a most impressive array of planning professionals and technical staff. The urban plans which were made available to the TA/UD project team were very thorough, detailed, and well presented. Plans have been prepared for a large number of urban centers, and although some of them are now dated, the

technical resources available at the national level are quite adequate to handle on request the task of plan preparation.

Plans for smaller, inland centers are prepared by representatives of the ministries in Abidjan. While several ministries and other national agencies have representatives in the smaller towns, the direction for plan preparation and implementation clearly derives from the central government.

The desire of the Ivorian Government to decentralize development and promote the development of the interior is to be carried out primarily by national level agencies. The development of planning capacity at the local level does not now appear to be a priority. Additionally, the present planning capacity of the Ivory Coast is highly dependent upon expatriate staff.

The present planning paradigm in the Ivory Coast is considerably different from that envisaged by the TA/UD project, which aims at strengthening and expanding the planning capacity at the local level rather than for the local level. These differences in approach to planning offer some very interesting areas for comparative study.

Agboville: An Example of Planning at the Prefecture Level. A field visit to Agboville permitted the TA/UD team to observe firsthand the planning and development process discussed in Abidjan. Agboville was elevated from village to prefecture in 1970, at which time it was little more than a large sprawling market center with little prospect for growth and development. Since no plan existed for the town, the new prefecture requested the services of a planning

team from BNETD. The team developed a plan directeur (guide plan) as the basic planning frame. Local studies and surveys were conducted and local officials and functionaries were interviewed as a part of the process.

The completed plan is most comprehensive and detailed, even down to individual site plots. It is divided into segments in the manner mentioned earlier; each segment is represented by a sizable volume. The plan clearly is being implemented at a rapid pace. Whole areas of poor housing are being transformed, new roads and traffic circles are in place, a new industrial park and a large, new mosque are near completion, and a new market built largely with local resources are some of the more obvious new developments.

Much of the funding comes from the central government; the town is a designated satellite town, and the prefect is well known as a dynamic leader. Housing is being replaced, for the most part, by the individual families using bank financing. New housing -- the town is growing rapidly and is now about 30,000 population -- is built on land leased for a small fee in accordance with common West African custom. The prefect retains final control over the land and is in a position to authorize the leases personally.

There is no planning staff in the town, and probably none is needed at this time. Development is not overly complex. The prefect appears to have full comprehension of the BNETD plan, and to have its implementation well in hand. Should additional technical planning be required (e.g., when the present plan area is exceeded by growth), BNETD is available in Abidjan to develop an expanded concept. The present plan covers a

very realistic time horizon of up to 10 years, after which it is expected to require further development.

The Agboville experience demonstrated the considerable capacity of the planning apparatus to function effectively outside of Abidjan. Among the reasons for this are that the town has some national priority, local political will, and a capacity to develop. It also illustrates the point made in the Rivkin/Carson study that towns in this size class need not invest in a technical local planning capacity as long as these planning needs can be met through other sources, such as a regional planning operation.

SUMMARY

The discussions with representatives of various ministries and planning groups in the Ivory Coast proved to be most interesting and useful. Several representatives of Ivorian agencies felt that the TA/UD project could provide a useful function, most particularly in the planning of Korhogo. However, the nature of the role envisaged differs somewhat in objective from that articulated in TA/UD description of the project. The emphasis of the TA/UD project is directed toward establishing a planning process at the local level rather than with plan preparation per se. Such an objective might not now be fully realizable in the Ivory Coast.

Thus, it is the opinion of the TA/UD project team that it is difficult to specify a clear role for the proposed project within the planning context of the Ivory Coast.

In examining and comparing conditions and current planning practice in Ghana and the Ivory Coast, the TA/UD team felt that the situation in Ghana met much more fully the criteria established. The recent decisions regarding decentralization in Ghana create a climate in which the TA/UD project might be expected to play a valuable contributory role.

The discussions in the Ivory Coast pointed out the usefulness of maintaining close contact with Ivorian planning agencies. The TA/UD team feels that the proposed project would be enhanced if explicit provision is made for facilitating communication and sharing of experiences between planners in Ghana and the Ivory Coast. Although specific details of such contact would necessarily

be worked out later, it might include joint seminars/workshops and possible site visits in each country.

MISSION D'ENQUETE CONCERNANT LES VILLES DE DIMENSION INTERMEDIAIRE AUX FINS DE PARTICIPATION AU PROJET DE DEMONSTRATION DE LA PROGRAMMATION DE L'UTILISATION DES TERRES POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT URBAIN

Ce bref exposé est destiné à vous donner une idée du but de la visite de la mission de développement urbain détachée par l'Agence des Etats-Unis pour le Développement international, à Washington.

L'orientation concernant l'utilisation des terres, comme on le sait, est essentielle pour les zones de croissance urbaine rapide. La programmation de l'utilisation des terres est la clé de la réalisation des objectifs locaux et régionaux de développement, permettant d'éviter le chaos qui accompagne si souvent un rapide développement urbain. Un grand nombre de petites villes tranquilles se sont développées si rapidement au cours de ces dernières années que les institutions locales éprouvent de graves difficultés dans leurs efforts visant à guider et accommoder cette croissance au mieux des intérêts de la collectivité. Cette urbanisation rapide qui a transformé ces petites villes en grandes agglomérations presque du jour au lendemain constitue à la fois un sérieux problème et une perspective prometteuse pour le développement.

Reconnaissant ce fait, l'Office du Développement urbain de l'Agence des Etats-Unis pour le développement international à Washington a organisé en 1974 une étude des approches pratiques de programmation de l'utilisation des terres pour les villes de dimension intermédiaire. L'étude a fait ressortir les nombreuses possibilités qui existent d'instituer la programmation de l'utilisation des terres en tant qu'aide au développement des villes de dimension intermédiaire et a recommandé que plusieurs projets de démonstration soient lancés.

Un certain nombre de pays en Amérique centrale et du Sud, en Afrique et en Asie ont exprimé de l'intérêt à prendre part à un tel projet de démonstration. La tâche de cette mission d'enquête de l'AID est de visiter ces pays, de désigner des villes en vue du projet de démonstration, et de préparer les grandes lignes du budget et de la portée des travaux. Chaque ville a été identifiée comme étant de dimension intermédiaire, en croissance rapide, et jouant un rôle important au sein d'une vaste région agricole. La sélection finale sera basée sur une large gamme de critères concernant la situation nationale, régionale et locale.

Chaque projet de démonstration impliquera la collaboration d'organisations locales, régionales et nationales et d'une équipe d'experts américains et locaux, qui aideront ensemble la ville de démonstration à instituer un processus de programmation de l'utilisation des terres à l'appui des buts et objectifs locaux et régionaux de développement. Ledit processus comporterait analyse, planification, développement et évaluation en un cycle continu en vue de l'amélioration constante de la ville et du renforcement de son rôle dans le processus de développement régional.

Les résultats de chaque projet seront communiqués à un grand nombre d'autres pays, d'administrations locales et d'organismes internationaux. On espère que le projet contribuera à leur compréhension des problèmes et des possibilités que comportent les petites villes et les villes de dimension intermédiaire en évolution rapide.

20 février 1975

PROCESSUS DE PROGRAMMATION DE L'UTILISATION DES TERRES

La programmation de l'utilisation des terres, selon l'usage de cette expression par USAID TA/UD, est assez différente des approches plus courantes de la planification du développement urbain. Le résultat du processus devrait être un ensemble de projets réalisables, appuyés par le gouvernement à l'échelon national et local, ainsi que par la collectivité. Le résultat ne devrait pas être un rapport classique de plan modèle, bien qu'il puisse être nécessaire de documenter certains aspects du processus de programmation. Généralement parlant, la programmation de l'utilisation des terres a deux objectifs primordiaux:

1. Assurer un programme d'action réaliste et applicable, dont l'échelle et le calendrier permettent de faire face à l'accroissement de population ou autre développement.

2. Renforcer les méthodes connues de contrôle de l'utilisation des terres afin d'obtenir l'orientation voulue quant à la croissance urbaine.

Il est évident d'après ces objectifs que le processus de programmation de l'utilisation des terres doit présenter certaines caractéristiques pour que le développement se produise selon les dimensions voulues, au moment opportun et aux emplacements qui conviennent. Tout d'abord, le processus doit être axé sur les besoins des organismes de mise en oeuvre; il doit donc viser à créer des projets de développement qui puissent être financés. D'autre part, le processus doit offrir suffisamment de souplesse pour s'adapter à tout changement dans les politiques et programmes, aux différences entre les projections et les besoins effectifs, ainsi qu'aux stimulants engendrés par la croissance urbaine et le changement. Enfin, le processus doit être relativement rapide, afin que les cycles de programmation et de mise en oeuvre puissent se dérouler à un rythme qui réponde aux besoins entraînés par une évolution démographique rapide et tous autres changements.

Un bref examen est donné ci-après des éléments qui constituent le processus de programmation de l'utilisation des terres. Bien que ces éléments soient énoncés en ce qui semble constituer une série, il n'existe

en fait aucune méthode établie de mettre en marche le processus de programmation. La situation locale doit déterminer l'ordre dans lequel seront prises les différentes mesures. Plusieurs éléments, par exemple, peuvent faire l'objet d'un effort immédiat en même temps. Avant tout, le processus devrait rechercher des "cibles d'opportunité" qui assurent un avantage maximum et un nouvel essor vers la réalisation des objectifs généraux de développement urbain.

1. Détermination des buts: les objectifs tels qu'ils peuvent être fixés par l'administration nationale et locale (chefs politiques et fonction publique) et les représentants de la collectivité.

2. Structure de mise en oeuvre: identification des organismes de mise en oeuvre à l'échelon national, régional et local; identification des programmes de développement urbain et niveaux de ressources possibles auxquelles ont accès les municipalités.

3. Plan-guide: planification généralisée visant à établir un "cadre général" pour le développement urbain. Le "cadre général" devrait comporter les grands "corridors" de transport, l'essentiel du réseau d'adduction d'eau et des égouts, les systèmes d'espaces ouverts et le domaine public, les centres de l'emploi existants, à la fois industriels et commerciaux. Eventuellement, divers projets résidentiels seront conçus d'après le cadre général et d'autres éléments de ce cadre seront développés selon les besoins, dans les limites temporelles du plan-guide.

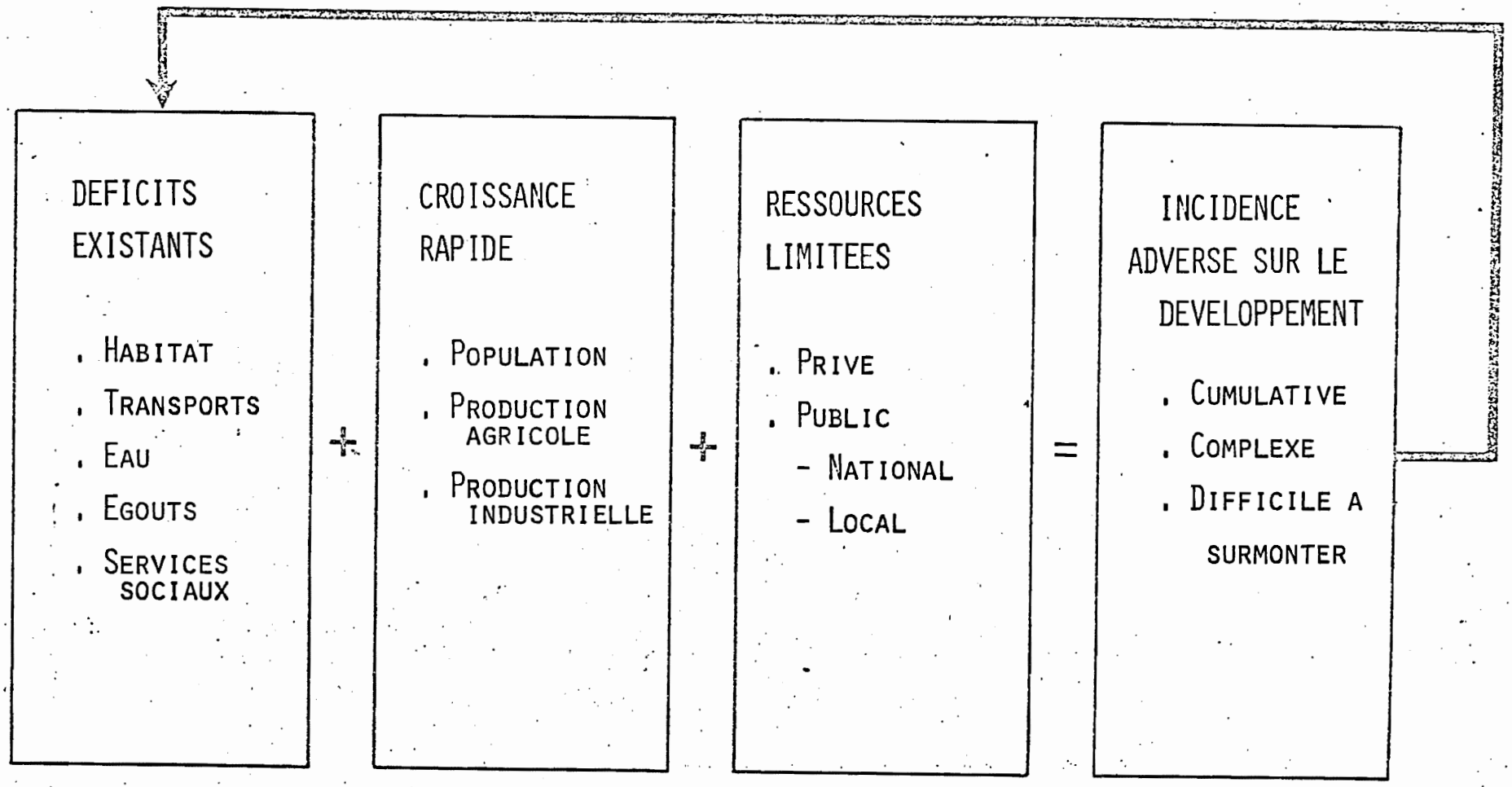
4. Regroupement de terrains: programme actif d'acquisition directe de terrains ou d'acquisition des droits d'aménagement de terrains qui sont indispensables à la réalisation de projets de développement urbain. L'emplacement de ces terres est en partie déterminé par les points 1. et 2. ci-dessus, bien que toute terre susceptible d'aménagement doive être considérée comme une cible d'opportunité aux fins d'action publique.

5. Teneur du projet: comprenant l'identification de l'instance la plus appropriée pour la mise en oeuvre (dans le secteur public ou privé); un programme détaillé de développement (à savoir, nombre d'unités de logements, type de logements, densité, besoins en terres, à l'appui du progrès du développement communautaire); budgets et calendriers du projet; états de financement et d'exploitation (revenu, dépenses, valeurs capitalisées, "cash flow", besoins d'investissements).

6. Mécanisme de contrôle: Identification des techniques les plus appropriées pour contenir et orienter l'incidence de la croissance spontanée. Devrait comporter un état des coûts du contrôle et de l'efficacité potentielle (à savoir, la mise en place de l'infrastructure dans un lieu particulier afin d'encourager la croissance dans ce lieu, plutôt que de recourir à la police pour prévenir les invasions de terrains publics et privés).

7. Evaluation et recyclage des données: Il s'agit-là d'un double processus a) du plan-guide vers la formulation de projets afin que les projets soient axés plus étroitement sur les objectifs du plan global, et b) du processus portant sur la teneur du projet et sa mise en oeuvre vers l'exercice du plan-guide , afin que la planification puisse tenir compte de l'incidence des obstacles au développement et des succès notables. Des lignes de base devraient être établies aux phases appropriées du processus, et une méthodologie d'évaluation devrait être intégrée au sein du système, afin que les différentes approches et techniques de la programmation de l'utilisation des terres puissent être évaluées et adaptées selon les besoin

CONTEXTE DU DEVELOPPEMENT URBAIN



OBJECTIFS DE LA PROGRAMMATION DE L'UTILISATION DES TERRES

- AXER LA PROGRAMMATION DE L'UTILISATION DES TERRES SUR LES BUTS DU DEVELOPPEMENT COMMUNAUTAIRE LOCAL
- RENFORCER LES LIENS ENTRE LA PLANIFICATION ET LA MISE EN OEUVRE
- COMPRIMER LES CALENDRIERS DE DEVELOPPEMENT
- AMELIORER L'EFFICACITE/COUT DE RESSOURCES LIMITEES
- ROMPRE LE CYCLE DE DEFICIT