Sommary

Villes en développement

Yaoundé

The dynamics of urbanization
in Sub-Saharan Africa

The French Institute for Scientific Research for Cooperation Development is joining ISTED, and it is important to note that it is not joining for purely routine or ad hoc reasons. ORSTOM, which has just undergone a significant reform, is now placing a major emphasis on the study of towns in the countries of the South - as growth points and as a challenge to development.

Indeed, one cannot oppose, as it is still too often done, urban and agricultural and rural development, and it seems rather simplistic to only deal with towns as an unavoidable last resort option.

While poverty and various forms of disturbances are concentrating in towns, towns also are places where wealth is produced - they are the melting pot of modernity. Developing societies are undergoing rapid changes and no longer are exclusively or essentially rural societies : they innovate, more or less happily, with urban civilisation, create new modes of development, governance and economic organisation, in an overall environment ripe with contradictions and dangers.

The scope for research is vast and it would be both naive and pretentious for ORSTOM to pretend it can cover it on its own. Between now and the year 2020, the Institute will focus on urban governance, optimal organisation of urban services and the foreseeable changes in urban environment, with specific emphasis on Africa and to a lesser extent, Latin America. The Institute will try and develop partnerships with experts from various fields- academics, administrators, urban planners and researchers, in order to design an ambitious programme covering the diverse concerns and challenges of developing towns.

Under the title «The Dynamics of urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa», the State Secretariat for Co-operation is about to publish a very interesting synthesis of everything we have learnt in our fifty years of research, studies and action on the process and dynamics of urbanization in 27 countries along the Atlantic coast of Africa. Sponsored by ISTED and under the leadership of Michel Arnaud, with an outstanding team of researchers and practitioners, this synthesis is a brilliant example of how observation can assist action. It will no doubt be an encouragement and a good source of data for young researchers. It therefore is a pleasure for me to write the intro to this issue of Villes en Developpement which provides an overview of the work of 4 of the 15 members of the team. ■

Jean Nemo
General Manager, ORSTOM

The big urban transformation

by Alain Dubresson, University of Paris X, Department of Geography

The four major lessons of the synthesis

« The Dynamics of urbanization in Sub-Saharan Africa» is a meaningful title : the focus is on processes and the rationale of players and their sometimes contradictory results. The urbanization process is seen here as the overall inter-connections between socio-economic changes and the rapid increase in the urban dwellers to overall population ratio. Beyond population growth per se, we must understand the «overall social fact». The time is ripe : structurally, the pace of urban population growth is slowing down but past growth still affects the cost of urban development today in a context of complex political and economic crises and overall growing poverty of most urban people. While public authorities find it difficult to cope with the maintenance of urban assets and financing of urban development, the greatest number of urban dwellers - i.e. the least well-off (the «poor» city), still continue to shape urbanism. Out of the numerous ideas that emerged from the work of Michel Arnaud and his team on the «the mechanisms and dynamics of urbanization», let us focus on four major lessons.

Urbanization is not counter-productive

It is clear that, in the countries under review, the links between industrialisation and urbani-zation are tenuous. Focusing on the major role of urban dwellers demand for goods and services is a more original approach. Demand promotes crafts and informal trade, which provide most urban jobs, and strengthens urban economy as a whole (modern as well as informal sectors); indeed the role of urban production is more significant than population growth : in 1990, in 19 countries of West Africa where the rate of urbanization averaged 37 %, the share of towns in gross regional product reached 66 %. However, can the future of economic capacity be based on small-scale trading activity? While it remains higher than in rural areas, the productivity of small-scale enterprises is not likely to increase rapidly and it would be an illusion to base an economic and social project on micro-enterprises. We should rather ponder on the best possible linkages between the «upper-market» segment of the informal sector that emerged in the years of struc-tural adjustment and the indis-pensable capitalistic firms, and search for an endogenous path in terms of capital accumula-tion - which may require some time as indigenous strategies rarely use productive capacity as a means of social control.

Urbanization can contribute to long term food security

Urban demand for food commodities is also a powerful drive towards change in rural areas, where, except in a few cases, population is still expanding. Contrary to the generally accepted idea, urban and rural food consumption modes are quite comparable and extraversion effects do not result from urban alienation but from pricing policies, high re-venues on imported products and, too often, from lack of access to locally produced food products. Even though they have doubled over 3 decades, imports - in calorie equivalent terms - are not significant and even less so when the pace and level of urbanization are greater. When road networks are adequate and supply and transport channels efficient, food products are traded - which is the result of urbanization.

Towns are at the heart of social transformation and modernity

Far from having facilitated a cultural break between towns and rural areas, urbanization is based on a permanent osmosis between urban and rural peo-ple. Towns are where dual co-des of sociability develop and have always been integration mechanisms because of their powerful social networks control system - which does not mean that urban societies are an enchanted world of solidarity. Because the economic crisis af-fects the various social safety nets, it pushes African societies into the «global system», which produces both backlashes and the acceleration of change. The changes in the social pyramid (widening of its base), spreading poverty, the spiral of violence go together with a search for freedom, social justice and democracy : it is indeed in towns where political issues are raised first, and in this sense, it is the overall urban organisation, including mana-gement, which is at stake today.

It is imperative to link the «poor» city to the «rich» one

The economic crisis reduced the level of investment by the public sector and hence the capacity of the latter to produce and manage urban space, but did not annihilate the popular construction dynamics : while the physical results may seem disorderly, the underlying power struc-ture is not. Illegal housing, as we know, ensure access to land and housing production for all income levels at grassroots. But housing is not everything and small private investors can neither finance urban facilities nor maintain or expand them. Decentralisation and partici-patory local management alone are not the only alterna-tive : unless we want to turn urban space into an archipelago-type structure, popular urban genius cannot make up for the decrease in public investment and does not replace State responsibility. As the urban standards of the countries of the North cannot be applied, decision-makers and donors must find innovative ways to link up the wealth of urban initiative, of local mechanisms and resources to the necessary overall manage-ment frame-work. Under difficult conditions, it is urgent to re-create collective facilities and to re-define the respective role of the State, local governments and urbanites who, more and more, are asked to become citizens. ∎

Urbanization in Africa : a banal fact in history

By Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, University of Paris-7 Denis Diderot/CNRS

The West often views African towns with the bias of colonial times. Looking at the history of urbanization in the world is forcing us to look at towns differently.

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Porto Novo

Colonisers had in mind the model of the modern industrial town of the 19th century. For them, anything departing from that model was not a town. They had forgotten that urban development had a long history in Africa, as elsewhere, which - as we know it today - goes back long before any Arabic or Portuguese influence[1]. The distribution of small pre-colonial urban centres (with about 1000 people) was linked to pre-industrial techniques : people had to walk and carry goods themselves or with packsaddles, which meant that distances had to be kept at a distance of 24 hour walk at most (roughly 50 km). The post-World War II urbanization growth did not erase the memory of such ancient and in some cases multi-century networks : in Senegambia, Mali, Ghana or Nigeria. Over the last two decades, the development of local markets tended to regenerate that process of urban hierarchy. It would be wrong to assume that this is a new phenomenon in Africa. It remains clear that Europeans introduced a new type of town, with monumental architecture, a check-board type development plan which was new to Africa[2], surrounded by neighbourhoods left to local initia-

tive - where they only saw ill integrated rural immigrants. With a few exceptions, urban housing policy was meant for the settlers - a view which was an easy excuse to leave it up to Africans to build their own urban settlements. There was hardly any control. When there was, it was negative : ban on construction, and therefore, destruction of illegal settlements, and the ensuing so-called «eviction» of West Africa, which still goes on as the excess of illegal houses on empty urban space (normally reserved for other uses) are demolished - in Dakar, Abidjan or elsewhere.

As one white man gave work to 6-10 Africans, the «indigenous town» was rapidly spreading but was nevertheless designed in a basic and transient manner; in West Africa, where urban tradition goes far back, the pre-colonial urban core was taken over (Porto-Novo, St-Louis in Senegal, Bobo-Dioulasso). New urban dwellers transferred into town their traditional housing techniques: under such conditions, nothing surprising in the fact that urban

houses looked like village ones. The Europeans got caught. Hence, the general tendency to view «white town» (i.e. the very small part of town where architecture, urban development and way of life were European) as the «real town», then implicitly or not reserved to Whites, today to western economic activity and national middle-classes.

This ideology marked collective memory as it was thought that «African culture» (traditional, indigenous etc.) was that of the villages. Only those whose work was required by the Whites were accepted as town dwellers. For the most part, they were young single men who required numerous services (subsistence, housing, laundry, sex). Their presence immediately gave rise to a lot of informal activity - which therefore existed before the concept itself appeared : it was in fact an endogenous urban economy resulting from collective life. For a long time, urban dwellers have been learning to «manage on their own», i.e. to develop empirically local answers to the needs created by life in the city.

The extremely rapid pace of urbanization in Africa from the 70's to the 90's is the most recent urbanization process in world history. It is not unique. Look at the history of industrial towns in England in the 19th century, the mushrooming towns of the Conquest of America, the urban development boom in Latin America from 1930 – which in every case frightened observers. But towns are both where jobs can be found and where consumption concentrates, therefore, where there is innovation; in Africa as elsewhere, the urban way of life is a determining factor of change in ways of life and mentalities which implies heterogeneity (ethnic, professional, social), hence the mixing process in a town populated by recent migrants.

As other towns in history did, African towns played their role as melting pots, creating a plural memory. Most city dwellers are therefore neither traditional nor modern. They are a living testimony to the complexity of the social fabric and daily navigate between cultures, inventing new mo-

des of adaptation : therefore, they change their social practices, techniques, ways of life and modes of thinking; they thus contribute to the circulation of new ideas; indeed, culture develops in town and spreads through to the countryside. The media contribute to this phenomenon; today, no rural area is unaware of what is happening in town. Even though population grows faster than employment, there is a snowball effect in terms of opportunities, which does not

exist in the countryside, because urban population is young (nearly 70 % of urban dwellers are under 25), which can be a constraint in the short term but is terribly promising for the future. Need only be to look at flourishing popular urban art (painting, music, drama), as opposed to «traditional» art or folklore. Therefore, towns are focal points for mediation, and hence an engine for development. Anthropologists know it well when they look at the diversity

of urban organisations with a diverse membership – rural and urban, traditional or modern : e.g. ethnic, religious, sport, trade union, political, dancing organisations etc.

Eventually, the idea that urbanization is «evil» does not stand up to analysis. urbanization cannot be reversed; in industrialised countries, 80 % of the people at least live in towns. Why should African people, as witnesses to our lost pre-industrial paradise, be excluded from this process? ■

[1] See C. Coquery-Vidrovitch, Histoire des villes d'Afrique noire des origines à la colonisation, Paris, Albin-Michel, 1993.
[2] See C. Coquery-Vidrovitch et Odile Goerg (eds.), La ville européenne outre mers : un modèle conquérant ? (XVI°-XX° siècle), Paris, L'Harmattan, 1996.

The state, the town and informal economy

By Bruno Lautier, Professor at IEDES-Paris I-GREITD

Should we see in the taxation of informal economy a miraculous source of funding for the towns of the South? Both question and answer are political.

The linkages between the urban issue in the countries of the South and informal economy was largely determined by the difficulties the notion gave rise to. [1] From the end of the 60's and up to the beginning of the 90's, the debate on informal economy had its own history, which basically was quite remote from the discussions in the urban decision-makers circles. In the 60's, the word "informal" was new, and the issue was essentially dealt with in terms of marginality and therefore of public order. From 1972[2] to the mid-80's, two visions coexisted; on the one hand, some wanted to "formalise" the informal sector, which meant, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa, to identify the pool of dynamic micro-enterprises that would add to the industrial fabric and complement formal major industries; on the other, some viewed informal activities as

the expression of survival strategies, which had to be tolerated for lack of active employment policy but had to be contained and controlled. After 1986, and especially after 1990[3] ,the informal economy was no longer viewed as the key factor in economic policy but became the focus of social policies because of its "unsuspected capacity of job and income generation" (World Bank). The high level of regulation and tax and other charges was viewed at the time as the main cause of the development of informal activity in the countries of the South; lower levels were therefore thought to help micro-enterprises to benefit from "the efficiency of the legal framework"[4].

Over these 25 years, decision-makers or those who prepared their decisions, only occasionally dealt with informal activity. In fact only one of its aspects, and a very specific

one at that - informal construction - was by nature, we may say, included in their concerns (either in terms of facilities to be provided to the «invaded areas» or in terms of expulsion or «eviction»). The fact that towns are invaded by street vendors and small traders is generally regretted but tolerated for political reasons and dealt with in terms of enforcement rather than the development of urban facilities.[5] Because informal transport has a social function, particularly as collective services deteriorate, it cannot be criticised.[6] As for small informal workshops, often located in backyards or inside houses, they are kept completely hidden, except when it comes to pirating electricity. To sum up, informal economy is still viewed essentially as a parasitic outgrowth of towns, which basically must be tolerated.

However, in the mid-90's, things began to change for 3

types of reasons. First, in the major cities of the South, major urban investment operations are only meant - and will only be meant for in the years to come - for cities linked to global financial and trade flows. Informal activity, which often only occupies the gaps in the urban fabric, will not only spread but become systemic at local level - and not just in the outskirts. The question there-fore is not any longer to limit or even hide informal activity, but to turn informal channels into economically viable activities (eventually linked to the formal economy through sub-contracting as happens in the clothing sector). Given the lack of alternative in terms of economic policy, informal economy cannot be both productive (and income generating) and parasitic in towns which have been planned without taking it into account. In other words, either it becomes a key component of urban decisions or it becomes politically explosive, as some recent events in Equatorial Africa showed.

The second element is that after over a decade of economic adjustment, there is an acute need for urban investment everywhere, in a general context of serious tax crisis or at least, of low priority given to such investment. But, the so-called «popular movements» or «new social actors» who are appealing for such investment to develop, are often producers or informal traders. The division between urban social policies and economic policies is no longer applicable. Indeed, it is not possible any longer to view informal activity as a productive sector and to consider basic urban investment (roads, water supply, sewage etc.) only as «social» expenses.

The third element in this new context is political decentralisation - too often seen as one step in the democratisation process : the tax constraint is transferred to the municipalities - faced with very diverse situations as regards the proportion of declared, hence taxable, economic activity. Decentralisation, particularly in Latin America, tends to reinforce inequalities between the various municipalities of a given country, and paradoxically demands from towns with the lowest numbers of declared enterprises and jobs to play a pioneering role in the area of taxation of informal activity.

The above three elements force us to reconsider the argument according to which informal activity can, and in any case must, be a great source of tax revenue, which should generate resources allowing municipalities to fund not only social investment but also basic productive investment. Informal economy should therefore be self-financed (even though it might in fact lose its essential characteristic, i.e. the fact that it does not stick to regulation). This argument, which is promoted not only by co-operation agencies and international institutions but also by governments, raises a number of questions. In fact, the technical capacity to tax informal activity is not the main problem. It is true that some activity cannot be easily taxed : criminal activity, street trade without fixed stalls. But experience shows that micro-workshops, «stabilised» street trade, transport, can be taxed, at least by a lump sum amount (with of course the serious risk of arbitrary interventions and disputes). Taxing these activities is not without posing economic problems, that translate into a change in relative pricing patterns and a decrease in the net income of the wealthiest of the informal workers - hence growing poverty.

It is rather a political problem. Political and social controls over informal workers are based on tolerance of illegality and its corollary : vote-catching and small-scale corruption. Illegal situations not only create dependency (and even allegiance), certainly quite efficient, but implying as well occasional repression. Because of the existence of illegal situations, alternative power levels have emerged - from criminal gangs to residents' associations, which efficiently linked up to political power (at national and local levels); legalising taxed activities would certainly weaken this form of political control. Short of calling for a return to authoritarian political power, it is politically very difficult to tax informal workers who consider that the *modus vivendi* they have established with the State[7] is, if not fair, at least stable and allows them to develop their micro-strategies.

In other words, for tax necessity, it is the whole political equilibrium which may be endangered. This may be seen as a positive step towards the State of law and citizenship (i.e. setting a system of rights and duties as opposed to a system of favours). But this means that tax constraints should have as a counterpart clearly identified rights, even though there is no such a thing as arithmetic equality between rights and duties (a parallel might be drawn up with the system of agricultural social contributions in France around 1960; even though social contributions do not fully equal social services rendered, but the issue is to link social rights to the fulfilment of duties - we therefore are dealing here with citizenship and not with assistance). If those rights are not clearly and precisely defined, there will be a great risk of boomerang effect, which will be difficult to control : taxation might be denounced as racket, corruption might increase, and there might even be large scale urban disturbance. Hence, the debate on democratisation will be devoid of meaning if it cannot be based on the practice of true citizenship. The rich debate on these issues in Latin America (Brazil in particular) should be an inspiration for those who consider such issues in Africa and Asia in purely fiscal terms : the linkages between State, towns and informal economy are more than ever a political issue. ■

[1] See B. Lautier, L'économie informelle dans le tiers-monde, *La Découverte, col. Repères, 1994, chap. 1 and 2*
[2] The terms "informal sector" appeared for the first time in 1972 in the ILO report on Kenya.
[3] When L'ajustement à visage humain *(A. Cornia et alii) by UNICEF as well as the World Bank Report on Poverty were published.*
[4] As advocated by Hernando de Soto, a *Peruvian economist, who was in favour of such type of deregulation :* El otro sendero – la revolucion informal, *ed. Oveja negra, 1987, French translation :* L'autre sentier – la révolution informelle, La Découverte, 1994.

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Mauritanie

[5] There are of course examples of "formalisation" of these markets aimed at stabilising street trade, particularly in Latin America (notably in Brazil and Columbia). But, despite their spectacular and very publicised nature, such operations are not really quantitatively significant (a few hundred market stalls in Recife, for example, where there are several tens of thousands of street vendors - usually linked to speculative operations in the neighbourhoods where the "stabilised" vendors were chased from). The cat-and-mouse game between street vendors and policemen, in which corruption plays a major role, remains the rule from Casablanca to Mexico City, Rio or Kinshasa.

[6] There are also counter-examples, as in Santiago in Chile, where old informal buses were removed for reasons both linked to pollution and traffic (there were so many of these buses that it was becoming impossible to drive through the city).

[7] As shown by François Roubaud for Mexico (Roubaud F., 1994 : L'économie informelle au Mexique, *Khartala, Paris*) or for Cameroon (Roubaud F. et alii : Le secteur informel à Yaounde, *DIAL/DSCN), most micro-enterprises are not aware that they are "outlaw" and do not think they are in conflict with State authorities. These "informal workers" (at least 60 to 70 % of them) just think that tax laws are not meant for them.*

Dialectic of specific and universal ———

By Alain Marie, anthropologist, lecturer, IEDES, University of Paris I

As any town, the African town is a cultural melting pot.

Modern African towns - which for a long time were seen as Western culture integration centres - are more rightly considered today as a «social laboratory»- where access to global modernity implies diverse forms of dynamic re-interpretation of tradition and where creativity is all the more innovative as tradition combines with the universal imperatives of modernisation. Thus, ancient ethnic forms of the division of labour were transferred to town and adapted[1], others developed more recently[2], and some took over business recruitment channels[3]. Thus, the urban homestead is not made up of the nucleus family but has a very flexible pattern : the typical extended family includes, around a dominant family, various relatives of husband or wife. Mutual assistance relationships are maintained and create an informal system of protection and credit, which ensures the durability of lineage networks linking up de-localised families within «residential systems» which include their original villages[4] The «bankers under the tree» followed the tradition of the wealthy who lend to their dependants : on the basis of mutual trust, they offer access to credit which could not be obtained elsewhere. Thus, the white-collar worker, who is in control of universal rational instruments during day-time, may, at night, go and consult witch-doctors or traditional healers to go over difficulties always linked to possible magic aggression[5]. Whether in town or in the villages, christening ceremonies or funerals regularly offer people an opportunity to gather and strengthen solidarity networks and new urban «notables» can increase their prestige[6]. Therefore, the large shop owner who finances the building of a mosque in his neighbourhood, or the wealthy town dweller or politician who funds the modernisation of his home village can be motivated both by modernist ideals and electoral ambition[7] as well as by the wish to protect themselves against the threats of magics due to jealousy - which can always sanction an individualistic approach to wealth[8].

But towns also are, by nature, a permanent laboratory where

Djibouti

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new forms of behaviour, new values and new modes of sociability are tested. This applies to gender relations : in urban areas, given the more pressing need for women to generate an income, there is a wider scope for women's desire to liberate themselves from traditional dependence[9]. In the same manner, the relationship between generations is also affected by the aspiration to autonomy, hence the questioning of the power of the elders. In town, the new criteria of competence and the new opportunities gave younger generations access to more prestigious status. Academics, wage earners in the modern sector, emerging businessmen in the informal sector therefore became new authorities with whom the village elders must reckon. And, while the weapon of witchcraft can always help to get the too independent younger members of the group into line, the town is nevertheless a huge opportunity for liberating individualisation.[10] Many members of the younger generations turn to monotheist religions and their sect avatars to protect themselves against the «magic of the elders». They get acquainted through the process with new patterns of behaviour - more individualistic.

At the same time, the emergence of democratic demands is an expression of rising universal aspirations for freedom, individual autonomy, social justice and marks a general progression of a lay approach to social suffering. More generally, it shows a radical change in how time is perceived: towns are therefore where a growing number of individuals fully enter into the prospective temporality of the project (personal and collective) and distance themselves from the retrospective temporality of their indebte-

Groupe Huit

Conakry

dness towards ancestors and elders[11].

This general in-depth trend shows that African societies are joining the «global economy», which can also be seen from the booming cultural life[12] : the themes dealt with are now further and further away from exotic particular issues or traditional patterns, but are not either a mere reproduction of external influences. An original language is being born, not merely the result of hybridisation, but created by individuals who speak on their own behalf of the (indeed hybrid) world in which they live.[13] However, this powerful individualisation movement is not about to generate general individualistic attitudes and social fragmentation. Between the impossible maintenance of tradition and the unreserved conversion to international modernity, between the specific and the universal, the town dwellers of African, as elsewhere, cannot chose. The dominant logic is one of constant compromise and negotiation between the universal (globalisation) and the specific (community identity)[14]

To sum up, African town dwellers do not want to give

up their identity or community solidarity. But they now reconsider these issues with a critical eye, while these remained unquestioned in the past. In the process, they show that wider social, political and religious identity are not incompatible with their attachment to specific community linkages, which are the basis for indispensable local solidarity. In this way, they do indeed deliver a universal message. ■

[1] Bernus S., *Particularismes ethniques en milieu urbain : l'exemple de Niamey,* Paris, Dissertations of the Institute of Ethnology, Musée de l'Homme, 1969. Agier M., *Commerce et sociabilité. Les négociants soudanais du quartier zongo de Lomé (Togo),* Paris, Ed. ORSTOM, 1983.

[2] For example, see the case of the fabric women traders in Lome (Mina and Ewe) in Cordonnier R. *Femmes africaines et commerce. Les revendeuses de tissu de la ville de Lomé (Togo),* l'Harmattan, 1987.

[3] Agier M., Copans J., under Morice A.,*Classes ouvrières d'Afrique noire,* Khartala-ORSTOM, 1987.

[4] Le Bris E., Marie A., Osmont A., Sinou A., *Famille et résidence dans les villes africaines. Dakar, Bamako, Saint-Louis, Lomé,* L'Harmattan, 1987.

[5] N'Djehoya B., *Cols blancs, cadres noirs,* Autrement, special issue 9 *Capitales de la couleur,* october 1984, pp. 188-191. Touré A. and Konaté Y*., . Le citadin chez le devin en Côte d'Ivoire,* Abidjan, Ed. Douga, 1990.

[6] O'Deyé M., *Les associations en villes africaines. Dakar-Brazzaville,* L'Harmattan, 1985.

[7] Vidal C., *Sociologie des passions (Côte d'Ivoire, Rwanda),* Khartala, 1991.

[8] Amselle J.L., *Fonctionnaires et hommes d'affaires au Mali,* Politique africaine, *Classes, Etat, marchés,* 26 juin 1987, pp.63-72.

[9] Vidal C., *op.cit.* 1991 (chapter 6 : *Guerre des sexes à Abidjan, Masculin, Féminin,* CFA, 1976).

[10] Marie A., Vuarin R., Leimdorfer F., Werner F.F., Gérard E., Tiekoura O., *Une Afrique des individus ?,* Karthala (to be published in september 1997).

[11] Marie A., *Y a pas l'argent : l'endetté insolvable et le créancier floué, deux figures complémentaires de la société abidjanaise,* Revue Tiers-Monde, Vol. XXXVI, N∞ 142, April-June 1995, pp. 303-324.

[12] To get a good idea of such contemporary multifacetted production, see *Revue Noire* (to date, more than 20 issues were published). Also see *Autrement, op.cit.*

[13] Gondola C., D., *Musiques modernes et indentités citadines : le cas du Congo-Zaïre, Afrique contemporaine,* special issue *Villes d'Afrique,* N° 168, October-December 1993, pp. 155-168. Delorme C. and Gandoulou J., *La sape,* in *Autrement, op.cit.,* pp. 287-292. Gandoulou J., *Entre Paris et Bacongo,* Paris, CCI Beaubourg, 1984.

[14] Marie A. et al, *op.cit.,* 1997 and Marie A., Ori B., Ouattara S., Kponhassia G., Zogbo R., Denot C., *Paradoxes de l'individualisation dans la société abidjanaise. Etudes de cas en milieu social précarisé,* Final report, Abidjan, Centre ORSTOM of Petit-Bassam, GIDIS-CI-ORSTOM, December 1994, 364 pp

7

New FAC Projects in the area of urban development

New on cooperation

Decentralisation and urban development in Mali : This 4-year project is aimed at promoting local urban development through capacity-building in the administrative, financial and technical fields in the six municipalities of Bamako and 4 regional capitals : Kayes, Segou, Sikasso and Mopti.

FAC support aims at improving local financial management and reorganising community technical services. It also aims at training local representatives and local government staff, assisting neighbourhood initiatives and providing facilities to local administrations.

This project will be linked up to other donors' interventions (particularly the World Bank which supports the third urban project in Mali and CFD) and will be based on decentralised co-operation.

Urban integration and co-operation at local level in Togo : This 4-year project aims at promoting partnership between the various actors (State, municipalities, residents' organisations, NGOs) which do or should play a part in urban services management and development. It plans to play a role at 3 levels :

- Institutional support to the various ministry departments concerned by decentralisation and local development, particularly to draw up legal texts in support of decentralisation.

- Urban and municipal management support in Lome and 3 secondary towns : Dapaong, Sokode and Atakpame.

- Finally, support to NGOs entrusted with the identification, in the four towns concerned, of actions for which residents are prepared to mobilise, actions to be financed through the Special Development Fund. This programme is designed as a complement to the two World Bank funded urban projects in Lome and the secondary towns.

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The first Days of the African Municipality, organised by the Municipal Development Programme, West and Central Africa Module, will be held in Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire, in february of 1998. They will solemnly mark the official entry of African municipalities on the African institutional scene. They will have to develop their own discourse on the challenges of decentralisation, decentralised co-operation and local development and set up the framework of sustainable co-operation between national African governments on the issues of decentralisation and regional, municipal and local development.

They will show that Africa recognises the major role played by local governments in the management of human settlements and the prevention of conflicts between communities, as recommended by the Habitat II Summit of Istanbul (June 1996).

During this event, Africa will have to clearly indicate the direction it intends to take in the implementation of the principles adopted by the international community on the promotion of local economy, the place of decentralised co-operation in international co-operation, and the role of partnership with the private sector and civil society in the management and development of human settlements.

There will be two specific aspects :
- Scientific Days, i.e. meetings around the main topics of municipal development.
- Related activities : fairs-exhibitions by partners and service providers, presentations of the best municipal achievements and the best practices in terms of local governance, shows on communication equipment and maintenance equipment.

→ *Contact : PDM, West and Central Africa Module, BP 01 3445, Cotonou, Benin*

Training session for co-operation agents

ISTED organised for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the State Secretariat for Co-operation, a training session for technical assistants in Sub-Saharan Africa. This session on local management tools and instruments is aimed at a group of about twenty people and took place from August 25 to 28 inclusive at l'Arche de la Défense.

Experts from international financial institutions (World Bank, Swiss Co-operation, European Commission) presented their practices and operational modes in the urban project area, either in Africa or on other continents. Various types of management contracts for urban services were presented. Practical cases of interventions in Africa or lessons drawn from the French experience were used.

Also, one day was reserved to present urban planning tools, in particular urban development plans.

A roundtable was organised on case studies.

Half a day was devoted to technical visits in the Greater Paris Area including :
- A water treatment plant (Eau et Force in Nanterre).
- A waste treatment plant (Syctom in Romainville)
- The urban district of Mantes.

ISTED WEB SITE

Opening of the ISTED Web Site on the Internet : http://www.isted.3ct.com

Note the change of E-Mail address of the Villes en Développement Documentation Centre : ved@isted.3ct.com