

ENVIRONMENTAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACTS STUDY: THE CASE OF FUEL PRODUCTS IN DALOA

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Abstract

Since the 2000's, demographic and economic pressures have fostered various commercial transactions in public spaces in Daloa. This spatial invasion is linked to the inability of public authorities to manage the city as well as possible. It continues today by causing various sites with multiple informal activities. However, the activities of extra-urban transport promoted in the vicinity of petrol stations are based on their 'heartland' around which a number of small businesses gravitate. This article raises the issue of appropriation of the public domain in Daloa. The objective of this study is to identify households with multiple popular activities resulting from the marketers' strategy of selling car fuels. The research methodology is based on a literature search and field survey. The literature search made it possible to take stock of the research relating to anarchic and illegal occupations of public spaces. Respondents in the vicinity of fuel stations trade various items. An interview guide is then produced to gather information from the Technical Director of the Town Hall, the Regional Directors of Hydrocarbons and then, that of sanitation and salubrity. The results are based on an informal contract between gas station attendants and operators of extra-urban transport vehicles. As a result, it generates a variety of economic activities and large clusters of urban populations around gas stations in Daloa.

Key words: Daloa, small business, extra-urban transport, fuel product, environmental overload

Étude d'impact environnemental, social et économique : cas des produits carburants à Daloa

Résumé

Depuis la décennie de 2000, les pressions démographique et économique ont favorisé la réalisation de différentes transactions commerciales dans les espaces publics à Daloa. Cette invasion spatiale est liée à l'incapacité des autorités publiques à gérer au mieux la cité. Elle se poursuit aujourd'hui en occasionnant divers sites à multiples activités informelles. Toutefois, les activités du transport extra-



urbain promues à proximité des stations-services fondent leur "*lieu-cœur*" autour duquel gravite un ensemble de petits commerces. Le présent article pose le problème de l'appropriation du domaine public à Daloa. L'objectif de cette étude est d'identifier les foyers à multiples activités populaires issus de la stratégie de vente des carburants-autos des marketeurs. La méthodologie de recherche est fondée sur une recherche documentaire et une enquête de terrain. La recherche documentaire a permis de faire le point des recherches relatives aux occupations anarchiques et illégales des espaces publics. Les enquêtés rencontrés à proximité des stations-services commercent divers articles. Un guide d'entretien est alors réalisé pour recueillir des informations auprès du Directeur technique de la Mairie, des Directeurs régionaux des hydrocarbures puis, celui de l'assainissement et de la salubrité. Les résultats relèvent un contrat informel réalisé entre pompistes et exploitants de véhicules du transport extra-urbain. Il engendre donc des activités économiques diverses et d'importants attroupements de populations urbaines aux alentours des stations-services à Daloa.

Mots clés: Daloa, petit commerce, transport extra-urbain, produit carburant, surcharge environnementale.

Estudio de impacto ambiental, social y económico: caso de los productos combustibles en Daloa

Resumen

Desde la década de 2000, las presiones demográficas y económicas han favorecido la realización de diferentes transacciones comerciales en los espacios públicos de Daloa. Esta invasión espacial está relacionada con la incapacidad de las autoridades públicas para mejor administrar la ciudad. En la actualidad, esta invasión sigue con una serie de actividades informales. Sin embargo, las actividades del transporte extraurbano promovidas en las proximidades de las gasolineras constituyen su 'lugar-clave', alrededor del cual gravita un conjunto de pequeños comercios. El presente artículo plantea el problema de la apropiación del dominio público en Daloa. El objetivo de este estudio es identificar los focos de múltiples actividades populares surgidas de la estrategia de venta de gasolinas para automóviles de los vendedores. La metodología se basa en una investigación documental y de terreno. La investigación documental permitió hacer un balance de las investigaciones relativas a las ocupaciones anárquicas e ilegales de los espacios públicos. Los encuestados que se encuentran cerca de las gasolineras comercian con diversos artículos. Se elabora entonces una guía de mantenimiento para recoger información del Director técnico del Ayuntamiento, de los Directores regionales de hidrocarburos y, posteriormente, del Director técnico de saneamiento y salubridad. Los resultados se refieren a un contrato informal realizado entre dependientes de gasolineras y operadores de vehículos de transporte extraurbano. Por lo tanto, genera diversas actividades económicas y grandes aglomeraciones de población urbana cerca de las gasolineras en Daloa.

Palabras clave: Daloa, comercia informal, transporte intraurbano, gasolina, sobrecarga medioembiental

Introduction

In Daloa, after the socio-political crisis of 2010, the services of petrol stations implicitly favoured the integration of the activities of promoters of extra-urban transport in their area of activity. This new situation is the consequence of the socio-economic upheavals of the country during the 1980s. At that time, the economic embezzlement of public authorities and the collapse of world coffee and cocoa prices, led to an austerity program to revive the sluggishness of economic activities. However, these structural adjustment plans suggested by the Bretton



Woods institutions have forced the Ivorian State to drastically reduce its public investments, especially in the transport sector (I. Kassi, 2007, p.130). In the Haut-Sassandra, this drastic measure contributed to a paltry follow-up of the implementation of the urbanistic guiding plan drawn up in 1960 and 1980. It then leads to the continuous deterioration of the aesthetics of the urban setting especially with the saturation of the city of Daloa (K.E.Yao, 2014, p.223). Nevertheless, the urban front was achieved over the decades without the construction of modern bus stations. The method of drawing up these urbanistic guiding plans has not been sufficiently operational (D.A.Alla, 1990, p.168).

In this context, after the socio-political crisis of 2010, a group of promoters of extra-urban transport activities and small shops of various articles are being undertaken near petrol stations in Daloa (A.N.N'guessan, 2022, p.68). In view of this spatial appropriation, public spaces have become an extension of markets. This explosion of informal activities is linked to the influx of displaced populations in 2011 due to armed conflicts in the north of the country (W.G.Koukougnon, 2012, p.112). However, this new urban culture combined with the absence of activities of clearing off illegal and anarchic occupations, leads to the "change in the function of public spaces that contribute to their devaluation in favour of strengthening market and leisure functions" (I. Kassi, 2007, p. 246). Considering the emissions of household waste, the multiplicity of market roads remains a boon to maximize municipal taxes (Town Hall, 2022). Notwithstanding, the urban landscape in Daloa has several households with various informal activities. So, what are those driven by the activities of petrol stations in this set of environmentally overloaded households in this national city? Thus, the objective of this study is to identify places with multiple popular activities resulting from the strategy of selling the marketers' fuel products in Daloa.

1- Overview of the Study Area

Located at latitude 6°53 North and longitude 6°27 West, the town of Daloa is created by Decree No. 61-16 of January 3, 1961. Being the capital of the sub-prefecture of Daloa, it is officially erected in commune by law no. 78-07 of 09 January 1978. Its sub-prefecture is limited to the east by those of Bédiala and Gadouan, to the west by the sub-prefectures of Zaibo and Gboguhé, to the north by those of Vavoua and Ketro-Bassam, and to the south by the sub-prefectures of Saïoua and Boguédia (Figure 1).



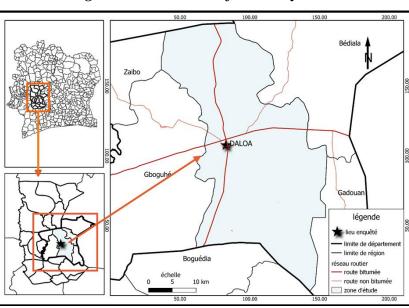


Figure 1 Presentation of the Study Zone

Source: National Institute of Statistics (NIS), 2022

This sub-prefectural territory covers an area of 943 km2, of which 9,650.75 hectares (ha) are devoted to its urban area (Town Hall, 2022). This study site (or the city of Daloa) is located 385 km from Abidjan (the country's economic capital), 141 km from Yamoussoukro (the political capital) and 265 km from San Pedro (the country's second port). Its trade activities with the port of Abidjan enable the supply in fuel products. But, the urban landscape of Daloa presents different places combining multiple popular activities including those induced by the services of petrol stations

2- Method and Material

The technique and data collection took place in two stages. The first is devoted to the search for information about environmental overload (expressive or implicitly) through academic work. This phase of research was conducted from July 4 to August 4, 2022. It took us to the library of the University Jean Lorougnon-Guédé and the library of the Institute of Tropical Geography, located at the University Félix Houphouët-Boigny. We also had access to the archives of the technical structure of the Daloa City Hall. Thus, we are informed about the activities of petrol station attendants in the city of Daloa (N'guessan, 2022), those related to the degradation of urban habitat (Goze, 2014) and then, homes of various economic activities (Kassy, 2002). However, the academic study on environmental overload, induced by the benefits of petrol station attendants are derisory mentioned. From then on, we conducted interviews with the officers of the technical structure of Sanitation and Sanitation and then,



those of the union structure NURT-CI (National Union of Road Transporters). It is a question of knowing more about the mode of acquisition of an urban site (or space) to carry out a profitmaking activity. It is also a question of cleaning up this urban setting, the relative question of the safety around fuel stations, homes with multiple popular activities, and the vulnerability of users located near fuel stations. In addition, observation of the area of study has made it possible to appreciate various popular activities of the users especially, those located near the fuel stations. It was opportune to appreciate the proximity of the gas station attendants to the couple merchants/users and then to understand the reasons for the crowding, the congestion of the surrounding streets, the presence of passengers and customers not staying at these oil sites. This approach allowed us to identify the various emitters of waste from these places with strong popular activities and users.

Finally, the questionnaire survey (the second phase) was carried out among all the 17 managers of the city's fuel stations, merchants (sedentary and itinerant) near the petrol stations and pseudo-stations of the operators of extra-urban transport vehicles then, users randomly selected for our survey (with significant levels of popular activity).

Typology of respondents	Number of	Total Number
across the 4 selected sites	respondents	of
	according to	Respondents
	the 4 selected	
	sites	
Gas stations	1 x 17	17
Sedentary traders	5 x 4	20
Street vendors	5 x 4	20
Line Heads	1 x 4	4
Drivers (departures)	2 x 4	8
Drivers (arrivals)	2 x 4	8
Road Users	4 x 4	16
TOTAL		93
Source: Our Porsonal Surveys KONAN 2022		

Table 1: List of typology of respondents

Source: Our Personal Surveys, KONAN, 2022

Based on the analysis in Table 1, these are 4 selected urban sites covering the activities of petrol station attendants and those of other respondents (reasoned choice). They are located in the Commerce (or city centre), Lobia (located at the way out of the city leaving for the city of Vavoua), Labia (going towards the city of Issia) and Soleil 2 (towards the city of Zougougbeu). In addition, at each site (or place) chosen, the survey concerned 4 users, 10 traders (5 sedentary and 5 strays), 4 drivers (2 for departures and 2 for arrivals) and 4 line managers (1 per site surveyed). This gave a staff of 93 surveyed. This last phase of the survey took place precisely



from 03 to 30 October 2022 (one week per site or location chosen). Finally, with the acquisition of information and data, we analysed them for the writing of this article thanks to various software: Word Software for the text, Excel Software for the charts then, Argis and Adobe Illustrator for the maps.

3- Results

3.1- The Continuing Deterioration of the Urban Environment of Daloa since the 1980s

In Côte d'Ivoire, the colonizer's incursion into the country of the South Mandé and the introduction of shrubby plants, resulted in a joint development of the city of Daloa and its agricultural hinterland. But, from 1905 to 1980, the prosperity acquired by the town of Daloa collapsed over the years, following the disruption of peasant activities and the calamitous management of agricultural rents. In fact, from 1893, the incursion of the French army led to the decree establishing the Colony of Cote d'Ivoire. These exploration and exploitation missions in the region of South Mandé have made it possible to establish a military camp in Daloa. This choice was based on the role of the crossroads village of Daloa which was once a market for various exchanges between the North and North Mandé peoples. From then on, it became a strategic site for the colonizers insofar as they had to defend their activities in this region. In 1905, the hostility of the indigenous peoples forced the colonizer to erect this military post in Daloa in a military circle. Moreover, the development activities, the integration of the Bété villages into these urban activities, led to a "pretty city" in 1920. This urban landscape was based on a set of buildings built to provide administrative (post and telegraph), sanitary (or infirmary), educational (or school) and judicial services, and a prison for recalcitrant people. In addition, located in forest zone, the locality of Daloa being attractive favours the arrival of foreign populations. In 1940, the city was saturated as a result of the settling of migrants, and the colonizer implemented a plan of subdivision to direct the spread of the urban front. In addition to colonial development, the 1960 and 1980 town planning strategies were drawn up by national policy to control spatial growth. Thus, the economic dynamism of the rural area leads to an urban area of different zones, namely, industrial zone, residential zone and wetland. The desire to make the city of Daloa a regional hub materializes by hosting the festivities of the country's independence in 1967. Socio-economic facilities, infrastructure, public and private structures are built that improve the aesthetics of this urban city.

However, the drought of 1981 to 1983, the fall in world prices of the country's leading products, the mismanagement of agricultural rents and the reduction of the power of policy



manoeuvre, lead to paltry activities for the management of this urban habitat. Indeed, the austerity policy of the Bretton Woods institutions leads to the privatization of state enterprises or companies. In the town of Daloa, as a result of the closure of industrial units, informal activities become a refuge for jobless households. Thus, the scarcity of maintenance and development activities over the years has led to the explosion of spontaneous and precarious habitats. The proliferation of these popular activities coincides with that of urban waste. In addition, the 1990s was marked by recurrent socio-political disturbances, which were unfavourable to any consequent urbanisation projects in Daloa. Moreover, after the crisis of 2010, the silence of local authorities created a notorious disorder. For, roadsides, roads and crossroads are invaded by haggard, makeshift tables and shops. In this difficult economic context, plans to evict or maintain public spaces are marginalized in favour of the search for financial means. Thus, this 'urban territory in distress' is now marked by degraded buildings, unsanitary streets with sewage flows (Picture 1).

Picture 1: Insalubrity and the periphery of the urban space of Daloa



Personal shot: Konan A.F, 2022

As for the putrefaction of the garbage, it leads to the foul smells then, favourable to the nests of swarms of flies and mosquitoes. (Regional Direction of Sanitation and Salubrity, 2022). However, despite urban and social pressures, these urban dwellers are rather concerned about the schooling of their offspring and then, the food and health needs of their households.

3.2- The Collapse of Public Authority and the Emergence of a New Urban Culture

In Côte d'Ivoire, from 1980 to 1990, the national economy (and especially the local economy in Daloa) collapsed due to a succession of events: long period of the dry season (1981 to 1983), poor management of agricultural rents, austerity policy. Indeed, with the calamitous





management of the country's financial resources, the Bretton Woods institutions impose on Côte d'Ivoire a policy of austerity. It involves the privatization of a large number of enterprises and state-owned companies. The national policy then loses its credibility on the international scene and then, a reduced investment manoeuvre. In the Haut Sassandra, the scarcity of urban development appears for the citizens as the resignation of the Ivorian state. From then on, the landowners replace the state structures to realize village subdivisions, like the villages located in the communal area called villages-districts (Balouzon, Gbokora and Toroguhé) (Town Hall, 2022). The second lever relates to the inconsistency of decision-making for the administration of urban entities. In fact, from 1980 to 1990, the country's urbanization was marked by the policy of municipalisation. The Ivorian State opts for decentralized urban management. In 1980, the national territory was then subdivided into administrative districts (department and sub-prefecture). The Prefects and Sub-prefects are mandated by the national policy to be the guarantors and administrator of these urban entities. This option is still combined with the municipalisation policy initiated in 1980. These "Prefect-Mayor or Sub-Prefect-Mayor" are assigned to achieve the well-being of the urban area. But the political debates over the choice of mayors put the issue of urban development in the background. In 2000, regional councils or local authorities became the appropriate management method for the realities of the field. However, with the wars between the 'Ivorian brothers' since 1990, the power of national politics weakened in 2010 with the socio-political crisis. After this crisis, impoverished users adopted a new culture leading to the invasion of public spaces with various popular activities. These small shops are carried out all over the city of Daloa: roadsides, pavements, streets and crossroads (Picture 2).

Picture 2: Popular activities in roadside and public space



Personal shot: Konan A.F, 2022

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In addition, 70% of the respondents in the vicinity of the petrol stations claimed to have lost most of their heritage during the armed conflicts. The latter stigmatizing the activities of local authorities, noted: "they are using our money through municipal taxes for other purposes, rather than providing suitable spaces for commercial activities." As for the others (30% of the respondents remaining), the municipal tickets distributed constitute the endorsement of those public authorities for popular activities in urban spaces. As for the store owners near the roads, they reply that "the Mayor approves our presence in these sites (...), if not, why would he collect taxes related to the occupation of these public spaces? The financial stake then masks the projects of eviction for a consequent sanitation. Moreover, these popular activities are an undeniable lever for the realization of the national budget or for the proper functioning of the activities of local authorities (Town Hall, 2022). The appropriation of public spaces thus causes the notorious disorder in the city. It still contributes to the establishment of pseudo-stations near the places of activities of petrol station attendants.

3.3- The Activities of Petrol Stations Contributing to the Creation of Environmental Overload Hotspots in the Urban Area of Daloa

In Daloa, the urban territory is characterized by several urban sites (or households) that accumulate different popular activities. They are also the result of petrol station activities after the socio-political crisis of 2010. In fact, in 2000, the new oil code adopted included national private actors in the oil sector. It made it possible to increase the number of marketers (or oil companies) to dispatch these port loads in the country. However, most of petrol stations built since 2000 do not meet safety standards. With fewer services, these oil buildings built are without security fence. They are then regularly crossed by users or sometimes animals (dogs, sheep, and goats). Their location can be close to homes, markets, schools, religious buildings. Since then, 17 petrol stations have been built across Daloa's urban space, making it a petrol station for 7 neighbourhoods. Notwithstanding, the places of joint activities of pump attendants and promoters of extra-urban transport, are source of small merchants and users or travellers. In fact, everything starts with the oil code adopted in 2000, which created competition between foreign firms and national companies. This customer search is also linked to the maximization of financial value given to marketers. Indeed, with the structuring of the sales prices of refined oils, it oscillates between 20 and 21 CFA francs per litre of fuel product sold (Regional Office of Hydrocarbons, 2022). According to marketers, their financial profits are subject to the regular and substantial sale of quantities of automotive fuel: gasoline, diesel and lubricating products. This assertion is still confirmed by the pump attendant investigated. The operators of transport



vehicles are the customers who can encourage good financial charges. For, the large number of traffics or trips is subject to the purchases of fuel-car products. As a result, the new policy of selling these tanker loads presupposes cooperation between the gas and transport operators. In Daloa, this situation has led to the marginalization of training for pump attendants. That is relative to the specific notions of the dangerousness of these flammable products. Before the year 2000, this training takes place between six months and a year. It allows to anticipate possible accidents during the services of pump attendants. But, the accidental risks associated with these dangerous products are very little mentioned contrary to the financial issue.

In the city of Daloa, the sole criterion for recruiting pump attendants is related to their ability to "build customer loyalty and increase the sales of fuel products". These criteria give rise to an informal agreement between the service workers and the operators of the extra-urban transport vehicles, then the advent of pseudo-stations, located near the service stations. The main requirements of marketers are as follows, be resident in said city, on the fringe of the French language be Dioula (or be able to express themselves easily in said dialect), have a good affinity with the promoters of transport. In this context, with a total staff of 17 managers (principal) In fact, in Côte d'Ivoire, the Dioula peoples (or peoples of the far North of the country) are well known in transport activities, hence the importance of these criteria. For marketers, it is a question of retaining their users (or customers) when purchasing the fuel-car from their pump attendants. Moreover, all the line managers surveyed (tour operators) being of this dialect, have claimed to have been consulted in the choice of the place where their activity takes place. From this principle, a mutual trust is sealed between the two parties. The car fuel is then sold on credit early in the morning at about 6 hours 30 minutes (or at the time of departure) operators of extra-urban transport vehicles. As for the debtors surveyed, they confirmed their presence at the gas station (no later than 21 hours) in the evening to pay this debt incurred for their activity. This loyalty thus leads to the joint services of petrol station attendants and promoters of extra-urban transport at the gas station.

At the analysis of the central place (gas station/pseudo-station), this informal agreement is the factor federating the different layers of actors and popular activities. This relationship of closeness is still based on the brotherhood between this set of actors. Indeed, with the place of the heart in place, the first layer is linked to the arrival of the Muslim faithful. For, a narrow space is arranged at the service station for Islamic prayer. The second layer consists of travellers and their relatives, individuals waiting for a package or the arrival of a relative. The third level concerns the settlement of small merchants. They offer food through small hangars or makeshift



tables. There are also breakfast kiosks or newspapers, tables for phone calls and the presence of other items. It is followed by the fourth level which brings together a plurality of stray traders with their articles: newspapers, magazines, different dishes, clothing, shoes, waxes, cola, water bags, poultry, domestic appliances and other miscellaneous items. The latter carry out several times the round especially, with the arrival of transport vehicles. The small errant shopkeepers surveyed, said that going to customers is a high probability for selling their items. Finally, the last layer is animated by curious users (very often teenagers) and beggars arrived to solicit the clemency of users for some coins of money. Finally, these informal activities are the work of men and women and even adolescents and adults (sometimes older people). Thus, the commercial play of marketers and carriers causes permanent urban sites that accumulate popular activities and users. Figure 2 shows the location of four core sites at a total of 17 service stations in Daloa.

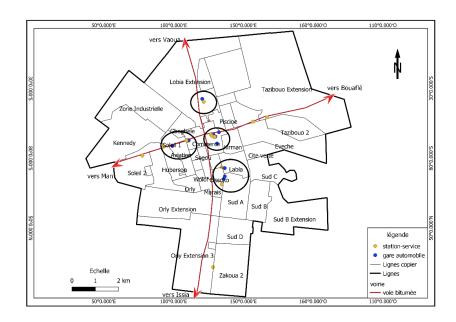


Figure 2: Major Environmental Overload Households in the Town of Daloa

Source: Our Field of Investigation, 2022

But, the socio-spatial dimension of these homes (or places-hearts) differ according to the events, the number of service stations and pseudo-stations. The location (at the exit, at the entrance of the urban space and in the city centre) then the flows of the journeys (departure and arrival) contribute to specific scopes. These ranges of environmental overloads are important during the first week of the month and the moments of festive events: Christmas, New Year's Eve, Easter, Tabaski and Ramadan. These ranges lead to flooding and congestion of the roads then, the congestion on the roads.

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In the analysis of Figure 2 (above) and Photo 1 (below), the site of this most remarkable phenomenon is located in the Commerce district (or at the intersection of the Issia-Vavoua and Bouaflé-Man roads). In fact, the attractiveness of the city of Daloa is linked to its regional pole status through the concentration of public and private services (administrative, economic, health, military, etc.). The populations located in the sub-prefectural and departmental hinterlands, arrive there for various reasons which may be pecuniary, medical, acquisition of administrative documents, etc. By ricochet, the urban landscape of Daloa like the others of the country, has several households accumulating various economic activities. They occur either during the day or at night. Of course, these phenomena drive urban economies, but they are a source of accidental risks on roads and then regular emissions of household waste, noise and air pollution (Regional Office of Sanitation and Salubrity, 2022).

Photo 1: Congestion around petrol stations in Daloa



Personal shot: Konan A.F, 2022

At these central locations, the vulnerability of users is also real during tank truck unloading activities. Thus, this complementary activity seems to be an attitude of resilience of marketers in the face of the phenomenon of the use of gas-butane as fuel-car by taxi operators.

4- Discussion

In Daloa, as in other national cities, the transgression of urban norms leads to the advent of centres of various economic activities through its urban space. According to I.Kassi (2007, p.248), the appropriation of public spaces allows users to express their individuality for this



purpose. Because the actors through these activities assign them new functions different from those assigned by the guiding schemes. Moreover, with the regular collection of municipal taxes, this phenomenon persists and devalues these public spaces in favour of the market function dedicated to roads. But with the implementation of the structural adjustment programmes in the 1980s, the city gradually became destabilized because of the scarcity of projects to put off anarchic installations. On analysis, the weak manoeuvre of the national policy to create consequent jobs and the laxity of the local authorities to work for the respect of the environment, have intensified the popular activities of the users. These illegal occupations of public spaces then become one of the solutions for self-employment with its procession of urban waste. Thus, I.Kassi (2007, p.249) believes that popular activities across urban space is linked to the synchronous paltry between the demographic explosion and the supply of formal jobs. But, in the city of Daloa, W.G.Koukougnon (2012, p.112) considers rather that it is a question of saturation of markets that favours the relocation of certain traders to public spaces. According to this author, the populations who fled the armed clashes during the crises of 2002 and 2010 also contribute to the large number of popular activities near the roads.

Petrol stations are also considered to be extensions of markets. In view of the commercial strategy of the actors, they are considered as property that belongs to everyone and to no one at the same time, that is to say "a space neither public nor private" (I. Kassi, 2007, p.247). When it comes to G.M.Yodé (2017, p.107), he specifies that every central place has a fundamental pillar around which the various layers of economic activities are carried out, namely, the services of pump attendants. Nevertheless, T.Goze (2014, p.114) rather notes that these informal appropriations around petrol stations pace with the emission of urban waste. Their regular production causes the deterioration of the city's aesthetics. Thus, the informal functioning of these urban households reveals the inability of the public authorities to cope with this insalubrity. This assertion further underlines the advent of a new urban culture adopted by the citizens. Because, according to their own words, "we are sure that there will have no authority to dislodge us from these places (...) because they have no solution to propose to us, namely, the construction of a new formal station". But, according to G.M.Yodé (2017, p.288), the silence of local authorities is linked to the collection of communal taxes. But, according to I.Kassi (2002, p.265), the policy of "no-reaction" has the consequence of crowding, congestion and traffic jams on the roads then, the insalubrity of this urban habitat. In the absence of viable projects, this author points to the "ineffectiveness of the local authorities in managing all these short-term activities that are insidiously embedded in the public space." Moreover, "we agree



with the local authorities (...) because, they worked for our facilities at specific sites", these are the words of the users surveyed. Paradoxically, the local authorities have arranged in the shoulders terraces of cafes and the sale of various items, restaurants, and craft workshops for cycle repair. This economic development of public spaces combined with the paltry road culture, contributes to the advent of accidental road sections in this city. Thus, the vulnerability of the populations is convincing with their presence at the petrol station, triggered by the offers of services of the promoters of extra-urban transport. This situation raises the question of dualism of modern and informal activities in this urban space.

Apart from the dualism of activities, I.Kassi (2007, p.252) reveals that "these illegal occupations raise the problem of urban development and management that the local government is struggling to cope with". Many roads are invaded or obstructed by small businesses or household waste. This insalubrity is also linked to domestic work and the practice of popular and economic activities in the neighbourhoods. In view of this persistence, the users surveyed believe that "the issue of sanitation is a matter for public authorities" because "the municipal taxes collected must be used to maintain the city". A.Gouaméné (2019, p.97) states that this generalized unhealthy behaviour is rather related to the incivility of the population. Because, despite the presence of a few large garbage cans, the garbage accumulates in their vicinity without being full. According to T.Goze (2014, p.213), "these users struggle to assess the impact of these smelly garbage on their health", because this carelessness hypnotizes them to the real threat incurred by their offspring as reported in M.Koné (2019, p.46)...Indeed, this author focuses on the dangerousness of medical waste, the paltry management of which contributes to perpetuating the cycle of contamination of viral pathologies. With regard to this garbage, A.N.N'guessan (2022, p.78) concludes by stressing that the informal territories induced by these actors participate (through municipal taxes) in the development of this local economy. The complementarity of the activities of the actors therefore favour urban traffics then, those made between the city and other national regions.

Conclusion

In the Haut-Sassandra, the settlement of the colonizer in the South Mandé country in 1905 led to the urbanisation of the original village of Daloa. The housing development activities of 1920 constitute the fundamental lever in the development of the urbanization front. In 1960, Daloa was already a small town due to its morphology and structure. The economic dynamism of the rural area supports the population and spatial growth of the city of Daloa. This collapse



of the agricultural economy happened during the decade of the fall in world raw material prices. After the socio-political crisis of 2010, the Ivorian state's lax or derisory manoeuvring power led to the relocation of popular market activities in public spaces. This misappropriation of the public domain and the complicity of local authorities, intensify the reach of homes or central places that accumulate various economic activities. The search for financial profits by local authorities, gas-station attendants and operators of extra-urban transport vehicles has subtly given rise to four central places around which five layers of economic actors, activities and users gravitate. This new urban culture drains important waste resulting in the continuous degradation of the urban landscape in Daloa. There are permanent accidental risks in the vicinity of roads and petrol stations.

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