

# **Revisiting Urban Planning in the Sub-Saharan Francophone Africa**

**Koffi Attahi, Daniel Hinin-Moustapha  
and Kouamé Appessika**

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Dr Koffi Attahi is currently Principal Urban Planner and Director of the Department of Urban Planning and Local Development at the National Bureau for Technical and Development Studies (BNETD) in Côte d'Ivoire. He has held the following positions: Assistant professor of urban development and urbanization at the department of geography and Director of the Centre for architectural and urban studies of the national university of Côte d'Ivoire in Abidjan; Regional Adviser at the Regional Office for Africa of the UNDP/World Bank Urban Management Programme in Accra, Ghana. Over the past 24 years, he has carried out extensive research on African cities, having done field work in Abidjan, Bamako, Ouagadougou, St Louis, Lomé, Nouakchott. He has worked as Consultant for UN-Habitat, the World Bank and the overseas development agencies of Canada, Germany, U.S.A and the Netherlands. He has contributed to several publications on urbanization, urban planning and urban governance issues. Comments may be sent to the author by e-mail: [koffi\\_attahi@yahoo.fr](mailto:koffi_attahi@yahoo.fr)

Daniel Hinin-Moustapha holds master degrees in economics, a master in statistics and a master in sociology from the National university of Côte d'Ivoire and schools of statistics and applied economics (ENSEA, Abidjan). He has contributed to two reports on urban planning: localizing Millennium Development Goals in Tiassalé, Côte d'Ivoire (2006), urbanization and urban management in Côte d'Ivoire (2006). He is presently program officer in urban and regional development department of BNETD. Comments may be sent to the author by e-mail: [mous\\_dramani@yahoo.fr](mailto:mous_dramani@yahoo.fr)

Dr Kouamé Appessika received a Ph.D. in City Planning from University of Montreal in which he served as Assistant in courses in Urbanization and Development. He also teaches courses in Planning Development at the National Administration School in Côte d'Ivoire. Dr Kouamé Appessika is Chief of the Division of Decentralization and Governance of Local Development at the National Bureau for Technical and Development Studies. He worked now focus on Land management shelter up grading and Strategic Consultation. Among the publications for which he has been author, co-author there are: Case study highlights, Abidjan Côte d'Ivoire, The Challenge of slums, in Global report on human settlements 2003, National Report on Development and Population in Côte d'Ivoire, challenges and perspectives, urbanization and urban planning management, strategy of local development, an innovation step proposed by BNETD. Comments may be sent to the author by e-mail: [appessika\\_kouame@yahoo.fr](mailto:appessika_kouame@yahoo.fr)

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## List of acronyms

BNETD	Bureau National d'Etudes Techniques et de Développement
EAMAU	Ecole Africaine et Mauricienne d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
OCAM	Common African and Mauritian Organization
SDAU	Metropolitan Master Plan
SODECI	Société de Distribution d'Eau de Cote d'Ivoire
STAGD	Service Temporaire d'Aménagement du Grand Dakar
WALTPS	West Africa Long Term Perspective Study

# 1. The Urban Context and its Major Challenges

## 1.1. Urban growth and urbanization

Growing and massive urbanization in francophone sub-Saharan Africa is the most spectacular demographic upheaval that the region has experienced in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The magnitude of the phenomenon is such that today, a good portion of this population has become urban. In less than 50 years, this population has become greatly urbanized, disrupting as it were, the urban morphology and the socio-spatial practices and relations of the urban populations. While it had taken a century for the developed countries to reach an urbanization level of 32 per cent, Sub-Saharan Africa, for its part, attained a level of urbanization close to 30 per cent rate within four decades (1950-1990). As part of this dynamics, in the early 1950s, the major cities recorded the highest growth rates in the world (Attahi, 1993). Indeed, unlike the European cities which recorded 1.5 per cent annual growth rates during the industrial revolution and 2.4 per cent during urban explosion from 1860 to 1890, francophone sub-Saharan Africa's major cities grew by 5 to 7 per cent from 1950 to 1985.

A review of urban growth by region, from 1950, shows an annual rate exceeding 5 per cent for West and Central African countries. For East Africa, this rate exceeds 6 per cent. However, such urban growth rates have varied tremendously during different periods and depending on the countries.

In West Africa, Cote d'Ivoire experienced its highest urban growth rate (over 7 per cent) in the first two decades of the post-independence era (1960-1980), while Senegal's rate was below 4 per cent during the same period WALTIPS (West Africa Long Term Perspective Study, 1994). A comparison of the urbanization rate for 24 sub-Saharan African countries listed in Table 1 shows a very interesting state of affairs. In 1950, Senegal, Congo, Gabon and Guinea Bissau, with levels of urbanization of 32 per cent, 25 per cent, 20 per cent and 20 per cent respectively, ranked among the most urbanized countries; these countries set the pace for urban population growth for all francophone countries; only 9 per cent of the population of Cote d'Ivoire and Cameroon was urban. The majority of the population of Mauritania, Sao Tome and Principe, Burundi, Cape Verde, Rwanda and Equatorial Guinea was rural. Forty years later (in 1994), the situation turned around, with Cape Verde and Mauritania both showing levels of urbanization of 53 per cent, Sao Tome and Principe 43 per cent, Cote d'Ivoire 43 per cent and Cameroon 44 per cent. Urbanization in certain countries resulted from persons displaced by drought and famine, ethnic or civil conflicts and wars.

Furthermore, in 2006, the upward growth trend continued in countries like Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroon, Benin, Mauritania, Niger, Chad, Gabon and Cape Verde, with urbanization rates of 45 per cent, 51.2 per cent, 40 per cent, 56 per cent, 21 per cent, 25 per cent, 83 per cent et 63 per cent (Table 1) respectively. During the same period, urbanization declined for Djibouti and Burkina Faso. The urbanization rates fell from 82 per cent in 1994 to 75 per cent for Djibouti, and from 25 per cent to 17 per cent for Burkina Faso.

From 1994 to 2006, urbanization rates generally remained high. In some countries, the rates were even higher. These rates ranged from 10 to 83 per cent. Gabon recorded the highest rate from 49 per cent in 1994 to 83 per cent. We realize that one of the consequences of population growth in sub-Saharan Africa is clearly accelerated and uncontrolled urbanization. According to observers (UNFPA, 2007), urbanization is one of the most salient traits of the past century. Today, it has reached alarming proportions and is accompanied by rapid population growth in cities. While in 1960, 17.3 per cent of the population lived in urban

areas, this figure rose to 39 per cent in 2006. This means that within four decades (1960-2006), Sub-Saharan Africa's urban population had doubled.

The table below shows this trend for 1950, 1960, 1980, 1990, 1994 and 2006. Moreover, the urban growth rate for this region in Africa is currently the highest in the world, exceeding 4 per cent annually. The table also shows a high annual average urban growth rate, irrespective of the period. This explosive urbanization is often due to the breakdown of the rural environment, poverty, the hardships faced by farmers without land and lack of job possibilities, as well as the attraction of better jobs and other social services in the cities. Rural habits and customs in terms of family size also come into play.

Specifically, urban growth originates from three sources, namely: development of the natural growth rate of an already urbanized population, the result of migration to the cities, and urban areas of small peripheral rural centres.

The concentration of people should help achieve economies of scale in terms of cost of transport, production and consumption, and in the supply of potable water for instance. In most cities in this region, there are ghettos housing thousands of people in deplorable conditions, who lack education, safe drinking water, adequate health coverage and electricity.

Table 1: Level of urbanization (per cent)

Country	Year					
	1950	1960	1980	1990	1994	2006
Benin	5.0	10.3	27.5	37.5	31.0	40.0
Cameroon	8.9	17.6	29.4	41.4	44.0	51.2
Côte-d'Ivoire	12.0	13.7	28.2	48.7	43.0	45.0
Guinea	3.8	14.4	24.7	26.7	29.0	30.0
Senegal	32.0	29.8	38.4	42.7	42.0	42.0
Burkina-Faso	5.0	10.0	18.6	23.6	25.0	17.0
CAR	15.4	20.8	38.0	41.8	39.0	39.0
Mali	9.1	5.6	10.8	22.7	26.0	22.0
Mauritania	0.0	10.0	32.2	41.8	53.0	56.0
Niger	4.5	5.3	12.2	15.9	17.0	21.1
Chad	4.2	5.6	19.0	25.5	21.0	25.3
Congo	25.0	34.9	55.5	71.3	58.0	65.0
Gabon	20.0	20.0	37.0	58.5	49.0	83.6
DRC	18.9	21.0	26.0	34.0	29.0	29.0
Burundi	0.0	3.7	4.6	5.2	7.0	10.0
Rwanda	0.0	2.1	4.5	5.2	6.0	16.5
Cap-Verde	0.0	20.0	23.3	34.4	53.0	63.0
Guinea-Bissau	20.0	9.6	19.0	26.0	22.0	22.0
Equatorial Guinea	0.0	17.4	26.7	28.5	41.0	49.3
Sao Tome	0.0	14.0	20.0	41.7	46.0	50.0
Togo	7.7	-	-	-	30.0	34.0
Djibouti	-	-	-	-	82.0	75.0
Comoros	-	-	-	-	30.0	37.0
Madagascar	-	-	-	-	26.0	30.1
Total Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa	11.2	15.1	31.3	37.5	36.6	39.6

Source : WALTPS 1994, ONU département des affaires économiques et sociales, Division de la population, perspectives de l'urbanisation mondiale : révision de 2005 (2006)

Depending on available data, Francophone sub-Saharan African countries can also be classified into five groups by level of urbanization (Kalassa, 1994):

Group I: Congo, Gabon.

Group II: Cameroon, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Central African Republic, Mauritania, Sao Tome.

Group III: Benin, Togo, DRC (ex-Zaïre), Cape Verde, Equatorial Guinea.

Group IV: Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger, Chad, Guinea Bissau

Group V: Burundi, Rwanda.

Group I refers to countries with a proportion of their urban population exceeding 50 per cent - these are the two oil-exporting Central African countries, Congo and Gabon. Group II comprises countries where 40 per cent of the population lives in cities - these are mainly countries which have experienced some economic dynamic (Central African Republic and Mauritania are two cases in point). Group III comprises countries whose proportion of the urban population is between 29 and 39 per cent. Group IV is made up of countries with low urbanization (between 20 and 28 per cent) - these are mainly countries within the Sahel. Lastly, Group V is made up of two peculiar countries, which are densely populated but with an urban population of about 5 per cent - these are Rwanda and Burundi.

Some studies also confirm the wide gaps in the levels of urbanization between landlocked countries and the coastal countries in Francophone sub-Saharan Africa. The least urbanized countries include Mali, where 25 per cent of the population lives in the city) and Niger (28 per cent). The most urbanized countries are Senegal (41 per cent), Mauritania (41 per cent) and Cote d'Ivoire (40 per cent), whose rates are similar; Guinea is mid-way between with a rate of 32 per cent (Bocquier and Traore, 1995).

Table 2: Variations in urbanization rate and urban population

Country	Variation in urbanization rate (1960 to 2000)	Variation in urban population (1960 to 2000)
Côte d'Ivoire	3.2	16.0
Cameroon	2.6	9.1
Mali	4.5	10.1
Burkina Faso	2.8	5.6
Senegal	1.8	6.1
Niger	4.0	9.3
Guinea	2.6	5.5
Chad	5.0	11.6
Benin	4.5	12.8
Togo	2.0	6.2
CAR	2.3	5.6
Mauritania	5.6	12.9
Guinea Bissau	3.9	8.7
Cap-Verde	2.1	4.0
Total	3.2	8.6

Source: Yatta 2006, WALTPS Data

In terms of the dynamics of the rate of urbanization, Table 2 shows a high growth rate for Chad and Mauritania. Indeed, within 40 years, the urbanization rate for these two countries increased five-fold to reach 30 per cent and 50 per cent. The growth rate for Mali and Benin was four-fold, although for Mali, the urbanization rate (27 per cent) reached after 40 years is still low, compared to the average for francophone sub-Saharan Africa. Within this dynamics,

we observe that the urbanization rate for Senegal is the lowest over the 40-year period. By 2000, the level was just about double what it was in 1960.

An analysis of the dynamics of the urban population by country gives another insight into the urbanization process. From 1960 to 2000, Cote d'Ivoire's urban population grew 16-fold. The urban population of countries like Benin, Mauritania, Chad and Mali grew slightly over 10-fold. Countries with their urban population five or six times higher than at independence in 1960 are: Burkina Faso, Senegal, Guinea, Togo, Central African Republic and Cape Verde.

Moreover, as stated by Yatta (2006) while on average, urban population growth dynamics occur more in secondary cities than in the capitals, in some countries, the urban dynamics is more localized in the capital. For countries like Guinea Bissau, Guinea, Togo, Burkina and Cape-Verde, the net urban population growth over the period 1960-2000 is largely due to the capital's demographic dynamism. In other countries though, two-thirds of the population growth is caused by other urban centers. This is true for Cameroon and Cote d'Ivoire, where the capitals take up 20 per cent of the urban population.

These figures show whether high urbanization was really needed. Projections made by various specialists in urban studies, show higher numbers. This probable development shows that even if it is proven that the total population growth rate will fall in the next few years, the urban population should continue to grow in sub-Saharan francophone African countries. Yatta (2006) underlines the magnitude of the urbanization phenomenon, stating that at the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, one in two West Africans currently live in the city and in 20 to 30 years, two in every three Africans will live in the city.

## 1.2. Major urbanization features

There are three dominant features of urbanization in sub-Saharan francophone Africa: the rapid and/or even aggressive growth of the urban population, the concentration of the urban population in the largest cities and the high metropolization rate.

### 1.1.1. Aggressive and Rapid Urban Growth

This is the first major feature of urbanization in francophone sub-Saharan Africa, which has resulted in the proliferation of human settlements and strengthening of the urban framework.

The WALTPS (1994) study, which, in Francophone sub-Saharan Africa, covers: Mauritania, Senegal, Cape-Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Mali, Togo, Benin, Niger, Chad, Cameroon and the Central African Republic, concluded that the number of urban centres (population above or equal to 50,000 inhabitants) increased from 600 in 1960 to 2,000 in 1980 and about 2,500 in 1990.

The study projected that by 2020 the number of urban centres will increase to 6,000, and 300 of them will have over 100,000 inhabitants. Another important element of the study findings is the increase in metropolization. In 1995, about 32 per cent of the urban population lived in cities of over one million inhabitants. Projections put this figure at 39 per cent by 2010.

Overall, the spectacular growth of the urban population in francophone sub-Saharan Africa, especially in the large cities, is a source of concern because of the inability of the societies concerned to cope with the challenges of accelerated urban concentration.



### 1.1.2. Concentration of the urban population in the largest cities

*Macrocephalia* or urban primacy, which denotes a concentration of the urban population in the largest cities, is one remarkable feature of urbanization in sub-Saharan Francophone Africa. One city, usually the capital, shoulders the full burden of urbanization to the detriment of other urban centres. This is not a general rule however, as some countries have two major cities competing with each other in terms of population growth. Table 3 shows that Togo, Central African Republic, Guinea, Rwanda, Senegal and Burundi feature among those countries where the population of the major city is 8 to 10 times more than that of the second city. Countries like Madagascar, Equatorial Guinea, Mali Mauritania, Chad and Cote d'Ivoire have a primacy index of 5 to 7. Indeed, the macrocephalia effect can be seen in many countries in sub-Saharan francophone Africa. The phenomenon gained ground in countries, where already in the 1960s; one city had supremacy over the others. In Gabon, for instance, the ratio between the first and second cities rose from 1.79 to 4.3 from 1950 to 1990.

Table 3: Population of the major city and primacy index

Country	Population of the major city in 1990 (000)	Primacy Index
Burundi	234	-
Rwanda	219	8.1
Djibouti	417	8.5
Comoros	24	-
Madagascar	690	7.5
Cameroon	1001	4.7
CAR	474	10.8
Congo	793	2.00
Gabon	286	4.30
Equatorial Guinea	30	6.58
Sao Tome	50	-
DRC (ex- Zaïre)	3455	4.60
Burkina Faso	681	4.40
Cap Verde	62	-
Guinea Bissau	71	-
Mali	738	7.27
Mauritania	707	6.65
Niger	447	3.29
Senegal	1613	8.55
Chad	613	5.00
Benin	487	-
Côte d'Ivoire	2168	6.07
Guinea	1127	9.69
Togo	513	10.00

Source: UN, World Urbanization Prospects. The 1994 Revision, 1995

Primacy Index = Ratio of the population of the most populous city to that of the second city.

### 1.1.3. Acute Metropolitanization

Metropolization is another feature of urbanization that resembles the preceding one. It denotes the concentration of urban populations in the major cities. Based on the United Nations-Habitat definition of the concept of the metropolis, which sets the ceiling for a metropolis at over one million inhabitants, there were four metropolises in Africa in 1960; 18 metropolises in 1980, and 36 in 1990. Estimates for 2010 are that there would be 56 of these metropolises. The features of this metropolization include the diversity of the population,

especially with respect to the economic functions of the major cities (capitals). The major cities play two types of roles depending on the spatial scale considered – first they play the role of the engine of economic development at the national level. Secondly, is the role as leader in the development of economic relations at the sub-regional level. In nearly all the countries in francophone sub-Saharan Africa, the capital cities are home to one-quarter of the urbanized population and most modern economic activity.

According to UNFPA (2007), the predominance of the small agglomerations, the low density of the population and the high prevalence of circulating or recurrent migration and links with HIV/AIDS are other major features of urbanization in francophone sub-Saharan Africa.

Indeed, while urban demographic concentration per se may not be a negative phenomenon, it calls into question the basis for development models and town planning policies. Clearly, this strong demographic pressure that weighs on cities, comes with all kinds of pressure on space, and leads to difficulties such as housing crisis, slums, environmental degradation and lack of coherence in the urban morphology. In a nutshell, it leads to numerous challenges at a rate that local authorities can hardly cope with.

### **1.3. Major recent urbanization challenges**

The major challenges caused by high urban growth in sub-Saharan Francophone countries include environmental degradation, growing insecurity, proliferation of slums, increasing unemployment, lack of or inadequate urban amenities, inadequate housing, predominant informal sector and unsuitable planning tools and land practices. However, for the purposes of this report, the focus will be on only a few major challenges.

#### **1.3.1. Accelerated urban growth rate**

Large cities (over one million inhabitants) and many fast-growing cities pose a real challenge for local administrations with scarce capacities. In most cities, the fast pace of population growth and the lack of means and imagination on the part of administrations have not enabled supply to meet and adapt to the demand of urban services. Consequently, our cities are growing through an illegal process in terms of land occupation and housing construction. Even in the case of less populated urban centres, the rate of population growth is far outstripping that of the development of economic production capacities. This growth in the population of cities is absorbed by the densification of existing neighbourhoods and the creation of new often spontaneous ones. It is in these areas that living conditions are fast becoming alarming, as densification takes hold.

#### **1.3.2. Proliferation of slum or informal settlements in cities**

Alongside the developed areas in the cities, slum dwellings have sprung up. These can be recognized by the types of building materials used and the lack of infrastructures and other amenities. These areas are inhabited by people who can not afford the cost of rent in cities and people who do not have access to land allocated by the administration or through customary means. These slum areas have hardly any public amenities. They have no security of tenure and are often found on the urban fringe and in high-risk or vulnerable areas such as steep hill slopes, deep gullies, near dumpsites, under overpasses and flood-prone areas. These are generally areas where it is forbidden to build.

The UNFPA (2007) report states that the population of undeveloped areas or slum dwellings in sub-Saharan Africa doubled in 15 years to 200 million inhabitants in 2005. The report also concludes that urbanization in this part of the continent often leads to the development of

ghettos: 72 per cent of the urban population in the region lives in slums, as against 56 per cent in South Asia. According to UN-Habitat (2003), in many cities, about 50 per cent of the population lives in slums— a physical and spatial demonstration of urban poverty and inequality among cities. This is characterized by low quality or informal housing, lack of access to basic services, poverty and insecurity.

In terms of risks, in sub-Saharan francophone Africa (Cote d'Ivoire is a case in point) about 18 per cent of the homes in squatter dwellings receive electricity through illegal means and 52 per cent are located on waterways. These undeveloped urban sites also generate their own health risks. Several studies have concluded that HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher in large urban centres, particularly in slum neighbourhoods. (UNFPA, Côte d'Ivoire 2006)

Despite the many risks, slums remain the residence for the majority of the urban population. Studies (World Bank 2004) indicate that 72 per cent and 62 per cent of the population of Douala and Yaoundé in Cameroon respectively live in slum areas. This data is confirmed by UN-Habitat, which states that, 70 per cent of the urban population in Africa lives in squatter settlements that lack water and sanitation.

### 1.3.3. Inability to control the growth of urban space

To contain the spatial expansion of cities and ensure the specialization of urban space in line with the functions of cities, urban authorities have developed urbanization master plans and operational documents. These documents aim to control the accelerated and haphazard growth of urban entities. However, these planning documents have not been effective in controlling spatial growth. This failure stems from the shortcomings of the planning process itself within a context of liberal economy and highly accelerated urban growth.

### 1.3.4. Basic urban services in crisis

Basic urban services include potable water, sanitation, housing, road, drainage and sanitation infrastructure, and household waste collection system. These are services that are vital to the well-being of citizens as well as for the good running and efficiency of the urban economy. Other basic urban services are electricity, telecommunications, public transport, health, community services (primary schools, dispensaries), and trading facilities (markets, abattoirs, morgues, lorry stations). The findings of household surveys conducted in the countries of the region Information available indicates that for two decades now, access to basic urban services has been very difficult. In francophone sub-Saharan African countries, one in four urban households has no access to potable water and nearly one household in five has no access to electricity. Likewise, slightly over half of urban households do not benefit from waste collection. Studies show that in most West-African cities, only 20 to 30 per cent of the urban areas have been provided with amenities (PS water, 2003).

This situation is due to the absence of appropriate financing for urban services and the lack of professionalism on the part of the enterprises in the sector. Most cities lack a sanitation master plan. Indeed, access to health care and drugs is limited. For some years now, the community health system, in countries like Mali, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, provides an appropriate response limited to few poor districts.

The disorderly occupation of urban land, the lack of amenities and infrastructures, and the proliferation of shantytowns have all led to urban poverty, whose incidence has been on the rise from year to year.

### 1.3.5. Degradation of the urban environment

According to an ILO study, a city with over one million inhabitants poses many environmental management problems. Under the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) waste management and urban sanitation in francophone sub-Saharan Africa have proved to be a real challenge, particularly as access to these services is very poor.

The findings of a 2003 study by Hydro Conseil on two francophone capitals show that 22 per cent of families in Dakar have access to collective sanitation, compared to 2 to 3 per cent of families in Nouakchott, Mauritania. The study further states that connection to a collective sanitation system is rare, and even non-existent in the peripheral areas. The study concludes that 75 to 100 per cent of the sanitation facilities of households are stand-alone. In Cote d'Ivoire, another study conducted by CREPA-CI (2003) shows that Bouake, the country's second city, with about 800,000 inhabitants, is only now beginning to install a collective sanitation system. Almost the entire population (95 per cent) use stand-alone sanitation. However, only 2.2 per cent of the 35,000 m<sup>3</sup> of the sludge produced arrives at a discharge point.

In planned urban areas, collective sanitation (system and purification station) hardly takes place in cities, where households use individual sanitation methods. For instance, in the city of Yaounde Cameroon, with 1.3 million inhabitants, almost all households (98 per cent) use individual sanitation methods to evacuate the 1,300 tons of solid and household waste and the 60,000 m<sup>3</sup> of liquid waste produced daily. Waste is collected at a rate of 40 per cent. About 60 per cent of the population, who are far from the collection areas, throw their waste in the slums and in waterways.

An activity report on the city of N'djamena (Chad) states that less than 40 per cent of the 600 tons of the urban waste produced daily is evacuated. Due to the lack of resources, the authorities have been compelled to seek new ways of solving the problem. For instance, they have forged partnerships with small operators and devised ways of reclaiming the waste. (Mairie de Djamenena, 2003)

Burkina Faso is solving the problem by using the polluter-payer principle. Users are required to pay levies, which are used to finance sanitation works. These levies have generated a stable and sustainable source of funds and enabled the *Office National de l'Eau et de l'Assainissement* to design and implement a strategic sanitation plan in Ouagadougou. According to study conducted by PS-Eau and PDM (2003), most households in Ouagadougou have agreed to the principle of investing in the improvement of their sanitation system. In Bobo-Dioulasso (Burkina Faso), over 70 per cent of households have agreed to pay so as to benefit from a networked sanitation system. Table 4 presents the level of waste collection in some large cities in the region under study.

Table 4: Population, urban growth and quantity of waste collected

City	Population	Annual growth (per cent)	Officially collected waste (per cent)
Yaoundé	1,300,000	5	40
Lome	1,000,000	6.5	42.1
N'djamena	800,000	5	15-20
Nouakchott	611,883	3.75	20-30

Source: PDM, PS-Eau, 1995

Pollution and nuisance also have an adverse effect on the urban environment, especially on water and the air. They mainly affect the urban areas because of the concentration of people and the numerous activities that take place there. Household liquid waste, industrial waste and transport activities are the major sources of pollution. The waterways and water bodies are polluted. These waters are polluted by solid and liquid waste, thrown in daily by households and industries, without prior treatment. The waters are also polluted by runoff rainwater which carries large quantities of pollutants like organic and chemical waste, pathogenic germs, etc.

Air pollution in major and secondary cities stems mainly from gas emissions from vehicle and motor engines and industrial and artisan activities. Pollution from domestic smoke, through the burning of firewood and from motorbikes has become very serious in Cotonou, Lome, and in Sahel cities like Bamako, Niamey and Ouagadougou. Respiratory disorders, including asthma among children, mainly, are on the rise in these cities (Pene *et al*, 1992). Further pollution is caused by sawmills, carpenters' workshops, tyres incinerators and fish smoking ovens. However, in the absence of data, it is difficult to determine the actual level of pollution.

In order to improve the living conditions of the people in Benin, particularly in Cotonou, the government has taken measures to fight pollution in urban areas. It has introduced a polluter-payer tax under the State's budget, pursuant to the framework law on the environment. The other types of pollution include odour emanating from dumping of waste, which is not collected regularly, and waste water flowing into gutters or in the streets. Compounding the problem is the inconvenience of traditional latrines which give off foul odour and bring flies and mosquitoes.

Given the accelerated urban growth in francophone sub-Saharan Africa, squatter settlements in non-urban areas have exacerbated the natural risks. Furthermore, in most cities, there are no sanitation facilities for domestic liquid waste. Bath water is often evacuated into pits and other liquids into gutters and in the open space. For the disposal of fecal waste, stand-alone traditional latrines is the most common system used, which of course, is poor in sanitation. This shows the real environmental threat faced by urban areas.

### 1.3.6. Growing Poverty among the Urban Population

The high urbanization rate in most francophone sub-Saharan African countries, coupled with the economic decline, has led to rapid increase in urban poverty (Duran Lasserre, 2004). The rapid pace of urban growth goes hand in hand with increase in the number of poor people in urban areas. While poverty used to be more common in the rural areas, today, city dwellers make up a sizeable portion of people living on less than a dollar a day. The spread of poverty to the city, dubbed "urbanization of poverty", started gaining ground from the 1980s, with the economic crisis in most francophone sub-Saharan African countries, and the implementation of the structural adjustment programmes (SAPs).

Poverty has become acute, affecting one-third of the urban population. In francophone West Africa for instance, the devaluation of the CFA franc and the structural reforms that ensued in many countries immediately led to urban poverty. On the basis of urbanization projections made, if relative urban poverty rates do not change within the next 20 years, total urban poverty will increase, by as much as 50 per cent in Benin, Senegal and Mauritania. Urban poverty has become a major challenge in francophone sub-Saharan Africa. The current context makes it imperative for poverty levels to be lowered. Poverty and the high cost of living have compelled the populations of some cities (the capitals mainly) of Cote d'Ivoire,

Cameroon, Burkina Faso, and Mauritania to clamour for a reduction in the price of major consumer products.

### 1.3.7. Development of Social Pathologies in Cities

Growing poverty among the urban population, economic integration difficulties faced by migrants and the youth, rising unemployment and disintegration of family values have led to the development of several social pathologies, especially in the larger cities. These include juvenile delinquency, prostitution, as well as increasing levels of crime and violence.

The gravity of the issue of poverty goes hand in hand with increasing inequalities in society. The chasm between the rich and the poor in some major cities impedes the communication links between these two classes. This propensity for spatial differences could lead to social explosion. Crime and violence develop alongside poverty in the cities. Indeed, crime in the cities is considered a major risk factor. The situation has led property owners unions in cities like Abidjan to turn their neighbourhoods into “gated communities”, which are closed-in compounds with private security guards (Attahi et al, 2005). Other possible solutions geared more toward the sources of insecurity have developed under the Safer Cities projects implemented by UN-Habitat in cities such as Abidjan, Yaounde and Douala.

### 1.3.8. Paucity of urban information

It is essential to gather data for cities to improve governance. However, just like the rest of Africa, the gathering of data and its use to formulate local policies is nearly non-existent in francophone sub-Saharan Africa. Indeed, a better understanding of evaluating needs and guiding decisions on urban planning or management would require having non-stop information on urban areas. However, knowledge about urban matters in francophone sub-Saharan Africa is worse today than it used to be. Data gathering is still fragmentary and does not generally include the comparisons between cities and neighbourhoods that would help monitor trends and understand changes (Farvacque-Vitkovic and Godin (1997). This information deficiency is partly due to the weakness of national statistical data.

### 1.3.9. Spectacular development of the informal economy

Informal activities are rampant in cities. In francophone sub-Saharan Africa, cities have become the stage for a multitude of various informal economic activities, including trading, services and the production and processing of products. All these take place in a “spontaneous” manner around markets, in the street, on open fields and other public places, as well as in residential areas. In terms of contribution to wealth production, the informal sector appears to have made great strides. It contributes to over 40 per cent of non-agricultural GDP in Cameroon and Benin. Estimates show that the informal economy labour force accounts for 78 per cent of non-agricultural employment, 93 per cent of all new jobs and 61 per cent of urban jobs. The informal economy is believed to supply 92 per cent of women’s jobs outside agriculture and self-employment in Africa (Kessides, 2006).

Lastly, while the informal sector receives the majority of new arrivals in the city, urban managers do need to increase productivity in terms of goods and services per unit of work, and increase the capacity of informal enterprises to meet the intermediary consumer demand of large enterprises at all costs, to ensure that input procurement contributes to the local economy.

## 2. Socio-Spatial Dimensions of Urban Growth

This chapter will analyze the following key issues: the socio-spatial dimensions of urbanization, the various forms of exclusion and mechanisms of integration, the urban sprawl and metropolization, and the role of the informal sector in spatial planning.

### 2.1. Socio-spatial dimension dominated by the informal sector

#### 2.1.1. Access to land and the informal sector

The failure of land and housing policies implemented by many francophone African countries and the inability of the formal sector to meet the demand of the majority of the inhabitants of cities are the reasons why today, the informal sector has assumed such proportions. Sub-Saharan Africa is one of the regions of the world with the highest proportion of the urban population living in squatter or unauthorized settlements.

It is thus clear that, almost all the cities of this region have large areas with shacks, small squatter structures, often uncompleted made of blocks or perpend. According to Appessika (1995), this situation is also due to the fact that under the protection of State land law, the extension of urban space is subject to conflict between written law and customary land law. This law had been condemned in the colonial era and during the euphoria of the post-independence period. Indeed, for a long time, the customary rulers had allowed city dwellers access to land. Over time, during the colonial and post-colonial period, these customary practices tend to vanish.

Today, hybrid channels – based on customary and modern practices alike, dubbed neo-customary practices, have come to replace the old system. These practices are accepted by all and have become the basis for urbanization processes in nearly all the countries under study. Moreover, these channels are a combination of customary practices that have been re-interpreted and official practices, which have no connections with customary tradition and modern law. These new systems of production and allocation are practiced by different categories of actors whose typology is discussed in the study on Cotonou and Porto Novo in Benin. These include the land owners/land allocators, such as the customary landowners, the neo-customary landowners, the buyers and speculators of customary land, who parcel out the land and sell them by plots. The middlemen, who constitute the second category, comprise surveyors who draw up the plans of the plots, the agents, who look out for plots for sale by word of mouth, and local officers, who authenticate the deed of land, based on the sale agreement.

All these neo-customary players, who are capitalizing on the land market crisis, have become the market suppliers. They play an important political and social role and often serve as middlemen between the community and the administration. According to Durand Lasserre (2004), most studies carried out point to the commoditization of land. The mere sale of usage rights seems to be basis for the existence of customary channels and the emergence of neo-customary channels. A case in point is Senegal where, as soon as customary land is sold, it enters the neo-customary system. The transition from customary practices to neo-customary practices, and the fact that they have been recognized and made official, follows different types of reasoning. The Cotonou case study highlights one such reasoning that, part of the land development process, i.e., the sub-division of land and sale of plots by customary landowners is clearly conducted in the neo-customary way.

### Box 1: Detailed description of neo-customary networks and land allocation in Cotonou

On the periphery of cities in sub-Saharan Africa, customary land allocation practices do not or no longer work according to this model. They were gradually wiped out during the colonial and pre-colonial period, and replaced by neo-customary practices, which are a combination of reinterpreted customary practices and informal practices, which have hardly anything to do with customary tradition. The reference of these neo-customary practices is indispensable, if we are to understand current processes of access to land and housing.

In most African cities, land development processes are mostly informal. They are a combination of customary practices, informal popular practices and formal practices. This is the combination termed as “neo-customary”.

The evolution of customary practices toward neo-customary practices calls for the intervention of social institutions, capable of supervising the process. However the group remains the core of neo-customary institutions. The social institutions involved in urban land management include governmental institutions at both the central and local levels.

The transition from customary practices to neo-customary practices and the recognition and formalization of such practices follow different principles. For instance that, part of the land development process (sub-division of land and sale of plots by customary landowners) follows a non-customary line. The parceling out and reallocation by the administration and then allotment of residence permit is an administrative practices. These practices are recognized by the administration and should be incorporated into “modern law”, i.e. the Civil Code, and should sever links with custom. In the absence of registering title deeds, the land remains under customary law.

By all indications, a significant proportion of the population of Africa’s cities has access to land and housing through channels we call neo-customary. It is however difficult to obtain accurate data, particularly, in countries where customary practices are not recognized, and which, consequently do not distinguish them from other informal channels. In Cotonou and Porto Novo in Benin, it is estimated in the last two decades, that 80 per cent of the land allocated was put on the market by neo-customary stakeholders.

Source: Duran-Lasserve, et al, 2004

Indeed, in lieu of renting of land, land occupation takes place through the purchase of plots from customary land holders. In the peri-urban areas, these operations are carried out on housing land, meant for city dwellers, who do not have the means to go through the official channels.

#### 2.1.2. Housing Construction and the Informal Sector

At the time of independence, housing for all, especially in the capital cities, posed a real challenge for the newly independent francophone States. While public housing programmes were initiated, demand could be met only for the middle class, leaving the poorer populations in the lurch. The low-cost houses built were inadequate or too costly for the poor.

Furthermore, the public projects meant to improve the housing situation for the poor, rather benefited the middle and high income classes. A case in point is Cote d’Ivoire (Antoine *et al*, 1987), where a large proportion of the houses under the low-cost housing scheme went to the middle class. Against this backdrop, since the 1970s the housing situation has been characterized by the proliferation of squatter settlements in the cities.

To cope with the crisis, there have been initiatives such as the production of squatter dwellings by inhabitants themselves, causing a boom in the informal housing sector. In various degrees, all these initiatives fall outside the law and the dwellings do not meet formal construction standards. According to Durand Lasserve (2004), such illegal housing accounts, depending on the region or country, for 20 to 90 per cent of urban growth, and affects 15 to 70



per cent of city dwellers of francophone sub-Saharan African countries, the average being about 40 per cent.

The problems are most acute in the large metropolises of francophone Africa. In most of these large cities, the poor and a large majority of middle-income groups are left on the lurch. According to Moussa and N'dilbe (2006) in the city of Ndjamena in Chad, the major problem caused by rapid urbanization is the development of urban land. Land development is based on obsolete legislation, involving many players. This legislation is not adhered to and the national and local authorities do not have a good grasp of the sector. Such a situation causes further problems for the development of urban land in that country.

The situation is not different in Senegal. Squatter dwellings account for 30 per cent of housing nationwide and 45 per cent for Dakar. The large majority of people in the informal sector live in these generally poor, populous, unhygienic, neighbourhoods, which lack basic amenities. (Kante, 2002)

The city of Nouakchott in Mauritania is also confronted with a similar problem. The city was founded in 1955 and has undergone a sharp population growth, from 2,000 inhabitants to 611,883 in 2000 (PDU, 2007). The situation led to the proliferation of squatter dwellings that lack the basic amenities.

In Madagascar, the situation is no better. Thirty per cent of the country's urban neighbourhoods are unauthorized and lack basic infrastructure. These are either old neighbourhoods located right in the middle of the city, which were developed outside the regulatory framework, or squatter settlements that sprung up on the fringes of urban centres, due to flawed land management instruments.

A UN-Habitat (2004) study on Burkina Faso states that the living conditions in the squatter settlements are sub-standard. These areas are not integrated into the official physical planning system and are inhabited by low-income earners who cannot afford land or housing in the serviced areas.

Just like in most francophone countries in Africa, these urban and peri-urban neighbourhoods serve as solutions to the land problems faced by the poor and immigrants. These populations are not sufficiently informed about legislation and are ill-prepared for the burdensome and costly procedures, and are therefore unable to integrate into the official land market. The inability of the decentralized land services to meet the needs of these users should also be addressed so as to curb the expansion of squatter settlements.

The informal distribution of scrap metal has also contributed to the system of production of squatter settlements. This entails the resale of low-cost scrap metal. The people of these squatter settlements build their structures by spreading construction over a period of time. What they do is to first build one wall, then a second one and finally the whole house. They build small houses for renting out. After several years, people already settled in these squatter dwellings manage to build a second small house, which they rent out to the newly arrived. The additional revenue from the rental can then be used again to start a small informal housing development. The practice is rampant in Douala and in Kinshasa (Canel *et al.* 1990).

The trait that cuts across these neighbourhoods is: a landscape of squatter dwellings on small plots of land, with un-tarred roads, and devoid of all the necessary amenities. In many cases, some of these neighbourhoods that spring up fall outside the urban plan and remain for a long time in unsuitable conditions, while others gradually turn into dense areas, but still with the same squalid conditions.

### Box 2: Detailed description of informal practices of housing production in Douala

Population growth is accompanied by a high level of spatial growth. The increasing concentration of population in older neighbourhoods can no longer cope with annual surpluses. In Douala, where the urbanized area is currently estimated at 5,800 hectares, the city's physical growth rose by 20 per cent from 1968 to 1981. It did not however follow the population growth. Indeed, from 1955 to 1973, the urban population grew four-fold, while the urbanized space only doubled, owing to space limitations.

Urbanization was accompanied by densification of the existing areas. Also evident was an unplanned radio-centric phenomenon, right from the urban colonial nucleus to the fringes and peripheries. In Douala, this process led to 60 per cent urbanization of the residential area, hosting about 80 per cent of the population. This form of urbanization is largely dominant in Douala, and is partly due to the shortage of low-cost housing or serviced plots.

These figures on urban growth do not help us understand the modalities or the logic in the production of African cities. Indeed, a study of the public channels for development of public land for construction and housing would not reveal the real problem. Furthermore, the share of urbanization attributed to these channels is always minor. The case for city dwellers in Africa is entirely unique, with individuals and communities organizing themselves with no public intervention whatsoever.

Indeed, a city dweller who embarks on a housing project is not one who is inactive or available, as he has to use precious time in putting funds together for his family to live and survive in the large city. The owner-builder ends up playing the role of a project owner and general contractor. He thus has to take care of the site, procure building materials, buy tools, store the materials, recruit labour and negotiate the wages. The owner may then come on the worksite to supervise the workers and sometimes even has to carry out the works himself.

At the weekend or on holidays, he has to be at the site to supervise the masons and other workers. This is a necessity, as there are often disputes between the workers and the landlord. During the week, the owner can only devote very little time to the site in terms of buying materials, transport, hiring labor, payments, etc.

Source: Canal, Delis et Girard, 1990

## 3. Urban Planning and the Informal Sector

Towards the end of the colonial period, drawing on the spatial planning practices of the colonial administration, francophone African States adopted a modern urban planning system. While theoretically, these planning documents seemed to be coherent, they only pertained to the formal city itself. The quantitative data available, which served as basis for the planners, is mostly distorted. There is very little statistical data on informal employment, the number of inhabitants living in the slums, their lifestyle, modes of transport, way of life of poor households, and the ecological risks. According to Milbert (1988), the basic studies used by planners have been "refined" to give the city a westernized image.

Official statistics underestimate urban growth and the dire need for services. According to Venard (1985), in Abidjan, for instance, although planning documents were used to provide guidance on spatial development, at each stage, the urban plans seemed to underestimate the city's future population growth and were too ambitious about infrastructure for industrial areas. The programming for such projects did not take into account the resources available.

The same is true for many other capitals in francophone Africa. Indeed, many of them have ambitious planning and urban master plans, which could not be implemented, because they were overly ambitious - residential areas based on the Le Corbusier *cite-jardin* model for Dakar, urban motorways for Abidjan, and a large number of commercial centres for Ouagadougou. According to Angueletou (2004), despite the willingness of the public

authorities to control and plan urban growth, there are wide discrepancies between the objectives set and the actual development of the city through the spontaneous dynamics of city dwellers. The discrepancy between the city on the plan and the actual city is a reflection of the crisis in urban planning.

Indeed, planning documents do not take into account the reality of the situation in urban areas. A large number of city dwellers live in squatter settlements, and illegal housing sub-divisions. However, the occupants of these illegal settlements participate in the life of the city and account for over half the population of the city (Josse and Pacaud, 2002). Furthermore, their inhabitants consume, work, use transport, produce waste and have a truly urban lifestyle. The forms of space occupation are also urban: densities higher than in the villages.

### 3.1. Exclusion and urban integration mechanisms

Quite unlike other types of projects, urban projects in general are neither designed to evict individuals from their squatter settlements nor turn their squatter settlements into serviced plots. Indeed, a more preferable option to these complex and costly measures would be to set in motion dynamics to develop squatter settlements (Josse and Pacaud, 2002). As appropriate, land security, urban integration or social development will be carried out, in the hope that the other elements of development would also be triggered, following this initial intervention. For most urban development experts, while community participation may contribute greatly to the integration of squatter settlements, the active participation of local stakeholders is also vital. A lasting solution to the urban integration of the poor relies on “an integrated approach based on community participation”. The inhabitants of squatter settlements face exclusion in terms of land, the urban setting and socially.

#### 3.1.1. In terms of land and housing

In terms of land and housing, the exclusion of inhabitants does not encourage them to invest in improving their housing since they do not have any guarantee of remaining in their current premises. An illustration of this form of exclusion is the case of the city of Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso, where a project was initiated in 2005 to improve the lot of some 300,000 people in the peripheral crown of the city. The State initially allotted the space, but could not register the required number of purchasers. This was due to the fact that because the plots were large, their prices are also high, thereby making the demand for land for building outstrip supply.

The houses in all these squatter settlements are built with blocks, but there are no serviced roads. Furthermore, these areas lack amenities like water and electricity. Also lacking are public facilities like schools and dispensaries, given that these areas do not officially exist. The amenities lacking are supplied by the informal sector at a greater cost ((Josse and Pacaud, 2002).

An analysis of this project brings out two opposing factors. On the one hand, we have the State services responsible for land policy, which refer to the law and hope that the occupants of the squatter settlements would be evicted. They therefore continue to ignore the existing problem of rapid urbanization. The inhabitants of these areas are thus considered as squatters and regularizing their status would be tantamount to promoting this wild urbanization. On the other hand, the occupants of illegal areas argue that it is impossible for them to have access to official plots of land, and only live in speculation and hope that their status would be made official by the State in due course.

Neither eradication nor restructuring could be used as the approach for improving these areas. Eviction leads to social and political risks and restructuring comes at a great cost. Faced with this dilemma, the Ouagadougou city council tried to secure the land for the occupants by according them an unofficial right of occupation. Such securing of land by the municipality therefore, is considered as the criteria for the success of the project, rather than making things official. This in-between position implies that there should be a politically strong project management capable of calming down tension among stakeholders.

The project involves the two public water and electricity operators. A study showed that the level of income of the inhabitants of these areas is very close to that of the inhabitants of the authorized areas. This thus makes them potential clients for commercial services. This networking via roads and the upsurge of the informal sector in these areas are key factors to their development. The intervention of public concession services is the first step toward recognition, to be followed by others such as compiling the electoral register, establishing public services, tax contributions, etc.

The purpose of the project is thus, not to support the change process of these neighbourhoods from end to end, but rather to set a development dynamics in motion. Once their neighbourhood has been secured and opened up, the inhabitants of the peripheral areas would be able to engage in medium and long-term investments in their neighbourhood. The Fass-M'Bao area in Dakar is a case in point. According to Josse and Pacaud (2002), the case of the Fass-M'Bao area shows that it is not necessary for the inhabitants to obtain an official title deed, but rather a mere right to occupation. What these inhabitants seek mainly, is sustainability of their occupancy, before obtaining the title deed, which they do not entirely trust because of its tax implications.

### 3.1.2. At the urban and social level

Urban exclusion, which denotes the lack of infrastructures and basic amenities, leads to difficult living conditions and enhances poverty and the recourse to the informal economy. Social exclusion on the other hand, is in all forms, namely unemployment, illiteracy and stigmatization. Worthy of interest is the case of the community development project for the PK12 area in Djibouti. The area is situated nearly 20 km from the city centre, to the extreme west of the greater Balbala area, which is the only growing area in the city of Djibouti, but lacks planning.

The population of the PK12 area was 10,000 in 2001. It was designed to receive displaced persons following restructuring, evictions or epidemics. All the inhabitants have a permit to occupy a plot of land. The area's problems are both urban and social. It is situated on the fringes of the city and is not connected to the networks. The area only had an embryonic water system, and the people were required to buy water from resellers at three to five times higher than the prices in the city centre. The long distance from the city centre and the poor road network has raised the cost of transport and only 40 per cent of children attended school.

From a social standpoint the inhabitants are poor, unemployed and lack schooling. This state of affairs led to the formulation of the three project components, namely: construction of a primary road network with other road links; establishing minor amenities and setting up a community development fund. With the road network, the area is now connected to the national road, a major highway linking the area to the city centre. Today, secondary roads in the area are linked to the major roads. The minor facilities programme was designed in consultation with the inhabitants of the area. Their priorities were: a community development centre; a youth centre, a rest-stop for truckers, a shed for foodstuff sellers, renovation of the health centre, a police station and a tipper truck for rubbish. These facilities

were designed as a start for the area to take off. The idea here is to achieve urban development aimed at enabling the area to develop from a makeshift one into a true neighbourhood.

Apart from the physical investments, a community development fund was set up under the project to finance micro projects on economic and social development. This fund could be used to finance equipment for the community amenities as well as literacy and education programmes and training for minor activities. A management committee comprising representatives of the public administration and others from associations was responsible for deciding on the utilization of the funds allocated for the projects.

To conclude, adopting such an approach for the project preparation and management enhances the role of the community. It promotes the structuring and strengthening of the existing association fabric and ownership of the project by civil society.

### 3.2. The informal sector – An alternative to the dysfunction of cities

The inability of planning documents to guide the city's development compels the informal sector to meet the needs of the majority of the population. In the cottage industry for instance, most artisans cannot afford to buy land, a workshop or even pay the monthly rent in the large urban centres. This situation has forced most traders to display their wares in stalls or on the outskirts of the major markets. The same is true for artisans who usually occupy illegal make-shift structures in urban spaces. Many of them though, work at home or on rented premises.

To cope with the clutter caused by these stalls by informal artisans, the local communities in some francophone countries like Benin and Cote d'Ivoire have developed artisan centres in the cities. The aim is to enable informal artisans to improve their conditions of work and security as well as have access to basic services like water and electricity.

The prominent role played by the informal sector is also evident in the water sector, where people provide potable water to poor areas. Indeed, the people involved in this sector will soon be recognized by the public authorities; and rightly so, because increasingly, they are becoming the missing link between the public authorities and the areas "forgotten" by the water supply system. Indeed, operators like the mini water supply operators, water tanker operators, water carters, stand-pipe operators, water resellers, manual cesspit emptiers, and public latrine operators, have not always been popular. They are considered as parasites who exploit the poor and are often chased by the authorities for practicing an illegal trade. The authorities believe that the water distributed by these water hawkers in the informal areas is more expensive than what is supplied to water subscribers.

These small-time operators are the only hope for the people in areas without public water supply. For poor and well-off households alike, water is a vital need and daily chore at the same time. Against this backdrop, poor households develop strategies to operate private wells, ponds and the rivers for non-drinking water needs, and put away some money to buy water for drinking. These people thus rely on home deliveries, water tankers, stand-pipes and neighbors for potable water. While these practices are not institutionalized, they are increasingly becoming a regular trade.

The national authorities are unable to connect everyone to the water supply system and therefore tolerate these informal suppliers. Programmes are underway to install stand-pipes in some cities. These are often managed by volunteers, neighbourhood committees or users' associations. In Cote d'Ivoire, the national water operator, Société de Distribution d'Eau de Cote d'Ivoire (SODECI), has instituted an approval procedure with the water resellers. In 1998, about a hundred of them came together to form an association: the squatter settlements

water resellers association (AREQUAP-CI). Their aim is to facilitate the payment of water bills and the down payment, set up a guarantee fund to finance the equipment and promote the installation of standpipes and manage them.

Stand-pipe operators in Burkina Faso have also formed an association. The subscriber, who is a reseller, has to finance the metre installation to service neighbourhoods with no water supply. The stand-pipe operator has to make a down payment and pay for the connection. The money must come from their own resources, which might be sourced from family members. Other sources of finance include the use of severance money, life insurance money or personal savings. In Conakry, young graduates hired to manage the standpipes came together to source loans to finance the extension of the water supply system. All these activities constitute a fully-fledged economic sector. Case studies conducted in ten countries in sub-Saharan Africa by COLLIGON, of Hydro Conseil and VEZINA of the Institut de la recherche et du développement (IRD, the erstwhile Orstom), showed that independent private operators account for 70 to 90 per cent of potable water sector workers (2,000 to 8,000 people per city), while the franchise holder employs only 300 to 1,000 people.

At times, the adoption of a national policy helps in making some headway. In Mali, the local administration was made responsible for the management of the potable water supply system, which then delegated management to the people, organized into users' associations (AUE). This helped improve the management of the system and reduce the cost of water (in Nara, for instance, the price of water fell from 750 FCFA to 250 FCFA per cubic metre) and increase the consumption (from 20 litres to over 50 litres/day/inhabitant). The AUEs managed to make savings, which will be used to renew the equipment and extend the water supply system. These small-time local suppliers received some recognition at the first meeting of independent water and sanitation operators held in September in Bamako, under the auspices of the World Bank.

Clearly, the western model must give way to new concepts that include the supply of different services and gives leeway for purely African solutions. Most of the countries of the continent are reviewing their water policies, with a view to decentralizing and privatizing the sector. Central administrations must give the initiative to the local stakeholders, but must still support them. The difficulties faced by African municipalities to assume their role as project managers and regulators could be alleviated through intervention by NGOs and consultancy firms that have acquired the know-how in rural water supply and in social engineering. However, the system must do away with such assistance and give the power of policy making to those concerned themselves. In Cote d'Ivoire for instance, the management principles established by SODECI have led to sound management outcomes and enabled the company to go beyond the traditional North-South dialogue to South-South dialogue, with SODECI intervening in other African countries.

## 4. Infrastructure, Spatial Structure and Urban Spread

### 4.1. Urban facilities and spatial structure

The city is where modernity is spread, and it is also the place with the highest concentration of people with diverse social conditions. The concentration of people and activities in urban areas is termed as metropolitanization. The city's growth rate and size are a source of concern, especially for the countries of the south. Providing amenities and services for these cities has remained a challenge, not least, because of the high population growth and spatial spread in vast low density peripheral areas, where the status of residential land is often illegal

or insecure. The public operators are unable to overcome these immense challenges and have failed in providing water to all parts of the country, and guaranteeing reliable service to the population.

Many segments of the population do not have access to various urban services. In Guinea for example, consultations organized in the country in 2000 during the preparation of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper helped identify the poorest or most vulnerable classes of the population. These are mostly the handicapped, old people, women in rural areas or in poor areas, street children, unemployed certificate holders and people with no places of abode. The consultations revealed that these vulnerable groups face unemployment, have little access to basic social amenities like education and health, poor quality public services, exclusion of the handicapped, lack of basic infrastructures, little participation in decision-making, etc. Furthermore, these groups lack access to formal public and private channels of land for housing, because of the sharp reduction in the production of land for housing by the public authorities.

The World Summit on Sustainable Development 2002 established a link between metropolitanization and poverty. metropolitanization was found to be synonymous with urban poverty. It reinforces social inequalities and contributes to the increase in the population living in marginalized areas that suffer the worst forms of social and environmental constraints. Against this backdrop, the existing stock of infrastructure can hardly cope with the ever-increasing needs. Furthermore, rational land use is lacking and space is becoming fragmented as a result of population pressure and speculation.

The demographic pressure experienced by the francophone countries of sub-Saharan Africa are in many forms. This is reflected in densification of the existing urban fabric, the formation of satellite cities on the peripheries and extension of the peripheries. Extension of the periphery takes place to the detriment of agricultural land. The city of Nouakchott in Mauritania is a case in point. According to a land inventory taken by the Urban Development Project in 2007, speculative practices have led to allocation of nearly all peri-urban plots of land, despite the fact that many plots of land have not been developed, fenced, or even marked out.

#### **4.2. Urban spread through peri-urbanization and metropolitanization**

Urbanization in the coastal region of South Benin, analyzed by Dorier-Apprill and Domingo (2004), is not limited to the large agglomerations. In fact here, urbanization has taken regional dimensions and takes place all along the Gulf of Guinea coastline. In West Africa, along the Gulf of Guinea, there is a vast regional cross border trade, with migratory merchants. Urbanization is a key element in these areas. Several studies, including one conducted by the Sahel Club, have looked into the issue of this constellation of agglomerations of all sizes (small pre-colonial cities, former trading posts, large port cities and capitals, border towns where trafficking takes place) which constitute the framework of an up and coming metropolised region.

Furthermore, the urban region along the coast of Benin is a densely populated area, stretching 125 kilometres, over a narrow, sandy coastal plain, through the three historical coastal towns of Ouidah, Cotonou and Porto Novo, where conurbations are springing up. The cities overflow onto active rural peripheries, which show signs of urbanization. Boroughs have transformed into small towns, market towns appear all along the borders. New territories are emerging everywhere, with trading and other daily activities transcending not only the city

and countryside limits but also the borders. Indeed, on a daily basis the spaces of the large cities are consumed by the inhabitants of the villages and countryside.

The rural areas of South Benin, traditionally dedicated to cash crop farming, are the most densely populated areas of the country. Around Porto Novo for instance, the population exceeds 400 inhabitants per km<sup>2</sup> within a 40-km radius. The total population of the rural areas increases more rapidly than that of the major towns. Urbanization stretches over 40 km from the coast, where several small towns (Allada, Adjohoun and Sakete) have become dynamic, through the influence of Cotonou and Porto-Novo. The two agglomerations of Cotonou and Porto Novo, which are 30 kilometres apart, are host to about 60 per cent of the country's urban population. According to Angeleotou (2004), this type of growing urbanization of villages and small towns of the metropolitan area causes morphological and socio-economic changes in the original nucleus villages. It further causes densification of housing and changes in the socio-demographic structures of the population, with the flow of migrants from other regions.

#### 4.2.1. Infrastructures and structuring of urban space and form

From time immemorial, man's quest to satisfy his needs has always determined how his space is planned. Such was the case during the pre-colonial period, where spatial planning depended on security requirements, availability of arable land and the presence of game. Farm, pasture and fallow land were the concrete reflection of this physical planning. Likewise, for the great empires like Ghana and Mali, trade routes were the guiding principle for organizing space. The principles of organization enabled these traditional societies, through the cola, gold or salt routes, to exploit the differences and complementarities of the ecological spaces between the forest zones and the savannah.

During the colonial period, exploitation by the colonial powers led to new forms of organizing space, especially from strategic port sites or lagoon sites. Communication and penetration channels, whose prime function was to siphon off produce from the interior to the coasts and send manufactured goods to the interior, were used to structure space. This is true for roads between Abidjan and the major cocoa and coffee producing areas in the East of the country, between Dakar and Saint Louis and between Thies and Kayes. Railways were also built to link Dakar to Bamako and Abidjan to Ouagadogo. The African coasts, which have large cities, had ports, which played the role of bridgehead for the hinterland.

At independence, the budding States were all endowed with the gains of colonization. Various reforms at the institutional and structural levels guided physical planning policies. In this respect, the new leaders maintained the function of the colonial city, which was to mount the colonial, administrative and military command and siphon the country's resources from the hinterland to the coast for the metropolis. African cities continued to be venues for the exercise of power. Most of these cities grew in strength because of their role as economic or political capital. They still harboured vestiges of the colonial days.

A case in point is Abidjan, the economic and political capital of Cote d'Ivoire until 1983. As a result of a combination of favourable factors, Abidjan was created out of the desire of the French colonial administration. The colonial administration wanted to build a port to serve as a tool of exchange for the trade system. It would be connected to the railway that served the hinterland. There was also the fact that a hygienic site was being sought to protect the European population from yellow fever and malaria. Yet another reason was the presence of a large water body to the east of the Petit-Bassam Island, which was protected to the south from the continental shelf by a narrow, easily penetrable sandy offshore bar. Abidjan was



created on this site also because of the presence of a deep-sea trench not far from the shore that prevented silting of the canal linking the ocean to the lagoon port.

The establishment of the current structure is closely linked to the building of the railway at the southern edge of the Plateau. This area housed the first administrative, commercial and residential areas, while the first indigenous neighbourhood, Treichville, was emerging on the Petit Bassam Island. After this came the northern part of the city (Adjame and Abobo), the North-East (Cocody) and the South (Marcory, Koumassi, Zones 3 and 4). Clearly, the growth of the city caused displacement of the Ebrie villages<sup>1</sup>.

Following this, the site constraints and displacement toward the periphery accelerated from 1973 to 1977, at which time only 1/5 of the population lived less than 4 kilometers from the center. The creation of the city also depended on the opening of the canal and coincided with the lagoon port. Indeed, during the first ten years of its creation, development of the port on the Petit Bassam Island led to the establishment of industrial areas (2B, 3 and 4A) and residential areas such as Marcory and Zone 4C.

During the 1960s, awareness about population growth led to the creation of Cocody, the first major “planned” continental neighbourhood, without any links to the port. The 1970s saw the increasing independence of the space from the port. As the port continued to push southwards, it was accompanied by industrial and residential areas. The city developed toward the north, in a planned manner (Banco) and in a spontaneous manner following the Railway (Abobo Gare).

Today, development of the city is separate from that of the port. This is reflected in the skyscrapers dotting the skyline to the North of the Plateau, new industrial areas, way outside the Port’s precincts (Koumassi, Banco Nord) and primary roads, including the Northern express way, linking Adjame to Yopougon, and the Mitterand express way linking Adjame to Bingerville, Giscard Destaing express way linking the central business district to Port Bouet.

On the other hand, a new port zone, plus a new industrial area is bringing the city closer. This operation allows for rebalancing the driving force between the north and south, as reflected in the reduction of transport cost and attraction to the Banco of a diversified population, one of the surest ways of ensuring densification.

In terms of housing, the total halt in the production of low-cost housing, following the economic crisis is leading to an undesirable evolution of the City. The low-cost housing programme led to the establishment of the Yopougon neighbourhood, and other areas like Abobo and Port Bouet. The end of the programme led to the emergence of haphazard growth in Abobo Nord and Gonzagueville, densification of central areas like Adjame and growth concentrated on the average-type homes in Riviera, etc.

From the preceding development, we noticed that the physical development of the city of Abidjan followed a radio concentric pattern from the colonial nucleus to the peripheries with major transportation facilities (sea port) and major infrastructure network (Vridi canal, rail way, express ways) as the main spatial expansion vectors.

## 5. The Emergence of Urban Planning in Francophone Sub-Saharan Africa

A review of the literature on the development of the urban phenomenon in the region (Coquery-Vidrovitch, 1988 Tome I and II) confirmed that different types of cities have coexisted since the rise of the great empires of the 8th century. Notable among these were:

- The imperial cities, home to the political, economic and religious leaders of the states;
- The trading posts which developed as a result of international trade, particularly the slave trade;
- The colonial cities which developed as a result of the need to administer the colonies.

Although these groups of cities are not exclusive, each of them had its own specific development process.

### 5.1. Urban planning in pre-colonial cities

#### 5.1.1. Urban planning in imperial cities

The first francophone sub-Saharan African cities were the imperial cities, though few in number and relatively small in size. They housed the seats of royal or imperial power and played important economic roles as trading and customs posts.

The arrival of the Arabs and the rise of the caravan trade consolidated and diversified urban activities. The small trading centres became meeting places for the traders plying the Maghreb-Sudan route. Some of these centres also became the meeting grounds for caravans leaving for the pilgrimage to Mecca. The economic and cultural growth of this last category of city attracted new traders and scholars, who settled there, devoting themselves to prayer and the reading of manuscripts. These became not only caravan cities but also holy Muslim cities with mosques, universities and reference manuscripts for the Muslim world. Examples of imperial or royal reference cities were: Koumbi-Saleh, Aoudaghost, Oualata, Tichit, Chinguetti, Timbuktu, Djenné, Gao, Ségou, Abomey, Porto Novo, Bouna, Zinder and Tananarive.

Human settlements being the physical reflection of social structures brought all the main powers (political, military, economic etc...) together in the imperial city. This arrangement did not just happen, but was the result of a willingness to lay out the city according to the existing social relationships.

Thus in Madagascar, the King of Imérina, after he had conquered Antananarivo, and wanting to make the capital city a microcosm of the kingdom, assigned each group of subjects specific sectors of the city which was still under construction. The “Rova”, the seat of power, comprised all the royal palaces and was situated on the highest hill in the city. Immediately adjoining the “Rova” were the nobility (the Andriana) and the high-ranking royal servants (the Hova, the Mainty, Tsiarondahy). The guardians of the kingdom (the Tsymahafotsy) were camped at the two gates to the city situated at the north and the south.

At Abomey in present day Benin, the urban structures were designed by and for royalty. In fact, each reigning monarch had to build the residence of the crown prince as well as compounds for the prince’s dignitaries and servants, which together constituted the prince’s court. The King would then set up his quarters around this central unit, building temples for

his gods, monasteries, market places, public places for specific purposes and designating plots of land for farms and plantations.

The dozen or so palaces and the secondary residences of the kings of Abomey with their respective quarters thus became a vast, loosely structured city.

One writer, Anignikin, stated, in reaction to the size and number of the components of the urban area comprising palaces, temples, monasteries and public places, as well as the numerous, sumptuous annual festivals and ritual ceremonies held there, that the kings of Abomey had devised an urbanism to glorify their reign, honour their dead, worship their gods and perpetuate the dynasty (Anignikin, 1988).

This pre-colonial sahelian city was made up of two major areas, the native sector, seat of local military and political power, and the commercial sector, dominated by foreigners and the seat of economic activity.

These two basic sectors contained numerous districts and sub-districts, each made up of people of the same social status, the same profession, from the same locality, and of one language or religion. Thus in Bouna in Côte d'Ivoire, the royal district housing the three branches of the royal dynasty which took turns to appoint the kings and provincial heads, was surrounded by successive compounds for top army officials, rural-farmer leaders, low-class professional groupings such as blacksmiths, griots, gravediggers, goldsmiths, executioners and former captives of the royal family.

Islam was the religion of the local traders and foreign merchants, and therefore the commercial district housed mosques and the residence of the imam of the central mosque, head of the Muslim community, as well as the butchers, traders and dyers. The market town had a thriving trade in gold, cola and slaves from the South, salt, horses, henna and shea butter from the Sahel, Hausa and Moorish handicrafts (leather, saddles, harnesses), and manufactured products from the coast.

It must however be noted that the most important transactions, those involving gold, cattle, slaves, horses and arms, were not negotiated in the marketplace but within the courtyard of the host of the itinerant trader (Ekanza, 2006). In fact, the compound of any particular family in a market town was the meeting place for all traders who were relatives but hailed from other towns. This was the place where they slept and ate, kept their wares, housed and fed their slaves, porters and caravan drivers, where they conducted their business and settled quarrels under the supervision of the head of the compound (Boutillier 1969; Polly Hill 1966). To effectively fulfil these functions, especially the residential and economic, the houses in Qualata had two entrances:

- One entrance for business, with a courtyard and stones for the goods ;
- A second entrance for the family which led to an inner courtyard and a living room furnished with benches (Nantet, 2006).

The emergence, from the 18th century onwards, of the quadri and tidjani Islamic sects, who preached adherence to strict Islamic rules and the principle of theocracy, had an impact on urbanization, especially on urban practices. The Macina Empire, the last Fulani theocracy, governed by Imam Schekou Amadou under a very puritanical form of quadri, carried out remarkable reforms in the army, the police, the administration, education, animal husbandry, urban development and life in the town.

In a bid to break with his pagan past, and reckoning that the thriving trading which was the key to the success and opulence of the city of Djenné, could cause a backsliding from the Muslim faith, the spiritual guide decided to build a new capital. Hamdallaye (praise the Lord)

was consequently built on the right bank of the Niger. Hamdallaye, like the capitals of other such societies where religious and political power went hand in hand, was structured around the principal mosque area, in which were located the Imam's residence, the compounds of the most important marabouts, the training centres (médersas), and the research centres in the homes of educated families. Rigorous discipline was practised in Hamdallaye based on a puritanical moral code administered by the Kady (watchdogs of morality). Hygiene and cleanliness were finely regulated in the city, it was expressly forbidden to urinate in the streets, dogs were not allowed in the city aside from on Muslim holidays, no public celebrations were permitted one hour after evening prayers. Anyone found in the streets had to disclose their identity and, if they were married, they would be brought before the court to answer for their offence (Triaud 1969).

### 5.1.2. Urban planning of trading posts

The trade in slaves brought economic prosperity to the local middlemen who had carved a niche for themselves in the trade. A case in point was the "Aputaga", who were installed in the trading posts of the Gulf of Benin by the kings. Their task was to allocate plots to the merchants for the creation of trading posts, ensure the safety of the facilities, control the activities of the local brokers who worked for the merchants and collect taxes and fees for the kings.

Establishing a trading post always started with the opening of a fully equipped shop which was then converted into a fort when business prospered. The trading posts served mostly as warehouses and shops. The men in charge of the trading posts, the rich traders and middlemen lived not far from their area of activity, often in affluent homes (the Afro-Brazilian villas of Porto Novo). Their workers and employees lived in makeshift villages near the trading posts. According to Gayibor, as soon as a shop was opened or a slave fort constructed in an area, a whole army of people (canoeists, porters, middlemen, traders, town criers) would set up their quarters round about, hoping to benefit from the ancillary activities of the trade (Gayibor, 1988).

France, like other European countries, was not content to limit its trading activities to off the coast and in the peaceful lagoon waters. It established its presence in other parts of the coast by building fortified trading posts at Gorée, St. Louis, Bassam, Assinie, etc. The master plan of the Assinie post, prepared in 1862 by Soriau, the captain contractor, placed the fort on the Assinie plateau bordering the lagoon opposite the pass dug into the barrier beach for access to the Atlantic Ocean. It consisted of a rectangular perimeter wall housing a hospital, a barracks, shops and other outhouses surrounding the house of the head of the post. Access to the fort by water was gained by two landing stages, one to the south below Assinie village and the other to the east, opposite the pass. The houses of the new village built for the workers of the Fort were neatly arranged in a straight line on both sides of the road leading to the first landing stage.

Actually, cities were built in Francophone Africa before the introduction of Islam and the arrival of the Arabs and Europeans. These two events however accelerated urbanization by increasing the number of cities and enhancing their economic and religious functions. Urban civilisation was so advanced that Mungo Park, one of the very first explorers of Africa, could not hide his wonder at the sight of Segou, the capital of Bambara. "The sight of this great city, the river dotted with so many boats, the thriving population, farmlands stretching as far as the eye can see, gave me a picture of opulence and civilisation that I had not thought to encounter in the middle of Africa" (Mungo Park, 1980 : p 206).

The pre-colonial city, was socially segregated. This was always the case, according to Coquery Vidrovitch (1983), whenever those in power wanted to plan urban space. The imperial cities, the capitals of theocratic states, the holy cities and the trading posts along the coast were all segregated, but the degree of *hierarchisation* was dependent on local conditions. The essential elements of the pre-colonial city were the palaces, the mosques and the trading posts.

The establishment of trading posts along the coast resulted in the first spontaneously created districts. The “local worker villages” around the fortified posts laid the foundation for the freedom villages created at the beginning of the 19th century for freed slaves employed as salaried workers in trading posts and on the large construction sites.

Developing the imperial city had a political and military dimension characterised by strategies put in place by the kings and ruling classes to consolidate their power. The citadel and fortress in Haoussa, the elevated city in Madagascar, the royal lands in the South of Benin with their central highways and public squares were thus an embodiment of the king’s power and commanded respect. Again in the South of Benin, the architecture of the temples and their strategic location close to public squares enhanced royal power. .

In an atmosphere of permanent insecurity, sustained by numerous raids and conflicts aimed at conquering neighbouring lands, the farming of vast tracts of royal land was a defence strategy intended to see them through a protracted siege in case of attack.

When imperial cities began to be built, and since the kings were, for the most part, animists, the royal lands always had a sacred forest which contained places of worship and graves of dignitaries, particularly in Bouna and Koumbi-Saleh. With the advent of Islam, religious cities were built next to the old imperial cities as a strategy to facilitate political alliance and control. Indeed, by settling the Muslim elite in the city, next to his palace, the king was guaranteed their prayers and blessings to strengthen his power in that pagan environment. In return, the royal army ensured the Muslim traders the peace and security needed for the smooth running of their businesses.

Urban planning in the imperial city in areas plied by large trucks involved the creation of special spaces, and the use of major highways and elevated sites, all of which addressed the political, military, religious and economic concerns caused by the social conditions.

## 5.2. Colonial urban planning

The planning and the design of the city, which was the seat and symbol of political, economic and cultural power, were quickly assigned to serve the colonial authorities. For Coquery-Vidrovitch (1988), the colonial city was not only an economic and social area, it was also an administrative and political necessity where colonial authority was wielded. Urbanization was thus an important tool of the colonisation policy.

The settlement of the local people in the city was never unanimously accepted in colonial circles. The management of conflicts between the colonial administration and African communities affected by town planning policies and practices helped to shape urban policy and colonial urban planning.

### 5.2.1. The guiding principles of colonial urban planning

Four principles guided colonial urban planning, namely:

- The separation of living quarters according to status;

- The preoccupation with public health and hygiene;
- Strengthening the security of the French Quarter or “European town”;
- The quest for practical modernism and a vision of the future of urban development.

### *Separation of living quarters according to status*

The idea of separate living quarters is one of the principal underpinnings of colonial urbanism.. In 1906, a decree on land ownership laid out the registration procedure, which allowed Europeans and locals to own land outright. But, the European towns quickly spread to local villages which existed before the arrival of the Europeans. Angoulvant, (bulletin de la chambre de commerce de Côte d’Ivoire, 1922) remarked in 1909 that the growth of the European towns was sometimes curtailed by the presence of the very basic, poorly built and dirty dwellings of the natives, who held legal land titles issued in accordance with French law and which could not be revoked without other long formalities: formal demand, preliminary compensation, etc.

It was subsequent to the yellow fever epidemic and the plague in Bassam (1904), Saint Louis (1912) and Dakar (1914) that the notion of “dangerous proximity” was first brought up, and the decision was taken to relocate the natives’ quarters. By 1911, plans for a “segregated village” near Grand Bassam were well advanced. The 24 July 1914 decree established the “Tiène segregation camp” on the present site of Medina in Dakar, below the Plateau.

In Dakar, Saint Louis and Abidjan-Plateau, the fact of separate native quarters in the emerging colonial cities aroused lively debate. Supporters of separate housing propounded segregationist theories, giving reasons of hygiene, morals and culture to justify the new urban practices which sought to create an urban space in conformity with the objectives of the colonialists: separate living space based on status, removal of straw huts from the city centres, control of the people. In 1924, Cassaigne, in the preliminary study on the planning of the city of Tananarive, highlighted this theory of segregation, stating that houses piled on top of each other filled the air with a foul smell, sowing around them seeds of the plague, malaria and death.

The business world of the colonies, anticipating the negative effects on trade of the forced eviction of the natives, adopted a more subtle strategy. As Barthes (bulletin de la chambre de commerce de Côte d’Ivoire, 1922), the CFAO representative in Côte d’Ivoire, put it, with the natives’ houses built some distance away, the business milieu feared a shortfall in orders, a loss of customers and the development of another commercial sector in the suburbs. His colleague, Goudard, of the Chamber of Commerce, Abidjan, stated further that it was a contradiction to want to establish an active trading centre and, at the same time, to relegate the natives to a place several kilometres from this centre.

In 1919, the law on the indigenes’ quarters was promulgated. It stipulated that an area be demarcated in all the administrative centres of the colonies to be reserved exclusively for the natives. On these reservations, building standards were not enforced, except for the laws on alignment, road maintenance and cleanliness. The residence permit replaced the registration permit in the natives’ quarters. The residence permit gave the natives the right of exclusive use and occupation of the land, and the right to lease to one another, and not the right of ownership. Under this law, the authorities had the right to move the natives’ villages for reasons of public hygiene or population density, in which case they did not have to pay the natives compensation, only find them an area to relocate to.

### *Preoccupation with public health and cleanliness*

This preoccupation was a reaction to the dirty surroundings of the cities and was based on the concepts of hygiene of 18th and 19th century urban planning. The 4th April 1904 decree on public health protection created the framework for the formulation of policies on hygiene. The decree instituted public health and hygiene committees and services which drew up rehabilitation plans to address the problems of stagnant water and stray animals. The health services approved housing plans, set standards for room surfaces and the airing of houses, regulations on cemeteries, rubbish dumps, septic tanks and wells.

Concerns for hygiene led colonial urban planners to reserve airy sites on high ground for the European town. An example is Abidjan-Plateau, “of average altitude, swept by the winds from the sea”. Despite the heavy financial implications, the government in Tananarive did not hesitate to approve an alignment and grading plan for the plateau, which “is perfectly suited to the building of a European town” (Administrator-mayor of Tananarive 1917).

### *Strengthening security in the European town*

Security concerns were also behind the choice of site for the colonial city. The preferred sites were the peninsulas, such as the Cape Verde Peninsula in Dakar and the Plateau Peninsula in Abidjan, because they were safer. In the case of Abidjan, the European town and the African village were separated by man-made barriers, such as the military barracks. To this end, according to Jimerez (1988), the colonial Government developed the site in the best of its interests, by strengthening the natural bulwark provided by the lagoon to the south, and constructing two military camps to the north – Mangin and Galielli. These created a virtual health belt around it, cutting it off from Adjame, the African village. The colonial city had a wall around it. This was where the Europeans settled and carved out areas for trading, administrative and leisure activities.

In Douala, there were no significant physical barriers separating the two groups of people. The Besséké valley, which was at least 1 km wide, thus constituted a kind of “security zone”.

### *The quest for practical modernism and a vision of the future of urban development*

Subdivision techniques, which were the main urban planning tool, were used to draw the first development plans of the colonial cities. These plans were drawn by military civil engineers and topographical surveyors, and depicted the European town in a perfect orthogonal frame with wide avenues and boulevards. Examples are the 1902 Pinet Laprade plan of Dakar, the 1888 Galiéni plan of Bamako, the 1890 plan of Conakry, the 1903 plan of Bobodiolasso, the 1904 plan of Abidjan-Plateau and the 1917 Issoraka subdivision plan of Tananarive.

Hoerau-Desruisseaux, Inspector of Colonies, on his first visit to Conakry in 1895, was full of admiration. “When you disembark in Conakry, you are struck by these very wide and very straight streets bordered for the most part by young, growing trees. All the streets intersect at regular intervals and at right angles. This is certainly going to be a large and beautiful city”. (Hoerau- Desruisseaux, 1895)

The size of the subdivisions of the European town was dependent on how much space was available. In Abidjan-Plateau, for example, the plots ranged in size from 250 to 2,375 m<sup>2</sup>. In the native quarters, on the other hand, the subdivision was done on a much narrower frame. Often the layout of the map did not take into account the problems of the site on which the orthogonal frame was laid, and the supply routes were opened after a minimum of work had been done on them.

A 1925 decree stipulated the systematic rejection of native compounds located less than 10 kms from parcelled out urban centres. This decree and the occupancy permit system facilitated the sprawl of the European towns and laid the foundation for the planning of a segregated urban space.

### 5.2.2. Urban development policy and documents covering the 1st phase of colonisation (1890 – 1945)

Urban planning tools were put in place to help control the spread of the colonial cities. The development of the tools was spread over two major phases depending on the role each phase was to play in the colonial urban project.

The years covering the first phase began from the colonial conquest (1890) to the beginning of the Second World War (1945). It laid the foundation for colonial urban development where the city had the privileged position of being the seat of power. This phase had two principal stages of development.

The first stage covers the years before the Second World War (1890-1939), when guidelines for colonial urbanism were first put in place, guidelines which were based on the principle of segregation for reasons of security, hygiene and cleanliness. Segregation was consolidated through infrastructure policies and land laws. This stage coincided with the emergence of first generation urban planning tools, the principal tool being the layout plan, which was used to good purpose. Indeed, the colonial authorities used the layout plan to achieve three key goals:

- Provide themselves the means to control the settling of both Europeans and Africans;
- Facilitate the governing of the Africans;
- Give an image of ordered urban structure, a symbol of modernity.

From 1915, most of the major cities gained the status of commune and formed urban planning committees to implement extension and urban development projects with technical support from the topographical services. The district commander was, however, in charge of state and land issues.

The second stage was between the two world wars (1939-1945). This was the time when the city started to equip itself with the tools that would make it the embodiment of colonial power – symbols of prestige such as the governor's residence and the courthouse, and symbols of security such as the military barracks, the prison and police stations.

This stage also saw the extension of the subdivisions for the indigenous quarters. Indeed to control the growing native populations, the colonial administration created several subdivisions in the extensions of existing frames. According to Sinou (1988), the native quarters were from then onwards, designed as a long chain of subdivisions.

The second generation of urban planning tools comprised the first master plans drawn up in the 1920s (Tananarive 1924, Ouagadougou 1927, Abidjan 1928). The aim of these plans was to harmonise the plans of the European towns and those of the African villages.

During the first colonial phase, the city was structured around two main functions: administrative and commercial. The industrial areas only emerged during the zoning of the colonial city in the interwar period.

The colonial masters also made capital of the spontaneous grouping, along tribal lines, of the natives in the emerging cities. From 1924 onwards, in a bid to improve the collection of capitation tax and organise a justice system for the natives, the colonial administration



appointed area heads and other leaders based on the ethnic groups in that city. These attempts at *ethnicisation* of the native quarters were further enhanced by naming places along ethnic lines. A look at the maps of the cities which were drawn before 1929 shows that some of the quarters bear the name of the dominant ethnic group in a particular part of the city (Dioula village, Fanti village, Baoulé village), although the ethnic group after which the district was named was not the only group in that city (Kipré, P. 1968: 121).

This period gave urban planners and managers the subdivision plan, the master plan, the occupancy permits, the municipal hygiene services, the ethnic-based place names, the principles of lifestyle-based segregation and the allocation of airy sites located on high ground to the privileged classes.

### 5.2.3. Urban planning from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of independence for African states (1945 – 1960)

After the Second World War, France's economic demands of its colonies for its reconstruction and the protest movements of African elites led to the initiation of a new colonial project. From the end of the war, a series of measures radically transformed the political landscape of the colonies. First was the Brazzaville conference in 1944 which recommended the integration of the colonies in the French community. In 1946, two major demands of the African elite were met with the abolition of the status of *indigenat* (inferior legal status of the natives) and of forced labour. That same year, all natives of French colonies in Africa were granted French citizenship.

In 1956, the parent legislation introduced wide-ranging administrative decentralisation and opened up the possibility of political independence. On the economic front, the colonies were asked to improve and increase production to support France's reconstruction effort.

Faced with the proliferation and unhealthy districts caused by migration from rural areas, the new colonial urban policy was intended to address the ever-increasing imbalance between the European town and the African village. Town planning, health and construction projects were implemented to improve facilities in the native quarters in order to prevent any more protest movements.

The 28 June 1945 decree was the basic text governing town planning projects. It instituted the urban development and housing committee and made it obligatory to prepare master plans in all the major urban centres. In Dakar, the Lopez, Gutton and Lambert plan was approved in 1946 and was supplemented by over 50 sector land-use plans drawn up by the Service Temporaire d'Aménagement du Grand Dakar (STAGD). Masterpiece urban planning documents include the 1949 Herbé plan of Bamako, the 1951 Badani plan of Abidjan, the 1948 Pointe Noire plan, the 1952 Herbé plan of Niamey.

These plans, whose main aim was to extend the colonial urban project to Africans, had the following specific objectives:

- Give the major towns adequate transport infrastructure and equipment in order to improve their role in colonial trade (ports, airports, railway stations and platforms),
- Create areas of activity near major economic infrastructure,
- Provide facilities for and integrate the natives' quarters in order to improve their living space,
- Consolidate the administrative and commercial functions of the European town.

In view of these objectives, the major coastal capitals such as Dakar, Abidjan, Conakry, Douala and Pointe Noire benefited from major infrastructure works which prepared them to

play the role of bridge between the metropolis and the respective colonies. The Dakar Port, then capital of French West Africa, benefited from major modernisation works to become “The service station of the Atlantic”, a compulsory stopover for all vessels on the South America and Asia route.

In Abidjan, construction works on the deep water port were completed and the Vridi Canal was opened. In Douala, Conakry and Pointe Noire, major airport and port infrastructure works were implemented. The capital cities of landlocked countries were not left out, and a bridge was built on the Niger River to Bamako in 1957.

Two development financing bodies, *Fonds d'Investissement pour le Développement Economique et Social* and the *Caisse de Coopération de la France d'Outre Mer* were set up to facilitate the funding of development and urban planning projects and programmes in the urban and rural areas.

A social housing policy completed the urban planning projects. The economic housing authorities (OHE), created in 1926 in Dakar, extended their activities to other parts of the French West Africa from 1949 onwards. The task of the local departments of the authority was to construct clean and affordable housing for individual ownership. Real estate companies created to implement social housing programmes were operational by the beginning of the 50s.

Despite the obvious willingness to extend the urban development project, it was still confined to a minority in view of the influx of migrants attracted there by the prospects of jobs on the large urban construction sites. The majority of natives had no choice but to build their homes in the administrative subdivisions or even outside the subdivisions.

However, during this period, the structuring of the colonial city space were completed with the creation of spaces for economic activities and the construction of corresponding economic infrastructure. The first planned affordable housing programme was also launched.

### 5.3. Post-colonial urban planning documents

Urban planning comprises all the choices, guidelines and procedures laid down to organise the use of space and regulate town planning. During the early years of African independence, when there was no local staff and cooperation accords needed to be implemented, Francophone African countries resorted to the services of French technical assistance engineers, architects, surveyors and urban planners. These experts, for the most part, transferred the tools and practices of French town planning to the former colonies, thus maintaining the same procedures.

#### 5.3.1. The main documents of present-day urban planning

A comparative study of the documents from a sample number of countries yielded three categories of documents: (the provisional urban planning documents; the operational urban planning documents; the regulatory urban planning documents)

The first category, known as provisional urban planning documents, is made up of the following documents:

- The metropolitan master plan (SDAU). This is a supra-municipal planning document which determines the main trends of the city's development, its major structures and land use. It also shows the layout of the main infrastructures of the road network, the essential elements of the networks, the reserved areas for planned public facilities and land reserves needed for urban extension. The SDAU is not able to translate into

reality the investment and facilities planned. It can only roughly depict the structure of the developing city. It must be made more specific through sector land-use plans.

- The master plan (PUD): This document draws up the normative framework for town planning and development in secondary cities. It sets out the broad town planning guidelines, major land use, occupation densities and the programme of works to be carried out in the short and medium term.
- The sector land use plan (PD): This document completes the SDAU and the PUD by specifying for each sector of the city, details of urban development and land use regulations. There are two types of sector land use plans: sector plans and operation plans (shelter upgrading plans for informal settlements, renovation plans for old centres, land development plans).

The second category of document known as operational urban planning documents can be divided into two groups:

- Plot plans made up of the following documents:
  - The subdivision plan showing the voluntary division of one or several landed properties for sale or rent to be used for a dwelling, garden or industrial or commercial establishment. The subdivision is the first phase in the implementation of the development plans
  - Land consolidation is used when a number of badly split up adjoining plots are grouped together again, to be split up again in a more streamlined manner when the need arises.
- Intervention plans in existing areas comprising:
  - The shelter upgrading and rehabilitation plan resulting from the reorganization of and providing facilities for a section of the urban fabric ;
  - The urban renovation plan used for a one-shot operation on the urban fabric, intended to renovate a part of this fabric

The third category, known as regulatory urban planning documents, is made up of:

- The zoning laws which govern the division of the land into zones and/or sectors with the aim of controlling the use of land and buildings as well as the layout, shape and appearance of structures;
- The subdivision by-law which defines the standards and the conditions to be complied with dividing the land into plots and when mapping out plots, fields and streets;
- The book of specifications is a contract document which governs the relationship between recipients of plots in a land development project.

### 5.3.2. Characteristics of post-colonial urban planning documents

#### *Obsolete and unsuitable urban planning practices*

The French urban planning documents which were transferred to the colonies in the 60s have had hardly any changes made to them with regard to their implementation procedures, to better integrate them into a developing urban and institutional context. By comparison, France, which bequeathed these documents to Francophone Africa, has had three major

reforms between 1958 and 2007. Indeed the master plans drawn up in 1958 and applied by cities with over 10,000 residents, were later completed by the Sector land use plan.

In 1962, a new category, the *Plan Sommaire d'Urbanisme*, to be applied by less densely populated cities was introduced. The 1967 Land Act instituted the metropolitan master plan which was then completed by the sector plan and the land occupancy plan.

In 1983, the new law on the distribution of powers between the State and local government adapted the SDAU to the new institutional context and the demands of urbanization. The plan thus had new dimensions involving the integration of the urban periphery, coordinating and guiding the public programmes included in the economic and social development plan.

In 2000, the French Government replaced the SDAU with the territorial harmonisation plan (*Schéma de Coherence Territoriale*), annexing it to the Sustainable Development Plan (PADD) to address strategic planning and sustainable development concerns.

The procedure for formulating plans was not reviewed on a regular basis and could therefore not satisfactorily integrate the new areas of urban management and local development. The plans prepared in the old way often did not address the concerns of the majority of citizens and were not in harmony with ongoing development actions. The last revision of the terms of reference for the preparation of urban planning documents in Côte d'Ivoire was in 1985. It was obvious that these terms of reference were not in harmony with the new constitutional context or with modern urban development practices.

### *Difficulties in reaching agreement on names for urban planning documents*

Although the need for reforms, necessitated by the new urban development and urban management contexts, did not result in much change in most of the countries, the amended texts creating urban planning documents gave very imaginative names to the documents. Apart from the SDAU and the subdivision plan, the names of the other documents changed from country to country. The document known as *Plan Directeur d'Urbanisme* in Senegal was called *Plan d'Urbanisme Directeur* in Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina, Benin, Niger, Chad, and *Plan Local d'Urbanisme* in Mauritania. The *Plan d'Urbanisme de Détail* is called *Plan d'Urbanisme Sectoriel* in Mali and *Plan d'Aménagement de Détail* in Burkina and in Mauritania. It is recommended that, for the sake of consistency, the names and contents of urban planning documents in regional economic groupings such as WAEMU and CEMAC be harmonised.

### *Urban planning documents with over-ambitious and unrealistic objectives*

The investment programmes defined by the SDAU were often too ambitious and impractical; they should have been projects that are needful instead of a “wish list” and should have taken priority needs and local financing capacities into account. For example, the investment programme of the SDAU phases I and II of the District of Bamako was valued at CFA 2,072 billion, or CFA 104 billion a year, whilst the District was hardly able to mobilise more than CFA 10 billion from all its sources (State, local government, private sector, donors) to finance town planning. These disparities were a result of the lack of command of the techniques used in technical and financial feasibility studies.

### *Uncoordinated urban development documents with no bearing on other development planning documents*

One of the fundamental characteristics of urban development in Sub-Saharan Francophone Africa is the lack of coordination between provisional urban planning documents and

operational urban planning documents. For example, the entire area designated as the “green belt” in the Greater Ouagadougou master plan was divided up into plots whilst the preferential extension zone was neglected. Further more, strategic planning documents like Agenda 21, the local development plan and the strategic development plan, merely cohabit with physical planning documents on the same territory.

This lack of coherence can be attributed to the fact that the planners, who seek to harmonise the two categories of documents, are not sufficiently equipped to do so, and also, most often the two documents are prepared by two different ministries, the Ministry of Urban Development for the former and the Ministry of Planning or Rural Development for the latter. Harmonised documents would mean greater coordination at ministry level which is often lacking. Moreover, the poor coordination between the ministries does not promote the creation of an interface between the urban and the rural areas, with the result that documents thus prepared do not sufficiently take into account the new challenges of local economic development.

### *Urban planning documents which are in line with the colonial model of spatial organization*

The conditions under which post colonial urban planning was practiced gave urban planners no cause to question the existing socio-spatial structuring in the towns. Indeed, urban extensions and even the creation of spaces in new towns were in keeping with, and to reinforce, the colonial spatial segregation system. As Balbo (1993) puts it: “The post independence city is not at all heading towards greater homogeneity, instead, it seems to be accepting and reinforcing its spatial fragmentation.” Indeed, social segregation took the place of racial segregation after independence.

## 5.4. Urban planning at the crossroads

### 5.4.1. From physical planning to action planning

With the ineffectiveness of physical planning, new town planning and management tools emerged. Noteworthy among these are action plans drawn up through the participatory approach. This generation of tools includes:

- Local environmental action plans or Agenda 21,
- Municipal action plans to reduce poverty,
- Local plans to combat urban insecurity,

Action plans are developed on sector basis, which tends to limit the reality of urban life to only some aspects (poverty, security, environment, HIV/AIDS), whose control results in the sustainable development of the town. Since the advent of democracy and its local counterpart, decentralisation, people have become more demanding of their locally elected officials, whom they accuse of not initiating local development plans based on a vision for the town.

Funding the formulation of action plans in the West African sub-region as part of the Urban Management Programme brought the following observations to light:

- The development of sectoral action plans rather might frustrate people who had wanted to take advantage of the rare opportunity offered them to bring forward, without bias, all the sustainable development problems of the town and to search for appropriate solutions.

- In some case, the proliferation of sectoral action plans tends to create confusion among urban authorities and the people, in a situation where traditional town planning documents are under-utilised because of ignorance of their development potential and lack of funding.

Urban projects, particularly those initiated by the World Bank, have highlighted the obsolete nature of physical planning tools through the implementation of town planning activities which are more in touch with city dwellers realities. In implementing these projects, a certain number of planning tools were experimented with, namely the Urban Reference Plan, the Urban Audit, the Urban Contract and the Urban Grid.

### *Urban Reference Plan*

The urban reference plan is a simplified planning document designed to serve as a reference for investment programming. It consists of a map (scale of 1/10,000) showing the extension zones, the main facilities, the major roads and main drainage options. The accompanying text tells of the level of service for the current population and the estimated population for the next five years by district, the development options for the urban extensions and the improvement options for living standards in existing districts (Urban Reference Plan for Ndjamen). The Urban Reference Plan may be completed by traditional operational town planning documents.

### *The urban grid*

It is a plan depicting the layout of the primary road network in the spatial extension zones of the city. After the road are opened and marked, the major urban blocks thus formed will house operational planning documents (Djibouti, Conakry and Bangui). The urban grid is intended to preclude premature development of sites earmarked for future public uses. It also intended to help prevent the development of informal settlements in the prefencial extension zone of the city.

### *The sector sketch plan*

The sector sketch plan is an urban map consisting of graphic or numerical drawings based on aerial pictures without measuring control points on the ground. This rather imprecise tool constitutes a less expensive alternative to the current thorny problem of up dated maps in African cities. The lack of precision of the sketch plan does not affect the quality of urban analyses and other tools such as the PUR and the urban grid which it supports.

The World Bank, subsequent to its judicious criticism of African cities' traditional planning documents (Farvacque and Godin, 1994), recognised the need for planning in the coordination of public and private projects in urban areas. In order to keep up with new trends in urbanisation, the Bank opted for tools which are simpler and thus financially and technically more accessible for the communities.

## **5.4.2. From action plans to strategic development plans**

The problems associated with action plans mentioned above led urban planners and other stakeholders to opt for urban and local strategic development plans. This step was reinforced by contributions from the Sustainable Cities Programme, the Urban Management Programme, the Municipal Development Partnership and the Cities Alliance.

Despite the current obsession with strategic planning, a quick analysis in the region revealed the following strengths and weaknesses:

### *Strengths:*

- Participation techniques empower the stakeholders and build ownership of the plan;
- The constitution of local coalition facilitates the mobilisation of local resources;
- The strategic planning document takes greater consideration of the basic needs of the poor and other marginalised communities;
- The strategic planning procedure lays emphasis on the important issues of local economic development, local governance and the environment;
- The planning procedure creates a dynamic for negotiating priorities among the stakeholders (cities alliance, 2007)

### *Weaknesses:*

- Strategic planning does not take into account the spatial dimension of local development;
- It cannot generate and organise quantitative data due to the lack of local statistics databases.

#### **5.4.3. From strategic planning to localising the Millennium Development Goals**

At the instigation of the UN-Habitat and the African Network of Urban Management Institution (ANUMI), strategic plans based on the MDGs were drawn up in some African cities. The outcome of the experiment involving the integration of the MDGs in planning of the city of Tiassalé in Côte d'Ivoire gives cause for hope. This approach made it possible to remedy certain major shortcomings encountered in modern-day urban planning.

In fact this approach:

- Made available a strategic framework paper with time horizons and indicators of objectives;
- Gave an understanding of the realities and trends in the implementation of the MDGs at the urban level;
- Made it possible to acquire information to identify the actions to take in order to improve living conditions and access to basic social services at the urban level;
- Made available indicators for monitoring city strategic plan and thus strengthening public accountability.

#### **5.4.4. The need for a new approach to urban planning**

It is clear from the preceding developments, that the contribution of physical planning tools to urban sustainable development is inadequate. To increase the contribution of planning to town management, it is necessary to look beyond the traditional tools for a new urban planning approach which is in keeping with current trends. This could be a single planning document made up of a physical planning document attached to a sustainable development strategic plan which includes the attainment of the MDGs. The approach in itself is not new, however coordinating these two planning tools has so far not yielded any satisfactory results. This is the first challenge that needs to be faced. The second is to produce easy-to-use guidelines adapted to the various categories of cities.

## 6. The Nature of the Institutional and Regulatory Framework for Planning

We have seen how urban spaces and those yet to be urbanised are organised by the regulations and provisions of urban planning documents. It is obvious that if governments and their departments do not supervise the use of these tools, their objectives will not be fully attained. This administrative supervision is implemented through various instruments and measures which constitute the institutional and regulatory framework for urban planning.

### 6.1. The institutional framework

The institutional framework may be analysed in three phases which are characterised by the type and number of institutional actors involved.

#### 6.1.1. The municipal administration phase (1960-1990)

This phase covers the first three decades of independence, a period marked by a slowing down of the decentralisation process which had taken off at a fast pace at the end of the Second World War. Municipal councils were not renewed because there were no elections, and mayors were therefore appointed to head the councils.

Municipal technical departments lacked qualified personnel (urban planners, architects, engineers, economists, etc) to plan urban development. As such, it was staff of the central administration and especially French technical assistance officers who were responsible for urban development issues. For the same reasons, the ministries of equipment, transport, urban planning and housing of the countries in the region were dominated by civil engineers and architects/town planners who had graduated from the major French schools (*Ponts et Chaussées, Ecole Centrale, Ecole des Beaux-Arts*).

#### 6.1.2. The urban management phase (1990-2000)

This phase saw the beginning of the development of democracy and a revival of the decentralisation process. Local government were given more responsibilities, notably in the planning of the development of their territories. But capacity building activities available for communal personnel focused on the traditional urban management areas, especially local finances and technical and administrative services management, lending credence to the observation that the municipal administration of former French colonies lack high-level personnel in urban planning. This being the case, the local government that were not fully established had no choice but to fall back on central administration for help with conducting studies, evaluations, or processing of applications. In some countries these activities are outsourced to:

- National public institutions such as the national urban planning office of Niger, the urban planning workshop of Abidjan, and the urban planning workshop of secondary town both of the *Bureau National d'Etudes Techniques et de Développement* in Côte d'Ivoire.
- Joint stock companies such as the Société d'Etudes Régionales d'Habitat et d'Aménagement Urbain of Benin,
- Private consultancy firms whose employees are certified engineers, architects, town planners and surveyors,



- International (mainly French) consultancy firms (BCEOM, SCET-International, Louis Berger international, Group 8, etc).

It was during this phase that beneficiaries of shelter upgrading and rehabilitation projects began to participate under the supervision of their associations (local business initiative in Senegal, subdivision committee in Benin, rehabilitation committee in Mali)

### 6.1.3. Local development phase (2000 to present)

This phase marked the passage from rhetoric on decentralisation to actually putting in place a local development mechanism. Some National commissions on Decentralisation (Mali, Benin, Burkina Faso) who acknowledged that participatory local governance was needed for the local development mechanism to take off, laid the foundations for local development. They based their activities on a strategic and forward-looking approach taking into account the outcomes of the preceding phase in the area of social mobilisation and responsible participation.

Today the following are the main actors of urban development in the various countries:

- Representatives of central government (Central urban planning directorate, other ministries which deal with urban planning issues, as well as decentralised services in the regions and in the departments).
- Local urban planning stakeholders, such as local governments, local urban planning consultants, (urban planning workshop, municipal development agencies, land development organizations, consultancy firms and civil society stakeholders, urban professional associations, etc...)

Institutions have become more complex and currently deal with highly conflicting issues involving the relationship between the various actors and central government on one hand, and between the government and citizens, on the other. To manage these issues effectively, a number of mediation tools have been put in place. They include:

- Committee/commissions : inter-ministerial committee (Côte d'Ivoire), national or local urban development commission (Niger, Senegal, Benin, Burkina Faso) ;
- Lobby or participatory structure : local business initiatives (Mali and Senegal), subdivision associations or committees (Benin, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire), national associations of urban development professionals (Benin, Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Senegal, etc),
- Procedure tools: manuals, guidelines, urban development code (Mauritania), book of specifications.

## 6.2. Objectives and type of urban planning regulations

### 6.2.1. Objectives

The objectives of the urban planning regulations in Cameroon , Côte d'Ivoire, and Burkina Faso are to:

- Ensure a good command of urban planning and of the programming of town planning projects;
- Supervise land use by controlling unlawful occupation and spontaneous squatter settlements which disfigure the landscape;

- Control the increasing concentration in central neighbourhoods and the urbanization of peripheral areas by conserving non-constructible zones and land reserves;
- Coordinate and synergise the interventions of the various institutional actors to avoid jurisdictional disputes and waste of resources.

### 6.2.2. Description of urban planning regulations

The regulations comprise:

- Statutory enactments, (laws, ordinances...)
- Regulatory texts (decrees, orders, rulings, circulars, instructions, notes, decisions by groups)
- General urban planning regulations
- Regulations on approved and existing urban planning documents (master plan regulations, subdivision by-law and various books of specifications)
- Codes (urban planning code, building code),
- Appropriate articles of urban development related codes such as the water code, the public health code and the environmental code, etc.

A number of these institutional monitoring instruments and mechanisms are worthy of particular mention. They are the preliminary measures, information documents, urban space control or prescription documents.

- Preliminary measures are:
  - Measures to safeguard plans;
  - Measures for the protection and surveillance of peri urban spaces.
- Information documents include:
  - Zoning certificate;
  - Preliminary agreement.
- Control and prescription measures;
  - Building permit;
  - Installation permit;
  - Subdivision permit;
  - Demolishing permit;
  - Compliance certificate.

### 6.3. Offences in urban planning

Non-compliance with urban planning regulations or town planning documents is considered an offence. When it has been established by the ministry in charge of urban development that an offence has been committed, sanctions are applied either through the said ministry or through the local authority concerned, depending on the country (Côte d'Ivoire and Cameroon).

## 6.4. Characteristics of urban planning regulation

Some of the basic texts of the urban planning legislation and regulation date back to colonial times or to the early independence period and have thus become obsolete particularly since the wave of decentralisations in the nineties. They are rambling, diffusive and often lack consistency. They therefore need to be adapted to the new urbanization and urban management context. The development of new urban planning codes based on democratisation and decentralisation announced in places like Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina and Cameroon came to nothing with the exception of Mauritania which recently passed a decree on the urban planning code (Republique Islamique de Mauritanie, 2006).

Côte d'Ivoire, not having a recently developed urban planning code, felt the need to revise its urban planning laws and regulations in 1994. Today the directive and instruments produced during this period are becoming increasingly unsuitable for the new context of fast-paced decentralisation.

In conclusion, texts and laws exist in most countries despite their inadequacies, although their application by central and local authorities leaves much to be desired. Urban planning is an “act of power” (Lacaz, 1990: 7) in an institutional context characterised by widespread laxity, so long as those at all levels of authority do not take up their responsibilities when it comes to applying statutory instruments, then urban planning legislation and regulation will not attain their noble objectives.

## 7. Participation of the Stakeholders in Drawing up Urban Planning Documents

The participation of local stakeholders (local governments, decentralised state departments, citizens' associations, traditional leaders, opinion leaders, etc) is essential for successful plan formulation and ownership.

The concept of collaborative planning has gone through three major developmental phases since the attainment of independence by the countries in the region under study. The first phase began in the 1960's and was marked by welfare states taking up the entire political arena and relegating the people's participation to the background. In the euphoria of independence, the welfare state was supposed to bring modernity to the people through urban development projects and programmes. The contribution of the people to the implementation process of development actions was neither valued nor taken seriously.

In the preparation and implementation of urban planning documents, the State merely sought the opinions and objections of the interested parties through public surveys and hearing.

The second phase began with the introduction of urban projects in the 1970's. The major development partners of urban scène, following the lessons learned from previous projects, decided to include a *participation* section in the design and implementation of urban projects. This gave rise to a second type of collaborative planning which followed in the wake of urban development project. The third phase began with a speech by the French President to the *Baule* at the France-Africa Summit in the early 1980's. He called upon the Heads of State at the meeting to open up more to democracy, and declared that the progress made in achieving this goal would be a condition for channelling development aid.

The change in French policy regarding development aid which followed this speech and the implementation of structural adjustment programmes helped to speed up the demise of the welfare state. Radical institutional reforms led to greater political awareness and widespread

decentralisation programmes. The weakened state withdrew from providing basic urban services resulting in the formation of various types of unions and associations based on solidarity in the working class districts. In countries such as Mali, Senegal and Burkina Faso, it was these associations which fought for the people's participation in the management of the city. Thus, the concept of *shared management* emerged in the 1980s and disappeared in the nineties giving way to the new concept of *participatory governance*.

In the above, we looked at three types of collaborative planning, based on specific urban planning approaches.

## **7.1. Administrative practice of public surveys and hearings**

This widespread form of collaborative planning is used by government and its departments in preparing urban planning documents. Although the urban planning approach is technocratic and normative, consulting the beneficiaries is nonetheless mandatory. The aim of public surveys and hearing is to inform the various public services, the municipalities and the people, and gather their observations and suggestions on the project while it is still on the drawing board. This type of participation comprises four stages in most of the country in the region:

### **7.1.1. Consultation with local government**

The first consultation is meant to inform the local governments about the project and take note of their observations. Local authorities are supposed to take their decision within a period of two months, beyond which time their views would be deemed to be favourable. .

### **7.1.2. The inter-departmental conference**

After the consultation with the local governments, the documents are brought to a consultation with the public departments concerned by the project. After the inter-departmental conference, the participants have one month to make their opinions and observations known in a report.

### **7.1.3. Public hearing (enquête de commodo et incommodo)**

Urban planning decisions affect the future of all, with, sometimes, very serious consequences. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the citizens be able to control the formulation and the contents of urban planning documents. This is what the public hearing sets out to do. This hearing, which must last two months at least, is given wide publicity through the press, i.e. radio and newspaper notices. The hearing records all observations and any opposition to the draft master plan or subdivision plan. The public hearing is one of the most important components of participation, without which the plan could be undermined.

### **7.1.4. Discussions with local government**

After the first three components of participation are completed and the reports submitted, the local governments involved in the project have two months to send a report of their final discussions to the ministry in charge of urban development.

The modalities of participation follow more or less the same pattern in most of the countries. However, they are of interest only to organised groups. Most individuals do not pay attention to information on draft plans in the newspaper or on the radio. In any case, the size of the documents and specialised language used at the consultations do not make for ease of understanding by the average citizen. Lastly, the people's participation is limited to the reactions of a few insiders who react selectively to issues that concern them directly, such as

expropriation risk, restriction to land use, marginalisation of property, etc. These interested parties then use every means to get the authorities to change the original proposals. Participation remains selective and partial under these circumstances.

A study of the level of involvement of the people and other stakeholders in the planning process reveals that the selected participation modalities are implemented before the consultations; in fact the local or central authorities always initiate action before starting the consultations; then at the plan formulation stage, they only give the opportunity to those concerned to air their opinions on the draft plan.

Finally this form of participation is not intended to influence the choice of major planning options by government and the consultant. Here, government is both the decision maker and master of the game.

## 7.2. The participatory approach in urban projects

The rare instances where participation was effective were shelter upgrading or rehabilitation projects involving poor areas which had benefited from technical and financial assistance from the international community (Yentala project in Niger, Nylon project in Cameroon, Sokoura project in Aboisso, Côte d'Ivoire, Dalifort project in Dakar, Senegal, etc.). All these pilot projects made extensive use of social mobilisation techniques adapted to suit the local context and attached to a real communication strategy.

The goal of the initial urban projects was essentially to address the flaws in previous urban development programmes, e.g. the division of urban space and the non-inclusion of the underprivileged. In fact, after the implementation of sectoral projects (water, housing, transport, etc.), the new generation of urban projects are truly operational urban development projects in the sense that they promote massive intervention in a section of urban space to facilitate its integration into the urban fabric. The problem then arises for the partners of how to effectively involve the beneficiaries in all the phases of the project. In answer to this, the project managers recommend closely monitoring the people. In the Dalifort Shelter Upgrading Project in Dakar, for instance, the participation section comprised two components with specific tools. The community participation component made use of the three structures mentioned below to ensure the active participation of the residents of the project site:

- An advisory committee made up of area representatives, important personalities and other religious dignitaries;
- A local business initiative comprising all the beneficiaries of plots of land, a special cost recovery tool;
- Sector technical committees (women, health, environment, etc.).

The objective of the participatory planning component was to facilitate consensus in decision taking. Targeted planning offices allowed the project staff to work with the people to identify problems and find appropriate solutions. The tools used by the project to promote participation include participatory diagnosis and ZOPP. The Planning Offices prefer simple aids, such as scale models, area maps and simulation.

An international social engineering NGO, the Association Française des Volontaires du Progrès (AFVP) was mandated to organise the participation in the Sokoura shelter upgrading project at Aboisso (Côte d'Ivoire).

The level of sophistication of the tools and organs of participation has given rise to new practices which have resulted in new urban planning job titles such as the social engineering

specialist and the local development officer. These new titles derive from a new discipline called social engineering.

Organising the participation of beneficiaries is recommended in underprivileged urban areas. However, monitoring the beneficiaries too closely runs the risk of using every means to get them adhere to hidden agenda.

### 7.3. Participation in the strategic planning process

The strategic planning promoted in the sub-region by UN-Habitat's city consultations and the CDS of Cities Alliance makes it possible for all the city's resources to participate in formulating and implementing urban development strategies, whose goal is to place the cities on the path to sustainable urban development. Participation is facilitated by the use of communication and permanent visualisation techniques. As a rule, the strategic planning process involves the following key stages: city strategic analysis, vision formulation, planning and programming, implementation and monitoring/evaluation. These stages also use specific tools to promote participation. These tools include the focus group, the participatory diagnosis, the ZOPP, the SWOT, the project sheets, implementing bodies, databases and indicators, the marketing and communication strategy.

Today, countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Guinea have a local participatory planning guide, whilst Côte d'Ivoire has both a guide and a manual completed by a repertoire of participation promotion tools.

However, the success of participatory planning depends mainly on the following factors:

- An appropriate selection of participation promotion tools;
- Organisational skills of the facilitator;
- The commitment and involvement of local authorities and other stakeholders.

## 8. The Role of Urban Planning in Promoting Sustainable Urban Development

Traditional urban planning documents such as metropolitan master plans (SDAU) and master plans adequately promote sustainable development through space reservation or the protection of reserved parks and forests which adjoin town boundaries. In countries which have a national environmental strategy or an environmental code (Benin, Mali, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Burkin), environmental impact studies are required for preparing urban development documents. These provisions are, however, most often ignored. Often when studies are conducted such as the environmental impact assessment for the Yamoussoukro administrative zone's sector land use plan, emphasis is placed on issues of displacement and relocation of the people and land conflicts rather than protecting fragile ecosystems or cultural and scientific heritage.

The same is true for site inventories which precede subdivision projects. They hardly mention the nature and quality of the vegetation cover because it is taken for granted that developing a subdivision requires a terrain cleared of all its vegetation cover.

Also, in the desire to control coastal erosion and secure spaces for future urbanization, some countries have gradually abandoned the exploitation of sand quarries along the coast and have started quarries on solid ground beyond the areas to be urbanised .Benin and Côte d'Ivoire are examples of countries involved in these new experiments.

The only planning documents whose preparation helped promote sustainable urban development are the local agenda 21 sponsored by the African urban management institute with the support of the United Nations Human Settlement Programme and municipal environmental action plans sponsored by the Urban Management Programme in partnership with GTZ.

In both these cases, tools such as the environmental profile, the city consultation, the Environmental Planning and Management (EPM) developed by the Urban Management Programme and Sustainable Cities Programme were extensively used. The adopted city consultation procedure is made up of the five steps listed below:

- Preparation of an environmental profile;
- Approval of the environmental profile and identification of priority issues;
- Developing a municipal action plan;
- Implementation of a priority micro-project portfolio;
- Institutionalisation of the procedure within the local government in question.

In the Republic of Benin, 24 secondary towns have municipal environmental action plans with 1,326 identified micro-projects, of which 217 priority projects were implemented for the benefit of the reference populations between 1997 and 2001. This good performance can be attributed to a remarkable coincidence of the following factors:

- A single ministry in charge of the environment, urban development and housing;
- The implementation of technical and financial assistance provided by GTZ through the “ Technical Advisor on the environment ” project at the ministry;
- The existence of a dynamic national environmental agency;
- The establishment of a close partnership between the “ Technical Advisor on the environment ” project and the “ Regional Technical Advisors ” component of the Urban Management Programme, both of them funded by GTZ.

The key to the success of Senegal’s experience in the cities of Dakar, Louga, Guédiawaye, Matam, Saint Louis and Tivaouane can be found in these four points:

- The heightened awareness of industrial hazards following the explosion of a Dakar factory;
- The existence of scientific institutions including the African Institute for Urban Management, Inda-third world and the institute of science and the environment of the Sheick Anta Diop university of Dakar;
- A partnership between UN-Habitat, the association of Mayors of Senegal, the Government of Senegal and the Belgian Development Corporation;
- Attaching Local Agenda 21 to the preparation and implementation of the urban development component of national strategies such as the poverty reduction strategy paper, the national action plan on the environment and the national strategy for attaining the MDGs.

Some of the towns in the region, for example, Timbuktu, Djénné, Gao, Abomey, Saint Louis and Bassam are known internationally as historic towns. In fact, their present structure is still strongly marked by their original layout with designs, locations, a frame and watercourses all reminiscent of their past and linking them to rituals which are still very much alive in some

cases. As to the architecture, the lords of the pre-colonial cities built impressive official palaces for themselves, huge structures for worship and rituals, and large open spaces for military exercises.

With the arrival of explorers and the slave trade, forts and trading posts as well as typical residences such as the Afro-Brazilian house also emerged. Later, the colonial period gave rise to architectural hybrids, some of which were rather remarkable, like the sudano-sahelian style and the official buildings (Governor's palace...). The post-independence architecture yielded some interesting styles which must be preserved.

These towns, with such a rich heritage, are open to change and highly exposed to the risk of having their past wiped away. Conscious of their new responsibilities and of the contribution of their cultural heritage to promoting local development, local government in partnership with national governments and international cooperation agencies, such as UNESCO, have taken steps to restore and safeguard the urban heritage. The project to restore and preserve the town of Segou, in Mali, started in 1996 with support from the Netherlands, rehabilitated more than 100 houses in ten years and trained artisans in local building techniques. (Craterre; EN SAC, UNESCO 2006)

A preservation and rehabilitation project for the island of St. Louis in Senegal took off in 2000. It comprises a specific development plan which specifies the heritage value of the various elements constituting the identity of the property to be protected and a specific town planning regulation.

The historic city of Gao in Mali, location of the tomb of the Askias, which was included in the world heritage list in 2004, also has a specific development plan covering 82 hectares and a specific town planning regulation governing the restoration works and the development of the space around the site.

Today, the preservation and rehabilitation plans, modelled on the French "plan de sauvegarde et de mise en valeur" and prepared jointly by the Government and the local government are a part of the group of operational urban planning documents. They are however not included in the few town planning codes for the simple reason that they were initiated by the ministries of culture.

The effects of climate change are already being felt in Africa. Disruptions in the seasons, the growing intensity of droughts and floods all take their toll on water reserves and food harvests. The production of greenhouse gases, which destroy the ozone layer, is concentrated mainly in the urban areas. Urban authorities are beginning to take responsibility for the climate changes taking place in their cities. That is why they are increasingly being considered as strategic partners in the anti-climate change campaign.

Moreover, with the introduction of local agenda 21 and with strategic planning, urban planners have become more environmentally aware. It was thus hardly surprising that most of the recommendations to mayors during the African symposium on climate change, which were captured in the latest edition of *Africity* in Nairobi, had already been taken into account in the physical and strategic planning documents of some cities in the sub-region (PDM, 2006).

Tree-planting along the roads and maintenance of peri-urban forests are high on the list in the new metropolitan master plans examples are the Adjain Park of the Greater Abidjan Metropolitan Plan, the green belt of Greater Ouaga Metropolitan Plan, etc.

Lately, the implementation of local agenda 21 and strategic plans has helped to widen the range of anti-climate change activities. The following actions are recommended:



- Reduction in carbon emissions from vehicles by using unleaded fuel (Douala Agenda 21);
- Protection of the urban and peri-urban bio diversity (Bê forest protected and rehabilitated, Ouagadougou green belt rehabilitated, wet and farm lands in Ouaga protected, re-forestation of the Saint Louis coastline);
- Improved collection and treatment of household waste (better control of Maképé - Douala rubbish dump, improved household waste processing system in Saint Louis) ;
- Improved public transport systems and indoor energy-saving (traffic plans for Saint Louis and Douala have been updated and implemented).

## 9. Monitoring and Evaluation of Urban Plans

Monitoring and evaluation of urban plans are functions of the ministries responsible for urban planning in the study area. With the recent changes in the distribution of powers between the State and local governments, the task of document preparation falls to the local governments, but monitoring and evaluation is still the duty of the State. The State is thus the sole entity entitled to authorise and prescribe urban planning documents, supervise the document preparation process, approve the plans and monitor and evaluate the plans with the help of the local governments.

The exercise of these prerogatives is not contested in countries where the State plans and finances the drawing up of provisional urban planning documents. In Côte d'Ivoire, though, since the law on the transfer of authority was passed in 2003, most of the local governments no longer go through the authorisation and prescription procedures for the preparation of urban planning documents. Documents produced in this way are neither monitored nor approved by the State and are thus non applicable and non opposable to a third party.

In Burkina Faso and Mali, the government has instituted a charge on the fees paid to the consultants in charge of putting together urban development plans in order to raise money for monitoring and control.

Urban planning documents are drawn up in accordance with the relevant rules by professionals, most of who are certified. However, in most countries, approval for these documents is the weak link. A report on urban governance in Burkina Faso (2004) notes that the adoption and approval of SDAU are two stages over which there is no control or which are completely forgotten in the country. For example, the SDAU of Dédougou, Nouna and Tenkodogo have been completed since 1989 and are still not adopted or approved in 2004. It is at the level of the management of operational town planning documents, in particular subdivision plans, that this failing is most in evidence. Since the entry of informal land developers and local government on the land development market which coincided with the proliferation of subdivision operations, that come with speculation or political challenges, the subdivision permit, one of the few tools for checking the compliance of urban planning projects, is practically forgotten by governments. Laxity is behind this lack of consistency between the provisional urban planning tools and the operational urban planning tools.

Drawing up a sub-division plan needs the combined efforts of land surveyor and an urban planner, because it is more a task of creating living space rather than merely cutting up a piece of land into plots. This collaboration is often not desired or sought. In Niger, 30 per cent of subdivision operations were carried out by the surveyor alone, whilst 70 per cent was done

with urban planners. Despite the existence of land surveyors in all the countries in the study region, one of their members, Belko Garba, recently stated that “anyone who knows how to set up a builder’s transit and make topographical observations (surveys, levelling, plan diagrams) puts themselves out as a surveyor and a topographer and can produce subdivision plans with the complicity of unofficial speculators hidden away in Government departments” (Garba, 1999).

Monitoring and evaluation of locally developed strategic plans fares no better. Contrary to the physical planning document, most of the strategic plans had the benefit of being drawn up using the goal oriented project planning (zopp/gopp) which was disseminated in the whole of the region by GTZ. Most of the action plans developed in this way have two principal monitoring-evaluation tools, the project planning matrix or log frame and the activities planning sheet. These tools are, however, under-utilised or often ignored in the management and monitoring of plans. This is partly due to the fact that – as has already been mentioned – these plans did not go through strict vetting by qualified staff with sufficient means.

To address these shortcomings, the BNETD set up planning management units with the appropriate human and technical resources as part of city consultations and with the support of the Urban Management Programme. Very few of these units survived when UMP’s technical and financial assistance was withdrawn. According to some of the unit coordinators, they were victims of the frequent institutional changes in our local governments. Resources and, especially, staff were often transferred to other departments deemed more useful by the new leaders.

Once more, the only exceptions are the operational urban planning documents prepared and implemented as part of development partner-supported projects. The monitoring and evaluation system is a type of project follow up and management tool. Its implementation and management are the task of professionals who use tried and tested tools and organs. The system makes it possible to assess the level, quality and efficiency of actions, their results and their effects and/or impacts. The Decentralised and Participatory Development Projects in the Bazega and Kadiogo Provinces of Burkina Faso, which led to the preparation of local development plans, among others, have set up a participatory monitoring/evaluation system. This system is based on the following tools and organs: a steering committee, a monitoring/evaluation team made up of two professionals, the log frame, the operating report, two databases, an environmental observatory, periodic activity reports, audit and assessment reports, and aide-memoires of the supervision visits by the principal partner of the project, in this instance, the ADB.

The main problems of the project’s monitoring/evaluation system are:

- The difficulties of information gathering and transmission to the monitoring/evaluation unit;
- Poor quality control of information sent by the stakeholders and other technical partners to the project monitoring/evaluation unit;
- The weak technical skills of information processing, analysis and interpretation;
- Low capacity in monitoring information dissemination and using.

The main success factors of the monitoring/evaluation system are:

- Personal involvement of the leadership of the project ;
- The presence of experienced supervisors.

In conclusion, monitoring-evaluation is today the least resourced component of urban planning in the region.

## 10. Changes and Challenges in Planning Education

The first practising town planners in the study region were trained in France. There has subsequently been a gradual widening of the training offer in the other francophone countries (Belgium, Canada, Switzerland). The greatest challenge that faced the graduates of these schools once back home was how to put their knowledge into practice in a completely different scientific, legal and technological environment.

The governments of the region thus felt the need, very early on, for training in architecture and town planning that was more suited to the specific needs of the African context. Upon the recommendations of a UNESCO study, conducted by the Government of Chad, the Heads of State of the Common African and Mauritian Organization (OCAM) created the *Ecole Africaine et Mauricienne d'Architecture et d'Urbanisme* (EAMAU) in Lomé.

When OCAM was dissolved in 1981, seven Heads of State entered into an agreement to support the school. Today the number of signatories to that agreement has increased to 14. They include in West Africa, Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo, and in Central Africa, Cameroon, Gabon, Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Chad and the Central African Republic.

The school's mission is three-fold, teaching, research and evaluation. It has a vast network of over 400 graduates working in Sub-Saharan Francophone Africa in various areas of professional practise (public, private, liberal, international, NGO). After some 20 years of existence and following the emergence of new urban planning and management practices, the School embarked on its first reform in 1994.

The school work plan resulting from this reform and made public in 1995, comprised the following actions:

- Develop new training profiles adapted to the real needs of African cities;
- Train specialists who can set a standard of professionalism in project design, implementation and monitoring or evaluation;
- Integrate new branches of study, taking into consideration the major trends in urban policy and good governance, both of which are necessary for the maintenance of the urban dynamic and for developing space in the African city;
- Open up the school to the whole of Africa, within the new Francophonie which includes other languages, to the international and global world, with a view to building multiple and fundamental partnerships which are essential for effective and sustainable action. (EAMAU school work plan, 1995).

Considering new developments in urban planning and architecture, the name of the school, which was no longer relevant with the dissolution of OCAM, was changed to *Ecole Africaine des Métiers de l'Architecture et de l'Urbanisme* (African school of Architecture and Urban Planning Practices).

The new educational programme, which resulted from this change, merged the disciplines of architecture and urban planning into one course which lasted six years culminating in the award of a combined degree in Architecture/Town planning. This merger as advocated by the

Municipal Development Partnership intended to satisfy the basic needs of African local authorities in polyvalent professionals in the fields of construction and urban planning.

A new three-year senior technician's diploma course in urban management was introduced in 2000 to meet the demand for middle-level executives of local governments. The new programme is organised in courses, and at the end of each course a certificate is awarded. The courses are on the following topics: town planning, transport and traffic, housing, rehabilitation of built heritage and design of large equipment. This innovation met with some opposition from the professors who were trained in the French fine arts tradition.

Upon closer study, it was realised that the merger of the two disciplines was detrimental to urban planning. Indeed, the new programme as it is, does not sufficiently cover the acquisition of generic skills, and the knowledge and know-how needed for the emerging practises of urban planning. It is true that in Africa, particularly in Francophone Africa, urban planning is not sufficiently known nor socially valued. It is the above-mentioned shortcomings in the training project which resulted in most of the first graduates opting for architecture. In the light of the reluctance of the graduates to practise urban planning, and in the face of new problems and challenges of urban management, a new reform is planned for 2008. For this reform to be effective, it must meet the following challenges:

- Separate urban planning training from architecture training;
- Be aware of recent changes in the urban planning profession, changes which call for a high level of professionalism and very narrow specialisations.

With this in mind, the following specialisation needs were identified in the region:

- Formulation of urban and regional policies;
- Information production and management (urban and thematic cartography, urban and regional atlases, geographical information system, giving street addresses);
- Land management;
- Strategic planning;
- Poverty reduction and urban insecurity;
- Implementation, monitoring and evaluation of urban and regional projects;
- Production and management of development and performance indicators

The two main capacity building programmes, the Urban Management Programme and the Municipal Development Partnership, have helped to diversify the job training in urban management and local development. INDA-TIERS MONDE has developed tools to provide a better grasp of the "urban popular economy". However, all the paperwork generated by the two programmes, i.e. the policy documents, the methodology tools and guidelines, the management tools, etc. were not adequately distributed, disseminated and integrated into the training programmes both at EAMAU and in the national capacity building institutions. On the other hand, the *Ecole Nationale de Statistique et d'Economie Appliquée* (national statistics and applied economics school) in Côte d'Ivoire introduced in 2002 a master's specialisation programme on the production and analysis of development indicators

The universities and institutes of technology in the sub-region are traditionally not equipped to train graduates in urban planning. It must however be admitted that they do have trained specialists – geographers, economists, sociologists, engineers, statisticians, demographers – who have contributed significantly to urban studies and urban development. The work of the

research centres and departments of these universities and institutes of technology is one of the main sources of information on the francophone African cities. In fact “geographers dominate urban research with approximately 38 per cent of the total production; they are the main contributors to urbanization and living environment themes.

Collaborative research in urban planning (between urban planners, architects and civil engineers) accounts for approximately 32 per cent of research production. Demographers, sociologists and anthropologists have contributed 15 per cent of research titles while urban economists have contributed 10 per cent. Lawyers, historians, political scientists, criminologists, public administration specialists and environmentalists have, as a group, contributed only 5 per cent of all the research titles on the listing (Attahi, 1994, p. 210). The Municipal Development Partnership and the Urban Management Programme contributed immensely during the first reform of the EAMAU in 1994. In fact they spearheaded the introduction into the educational programme of new analysis and urban management tools and themes which are more in keeping with global agendas and address sub-regional concerns.

## Concluding Remarks

Urban planning, formerly confined to the “physical planning” documents, has been given a boost these past decades through the production of local development planning documents referred to as local agenda 21 and local development plans and city strategic plans. There is even a trend towards specialising these two categories of urban planning documents. Physical planning documents are used when organising living space, whilst local development planning documents focus on other dimensions of sustainable development (economy, environment, education, health, governance, society, etc.)

Today there is an attempt to harmonise national economic development strategies with national land use management policy. In that perspective, in countries like Côte d’Ivoire, Mali, Burkina Faso and Benin, etc, physical planning documents are now part of the national land use management policy while local development plans are tools of national economic development policy. Despite the progress made, there are still some drawbacks to the preparation and implementation of urban planning documents:

- The lack of planning departments in the Municipalities save for the national capitals;
- The limited number of town planners and other local development experts in the municipal technical departments in charge of urban planning issues;
- The weak relationship between physical planning documents and strategic planning documents due to institutional arrangement within national Government; Insufficient ownership of planning tools by municipal authorities and the people;
- The absence of laws making the preparation and revision of planning documents obligatory;
- The absence of a connection between the implementation of plans and the budget cycle of urban administrations;
- Urban planning regulation marked by inconsistencies, and whose text is scattered all over the place and is also very complicated;

- A rigid application of the law and a bureaucracy which make some individuals resort to irregular practices; (Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire)
- Insufficient use of monitoring/evaluation mechanisms by the authorities in charge of preparing and implementing urban planning documents;
- Insufficient compliance with technical standards when designing planning documents;
- Inappropriate choice of social mobilisation and communication tools and methods;
- Lack of understanding of the challenges of participation by some elected officials who continue to reproduce the interventionist style of management;
- Lack of up-to-date, reference map;
- Lack of reliable and updated quantitative data.

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