



RÉPUBLIQUE
FRANÇAISE

*Liberté
Égalité
Fraternité*



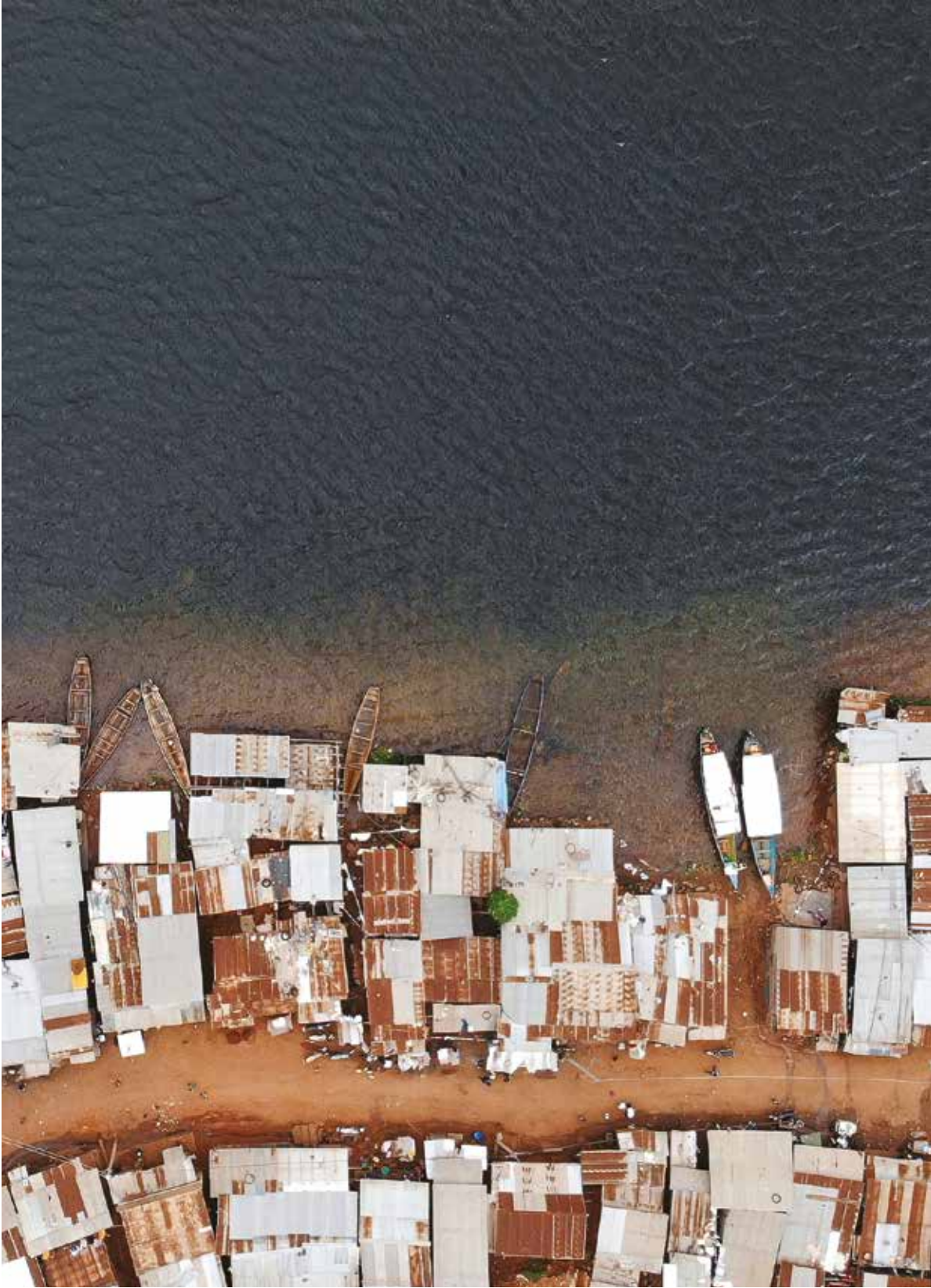
Combining social cohesion and resilience

The experience of African cities



#WorldInCommon

**Combining
social cohesion and resilience**
The experience of African cities



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Urban transitions in Africa at the heart of the Sustainable Development Goals



Rémy RIOUX

CEO of the Agence Française de Développement Group

Africa's population, which has already increased fourfold over the past fifty years, is expected to climb to 2.5 billion by 2050. While Africans represented 13% of the world's population at the end of the 20th century, they will make up a quarter of humankind in 2050. Core to this demographic change, cities will soon be home to most of Africa's population: with an urbanisation rate of 4% a year, 60% of Africans will be living in cities by 2050 compared to nearly 40% today. This means 1.2 billion city dwellers compared to 400 million today.

Already, urban areas are contributing to the continent's economic dynamism, particularly by fuelling the rise of a middle class. Yet, this trend requires massive investments of an estimated

130–170 billion dollars each year to meet African cities' needs in basic infrastructure. On top of the numbers challenge, a change of course is crucial to respond to the challenges raised by an unprecedented urban explosion. Innovation, both technical and social, is required if we are to act more effectively.

In this respect, African youth — who will represent half of the world's young people in 2070 — must be supported as they are among the first to mobilize for the ecological and territorial transition, and especially young women like Vanessa Nakate. We must step up our support for the entrepreneurial spirit of young Africans, who long for innovation. And we must facilitate their participation in governance systems to support the continent's development in line with the Sustainable Development Goals.

For, although climate change is apparent everywhere in the world, Africa is the first victim of this environmental shock, which is essentially exogenous to the continent. Given that they concentrate high levels of population and infrastructure on their territory, African cities in particular are already suffering from the effects of climate change, be it flooding, rising sea levels or coastal erosion. Investments made in Africa will also have a decisive impact for the rest of the world. A large swathe of our common future is being played out on this vast continent, which will have to follow a development path with a lower carbon footprint than has been the case for industrialised countries to comply with the Paris Climate Agreement.

In this context, African cities are the epicentres of decisive global challenges: including driving back poverty and fighting inequality; combating social exclusion and promoting mobility for all; adapting to climate change and preserving ecosystems; facilitating access to education and culture; creating jobs and value; and providing services and new uses that improve people's daily life without harming the lives of future generations.

These urban transitions raise the issue of the financing gap. While most cities in the global North have sufficient financial resources, many cities in the global South are coping with limited capacities. To address this, the 450 public development banks worldwide gathered for the first time at the Finance in Common Summit and committed to forming a global coalition. These institutions can play a substantive role in

providing financial and technical support as they represent 2,500 billion dollars of investments, equivalent to 10% of global annual investments. They have a role to play in designing common instruments, such as guarantee schemes, to finance resilient cities.

This is what AFD Group is working towards, having invested almost 3 billion euros specifically for sustainable cities in 2019, of which 1.15 on the African continent as part of an ongoing public policy dialogue. This financing concerns major cities but also so-called intermediary cities, such as the programmes supported in Morocco, Senegal, Cameroon and South Africa. In fact, two-thirds of urban growth will be in these secondary cities – with populations of between 200,000 and 300,000 inhabitants that are set to double or triple by 2050.

French President Emmanuel Macron reminded us of this in his speech in Ouagadougou on 28 November 2017: *“it is in Africa that tomorrow's sustainable cities are being invented”*. It is up to us to support this and contribute to the emergence of these cities in common.



A Narrative for African Cities



Sithole MBANGA
CEO: South African
Cities Network

Africa is rapidly urbanizing. Large and small urban centres across the continent are set to accommodate larger populations. The challenges associated with rapid urban growth are currently on display across the continent, where cities are unable to provide the infrastructure and socio-economic services at the pace and scale required to manage the increasing number of people living in cities. The future success of African cities depends immensely on the ability of local governments to lead responses to the urbanization phenomenon. Yet, there is no clear African narrative about what city development is all about and needs to encompass to develop into the future. I do not mean the Africa Rising type of sloganeering that is often projected, but rather a clear policy directive on African Urbanization that sets in motion an ability for local government to respond. The challenges with centralized power across many African cities remain, and dilute the potential of local government responses.

An African narrative is needed, one that places people at the centre of development and equips local government with the power and responsibility to facilitate and drive local, community responses to challenges. Without this, the many challenges that face cities will be dealt with at a general scale, when in fact what is required are locally relevant

responses. I outline a few of the major challenges facing African cities, and offer perspectives on how local governments can respond.

The energy transition and climate change

As major leaps are being made in energy generation technology, Africa has an ability to take a different low-carbon growth path. The consequences of not shifting towards clean energy is the growing contribution to climate change, the consequences of which are most severely felt by the poor and marginalized in society. They are often displaced, disrupted by the devastation of natural disasters and worsening food insecurity to name but a few. Local governments are critical to low-carbon development, as they are the part of government “closest to the ground”, meaning they are often relied upon and expected to assist and respond. Yet, with already stretched administrations, limited powers and limited finances the task is overwhelming. Local governments across Africa need to begin exploring alternative energy functions not necessarily being the provider of service but rather facilitating new energy suppliers into the market. Much has been written about the economic potential of new energy generation where new individuals, communities and co-operatives can start to generate and supply energy. In order to facilitate a transformation in the energy market,

local governments have an opportunity to re-invent the energy game and transform the energy economy. Importantly they will need to be enabled to do so.

Transport and Mobility - Access and movement in cities

The movement of people and goods is another major aspect of development in cities. African cities are exceptionally inefficient in their movement of people and goods. While transport infrastructure is limited, expanding urban populations are creating more demand for better transportation, but the slow movement of goods and people compromises economies of scale.

Many African cities have been investing in improved freeway and main arterial public transport infrastructure and systems- most often driven from the central government. There are two important opportunities for local government in the realm of transportation. The first is tied to improved technologies associated with the mobile phone and what it has meant for being able to understand transport demand and supply. Local governments have the ability to work with transport operators to rationalize supply and provide conditions for improved demand management through transport data policy and analysis and providing a conducive regulatory environment for various transport operators across goods and people movement.

This is critical in a context of limited transport infrastructure. Covid-19 has demonstrated the world over that productivity in certain sectors is not compromised through remote working, and this is an immediate area where transport demand can be limited. Secondly, local governments need to consider how local paratransit operators and informal efforts to improve transport conditions can be improved without over-regulation. Here, there are important partnering lessons from across the continent where local governments are working with operators to provide improved levels of service.

Human settlements- the spatial agenda

As African cities grow with limited infrastructure, there are already signs that government planning efforts are not able to shape growth in a sustainable manner, where infrastructure and urban development plans are not able to be implemented at the pace required to meet growth demands. The signs are pointing towards sprawl — outward expansion of peripheral areas in African cities

which makes infrastructure provision, movement and access further constrained. Local government planning and development response requires a fundamental rethink. As urban planning is premised on a set of preconceived conditions about the state's capacity to deliver infrastructure and control settlement patterns in a structured way. These conditions do not exist in African cities, the rate of growth coupled with the capacity constraints of local governments mean that the official and conventional urban planning methods are not fit for purpose. Local government can rewrite the planning rulebook, so the decisions taken are more relevant to local conditions, more sustainable, and acted upon. What is needed is a planning paradigm suited to informality, which expands land tenure options and facilitates improved building methods towards a more sustainable future.

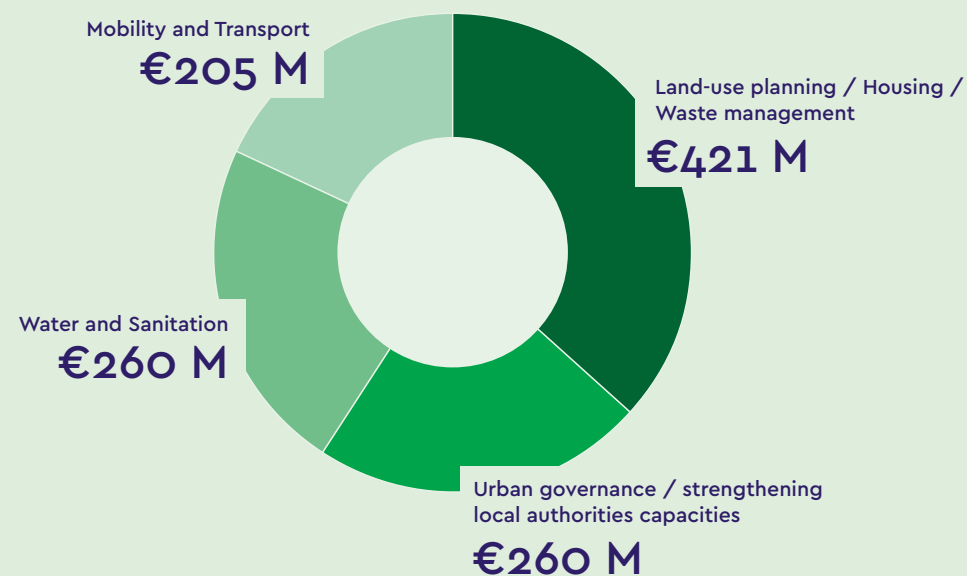
Getting to grips with technology

The African local government of the future is one that is actively engaging with technology as an enabler to development, rather than gripped by inertia of previous procedures. The technological opportunities exist to be able to connect with other urban development actors and communities in proactive ways. They can also provide improved access to participatory decision-making and information. Local governments need to reposition themselves relative to the technological wave that has swept the globe and is rising in African societies. There are many challenges that face African local governments, the greatest of which is how they see themselves and believe they need to respond. I am calling for a renewed energy in local governments across Africa. One that results in a shift away from a traditional government posture, governing through administrative procedures, limited budgets and strict regulations. Towards dynamic, entrepreneurial local governments, that are actively partnering with communities, exploring and experimenting with new technologies and ways of working and leading by doing. Building strong networks of cities across the continent is critical. It is what has changed the situation in South Africa. Importantly the narrative that local government so desperately needs in Africa must be written by local governments themselves, not through words but through actions galvanizing real change in communities.



AFD Group commitments to support sustainable cities in Africa in 2019

With 1.15 billion euros approved in 2019, AFD Group is financing and supporting **34 new urban development projects** in Africa. It is investing for fairer and more sustainable cities thanks to a broad range of financial and technical instruments..



Financing approved in 2019 will provide:

Improved access to essential services for

8.3 M
people

Improved access to sustainable urban transport for

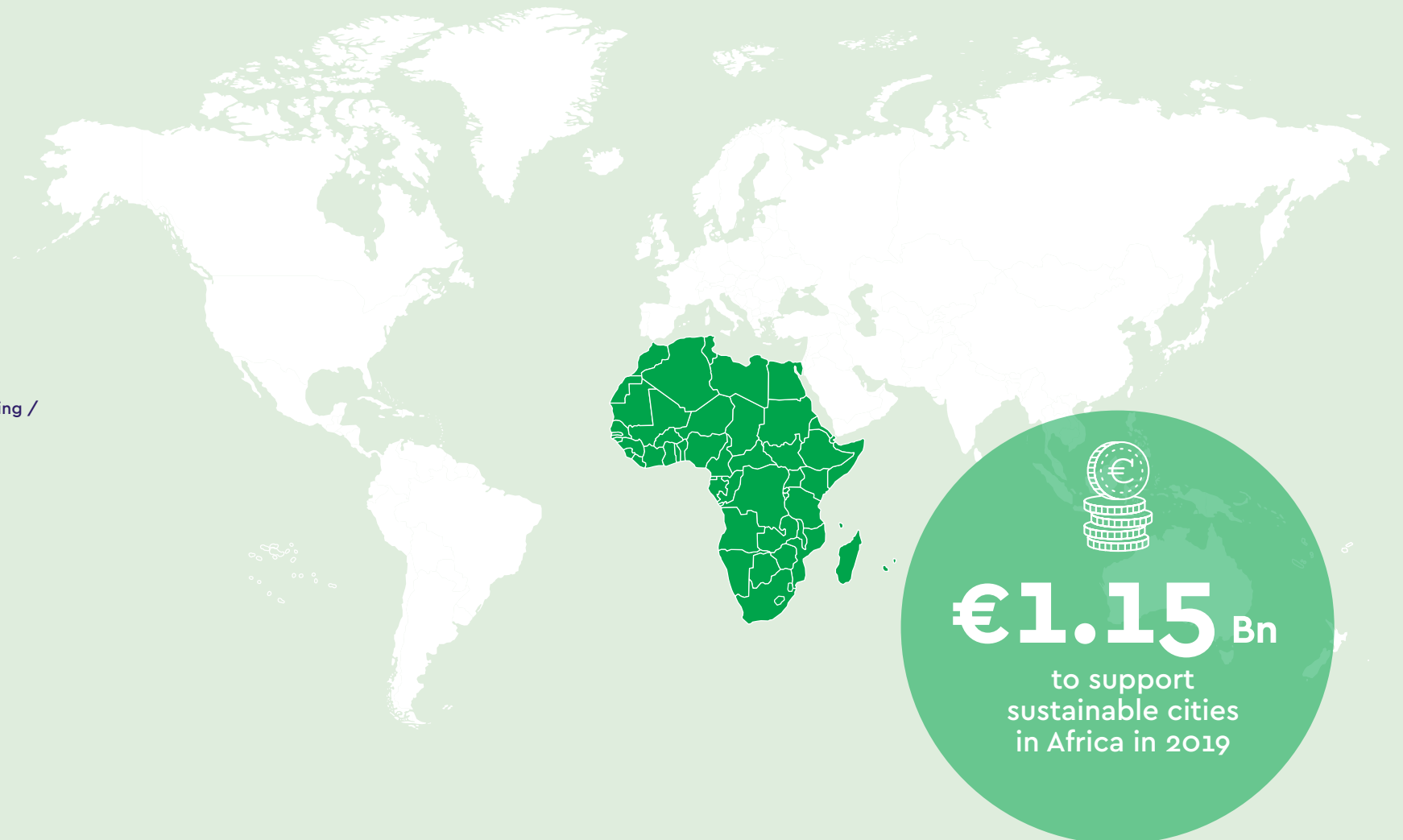
940,000
people

Improved or safer housing for

70,000
people

Climate resilience for

47,000
people



‘Tomorrow’s city will be African’



Karine DE FREMONT
*Director of the UrbanTransition
 and Mobility Department*

Although today Africa has a low level of urbanisation (38%), high demographic growth coupled with an ongoing rural exodus is now driving the highest urban growth rate in the world (+4% per year). The number of city dwellers, now standing at 500 million, will double over the next twenty years. No other continent has faced this type of dynamic: it took centuries for Europe to produce such an increase, and even China has not experienced a phenomenon of this magnitude within such a limited timeframe. By 2025, more than 100 African cities will each be home to over one million inhabitants, whereas only around 50 bordered on this threshold in 2010. And by 2100, the three most populous cities in the world will be African: Lagos, Kinshasa and Dar es Salaam. Yet, urbanisation in Africa does not boil down to a phenomenon of megalopolisation. Intermediate cities of fewer than one million inhabitants in fact constitute 60% of urban growth. UN-Habitat estimates that half of the urban areas that will exist in ten years have not yet been built. The coming decades will thus be crucial for planning a sustainable urban future.

Rising to the challenge of a city for everyone

The speed of this urban explosion is clearly not without consequences. Cities are often unable to absorb such a rapid and massive increase of their populations. This has resulted in a spontaneous, anarchic urbanisation, with two-thirds of new city-dwellers having no choice but to settle in informal, precarious and underequipped settlements.

This observation is indisputable and if the question of integrating these settlements into the rest of the city is not tackled, it will fuel a vicious cycle of uncertainty, insecurity and injustice. This runs the risk of creating widespread urban poverty likely to breed violence, which is a serious obstacle to social and economic progress, as it undermines social cohesion and erodes trust in public institutions.

This means that, to prosper and drive national development, African cities must be safe. The fact that cities like Kinshasa or Lagos are dealing with a daily influx of over 1,500 additional city-dwellers illustrates the magnitude of the issue.

The new urban landscapes over the next 20 years will of course be shaped by demographic transitions and economic opportunities, but also and above all, by public policies that will need to be inclusive and green to maintain a social, economic and environmental balance.

Changing direction

Finding the means to improve living conditions for the inhabitants of precarious neighbourhoods and to meet the needs of new city-dwellers will be one of the most pressing challenges of the coming decades for African national and local governments alike.

This will first mean mobilising public and private domestic resources, and finding new sources of finance where the informal economy is large, and local taxation is limited. And we need to go even further. The international community has committed to facilitating local authorities' access to loans so they can finance their investments, and has recognised the catalytic role of development banks (Habitat III, 2016). This is a real step forward, and France is highly mobilised in this respect. Yet, the number of cities involved is still too small. Today, the objective is to reach secondary cities as well. And for this, we must diversify, be innovative, create new tools and mobilise our partners even more effectively. Given the magnitude of the challenges and the climate emergency, we must accelerate our actions to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals, which concern us all. Mindful of this, in 2019 we reviewed our strategy for Sustainable Cities. Our vision and our interventions are evolving towards linking together social cohesion and resilience, following the path traced by African cities.



Dakar

More than a road, a corridor for shared prosperity has been created

Situated on the western tip of Africa, on the Cape Verde peninsula, the region of Dakar is developing very rapidly despite its singular and particularly confined geographic location. Surrounded on all sides by the Atlantic Ocean, the only possibility for its expansion is eastwards. Yet, this peninsula of 550 km², which represents 0.3% of the national territory, is home to 25% of Senegal's population.

It also concentrates 80% of economic activity. Faced with the risk of saturation and congestion, mobility was and still is a major challenge for the development of the Senegalese capital — and the whole country.

A look at the programme that marked a turning point in the region's development trajectory and sets Dakar onto an ambitious territorial transition path.





A Driving his car, Malick Diop has a smile on his face. The traffic is fluid and it will take him no more than 30 minutes to reach Dakar city centre from the airport. *“It’s really pleasant! To think that not long ago, we were living a daily nightmare. We tend to forget that it used to take us at least two hours to get in or out of the capital.”*

Today, held up as a model for the quality of its urban development, Dakar is indeed more dynamic than ever and its influence is felt across the entire sub-region. But this was not always so. Until the 2000s, the Senegalese capital was suffocating. Quite literally.

**1 million inhabitants in 1980,
4 million in 2020**

Since the 1960s, the population of the Cape Verde peninsula has been growing fast. In 1950, there were only 200,000 inhabitants but by 1980 this figure shot up to one million. Since then, every twenty years, the population in the Dakar region has doubled. In 2000, it exceeded 2 million people. Today, it is bordering on 4 million. Like Abidjan, Abuja, Accra, Bamako or Ouagadougou, Dakar is now gaining an average 100,000 inhabitants each year, and this has been the case for the last ten or so years. And this trend seems to be accelerating, as UN-Habitat’s projections now foresee more than 5 million people by 2025.

Although this demographic boom is primarily due to natural population increase, other factors are involved too. It is also the result of a high rural-urban migration spurred by struggling local development. For too long — and particularly during the structural adjustment period that the country experienced from the early 1980s to the end of the 20th century — Senegal lacked a real national territorial development policy, — and a budget to implement it.

For want of political momentum and sufficient investment to support the revival of agricultural activity and the creation of real dynamics in the country’s secondary cities, the infrastructure, economic activities and thus wealth, has been concentrated in Dakar. The capital’s power of attraction quickly increased to the detriment of a hinterland unable to offer effective alternatives. Gradually, many of the villages emptied and the Cape Verde peninsula more or less successfully absorbed, these neo-city dwellers searching for a better life in the city. Yet, while foreseeable, the size of this influx was neither anticipated nor supported. And due to a lack of strategic planning, urbanisation proceeded in a chaotic manner.

**Overpopulated, under-equipped,
polluted, Dakar was suffocating**

However, from the 1950s, the government had begun to act on the increasingly serious housing problem. Fearing the growth of the slums that had recently appeared in the capital, it had decided to create a new town, Pikine, to the east of the capital, to house the residents that had been forcibly evicted from these slums. Yet, rapid urban growth very soon outpaced the initial plan, which had been far too restricted in its scope. Pikine then Guédiawaye saw their populations swell exponentially... with no construction of the infrastructure and facilities that were nonetheless essential for the residents to achieve their full potential. The peninsula became saturated. Huge traffic jams paralysed the region: hundreds of thousands of morning commutes into Dakar city centre for work, hundreds of thousands of evening commutes in the opposite direction back home on the city outskirts.

As Malick Diop remembers, *“During the rainy season, stretching from June to September, it was not uncommon to take two or three hours to get to Dakar from Pikine.”*



25%

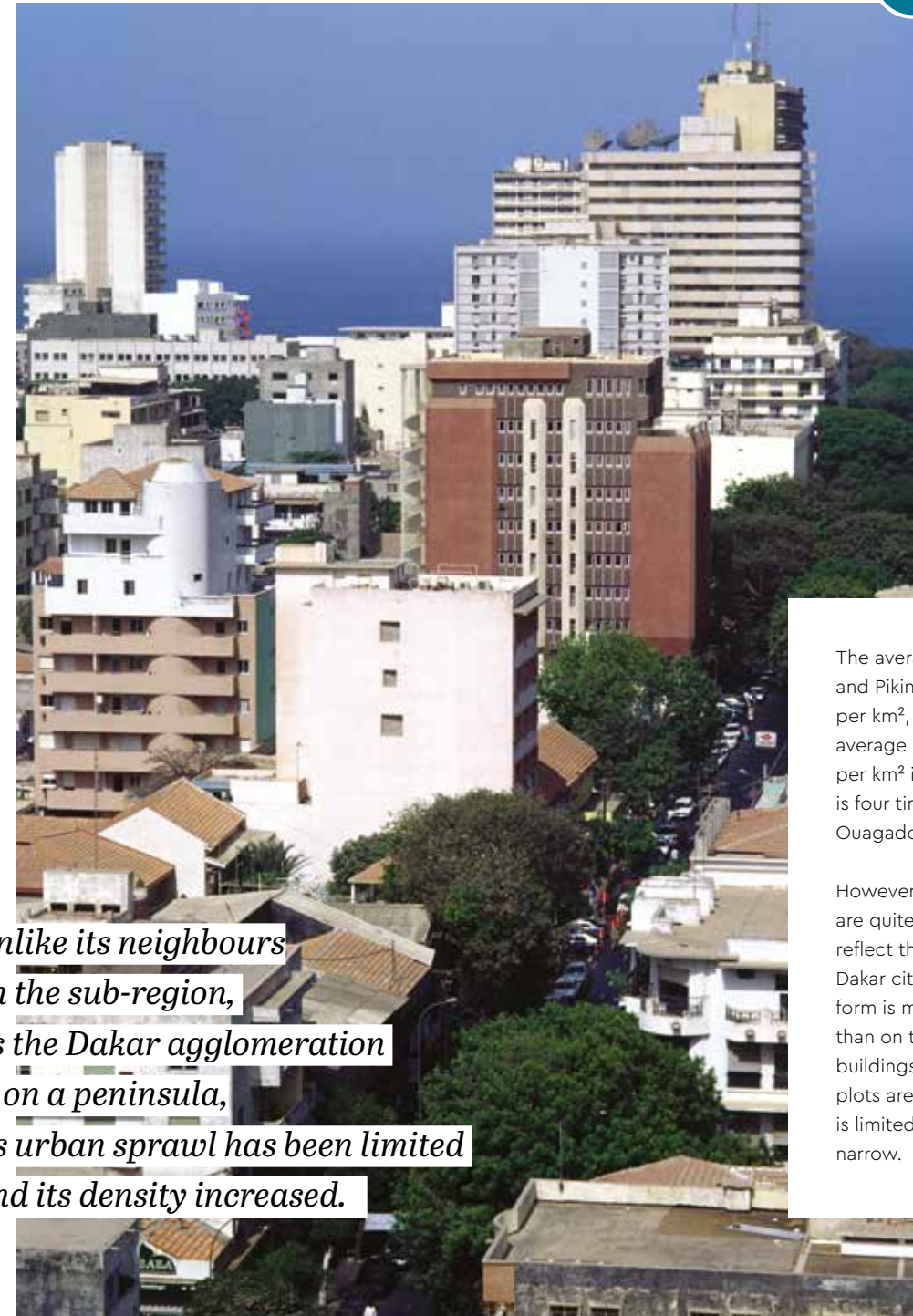
of Senegalese live
in the Dakar Region

4M

inhabitants
in 2020

80%

of economic activity
concentrated on a peninsula
of 550 km², which represents
0.3% of the national territory.



*Unlike its neighbours
in the sub-region,
as the Dakar agglomeration
is on a peninsula,
its urban sprawl has been limited
and its density increased.*

The average density of Dakar and Pikine is 16,000 inhabitants per km², and this reaches an average of 20,000 inhabitants per km² in Guédiawaye, which is four times more than in Ouagadougou!

However, while these figures are quite similar, they do not reflect the same realities: in Dakar city centre, the urban form is much more vertical than on the periphery, where buildings are not very high, plots are smaller, public space is limited and streets are narrow.

It's not hard to imagine when you realise that for over 40 years, between 1967 and 2004, road infrastructure had barely changed, whereas the population had increased fivefold. In 2006, the National Road 1, the main artery for traffic flows mainly between Dakar and Pikine, was carrying 60% of vehicle traffic east of the capital.

Faced with this untenable situation, decongesting the capital and its periphery became crucial

The decision to build a motorway through to the extremity of the peninsula, to Diamniadio, was the logical solution.

This idea of building an expressway was not, however, new. In fact, in 1978, at the initiative of Léopold Sédar Senghor's government, a motorway project linking Dakar to Thiès had emerged and a route had been defined based on the recommendations of detailed studies. But the project could not be launched at the time. One year later, Senegal like many developing countries, had had to engage in the structural reform programmes set up by the IMF and the World Bank. As a result, the country took drastic economic and financial measures. Even more strapped for cash, the government was obliged to prioritise its actions and abandon certain projects.

It took 20 years, following this period of austerity, for the project to be finally resuscitated; Abdoulaye Wade, who became President of the Republic in 2000, based the country's economic recovery on the implementation of a vast investment programme. Expressways, motorways and a new airport topped the agenda.

The first step: construction of the motorway

With a threefold objective. First of all, it was essential to improve the flow of the very heavy two-way traffic between the city centre and its

periphery, and thus improve the daily life of the 4 million Dakar citizens confined in such a cramped space.

Next, the aim was to improve links between the capital and the rest of the country, with the long-term ambition of moving towards a more balanced and harmonious distribution of economic activities across the national territory. Finally, to ensure that the country remained attractive, it was necessary to guarantee potential operators and investors that Dakar could provide them with optimal conditions for developing their business.

To bring this project to life, various scenarios were studied. And choices had to be made that factored in social and environmental risks. Given this, the decision was made to keep the original 1978 routing. Even so, this did not make things any easier. Twenty years had already gone by and, as nature abhors a vacuum, the rights of way for this routing had not been conserved. They had been pre-empted by the thousands of new city-dwellers who had come to settle as close as possible to the capital.

Beyond the urban landscape, the institutional landscape was also much changed, as a decentralisation process had been ongoing since 1996. Although this road infrastructure project was commissioned by the central government, its implementation was going to involve an area managed by a diverse range of local governments: departments, towns, municipalities, districts.

Too little — or no — space to build even basic facilities... to say nothing of a motorway. As a result, this general interest project would inevitably involve expropriations and the displacement of a large number of inhabitants. So how to promote it so it would be accepted? How could it be optimised and its negative impacts be mitigated? Involving sometimes conflicting interests, one of the main challenges of the project would be to reach a consensus that would enable its political and social ownership.

"Moving forward together and creating synergies"

Being careful to avoid becoming entangled in a technically and politically unmanageable project, the government and its partners began to rethink the objectives of their operation. Agence Française de Développement, together with the World Bank and the African Development Bank, accompanied the Senegalese government in this reflection. The idea was to integrate issues that went beyond the mobility aspect, to think in terms of "territory" and take a broader view, in order to bring concrete responses that meet the needs of the region's inhabitants.

"When building a motorway, we knew that we would inevitably have some drawbacks. But they could be turned into advantages, when we intervened inside the irregular settlements crossed by the motorway. We could improve living conditions, and build the consensus we wanted with residents, as well as having very positive impacts", explained Dominique Ndong, former Deputy Managing Director of the National Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Large Projects (APIX), to which the Senegalese government had entrusted the implementation of the programme.

To meet these requirements, the road project soon turned into an integrated urban development programme. And this is what ensured its success. However, the path to this urban transformation was a long one. All the more so as the completion of the project required clearing numerous rights of way. So if there is one lesson that Dominique Ndong wants to retain, it is that a region like Dakar cannot develop without an urban development master plan that necessarily defines broader development priorities. *"Making plans is not enough. You then have to protect the areas earmarked for projects during the time it takes to be able to implement them. We should have protected the rights of way that belonged to the state. In Senegal, we have all the necessary texts of laws, but what's missing is actually applying*

them" he regrets. *"And in the end, the government penalised itself, doubly: the project took more time to implement because the rights-of-way clearance was a long and complex process and, above all, it was automatically more costly as the state had to compensate the inhabitants when it wanted to recover the land that it actually owned."*

Far from being discouraged, the Senegalese government launched the project in 2006. To project and convince its partners of its determination, it financed two sections of the motorway with its own resources. A first section linking the historic Plateau neighbourhood to that of La Patte d'Oie, the only entry and exit point to Senegal's capital; then an extension as far as Pikine, which provided Dakar's periphery with rapid access to the city centre. *"We could have continued like that until the end, following this phasing. But, of course, the motorway would not have been completed in 2016! The opening would have been delayed by several years",* admits APIX's former Deputy Managing Director.

"Substantial financial resources were mobilised thanks to the road project; resources that would have been very difficult to mobilise independently."

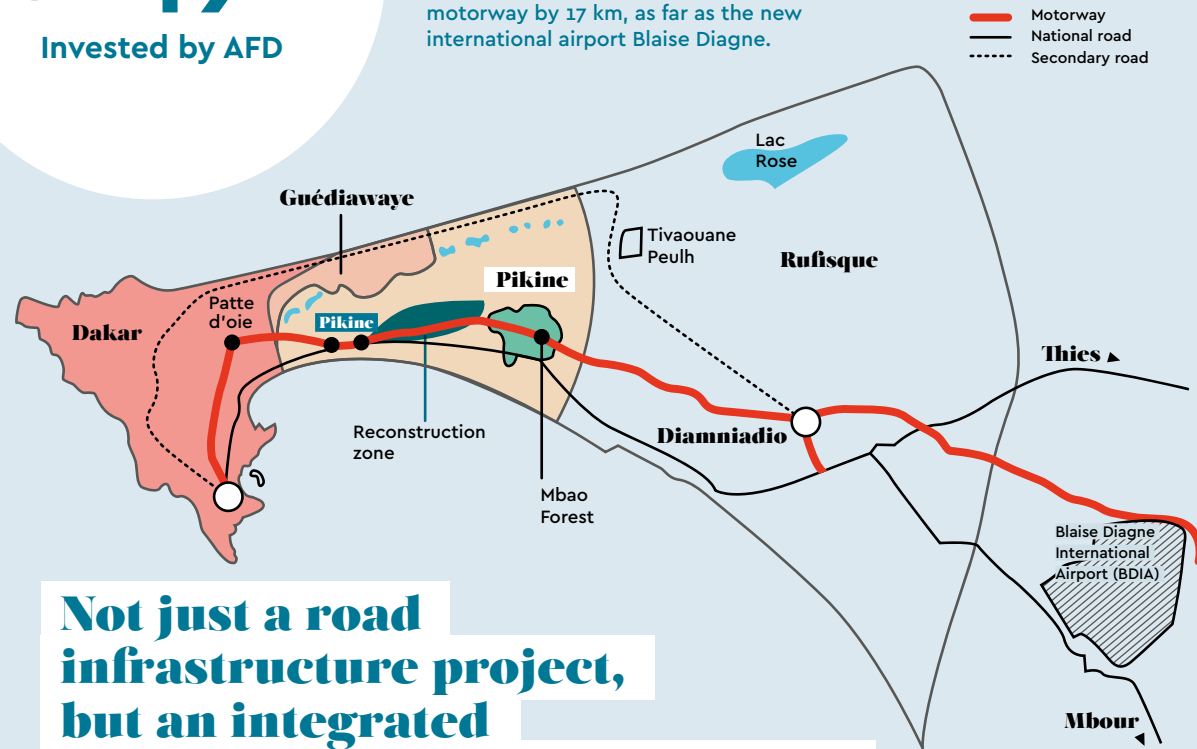
Not just a road infrastructure project, but an integrated urban development programme

As a result, 2009 saw the launch of a comprehensive programme to fight urban congestion and, more broadly, to improve the living conditions of 4 million inhabitants in the Dakar Region. With a 631 million euros investment, the Senegalese government opted

€149M
Invested by AFD

A €60 M loan in 2009 for the urban development project that mainly enabled construction of the 22 km segment connecting Pikine and Diamniadio,

An €89 M loan in 2013 to extend the motorway by 17 km, as far as the new international airport Blaise Diagne.



Not just a road infrastructure project, but an integrated urban development programme

- **West Africa's first toll motorway:** 2x2 lanes between Pikine and Diamniadio, stretching 22 km (phase 1) and 17 km between Diamniadio and Blaise Diagne airport (phase 2)
- **Right-of-way clearance and compensation of inhabitants** impacted by the routing of the motorway, i.e. about 40,000 people
- **Construction of a new neighbourhood of 165 hectares, Tivaouane Peulh:** service provision for 2,000 plots, roads, drainage, sanitation, construction of health centres, schools, etc.
- **Restructuring of the neighbourhood of Pikine Irrégulier Sud** (about. 200,000 inhab.): roads, drainage, sanitation, social facilities (schools, women's centres, markets, etc.)
- **Reforestation of the Mbao classified forest**

to go far beyond the road project. In addition to promoting the construction of West Africa's first toll motorway, the programme integrated major works to develop the run-down neighbourhoods to the south of the city of Pikine: roads, drainage, sanitation, social amenities. A new neighbourhood covering 165 hectares, Tivaouane Peulh, also was built northeast of the capital to rehouse the families impacted by the construction of the motorway. Finally, Mbao forest was reforested to compensate for the area on its perimeter taken up by the motorway.

Taking advantage of the motorway project's spillover effects to do more and better

In the end, the construction of the motorway offered the opportunity to restructure, regularise and equip the poor neighbourhoods located close by.

The success of the overall programme depended on the successful implementation of these social aspects, which were a prerequisite for the progress of the motorway.

To carry out the roadworks, it was necessary to clear the rights of way; and for this, it was first necessary to complete the resettlement site so that people could move there. Everything was interlinked. And there was strong pressure for the project to be delivered on time in line with the commitments made by President Wade.

On top of that, the Senegalese government would have to pay substantial penalties to SENAC SA, the contracting company and subsidiary of Eiffage, for each day the works were delayed due to the non-clearance of the rights of way. So to limit costs, an alternative was found:

"We approved aid for house rentals to cover the time until the rehousing zone was ready or until residents had built another house somewhere else. And to avoid rushing things, the decision was taken to build the Pikine-Thiaroye section, which was the most densely populated, at the end of phase 1."

An innovative programme in many respects...

- Its "integrated" and "territorial" approach interlinking i) motorway infrastructure; ii) roads, drainage, sanitation, social amenities in the Pikine Sud neighbourhood; iii) creation / development of a new neighbourhood northeast of the capital (Tivaouane Peulh), and iv) reforestation of Mbao Forest.
- The quality of support and the level of compensation for people impacted by the project (World Bank OP4.12 guidelines followed when a project is likely to result in involuntary resettlement, impacts on livelihoods, land acquisition or restrictions on access to natural resources).
- A concerted and partner-based approach bringing together several donors (World Bank, AFD, African Development Bank).
- Its financing: sub-Saharan Africa's first public-private partnership, outside of South Africa.
- Its scope: a regional perimeter, financial amount (€631 M), 40,000 people rehoused.

A critical preliminary step: clearing the rights of way required to implement the project

From the moment work began on the first section, the government imposed high standards; in fact, those used by international donors. For the second section, linking Patte d'Oie to Pikine, people had to be displaced, mainly on the Dalifort side. In the end, to make room for the motorway, 3,000 families had to be displaced, most of them from the poorer and densely populated segment Pikine-Thiaroye. In addition, for lack of available land, other plots also had to be cleared to allow for the establishment of new infrastructure and to build the social and educational amenities that Pikine so badly needed.

APIX teams accompany
the Tivaouane Peulh
neighbourhood representatives:
“We discussed what was
feasible or not”.



In this situation, strict rules were observed and the watchword was: compensate people fairly, transparently and ahead of demolition.

“To define the level of compensation, we looked at the amount of land, the buildings and the quality of building materials”, explained architect Xavier Ricou, former Director of Large Projects at APIX. Clever ways were found to ensure that no one lost out and that all affected residents were compensated, including families that had built informally with no formal land title:

“We compensated them for the efforts they put into building their the house.”

From the third section on, once the motorway project had become an urban development programme, measures were taken to facilitate the resettlement of residents affected by operations. First, to work closely with the populations on this complex and sensitive phase, APIX, the programme’s implementing agency, opened an office at Keur Massar where Pikine residents could seek advice and assistance. Next, Senegal’s state institutions contracted local NGOs to help coordinate the dialogue. Public hearings were organised with the neighbourhood chiefs and religious leaders present, gathering the largest audience possible, municipality by municipality. “It was a way to explain the project and discuss what was feasible or not.”

This support marked a turning point in the way of operating in the precarious neighbourhoods that had long been stigmatised.

Today, we are far from the forced and uncompensated “déguerpissements” (evictions) that had been practiced into the 1990s.

“The way of operating changed radically”, said Hassan Diallo, delegate of the Sicap Diamaguène neighbourhood, who had arrived in 1963 following his family’s relocation from the Obélisque neighbourhood in the centre of Dakar.

“At the time, I witnessed the demolitions on my way home from school. We were made to leave by force, in the middle of the school year, with no compensation. Forty years later, it was completely different. There were negotiations, our opinions counted, we were compensated.”

Above all, in addition to being compensated, property-owning residents were given the opportunity to access viable plots in the new neighbourhood of Tivaouane Peulh, which had been specially designed for them. This offer balanced out the amount of compensation paid to them, as the new plots were “subsidised”.

The price proposed for a viable plot was FCFA 2.6 million [about €4,000], which was well under its real estimated value of FCFA 5-6 million. Property-owners who had received a low level of compensation (between FCFA 5 and 10 million) were thus proposed a new plot at half price and the most vulnerable were given a plot free.

“We tried to reproduce their original neighbourhood, along with its neighbours”

Given the “social divide” felt, it was absolutely necessary to make a special effort when developing the zone. The residents were able to choose their land on a map and group together according to their preferences. But it took time to get used to this new life, far from family and friends. “When you’ve been living in a place for 30 years, you have ties. If you’re in difficulty, the neighbour helps you out, the local store gives you credit. It’s very hard when you have no friends. No one is there to help you if you’ve run out of



“By coming to Tivaouane Peulh, we have definitely seen the end of flooding”, enthuses Oulimata Beyo, the President of the Tivaouane Peulh women’s association.



Tivaouane :
Peulh market :

rice or sugar”, remembers Papa Khalil Gaye, the President of the Displaced Residents’ Committee. And this transition was made all the more difficult because not everything was functioning when they arrived at Tivaouane Peulh. Many of the women had to go back to doing business in their former neighbourhood until the market and other infrastructure became available.

Today, the neighbourhood is highly prized. It has all the necessary facilities: roads, street lighting, social and commercial community amenities. “We have definitely seen the end of flooding”, enthuses Oulimata Beyo, President of the Tivaouane Peulh women’s association. “In front of each house, there is a paved road. And better than septic tanks, we are connected to the sewage system!” Many residents are proud to say that this level of service can be found nowhere else, not even in Dakar city centre, Dakar-Plateau. There’s no wonder that 1,800 families have chosen to settle there. Yet, strolling around Tivaouane Peulh, you can see that many of the plots are still waiting to be built on.

“Some people simply don’t yet have the means. Between the moment they had to leave their house in Pikine and the moment the plot became available, time has passed and many of them have already spent their compensation money. As for the others, they are certainly waiting for the value of their land to increase so they can sell it,” confides an APIX official with a smile.

The high level of service provision has clearly bred speculation. “We gave these plots to people with very few resources. And given the market value of the land, it was unrealistic to think that they were all really going to settle there”, admits Dominique Ndong. “Some preferred to sell and live modestly elsewhere. With their resettlement compensation and the sale of their land in Tivaouane Peulh, they managed to buy in another neighbourhood. Today, they are living in better conditions and were able to make a profit.”

All that remained was to improve the daily life of the 300,000 inhabitants who had stayed at Pikine Irrégulier Sud.

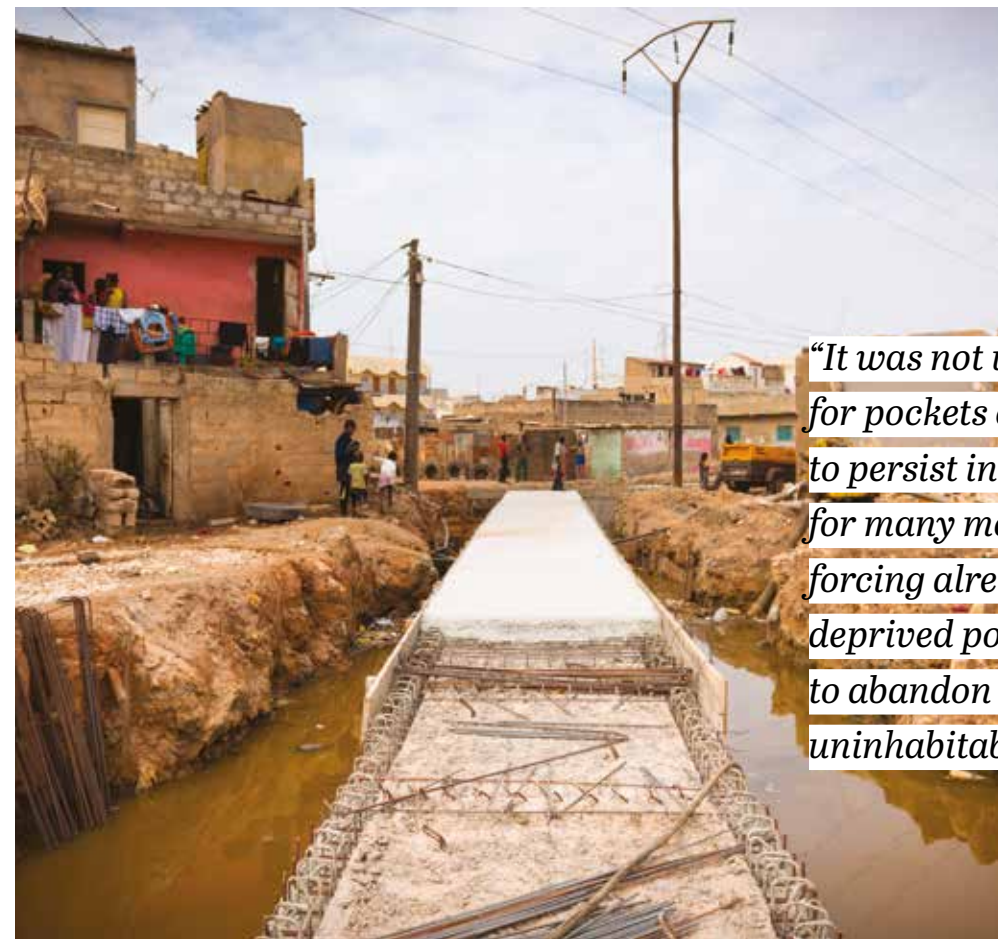
Underequipped, poorly serviced, far from employment areas... it was high time to intervene in this neighbourhood on the outskirts of Dakar

In the absence of appropriate housing, Pikine and Guediawaye saw the multiplication of self-built, of precarious makeshift shelters.

They were erected without planning and without leaving enough free space for basic facilities and services. It had become impossible to drive around there, as the roads, most of them sandy tracks, were too narrow to accommodate two-way traffic. Above all, as the

roads were not maintained and full of potholes, they had become obstacle courses in the rainy season, or more often simply flooded by stagnant water.

Several neighbourhoods had taken root in the flood-prone “Niayes” — lowland areas that stretch out to the north of the peninsula. For many years, these wetlands and their high water table had usefully provided the whole city with groundwater resources and land suitable for market gardening. But uncontrolled urban growth, built-up areas and the resultant compacting of the soil have greatly disturbed the hydrographic network and blocked the natural drainage into the sea.



: Pikine irrégulier Sud

“It was not uncommon for pockets of stagnant water to persist in places for many months, forcing already deprived populations to abandon their uninhabitable homes.”

€43 M
Invested to restructure
the very rundown neighbourhood,
Pikine Irrégulier Sud



200,000
Pikine inhabitants
saw their living
conditions improve



With the severe droughts of the 1970s and 1980s, people gradually settled in the lowlands, which are today extremely flood-prone. *“When we arrived in 1963, there was nothing but sand dunes”,* recalls Hassan Diallo, delegate of the Sicap Diamaguène neighbourhood in Pikine. *“We had no idea that it could be flooded. When we were building, we didn’t need to buy sand. You just had to bend down and scoop it up. But with time, the resource has become rarer. The neighbourhood began to be more densely populated and space became insufficient. All of the space was built over and water couldn’t seep into the ground anymore.”* In places where the soil was still able to absorb water, wastewater infiltration degraded the quality of the groundwater. This led to the boreholes used for drinking water being abandoned and a 2-3 centimetre rise of the water table each year. From 2005, flooding became a recurrent problem during the rainy season between July and October.

■ Putting an end to recurrent flooding

In 2009, 44% of Pikine’s population was directly affected by floods, which had severe health consequences and caused serious damage to housing, facilities and infrastructure, as well as a decline in economic activity.

To redress this highly critical situation, a flood-proofing system was installed. Eight retention

basins covering a total area of 16 hectares were built south of the toll motorway; more than 6 km of channels were built with outfall into the sea; drainage networks were connected to the motorway’s hydraulic structures; and the exhaust and pumping capacity of existing stations was reinforced. In step with this drainage system, the road network was developed to improve the mobility and travelling conditions for Pikine residents. The rehabilitation of the Fass Mbao slip road which ensures the link-up with the National Road 1 and “Boune” road provides effective service for the eastern neighbourhoods. And, above all, a secondary network with nearly 4 km of paved roads ensures better traffic flow inside the municipality and an effective connection with the main roads.

■ “Since then, we live better”

“During the winter season, after heavy rains, two months could pass before the winter drained away. Sometimes, the city hall would provide generator pumps to get rid of the water but then we were left with mud. So, on our own, we had to manage building dikes to allow us to move around but we also had to find and transport sand to absorb the water”, recalls Amy Mbengue. *“For sure, the neighbourhood was cut in two by the motorway and social cohesion has suffered as a result but, whatever you say, those who left live in much better conditions than before. The same is true for those who stayed and benefitted from an upgraded neighbourhood and new infrastructure”,* confirms Hassan Diallo. *“After the works, we now see a stark difference compared to before. Today, we’re less on top of each other, the neighbourhood is more airy. It’s easier to come and go as we now have footbridges and roads. And obviously there’s less standing water. The neighbourhood is healthier and we have fewer diseases, notably malaria.”*

But the restructuring of Pikine’s southern neighbourhoods has not been limited to creating infrastructure; local socio-educational facilities that were previously lacking have also been built.

In 2015, Agence Française de Développement approved a further €50 million in financing

to continue to strengthen the construction of the basins and drainage system given that the motorway led to an increase in water run-off. After the works downstream of the drainage system, this new step should allow interventions to the north of the motorway. The 15 kilometres of collectors and ten retention basins now being built will complete the system for Pikine. Additionally, there are plans to reactivate some of the bore holes used to withdraw groundwater to supply market gardeners in the area of Thiaroye, which will further lower the water table level.

Waranka, an economic centre located on the edge of the Guinaw Rail Nord and Sud neighbourhoods, has a large central market, a space dedicated to handicrafts, a multi-disciplinary training centre and a bus station to channel the flow of minibuses and rapid coaches serving the district. Not far away is the educational and sports centre that everyone calls “Seven Up” and which is the pride of the mayor and the inhabitants. It includes a “hut for the very young” (the name given to nursery schools), a primary school, a lower secondary school, a women’s centre, as well as a football pitch and multi-sports platform, both of which are greatly appreciated by the neighbourhood’s youth. For Guinaw Rail Sud’s Deputy Mayor, the transformation is a source of great satisfaction. *“Before the works, we only had one primary school, the others were association-run schools,”* says. *“The communal development plan included the construction of other facilities, but space and financing still had to be found. Which is what the project brought us.”* The opening up and the building of infrastructure in regularly flooded zones allowed for a better circulation of goods and people, and the development of economic activity. The area was suddenly transformed. *“The neighbourhood has gained in value,”* confirms Hassan Diallo. *“A plot worth some FCFA 3 million (€4,500) before the works is easily worth 9 today.”*



One of the classrooms in the secondary school at the Seven Up education centre.



39 km

of motorway
between Pikine and the new
Blaise Diagne airport, via the
new town of Diamniadio

4.5 km

of secondary roads
ensure easier circulation
inside the neighbourhoods

48,000

vehicles a day,
40% higher
than the estimates

90 min

saved each day
on a round-trip
Pikine–Dakar Plateau



One of the footbridges allowing
the motorway to be crossed
safely, at the level of the Sicap
Diamaguène neighbourhood

In the space of a few years, the urban landscape of Dakar's outskirts has indeed changed. This extraordinary transformation is confirmed by satellite photos: new turnkey housing developments or several-storey buildings now stand close to often self-built multi-family housing. Once a dormitory town, Pikine is now a dynamic and cosmopolitan municipality, whose 1.2 million residents make up an ethnic and social mosaic that illustrates the rich diversity of the Senegalese population. Little by little, Pikine has managed to rid itself of its unappealing reputation of "informal town". Its residents now see the town differently, and proudly asserting their "Pikineness" and their attachment to these neighbourhoods, where citizen resourcefulness, solidarity and mobilisation have brought about real change.

Accessibility goes hand in hand with attractiveness

In addition to boosting the economy and facilitating Dakar residents' daily life, this programme has had a decisive impact on urban development in the capital. If you compare the early 2000s and today, everything in the Cape Verde peninsula has changed. And "everything" began with the construction of the motorway connecting Dakar to its suburbs and linking the capital to the rest of the country. By optimising mobility, it has opened up a whole range of possibilities and enabled citizens to see their living conditions improved. The surrounding areas have become attractive as they promise a substantially upgraded quality

of life. The possibility of accessing an affordable plot of land on the periphery, with more room and even an outdoor space, while remaining connected to one's workplace seduced many who were keen to leave Dakar Plateau. How many people quickly left to settle in Rufisque, Pikine or Guédiawaye following the opening of the motorway? People who, a few years earlier, had moved in the opposite direction into Dakar in order to avoid the dreadful road congestion? *"Having to get up at 4 in the morning to be on time for work at 8am was tremendously hard. It's logical that many people preferred to come and settle in Dakar, even if it meant living in a tiny space. But as soon as the project was complete, most of them rushed to terminate their rental!"*

Whereas it took two hours to reach the city centre from Diamniadio in 2009, it can now be done in 30 minutes, as Abdou Ndiaye, a young coach driver confirms: *"Thanks to the motorway, I do more trips because I waste less time."* A time-saver but also a money-saver as Eiffage Senegal and APIX point out: *"the 90 minutes gained represent a saving of seven litres for a private vehicle, equivalent to about FCFA 6,000 per trip [about €10]"*.

Four years after completion, the motorway is an ongoing success: it is used by 48 000 vehicles a day, 40% more than forecast. What's more, this figure is likely to increase rapidly. *"We're in a town where the proportion of motorised trips is only 30%",* points out Thierno Birahim Aw, Managing Director of the Executive Council for Urban Transport for Dakar (CETUD). *But high demographic and economic growth means that we are seeing a substantial increase in the automobile sector. This means that public transport needs to be developed urgently."*

And the Senegalese authorities have understood this only too well. With the 2021 launch of the Regional Express Train (TER) and then a bus line with segregated corridors (the Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) project), Dakar will be a pioneer in the sub-region when it comes to public transport. The two projects should attract 110,000 and 300,000 passengers a day respectively, five to seven years after their launch, and the fares

The first rapid train in the country's history, the Regional Express Train will connect Dakar to the new city of Diamniadio

Located some thirty kilometres from the Senegalese capital, it's a breath of fresh air for the 124,000 inhabitants who commute daily during rush hours between the two cities.

A total of CFAF 686 billion (around €1 billion) has been invested in phase 1 of the works, including 488 billion from international donors. Highly active on the project, alongside the French Treasury and its partners (African Development Bank, the Islamic Development Bank), the Agence Française de Développement (AFD) has contributed €230 million to the financing.



will be equivalent to what is now charged on public transport- but for half the journey time! To say nothing of the significant reduction of greenhouse gas emissions expected with the start-up of the train and bus service.

“To address the challenge of mobility in Dakar, all the stakeholders had to be mobilised to act together”

Story of West Africa's first public-private partnership, with Dominique Ndong

Civil engineer Dominique Ndong first came into contact with AFD in 2005, in Saint-Louis, while working on the rehabilitation of Faidherbe Bridge, a beautiful steel structure dating from 1897 included in Unesco's World Heritage list. After joining the National Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Large Projects (APIX) in 2008, he worked again with AFD on the construction of Senegal's first motorway. Starting as project coordinator from 2009 to 2011, he went on to become a general coordinator for large projects from 2011 to 2016 before becoming Deputy General Manager from 2016 to 2018. Now a young retiree, he takes the time to revisit this flagship project with us.

What triggered this project?

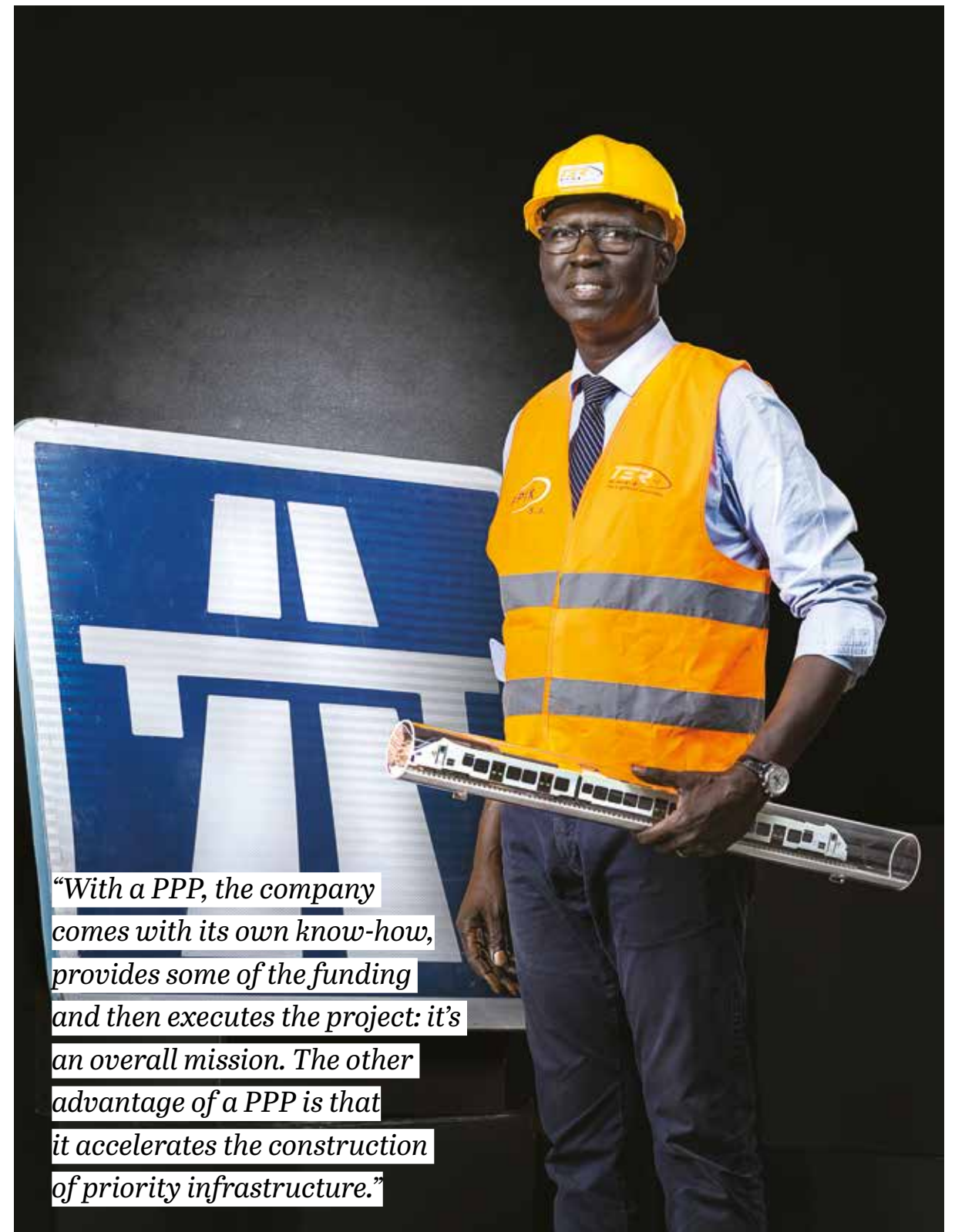
Senegal's attractiveness for entrepreneurs and investors depends on its infrastructure, especially roads. Without these, we can't persuade them to come. You can't develop a country without basic infrastructure. However much you reform or create incentive measures, that won't be enough. Roads play a driving role in economic development.

So, urban mobility in Dakar was completely called into question. The population was

growing, as was the number of cars, and the transportation network did not have the capacity to absorb it. But to answer your question, of course, political will came into play. Elected President of the Republic in 2000, Abdoulaye Wade took up a project that had not been carried through by his predecessors and he decided to make it his priority.

Why embark on a public-private partnership, a first for West Africa?

The idea of building a motorway to connect the Dakar centre to Diamniadio [34 km to the east] was already present. The question was how to do it. We could have done it using government resources, supplemented only by those of our technical and financial partners, as was usually the case for major infrastructure projects. The drawback was that this would have taken a lot of time, because you can't suddenly mobilise all the resources required by such a large-scale project. It would have had to be done step by step: mobilise the resources for one section, complete it, and begin again for the next section, and so on. Hence, the wish to develop a PPP: mobilising private funds helped speed up the construction of infrastructure that Dakar residents and, more broadly the Senegalese people, needed. Also, a PPP allows for balanced risk-sharing.



“With a PPP, the company comes with its own know-how, provides some of the funding and then executes the project: it's an overall mission. The other advantage of a PPP is that it accelerates the construction of priority infrastructure.”

The company takes on the traffic-volume risk, the operating and maintenance costs, as well as the toll system, knowing that, in the tender, the state had provided for a dispensational tax system, which was new for Senegal, to incite the private sector to come and invest in Senegal. On the government's side, the main risk involved clearance of the rights of way necessary for implementing the project. With a budget of FCFA 70 billion [€106 million] borne entirely by the Senegalese government, the populations relocated because of the project were able to receive compensation and be resettled.

But it took time to get the system up and running. As a result, the government made the decision to start it up; which was also a way of convincing people. It sent a strong signal. A way of showing that the government had the capacity to head this type of project. So we kicked off with two sections using government resources. And in parallel, the state introduced a law, dubbed DOT (design, operate, transfer) that allowed for the signing of contracts based on the public-private partnership format. This was a first for Senegal.

How did the Senegalese government manage to convince companies to jointly finance such an ambitious project?

The biggest challenge for a public-private partnership is to convince the private sector to invest alongside the government. The companies have to reap some benefit in return for their participation, which is not immediately obvious. Building a road means building a public infrastructure. So guarantees had to be put on the table to spark their interest. As this was a first for a PPP, it was far from certain that the approach would succeed. In fact, we had to do some marketing to convince foreign investors to channel their interest in the direction of Senegal, and encouraged investment by showing that road traffic already exists, that the legislative environment was favourable, and that measures, mainly tax-related, were there as support.

What was the *modus operandi*?

The tender was launched in two phases. First, the initial tender documents were sent to short-listed candidates in order to collect their technical input. The rationale is that, in a PPP format, we are also looking to leverage private-sector expertise. Once the most relevant suggestions had been integrated, the amended tender was sent out to three competing groups to obtain their technical and financial proposals. The final proposals (technical and financial) from the short-listed companies basically differed with respect to the assumptions they used for the financial model. The selection was thus carried out based on two criteria: the contribution proposed by the company and the planned fare-pricing relative to a target ceiling; a ceiling determined by a survey of the acceptability for citizens (how much are you willing to pay to save 40 minutes per trip?).

Did the negotiation with the awarded company finally lead to any changes in the project?

Once the winning company was selected namely, Eiffage Senegal, the negotiation phase began. It lasted 6 months. When preparing the tender, the government planned a financing scheme whereby 60% was to come from the private sector and the remainder from the public sector. This was the basis on which the government tried to mobilise resources, mainly from international donors. The companies, however, had all proposed the opposite, namely a 40% contribution. This meant that the government had to find additional resources. But, it first had to begin to optimise the project. This involved technical modifications that not only lowered costs but also matched the affected residents' and users' expectations more closely. For example, on the section connecting Pikine and Thiaroye, which crosses densely populated areas, the plan was to use low-noise tarmac surfacing. We soon realised that this was not the main concern of the residents, who preferred to have more footbridges to keep the link between the neighbourhoods cut in two by the motorway.



The nuisance of traffic noise was not seen as a likely determining factor for an installation. The residents of affected neighbourhoods preferred a simpler technical solution, and use the cost difference to add footbridges.

How did AFD and the other technical and financial partners support you?

The government knew that its own resources would not suffice, even in the framework of a partnership with the private sector. The project preparation phase was conducted with the technical and financial partners (TFPs) who co-financed the programme, be it the contract, the launch of the tender, the consultation, or the negotiations ahead of contract signing. The World Bank, African Development Bank and Agence Française de Développement accompanied each step. The TFPs attended the negotiating meetings with the company.

“ The term ‘technical and financial partners’ is a very fitting name: we all share the same concerns. ”

They provided valuable support, especially given that this was a first in the area of PPPs and that the government had no feedback from previous experience. What's more, they made an expert available. And this is certainly what helped to convince the TFPs that it was appropriate to mobilise additional resources for this flagship project.

Paratransit transport 2.0: an opportunity to tackle the mobility challenges of African cities?



Interview with

Solène Baffi

project manager at CODATU

and

Anne Chaussavoine

project officer in AFD's Transport and Mobility division.



Between 25 and 45% of African citizens walk to work, mainly due to the lack of attractive public transport. In most African cities, at least 70% of public transport is ensured by informal private operators who provide an essential service but, one that is often uncomfortable, expensive and dangerous. Faced with fast-paced economic growth and an increase in urban traffic, the question of mobility is crucial for African cities. The challenge is to ensure that these privately financed and operated services can better meet the legitimate demands of African citizens. The challenge is enormous.

Informal transport, paratransit transport... what exactly is involved?

Solène Baffi: The term “informal transport” is very broad and covers widely diverse practices: a “clandestine” collective taxi, a legal minibus service serving fixed routes, transport by motorcycle or a horse-drawn cart, etc. This generic term remains relatively vague, and conveys a somewhat negative connotation for transport services that are defined solely with respect to their difference from “formal” services. The term “artisanal transport”, used in the French-speaking world, denotes that this service is primarily provided by a self-employed artisan. The English term “paratransit” adds precision to the French definition as it highlights the function assumed by artisanal operators in mobility systems: in some cities, for instance, paratransit services supplement the services provided by operators of very high-capacity public transport such as Bus Rapid Transit (BRT).

Paratransit accounts for over 70% of transport in most African cities. Yet, are we talking about the same thing if we find ourselves in Yaoundé or Nairobi?

Anne Chaussavoine: We do find some common markers to describe this very diversified form of transport. One of the key markers is the limited and thus fragmented type of service provided by a multitude of operators. It is worth pointing out, though, that this fragmentation does not prevent the sector from effectively self-organising around key players, mainly in the form of professional associations, such as cooperatives or syndicates. What's more, as it is operated privately and with no long-term public subsidies, the primary objective of paratransit transport is financial — and most often short-term profitability, and not the provision of a public service.

* CODATU : a multi-stakeholders network for sustainable urban mobility in developing countries



... Lagos,
... Nigéria

How has this sector changed over the years?

S.B: In many African countries, there used to be many traditional formal transport companies, but most went out of business in the 1980s. Paratransit (mainly by bus and minibus) then developed to ensure the population's mobility. Over the last ten years, a very affordable Asian range of vehicles has been developed and new types of vehicles such as motorcycles have become common in African cities. These new vehicles meet new transport needs, mainly into neighbourhoods that are inaccessible with an unpaved road network. The paratransit sector's ability to adapt and change shows how flexible and adaptable it is, given that it manages, for example, to rapidly cover and serve the new neighbourhoods springing up every day in African cities. Due to a lack of financial resources, the public sector has been unable to meet citizens' needs. Paratransit, on the other hand, has managed to bring solutions.

Paratransit services offer definite advantages in terms of flexibility, resilience, territorial coverage and extended timetables. It costs the public sector nothing. It seems to be the ideal

system. But what would the limitations of paratransit services be?

A.C: Unfortunately, some advantages of this system also have a negative side! The paratransit sector has limits, some of which can become difficult to manage in large metropolises. The logic of short-term profitability, for example, incites operators to use small vehicles, inexpensive to run but often too old and therefore highly polluting and GHG-emitting. Also, whereas paratransit can be a relatively effective solution for medium-sized cities, most low-capacity vehicles in major African cities operating with no coordination often increase congestion, which greatly hampers the development of metropolises. This is especially true as the quality of paratransit services is poor. They are often uncomfortable and unpredictable: the timetable and, in most cases, the route and stops are not fixed. Finally, although the paratransit sector creates numerous jobs, it should be underlined that these are often insecure with endless work hours and no system for retirement or health insurance.

“ Paratransit in Africa: the gig economy ”

The Paratransit economy employs a wide range of people, from drivers, and vehicle owners, to the “coxeurs” who tout passengers in the street more or less coercively and the person who collects the fares. There are also the companies responsible for washing and servicing the vehicles, the employee that gives the order for pick-up by the minibus and the traders that are more or less formally authorised to sell food in the minibuses. There are also the “pigaseti” in Kenya or the “kamasandji” in Chad whose job is to attract customers by making them think that the minibus is full and ready to leave (they sit in the vehicles and get off again when enough real passengers have boarded!)

In addition to transport operators, we find a host of other actors who work with this sector. These mainly include the local authorities, the police, owners’ and drivers’ associations and cooperatives, as well as individuals or organisations that offer financing to purchase vehicles. Overall, the paratransit sector carries considerable weight in terms of employment and the economy of African cities.

We understand that a multitude of actors revolve around the paratransit sector. How do they interact? What institutional and economic imperatives do they fulfil?

A.C: It’s crucial to have a acute understanding of the logic of paratransit actors, and notably the working of the ubiquitous “target system” in Africa (see box), as this logic is what shapes supply. To improve the sector, there is a need to develop new models that enhance service quality while also providing a decent livelihood for people working in the sector.

How can support be given to the transition of the paratransit sector towards a sustainable mode of transport that is integrated into the formal urban mobility system?

S.B: For a long time, local authorities and even programmes to modernise urban transport had the objective of eliminating paratransit services.

Yet, these programmes failed precisely because paratransit services had not been integrated into reforms. What did work, however, were initiatives such as those set up by the World Bank in Dakar in 1997, which aimed to structure and professionalise the sector. The players then got together to form companies, which enabled them to jointly purchase new buses. The implementation of donor-funded, high-capacity BRT-type systems is also an opportunity to bring transport operators together and find ways of setting up this type of policy. It is thus vital to begin a reflection with local partners and develop capacity-building and vocational training programmes. This is what CODATU together with AFD is creating in Antananarivo, Madagascar, for example.

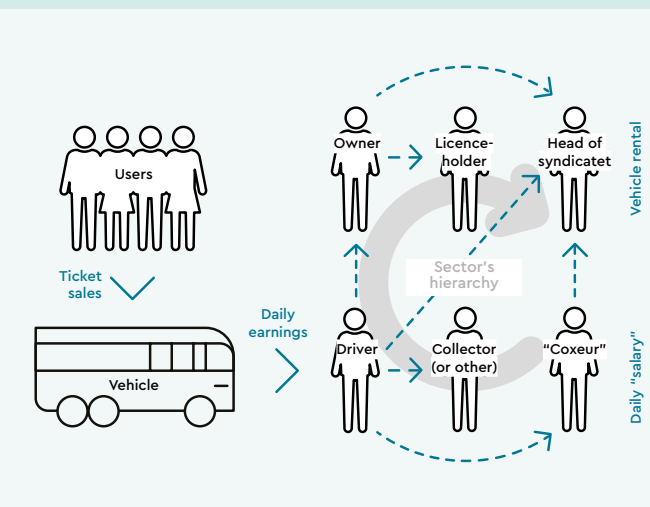
A.C: The goal is to integrate paratransit operators into an overall system, while minimising its negative externalities: by replacing vehicles, improving the service and ensuring road safety. It is also essential to reduce market competition and professionalise operators, while ensuring that the jobs created are decent. How can this goal be achieved? The first step is to allow paratransit operators, who are often dispersed, to join together, under representatives. The second, is to improve service by establishing quality norms and standards in exchange for concessions, for example. This can be done by granting an operator exclusive operating rights for a specific sector, route or station, provided they comply with various environmental and service quality measures. This approach has no cost for the public authorities and improves the quality of transport. On the other hand, it may lead to an increased cost for paratransit users, who already pay 100% of public transport costs in Africa — which is not the case in Europe. The third step is to subsidise the sector, always in exchange for compliance with standards regarding service, or environmental criteria. This can involve direct subsidies, for example, to renew transport fleets, “scrapping bonuses” or contributions to investments. It can also involve indirect subsidies: tax reductions, removal of licence costs, etc.

Can digital technology play a role and accelerate this transition of the paratransit sector?

A.C: Digital technology is a real advantage, mainly for mapping a paratransit service that is little-known and used only by people “in the know”. AFD thus supports the development of applications such as Digital Matatus in Nairobi, which has enabled the collaborative mapping of paratransit routes in the Kenyan capital. In Accra, 315 minibus lines have been set up thanks to cell phone data collected by volunteers who geo-located each stop.

S.B: The development of digital technology does mean that difficulties can be overcome; new perspectives can be opened up for regulating and professionalising operators.

In Douala, Cameroon, CODATU is now developing a digital platform project that connects the drivers of motorcycle-taxis with potential passengers. Drivers can use this platform not only to propose their services, but also to access training. This provides promising prospects for a sector that offers undeniable advantages in terms of resilience and adaptability. Today, the challenge for African metropolises is to successfully integrate the paratransit sector into a sustainable and inclusive mobility system by helping it develop with all its advantages, while also correcting its negative externalities. This necessary development means having an in-depth understanding of the logic operating in a complex sector that presents strong economic and social challenges at the scale of African cities. .



Setting up digital ticketing systems, an opportunity to put an end to the “target system”

In most African cities, paratransit modes function on the logic of the “target system”: the drivers have to pay a fixed daily fee (“target”) to the vehicle’s owner. In return, all fares received each day go to the driver. This system is used because owners have no way of checking fare-box receipts, but this pushes drivers into a frantic struggle to capture a maximum number of passengers during the day. This struggle can involve aggressively touting people at stops, a disregard for traffic rules, and workdays of more than 12 hours for vehicle teams. Setting up cashless fare collection systems — such as Tap and Go in Rwanda — is helping to break the stranglehold of the “target system” by giving owners a way of monitoring receipts. An employee-type relation between the owner and driver can then be established in which drivers receive a fixed salary and are no longer obliged to maximise fare receipts to ensure their livelihood.

Ouagadougou

The municipality is bringing the city and its inhabitants closer together

In 2000, Ouagadougou was well known for being the Sahel's "large village", in the centre of Burkina Faso. Nearly 20 years on, Ouagadougou's population has increased fourfold and the city is now a metropolis with 3.5 million inhabitants. Such rapid growth is obviously not without consequences. Burkina Faso's capital alone concentrates 17% of the country's total population and is home to nearly one in two city-dwellers. This large population naturally calls for the development of secondary cities to rebalance the national territory. But it is also imperative to act in parallel and substantively to deal with the capital's exponential urbanisation. If this continues uncontrolled, it risks jeopardising the city's sustainable development. So, today's challenge? Ease congestion in the city centre and rebalance a territory faced with unprecedented demographic growth.



Under a tree, sheltered from the sun, Ami Zongo, who runs a small restaurant nearby, is watching youngsters on the basketball court.

This square has seen considerable change over the last few months. Not long ago it was a more of a wasteland where everyone came to furtively dispose of rubbish at nightfall.

Now developed, the place is once again fulfilling its function of connecting people socially.

The neighbourhood's residents have now made this vast square, with its sports and recreational spaces, their own.

"Everyone comes here now! The young, the old, the women. We can meet up, chat on the benches that have been installed. I've even begun to play sports with my neighbours!" says the restaurant owner.

Gradually, things are changing in Tampouy, a neighbourhood on the northern periphery of Ouagadougou. First of all, a road was built linking it to the rest of the city. Soon there will be ten or so new social, health and cultural facilities, which are sorely needed by the neighbourhood's 300,000 inhabitants. *"But things didn't happen overnight, it took time..."*

In Ouagadougou, urbanisation in a panic

Since the country's independence in 1960, Ouagadougou's growth has been relentless — exponential even. In 30 years, its population increased tenfold to reach 535,000 in 1990. Then everything happened very quickly. In 2000,



there were close to one million inhabitants; in 2010, this figure doubled.

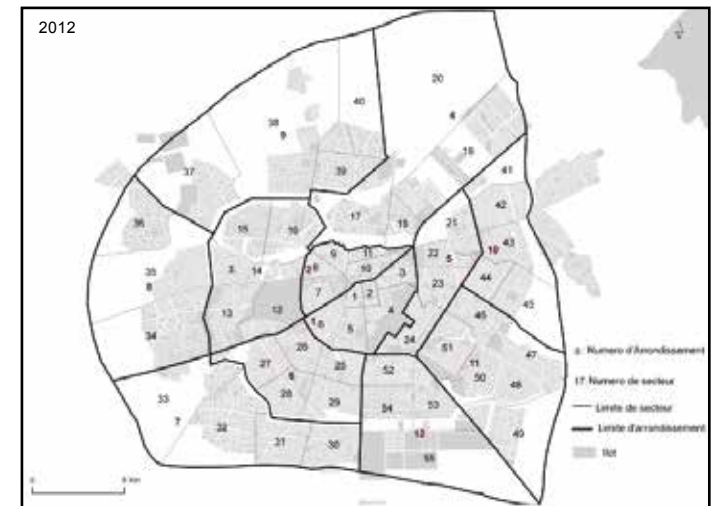
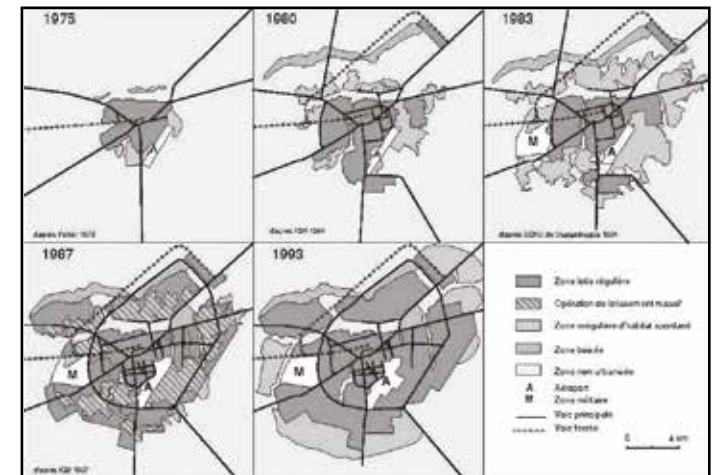
Today, the city is home to 3.5 million people. And there will be 5 million residents in fewer than 10 years, according to UN-Habitat projections.

Since 2010, Ouagadougou has welcomed over 120,000 new inhabitants each year

And the result of this demographic explosion? Undoubtedly, one of the most dizzying territorial expansions that Africa has known: the agglomeration of Ouagadougou, which covered 14,000 hectares in 1987, today sprawls over 51,800 hectares. In 30 years, many agricultural areas have thus disappeared and whole villages have been absorbed by a city whose geographical expansion for many years encountered no limits, being situated on a plateau with no geophysical obstacles. It must be said that, given the city's inability to absorb the massive increase of population, most new citizens had no choice but to settle anarchically, without administrative authorisation, on the edges of planned neighbourhoods.

"One household, one plot"

Without totally reversing the trend, the proactive policy of Thomas Sankara was nonetheless a turning point in this urbanisation process. After two decades of *"laissez-faire"*, the creation of the National Council of the Revolution (CNR) marked a radical break. Just when Upper Volta was becoming Burkina Faso, "the country of honest men", its capital, Ouagadougou, was turning into the "laboratory of a new society" with the stated ambition of recomposing the urban space.



To achieve this, Sankara's government launched the People's Development Programme, the first large-scale plan that set out to rethink the city's development, undertake a series of major works and increase the housing capacities of a fast-growing city. To put this vast programme into action, Thomas Sankara very quickly launched the Agricultural and Land Reform, which allowed him to nationalise the land. In this way, he was able to subdivide the city's periphery into parcels on a large scale, while also controlling the development of a territory 70% of which was made up of informal settlements.

“One household, one plot”. The tone was set and this slogan left its mark on a whole generation. By guaranteeing every citizen the right to a plot of land, the CNR was in fact preparing to produce a lasting impact not only on the urban landscape of Ouagadougou, but also on its inhabitants’ way of thinking about housing.

An extension zone with no geophysical obstacles... or limits

Despite these efforts, housing supply remained insufficient and unable to keep pace with a perpetually increasing demand. Inexorably, the unplanned neighbourhoods continued to develop and urban sprawl continued to expand. In parallel, the rationale of “one household, one parcel of land” not only encouraged this sprawl, but also ended up creating new needs. Designed on a sector-based approach, this programme failed to adequately integrate the questions of mobility or access to basic services, even though these are crucial to the creation of a real urban dynamic. Focussed on the “subdivision” of the peripheries, the operations had disregarded the provision of basic services



17%

of Burkinabés
live in Ouagadougou

3.5 M

inhabitants in 2020

518 km²

in 2020

50

inhabitants per hectare

and infrastructure. And the inhabitants of the newly built neighbourhoods soon found themselves isolated, with long distances to travel for work, school, and access to health. This proved to have particularly heavy impact on family budgets given what they had to spend on transport. For some it was even prohibitive. “When the municipal services allocated me a plot in 1998 in Tanghin neighbourhood, my first thought was to sell it given that the site was so inaccessible”, confirms Hervé Koné, policy officer for an ONG. “Impossible to imagine myself living there! In fact, as they offered me only FCFA 500,000 [around €1,000] when I wanted to resell it, in the end I kept it. But it took 10 years for me to come and live in the neighbourhood, I was in no hurry to build and even less of a hurry to live here, in such a cut-off area, with no networks or services...” These reservations must have been largely shared as even today half of the 400,000 officially subdivided plots are still not built on.

Given the extent of the challenge, one imperative: have a vision and prioritise action

Underserved neighbourhoods and longer trips: these were among the emerging difficulties. “It became clear that the situation was going to become unmanageable and that we had to intervene rapidly”, recalls Severin Kabré, director of monitoring-evaluation at the Municipal Agency for Large Projects (AMGT). Especially as, in addition to the social and economic impacts, this horizontal growth had given rise to many side effects: almost permanent traffic congestion and increasing air pollution with disastrous consequences on health. Without decisive measures, Ouagadougou was in danger of becoming unliveable.

So “act” became the key word. Act — and swiftly — on this urban growth that had gradually deepened inequalities, mainly in terms of access to basic services and, more specifically, in the very poorly or not at all serviced and unplanned city. But where to start?

In 2019, the unplanned “informal city” represented one quarter of the capital’s territory, but accounted for one-third of its inhabitants.



For the ideal of sustainable cities to become a reality, a long-term strategic vision needs to be built and bold reforms undertaken

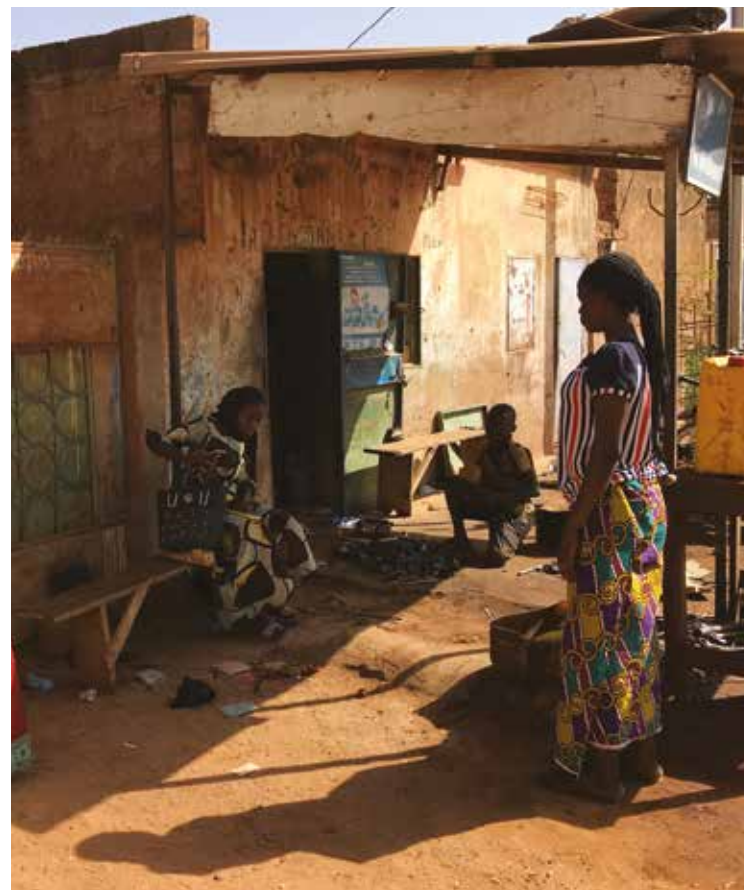
Embarking on a process of strategic planning was a prerequisite. Yet, given the speed of urban growth and the need to avoid urban planning documents becoming obsolete by the time they were adopted, it was important that this approach be flexible and shared and that it serve more as a basis for discussion than as the template of an ideal to be attained. The primary aim was to identify and prioritise needs. So, in 2008, the Ministry for Urban Development and local actors worked together to define the Urban Development Master Plan of Greater Ouaga (SDAGO) as a planning tool that integrated the neighbouring rural municipalities most

concerned by this urban transformation. Then, in 2012, at the initiative of the city’s mayor, Simon Campaoré, this was supplemented by a land-use plan (LUP) designed with support from the City of Lyon (France) via its urban planning agency. The goal? “Focus on the whole of the urban system, go beyond operational (project) urban planning and think in terms of strategic urban planning”, says Marie Dols, who was formerly at the Lyon Urban Planning Agency, and was mobilised for this longstanding partnership between the two cities. This exercise turned out to be crucial in order to anticipate the growing needs of the increasing number of city-dwellers.

A “consumption” of urban space that is accelerating sprawl

Improving living conditions for Ouagadougou citizens means rehabilitating or developing neighbourhoods, promoting residents’ access to basic services such as water, sanitation, the electricity grid, the waste management system, transport and public facilities. It also requires promoting economic activities and local jobs. Building all this takes a long time and involves setting priorities, particularly when resources are limited. And, in addition to rethinking the distribution of people and resources, urban planning lays out the use of land, which is especially important considering that the agglomeration has seen its land cover increase fourfold over 30 years. Yet, with fewer than

50 inhabitants per hectare, the population density is still three times lower than that in Dakar. In fact, in Ouagadougou, whether on residential, administrative or commercial spaces, constructions are very often single-storey buildings on large underused plots, which explains why densities are low in both central and peripheral areas. So, of course, a policy and actions to promote greater density would likely help to slow down the sprawl and reduce per capita infrastructure costs. Yet this is not so easy when everyone still has in mind Thomas Sankara’s promise of “one family, one plot”. *“Everyone wants their own and the logic of verticality is far from attractive”*, says Séraphine Medah, Director of Environmental and Social Monitoring at AMGT. Especially as urban sociology is changing. The trend



In Tampouy, when it is not raining, dust hangs in the air: it infiltrates everywhere, it suffocates. But when the rain comes, it is often torrential and the consequences can be terrible. Very little water is absorbed by the dried-out ground and, very quickly, it submerges the roads, floods the houses and plots of land.

is now towards a gradual de-cohabitation. Young families are increasingly keen to gain their independence and leave the family concession. And given their often limited means, most of the time they have to self-build...on the periphery.

Before all else, deal with the urgent needs!

Faced with this reality, the LUP made it possible to formalise a vision for the development of Ouagadougou. The diagnostic study carried out in 2012 clearly pinpointed the areas that obviously lacked services. When checked against a prospective analysis of future urban migration, it became possible to identify the hot spots that required a special effort to catch up and promote the balanced development of the municipal territory. The long-run objective? Ease city-centre congestion by developing secondary urban centres.

But before all else, urgent situations had to be tackled. One of the most pressing urgencies was to facilitate inter- and intra-urban travel. And following the dreadful floods of 2009 that had affected over 150,000 people, the issues of roads and sanitation were logically treated conjointly in order to meet to the expectations of a broad fringe of residents hard hit by these flood events.

Indeed, many of the city’s residents lived in flood-prone areas, most in unplanned neighbourhoods, which on average accounted for over two-thirds of the victims during the seasonal floods. This is hardly surprising given that the rainwater drainage network was at the time concentrated in the city centre and only 165 km long, including 90% of open drains. In the rest of the municipality, drainage channels were almost inexistent. Rainwater run-off, which barely infiltrated the ground, especially along paved roads, flowed into marigots (i.e., temporary standing pools in small river valleys) due to the sloping topography, and then discharged into one of the three dams to the northeast of the city.

In a context of climate change where extreme rain events were set to increase, and given the multiplication of unauthorised constructions blocking natural drainage areas, intervention was extremely urgent.

By investing 40 million euros, AFD chose to support the government and the city in this territorial transition. Launched in 2013, the first phase of the Ouagadougou Sustainable Development project (PDDO1) had a twofold objective: continue to extend the collective sanitation network by constructing 30 km of ditches and connecting 600 additional plots, and improve urban mobility.

The PDDO 1 to initiate Ouagadougou’s territorial transition

Development of 13 km of roads (€19 M)

Asphalting, signing, street lighting, relocation of lateral rainwater drainage system.

Routine road maintenance (€3 M)

Acquisition of a full brigade for maintenance of dirt roads and a mobile patching unit.

Rehabilitation of the Tampouy and Ouaga Inter bus stations / Construction of the Gare de l’Est rail station (€4.4 M)

Extension of the collective sanitation network (€6.2 M)

30 linear km for the collective sanitation networks and 600 plots connected.

Water supply for the unplanned neighbourhoods of Tingandogo, Watinoma and the northeast part of Bogodogo (€2 M)

For each neighbourhood, between 10 and 20 km of water supply network and 10 to 15 standpipes.

Emergency measures for safe drinking water supply (€4.6 M)

Rehabilitation of 57 existing boreholes and construction of 43 new boreholes connected to the network, equipping of 4 pumping stations.

Roads for moving around and roads for drainage

Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo Avenue in the city centre, Bonté and Dima Koom Avenues in the north, as well as the street leading to Naba Yilen Avenue in the west: three sections with a combined length of around 13 km, three years of works to rehabilitate these roads in districts 3 and 4, which were all in an advanced state of dilapidation.

In June 2016, the rehabilitated roads were inaugurated. The total cost of these works: CFAF 12.5 billion (19 million euros) for the resurfacing, development and drainage of these main arteries, which facilitate access to three of the seven secondary urban centres identified in the LUP. In 2017, the City Council decided to go even further with additional works on storm drains to combat flooding more effectively.

So gradually, these arteries came back to life. Restaurants, car repair workshops, sewing workshops and hairdressers set up along the roadside in increasing numbers.

For Emmanuel Kosimbo, who opened his bag shop in 2008, no more breathing in the dust during the dry season and no more jumping over puddles to get to his shop in the rainy season. *“I used to set up a stall on the roadside so that people driving by would see my goods, but very few of them stopped, they were too busy battling with the traffic jams. This situation wasn’t satisfying for anyone. Neither for the drivers who spent hours in the traffic, nor the residents of the neighbourhoods on the way, who suffered from the congestion and the inconveniences it caused. Since the road has been redurfaced, we can breathe better, the place is healthier. It’s a breath of fresh air!”*

Adama Sawadogo, a second-hand clothes dealer, shares this opinion. *“Back then, I had to clean the*



Emmanuel Kosimbo
in front of his shop



clothes every hour because of the dust, or wrap them in plastic bags. Customers were few and far between. Today, they are flocking in, now they don’t have to worry about the state of the road. And they keep coming back.” Since then, he has improved his premises. Originally in a makeshift shelter, he now has a brick-built store with a large shop window to show off his merchandise.

And in Tanghin neighbourhood too, everything has changed since Dima Koom Avenue was asphalted in 2015. Drainage works were carried out and infrastructure networks developed. Little by little, this previously unplanned area has become organised...and more populated. And very quickly, small trades have mushroomed here as well. *“All these changes are linked to the road. Without roads, no one comes. What’s more, over the space of 20 years, the land value has multiplied by 20!”* points out Hervé Koné. Little wonder, as this neighbourhood in the north of the municipality, which looked like a village only a few years ago, is now booming and access to the city centre takes only ten minutes.

“The smooth functioning of cities is far from obvious: urban investment must be planned with this in mind”

“These developments have really had a positive impact on the city’s economy”, says Elie Sawadogo, a municipal officer in charge of the environmental and social monitoring of the works. The overall situation in Ouagadougou has improved: there are fewer traffic jams caused by the poor state of the roads and better traffic flow. Even so, the City Council is well-aware that the catch-up will be long. The city is criss-crossed by 2,422 km of roads but only 18% of them are paved. And given the fast-growing urban sprawl, it will be very hard to change this ratio. The municipal services estimate that that the city could cover up to 700 km² by 2025, with a radius of 15 km, which is almost double its current size, and would lead to a 50% increase in travelling distances.

2 million 2-wheelers

Infrastructure needs are constantly increasing, as is the demand for mobility. As a result, the lack of efficient good-quality collective transport translates into a rising number of individual vehicles, particularly the much more affordable two-wheelers. Ouagadougou has 2 million motorcycles and scooters compared to 500,000 cars. And less than 1% of the city's residents use public transport. *"But perhaps if there were segregated corridors that could avoid traffic jams, people would be tempted to take the bus and stop using two-wheelers"*, argues Ibrahim Toé, the director of Infrastructure and Urban Mobility at the Directorate-General of Municipal Technical Services in Ouagadougou.

Burkina is the West African country with the most "two-wheelers" per capita

The idea has caught on and the consensus is broad-based. What is now needed is to craft a real mobility policy that combines an affordable, high-quality mass transit offer along with adapted urban developments. This is the direction that the government and the municipality wish to take by creating a Transport Authority that will strengthen the mechanisms for governing the urban transit system. The challenge is tremendous.

"Soft" mobility already exists in Ouagadougou and is the predominant transport mode as bicycles and walking together account for nearly 75% of travel. But substantial work in urban development would be required. *"In particular, walking needs to be pleasant. This means creating pavements, planting trees, which are indispensable to having a little shade,"* says Ibrahim Toé. *"Otherwise, our intention*

would be utopian given our climate!".

The use of urban space also needs to be better managed, particularly with respect to the many tradespeople who set up along the newly built or rehabilitated roadsides.

"Currently, there are too many nuisances and obstructions as everyone sets up their little makeshift stall, often on their doorstep, without authorisation", says Séraphine Medah regretfully.

"Right from the job of designing the roads, we have to plan for dedicated and adapted spaces to avoid stalls being set up anarchically and dangerously. We need to provide spaces for stalls at certain points, with parking places, and design structures that prevent stalls from setting up in places they are not wanted."



To make it easier to move around in Ouagadougou, the paved road network needs reinforcing, but also improving to suit the different mobility modes, including of course 2-wheelers and pedestrians.

Called "six metres" because of their width, it can be quite difficult to travel on these roads, which are full of potholes. You have to zigzag around them and endlessly slow down.

Next step: amenities on the doorstep

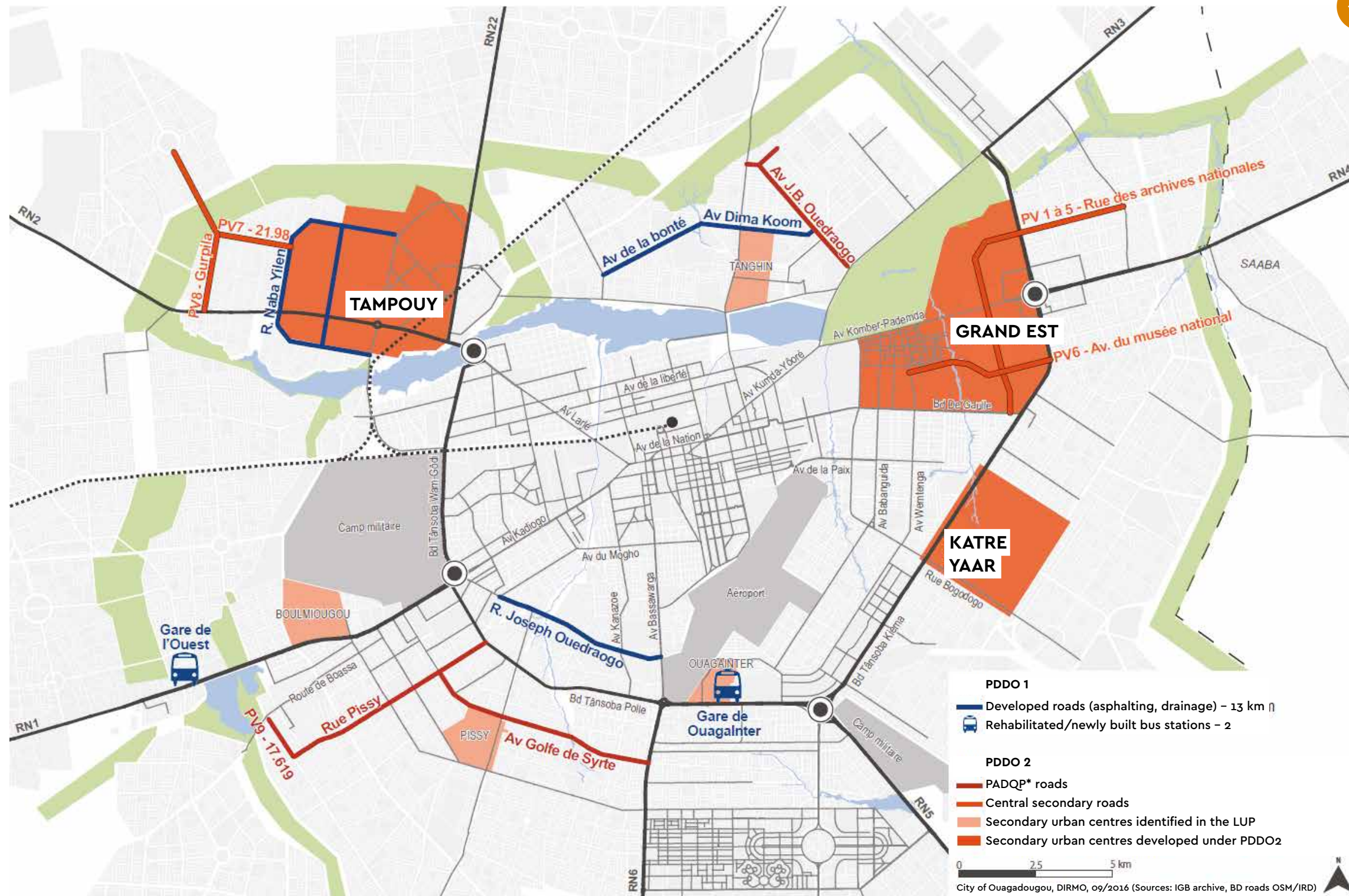
The fact is that, while Ouagadougou's sprawling expansion imposes heavy constraints on residents' living conditions and mobility, and presents a challenge for the local authorities. The municipality is facing the double challenge of densifying its territory while at the same time making great efforts to catch up in the peripheries. These outlying areas are underequipped considering their population: 80% of the city's residents live there, whereas 90% of public infrastructure, be it for health, education or culture, are located in the city centre.

In Tampouy, for example, a neighbourhood of 300,000 inhabitants on the western periphery, there are only two municipal schools. Only the very best students can enrol there. And every morning, thousands of youngsters have

to face traffic jams to reach the city centre. There, the schools are certainly less crowded than those on the periphery but to get there takes a lot of courage and patience. *"The root of the problem is clearly the poor distribution of services. This is what creates the traffic jams and, more importantly, what complicates people's daily life"*, says Amy Zongo.

To counter these huge deficits, the Municipal Council of Ouagadougou has decided to act incrementally. And the programme is an ambitious one: in line with the LUP, three of the Burkinabé capital's peripheral neighbourhoods are set to become secondary urban centres by 2025. Grand Est, Tampouy and Katre Yaar are the densest secondary urban centres in Ouagadougou, concentrating 1.2 million inhabitants. The task was an urgent one.

Investments for PDDO phases 1 and 2



PDDO 2 in a nutshell

€80 M

as an AFD loan in 2016

12 km

of main arteries to continue opening up peripheral neighbourhoods (asphalting, drainage, lighting, plantations, bus stops)

12 km

of secondary roads /drainage focussed on the two secondary urban centres, Grand Est and Tampouy, to improve accessibility within and between them

28

public facilities created, with a local and extended catchment area

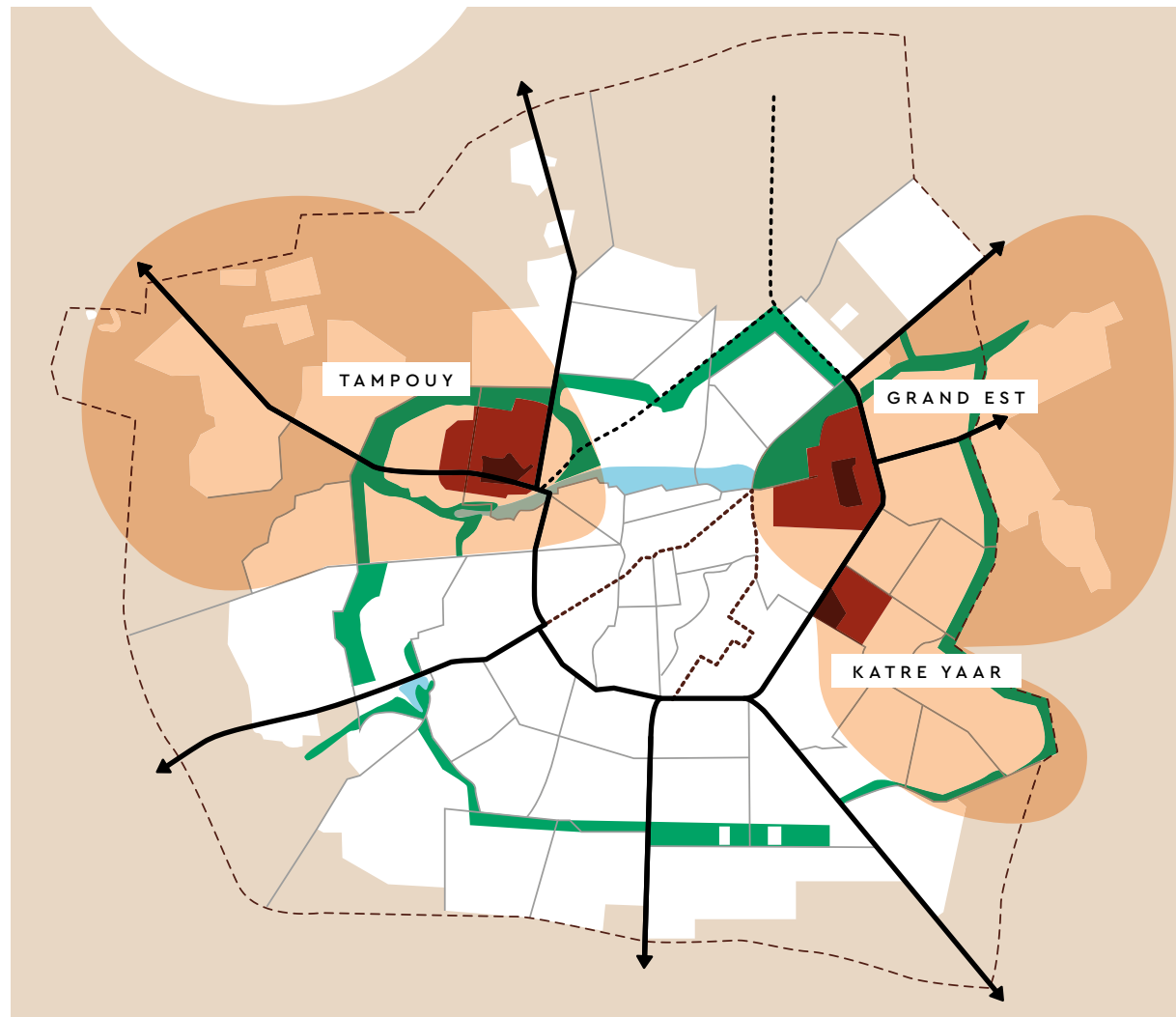
- 7 school facilities, representing 110 classrooms
- 5 health centres
- 4 commercial facilities (bus stations and markets)
- 5 sports complexes
- 3 socio-cultural facilities
- 4 public recreational areas



1.2 M

Inhabitants:
is the estimated catchment area
of the 3 secondary urban centres

By developing these “polycentric” neighbourhoods, whose catchment area covers 1.2 million inhabitants, the City Council aims to bring services and economic activity closer to residents and limit the need for them to travel into the city centre.



The second phase of the Ouagadougou Sustainable Development Project, PDDO 2, for which AMGT is the delegated project contractor, will continue to develop the 13 kilometres of road begun during the first project phase. It will also build the health, social, cultural and sports infrastructure sorely lacking in these neighbourhoods. In total, some 30 public amenities will be built: school complexes, health centres, sports and cultural facilities, green spaces, as well as markets and bus stations.

Developing these highly attractive local services and facilities naturally means first responding to the need for social equity, but also ensuring that commutes to the city centre are limited. By building 24 km of additional roads between and within neighbourhoods, the project will also enhance the “attraction” of these newly equipped urban centres, which already absorb more than half of the city’s population. With financing worth €80 million from the Agence Française de Développement, construction began in 2019.

“The risk is, of course, that this will create frustrations for the residents of other neighbourhoods but the stakes are high and this strategic choice was the only option. To have a real leverage effect, you have to avoid spreading resources too thinly and focus investments more so they can create impacts and boost development. But this is only a beginning, of course, and we will go on to tackle doing the same in the other neighbourhoods targeted by the LUP”, says Séraphine Medah.

Building a sustainable city means involving broad stakeholder coalitions

Rebalancing the territory... This is an objective that obviously runs into the long term, as all structuring urban projects take time to materialise. In light of these timeframes, Ouagadougou City Council decided to act immediately and breathe some life into the sites targeted by future large-scale operations, while

also buoying up the momentum triggered by the announcement of the future works. As a result, the “Citizen Project Laboratories” scheme was created, giving inhabitants and users a pivotal role in building the city. The laboratories are part of the Urban Fabric Initiative developed by AFD and the City Council and supported by a group of NGOs headed by Gret and Humanity and Inclusion.

“To all appearances, life goes on and everything seems calm in the Burkinabé capital. Yet, everyone is thinking of the crisis and fears for their family”

The country’s security situation is deteriorating, insecurity is gaining ground and thousands of Burkinabés are forced to flee the northern and eastern regions. At the close of 2018, 70,000 people had fled from this insecurity. In November 2019, the threshold of 500,000 internally displaced people had been reached according to the estimates of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), and this is set to reach one million by the first quarter of 2020.

About 90% of the displaced are hosted by their families. Many seek refuge in Ouagadougou and all, save a very few, of the capital’s resident are lodging family from the north, the east and, in recent weeks, from the northern centre of Burkina. Most of them will return only when peace has been re-established, and that will take time.

And so, the capital has not escaped the crisis that has hit the north and east of the country and which is weakening the economic and social fabric of one of the world’s poorest countries.

Adopting inclusive policies is a prerequisite to avoid a deepening urban divide that will leave behind a part of the citizens, and very often the most vulnerable. This imperative is all the greater in light of the unprecedented crisis that is sweeping across the country.



In Tampouy, restaurant owner Amy Zongo observes the changes brought about since the road arrived: *"It's good! People stop, consume and buy from our shops."*

With a 650,000 euros grant, a call for micro-projects was launched for local associations. As a result, developments on public spaces and sports areas were undertaken, co-designed with the inhabitants and users. This approach aimed not only to promote the inhabitants' sense of ownership of several PDDO2 sites destined for sports and cultural facilities and public spaces, but also to anticipate their future uses in line with the needs expressed by residents and other actors. Requiring only small budgets, these micro-projects are deployed rapidly.

Of course, the idea is not to replace one approach with another. The goal will still be to produce structuring effects on housing, the urban environment and mobility. But in addition to this, it will also involve taking on board the need to obtain tangible short-term results. On this count, the micro-projects will promote the preparation, ownership and the sustainability of the future infrastructure... while at the same time boosting local democracy.

In Tampouy, you only need to go to the central square, in the evening, to see the changes. At this time of day when temperatures are again bearable, some fifty youngsters are hurrying to get onto the sports grounds: football, basketball, bowls. *"There's something for everyone... and every age!"* In only a few months, a sports complex has appeared in the middle of the neighbourhood. With support from Gret, an association has been created to ensure its maintenance and neighbours living nearby carefully tend the recently planted bushes that delimit and enhance the space. Ami Zongo stresses with satisfaction the project's success, but above all its approach. *"They involved us right from the start. Everyone was asked to join in, we've never seen anything like it. Usually, they come without informing anyone, do their works... which often don't correspond to the needs."*

Things are changing in Tampouy, as they are in Katre Yaar and Grand Est, the city's first three secondary urban centres. Ouagadougou has not finished evolving...



Implemented by Gret and Humanity and Inclusion, funded by Agence Française de Développement, this "Urban Fabric Initiative" has been tested in Ouagadougou since 2019



Towards a collectively built city

While infrastructure needs remain immense, how do the new city-building tools, which are hyper-local and based on an almost "artisanal" rationale, fit into the approach of international donors like AFD, whose economic models prioritise economies of scale?

Given the long timeframes involved for major AFD-funded operations (infrastructure and facilities), the citizen innovation laboratory is designed as a concrete response actionable at any time: upstream of the AFD project, to foster the ownership of a new space or test new functions downstream, to readjust developments so that they match actual uses.

Examples include working in a participatory work camp on outside urban furniture design linked to a road project in Ouagadougou; involving residents in the choice of how the area around a metro station in India should be developed, or improving the design of a temporary space for craftspeople and entrepreneurs in a warehouse in the centre of Greater Tunis.

Workshops involving a co-design approach have helped to identify the types of transitory development and facilities that are in step with the specific needs of each neighbourhood. These key activities foster creativity, community dynamics and, more than that, interaction between all of a neighbourhood's actors and with the local authorities. The workshops are followed by exploratory steps making it easier to plan ahead, so that results can be very quickly implemented. The day after, the first concrete steps are taken in participatory work camps: installation of small urban furniture, pre-built signalling panels, etc. In parallel, local craftspeople work with the larger work camps.

Between the Municipality of Ouagadougou and AFD: 20 years of partnership in support of a sustainable city



Armand BEOUINDE
Mayor of Ouagadougou

The first major milestone: in 2006, the approval of a loan to the City of Ouagadougou to rehabilitate the central Rood Woko market following the tragic fire of 2003. For the Agence Française de Développement, it was the first direct loan to be granted to a West African local authority. This token of confidence in the municipality had a strong influence on the other technical and financial partners and the city authorities successfully capitalised on the momentum triggered.

The City of Ouagadougou was one of the first local authorities in Africa to organise a round table with donors in order to foster the alignment of each of the participants' visions and strategies.

How do these different partners come together today, and do they support the implementation of your urban policy?

It should first be remembered that the deepening of the sectoral dialogue coincided with the decentralisation process underway since 1991; the broadening of the City Council's powers had led to a broader scope for the dialogue with its partners, notably on the issues of mobility and infrastructure since 2006.

Especially as, little by little, the City had successfully internalised high-quality territorial expertise. The decentralised cooperation initiatives that the City shares with the Cities of Lyon, Bordeaux and Grenoble have been highly beneficial. This city-to-city support has certainly played a key and highly structuring role in Ouagadougou City Council's growing importance. It is in this framework — and with AFD's support — that the Lyon Town Planning Agency (UrbaLyon) has provided technical assistance on several levels, from the elaboration of the Land-Use Plan through to the implementation of the current urban mobility policy. This collaboration with technical and financial partners has also extended to "ways of doing", the Urban Fabric Initiative being one emblematic example. This operational method, which was new for the City Council, was defined and implemented thanks to the many exchanges and sharing of ideas with AFD. It enabled the City Council to concretise its determination to focus on civic consultation.

The changes in governance, at the level of the municipal executive, have been drivers of new initiatives. This is mainly shown by the institutional and organisational reforms of recent years, the foremost being the gradual structuring of the Municipal Agency for Large Works (AMGT). What are its missions? What is the added value for your municipality?

Drawing on the strength of its human resources, Ouagadougou municipality has set about developing its capacities as a contracting authority to be able to design projects and find financing, but also to implement projects and ensure the management and maintenance of the newly created infrastructures and services.

To this end, the AMGT was created. It comprises a young and dynamic team and Ouagadougou City Council is encouraging it to do more to extend its influence to Greater Ouaga and achieve our metropolitan ambitions. This organisation celebrated its first anniversary on 19 November last and gave us the opportunity to pay tribute to its first Director-General, Boureima Kaboré, who with his team was the mainstay of this structure.

The budget for Ouagadougou Municipality is around 30 million euros for a population estimated at 3.5 million. Given the immense needs in terms of investment, how can the City's financial resources be increased?

Over the past few years, the Municipality's financial capacities have improved, mainly due to the fact that it directly manages the central market. Other positive factors include the implementation of the IT system for collecting municipal taxes (SYCOTAX); the adoption of a leasing arrangement, which enables us to increase the City's logistical capabilities (chiefly vehicles); and the PEFA studies carried out in 2010 and 2020, which have helped to improve the system for managing the municipality's public finances. But the lack of financial resources remains considerable. The government appropriations do not match up to the huge needs for equipping and organising this city. Financing from different partners gives us relative control over investment financing, but the City Council is still facing the major challenge of covering operating costs. The question of local taxation is key for a city that aims to develop sustainably.

Financing cities' sustainable development



As they are under-equipped and poorly served, African cities are today among the most expensive in the world, for households and businesses alike.

Given the low level of wealth, the amount of productive investment has remained relatively low over the last four decades (around 20% of GDP — compared to 40% in East Asia during its years of rapid urbanisation).

Today, the result is the urban infrastructure deficit, for both industry and commerce, as well as a lack of affordable housing. According to the African Development Bank, Africa would need between 130 and 170 billion dollars of annual investment to make up for the lag in facilities and respond to new expectations. But how can this financing be mobilised?

Interview with

Frédéric Audras

head of AFD's Urban Development, Town Planning and Housing Division.

The financing needs of African cities are substantial. While it is commonly acknowledged that local authorities have a key role to play, in reality, we see that their margins of manoeuvre are often limited. What approach is AFD developing to support the role and resources of local authorities more effectively?

Be it the Addis Ababa Action Plan or the New Urban Agenda, governments have finally recognised the role of local authorities and, above all, now agree that the necessary resources must be made available to local governments if they are to fulfil their missions effectively. We have been given a clear mandate to provide support. In this context, AFD, which has long worked closely with local authorities, has decided to do more and step up its action, particularly on the African continent. To efficiently bolster the decentralisation process

while taking into account the institutional, political and legal specifics of each country, and, more importantly, to ensure the effective implementation of reforms, AFD has entered a long-term dialogue with national and local authorities, mainly through public policy loans. In this situation, combining interventions with other donors is also a real plus for dialoguing with our partners. Our objective here must be to implement reforms based on the subsidiarity principle. This means providing for clear-cut and effective transfers of powers from central to local government, along with sufficient resources to provide populations with efficient public facilities and services. It also means improving the legal framework for local authorities' own resources (taxation, tariffs, fees, land resources, etc.) so that they can become more financially independent. We are supporting this type of programme in Morocco, Ethiopia and Senegal. Ultimately,

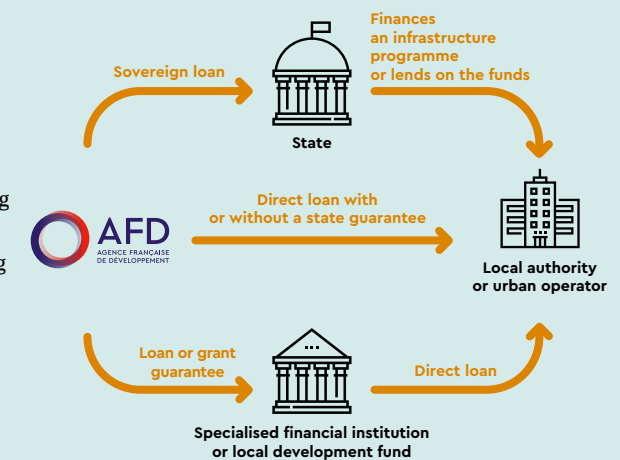
effective decentralisation and the strengthening of local authorities will give more cities the capacity to access direct development financing to implement their investment programme.

Once decentralisation reforms have been adopted, how can the more mature local authorities be supported in financing their investment programme?

We have a flexible financing offer tailored to the context of decentralisation and able to respond to the needs of different actors in the urban sphere. Very concretely, depending on the country, we can offer direct loans to cities (as in the case of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Dakar and Ouagadougou). And we can also offer sovereign loans to central governments that can be passed on as loans or grants to local authorities, or loans to local public financial institutions (such as the *Fonds d'Équipement Communal* in Morocco, the *Caisse des Prêts et de Soutien aux Collectivités Locales* in Tunisia or the Development Bank of Southern Africa in South Africa).

Intermediary cities and small cities of fewer than 1 million inhabitants account for 60% of urban growth. Yet, too little financing remains accessible to them. How can this situation be remedied?

Certainly, today it is hard to reach secondary cities. Donors' intervention capacities in this regard is still too limited: amounts that are too small, foreign exchange risks, overly slow changes in regulatory frameworks. The challenge today is thus to diversify the offer and promote the structuring of domestic lending markets.

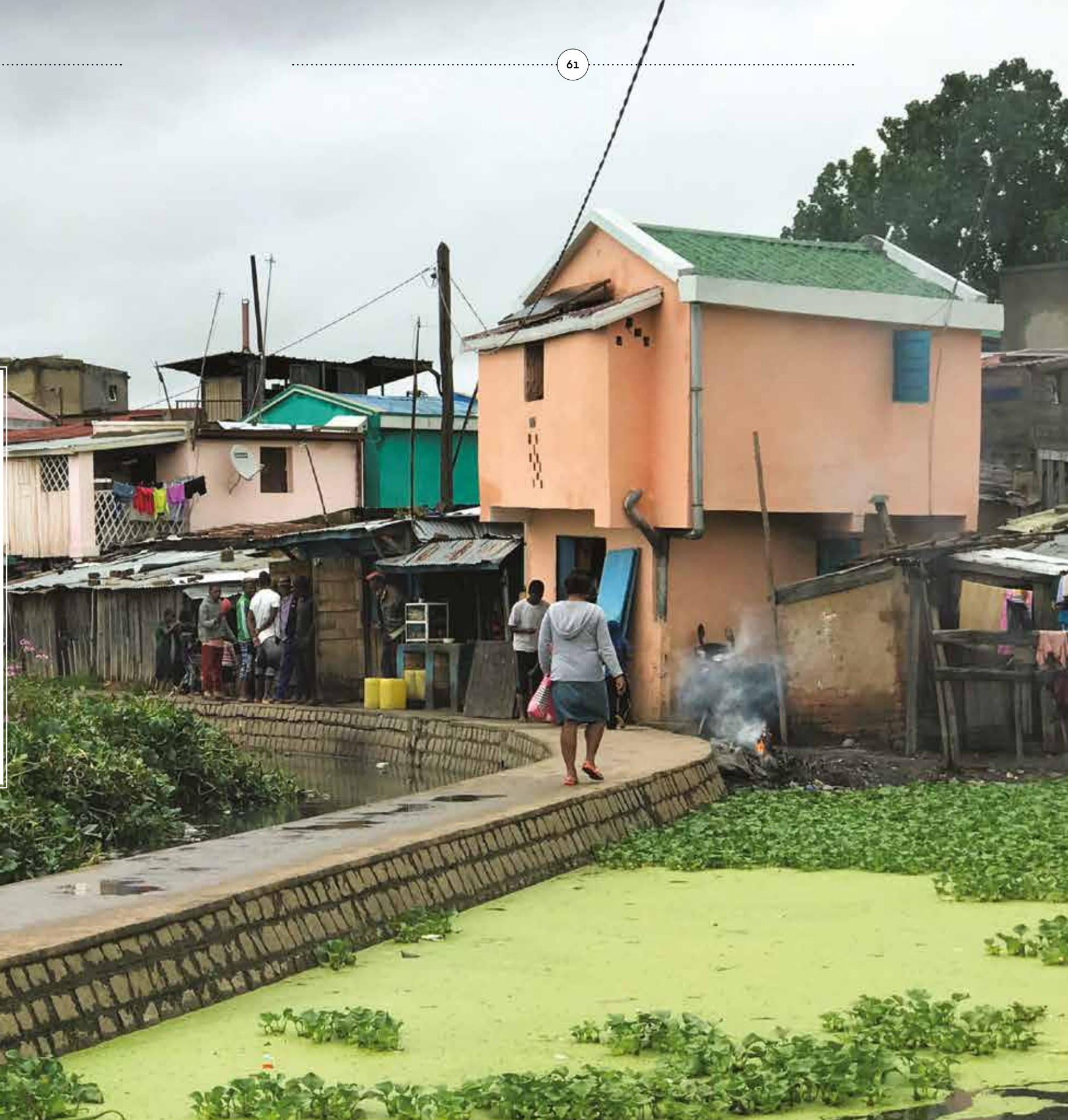


How? Here, an important vector seems to be the mobilisation of domestic savings and private investors. There is advocacy work to be done with commercial banks to show them that the local public sector is a low-risk market segment. Lastly, we need to develop guarantee schemes, seeding and leverage instruments to encourage the structuring of the domestic banking market to serve the local public sector, with loans that are longer-term than those found in the private sector. With support from the European Union, we have just created a guarantee scheme for private and public local banks that are willing to lend to local authorities: the challenge is to spark their interest in this customer segment and their contribution to the financing of major urban programmes. Another example: we participated, along with Swiss Cooperation and private investors, in setting up a financing company for investment projects for intermediary cities in South Africa. We are also supporting the development of "banks for local authorities" on a national scale, akin to the Agence France Locale, which is a real development bank in which cities have shareholdings, thus enabling them to raise enough funds on the bond market to finance their investment programmes.

Antananarivo

From the City of the Thousand to the city for all?

Antananarivo, a 400-year history. Over a period of 400 years, the small town on top of the hill gradually crept down the foothills before spreading into the valley to become a metropolis of 3 million inhabitants. The city's unique configuration is a challenge for urbanisation, as is the speed at which the city is growing. In 2020, 70% of new housing was built in precarious neighbourhoods, often prone to flooding. For 10 years now, AFD has been supporting the Malagasy government and investing to open up and upgrade 328 low-income neighbourhoods.





Known as the City of the Thousand, Antananarivo could just as well be dubbed the city of stairs given their number. No fewer than a hundred.

Real arteries that have connected the city's heights to the plain for decades, if not centuries for some, these stairs play a key role in the life of "Tanarivians".

Yet, it is not always easy to move around. Tiana, who climbs them every day to get to the central market where she works knows only too well. *"They are part of our heritage but time has taken its toll and many are really damaged, especially those in the city's most precarious neighbourhoods. It's getting dangerous to climb them, particularly when it's raining, but we don't have the choice. For most of us, it's the only way of getting around; otherwise you lose hours taking the zigzagging roads."*

Things are changing. Agence Française de Développement was solicited by the Malagasy Ministry of Regional Development and Public Works, as well as by several municipalities in the Antananarivo agglomeration, to continue to expand the Lalankely programme.

This programme has been improving the daily life of hundreds of thousands of residents for nearly 10 years now, by targeting new neighbourhoods and new infrastructure. With this 3rd phase, special attention will be given to cultural heritage and architecture, as some of the low-income neighbourhoods targeted are located in the "Haute Ville" (Upper Town).

The challenge for the Malagasy government's priority programme will be to respond to a fundamental need while also helping to preserve the city's unique environment.

But to intervene in this city with its highly specific configuration, you need to know its history, its evolution, its realities.

Greater understanding leads to more effective action

In 1610, when King Andrianjaka captured the highest of the twelve peaks of Imerina, the Kingdom of the central highlands, he built the very first fortified compound, the "Rova". It is because this had been defended by a thousand men that the site was renamed Antananarivo — the "City of the Thousand". From this 1,400 m high summit, the city then developed over the entire hill to become, in 1790, the main residence of the Merina kings who then



Located on the Malagasy highlands, Antananarivo grew on and around a chain of hills.

controlled most of the island.

Until the end of the 19th century, Antananarivo, with its 50,000 inhabitants, resembled a large village, riddled with stairs and narrow lanes interconnecting the houses and only accessible on foot.

During the first half of the 20th century, during the years of colonisation, the town was transformed. Limited until then to the Ville Haute, its perimeter began to extend downhill. The "Ville Moyenne" (middle town) and its administrative centre gradually expanded onto the lower surrounding hills to the west and

north, incorporating into the urban space a series of villages and suburbs. At the same time, some 20 hectares of swampland and rice fields on the plain were drained and filled to make room for the "Ville Basse" (Lower town).

This is where the neighbourhood of Analakely, "the little forest", was located, as well as the Avenue Fallières (now Avenue de l'Indépendance), Soarano rail station and a large new market that soon became the biggest in Africa.

Since then, the city has continued to expand uninterruptedly — as has its population.



3 M

inhabitants
in 2020



6 M

inhabitants
in 2035



70%

of new constructions
are informal
and precarious

A 20-fold increase in population in less than a century

A first milestone was reached when the city's population increased fivefold in a little less than 60 years: it rose from 50,000 inhabitants in 1900 to 250,000 in 1960. But it was really in the wake of independence, from the 1960s, that urban growth accelerated. In 1990, the city had 1 million inhabitants. Then everything continued non-stop. The neighbourhoods in the Ville Basse became more densely populated and expanded out towards neighbouring municipalities. Today, the agglomeration of Antananarivo, dubbed "Grand Tana", covers around 50 municipalities and has almost 3 million inhabitants.

With demographic growth at 4.6% - much higher than the national rate of 2.9% - the number of inhabitants is set to double over the next 15 to 20 years. This high rate is one of the fastest in Africa, close to that of Abuja and Ouagadougou, and twice as fast as Nairobi and Bamako. Currently, with 200,000 additional citizens each year, the city is expected to exceed 6 million inhabitants by 2035.

The urban paradox: economic dynamism and poverty

The Grand Tana agglomeration alone now generates half of national GDP. It is the country's growth engine and concentrates most employment. While 7–8 households out of 10 live under the poverty line in rural areas, and 5–6 in the secondary cities, this figure drops to 4 out of 10 in Antananarivo, where the prospects for a better standard of living seem more favourable. Yet, while the agglomeration represents a development opportunity for the "Big Island" as a whole, its growth also presents a major socio-economic challenge.

The capital is, in fact, unable to meet the expectations of the hundreds of people who arrive each day. As most are in an extremely precarious situation, they have no choice but to

live in unplanned and illegal settlements, often on the periphery, in the Ville Basse. But not only there. Today, the expansion of shanty towns is affecting all of Antananarivo's neighbourhoods. Seventy per cent of new builds are informal.

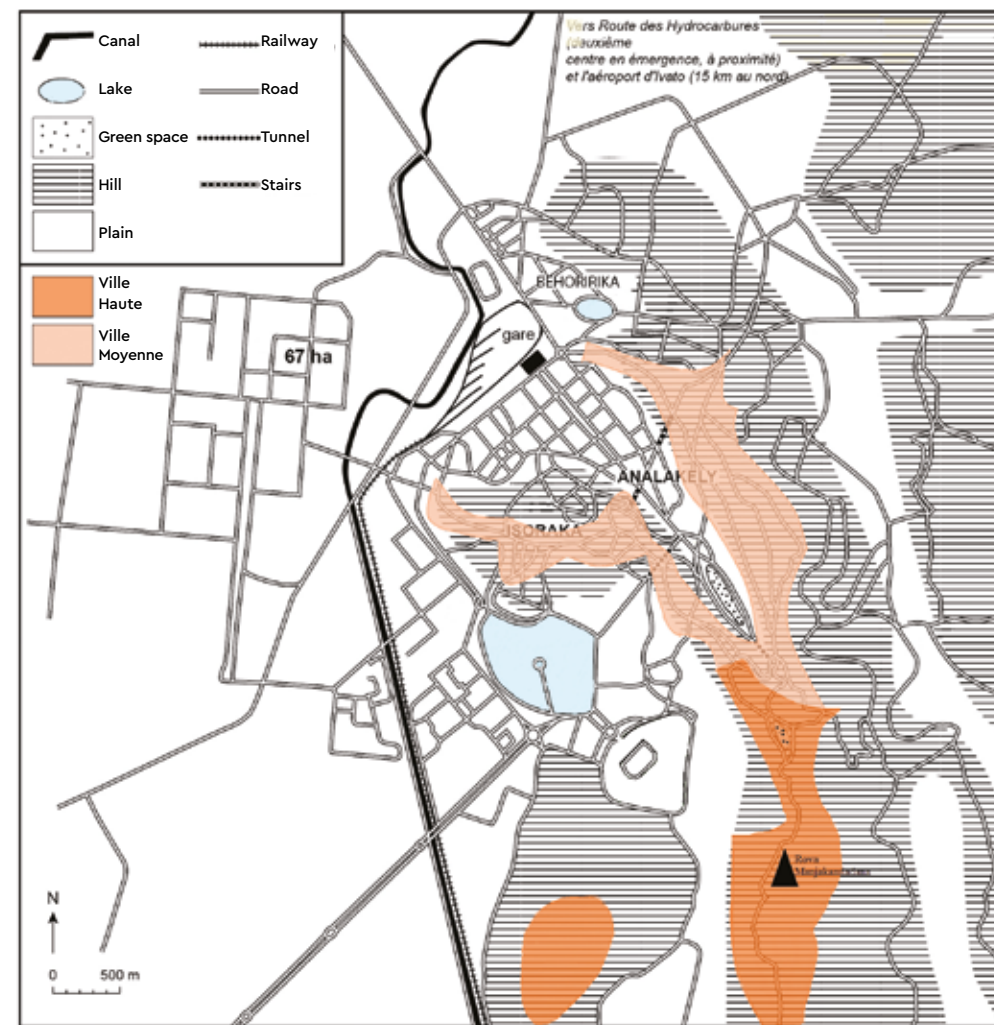
Since 2003, the built-up area has doubled in the Malagasy capital but this mainly involves precarious housing

Given the city's configuration, which combines steep slopes and swampland, the new arrivals often settle in areas that are vacant, but where construction has been forbidden, mostly due to the risk of flooding. Difficult to access and enclaved, some neighbourhoods become inaccessible in the rainy season. It must be said that Antananarivo is criss-crossed by alleyways and stairs which, though useful for moving around the whole agglomeration on foot, are sometimes the only points of access for entire neighbourhoods. It times of heavy rain, the roads — mostly dirt tracks — are impassable.

Renovating precarious neighbourhoods: the right to the city for all

As low-income neighbourhoods become more densely populated, their living conditions deteriorate for want of adequate facilities and infrastructure. For example, over 75% of the population fetch their drinking water from standpipes, and in the capital's peripheral neighbourhoods there is barely one standpipe per 6,000 inhabitants.

Faced with a situation that will inevitably worsen without firm measures, the Malagasy government decided to act. At its side, Agence



The Ville Haute is the original core of Antananarivo. The plain supplied the town with food before gradually being assimilated into the city and urbanised, often anarchically. The plain is the main host area for the new arrivals.

Française de Développement has for many years been actively committed to the in-situ upgrading of these informal settlements and their integration into the rest of the city.

"The idea began to sprout in 2008", recalls Hajo Andrianainarivelo, Minister of Regional Development and Public Works, "when the current president of the Republic was still Mayor of Antananarivo. Back then, urban infrastructure projects were limited to building roads and only involved the country's main arteries. AFD, alongside the mayor, advocated for the development of projects that would produce greater impacts". It must be said that, in Antananarivo, over three out of four households

have no vehicle and most people walk. On the one hand, because the layout of the city rules out other options in many places and, on the other hand, because public transport services are very poor. "Intervening on the alleyways and basic services in fact meant ensuring improved living conditions for a very large number of residents", concludes Hajo Andrianainarivelo. This ambition finally materialised once the capital's mayor became President of the Republic. The year 2011 saw the launch of the so-called "Lalankely" (alleyways in Malagasy) programme, aimed at opening up and upgrading Antananarivo's priority neighbourhoods. Ten years later, it is now in its third phase.

A cluster effect to maximise the impacts of hundreds of tiny projects

With over €14 million invested, the first two phases of the programme have already led to improved living conditions for about 600,000 residents in 108 of the 455 fokontany (the Malagasy name for a neighbourhood) that make up the agglomeration of Antananarivo.

In each neighbourhood, the stairs, alleyways and roads equipped with drains to improve the disposal of wastewater and rainwater have either been built or rehabilitated. Sanitary facilities were also installed: standpipes, washhouses, public toilets, waste containers.

“It’s an unusual approach”, says Lydia Razafindrahona, who is in charge of monitoring the programme for AFD at the Antananarivo agency. “Lalankely allocates substantial funds to a myriad of small projects carried out concurrently. But the overall situation at the time meant that it had to be designed as a single project.”

On the heels of the crisis that shook the country between 2009 and 2013 came an urgent need to tackle a situation that was fast deteriorating and creating more poverty, unemployment and insecurity. Improving the living conditions of vulnerable populations was a priority for the newly appointed government. The foremost concern was to ease mounting social tensions and stabilise the political situation.

So the different phases of the programme were designed to maximise the impacts. *“For each parcel of land, we prioritised the adjacent neighbourhoods in order to produce a cluster effect and ensure that the investments were concentrated”, explains Lydia Razafindrahona. “Especially as overly fragmented projects would have imposed too many constraints in terms of executing and supervising the works.”*

As there was no local institution with sufficient funds or the capacity to act as the contracting

authority for the planned investments, the idea of directly contracting with a group of municipalities was ruled out. Neither was it plausible to contract individually with each local authority, as they lacked the capacity to manage such a large project and there were too many of them. It was thus the Agency for the Execution of Works of Public Interest and Development (AGETIPA), attached to the Presidency, that coordinated the activities and involved local actors, working closely with the NGO, ENDA Indian Ocean. During this turbulent period, having a delegated contracting authority helped to overcome certain cleavages by keeping to a line of action that was in the general interest.

Step after step

As poor housing areas were targeted, the municipalities had no difficulty in proposing a list of priority investments, as the needs were overwhelming. Defined in concertation with the residents, the actions proposed involved developments for public spaces.

In Ankazomanga Andraharo fokontany, located in the northwest of Antananarivo, real change was visible as soon as 2013. First, a footbridge and two large roads replaced the almost permanently impassable dirt roads in this neighbourhood of 5,300 souls nestled in the middle of the rice fields.

“Since then, people have been able to move around normally, nice and dry,” comments Sofa Rakotomanana, Deputy Chief of the fokontany. “Before, we crossed the marshland on foot and during the rainy season we were cut off from the world.”

Born in the neighbourhood, Gilbert Fanahisoa remembers growing up with his feet deep in water: *“We used to come home from school late in the evening, along slippery paths, sometimes squabbling with each other, and we’d fall into the canal or the mud.”* Now aged 38, he has not left the place of his childhood. But now the streets

Lalankely Phases 1 and 2

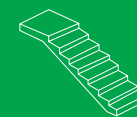


The point of entry into Ankazomanga Andraharo fokontany, in the northwest of Antananarivo municipality



€14 M

invested by AFD:
a €9 M grant in 2011
and another worth
€5 M in 2014



80km

of stairs, alleyways
and carriageways
built or rehabilitated



596

engineering
works
completed



600,000

inhabitants
saw their living
conditions improve

are dry. And the changes do not stop there. A new washhouse and sanitary unit with showers and public toilets have been built. The effects were immediate and these amenities radically improved living conditions for everyone. *“People can live decently, wash themselves, so they get sick less. There are even people from nearby neighbourhoods who come to use these amenities”*, confides Sofa Rakotomanana.

Opening up sparks a new dynamism

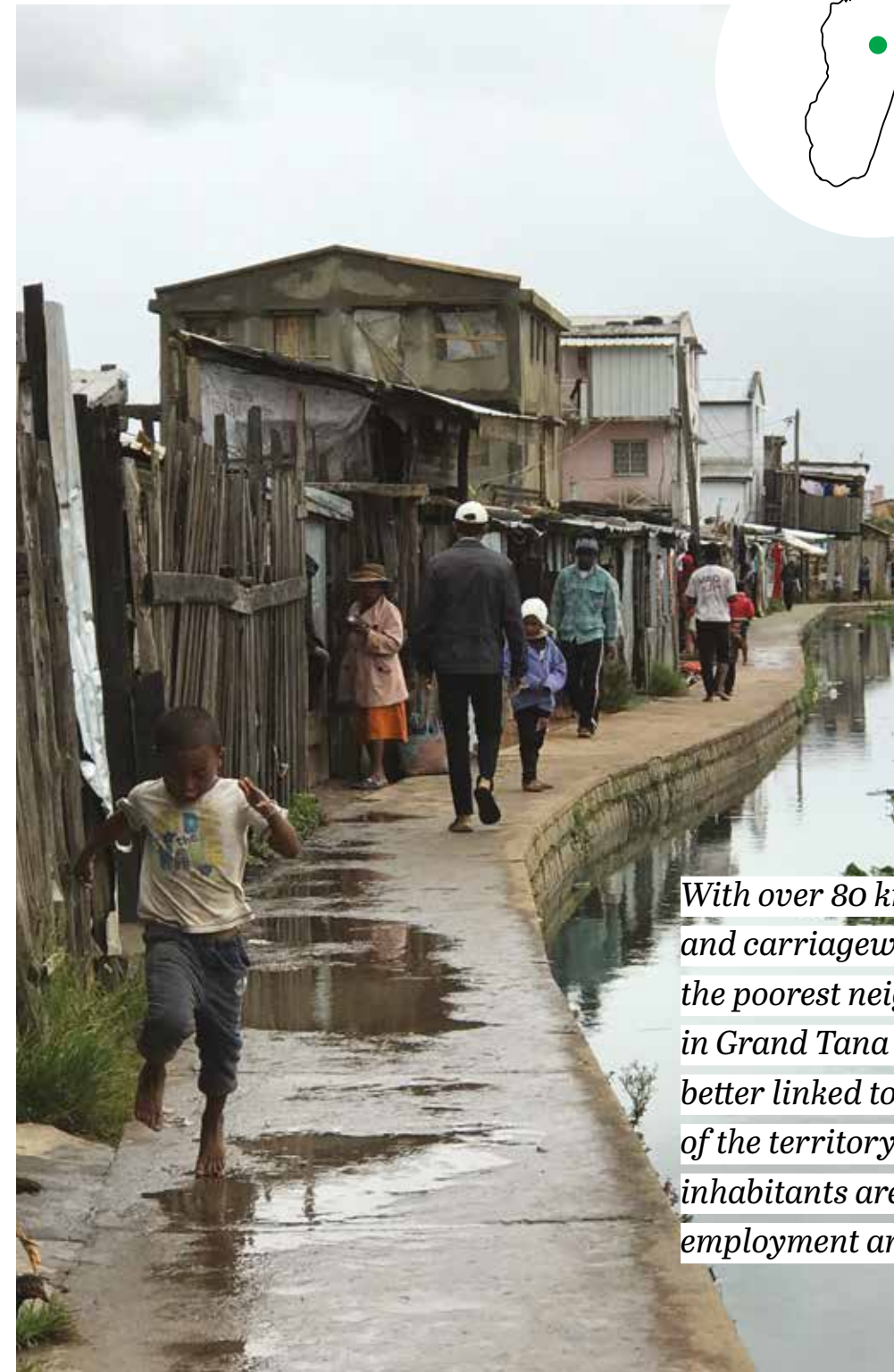
Exchanges with residents of nearby neighbourhoods — formerly rare given that

moving around was so difficult— are now a daily occurrence. Especially as most of the fokontany have become more attractive. Grocers and traders of all kinds have sprung up. Until then, they had been concentrated along the main arteries, but they are now setting up business in neighbourhoods, where new roads now allow for the delivery of supplies. This scenario is happening not only in precarious neighbourhoods in the city centre, but also in the small rural suburbs of the outlying municipalities. Now brimming with life, more animated, their image has been enhanced.

Sofa Rakotomanana,
Deputy Chief of the
fokontany



In the northwest of the urban municipality of Antananarivo, Ankazomanga Andraharo fokontany is one of the neighbourhoods targeted by Phase 1 of the Lalankely programme



With over 80 km of stairs and carriageways built, the poorest neighbourhoods in Grand Tana are now better linked to the rest of the territory and their inhabitants are connected to employment areas.

Primary waste collection is ensured by networks of neighbourhood associations: the RF2, *Rafitna Fikajana ny Rano sy ny Fakadiovana*, which translates into "cleanliness and hygiene in my neighbourhood".



"People can live decently, wash themselves, so they get sick less. There are even people from nearby neighbourhoods who come to use these amenities", confides Sofa Rakotomanana.



In Ankazomanga, very quickly, new inhabitants came to settle down, mainly close to the new amenities. New constructions mushroomed and, propelled by this dynamic, the older houses also changed. "Seeing the new works, the new houses, we began to see our neighbourhood differently. Our view has changed and at the same time, the way people from other neighbourhoods see us has changed! We stopped seeing our fokontany as a dirty and insalubrious place that creates difficulties. We saw it for what it was: a place full of life that we needed to take care of", explains Gilbert Fanahisoa, the head of neighbourhood security and president of a waste collection committee.

Gradually, the neighbourhood has changed completely. These first public investments spurred other changes, initiated by the residents themselves. First, the houses began to change and become more attractive, bigger even. And in the public spaces, "Everyone now feels responsible for keeping the neighbourhood clean, and you can't throw your rubbish away just anywhere!" insists Gilbert Fanahisoa. After delivery of the works, the residents were given support for the upkeep and daily management of the infrastructure. The NGO Enda supported the formalisation of the RF2s, which are the associations in charge of managing water and sanitation (*Rafitra Fikojàna ny Rano sy Fidiovana* in Malagasy), comprising neighbourhood representatives, users and officials from social committees. Thanks to voluntary contributions from residents, the RF2s are able to ensure the sorting and collection of household waste, as well as the cleaning out of drainage ditches and street sweeping. "Recently, we wanted to go further, continues Gilbert Fanahisoa. "So we gave contributions to install some solar street lights to make things safer and enable us to go out in the evening."

"A decent living environment, new jobs: It's the neighbourhood itself that has changed"

"Thanks to the new facilities, it's becoming pleasant to live in the neighbourhood. Besides, the many changes have attracted new inhabitants. That's a very good thing as it brings more customers and so more income!" says Thérèse Ravaoharimanana, who has been a washerwoman for 15 years. "Until recently, our washhouse had no roof. It wasn't a healthy place to spend our days in and we couldn't work when it rained. Since the site has been upgraded it's much better. You can see that as there are many more washerwomen now, it's full every day."

In fact, employment was one of the main positive points of the Lalankely programme. First because a sizeable part of the works were carried out by locals residents themselves, especially by young people, who are particularly hard hit by unemployment. The works gave them an income but, more importantly, enabled them to obtain qualifications that should facilitate their entry into the job market. "The big advantage of the programme is that it managed to convince companies that usually focussed on large-scale contracts to become involved in the programme that included a host of micro-projects. Once convinced, they really played the game, and trained teams. A large local workforce was mobilised and many inhabitants of the neighbourhoods were able to find a job. What's more, some of them were then hired on other worksites. There was a real impact on unemployment in precarious neighbourhoods", says Hajo Andrianainarivelo, Minister of Regional Development and Public Works. "And it was a good way for the inhabitants to gain a sense of ownership of their local facilities, in addition to earning income."

Repositioning municipalities as actors, not simply as beneficiaries

The inhabitants are now used to talking with local authorities to express their demands or grievances. They also participate in the management and routine maintenance of

infrastructure through residents' committees. Today, the challenge is not only to make sure that these entities are long lasting, beyond project completion, but also to find the right balance in the distribution of the tasks undertaken by each of the stakeholders. The management and routine maintenance



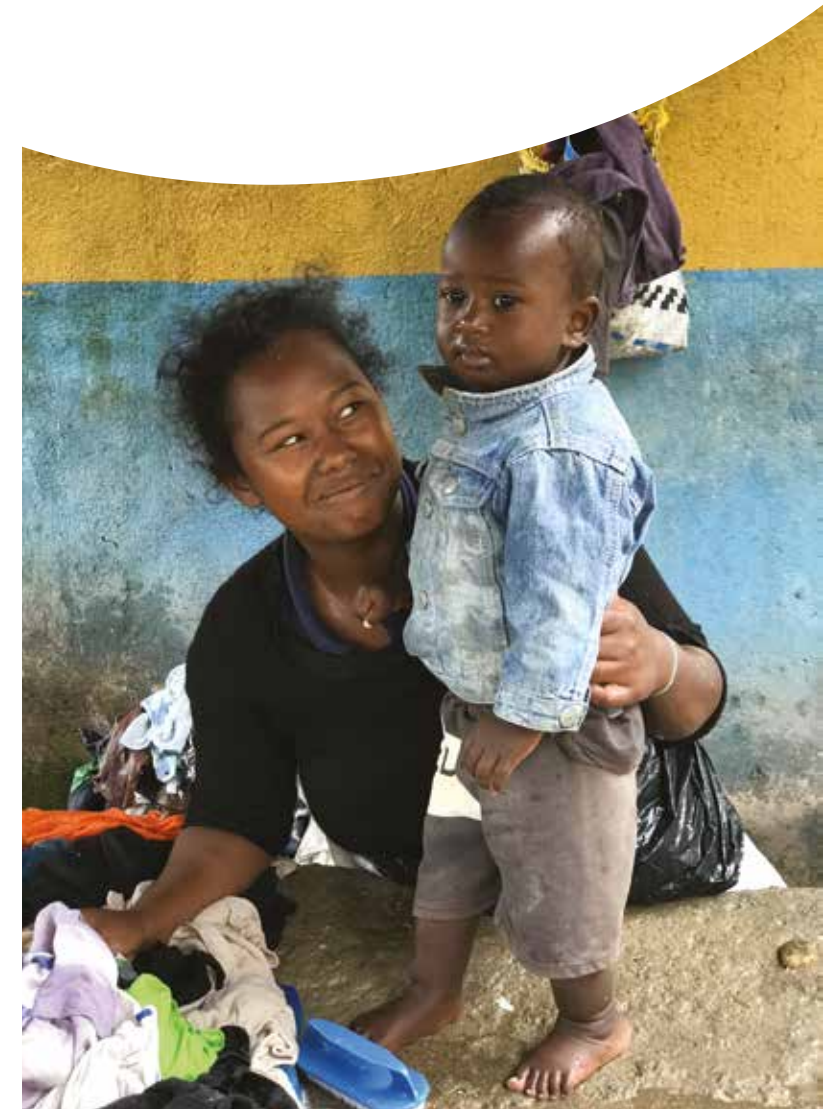
Thérèse Ravaoharimanana,
a washerwoman for 15 years.



Ankazomonga Andraharo, a neighbourhood in north Antananarivo

For six years now, the women have had a supply of drinking water from standpipes, as well as access to a washhouse.

“Before, we washed our laundry and dishes in the rice field and took our water directly from the ditches.” The construction of this new infrastructure has had a knock-on effect and opportunities have opened up. The works to extend the water supply by installing standpipes enabled some families to ask for a household connection.



of a standpipe, toilets or washhouse are mostly taken on by neighbourhood associations, as are waste collection and street sweeping. On the other hand, carrying out major repairs becomes more problematic when the contributions collected from residents barely cover operating expenses.

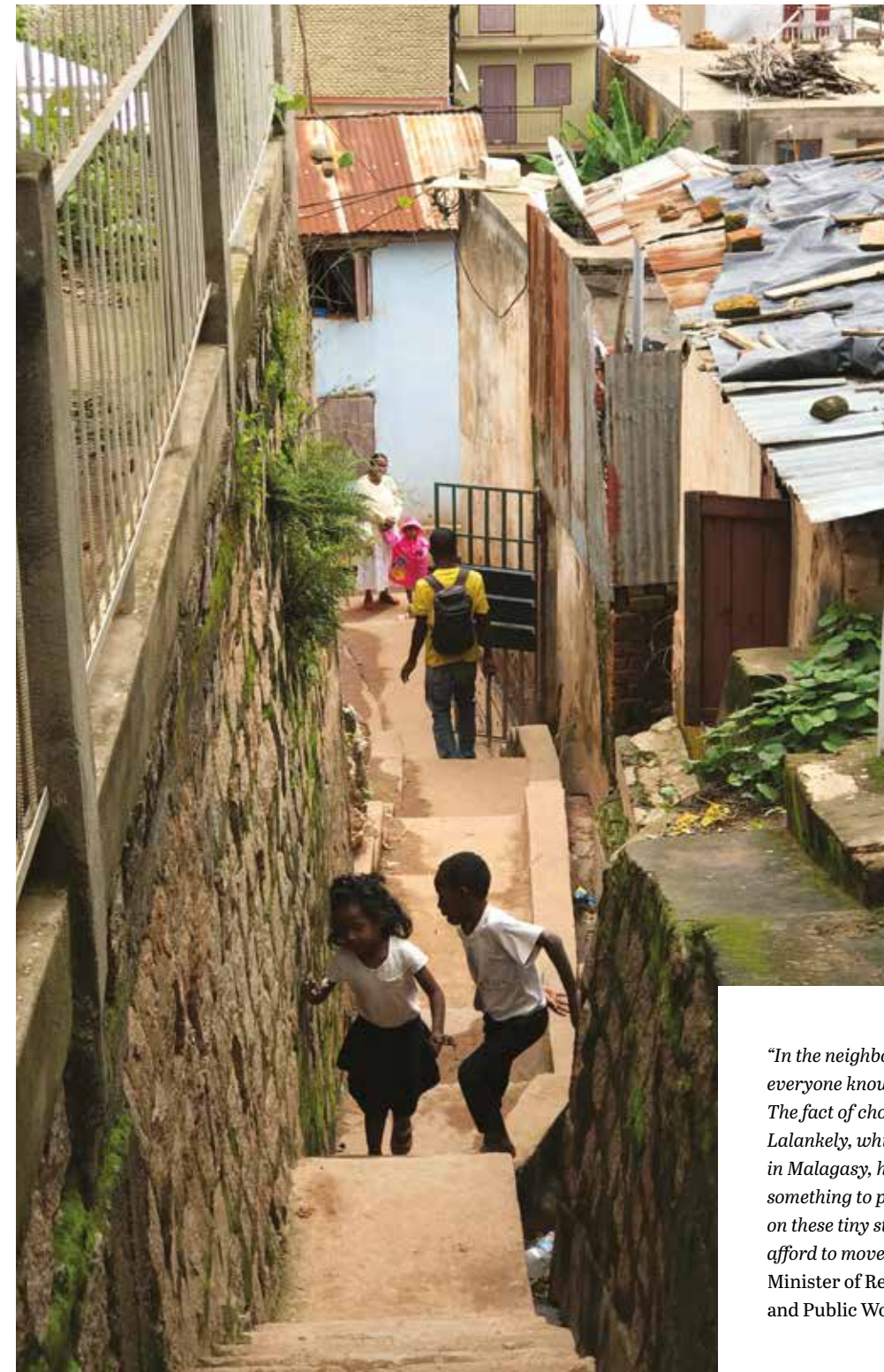
The institutional arrangements and operating methods, necessary in times of crisis, allowed the project to run efficiently. But today, these have to evolve. The objective? Encourage the municipalities to take on ownership of the projects by incentivising them to become involved throughout the whole project cycle. As they are best placed to ensure the long-term management and maintenance of the facilities, their capacities now need to be strengthened, mainly with respect to their technical services. Beyond this, cooperation between municipalities need to be supported so that elected officials can build and share a common vision of the future of their agglomeration. For this, the National Institute for Decentralisation and Local Development will provide ongoing technical assistance.

With these new arrangements in place, the third phase of the programme was ready to be launched. This came about in 2018. With more substantial financing combining an AFD 19 million euros sovereign loan and a European Union grant of €19 million, an additional 220 neighbourhoods spread over 27 municipalities in Grand Tana were able to benefit from an immediate response to the fundamental needs of the poorest populations. More than one million people have seen their living conditions improved thanks to these new investments.

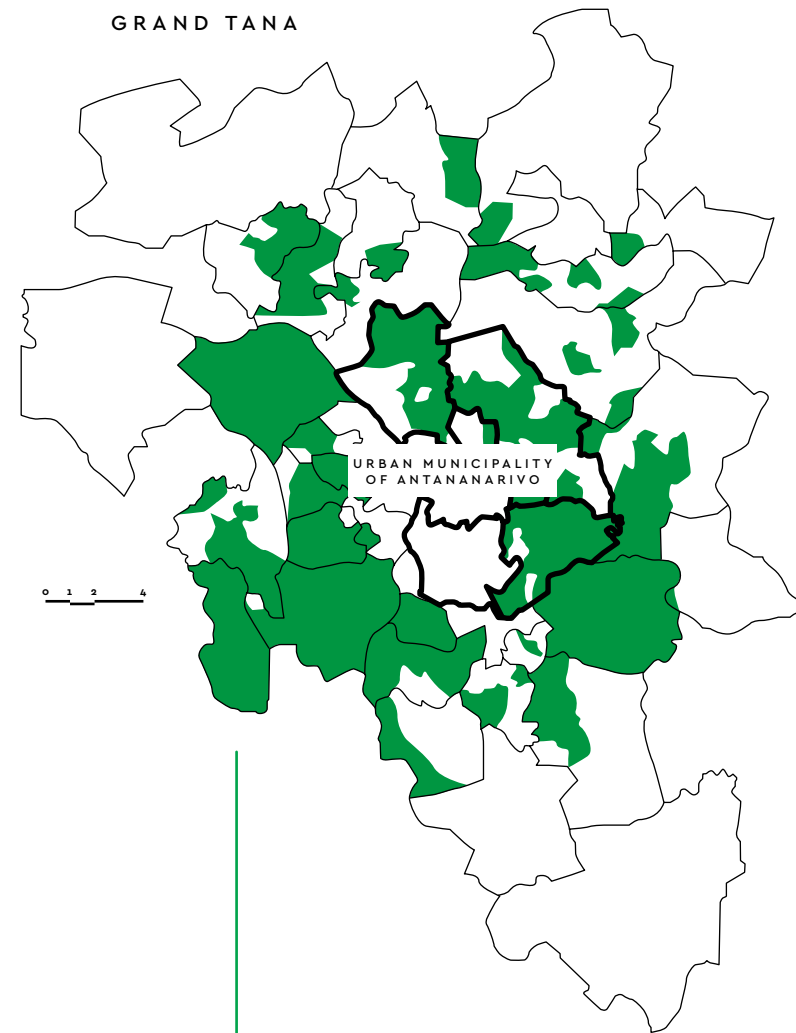
● Rethinking the city

“In poor countries, the actions of technical and financial partners need to be felt in daily life”, insists Hajo Andrianainarivelo, Minister of Regional Development and Public Works. “The Lalankely project has been the most impactful and most visible to the urban population. Of course, the previously built roads have helped bring about many changes, but they were of no direct benefit to the poorest people, it didn’t change their everyday life as they didn’t use roads.”

Given these results, “Lalankely” has managed to draw the attention of technical and financial partners operating all over Madagascar. It has rekindled their interest in an urban sector that had been somewhat sidelined until then, and acted as a lever. The World Bank and the European Union have been operating in this key sector for several years now alongside AFD. A welcome development, as the Minister explains: *“Investing in the cities of a country that, in 20 years, will have an equal share of urban and rural population is crucial for the future of our country and the sustainability of our development model. This obviously does not mean neglecting rural development but rather acting in complementarity. Today, we are inundated with requests from municipalities, each wanting to have its own Lalankely!”*



“In the neighbouring municipalities, everyone knows about this project. The fact of choosing this name, Lalankely, which means “alleyways” in Malagasy, has really meant something to people who depend on these tiny streets, and can only afford to move around on foot.”
Minister of Regional Development and Public Works in Madagascar


220

additional neighbourhoods spread over 4 districts in the Urban Municipality of Antananarivo and 25 peripheral municipalities in Grand Tana have benefitted from the project.


1M

people will benefit from new investments, 1 in 3 Tana inhabitants



Lalankely Phase 3


€22 M

in 2017: a €19 M sovereign loan from AFD combined with a € 3M grant from the EU

Grassroots impacts by 2022

140km

of roads will be built or rehabilitated

280,000

inhabitants will have access to a source of improved drinking water

86,000

inhabitants will have access to improved sanitation

Sustainable cities are impossible without decent housing



Interview with

Audrey Guiral-Naepels

Deputy Head of AFD's Urban Development, Town Planning and Housing division.

To support urban growth in Africa, an estimated 4 million new dwellings must be produced each year. So where do you begin?

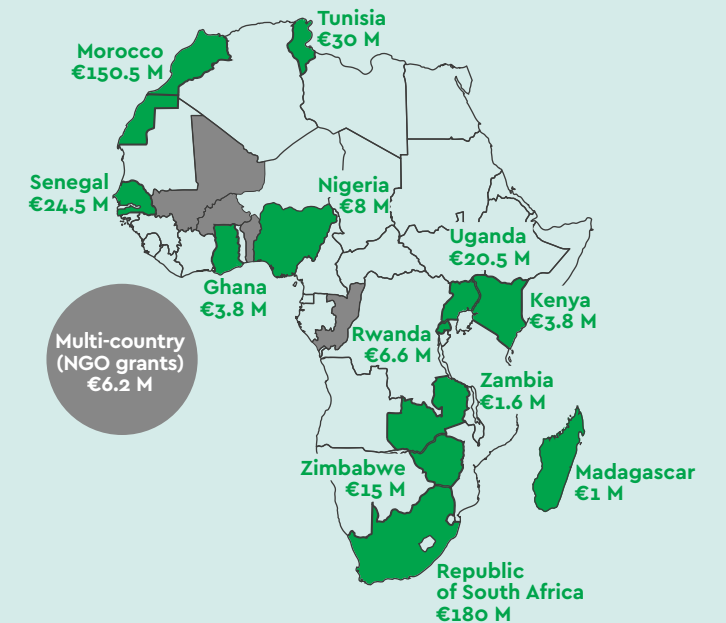
First of all, housing production must be approached as a strategic component of urban planning and development. Building houses means first and foremost building cities. Housing production must be carried out in connection with the production of facilities and infrastructure. It means not only supporting formal urban growth, but also preventing the formation of new neighbourhoods with precarious housing.

It also means connecting nationally defined policies and translating these into local development plans and master plans. This is no simple matter as most housing programmes are designed at the national level and, more often than not, local authorities are not involved in their drafting.

In Africa, two-thirds of urban growth happen in so-called informal neighbourhoods. And the dwellings there are very often precarious. What approach can be taken after years of “laissez-faire” or forced evictions?

Today, the choice must be for a mixed approach combining the in-situ rehabilitation of precarious neighbourhoods and the construction of new housing, to be carried out inclusively and sustainably. Improving precarious neighbourhoods requires adopting transparent and participatory ways of doing things, which mobilise not only numerous stakeholders, notably women and young people, but also innovative approaches. A prerequisite for any action is the recognition of the rights of residents of precarious neighbourhoods, as well as their ability to help make the city. Successful experiments generally stem from combinations of proactive policies that include

"Housing" projects in Africa financed by AFD Group since 2005



€451.5 M

invested for housing in Africa since 2004

both the restructuring of existing slums and the improvement of access to basic services.

Self-build seems to be the norm for low-income citizens. What alternatives are available to them?

Alongside home ownership, which covers only part of the demand, it is also necessary for public policies to consider the question of rental, to propose diversified products such as rent-to-buy, and to promote a residential pathway for households. Rented housing is a reality in all countries: 47% in Dakar and up to 80% in Lagos. This solution is an economic necessity and offers an effective lever to improve living conditions, but it is only very rarely incorporated in housing policies, which mostly focus on home ownership. The social housing offer must be viewed as part of a whole range of diversified offers that cover different needs, particularly those of the most vulnerable households, as well as young people and single women who are heads of households.

Worldwide, cities are responsible for 70% of CO₂ emissions and energy consumption. Transport and buildings are among the most energy-intensive sectors. So how can these needs be met while also keeping to a low-carbon trajectory?

Given the need to adapt to the effects of climate change and mitigate greenhouse gas emissions, it is necessary to encourage local housing policies that limit urban sprawl, the consumption of natural spaces and daily travel. This means prioritising the re-use of derelict

areas (brownfield), transforming buildings no longer used for their initial purpose (old city centre office blocks that are squatted) or building in continuity with existing, already equipped neighbourhoods. The second crucial lever is to support the construction of energy-efficient housing and work on improving energy efficiency in existing dwellings. More generally, the major challenge will be to prioritise collective housing, since the solution to the need for housing cannot be individual dwellings for all if you want to limit urban sprawl, ensure access to basic urban services and propose affordable housing.

In Johannesburg, social housing is leveraging urban renewal

€14 M
invested
by AFD

2
buildings
renovated

1,100
dwellings
created

2,500
citizens whose
living conditions
have improved

South Africa has a national housing policy that has been deployed over the past 20 years as an ambitious housing programme. To address the political priority of providing access to decent housing for all, the first concern was to provide security of tenure for populations that were denied the right to property ownership by the apartheid regime.

This involves nearly 2.8 million dwellings, mainly individual houses, which have been produced on a massive scale and given to the poorest households at no cost.

Despite efforts, this production has not closed the housing gap, which has been widening on an ongoing basis and today tops 2 million units, including 800,000 in the Johannesburg region alone. Having failed to contain the growth of precarious housing, this policy has above all led to the creation of monofunctional neighbourhoods, relegated to the periphery, poorly served by transport services (if not totally unserved) and lacking public and collective services or facilities.

Contrary to intentions, this model has not helped to combat the social and spatial segregation inherited from apartheid and, instead, perpetuates it due to the location of these neighbourhoods, the absence of social and functional diversity and the poor quality of constructions.

So from 2004, social rental housing was identified as a possible tool to eliminate

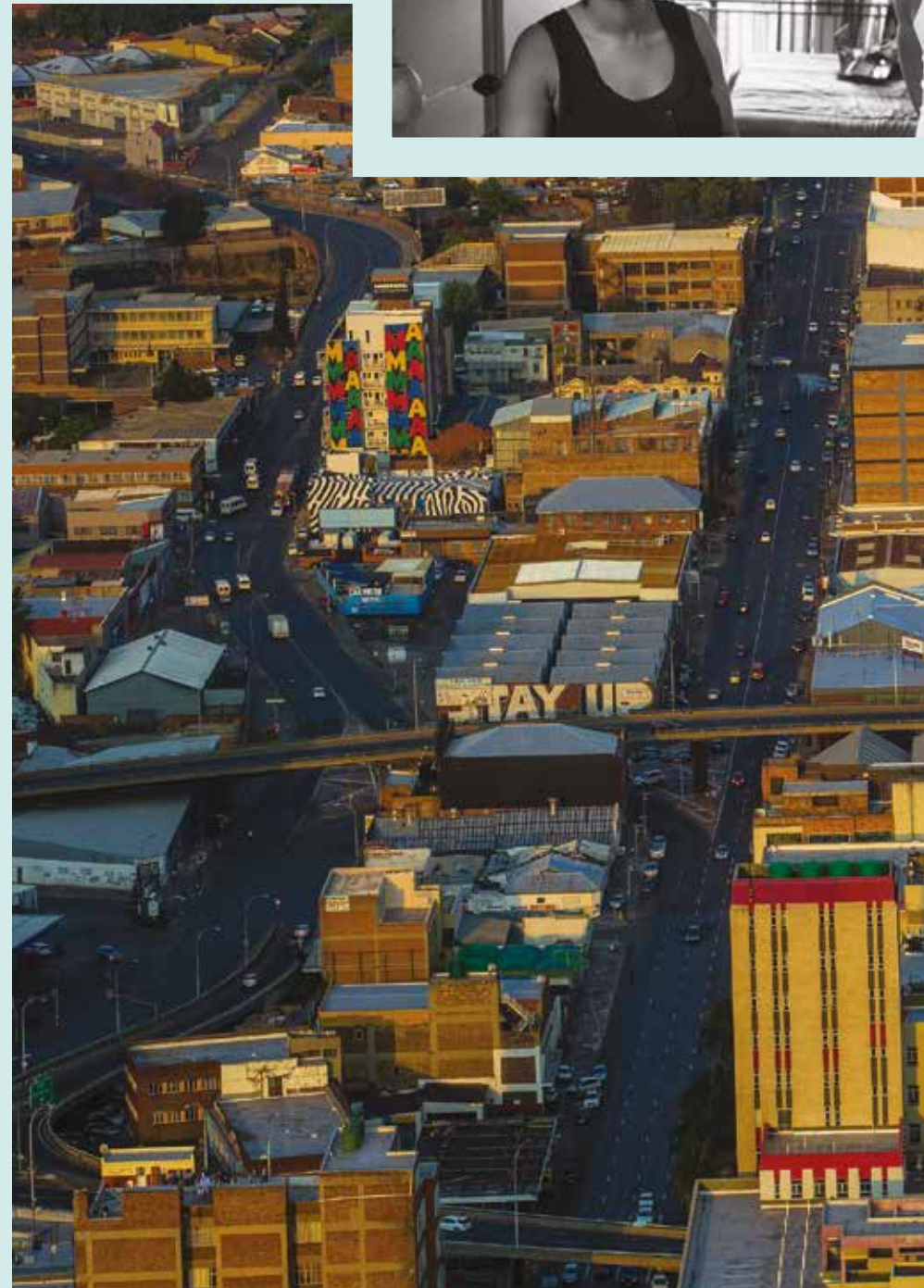
inequality and transform cities. Land is available for these operations: derelict urban areas and former business districts in decline are suitable for developing these programmes.

In Johannesburg, they have developed infill in the city centre but also rehabilitated former office buildings that were abandoned and squatted.

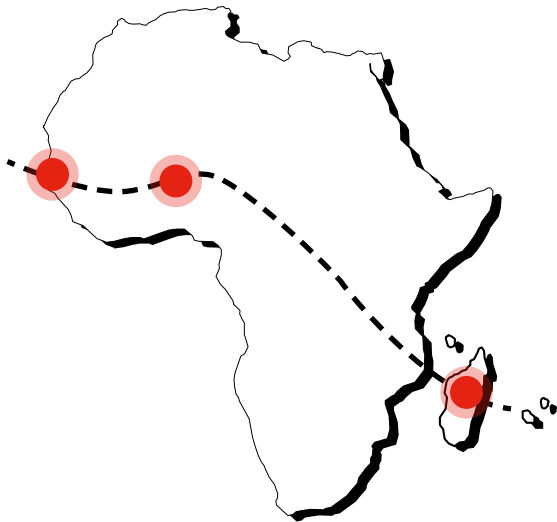
Once the regulatory and financial framework was in place, operators gradually emerged. Among them, AFHCO owns some 30 buildings in the centre and offers housing at affordable prices. With support from Agence Française de Développement, the Group has become involved in the social housing sector. In 2012, AFD approved a €14 million loan for the Group to renovate two buildings. At a lower rate than a conventional bank loan, this financing has enabled the promoter to lower rents.

In return, the Group has committed to respect various criteria concerning the allocation of accommodation, mainly a household's level of income, to target the poorest, first and foremost.

Although these projects are modest compared to the scale of the needs, their demonstrative effect is very strong and facilitates the public policy dialogue with the authorities. Far-removed from the effects of gentrification, these operations are an integral part of the metropolises' strategies to promote more equitable, denser and more diverse cities, and contribute concretely to the regeneration of rundown urban areas.



Like Platinum Place, some buildings are gradually being renovated and, little by little, inhabitants are returning to live in the city centre closer to their work.



In order to tell the "urban stories" presented in this book, capitalisation workshops were organised in Dakar, Ouagadougou and Antananarivo. In close collaboration with AFD's regional offices, these sessions were run by AFD teams in charge of Evaluation and Knowledge Capitalisation (EVA) and Capacity Development (CAP). Thanks to tried-and-tested qualitative methods, the actors and beneficiaries of the projects (decision-makers, residents' groups, operators, etc.) had the opportunity to review the results of these shared projects, redefine them where necessary, and compare their different experiences. The life stories that were collected enabled us to illustrate the changes brought about by the projects funded.

Coordination and editing

Julie Salagnac-Diop

Capitalisation workshops run by

Bruno de Reviers and Alexandre Reverdi (Ouagadougou), Sabrina Guérard and Marthe Feuvrier (Dakar), Sylvie Margat (Antananarivo) with support from AFD agency teams and, notably, Sylvain Damoiseau, Emmanuelle Schatz, Marième Lo, Mai Linh Cam, Lydia Razafindrahona, Frédéric Minaret

Proof-reading

Karine de Frémont, Aurélie Ghueldre, Noor Mountassir, Chloé Pinty, Laureline Triby

Graphic design

Julie Salagnac-Diop, Brahim Azzoug

Graphic credits

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Twitter : @AFD_France - Facebook : AFDOfficiel - Instagram : afd_france

5, rue Roland-Barthes -75598 Paris cedex 12 -France

Tél. : +33 1 53 44 31 31