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# Land Governance and Land Conflicts in the Peri-Urban Area of Yamoussoukro

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**Abstract:** This article aims to understand the link between urbanization and land governance in the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro. It analyzes the explanatory factors of the persistence of land conflicts in the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro. The study was based on a methodology based on documentary research, observation of the field and an interview with the actors involved in land management (customary authorities, officials of the technical service of the Yamoussoukro town hall, the management regional office of the Ministry of Construction, Housing and Urban Planning, economic operators). The results obtained reveal that today, with urbanization, issues have arisen around land in the peri-urban villages of Yamoussoukro. Land issues due to urban pressure mean that the governance of this resource is now at the heart of many disputes. The lot sharing process after subdivision is characterized by the frustration of certain social groups within the families. In peri-urban villages, the mode of management operated by the actors in charge of land resources divides family members. In view of these frustrations, everyone is now claiming their share of the land inheritance that is rightfully theirs. Faced with rising tensions, the authorities in charge of managing this resource are now struggling to assert themselves. Their ineffectiveness only amplifies emerging conflicts. In such an environment, these land conflicts are increasingly violent.

**Keywords:** Urbanization, Land Conflicts, Peri-Urban

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## 1. Introduction

Most African countries are now subject to accelerated urbanization. In the large cities of West Africa such as Abidjan, Ouagadougou and Conakry, population growth has reached such large proportions that rulers are struggling to control. These numbers are causing a spatial expansion of these cities, which has expressed itself in recent years in the form of urban sprawl. This phenomenon is characterized by an uncontrolled growth of urbanized space, producing a very loose urban fabric, increasingly distant from the center of the urban area on which it is dependent [13]. Urban sprawl is explained in developing countries by the anarchic settlement of populations, especially the poorest, in the urban peripheries [11]. By growing so rapidly, cities escape the laws of planning. Faced with this urban dynamic capable of swallowing up the entire surrounding rural territories, fear of the future is taking hold in the outlying countryside where land has become a major issue. This often results in conflicts that undermine their capacity for resilience in the face of the

scale of urbanization [3].

To counter this, after independence in 1960, the Ivorian authorities resolved not to allow disorder to develop in the creation and occupation of urban space. To achieve this, several reforms have been initiated. As a first step, the State in its legislation of 1964 will renew the colonial urban policy and take possession of the land [1]. In this context, administrative subdivisions, qualified as preventive, were predominant in the villages. With this device, the state intervenes from programming to the construction of housing. In 1980, with the unfavorable economic situation, further reforms were initiated in the practice of urban planning. The state will move to a decentralized approach by now working with private operators in partnership with the new local authorities (municipalities, authorities). But landowners say they do not profit when subdivision operations are carried out under the initiative of local authorities [10]. As stated in the research [15], the way of governing is a major component of the aspect of the principle of sustainable development, which is based on the effective participation of citizens in the

democratic debate.

To respond to this concern, the state adopted in 1998 a new land code. This land code now recognizes customary rights. In this new environment, the traditional chiefdoms participate, in their capacity as guardians of customs and traditions, in the clarification of rights and the settlement of land disputes. Village Rural Land Management Committees (CVGFR) were created to conduct official inquiries leading to the issuance of private property titles (Land Certificate and Land Title). Their mission is to verify the existence or not of customary law before the issuance of title deeds. However, the process remains supervised by the State, which ensures compliance with the standards recommended by the land legislation in force [9].

But all these reforms have not made it possible to control the land conflicts in the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro. In view of the current situation, what are the explanatory factors for the persistence of land conflicts in the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro? From this main question arise the following subsidiary questions:

What are the behaviors that promote these land conflicts? What are the bodies for settling these disputes?

In this study, the aim will be to identify the contentious behavior, show how the inoperability of the settlement bodies exacerbates these disputes.

## 2. Materials and Method

The data used to conduct this research come mainly from bibliographic analysis and a field survey.

### 2.1. Documentary Research

It consisted mainly of reading various books, reports and articles which focus on Africa, Europe and Asia. The documents reviewed deal with land governance and dispute settlement bodies.

### 2.2. The Field Survey

It took place in three (3) phases: First, direct observation, which consisted of appreciating the study space with shots. Then, with a view to carrying out analyzes and inventories reflecting the reality on the ground, interviews with officials, the technical service of the town hall of Yamoussoukro, the Regional Directorate of Housing Construction and Town Planning of Yamoussoukro and economic operators. They made it possible to understand the whole process of subdivision. They also provided an understanding of the entire subdivision process. In addition, a survey was carried out among the chiefdoms of the villages of Kpoussoussou, Logbakro, Subiakro and Akpéssékro in the autonomous district of Yamoussoukro.

## 3. Results

### 3.1. Practices at the Heart of Land Disputes

In the early 2000s, when President Laurent Gbagbo came

to power, he planned to continue the process of transferring the political capital from Abidjan to Yamoussoukro. The realization of this project was to require the expropriation of certain indigenous communities for questions of public utility. Aware of the inconvenience this would cause at the local level, the natives were led to make the registration of their lands a major concern. This land context will then give rise to strong disputes around the governance of this resource.

#### 3.1.1. *The Inequitable Division of the Lots Between Beneficiaries*

In Côte d'Ivoire, rights to land are essentially conferred by families or villages. In its article 6, however, the rural land law obliges holders of customary rights to register their land. But the process comes at a cost. It is indeed necessary to take into account the interventions of the structures and people who take part in the process: the cost of the demarcation of a hectare varies from 10,000 to 30,000 FRCFA depending on the area. It is sometimes necessary to pay nearly 150,000 FRCFA to obtain the technical file from the surveyors. Sometimes the applicant must also pay 100,000 FRCFA for travel to certain surveyors. In addition, there are the travel expenses of the investigating commissioner of the Ministry of Agriculture and of the CGFR agents. These long, complex procedures and the expensive cost of the certificate mean that the operation is not always accessible to small farmers. Faced with this financial constraint, locals tend to turn to economic operators for the necessary financing. In return, part of the batches produced goes to the economic operator as financial compensation. Most of the time, this contract does not precisely determine the location, area and date (s) of deposit (s) of these lots. These inaccuracies in contract terms are much more profitable for the operator, who takes advantage of them to indulge in abuses. Indeed, the allotment process in Côte d'Ivoire is defined by Decree n° 95-520 of July 5, 1995, organizing the procedures for the development, approval and application of allotments in the private domain of the State and municipalities. According to this Decree, any subdivision project must include an application plan on which are indicated all the dimensions relating to the roads and plots of land, determined in accordance with the master plan. There can be several sizes of land plots (300, 400, 500, 600 m<sup>2</sup> etc.). As for the operator and the villagers, the agreement simply mentions ten lots for one hectare of surrendered land. Thus, by adjusting the size of the plots, the operator may find himself in places with a surplus of at least one lot in reserve per hectare. This guarantees him before the division a reserve bank in lot. By this trick, the economic operator supposed to have 30% of the lots according to the distribution key sometimes end up with more than half. Families only receive from the operator the parts of the plan showing their lots. The economic operator takes the opportunity to choose land with a better strategic position in terms of accessibility. These actions, deemed unacceptable by the indigenous populations, do not fail to arouse protests. Evidenced by the words of C. L. (Chief of the village of Logbakro) in these terms:

“These are behaviors we don't let go. We cannot ask an

economic operator to come and work on our site and in the end we will be the losers. If we set rules for ourselves to be able to work together, we must each do our own to respect them. It's as if you have your yam field and you ask a laborer to come and dig up you are going to give it a part. Now you finish and he sorts the best yams and that's what he doesn't like when he leaves you. Nobody can accept that".

As we can see, the division of the prizes between natives and economic operators is a permanent struggle which suggests many disagreements. In the family, the beneficiaries are generally the biological sons and daughters of the heads of land. But the distribution of the prizes is an exercise at this level as it is so difficult to find a formula accepted by all. During this operation, everyone mobilizes their arguments to influence the process in their favor. As evidenced by the words of C. S (Head of the family of Subiakro):

"It's all over the families. When we share letters, there are always people who are never satisfied with them. The little brother who helped you if you give him more than his big brother who did not want to go to the bush to help him work, the big brother will come and say why he is the youngest gives more lots. If the opposite is the case, it is the little brother who is feeling frustrated. He who is in town who has also done nothing is going to complain when he sees that his brothers who have helped me have had more than him. If you explain to him that it is because those who are in the village here have helped you, he will ask you, when he is in the villa there, he doesn't send you the money. A bit like that and then it will create jealousy between the brothers".



Source: Survey data, 2020

**Figure 1.** Property destroyed following an intra-family land dispute in AKPESSEKRO.

Analysis of the foregoing remarks reveals the difficulty for heads of families to find a formula that would be accepted by all as the issues and interests of the players are so divergent. While some speak of the financial and human contribution during the construction period, others call for strict respect for the birthright. Others denounce the control of the head of families on the lots. Indeed, as judge and party of the division some take advantage of it to engage in an arbitrary management of the lots. Women and orphans who have rights are the main victims because of their vulnerability in the family social system. They sometimes find themselves

sharing a lot with several people. Others are squarely excluded from sharing while the head of the household controls dozens. In these circumstances, jealousy and resentment are inevitable. To show their disapproval, some do not hesitate to summon their tormentors to the chiefdom. Others use more radical means, going so far as to attack the property of others (see Figure 1).

In this figure, we can see a tricycle vandalized following a disagreement with the family. In Akpéssékro as elsewhere, many properties and projects have already suffered similar fates. These sometimes involve forced shutdowns of construction sites for threat of intimidation or for confiscation of work equipment. Rolling vehicles intended for transport are sometimes sabotaged to prevent their entry into service. In Kpoussoussou, the chiefdom notes that a poultry farm has already been looted for the same reasons. It is about preventing the other from profiting from the goods which he would have acquired by selling off the land. These actions are regularly brought to the attention of the police and gendarmerie services to manage criminal offenses. In the family, the social consequences are important. The words to the credit of F. F. (Head of the family of Kpoussoussou) testify to this situation in these terms:

"There are some families here where siblings of the same blood live in the same yard often under the same roof but do not speak to each other because of this inheritance story. People are divided, many heads of families are boycotted. Often when he has one who wants to make a small accomplishment the others will oppose it, like what, he gets his hands on the goods to carry out on behalf of his children. Even when there is a funeral and the family has donations to make, normally the head of the family will donate on behalf of everyone. But we have only noticed in the same family, often each one comes with his gift because they do not recognize themselves as their head of the family".

These comments suggest a certain erosion of kinship ties characterized by the gradual decline in the feeling of community belonging. The disagreements noted around the division of lots also bring different families into confrontation. This is the case in Kpoussoussou where some families in the village are fighting over the lots of the "Kpoussoussou extension" subdivision. Previously, Kpoussoussou was located about three kilometers from the site it currently occupies. Thanks to the project to build the A3 international route, the village has been relocated to its current location in order to open it up. To support this political decision, the state had made a promise to build 450 housing units for the village. But only 100 dwellings could be completed during this period, leaving aside a vacant space. When the village decides to subdivide this space, it is then agreed that each of the 100 households is entitled to five lots. But misunderstandings will arise between families when sharing the lots. At the time, it was necessary to pay the sum of 100,000 frfca to gain possession of a building. Some families have acquired several buildings that they would in a surge of solidarity lent to those who for lack of funds could

not afford them. Today, for the allocation of the five lots, these families are fighting an unprecedented struggle. Between the owners of the buildings and the residents, each claims ownership of the five lots. All of these situations well describe the conflicting atmosphere that reigns around the sharing of lots.

In short, the process of sharing lots is characterized by the frustration of social groups on the fringes of land management. In light of this frustration, everyone is now claiming their share of the inheritance that is rightfully theirs.

### **3.1.2. Appropriation of the Common Good**

In the villages, the management mode operated by the actors in charge of this resource divides more than one. With urbanization and the need to have their land rights recognized, in order to obtain a land certificate (individual or collective), land governance in the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro finds itself at a crossroads. Indeed, from a customary point of view, land cannot be the object of individual appropriation because it belongs to a whole of a community, a village, a lineage, a family of which the element of reference being the common history. For the villagers, this device, contrary to customary practices, initially creates a blur in the minds. Aware of the weight of their opinion in this new context, the customary authorities persuade village opinion to choose the subdivision as a security strategy. They are involved from initiation until the award of the prizes. Many will then take advantage of the situation to enrich themselves without the knowledge of the rest of the social group. While some sell the land in secret, others operate in complicity with economic operators to sell off the common good. Social divisions will become more pronounced between the latter and those at the margin of land management. These cleavages will then lead the natives to reconsider their perception of land. As indicated by L. M, a (Akpéssékro household head):

“There are brothers with the uncles in town who have come because of this subdivision affair. Many arrived they didn’t even have a bicycle. But since they know the papers, it is them that we didn’t see. In this by dint of faking there are others who have started to drive in the big cars in the village here. Myself, my own cousin who was just an employee of a company in Abidjan is at this time when I am talking to you about the owner of two taxis in Yamoussoukro. Even now he no longer sleeps in the family house because he has built his own well-furnished three-room building behind the house while the rest of us still cram in the big yard with our wives and children”.

Comments made more expensive by those of D. R, (Akpéssékro's head of household) who let us understand this:

“Before the earth was sacred. This is what we used to feed our families. In any case, it was not something to have the money. It was just to make our fields to feed the family. But it was when people started to take it to buy the cars, build the houses in the village here that the rest of us there saw that this is something you can take to become someone. By the time we are going to understand that our brothers who were ahead of things had already sold a lot”.

Analysis of the foregoing remarks suggests a social divide between the social groups in charge of land and those on the fringes. If in the original perception of the natives, the land was revered for its sacredness, it is now for the socio-economic benefits that it can provide to its holder. In certain villages, notably Kpoussoussou, Logbakro and Akpéssékro, which each have around ten already approved subdivisions to their credit, this awareness comes at the same time as the discovery of a diminished land heritage. Within families, several hectares of land are mentioned, sold to real estate companies, private companies and large groups. In view of these losses, everyone now wishes to manage their own share of the inheritance due. About V. B, (Head of the family of Logbakro) gives us the following testimony:

“Since I got back from my adventure, I haven't been given the family stuff to me because the others didn't go to school. I had decided to put our family's prizes in a safe place so that we wouldn't squander it. But behind my back my own little brother held a meeting with all of our cousins and nephews. He made them believe that I am making money on my own with the family possessions. One morning they came to my house here to threaten me by asking me to share the letters that have already come out otherwise they will destroy everything in my house. I had no choice but to execute.”

As we can see, disputes within families will give rise to major upheavals in the mode of administration of land. Originally, in Akan country, land was a common asset administered by the head of the family. This resource is now claimed by individuals as if it were private good. To guard against possible abuse, everyone is claiming their share of the inheritance in order to start their own housing estates. So we take ownership of the spaces used by close relatives. This same space is sometimes claimed by another actor who also evokes the earlier exploitation of a loved one. The head of the family also considers himself to be the sole steward of the good. In the reigning confusion, the coveted space no longer really has a master. In this race for land, violence often represents the means of expression of the actors around the disputed space. But it is not only in families that acts of accommodation of land give rise to disagreements. Villages contested the delimitation of village land carried out in 2004 by the BNETD. But faced with the challenges, especially the land rent and the need to dispose of it for the future, these complaints have turned into conflicts since the start of the subdivision operations. This is the case of Kpoussoussou and Logbakro who are fighting over ownership of an area of around 800 ha. So, one morning in January 2019, the village decided to use bulldozers to trace the boundaries that it considers real for its land. This aroused the discontent of the inhabitants of Logbakro, who opposed these lines, armed with machetes and clubs. The clash would have been deadly had it not been for the intervention of law enforcement officials.

All in all, the socioeconomic and political context has favored the appropriation of the common good by the actors present in the land scene. The frustrations induced by this

situation will then lead to land disputes. The ineffectiveness of the bodies charged in principle with managing these disputes only amplifies the emerging conflicts.

### **3.2. The Ineffectiveness of Land Dispute Settlement Bodies**

The inference of the settlement bodies can be seen in their difficulty in managing emerging land disputes.

#### **3.2.1. Lack of Authority of Customary Bodies**

In rural areas, land governance is governed by customary standards. Their respect is ensured by the local chiefdoms assisted in their task by the heads of families. In this mode of organization, the fine is a means of coercion that allows everyone to be respected. The words to the credit of C. L. (Chief of the village of Logbakro) summarize the merits of this provision in these terms:

"We don't have a prison here, we don't have an army to uphold the law. This is the almond that is used to scare people. Because without it, people in the village do whatever they want. We didn't invent this, it's been around since our parents' time. It's because it's a good thing that they taught us that too".

These words reveal the fact that the fine is a means in the service of order and social control. However, it is set according to the seriousness of the fault committed. The objective here is to test the offender economically to get him to comply with the values that organize the community. While this device once helped to maintain order, it is now struggling to cope with deviant behavior. In fact, with the advent of village subdivisions in the mid-2000s, there is an escalation around land. On some sites, land that was barely worth a few hundred thousand is sold for more than ten million. With all this rise, transgression of standards around land is now common. In the past, no one could alienate a portion of land without the consent of his family circle. A fault punishable by fine that can go as far as the denial of the individual from the social group. For this reason, few people dared to do it. But today, the natives are constantly engaging. Moreover, the customary authorities supposed to crack down in the event of misconduct are most often the main perpetrators of these acts. Many heads of families overstep their responsibilities to sell off the common heritage. The same is not true for local chiefdoms, which often find themselves at the forefront of land disputes. By the way, S. P. (Sub-prefect of Yamoussoukro) gives us the following testimony:

"Between Kpoussoussou and Logbakro, we did everything we could to find a solution. We went to both of them to ask their chiefs to ask them to show restraint as the situation grew more and more tense. If this had been followed it wouldn't have come to this. The proof is that when we arrived on the scene, they were the ones who accompanied the young people armed with machetes in their nonsense".

These comments point to the direct involvement of the two leaders in the escalation of violence. Under their knowing gaze, the young men armed with machetes were clearly ready

to use them. However, in Akan custom, the use of the machete is reserved exclusively for the reclamation of the land. The link between this working tool and the earth, defends its taint by human blood. Serious misconduct punishable by severe almonds, even when it is a simple threat. But, on this morning in January 2019, it was used with complete impunity and those in the presence of customary authorities. Within the villages, impunity and disorder reigns from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom. As evidenced by the words of Q. B. (Akpéssékro Notable) in these terms:

"At a time when the price of land is in the million there is what a fine that can frighten a man. People sell land here they take the money there to buy a car it looks like fun, it's a rack of beer or a sheep that will do what to them. Even if it's beef even you want to take to amend it can't scare someone who has just sold land in a village there".

These words tend to present the collapse of the deterrent character of the customary coercive system. "Social action is a regulated and finalized interaction" [14]. In the cost / benefit calculation, the land values greatly exceed the fines imposed. Thus, it is now more rational to be fined to appropriate the land. In doing so, the individualist has come to take precedence over the sense of community belonging. In this climate of let go, where everyone engages in transgressing social values, which may well set itself up as a lesson giver. By collapsing, all the customary power is now on its knees.

#### **3.2.2. Legal Practices Unsuitable to Social Realities**

In the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro, the local populations express a certain reserve vis-à-vis the method of settling disputes through the courts. During the investigations, they particularly criticized the length of the settlement procedures. Indeed, from the registration of the complaint to the preliminary inquiries to the actual trial, the wait is considered long and tedious by the locals. Even when the verdict is pronounced, the protagonists still have the possibility to challenge the rendered decision. First on appeal and then on cassation. As a result, today with the issues surrounding land and the need to dispose of it for the future, it has only become common for trials to continue until cassation. This makes conflict resolution long and costly. This is the case with the trials around the "residential Kokrénou" site and the one between Logbakro and Kpoussoussou on the route of their dividing boundaries. These conflicts all ended in cassation. That of "Residential Kokrénou" spent about six (6) years on trial against five years for the other. While once the spaces have been cleared, the villagers quickly seek to regain possession of the lots, the sale of which represents a means of enrichment for them. These long waiting times have regularly led the protagonists to turn away from ongoing legal proceedings to seek justice. In the case of the conflict between Kpoussoussou and Logbakro, after more than four years of trial, the village of Logbakro tired of waiting for the verdict would have sold the land located in the disputed area. The reaction of his

neighbor Kpoussoussou was not long in coming. By the way, J. K. (President of the youth of Kpoussoussou) observes this:

“While we were waiting for justice to do its job, they started selling the land. All because they knew they weren't going to be right at the trial. We couldn't let them continue or they would end up selling everything. This is why we young people did not decide to take our responsibilities”.

Indeed, faced with this situation deemed unacceptable, one morning in January 2019, the village of Kpoussoussou decided to take matters into their own hands. Using bulldozers, the village has thus proceeded to trace the boundaries that it considers real for its land. Informed of the situation, the youth of Logbakro, armed with machetes and clubs, opposed these plots. Had it not been for law enforcement, the worst would have happened that day. This situation is by the way not an isolated case. In the other conflict between the inhabitants of Kpoussoussou and the economic operator of the residential district Kokrénou, the operator is also said to have sold the lots before the end of the trial. The villagers then protested in front of the premises of the regional directorate of construction and housing of Yamoussoukro, accused of being an accomplice. These hasty sales are still the source of many disputes on this site today. Indeed, after the verdict of the Supreme Court which ruled in favor of the villagers, the subdivision was taken over and the lots reallocated to the landowners. But as the economic operator had sold part of the lots, today, many lots and islands are subject to double allocation. With all this confusion, acts of threat and vandalism are now almost daily. In addition, there are the costs associated with this mode of settlement. According to D. E. (Head of household Logbakro):

“Court case there really must be the means to send a case over there. I know what I am talking about because I have tried it before. I don't have all the details in mind but I know that when I totaled all the expenses from start to finish of the trial I spent around 500,000 FCFA. To pay for that we didn't have to credit here and there otherwise it was possible. When you see all this, how many people in the village here are able to find the money to bring a case to justice”.

These remarks reflect the costly nature of the method of settling disputes through the courts. Indeed, the party filing the complaint must pay the deposit fees for the legal proceedings to begin. These consignment costs are set by the judge and must enable him to investigate the case: they thus cover travel costs and tax stamps. The complainant must also secure the services of a bailiff for preliminary findings and sometimes a lawyer to defend his case in court. To this are added the transportation costs back and forth between his place of residence and the Courts. The complainant must also secure the services of a bailiff for preliminary findings and sometimes a lawyer to defend his case in court. To this are added the transportation costs back and forth between his place of residence and the Courts. Thus, in case of failure of customary bodies, the protagonists generally think of doing

justice to themselves instead of going to court.

## 4. Discussion

The concern to continue the transfer of the capital to Yamoussoukro in a calm land context prompted the state in the early 2000s to sensitize the natives on the merits of registering their land. But by legalizing the situation of these spaces, they end up increasing in value. The author [4] specifies that the conflicts are concentrated in the most dynamic peripheral zones. Subdivisions in rural areas automatically raise villages. Indeed, as soon as a subdivision is completed, according to [12] everyone claims the management of their land which they are supposed to inherit. The management of these spaces then becomes a major challenge between rights holders. [9] argues that these conflicts within villages very often originate in the sharing of lands in terms of inheritance. Tensions or even conflicts arise for the control of land resources generally put members of the same family in opposition. The resolution of these conflicts can sometimes prove very complex due to the inoperability of the settlement bodies. Indeed, faced with land issues, some chiefdoms have turned into players in competition around land. Such is the case of the chiefdoms of Logbakro and Kpoussoussou, two neighboring villages which are vying for control of an area of around 800 ha. In the Abidjan metropolis, precisely in Lokoua, there is also a territorialization of the village according to the support given to each of the two chiefs [12]. Each clan recognizes itself as a leader and denies the existence of the other. The research [6], report on this subject that urban planning in the District of Abidjan has led the State and the populations to seek other spaces outside the limits of the city of Abidjan in order to accommodate an exponentially growing Abidjan population. Bingerville, a locality located south of the residential district of Cocody, presents itself as the ideal sector to house executives and other civil servants whose housing needs cannot be met in Cocody. These new challenges in terms of housing in the policy of emergence of the State and to respond to the National Development Plan (PND) 2016, cause enormous land pressures on the locality of Bingerville. This land pressure, if poorly managed, will not only exacerbate poverty but also lead to the emergence of numerous land conflicts with incalculable collateral effects. [8], discuss the same situation in the village of Gbokora. They point out that land depletion further orients young people and women to become involved in land management in order to benefit from the fallout from this resource and guarantee their future. However, faced with the scarcity of jobs offered by the city, some young people become self-employed and become canvassers in land transactions in order to protect themselves from the urban threat. This exacerbates intra-family conflict.

All of these situations work against traditional chiefdoms who are no longer truly perceived as credible actors. In view of these different actions, the author [5] indicates that in judgmental situations, they are now accused of having parties taken without this position being based on objective

principles or facts. These situations are often closely linked to corrupt practices implemented by actors to influence the point of view of the authority in charge of the case. So, for example, a judgment can be made in favor of a protagonist for the simple reason that he is of the same family or the same political leanings as the authority in charge of arbitrating the conflict. Justice is also facing these same criticisms. Most time the verdict has not been respected by the parties. This non-compliance with decisions can be explained, according to the research [7], by the peasants' mistrust and lack of confidence in the judicial authorities. This is why we are still seeing appeals for judgments, as was the case for the conflict between Kpoussoussou and Logbakro as well as the one between Kpoussoussou and an economic operator on the "residential Kokrénou" site. Not to mention the populations who complain about the high cost of legal remedies. The party making the complaint must pay the deposit fee for legal proceedings to commence. These consignment costs are set by the judge and must enable him to investigate the case: they thus cover travel costs and tax stamps. According to the research [2], the high transport costs due to the distance from the courts and the cost of high formal procedures do not encourage rural populations to apply to the state justice. In case of disagreement. Speaking of Palestine. They argue that in Palestine lawyers' fees vary between 1,200 euros and 12,000 euros depending on the case. Under these circumstances the only solution open to the protagonists unable to raise this sum is to do justice to themselves.

## 5. Conclusion

At the end of this study, it emerges that the peri-urban area of Yamoussoukro is in the grip of an upsurge in land disputes. The land issues due to urban pressure mean that the governance of this resource is now at the heart of multiple disputes. Faced with rising tensions, the bodies in charge of managing this resource are now struggling to assert themselves. In such an environment, emerging conflicts are increasingly violent.

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