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Côte d'Ivoire at 60

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Citation

Dietz A.J., E. D. W. L. , V. F. (2020). Côte d'Ivoire at 60. *Ascl Infosheet*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/136750>

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Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).



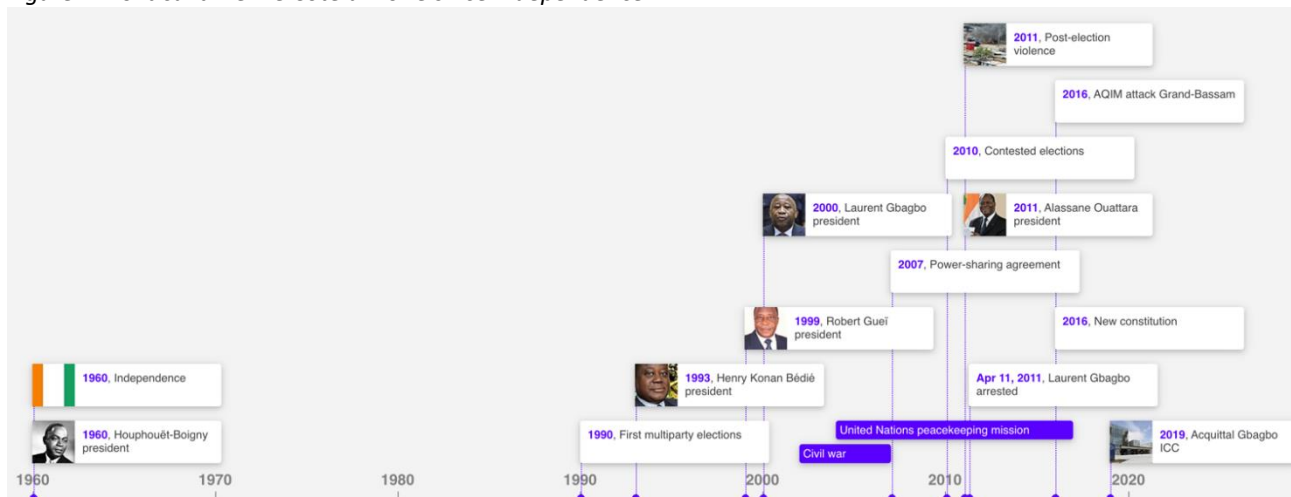
Côte d'Ivoire at 60

Political history

1960 was the 'Year of Africa': many former colonies in Africa became politically independent. Of the seventeen colonies gaining independence in that year, Côte d'Ivoire

was the tenth one: on August 7. Côte d'Ivoire had been a French colony from 1893 onwards, from 1906 as part of French West Africa, with Dakar in Senegal as the federal colonial capital city (see Figure 1 for a political timeline).

Figure 1: Political timeline Côte d'Ivoire since independence



Source: Encyclopedia Britannica

After independence in 1960, Félix Houphouët-Boigny was elected as the country's president. He would rule for more than three decades, until his death in 1993. During this period, Côte-d'Ivoire experienced political stability and economic growth, as well as close ties with Europe, in particular France. After Houphouët-Boigny's death, however, ethnic and political tensions made stable governance difficult. These tensions led to a coup by General Robert Gueï in 1999, who would function as Head of State until the next elections a year later. Laurent Gbagbo of the Ivorian Popular Front (FPI), who had unsuccessfully attempted to defeat Houphouët-Boigny on several occasions, was victorious and took the presidency.

Under Gbagbo's presidency, Côte d'Ivoire dissolved in a vicious civil war (2002-2007) that divided the country in a northern and a southern part, as indicated on Map 1 below, with Bouaké the main town in the northern area, and Yamoussoukro the capital city of the country as a whole and the main political centre in the southern part. While the trigger to the war was political (a failed coup in 2002 and the exclusion of northern candidate Ouattara from the presidential elections), the broader context involved longstanding tensions around who truly 'belonged' in Côte d'Ivoire and, therefore, could claim rights to political power. The notion of *Ivoirité* was central in this conflict.



Map 1: Côte d'Ivoire as divided during the 2002-2007 civil war
https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/9/9f/C%C3%B4te_d%27Ivoire_ZDC.png

The war ended in a negotiated power-sharing agreement between the north and the south, which re-installed Gbagbo as president and rebel leader Guillaume Soro as prime minister. In 2010, new elections were called, in which Gbagbo and Alassane Ouattara were the leading candidates. Ouattara appeared to win, but the Constitutional Council intervened to call Gbagbo's victory - a result that was widely discredited. The resulting stalemate produced renewed violence between the government and rebel forces in early 2011, which lasted until Gbagbo's arrest in April of that year. Ouattara was

installed as president, and Gbagbo was charged by the International Criminal Court in The Hague with crimes against humanity. He would be acquitted in 2019. A new constitution was promulgated in 2016, which allowed for the creation of a Senate and removed certain controversial rules restricting political participation on the basis of ethnic heritage.

Conflict, state fragility, and travel risks

For African standards Côte d'Ivoire is in the middle range on the 'security risk' indices. Before the corona crisis, in December 2019, the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs had put the country in the 'yellow' zone (= 'be careful'), with the border area with Liberia in the 'orange' zone (only travel if really necessary). [Currently, August 2020, all 'danger zoning' has been disturbed by the global COVID-19 crisis].

The State Fragility Index of the Fund for Peace puts Côte d'Ivoire in the 'alert range', with 92.1 points (most negative score would be 120.0 points; for Africa, 'alert' is a high risk category) (<https://fundforpeace.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/9511904-fragilestatesindex.pdf>). The index consists of twelve variables, and Côte d'Ivoire has relatively good scores for 'economic decline' (so: that was regarded as relatively mild, with a score of 6.7 out of 10), and for human flight and brain drain (also relatively mild with a score of 7.0), but very problematic scores for factionalised elites (score: 9.1) and for external intervention (score: 8.4). However, in 2005, in the midst of a very severe civil war, the country had the worst score in the world, and since that year the situation has gradually improved. The Fund for Peace even expects that soon the country will go from the 'alert' to the 'very high warning' category.

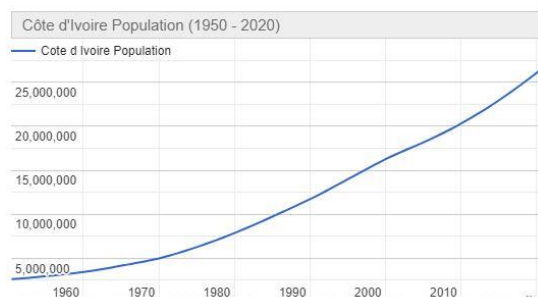


<https://geology.com/world/ivory-coast-map.gif>

Demography

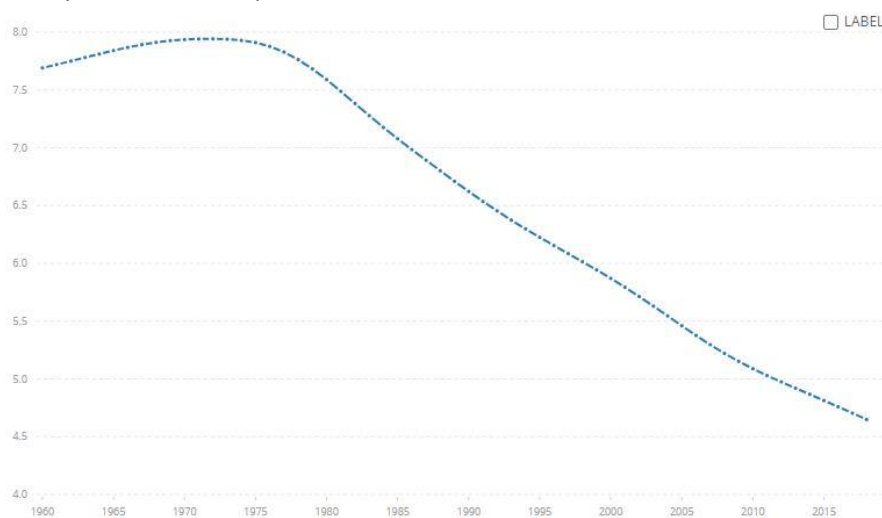
Côte d'Ivoire's population increased more than sevenfold between 1960 and 2020, from 3.5 million in 1960 to 26.4 million in mid 2020, mostly through high fertility rates and longer life expectancy for both males and females (also because of rapidly improving child and infant mortality figures), but also because of high immigration figures (mainly from Burkina Faso). Population growth figures were always more than two percent per year, and more than three percent per year until 1999. Between 1970 and 1985, the period of the Sahel droughts and mass immigration from the North, the annual population growth was even higher than 4%. Currently the average growth rate is around 2.6 percent per year. Total fertility

was around 7.6 per woman in 1960; it first increased to 7.9 around 1975, and then started to diminish, with currently 4.7 births per average woman in Côte d'Ivoire during her lifetime. As a result of these demographic developments Côte d'Ivoire has a very skewed population pyramid, with many more young people than adults and elderly people. The median age changed from 18.9 years old in 1960, to 17.5 years old during the 1980s, and is currently back to 18.9 years old. Urbanisation is on the increase, and has reached majority status recently: currently 51 percent of the total population lives in cities. At the start of the period of the first civil war the life expectancy figures in Côte d'Ivoire dropped from 53 in 1990 to 49 in 2002, but after some years a major recovery took place.

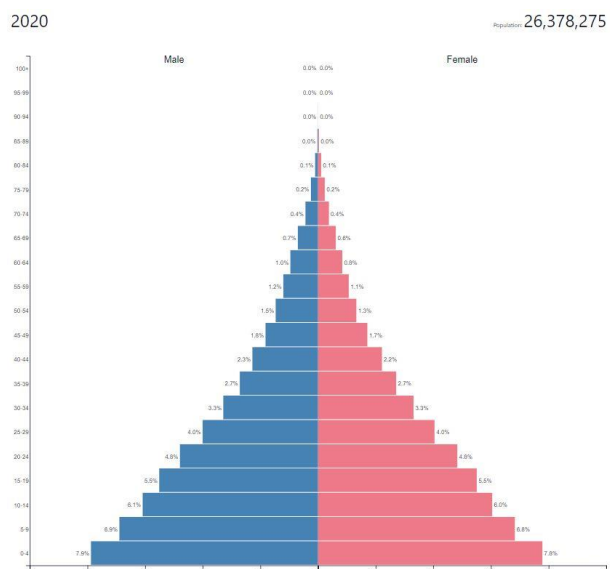
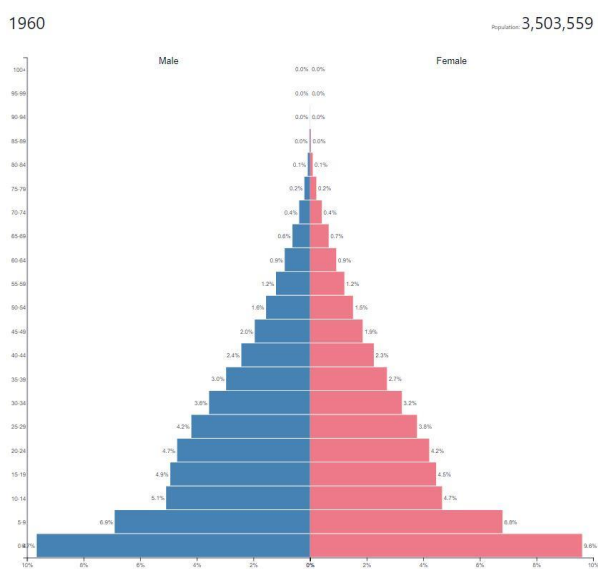


Source: Worldometers

Fertility rate: total births per woman 1960-2018



Source: World Bank



Source: <https://www.populationpyramid.net/cote-divoire/>

Demographic statistics, Côte d'Ivoire as a whole, 1960 and 2020

	1960	2020
Population	3.5 million	26.4 million
Fertility rate	7.6 children per woman	4.7 children per woman
Life expectancy (males)	36 years	58 years
Idem (females)	37 years	60 years
Median age	18.9 years	18.9 years
Infant mortality (< 1 yr)	213/1000	54/1000
Under-5 mortality	318/1000	78/1000
Urbanisation rate	18%	51%
Urban population	0.6 million	13.5 million
Rural population	2.9 million	12.9 million

Source: Worldometers; also: <https://knoema.com/atlas/C%C3%B4te-d'Ivoire/Infant-mortality-rate>;
<https://knoema.com/atlas/C%C3%B4te-d'Ivoire/Child-mortality-rate>;
<https://knoema.com/atlas/C%C3%B4te-d'Ivoire/topics/Health/Health-Status/Male-life-expectancy>;
<https://knoema.com/atlas/C%C3%B4te-d'Ivoire/topics/Health/Health-Status/Female-life-expectancy>

Human Development Index, Côte d'Ivoire as a whole, 1990 and 2018

Human Development Index data exist since 1990, with annual UNDP updates. In 1990, Côte d'Ivoire's Human Development Index started at a level of 0.391, low for world standards. The HDI consists of a health index, an income index and an education index, while UNDP also provides data about life expectancy, and some other indicators. For Côte d'Ivoire the various components of the HDI show a deterioration around 2000, and afterwards

gradual improvements. Between 1990 and 2018 Côte d'Ivoire's population increased from 11.9 million people to 25.1 million people. The increase in the HDI between 1990 and 2018 (but with a major dip in between) can be attributed to improvements in all components: health, education and standard of living, and can also be seen in the data for life expectancy. However, the most significant growth took place in education. Average income levels per capita (in US\$ of 2011, PPP) increased from 2806 in 1990 to 3589 in 2018, but with a dip to 2311 in 2003.

Côte d'Ivoire: HDI and its composition, and indicators; data for 1990 and 2018

	1990	2018	2018/1990
Health Index	0.512	0.576	1.13
Income Index *	0.504	0.541	1.07
Education Index	0.232	0.441	1.90
Life Expectancy	53.3	57.4	1.08
GNI/capita in US\$ (2011PPP)	2806	3589	1.28
Mean years of schooling	2.0	5.2	2.60
Expected years of schooling	5.9	9.6	2.07
Total HDI index	0.391	0.516	1.32

Source: <https://globaldatalab.org> 4.0; * = for 2018 called 'standard of living component'.

Trade statistics, Côte d'Ivoire: exports and imports, 2017

In 2017 Côte d'Ivoire exported products for a total value of 10.3 billion \$, and imported for a total value of 8.4 billion \$ (mostly from China, France, Nigeria, India and

Belgium, in that order), resulting in a major positive trade balance. Leading import products were petroleum, rice, and fish, in that order.

The most important export products and most important export destinations in 2017 were:

Main export products (value in \$ billion)		Main export destinations (value in \$ billion)	
Cocoa (beans, paste and butter)	5.5	Netherlands	1.6
Petrol (crude and refined)	0.9	USA	1.2
Gold	0.5	France	0.9
Nuts	0.4	Germany	0.7
Bananas	0.4	Belgium	0.7

Source : <https://legacy.oec.world/en/profile/country/civ/>

If we compare Gross Domestic Product, exports and imports, and we use data for the average of the four-year period of 2016-2019 (for exports and imports these differ from OEC data), we get the following picture:

9.9 b\$	42.1 b\$	11.9 b\$
Imports	Home use	Exports
	Gross Domestic Product:	
	54.0 b\$	

GDP: <https://tradingeconomics.com/ivory-coast/gdp>;

(Merchandise) imports and exports:

<https://trendeconomy.com/data/h2/CoteDivoire/total>

Protected areas and Forests

Côte d'Ivoire currently has eight national parks, eighteen full or partial nature reserves, one Ramsar site, and two UNESCO-MAB biosphere reserves

(<http://www.parks.it/world/CI/index.html>). According to Protectedplanet, currently 7.4 million hectares are protected areas (23 % of Côte d'Ivoire's total area; and this source mentions 255 protected areas

(<https://www.protectedplanet.net/country/CI>).

Côte d'Ivoire has 10.4 million hectares of forests; 33% of its total land area). However, between 1990 and 2005 Côte d'Ivoire lost 183,000 ha of its forest cover

(<https://rainforests.mongabay.com/20cotedivoire.htm>).

Other areas are mainly 'other wooded land', and areas for agriculture, livestock, hunting and gathering.

Agricultural Côte d'Ivoire

Crop Area (in 1000 hectares), and total production (in 1000 tonnes), 1961 and 2018, in the order of the crop areas in 2018:

	1961		2018		2018/1961	
	Area	Prod.	Area	Prod.	Area	Prod.
Cocoa	260	85	4015	1964	15.4	23.1
Cashewnuts	8	0	1646	688	205.8	+++
Yams	150	1150	1313	7253	8.8	6.3
Cassava	153	460	809	5001	5.3	10.9
Rice (paddy)	206	156	775	2109	3.8	13.5
Coffee	396	186	598	89	1.5	0.5
Maize	200	138	542	1187	2.7	8.6
Plantains	320	500	514	1883	1.6	3.8
Cotton	12	12	370	611	30.8	50.9
Oil palm	45	289	347	2706	7.7	9.4
Rubber	0	0	285	461	+++	+++
Vegetables	39	111	253	807	6.5	7.3
Fruits	20	151	233	775	11.7	5.1
Other nuts	5	18	97	209	19.4	11.6
Sorghum	12	8	93	66	7.8	8.3
Millet	50	27	78	64	1.6	2.4
Kola nuts	?	37	76	54	?	1.5
Taro/cocoyam	130	120	68	84	0.5	0.7
Sugarcane	-	-	24	1948	+++	+++
Groundnuts	483	20	0	0	---	---
Other crops	22	6	31	31	1.4	5.2
Total crops (area)	2511		12167		4.8	

2018/1961: red = 2018 is below 1961; green: 2018 is more than 6.9 times the 1961 figures (that is: more than population increase in Côte d'Ivoire from 3.6 to 25.1 million between 1961 and 2018); black: in-between. Source: Faostat data.

Côte d'Ivoire's land area is 32.4 million hectares, and its crop area increased from 7.8% to 37.6% of its land area between 1961 and 2018. Almost all food crop areas

expanded, and expansion was also very rapid for cashewnuts and other nuts, cotton, fruits, and cocoa. Not only the areas of many crops have expanded (much) more

than Côte d'Ivoire's population numbers, also crop yields became (much) higher (maize yields quadrupled, and rice yields more than tripled) and many production figures have increased faster than population numbers. Côte d'Ivoire can currently feed its population better than in 1961, but it also increased its exports, based on crop production, and this is particularly true for cocoa, cotton, and fruits and vegetables. The importance of some crops deteriorated, though, and that is particularly true for groundnuts, coffee, and cocoyams.

The numbers of all live animals, measured in stock units, and for all individual species, expanded less rapidly than Côte d'Ivoire's population: in total 610% compared with 690%. Per capita the numbers of live animals in the country (measured in stock units) decreased from 0.097 in 1961 to 0.085 in 2018. The best performance can be seen for chicken and cattle. The increase in the number of chickens is spectacular; this is an important source of 'small cash' for women.

Livestock numbers (x 1000)

	1961	2018	2018/1961
Cattle	282	1670	5.9
Chicken	4190	59127	14.1
Goats	548	1481	2.7
Pigs	79	344	4.4
Sheep	476	1867	3.9
Livestock units	350	2129	6.1

Source: Faostat data; 1 livestock unit = based on 0.7 cattle/asses; 0.1 goats/sheep/pigs; 0.01 chicken

International migration

In 2015 850,000 people who were born in Côte d'Ivoire lived outside the country (3.5% of Côte d'Ivoire's total population of 24.1 million people inside and outside the country during that year), of which 675,000 elsewhere in Africa (mainly in Burkina Faso, but also in Liberia, Ghana, Mali, and Guinea in that order), and 175,000 outside Africa (0.7% of Côte d'Ivoire's total population: most of them in France, but also in de USA and Italy; UN migration report 2015). In 2017 Côte d'Ivoire had around 2,197,000 immigrants, mainly from Burkina Faso, but also from Mali, Guinea, Liberia, and Ghana; UN Migration Report 2017). Between 1990 and 2017

the number of immigrants has always been around 2 million people, with a very strong link with Burkina Faso.

Urban Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire's urban population increased from only 629,000 people in 1960 (only 18% of its national population at Independence) to 13.5 million in 2020 (the majority, 51%). There are three major cities: Abidjan, Abobo, and Bouake. Growth has been very rapid for all cities, but particularly for Abidjan and its surrounding areas (including Abobo).

Map of the cities in Côte d'Ivoire




<https://previews.123rf.com/images/mschmelting/mschmelting1802/mschmelting180200038/95808382-map-of-c%C3%A3%C2%B4te-d-ivoire-shows-country-borders-urban-areas-place-names-and-roads-labels-in-english-when.jpg>. Abobo is a northern suburb of Abidjan.

Major urban areas in Côte d'Ivoire

Cities (and region)	Population in thousands of inhabitants		
	MacroTrends: 1960	Worldometers, city, as given in 2020	Populationstat, City and Urban area, 2019/ census 2014
Abidjan	192	3,677	5,202
Abobo	..	900	Included in Abidjan
Bouaké	49	567	572 ('14)
Daloa	..	216	319 ('14)
San-Pedro	..	197	262 ('14)
Yamoussoukro	-	195	212 ('14)
Korhogo	..	167	243 ('14)

Source for 2020: <https://www.worldometers.info/world-population/cote-d-ivoire-population/> / also:
<https://populationstat.com/ivorycoast/>;
<https://www.macroTrends.net/cities/21602/abidjan/population>;
<https://www.macroTrends.net/cities/21603/bouake/population>

Regional Inequality in Côte d'Ivoire

Map	Region / Région	Population x 1000		'18/'90
		1990	2018	
	1 = Centre = Lacs + Yamoussoukro	920	1820	2.0
	2 = Centre Est = Comoé	410	630	1.5
	3 = Centre Nord = Vallée du Bandama	890	2010	2.3
	4 = Centre Ouest = Sassandra-Marahoué	1740	3740	2.1
	5 = Nord = Savannes	740	1330	1.8
	6 = Nord Est = Zanzan	530	1080	2.0
	7 = Nord Ouest = Denguélé + Woroba	560	1160	2.1
	8 = Ouest = Montagnes	1210	2950	2.4
	9 = Sud Ouest = Bas-Sassandra + Gôh-Djiboua	720	2050	2.8
	10 = Sud, Abidjan = Lagunes + Abidjan	4210	8290	2.0
Total Côte d'Ivoire		11900	25100	2.1

Source: <https://globaldatalab.org> 4.0, map:

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b3/C%C3%B4te_d%27Ivoire%2C_administrative_divisions_-_fr_colored2.svg/1024px-C%C3%B4te_d%27Ivoire%2C_administrative_divisions_-_fr_colored2.svg.png

Côte d'Ivoire has 14 Regions, and the Global Data Lab presents data for 1990 and 2018 (and for the years in between) for ten regions, where some regions have been joined together. The history of Côte d'Ivoire's regions is quite chaotic. Between 1990 and 2018 all regions experienced population growth, but the highest growth happened in the southwest (near Liberia). High population growth was not so much experienced in the southeast, near Ghana. If we look at the regional data for human development, which for Côte d'Ivoire exist since 1990, we

see that across the board improvements have taken place between 1990 and 2018 (but with a dip in between). Both in 1990 and in 2018 the best conditions existed in the southern area of and around Abidjan (but with the highest life expectancy shifting from that area to Centre Nord). The worst conditions existed in the Nord/Savannes region (although in 1990 the lowest life expectancy could be found in the Ouest region/Montagnes).

Region	Subregional HDI x1000			Life expectancy (years)			Education index x 1000		
	1990	2018	18/90	1990	2018	18/90	1990	2018	18/90
1	391	489	1.25	54.9	55.5	1.01	216	422	1.95
2	361	518	1.43	54.0	55.9	1.04	178	460	2.58
3	397	529	1.33	54.3	62.0	1.14	234	417	1.78
4	358	515	1.44	52.2	61.3	1.17	204	412	2.02
5	310	397	1.28	50.8	51.0	1.00	136	261	1.92
6	352	450	1.28	54.3	55.7	1.03	170	345	2.03
7	316	397	1.26	51.7	52.2	1.01	132	247	1.87
8	362	459	1.27	49.9	54.8	1.10	235	376	1.60
9	337	474	1.41	54.1	61.8	1.14	162	340	2.10
10	450	593	1.32	55.4	59.1	1.07	301	570	1.89
Côte d'Ivoire	391	516	1.32	53.3	57.4	1.08	232	441	1.90
Ineq	1.45	1.49		1.11	1.22		2.21	2.18	

If we compare 2018 with 1990 the education situation has improved very much, with the fastest improvements in Centre Est, and the relatively slowest improvements in Ouest. The regional differences in education became a bit

Region	Income per capita (in US\$ PPP 2011)		
	1990	2018	18/90
1	3032	2864	0.94
2	2796	3707	1.32
3	2883	3844	1.33
4	2035	3150	1.55
5	2155	2788	1.29
6	2479	2419	0.98
7	2551	2926	1.15
8	1857	2384	1.28
9	1953	2484	1.27
10	3953	5591	1.41
Côte d'Ivoire	2806	3589	1.28
Ineq	2.13	2.35	

Finally, the GNI/capita figures also show extreme regional inequality, and divergent trends, with Centre Ouest improving from 2,035\$/capita in 1990 to 3,150\$/capita in 2018, and Sud+Abidjan from 3,953\$/capita to 5,591\$/capita, while Ouest/Montagnes had the lowest

less pronounced, but are still considerable. The subregional HDI as a whole, as well as life expectancy showed a trend towards more regional inequality between 1990 and 2018.

levels (1,857\$/capita in 1990 and only improved to 2,384\$/capita in 2018 [these are 2011US\$, PPP values]). However, two regions, Centre and Nord Est experienced deteriorating income per capita levels between 1990 and 2018. Centre includes the capital city, Yamoussoukro, a pet project (and regional home area) of the former President Houphouët Boigny; after his death and during and after the civil war this area did not get so much government attention anymore. The income per capita situation in Côte d'Ivoire as a whole improved from an average level of 2,806\$ to an average level of 3,589\$. However, during the civil war it plunged to a level of only 2,311\$/capita in 2003. The recovery in the last fifteen years (an improvement with 55%) was impressive, though. But income and regional inequality are high, and politically dangerous. The Gini coefficient for Côte d'Ivoire as a whole jumped up and down around 40% (1985: 46%, 1988: 37%, 1995: 41%, 1998: 39%, 2002: 41%, 2008: 43% and 2015: 42%;

<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI?locations=CI-LY-GN>).

Further Reading

Country Portal: <http://countryportal.ascleiden.nl/cote-ivoire>
Selected publications: <https://www.ascleiden.nl/content/africa-2020-further-reading>



Reflecting on
60 years
of independence



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<https://www.ascleiden.nl/africa2020>

Africa 2020 Country Information: Ton Dietz, David Ehrhardt and Fenneken Veldkamp

Countryportal: Harro Westra

Selected publications: Germa Seuren

African Studies Centre Leiden, August 2020