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AdP study day on 4 September 2009 - R.R. Françoise Reynaud

Urban development in sub-Saharan Africa: the lessons of the past

On the study day that marked its thirtieth anniversary in 2009, the AdP returned to take a long-term historical view of the region where it had its origins, Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). The global economic crisis has revealed the need to learn from the lessons of long-term economic history. The same applies to the urbanization of this region: to analyze it, we need to be able to distance ourselves sufficiently both in time and space as much as we need to understand local contexts.

Better understanding the region's urbanization, according to Catherine Vidrovitch, involves understanding its pre-colonial and colonial origins. It also involves, as stated by Michel Arnaud with regard to the emblematic case of Abidjan, the happy period of concrete achievements, of the creation of infrastructure and institutions at the end of the colonial period and during the first decades of independence. It also involves understanding, as stated by Lucien Godin, the co-founder of *Groupe Huit*, the various stages of implementing the new forms of urban development aid, with the advent of new donors and increasingly strong leadership from the World Bank. Finally, without being able to cover the enormous range of problems facing the region, it involves understanding, according to Jean-Pierre Elong M'Bassi, the municipal management issues which the centralizing State-controlled policies of early independence suppressed.

Kinshasa will very soon become the largest French-speaking city in the world. Jean Flouriot's description of how is has changed in the last fifty years reveals the disparity between the problems these cities face and the economic resources employed to overcome them. Like all the world's cities, those in the region will need an independent economic engine in order to make the transition from demographic growth to economic and social growth. Philippe Hugon shows the essential subsistence role and the limits of "informal" activities in the cities of SSA. The recent joint report issued by the World Trade and World Labour organizations confirm that the development of the informal sector is hampering general economic growth. In addition, Pierre-Noël Giraud has highlighted the fact that income from agricultural, mining or foreign aid could never constitute an engine for urban development in the region, but ultimately only from industrialization (in the international sense, including services and all its associated driving and exporting activities).

International solidarity, cooperation and foreign aid will continue to play their respective roles. In the future they will only be able to act as catalysts for urban development from which urban corporatism has been banished. French professionals working in the sector must stop blaming the region's urbanization problems on the "urban bias" of aid agencies. This bias may have existed in attitudes: in practice, Sub-Saharan African cities have benefited from a very much higher amont of aid from these institutions than would be proportional to their demographie importance in the region. ■

Jean-François Vergès,
Member of AdP,
Villes en développement

Kinshasa: 50 years of demographic growth in the world's second largest French-speaking city

Jean Flouriot, consultant
flouriotj@yahoo.fr

Kinshasa, whose population has now reached almost 8 million, is experiencing a crisis: urban poverty, inadequate transportation, almost inexistent road equipment, very inadequate drainage, water and electricity networks…
The Kinshasans are putting up with the situation and managing to cope with amazing spirit.

On the eve of independence, the capital of the Belgian Congo, known at the time as Léopoldville, had a population of 400,000 and attracted the envy of its neighbours in Brazzaville with its busy port, new city centre, towers and broad avenues and its large social housing estates… When the Belgian administration left at short notice, immigration, which had for a long time been contained, suddenly increased and the building lots controlled by the land chiefs were the only places where the flood was partially controlled.

The long-term presence of a "French urban planning task force", while it was unable to mobilize the necessary resources, at least made it possible to monitor this growth and to train some Kinshasans working at the Office for Studies, Development and Urban Planning (BEAU).

Continuous demographic growth, in spite of the troubles…

In 50 years, the population has grown from 1 million (in 1970) to 7 or 8 million today. More than three-quarters of this population were not born in a city: the city's current growth is no longer mainly due to rural migration. Kinshasa nowadays stretches for more than 50 km along the River Congo. Each year, the city grows by 800 ha, distributed between 10,000 new lots. The lot is where people live: its 500 m² are home to between 14 and 20 people. Land law is not applied and the building lots controlled by the land chiefs perpetuate themselves, with the complicity of the various local authorities.

Urban growth has reached large hilly areas with sandy soils that are very vulnerable to erosion: storm water flowing on bare soil is responsible for erosion that is very difficult to limit. During each rainy season, whole hillsides move, destroying dozens of houses, causing many deaths and increasing the cost of the works that will be required in the future…

… in a largely unstructured space

Large areas are not served by roads that are suitable for motor vehicles, meaning residents must walk long distances to reach public transport. "Roads !" is the primary demand of the Kinshasans: in a city of this size, motorized journeys are indispensable. There are a few hundred large capacity buses, but most of the vehicles are "VW Combis" purchased on the global second-hand market. They are in poor condition, consume large amounts of fuel and are very polluting.

There is an almost total lack of road equipment and the drains are blocked with sewerage… The building lots have meant that electricity and water networks have been considerably extended, but maintenance is poor and they fail to meet demand. While 40% of Kinshasans have access to electricity, the inadequate nature and age of the system mean that a large number of districts need to be cut off for several hours a day, and even for several days a week. Three-quarters of the population have access to drinking water, either directly or via their neighbours. Regideso, which at one time was one of the best water operators in Africa is currently struggling to rise up from its ashes.

Only the telephone is keeping up with demand, because almost 50% of households own a cell phone from one of the very many operators. Cell phone networks which now cover all the towns and cities (the largest one is present in 150 of them) have transformed the life of the Congolese. Business activities and family contacts benefit from the service, which is doing much to reunify the country.

Urban poverty…

In a thirty year period, Kinshasa went through two major economic disasters: the "Zairianization" of 1973-74 and the 1991 and 1993 lootings. The "formal" economic sector has never recovered. There are half as many jobs in the "modern sector" as there were thirty years ago. Most of the economic activity is informal.

In 2004, the National Statistics Office estimated that annual average household consumption is still approximately USD 2000. In the case of half the households, daily consumption was only USD 0.70 per capita and fell to USD 0.40 for the poorest households (of which USD 0.33 was spent on food).

… and still keen to learn

In spite of the ordeals, 92.9% of Kinshasa's population of 6 years of age and over has been to school and 70% of individuals of over 50 years of age are able to read and write French.

The city in crisis

Kinshasa has the administrative status of a "city-province" and covers an area of 10,000 km2 (125 m² per inhabitant). It has no mayor, but it does have a governor, an elected provincial assembly and a provincial government consisting of ten or so ministers. The City and its 24 municipalities have very limited resources and the population does not expect much from the administration, in spite of the fact that it employs a staff of 20,000. How do the Kinshasans survive? This is the question which springs to the mind of an outside observer. The answer is, they get by, expending an astonishing

amount of energy. Their lives are a perpetual struggle for survival. One has to be strong and clever and know how to bear adversity. There are a great many casualties: children thrown into the street after being accused of witchcraft to fall prey to accidents, violence, armed gangs, malaria, and many other threats. A new world is in the making.

The Democratic Republic of Congo held a series of elections in 2006 and 2007 but the municipal elections which would permit genuine democratic participation – which is essential in order to set up realistic management in the city – have still not taken place.

The 100 km of new roads, which have been planned for the last thirty years, would only represent an investment of 100 million dollars. An ongoing World Bank

Kinshasa port aera.

urban project is supplying 42 million dollars for the rehabilitation of 40 km of roads and the construction

of a very small number of new roads, and 25 million dollars to supply water to 150,000 inhabitants in the

Southern municipalities… Not much for a conurbation of this size! ■

A long-term history of African urban processes

Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, Emeritus Professor of Modern and Contemporary African History, Université Paris Diderot Paris-7

catherine.vidrovitch@orange.fr

A knowledge of the history of political, cultural and sociological heritage is more than ever essential for understanding present-day African cities and finding solutions to urban planning problems.

There have always been cities in Africa where, as elsewhere, they have played an essential role as centres where power and economic activity are concentrated and at the same time as centres for cultural dissemination, therefore performing a vital "civilizing" function. This is why, in Africa as elsewhere, it is not possible to understand a city if we are unaware of its political, cultural and sociological heritage. Analyzing the operation

(and congestion) of a city like Lagos in Nigeria without understanding its past as a slave trade island under the Portuguese and the British protectorate, is similar to trying to understand the structure of the Marais district in Paris without the wall of Philip Augustus…

Of course, Africa was mostly rural but, since at least the 11th century, there have been a large number of States with well-known histories, from the small chief-

dom to huge empires (Central Africa from the 16th to the 18th century, Western Africa from the 12th to the 16th century, then again in the 19th century). Where there is a State, there is automatically a seat of power, in other words a city. Thus, Swahili cities have existed on the East African coast since the 12th century and have a long-lasting prototype in the port of Mombasa (Kenya). Another example is the pre-colonial Yoruba

cities of the 19th century which already had populations of between 50,000 and 100,000 and gave rise to today's cities with millions of inhabitants (Ife, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Lagos). In short, it is a gross error inherited from the biased attitudes of the first travellers reinforced by colonial ethnography to pretend that there were no cities before colonization.

On arrival, the colonizers destroyed more cities than they created, selecting those which seemed "useful" to them: a port like Khartoum at the confluence of the two Niles, a large market like Bobo Dioulasso, an ancient capital like Ouagadougou

or Kampala. Another erroneous idea is that they created cities from nothing. This was true only in a very few cases, for example Nairobi, which was the terminus of the railway leading inland from Mombasa, or Dakar, which was preferred to Saint-Louis du Sénégal. The prototype of the mushroom city is Johannesburg which sprang up when gold was discovered (1886). These cities were the centre of power, and home to the administration, the army headquarters and company head offices. Most of the white population lived in cities. The economic centres were the ports, railway stations and the mining centres (compounds).

The urban migration process speeded up with the great depression of the 1930s, before which the colonial powers placed the emphasis on rural production for export: palm oil in Dahomey/Benin and Nigeria, peanuts in Senegal, coffee and cocoa in Côte d'Ivoire and Gold Coast, cotton elsewhere. This was the origin of the myth of the essentially rural African who had to be sent back to the country (the urban bias of the 1970s). However, the collapse of the prices of farm produce reduced the peasants to poverty. Their only way out was to move to the cities. Urban growth speeded up in the 1950s when a preventive health policy (vaccination) was introduced that reduced mortality rates while birth rates remained extremely high. The population boom reached staggering proportions in the 1970s. More than three-quarters of today's citizens are less than 26 years old and demographic growth is at its highest in cities.

Cities were the major job markets during colonization, as the presence of one colonizer attracted between 6 and 10 workers … and their families. At the beginning of colonization, the cities were peopled by Africans. The white city is an illusion constructed by colonial experts on the South African residential segregation model; the city is the white district: some large houses, administrative buildings, trade buildings. And the Blacks ? They "got by". Their huge districts only began to attract interest in the 1930s (the very first attempt was the building on marshy ground of the Medina district in Dakar in 1914, so that the inhabitants of the plain would "flee" (the word used at the time) after the epidemic of plague). Urban plans came into being in the 1950s, only 10 years before independence and followed a pattern that was already being applied: the Whites were separated by a huge no man's land from what the colonials continued to refer to as the "African villages" (as was the case in Brazzaville, Poto-Poto and Bakongo, which soon each had more than 500,000 inhabitants). The population density of these districts had nothing in common with the villages whose only feature they shared was the construction material. Land use was governed by "customary" practices. These so-called "squatter" or precarious districts were actually districts that were "uncontrolled" by the authorities, who rather late in the day began to tackle the worst shortcomings (with "serviced plot" programmes).

The so-called "informal" work of this mass of citizens started at the beginning of colonization, as somebody had to look after all the employees of the white population (railwaymen, postmen, porters, stone masons, artisans, "boys"). So, from the outset, there was large-scale female migration which was even less well controlled than that of the men. In the outsized cities which had not stopped growing in the 1950s, the population became urbanized on its own, inventing new ways of living in a city, which employed processes and mechanisms which were, to a large extent, unknown to official departments. This is why it is still so difficult today to adapt the traditional solutions of urban planning to a phenomenon which is inherited from a long history of mutual misunderstanding and incomprehension between the day-to-day practical life of the vast majority of city dwellers, those in underprivileged groups, and contemporary urban governance. ∎

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- Odile Goerg et Xavier Huets de Lemps, La ville européenne outre-mer, in Jean-Luc Pinol (sous la dir. de), Histoire de l'Europe urbaine, II. De l'ancien régime à nos jours, Paris, Seuil, 2003, pp. 279-335.

Are we all willing to learn?

Michel Arnaud, Ing.PC, Arch.DPLG, Urban planner, cofounder of AdP
michel.arnaud6@club-internet.fr

In 60 years, the urban population of West Africa has increased by a factor of 20 and that of its capital cities by one of 25. The descending phase of the demographic transition is only just beginning. It seems urgent to support urbanization as it is, rather than defining goals on behalf of the people who are affected.

Since 1950, the urban population of West Africa has increased by a factor of 20, and the population of the continent's capital cities by 25 on average (with much variation -Abidjan has grown by a factor of 45, Ouagadougou by 40, Lagos by 35, Cotonou by 60, Dakar by just 11). Urbanization (which is the ratio between the urban and rural populations)

has increased by a factor of 8. This growth, which was initially very strong, is due to slow down with the relative reduction in the rural reservoir that fed migration processes. There was nevertheless a change in the trend in about 1980 (slightly earlier in English-speaking countries) as a result of a severe economic recession. Abidjan's growth fell suddenly from 10% to 5% and that of Lagos from 8% to 4%, as early as 1970. Nevertheless, both before and after this change, urban and rural demographic growth remained the major factor of urban growth south of the Sahara. In spite of this, the rural population of West Africa increased from 57 to 195 Million: the term of rural exodus is therefore not appropriate. It could become so with deforestation, the destruction of soil and disputes over land.

Looking for a concrete case for the AdP study day that was due to examine the long-term history of the relationship between "urbanization and development aid", we selected Abidjan. We could have chosen other African cities, but Abidjan seemed the best choice because of the striking contrast between a period of prosperity (the Ivorian miracle) and a period of great difficulties (the reduction in the price of agricultural produce, adjustment programmes and political troubles). A change as sudden as this is rare in the social sciences and almost resembles a laboratory experiment.

The 15 years that followed independence saw a frenzied transfer of French urban solutions and methods: functional and proactive urban planning, prescriptive and highly subsidized social housing, state managed development associated with an attempt to make up for the under-industrialization of the "colonial pact". This modernist project undertaken by President Houphouët-Boigny was very close to the paradigm favoured by development experts at the time: developing countries should catch up (industrialize) by relying on aid and technology transfer from advanced countries. A parallel with the 30 years post second world war boom springs to mind.

The economic downturn forced the admission that, whatever efforts were made, modernist integration was incapable of absorbing urban growth. Side-by-side with the modern economy, a sector of activities known as informal, because it was unregulated, was developing. Michael Lipton blamed this on an "Urban Bias": the population was drawn into cities because of the advantages given to city dwellers at the expense of the rural population. This idea led to a review of aid: efforts were focussed on rural areas, slowing urban growth and providing essential services to the citizens while demanding that they pay their cost. In fact, migration into Abidjan only slowed as a result of the economic crisis. The speed with which this occurred shows that the migration had a rational basis, i.e. the opportunities for earning in the informal sector.

A housing estate in Abobo, Côte d'Ivoire, 1995.

Apartment Blocks in Cocody, Côte d'Ivoire, 1970.

We would have better understood the situation and reacted more appropriately if we had drawn a parallel between this "other urbanization" and the urbanization that occurred before the industrial revolution, linked to the development of trade and the division of work between the producers of agricultural produce and citizens, what the WDR[1] 2009 referred to as the rural-urban transition. This is a "bottom-up" movement of urbanization (Geopolis) which continues at a slower rate when the modern sector runs out of steam or trade barriers are lowered to an excessive extent.

Social housing has never accounted for more than 20% of Abidjan's housing stock. Private building has always been dominant, particularly in the form of nuclear housing (housing estates which are delivered without service networks) and the associated production of low-cost rented accommodation, which is the chief solution for housing low-income households, even in spontaneous or squatter settlements.

In Abidjan, as elsewhere, urban expansion came up against the land issue. Immediately after independence, the authorities assumed the right to remove traditional occupants while only compensating them for their lost property. The projects increased in scale, and encountered the opposition of the indigenous communities. President Houphouët-Boigny managed to construct a compromise: in exchange for their land, the occupants received a share

of the urban space that was created, and were given urban property to compensate them from the loss of income from agricultural production. The agreement provided a basis for a policy of transforming community rural land into urban property. It was necessary to provide naked plots, as the administration would pay more compensation in this case. Subsequently, the ability of the State to control the situation was reduced, and customary beneficiaries, manipulated by middlemen, became greedier and received the official right to divide land into plots themselves.

In cases where the authorities refused to recognize historical precedence, the land issue degenerated into a conflict and an increase in anarchical occupation supported by the indigenous community. In Lomé, on the other hand, where the German colonial authorities had recognized their rights, the indigenous population was always allowed to divide land into plots and to sell their land; it was only legal to sell plots if the service networks had been built… or were likely to be built, which for a long time made any anarchical occupation impossible and led to a level of facilities which was close to that of Abidjan or other cities, showing that if order is achieved with regard to land, networks and services follow, little by little as incomes permit.

The future growth of the cities in the region is another possible subject for debate. We shall just point out that the descending phase of the demographic transition has barely started, that those who will form households and will require dwellings in 20 years' time have already been born, that their number will increase at a rate that is similar to the current birth rate and that a return to economic growth will inevitably be accompanied by a return of migration. The challenge will be in 20 years' time to accommodate at least as many additional households as the cities of SSA are accommodating today, as international institutions finally recognized during the 2006 WUF[2]!

Is it possible that the shortcomings in the area of urban services can be overcome and the MDGs[3] achieved before the average urban income rises considerably? Of course, simple slogans are necessary in order to raise aid, but surely it is urgent to support urbanization in whatever form it takes, as supporting the practices which are actually adopted by the interested parties, particularly in the area of land, rather than defining goals for them, and constantly looking for "problems for our solutions" (Naudet) ? ■

1. *World Development Report, World Bank.*
2. *UN-Habitat World Urban Forum.*
3. *Millennium Development Goals.*

Urban development aid in French-speaking sub-Saharan Africa

isted@i-carre.net

In connection with the retrospective on urban development aid in French-speaking Africa, we will present here a survey of the contribution of the World Bank (WB) identifying two periods: 1970-1990 and since 1990.

At the beginning of the 1970s, there was a general consensus that priority should be given to the rural sector on the grounds that urban investment, which was generally subsidized by governments, affected only a minority of the population. In this context, the activities of the WB represented a break with normal practice. The Bank's action was founded on the fight against poverty and income disparities and its president at the time, Robert McNamara, accordingly increased the resources of an institution that he was to profoundly change. The "open project" concept was based on the following ideas: it had to improve urban living conditions, and therefore urban productivity, without drawing on the scant resources that were required for rural development or increasing the financial burden on public institutions. Put another way, the urban sector had to finance itself by recovering costs. The first urban projects had to supply urban services and jobs in an efficient and equitable manner, while focusing the major part of investment on the poorest urban groups who were also the most numerous.

Various types of urban projects have been implemented, but those which initially elicited the greatest reluctance were the housing projects. These broke with customary practices, involving "serviced plot" projects that encouraged low income groups to build their houses on plots that were only provided with essential services, and at the same time, "rehabilitation" projects that attempted to improve

World Bank Project 1972-1996

	All projects		Urbains projects	
	Number	USD billion	Number	USD billion
World	7,447	493,4	361	24,3
Africa	2,346	69,4	110	3,5
%	32%	14%	30%	14%
French-speaking	1,054	25,2	58	1,6
%	14%	5%	16%	7%

spontaneous districts or shanty towns, which were commonly bulldozed at the time. The norms for housing and infrastructure had to be compatible with the income level of the future beneficiaries and the conditions in each country, which generated much reluctance. The government, which was committed to this type of project, had to help low-income groups, guarantee security of tenure to the beneficiaries, reduce subsidies and support cost recovery as well as integrate these projects in its planning and urban investment programme.

Ultimately, the size of the resources put in place by the WB, the methodical organization of an action plan which at the time applied to all developing countries, revealed an approach which differed from that of most governments and most other donors, but over the years viewpoints gradually drew closer together on a large number of policy issues and, in the mid-1980s, urban projects started to focus on providing support to the municipal sector. During the period 1970-1990, the WB played, by default, a leadership role in the development of the tenets and practice of urban development.

Since 1990, the beliefs of the WB with regard to urban matters have become slightly less clear: in tune with the times, the goals are increasing in number. Moreover, resources, in particular from concessions, are falling considerably while the number of eligible countries is increasing. In the case of French-speaking Africa, we shall consider two types of projects initiated by the WB which helped channel aid but which, after a certain amount of hesitation gained

R. R.

SITE AND SERVICES
Rehabilitation and new building piots in Magnambougou

BAMAKO
MALI
1980

the support of governments and donors. These are the Agetip projects and "City contract" projects (both of which gained official recognition in Senegal where the WB's first urban project was carried out in 1972).

The "Executive Agencies for Works of Public Interest" (Agetip) were set up with a primary aim of helping to correct certain effects of the Structural Adjustment Programmes. The first Agetip project (Senegal 1989) was a response to a request from President Diouf, who wished the WB's support would have a fairly immediate impact on employment. The project had the following goals: to create a large number of urban jobs, even temporary ones, as soon as possible; to increase the know-how of artisans and small firms in the construction sector; to undertake labour-intensive works that serve a social and economic purpose; and to propose private and effective "delegated project ownership" as an alternative

to the inefficiency of the public sector. The success of the first Agetip project led to the extension of the experiment to 14 other countries (mainly in French-speaking Africa) where there are currently 17 agencies that are federated under the name of "Africatip". These have received total funding of USD 2 billion in recent years, with 33% from the WB, 20% from governments and 57% from other donors.

The "City contract" projects came into being after the initiation of decentralization processes in West Africa. Skills transfer made cooperation between the various partners essential, particularly between the State and municipalities. The "outsourced" funding of investment encouraged the authorities and donors to find ways of modifying their activities in cities. The first City Contracts were signed in Mali in 1995 in the framework of the 3rd urban project. The most emblematic of the municipal support projects was for Senegal (co-funded by the French Development

Agency). Currently, this has involved USD 860 million, 180 contracts, 12 countries and 5 principal donors.

Wherever decentralization reforms are undertaken, the population and leaders expect the entrenchment of democracy at the grass roots, better mobilization of development energy, more effective satisfaction of local needs and greater participation of the population in the management of public affairs. The approach means that mayors sign the programmes implemented in their municipality and makes them responsible for scheduling, financing, making and maintaining investments.

However, the scope of these projects (Agetip, City Contracts) should not deceive us. They are merely tools. Compared with the 1970s, the current urban development message is almost inaudible. This is disconcerting at a time when more than half the world's population lives in urban areas and this population is expected to double in the next 20 years. ■

News on cooperation

Africities

Organized by United Cities and Local Governments of Africa (UCLGA), the fifth "Africities" local government summit is to be held in Marrakech, from 16 to 20 December 2009. The summit brings together central and local governments, NGOs, the private sector, research and training associations, international bodies and development agencies and provides a discussion platform on political aspects and practices connected with decentralization in Africa.

Its central theme is "African Regional and Local Governments' Response to the Global Crisis: Promoting Sustainable Local Development and Employment". All the French participants are mobilized in the framework of the French Partnership for Cities and Territorial Areas (PFVT), in collaboration with their African partners and other participants from the South and the North.

ISTED is organizing two sessions: the first (in collaboration with Cities Alliance) is on strategic urban planning and the second, organized with the Global Road Safety Partnership (GRSP), is on road safety.

It should be noted that at the CITEXPO international exhibition, which takes place at the same time, ISTED is organizing the French pavilion, with the participation of the MAEE, the AFD, the IGD and the CUF.

Last, a special issue of the bulletin "Villes en développement" will be devoted to the Africities Summit (due to be published in March 2010).

Contact: christine.pointereau@i-carre.net
Information: www.africites.org

Publications
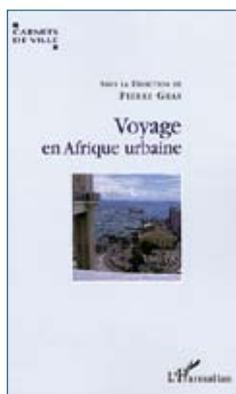
Voyage en Afrique urbaine

Under the direction of Pierre Gras, preface by Claude Jamati, President of the AdP, *L'Harmattan, Carnets de ville, urbanisme, aménagement, sociologie urbaine Afrique noire, 10/2009, 160 pages, prix: 16 €.*

Africa is undergoing unstoppable rapid urbanization. This book sets out to identify the changes taking place both in African cities and African society. It describes a varied and complex situation which we need to explore to gain a better understanding of urban issues and greater knowledge of the "Africa of cities" that is currently coming into being.
www.harmattan.fr
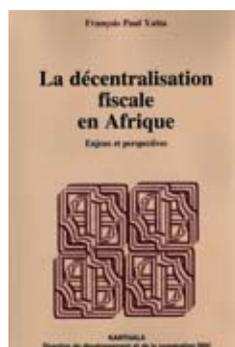
La décentralisation fiscale en Afrique – Enjeux et perspectives

François-Paul Yatta, *Karthala, collection Économie et développement, 04/2009, 324 pages, prix : 28 €.*

This book presents the different forms currently taken by fiscal decentralisation in all parts of Africa, with regard to the taxation collected by local authorities, that collected jointly with the State, and local authority access to State loans and subsidies. In addition it proposes a test for measuring and classifying the level of fiscal decentralization in African countries.
www.karthala.com

Aménager la ville africaine

Guide des procédés et procédures d'aménagement urbain à l'usage des municipalités africaines gestionnaires des villes moyennes (Afrique francophone), 03/2008, 157 pages.
This guide is intended for elected officials and municipal leaders in charge of urban planning and design. It sets out techniques for: action in the area of urban planning, providing service networks, controlling land use, parcelling out land, performing redevelopment, organizing the municipality to enable it to be able to carry out planning functions efficaciously, mobilizing resources. The guide can be downloaded in French from the website of the Partenariat pour le développement municipal (PDM).
www.pdm-net.org