

Mining Introduction, a Model of Upheaval in the Didoko Sub-Prefecture (IVORY COAST)

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Abstract: The contribution of this communication consists in analysing the social irregularities of the introduction of the mining industry in the Didoko sub-prefecture. The study is based on an essentially qualitative approach with appropriate investigative tools and analyses this social fact through Alain Touraine's theory of social change (1965). This study arrives at the result that: The discourse of mining operators is part of a vision of the social and economic development of populations, while the people living near mining sites have a symbolic and cultural relationship with the land. The residents refer to the practice of mining in two ways: on the one hand, the land is sacred and could not be destroyed. On the other hand, land is a source of income for the individual's survival.

Keywords: Social irregularities, Mining Introduction, Socio-economic health.

INTRODUCTION

Following the work of the Research Group on Mining in Africa (GRAMA), which began three years ago, on the reform of the mining regulatory frameworks in Ghana and Mali, Madagascar, Tanzania and Guinea, it is explained that the programmes implemented by countries, with the assistance of international financial institutions (IFIs), are characterized by the implementation of macroeconomic and structural reforms aimed at facilitating the entry of foreign capital [1].

These liberalisation policies, based on growth objectives, are intended to promote the development of populations mainly through the consolidation of the democratic process and good governance. However, it would appear that the reforms initiated have had the main effect of redefining the standards of the mining sector for achieving social, economic development and environmental protection.

In Africa, since the early 1980s, economic indicators in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) have shown a very sharp decline in mining production. Indeed, the objective of converting the DRC into an attractive location for investors is at the heart of the strategy of donors and the government, which mainly rely on the country's natural resources, mining, forestry and agriculture, to ensure recovery and the fight against poverty [2]. It is in this context that the World Bank's 1992 strategy paper on the importance of promoting and securing investment in the mining sector: "The main objective of donor intervention in the mining sector in Africa, whether in terms of technical assistance or investment financing, should be to facilitate private investment and help mitigate the risks inherent to the country and the project for the private investor [3]".

It is with this in mind that in 1998, the World Bank made a loan commitment of US\$1.7 billion for the "Economic Stabilization and Recovery Program". The plan includes: "... the liberalisation of the mining sector and the promotion of private investment as well as the removal of investment restrictions [4]".

An OECD document [5] states that it is important above all to: "To restore the confidence of local and foreign investors, and to lay the foundations for growth and the economy [6]". However, investors remain cautious, insisting on linking the effective disbursement of funds to political stability and the government's efforts to promote peace, economic and institutional reforms included in the stimulus packages. However, it is in a context where the main mining centres of the DRC are still suffering from instability that the international financial institutions and the Congolese government have agreed to amend the mining legislation. This recovery strategy, which is based on economic reforms, is seen as a lever to enable the country to regain peace through growth.

According to the interim final report of the Grande Côte Zircon project (PZGC) published in November 2005, the provisions of Act No. 2001-01 of

15 January 2001 on the Environment Code and its implementing decree No. 2001-282 of 12 April 2001 constitute the fundamental legislative and regulatory framework governing activities involving environmental incidents. The law and its implementing decree deal with Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) procedures. The Mining Code (law number 2003-36 of 24 November 2003) reinforces the provisions on environmental management and the rehabilitation of mines and quarries.

The overall acceptability of the Zircon project on the Great Coast, which presupposes the effective consideration of environmental and social sustainability in its implementation, can be ensured through the correct application of the requirements of the Environmental and Social Management Plan.

In Côte d'Ivoire, two laws govern the environmental assessment process for mining projects: Act No. 95-533 of 18 July 1995 on the Mining Code, article 77 of which stipulates that an application for an operating permit must be accompanied by a feasibility study and an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA); Act No. 96-766 of 3 October 1996 on the Mining Environment Code, article 39 of which requires an Impact Assessment to be carried out for any project likely to have adverse environmental effects. The implementing decree number 96-894 of 8 November 1996, determines the rules and procedures applicable to EIA. It should be noted, however, that the issuance of the environmental application order is the sole responsibility of the Ministry in charge of the environment. Indeed, the study of the Bonikro project in the Didoko sub-prefecture was carried out following the terms of reference of the said project drawn up in 2005 by the National Environment Agency (ANDE), a public institution in charge of examining EIA reports in Côte d'Ivoire.

The study of the Bonikro gold project was accompanied by an environmental management program as well as a rehabilitation program for the sites to be exploited. The said project is part of the policy of revitalizing the mining sector in Côte d'Ivoire. This issue is an economic but also a political issue. Indeed, at the economic level, the project is determined for the State of Côte d'Ivoire. It will allow the State of Côte d'Ivoire to receive 10% of the project's dividends because the State is a shareholder by right in the project. In addition, the company will be subject to the payment of a proportional royalty, the amount of which will be determined by mining regulations and the annual payment of surface taxes. The total amount of taxes that will be collected by the government is estimated at nearly CFAF 1.5 billion per year over a period of less than 7 years. For the promoter, this issue arises in terms of investment opportunities in a country where the mining potential is very promising.

Indeed, the Bonikro gold project is being implemented in an area where unemployment is very high, particularly among young people who constitute a significant part of the population. By creating 200 jobs during the construction of the various infrastructures, 225 direct jobs for the operation of the project and the many indirect jobs that will be generated by the project, it is certain that the project will be one of the driving forces behind the socio-economic development of the area.

Article 125 of Act No. 2014-138 of 24 March 2014, on the mining code, establishes local development committees (CDLs). According to this article: "The mining administration must set up, for each mining operation, a mining CDL responsible for the implementation of economic and social development projects for local communities". This committee is responsible for managing a fund annually by the mining company. This fund is intended to carry out socio-economic development projects for local communities. However, in Agbahou, the establishment of the CDL was the sole responsibility of the indigenous peoples, the mining administration and the administrative authorities. No nationals from other communities were included in the CDL programme.

On the other hand, even if the investor guide makes a brief reference to environmental issues and community development in the investor's obligations, the administrative authorization procedure requires the presentation of an environmental certificate. However, it is necessary to ensure consistency with the framework law on the environment through the appropriate regulatory texts. Mining logic is the set of processes that a company goes through to carry out its activities. In the mining sector, where mineral substances originate from the subsoil or soil, the establishment of a company has economic, social and environmental consequences for the local population.

In this context, a guide to good environmental and community development practices on mining management is needed. However, investors remain cautious, insisting on linking the effective disbursement of funds to political stability and government efforts to promote peace, with economic and institutional reforms included in stimulus packages. Similarly, despite the existence of laws and regulations, the populations living along the banks of Agbahou as a whole are living in a precarious and poor situation. In response to this concern, we question the extent to which existing mining laws and regulations are being applied to community development. The contribution of this communication consists in analysing the social irregularities linked to the establishment of the mining company in the Didoko sub-prefecture. In concrete terms, this means: i) Identifying the social representations of mining location by local stakeholders, ii) Identifying the social upheavals

associated with mining location, iii) Defining the new forms of relationship generated by the mine.

Theoretical foundations: alain touraine's theory of social change [7]

For Touraine [8], the transition from traditional to post-industrial society was a real social change. The author examines the relationship that this "programmed" society maintains with its own creativity, that is, its ability to produce itself. He therefore argues that change is the result of social conflicts, but the place where objects of conflict move. In industrial society, social conflicts were fought within the framework of the place of production (factory) and the distribution of wealth created. For Guy Rocher [9], social change is like any transformation observable over time, which affects, in a way that is not only temporary or ephemeral, the structure or functioning of the social organization of a given community and changes the course of its history. Indeed, this assumption of social change in the context of this study makes it possible to understand the changes that Agbahou's residents are undergoing following the establishment of the mining industry. Indeed, the logic of mining as provided for by the laws and regulations in force should enable the beneficiary populations to develop their human capital.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This research took place at the Agbahou mining site / Didoko sub-prefecture. It lasted a month. The research was essentially qualitative and consisted of semi-directive interviews with residents of the operating mine site and mine operators. For qualitative data, an analysis of the content of the interviews was carried out in order to obtain the results of each target group. It appears from the various interviews conducted with our college of informants, particularly the occupants of mining sites and the miners that the establishment of the mine in Agbahou has led to upheavals in the social and political organization of the village of Agbahou.

RESULTS

Agbahou is a village located in the sub-prefecture of Didoko. Economic activity is dominated by agriculture. In addition to agriculture, Agbahou has seen the introduction of artisanal mining since 1995. In view of the profitability of gold panning, several farmers have converted to gold panners by devoting little time to agriculture. Gold panning is a godsend for out-of-school youth seeking employment. This new activity has encouraged the development of trade and other forms of activity (mechanical...). However, the period 2011-2020 will be for the State of Côte d'Ivoire to launch major mining projects that will enable Côte d'Ivoire to join the group of mining nations [10]. Thus, given the potential of its geophysical environment, a gold mine was created after the one at Ity, Tongon and Bonikro. Indeed, any human community of any kind aims at economic, social, political and cultural

development through effective synergy in order to improve the well-being of its social actors. This synergy leads people to an effort to adapt in order to face the profound changes that lead to social maladjustments. As a result, the existing laws and regulations underlying mining would appear to contradict practice.

Social representations of mining location by local actors

For the populations living near Agbaou, space is not only inhabited and used, but it is also the object of thought, matter and source of a system of representation which, in turn, shapes perceptions, attitudes and behaviours. Indeed, the changes brought about by the mining project modify and remodel the space. This has an impact on the social, cultural and economic universe of populations. In other words, for some local actors, the mining industry is a palliative to the hazards of the agricultural economy [11]. Others, on the other hand, reveal the ideologies that Aboriginal people have developed as a result of the establishment of a mining company in their community.

Indeed, with the ageing of cocoa and coffee plantations and especially with the high cost of living, the populations of Agbahou have adopted various strategies aimed at diversifying sources of income. Some growers have developed water crops such as rice, tomatoes, etc. Others have introduced new cash crops such as rubber cultivation. Like agriculture, the people of Agbahou believe that ownership of the land guarantees them, that of the subsoil resources. That is why, in each family, a member is mobilized to work in the mining industry in order to benefit from mining resources.

In addition, the establishment of the mining industry in Agbahou has encouraged a considerable migratory flow. These migrants (allochthones and allogenes) come to settle there in search of social well-being.

Social upheavals related to mining operations

In Agbaou, mining has caused many social and economic upheavals. This is perceived by the destruction of the earth, the foundation of economic practice and the disappearance of plantations, engines of economic dynamics. In addition, there is the construction of economic poles and the emergence of new forms of income-generating activities and the establishment of an entrepreneurial culture. In addition, the installation of the mine has resulted in the destruction of sacred sites and local religious practices. We should also note the dislocation of families and the crisis of moral values linked to the insubordination of social cadets to their elders.

On the other hand, mining can be extremely profitable for mining companies, but most governments make little profit. This led to the renegotiation of

mining contracts and the adoption of new mining codes. However, mining operators are isolated enclaves from the rest of the national economy [12]. As a result, very few activities are developed around mining because it requires little labour. Thus, the benefits of mining in terms of job creation tend to be quite minimal. Economic dependence on mining is associated with a variety of socio-economic problems, including low education rates, declining levels of health care and high propensity for land conflicts. It is in this sense that D.L. testifies in these terms: "The mine divided families in Agbahou. Land conflicts are very frequent.

New forms of relationships generated by the mining industry

The establishment of the mine in Agbaou has led to new forms of relationships among the population. The introduction of the mine in Agbahou has weakened social relations between village societies. These conflicts are due to compensation, displacement and relocation of populations.

In Agbahou, the Environmental and Social Impact Assessment (ESIA) revealed that non-natives own the land given to them by their hosts. Thus, landowners were not taken into account from the first compensation payments. The Endeavour mining industry compensated only land occupants who are generally non-Aboulé non-Aboulé and ECOWAS nationals. For them, the land they occupy belongs to them because they bought it from the Dida indigenous people. In view of the sums received by the latter, the Dida indigenous people have organized themselves to denounce the compensation process to the administrative and mining authorities. After several discussions, it appears that the landowner and the occupant must be compensated as provided for in the new mining code in its article 127: "the occupation of the land gives the right to fair compensation for the benefit of the occupier and the legitimate occupant of the land (...) This compensation is the subject of a memorandum of agreement between the operator, the occupier of the land and the legitimate occupant of the land, under the supervision of the mining administration". Unfortunately, in Agbahou, the mining company does not negotiate with the rights holders and does not allow them to know the scope of their plantations. Thus, the landowner receives 200,000 francs/hectare and the occupier is compensated according to the value of everything he has planted on the land. Indeed, the majority of those compensated to date are baoulés or non-natives. They receive more money than landowners.

In addition, people who have lost land are implementing strategies to address this challenge. People are redefining the areas of the remaining land, while others are claiming plots of land that were previously given to a third party on the basis of charity or hospitality. Within extended families, it is a question

of fighting for control of the land. In these upheavals, there is a considerable migratory flow. For the people of Agbaou, mining companies must conduct their work using the proven techniques of the mining industry and take the necessary measures to prevent environmental pollution, treat waste and preserve the forest, wildlife, fisheries and water resources heritage.

From the above, it should be emphasized that the compensation process reflects a breakdown in the relationship between Dida communities and other communities. Living together or social peace, which is the cornerstone of all societies in rural or urban areas, is now threatened by the establishment of the mining industry. As a result, local power is crumbling. The establishment of the mine disrupted the political organization of the village and accentuated the differentiation of the communities residing in Agbahou. Traditionally, Baoulé and non-native communities were invited to the management of local power and were regularly consulted by the central chief. Today, those are no longer consulted to give their opinions on the political management of the Agbahou village.

CONCLUSION

The mining sector is under the supervision of the Ministry of Mines and Energy, which is responsible for defining the Government's policy on geological research and mining. It has the power to negotiate investment and association agreements with third parties. The question that haunted our minds at the beginning of this investigation was whether the laws and regulations governing mining activity in a given area were in line with community development practices. As previously mentioned, it seems difficult to us to answer this question in an absolute way by asserting it. But it also seems to us to be forbidden to say otherwise. However, as a scientific observer, we will limit ourselves here to making some recommendations that may make it possible, in the short or medium term, to find a solution that takes into account community development as plural. In concrete terms, it is about:

- Assess the risks posed by mines and extractive industries
- Identify affected communities and restore ecosystems
- Initiate the technological, institutional and social order aimed at protecting the health of minors
- Planifier la fermeture des mines : Réhabiliter les sites de manière à pouvoir leur donner d'autres fonctions/ usages environnementales et/ou socioéconomiques
- Implement community development plans in mining areas
- Update the guide for mining investment by clearly including environmental and social clauses, including support for the communities concerned

- Update the provisions of the Mining Code and its implementing regulations to better integrate environmental protection and the development of mining communities into mining development policies
- Require the application of best practices in terms of clean technologies before, during and after site operations
- Strengthen the capacities of the central technical services: creation of an environmental unit in charge of monitoring mining projects, training of staff
- Carry out an epidemiological investigation on health, hygiene and safety aspects in mining units
- Create and/or strengthen the capacity of health centres in active mining areas
- Improve the supply of drinking water to mining areas
- Conduct environmental audits of operating mining companies.

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