Urban Africa

The shape of cities to come

The Grand Théâtre de Rabat, by architect Zaha Hadid, is the symbol of the Moroccan capital’s renewal.
Taking the theme «Imagine Society, Build Democracy», Rabat will host the 4th United Cities and Local Government Congress (UCLG), the 2nd World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders, and Rabat Expo from 1st to 4th October 2013. Supported by the continent’s cities, the capital of the Kingdom of Morocco was chosen to organise, on behalf of Africa, the world’s largest gathering of local and regional leaders and to celebrate the centennial of the municipal movement.

4,000 participants from over 100 countries
- Heads of State
- Ministers
- Mayors
- Elected officials
- Representatives of institutions and international organisations
- Lenders
- Public and private companies
- Experts
- Media

Rabat Expo: 50,000 visitors expected
An outstanding opportunity to present your products and services to policy-makers from the big cities of Africa and the other continents.
- Open to professionals from 1st to 4th October and to the public on 5th October.
- 10,000m² space of exhibition for local governments, companies, service providers and institutions involved in urban development.
- Showcase of innovation and best practices, of the know-how, equipment and technology aiming to master the urban future and design the city of tomorrow.
- Exhibition of all the activity sectors involved in managing cities and citizens’ daily lives, including water, sanitation, waste treatment, energy, public lighting, transport, construction, civil engineering, real estate development and promotion, urban planning, telecommunications, new technology, finance, insurance, risk and disaster management, governance, cooperation, culture, training, education, auditing and consulting.

Come and celebrate the centennial of the municipal movement
Registration on the website www.rabat2013.com
Rabat, the capital of the kingdom of Morocco, is gearing itself up for a major global gathering: the fourth congress of United Cities and Local Governments on 1-4 October 2013, which coincides with the centenary of the international municipal movement. Cities and regional governments will have the opportunity to share ideas and engage head-on with the issues of the 21st century. They will help to imagine the future of society and to build democracy. Rabat is hosting this world summit after being chosen as an eco-city in 2010 and being listed as a United Nations (UN) Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation World Heritage Site in 2012.

Morocco is organising this conference on behalf of Africa, and the continent is looking forward to welcoming the world in Rabat. As well as being a town on the Atlantic Ocean that is open to globalisation, Rabat is also the capital of a country with several identities: African, Arab and Euro-Mediterranean. These three are more relevant than ever. Africa’s rate of growth has increased in recent years while the issues of fragility and vulnerability persist; after the Arab Spring, the Arab world is facing huge challenges, including the pursuit of peace in the Middle East and various instabilities; and the Euro-Mediterranean area is affected by the crisis sweeping through Europe.

The 21st century will come to be seen as the century that launched the era of urbanisation, already taking off in Africa at an exceptional rate. Cities are becoming centres of globalisation and competitiveness, but they are also home to many forms of distress and vulnerability. This means that at the Rabat congress, cities will have to put their weight behind decentralisation and regionalisation to influence the debates underway that will eventually set in motion the Post-2015 Development Agenda, Rio+20 and Habitat III processes. The Rabat congress will be the starting point for a necessary three-way dialogue between the world – the UN, financial institutions, etc. – central authorities and local and regional authorities.

The Rabat congress will be the starting point for a three-way dialogue between the UN and financial institutions, central authorities and local and regional powers.
Towards better planning

By Hugues Demeude

By 2030, more than 60% of the world’s population will live in an urban settlement. In Africa alone, the growth in population will equal the entire current population of the United States. This trend will affect medium-sized cities as well as metropolises. Without a plan for this increasingly urban future, the consequences will be cities that resemble Lagos in the 1980s rather than Singapore today. Urban decay, crime, rotting infrastructure and political upheaval dog this population imperative, and the ability of urban planners to find ways around this dystopian future will shape the African cities of tomorrow.

The challenges presented by urbanisation led the World Bank to recommend a city development strategy as early as 1999, in particular to try to contain the informal settlement that characterises many towns in the global south. United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) estimates that an annual investment of $200bn is needed for cities in developing countries over the next 25 years to provide basic services to the most impoverished.
At the 2010 World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders hosted by UCLG in Mexico, participants outlined a new urban agenda for the ideal city of 2030 – a better planned and more inclusive urban environment.

This new urban agenda will be at the heart of discussions at UCLG’s world summit to be held in Rabat in October (see page 124). UCLG members are focusing on four main points: new partnerships between central and local governments to manage and regulate the urbanisation process; support for innovation and economic development of cities to improve the quality of public services; promotion of strategic urban planning; and improving citizens’ participation in local decision-making.

Since it was set up in 2004, UCLG has created the Global Observatory on Local Democracy and Decentralisation (GOLD) “to periodically analyse the state of local governance and decentralisation across the world, to anticipate its possible evolution, and to analyse obstacles encountered and solutions found,” as the executive board of UCLG put it in June 2005. The first UCLG GOLD report on decentralisation and local governance, published in 2008, threw up a surprising fact: the world is undergoing a quiet democratic revolution.

An early version of the third GOLD report will be a main focus in Rabat, looking at governance of essential local services and, more precisely, the role that local governments will play in the provision of these services. The report will be published in

About 70% of the actions to realise the Millennium goals must be done at a local level

SOURCE: UNDESA, THE WORLD URBANISATION PROSPECTS, 2010
The Manifesto for the City of 2030 adopted in Mexico highlights the fact that it will be small and medium-sized towns who are responsible for receiving and looking after this new influx of urban dwellers, particularly in Africa and Asia. Local and regional leaders believe that the interdependence between town and countryside is becoming even tighter and should be accompanied by a united vision of how the two interact, as much on a national level as on an international scale. The focus will shift to new interactions between urban and rural zones, and the promotion of a territorial dimension to development.

Decentralisation brings political responsibilities, such as organising local elections, as well as an administrative side, which aims to make each local government a legal identity in its own right, to give them more credibility and solidify their relationship with the nation state. Significant progress has been made on these two fronts, but when it comes to the financial autonomy of local government, progress has been slow – despite the fact that without it the rest of the urbanisation agenda becomes well nigh impossible.

Some countries in Africa are setting an example, however. Morocco, South Africa, Ghana and Cape Verde have forged fruitful dialogue between the finance ministries and local governments to generate tax resources that can be mobilised by local authorities for local investments. Lagos has also seen recent advances in tax collection. The authorities there, led by Lagos State Governor Babatunde Raji Fashola, were wise enough to start improving the city first to demonstrate that the social contract of taxes in exchange for services, to a large extent broken down in swaths of the country, was being mended.

There are four ways to generate local resources: raising taxes; state transfers; cooperation agreements; and appeals for loans. But local governments often have a lot of trouble financing their projects, and access to loans from national and international financial institutions is not made easy for them.

**INTERNATIONAL FUNDING FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENTS**

As the mayor of Paris Bertrand Delanoë stated in 2007 when he was nominated president of UCLG: “Local governments’ access to international financing must be made easier, particularly for countries of the south. I am going to plead this case at the World Bank.” Six years after his request, the same problem re-

2014, on the eve of the date fixed by the international community to evaluate the United Nations’ Millennium Development Goals.

The GOLD III report is an important tool for UCLG, which is committed to the Millennium Development Goals. About 70% of the actions needed to realise these goals have to be carried out at a local level, Kofi Annan, former secretary general of the UN, has said. To tackle poverty effectively, to make progress on health and sanitation issues or to push for universal primary education, it is cities themselves that need to be in the driving seat.

**MANIFESTO FOR THE CITY OF 2030**

**WHAT WILL THE CITY LOOK like in the near future? How will it benefit its citizens?** The participants of the World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders held in Mexico in 2010 responded to this question by publishing a ‘Manifesto for the City of 2030’. The document highlights an inclusive, well-planned, co-developed city with a diverse population. It is a city where public policy integrates inhabitants’ daily concerns and guarantees territorial cohesion. It is a mobile city that favours employment and is proud of the quality of its public services.
Shantytowns, slums, squatter settlements – everyone has a word for it, but solutions are less easy to come by. Booming African cities and towns are drawing in rural migrants eager for jobs. Urban dwellers are settling down and starting families. Often based on colonial-era plans and infrastructure, African cities are struggling to cope. Informal settlements flourish both beyond the city limits and tucked within established urban architecture: under bridges, next to highways and in marketplaces.

African leaders have not always been receptive to the plight of the poorly housed – the view from the windows of State House is often of manicured gardens rather than plastic-strewn, open-gutter tenements. But the North African uprisings have focused minds at the highest levels. Though by no means the only factor, it is pertinent that the Moroccan government, which survived protests by angry citizens, has the most active social housing policy in the Maghreb.

Increasingly, companies are seeing rapid rates of urbanisation as an opportunity. Alliances, a Moroccan construction group also involved in luxury real estate and golfing resorts, says that the social housing segment is what helped get it through the recent economic downturn. Groupe Addoha, a competitor, has turned its sights on the continent’s demand for slum upgrades. “The potential of the African market is immense,” says Anas Sefrioui, chief executive of Groupe Addoha.

SOCIAL HOUSING

Wanted: homes for all

With a housing shortage across Africa, governments and developers are creating new models that enable people on modest incomes to buy their own homes

THE AFRICA REPORT • N° 53 • AUGUST-SEPTEMBER 2013
The demand stretches across the continent. “Everyone needs housing,” as Abraham Otabil, public relations officer at Ghana’s housing ministry, put it. But with Ghana’s housing deficit estimated to reach 2m units by 2020 according to UN-HABITAT, not all needs are being met. In Ghana, where a population of 22.8 million people in 2008 has reached 24.7 million today, population growth is faster than the government can keep up with.

Housing is high on the development agenda. In late June, the European Investment Bank provided €15m ($19m) in funds to Kenya-based mortgage financier Shelter Afrique to enable it to expand its activities. The African Development Bank is also backing Shelter Afrique’s Pan-African Housing Fund (PAHF), a private equity vehicle that targets investments in the low-cost housing sector in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia. The PAHF raised $41.5m in its first closing at the end of last year and plans to raise $100m by its final closing at the end of 2013. In December 2012, the United Kingdom-based CDC, a development-finance institution, put up $20m for social housing investments in Eastern and Southern Africa. It says that the investments will create 7,500 homes and more than 20,000 jobs.

In Nigeria, power-sector reform is perhaps the signature feature of medium-term development strategy. However, the need to fill unmet housing demand – currently 12-16m units, according to a World Bank estimation – is also generating significant energy among policymakers and the private sector alike. Both are fired up by the implications of Nigeria’s population of 162 million growing at 2.5% per annum, with urbanisation more rapid still and real estate underrepresented as a proportion of gross domestic product (GDP). It is less than 4% of GDP, compared to almost 5% in Kenya and 8% in South Africa.

In Europe, social housing can often bring to mind less successful ventures into city planning. Sefrioui argues that ownership is key. “French real-estate promoters have come to study our model,” he says. “In France, social housing means ghetto. Why? Because the inhabitants of these tower blocks are not in their own home. Whereas with us, as home-owners, they maintain their building impeccably. They are happy to have bought and leave something to hand down to their kids, something that has acquired two to three times its initial value,” Sefrioui explains.

A PENCHANT FOR BUBBLES

The term ‘affordable housing’ is a relative concept. In a country like Gabon, known for being one of the world’s leading champagne importers, it is easy to lose sight of what is affordable. “Gabonese people spend more than they earn,” says to the director-general of the Banque de l’Habitat du Gabon (BHG), Bruno Otah Ondounda. BHG lends to both businesses and individuals, helping fund social housing projects and the purchase of inputs for construction projects.

Finance is absolutely critical. Ondounda says “People don’t save,” which in turn lowers lending institutions’ confidence in providing loans, particularly to individuals. In Morocco, the government has decided to stand as guarantor. The borrowers might not get a particularly low rate – often around 6%, compared to 3-4% for high-income borrowers who already have collateral – but the banks, with the government underwriting the risk, are happy to lend.

In Gabon the interest on home loans is around 18%, and accessing credit is not easy

This is not yet the case in Libreville. There are development and housing banks that are meant to provide credit for housing but on average the interest rate is around 18%. A young Gabonese professional couple tried on a number of occasions to get a mortgage but said they finally resorted to setting up a company to apply for a loan because they think they “stand a better chance”. Another Gabonese professional says that “people tend to stay at home until later in life or build their houses themselves bit by bit because accessing credit is not easy.”

At a Nigeria Development and Finance Forum in June, Pison Housing Company president Roland Igbinoba described the challenges to growth: regulatory measures, infrastructure, supply chains, skilled labour and finance. Governments are making the most progress in terms of finance. For example, the Federal Mortgage Bank of Nigeria (FMBN) and its National Housing Fund are providing access to loans through cooperatives. The FMBN says that Nigeria’s home ownership rate is just 25%, while it is 56% in South Africa. The bank raised N22bn ($145m) in mandatory contributions from workers in 2012, up from N17bn in 2011.

In March, the central bank published regulations for the Mortgage Refinance Company, which would promote secondary mortgage market activity and the availability of long-term finance. Credit ratings agencies such as CRC Credit Bureau are helping to extend coverage for those in the formal sector by
enabling banks to better understand risks in the market.

The secret of the Moroccan model is the government intervention to solve the market failure. There are enough people in Lagos, for instance, who are paying rent equivalent to the monthly cost of repaying a 20-year mortgage. However, there are few financial institutions that can lend money for 20 years.

One solution would be the creation of a secondary market for home loans. Emmanuel Asamoah, executive secretary of the Ghana Real Estate Developers Association and partner at FBM Group – a Ghanaian financial and investment company – believes this would help. “Mortgages thrive on long-term sources of funding,” he says. If Ghana had a secondary market, he continued, it would make mortgage loans much cheaper. For instance, Fidelity [Bank] charges 27% for a 15-year loan, but if Fidelity had another source of funding then the interest would be lower.

INCENTIVES FOR DEVELOPERS

The state could play a bridging role here too, an adviser with Ghana Home Loans says: “Ghanaians are tired of renting, it’s too expensive.” But the reality is that 80% of the population earns less than $600 a month and on average they spend one-third of their income on housing. This means that someone within this income bracket is unlikely to be able to afford property above the $20,000 mark. This is significantly lower than what a property developer can afford to build for, on average around $30,000 per unit.

The key is to find a way around conflicts between property developers and government: the government wants the developer to focus on cheap housing, and the developer seeks to make money. “By providing social housing, the real-estate developer must have some sort of incentive,” says Asamoah. “Why would you want the real-estate developer to cut [its] profit to do your work?” Asamoah points to instances where the government expects the private developer to build in areas where there is no electricity or water, which he says is not realistic. The upshot is that “the government [ends up blaming] the real-estate developer for the housing deficit.”

Here again, Morocco has used government intervention. Property developers receive large tax breaks and access to land – but only if they deliver two-bedroom apartment units at $25,000 – closer to the figure that an average Ghanaian family might be able to afford with a longer mortgage.

Replicating the model would require strong political leadership. A source at the Gabon’s urbanisation ministry said the government is targeting “those who are the most disenfranchised” by constructing 35,000 homes by 2017. For Ondounda, there was “no consultation” over who should be covered by this policy. There had been “a certain level of laxity” in the implementation of this drive to start with, according to the ministry official. A sizeable housing demand has seemingly spurred the government into action, with an estimated deficit of 200,000 housing units nationwide.

Not only that, Ondounda considers that the government has “imposed...
High-rise blocks don’t have to evoke crime and economic depression, as long as inhabitants own their home

an urban style on people”, which a Gabonese taxi driver said does not reflect the traditional Gabonese family. “We Gabonese like to sit outside so there has to be a terrace. But with these houses, there’s no outside space. Who would want to live here?” he asked.

In the Angondjéné neighbourhood in Libreville, Turkish firm Renaissance Construction is building 564 houses. Country manager for the Middle East and Africa Nuri Egilmex says the company has developed nine types of houses, as specified by government, although he considers that for traditional Gabonese families these houses “are not ideal”.

According to the Agence Nationale des Grands Travaux, the cost of social housing units for public servants ranges from 13m CFA francs ($26,000) to 25m CFA francs, while for low-income residents, it hovers between 5m CFA francs and 10m CFA francs. “If the state wants to create affordable housing, it must subsidise it,” Ondounda concluded.

Kissy Agyeman-Togobo in Accra, Nana Adu Ampofo in Lagos and Nicholas Norbrook

INTERVIEW

Anas Sefrioui
Chief executive, Groupe Addoha

Addoha’s building blocks

TAR: You have just announced your first housing ventures south of the Sahara. What are your ambitions?

ANAS SEFRIOU: Our concept of “keys-in-hand” apartments interested most of the ministerial delegations that we met. They asked us to help them to do the same thing in their countries. We have launched studies in several sub-Saharan African countries. We discovered that these countries are only building 1,000-1,500 houses per year, which is highly insufficient considering demographic growth and rural-urban migration. The potential of the African market is immense. They are talking about two billion inhabitants in 2050 versus a little more than one billion now.

Where are you thinking of building social housing projects?

We have signed a deal with the Ivorian authorities to start building 2,600 housing units in 2013. We have signed other agreements with the government of Cameroon – for 1,500 units in Douala and Yaoundé – and with the government of Guinea, for 4,000 units in Conakry. From next year, we will launch pilot projects of 2,000 apartments in Gabon and Burkina Faso.

One of the major obstacles is securing land. What is your strategy?

In order to build these houses, you have to be able to get access to land. We have proposed our five partner countries work with us and think about the question. It is essential to have land titles because banks will not agree to a loan without something to base the mortgage on. We are looking to get land that is not too far from the centre of town, from transport links, infrastructure, work areas, and to acquire land from the state or from private owners. There is a problem with shantytowns, where families have set themselves up in a disorderly fashion. We are offering them resettlement in buildings on integrated sites that have facilities like schools and health centres so that we can free up the occupied land.

What is the division of labour between the state and the developer?

The state must work on the fiscal terms and access to land. The developer has to improve the land and make it viable, finance the construction with its own funds and take charge of sales and other services for clients.

Can you count on finding clients with the money to buy houses south of the Sahara?

Yes. We are working with our banking partners on these operations. The person must have a job with a fixed salary, in either the public or private sector, so that the mortgage can be paid back by bank transfer. In the first phase, we are only looking at solvent clients. We are going to communicate.

We offer shantytown families resettlement on sites with schools and health centres

so the public understands that it is easy to acquire an apartment, get financing and fix administrative problems.

How much will it cost for an Addoha apartment in West Africa?

We are still working with banks on the financial terms and with the governments on the fiscal terms. We do not yet have all of the information.

You are also investing in cement factories in sub-Saharan Africa.

In sub-Saharan Africa, there is a real supply problem. Local factories produce at about 20-30% of capacity and imported products vary in quality. We are now building three cement plants in Côte d’Ivoire, Guinea and Cameroon. The first was completed in June, the second is due in August and the third in 2014.

Interviewed by Pascal Airault
Rabat is undergoing a metamorphosis. A bridge has been built over an estuary of the Bouregreg River, a new marina has been lined with docks, a tram now snakes through the walls of ancient medinas in Rabat and Salé (Rabat’s sister agglomeration on the right bank of the river), and the Oudayas casbah has been given a facelift. All these changes have been made without the city losing its soul or Arabo-Andalusian style.

The turnaround came at the beginning of the 2000s, after the imperial city saw different plans over the past half century each ending in failure. Rabat found itself turned away from the Atlantic and from Salé.

To give impetus to the project, King Mohammed VI created a dedicated agency with a mission to entirely remodel the Bouregreg Valley over 6,000ha, from the estuary right up to the Sidi Mohammed ben Abdallah dam. A working group of archeologists, historians, architects, urban planners, engineers and bankers was set up. Their remit was to preserve the cities’ cultural heritage and the environment, improve services for inhabitants, and boost the business environment to create jobs.

TRAM, BRIDGE, TUNNEL
First earth was broken in 2006. Seven years later, the results are evident: a dredged river, swathes of rehabilitated marshland and banks, restored ramps, new roads and transport links between urban centres. Since 2011 the inhabitants have had a tramway that carries more than 100,000 passengers a day from one end of the city to the other. The new bridge across the estuary helps connect Rabat to Salé, while a tunnel underneath the Oudayas helps traffic around the coastal road.

There are of course those who are unhappy with the plans. The residential projects, still incomplete, on the Salé side of the river’s mouth have not met universal approval. The manner in which title deeds were forcibly bought by the state and the level of compensation paid have left frustration in their wake. But, on the whole, the different projects have given a new lustre to a city that was threatened by fast-growing informal settlements, fly-tipping and pollution.

The transformation has slowed down in recent months because of the global financial crisis, but it has not ground to a halt. The new bridge over the Bouregreg and the new 120ha city of Bab al-Bahr are going ahead, and work on the motorway from Salé’s airport into the city centre will commence in September. In coming years, a port that can welcome tourist cruise liners will open on the Atlantic side, as well as a yacht port opposite the Oudayas. A futuristic new theatre is to be built, as well as the Oudayas Hospital. On top of that, a multitude of smaller-scale projects in the housing, retail, tourism and commercial-property sectors are underway, particularly in the esplanade next to the river.

At the other end of town, in Hay Riad (South), the upgrade work continues. The residential and business district was originally created at the end of the 1970s, and covers 570ha. It decongested the city centre by housing several ministries and government offices, large retail outlets and the headquarters of big Moroccan and international companies such as Maroc Telecom, Label’Vie and Holcim.

In the south-east, the Technopolis industrial park, developed by MedZ, a subsidiary of the Caisse de Depot et de Gestion, continues to fill up. The new International University of Rabat has...
capacity for 1,000 students, while several foreign companies have already moved in, such as Logica, Sofrecom, Cegedim, Devoteam and Axa. The Accor group has recently bought land to build hotels aimed at businesspeople. Tax incentives have been put in place to attract investors while the Free Zone is established. In time, the 300ha cluster will be devoted to the development of hi-tech products and industries, with

**Rabat’s population should hit 4.4m by 2030, hence the need to help create new businesses**

hence the need to focus on previously untouched parts of the cities and help create new businesses. Rabat is far from the finished article and the metamorphosis continues.

The push towards the future is complemented by a turning towards the past. Well before the Phoenicians arrived in the 5th century BC, the local Amazigh tribes were well established on the south bank of the river. A fleet of archeologists have been tracing the zone’s history, discovering Amazigh, Roman, Almoravid and Almohad remains. “Since the dawn of humanity, men have settled this estuary rich in flora and fauna, with its temperate climate,” says Mohamed es-Semmar, archeologist and historian. “Their presence is thought to go back 160,000 years, according to tests done on remains found in the Dar Sultan and Harhoura caves.” The first digs in the 1950s and ’60s unearthed the Chellah site, a Roman city abandoned until the Marinid dynasty chose the spot for their burial grounds in the 14th century. International appeals have been set up to fund a new set of excavations.

As well as being the political and administrative capital of the Kingdom of Morocco, Rabat is in a strategic location. At just one hour’s flight from the European continent, the city is a gateway to Europe from Africa. This has enhanced its economic pull, which has already drawn a variety of sectors including tourism, services, new technology, and scientific research.

Since the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa set up its headquarters, Rabat has become the capital for African local officials to come together and exchange thoughts on issues as diverse as financing governments, decentralisation or training personnel. ● Pascal Airault

Originally published in *Jeune Afrique*

In July 2012 at its meeting in Saint Petersburg, the World Heritage Committee listed Rabat as a UNESCO World Heritage site – a rarity for a capital.

After a meticulous study, the experts and representatives of various UNESCO delegations decided to single out the Kingdom of Morocco’s voluminous file with the title ‘Rabat, Modern Capital and Historic City: a Shared Heritage’.

By adding Rabat to the list of World Heritage Sites, Unesco has recognised the quality of this cultural gem, be it the “new town” built between 1912 and the 1930s, “one of the largest and most ambitious modern urban projects built in Africa in the 20th century”, or the surviving relics of a previous urban project, the capital city of the Almohad caliphate in the 17th century. UNESCO wanted to highlight Rabat’s vanguard town planning, which respects its Arab-Islamic heritage by conserving historic monuments and the traditional habitat and re-appropriating the past to look to the future. The modern town planning of the early 20th century is characterised by large areas devoted to green space. Today Rabat is proud of its status as an eco-city. Being added to the list of World Heritage Sites is a mark of recognition and encourages local governments and inhabitants to continue to preserve the heritage handed down to them. ●

**AN ECO-CITY WITH VAN GUARD TOWN PLANNING**

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**Pascal Airault**

Originally published in *Jeune Afrique*
LAGOS

Keeping up with the changes

Lagos is getting the rehabilitation it needs after years of neglect, though some neighbourhoods are being left behind and public cynicism runs deep

When Lagos: A Cultural & Historical Companion was published in March, some were surprised by the choice of image for the book’s cover.

Written by Kaye Whiteman, longtime editor of the now-defunct West Africa magazine, the book features on its cover an iconic shot of Lagos, with rows of black-lined yellow buses around which a jumble of humanity masses: street vendors with their trays and colourful umbrellas, shoppers, bus drivers and assistants and area boys.

But there were doubts about how representative the image was of the city – particularly because Oshodi, the bus park pictured, no longer exists as captured in the image. In 2009, days into the New Year, a demolition squad descended on the bus park. What emerged stunned all who knew the old Oshodi. The railway tracks that ran through it, once buried beneath all the bustle, are now visible again from the bridge that runs past. There is now a garden there.

In an interview a year later, Babatunde Fashola, the lawyer who became Lagos governor in 2007 and embarked on vigorous citywide reforms, outlined the impact of the regeneration. “Many things followed in Oshodi. Immediately, we monitored crime, refuse management, we monitored disease levels and everything just went down. Within six weeks after we did it, the [Divisional Police Officer] in Oshodi said his cells were virtually empty. The refuse tonnage that was being gathered dropped by about 60%.”

The demolition crews have been kept busy across the city, seeking to bring order to the chaos that is Lagos, one of the fastest growing cities in the world. Motorcycle taxis, famous for their truck horns and fatal accidents, were first compelled to wear helmets, and have now been banned from all major highways. Molues – the overcrowded rickety buses that criss-crossed the city – have all but vanished.

NO SMOKE AND DRIVE
Roads are being rebuilt, as are new bridges. (The only road construction worthy of note throughout the 1990s was the Third Mainland Bridge, the longest in Africa). Traffic lights and zebra crossings are now familiar sights, as are new lanes dedicated to a bus service launched in 2008. Sidewalks and roadside parks are no longer a rarity in the city. There is a new traffic law that bans eating and smoking whilst driving.

The government is banking on a series of partnerships between itself and private investors to deliver the most ambitious of its planned infrastructure schemes. The poster-child for these partnerships is the 49km Lekki-Epe Expressway, which is being upgraded into a six-lane tolled highway at a cost of $300m. (Adjoining it is a new 1.35km suspension bridge that connects it to Ikoyi Island, costing almost $200m.)

Soon to eclipse the Lekki-Epe Expressway in scale are the Lekki Free Trade Zone, which will include a new airport; Eko Atlantic City, a brand new development rising on 9 km² of land reclaimed from the Atlantic; the 10-lane highway connecting the city to the border town of Badagry; and a new rail network. (Its previous incarnation, planned by the civilian government that
ran the city between 1979 and 1983, was halted after a military takeover.) And then there’s what the private sector is doing by itself: upscale malls, gated estates and luxury hotels. Radisson, Southern Sun, Intercontinental and a second Sheraton have all opened in the last few years; a Marriott is under construction. Lagos now boasts a Porsche dealership and, a few blocks away, an Ermenegildo Zegna store.

But all the years of neglect had left things so bad that only those who knew the pre-21st century city can appreciate how much has changed. The scale of work required is almost inconceivable. And, despite all the progress, there are entire sections of the city that have been left behind. Ajeunle, famous for its musicians and home to at least three major national newspapers, remains as blighted as ever, advertising at every turn the absence of government. Apapa, home to Nigeria’s two biggest ports, is all giant potholes and stationary container trucks.

UPROOTING THE POOR

And public cynicism runs deep: the demolitions and construction hit the city’s poorest hardest, and there are no safety nets. The feeling that the new Lagos is not for the poor is widespread. One speaker at the Whiteman book launch spoke of a “deliberate policy by the government to use house rents to uproot people who refuse to be uprooted” – this is in spite of new rent laws designed to protect tenants from the avarice of landlords.

“Every criticism we get brings us to a realisation that there is an urgency to do a lot more, and we don’t expect that these problems can be fixed overnight,” Fashola has said. “The decadence, the deficit of infrastructure of about three decades can’t be turned around in just two years or eight years.”

Where once there was a single face of Lagos, there are now two: the fragile old, which will no doubt linger, and the aggressive new, a raft of roads, bridges, malls, bus routes, railway lines, water works, power plants, schools and hospitals racing to catch up with a population that won’t be slowing down anytime soon.

The Gautrain connects Johannesburg’s airport to the downtown area

JOHANNESBURG

Break with the past

Faced with urban decay and lack of housing, Johannesburg plans to stitch communities closer together through mixed-use developments whose migration is accompanied by rapid urbanisation. Problems such as a lack of housing, inner city decay, unemployment and crime bedevil this world-class African city.

CORRIDORS OF FREEDOM

Speaking to The Africa Report, Johannesburg mayor Parks Tau said R7.3bn ($730m) would be spent on infrastructure in the 2013-2014 financial year alone. "R450m will be channelled into the inner city to address issues such as crime and grime, poverty and infrastructure. Jo’burg is South Africa’s economic powerhouse and the country’s largest and wealthiest city. It has a population of 3.8 million, according to city statistics, projected to increase to 4.1 million by 2015.

The city accounts for 16% of the country’s GDP, and is headquarters to a host of blue-chip corporations. But in being the richest city it is also a magnet for a diverse range of people whose migration is accompanied by rapid urbanisation. Problems such as a lack of housing, inner city decay, unemployment and crime bedevil this world-class African city.

Crystal Orderson in Johannesburg
A centenary of cities

A hundred years after the municipal movement began, development will be at the heart of discussions at the UCLG congress to be held in Rabat in October.

As the Kenyan government rolls out the decentralisation programme enshrined in its 2010 constitution, local governments and municipalities across the continent are looking for new sources of funding and ways to deliver services to growing populations. Cities from Abidjan to Harare are using Chinese finance to develop water and other projects to accommodate urban growth. The participants at the World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders – 4th UCLG Congress in Rabat from 1-4 October will discuss how to improve African cities and work with international partners to develop a new agenda for local development in Africa and beyond.

Throughout history, cities have asserted their rights to a certain level of local political control. The Greek city states of antiquity were governed as if they were states in their own right. The Kongo kingdom of the 15th century – where the Democratic Republic of Congo is now situated – started as a loose federation of small and self-governing towns. But at the beginning of the 20th century urban settlements started to reach out to each other across the globe to create a network of links that have helped them to learn and to lobby more effectively.

The municipal movement has its origins in the first congress of the International Union of Local Authorities (IULA) in 1913. This anglophone association of local governments sought to promote democracy and local autonomy. In 2004, the UCLG became an umbrella organisation, uniting the IULA network with the Fédération Mondiale des Cités Unies, a Francophone association created in 1957 in Aix-les-Bains by Jean-Marie Bressand under the original name Fédération Mondiale des Villes Jumelées. In 2004, the World Association of Major Metropolises joined the UCLG, which has its headquarters in Barcelona.

The centenary of the municipal movement is more than just a date. The participants at the Rabat congress...
will be celebrating the dynamic nature of the movement, which, according to the UCLG, “defends the interests of self-government, promoting its values, objectives and interests through cooperation between local governments”.

The municipal movement has supported the ideals of peace and solidarity at crucial historic moments, be it at the end of the Second World War or the fall of the Berlin Wall.

**FULLY FLEDGED PARTNERS**

Today, local government representatives are still nurturing the values the UCLG founders took from their predecessors in local government. Representing three billion inhabitants, they have been able to advocate democracy, development and the interests of local governments on the world stage.

Since the UN-HABITAT conference in Istanbul in 1996, cities and regional governments have played an increasingly active role in the international community, in particular through the UCLG, which now negotiates directly with states. The Rio+20 summit (the UN Conference on Sustainable Development) in 2012 is a good example. Despite the fact that this summit did not reach a multilateral agreement, the UCLG nevertheless sees Rio+20 as a step forward, with the final report recognising the essential role played by local governments on the sustainable development agenda. Local governments are no longer seen as simple civil society players but as fully fledged partners with a recognised status in law.

The advocacy of local and regional governments within the United Nations (UN) system had also allowed the expansion of the Rio+20 agenda. In 2011 international negotiations were concentrated on a uniquely environmental agenda for the summit, but the UCLG pushed for other key issues to be taken into account: governance, regional cohesion, inclusion and provision of services and culture. The UCLG is trying to bring the interests of cities and regions to the heart of international debate. Aware of the challenges brought about by rapid urbanisation, the organisation is pushing for a human-centred approach to the global development agenda. With this objective in

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**The UCLG in dates**

**June 1996**

United Nations Conference Habitat II in Istanbul germinates the project to create the world organisation UCLG.

**September 2000**

UN Millennium Summit with the declaration stating the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDG).

**May 2004**

Creation of UCLG during its first congress in Paris.

**May 2005**

Founding congress of UCLGA in Tshwane, South Africa.

**October 2007**

2nd UCLG congress on the island of Jeju, South Korea, bringing together 2,000 mayors and local and regional government representatives.

**2008**

Publication of the first Global Observatory on Decentralisation and Local Democracy (GOLD) report.

**November 2010**


**June 2011**

UCLG Executive Bureau meeting in Rabat: the secretary general of Metropolis, Josep Roig, is named secretary general of UCLG.

**October 2013**

Rabat 2013: 2nd World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders - 4th UCLG Congress. Centenary of the Municipal Movement. Presentation of GOLD 3.
mind, obtaining observer status with the UN is a priority for the UCLG.

Indeed, development questions – which the UCLG is putting at the heart of the Rabat discussions – are going to be the subject of other important events on the horizon: the definition of a post-2015 Development Agenda after the expiration of the Millennium Development Goals in 2015; the new climate convention in 2015; and the Habitat III conference in 2016. Forty years after the first Habitat conference in Vancouver and 20 years after Istanbul, this will define the new urban agenda for building sustainable cities. Beyond the international lobbying efforts of the UCLG, there is also recognition given to countries that lead the way in promoting the values of the organisation. Allowing more political and administrative power to devolve to the regions is a key way to get cities better organised. The people on the ground often understand the dimensions of local problems and how to find the appropriate solutions far better than bureaucrats in the capital.

During the fifth summit of the United Cities and Local Governments of Africa, which was held in Marrakech in 2009, the kingdom of Morocco won the African cities decentralisation award. The prize was awarded for the efforts made in municipal management and decentralisation over the past 50 years. Since the government created the first municipal division in 1959, Morocco has been committed to the irreversible process of decentralisation and devolution. The way it is organised aims to reinforce the skills of cities and local authorities. Cities, in particular, have been able to maintain their role in leveraging sustainable development and their capacity to foster the kingdom’s potential.

In 2011, the new Moroccan constitution went further with this decentralisation movement. In line with the wishes of King Mohammed VI, it laid down the foundations of a new model of regionalism. Four key principles inspired this model, which involved a new division of the country’s regions. The new fundamental law established principles such as the direct election by universal suffrage for members of the Conseils Régionaux, which will oblige local governments to work more closely with their populations. Another innovation is the creation of an inter-regional solidarity fund to ensure that the benefits of national growth are shared out more fairly.

Hugues Demeude

### Key people in the Municipal Movement

#### African figures

- **Daby Diagne**

- **Jean-Pierre Eligon Mbassi**
  Secretary general of UCLGA, First secretary general of World Associations of Cities and Local Authorities Coordination (WACLAC), created in the wake of the Habitat II conference in Istanbul.

- **Mugaddeyi Masunda**
  Co-president of UCLG, mayor of Harare (Zimbabwe).

#### European figures

- **Joan Clos**
  Former founding president of UCLG, executive director of UN-Habitat, former mayor of Barcelona (Spain).

- **Bertrand Delanoë**
  Mayor of Paris (France), Co-founder of UCLG in 2004 and president until 2010. President of the international association of francophone mayors.

- **Miguel Lifschitz**
  Mayor of Rosario (Argentina), president of the strategic urban planning commission of UCLG.

- **Wan Qingliang**
  Co-president of UCLG, vice-president of the Chinese mayors’ association.

- **Josep Roig**
  Founding member of Metropolis in 1985, secretary general of UCLG.

- **Marta Suplley**
  Founding president of UCLG, former mayor of São Paulo (Brazil).

- **Fathallah Oualalo**
  Mayor of Rabat, former finance and privatisation minister of Morocco, president of the local finance and development commission of UCLG, member of UCLGA

- **Khalifa Sall**
  Mayor of Dakar (Senegal), president of UCLGA since 2012.

- **Abdoulaye Sene**
  Founding president of the think tank Global Local Forum, former Secretary-General of the local representatives of Senegal.

- **Ousmane Sy**
  Former minister for regional and local government administration in Mali. Founder of the Centre for Political and Institutional Expertise in Africa (CEPIA).
A decade of middle-class growth has led to the most dramatic internal city migration since the lifting of the Colour Bar as Nairobi breaks boundaries and codes

Against the grain of Kenya’s population growth spurt, the results of the 2009 census revealed that Nairobi is much smaller than had been thought: at 3.1 million, the city’s population is considerably off the oft-quoted 4 million figure that was being casually thrown about even a decade ago. But this is not a country famous for its ability to count, or agree on numbers for that matter, as its chronic problems with vote tallies during elections attest.

Nairobi’s citizens are past masters of the numbers game – the crooked science of massaging figures, bending light. This, after all, is a city founded almost literally on a gamble. In 1901, Mile 327 at the foot of the Kikuyu Escarpment was an innocuous pit stop on the Ugandan railway, a collection of tin shacks by the Nairobi River named by the Maasai for its cold waters – Enkare Erubi. Clever land speculators, gambling that the Ugandan Railways Corporation would transform the nascent settlement into something more substantial, had secured property rights on the steppe with the sole objective of selling back the land to the railway at a profit. Playing on the rivalry between the railway’s head honchos and the colonial administration, they were able to shift the administration’s headquarters from Machakos to Nairobi.

The rest is history. Between the considerable resources of the Ugandan Railways Corporation and the clutch of prosperous Indian traders that had come with the railway, a bustling settlement quickly emerged, attracting the new colony’s upper-class British settlers.

ALCOHOL AND SEX
A brief period of fluid multiracial settlement was halted by the introduction of an apartheid policy: the Colour Bar, enforced on economic lines, religiously adhered to by officialdom but frequently broken and ignored when it applied to the two things that Nairobi’s male population had in common: alcohol and sex.

But the Colour Bar would determine the shape of the city long after the colonial era had ended. One of its early justifications was safeguarding public health – three epidemics of the plague in the Indian Bazaar in the early 1900s bolstered a specious argument to separate the races. Consequently, the white settler elite would carve out their space in the hilly forests west of the railway line; the Indians settled east of it, along the banks of the Nairobi River; and Africans were consigned to the scrubby lowlands in the east.

For decades after it was abolished, apartheid’s conflated categories of race and class have followed this west-east orientation. Town planning, perennially applied in the breach rather than the observance, has skewed resources westwards, which explains that old Nairobi contradiction of a chronic housing short-age amid a real-estate boom. Even after the first of the independence elite had broken west of the railway line – the colonial marker of privilege – the city’s planners continued to criminalise the poverty and squalor for which they were ultimately responsible.

Today, to live west of Uhuru Highway, post-independence coda for the class divide with the near-death of the colonial railway, is to inhabit a life of red-roofed privilege far removed from the mabati grind of the dusty Eastlands.

Except that it isn’t, in reality. Nairobi privilege lives cheek by jowl with rural migrant slum squalor.
migrant slum squalor. Kibera, Kawangware, Kangemi and Mathare are all located within spitting distance of the upscale neighbourhoods of Karengata, Lavington, Loresho and Muthaiga. One non-governmental organisation a few years ago counted at least 190 informal settlements in the city. The proximity of slum to upscale suburb belies a gulf of Gini coefficients that has long established Kenya’s position among the most unequal countries on the planet.

But those numbers refer to an old and disappearing order. As the white and Indian players at the roulette table have made way for succeeding generations of the African elite, the logic of the gamble has changed. The command economy served a colonial matrix of elite privilege that allowed the winners to buy low and sell exorbitantly on the assumption that the downtrodden natives did not deserve anything but the bare necessities. In this set-up, privilege was in many ways a function of material deprivation. Except for the very well heeled, the rest of us existed in a material universe of shortages, import substitution and an unquenched appetite for America as seen on TV. Economic liberalisation in the 1990s and ties with Dubai – and later China, Indonesia and the rest of the Far East – led to an explosion in trade and access. Everybody who could do so made for the exit gates, usually under false pretences and usually for America.

**PIDGIN RULES THE WAVES**

The youth bulge has also played its part in influencing the vernacular of aspiration and marketing. English has ceded to urban pidgin as marketers target a youth population for whom restrictions to a language of privilege gave birth to a pidgin language – Sheng – that rules the airwaves and captures the informality of a population that has carved a thriving contraband existence outside the confines of the old class apartheid.

Aside from the fact that this is the seat of government, other forces are also shaping the city. Nairobi is, after all, regional headquarters of the disaster relief industry, which spends an estimated $3bn annually in the city and its hinterland. Add to that a dogged entrepreneurial spirit and a service economy that attracts the citizenry of the region, as well as a diaspora remitting more money than the country’s tea exports (or foreign aid for that matter), and it is easy to explain why the city has been booming for over a decade.

There is virtually no tracking data on a decade of middle-class growth that has driven perhaps the most dramatic internal city migration since the lifting of the Colour Bar. A real-estate bubble has added new fuel to the economic boom; the city has broken its boundaries, notably towards the southern plains, mostly to meet the property aspirations of a burgeoning middle class. Land prices in Kitengela, Ngong, Ong’ata Rongai and down the Mombasa Road are exploding.

It is the rationale of the casino and perhaps of any big city. Nairobi was established by speculators – the law of the shilling preceded the rule of law. It was thus, and thus shall it be. ■

*Parselelo Kantai* in Nairobi

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**Visiting Rabat for the UCLG congress**

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<td><strong>Luxury</strong>&lt;br&gt;Sofitel Rabat Jardin des Roses&lt;br&gt;Morocco&lt;br&gt;+212 (0) 537 67 56 56&lt;br&gt;<strong>softel.com</strong>&lt;br&gt;</td>
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<td><strong>Rabat ville station</strong>&lt;br&gt;Avenue Mohammed V&lt;br&gt;<strong>oncf.ma</strong>&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td><strong>The Ouedayas Kasbah and Andalusian Garden</strong>&lt;br&gt;An ancient district and castle walls, dating back to the 13th century. Rue des Consuls&lt;br&gt;</td>
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<td><strong>Yamal Asham</strong>&lt;br&gt;Middle Eastern cuisine.&lt;br&gt;5 Rue Al Maghrib Al Arab Rabat&lt;br&gt;+212 (0) 537 72 02 76&lt;br&gt;</td>
<td><strong>Rabat Agdal station</strong>&lt;br&gt;Avenue Abderrahmane Al Ghafiki&lt;br&gt;<strong>oncf.ma</strong>&lt;br&gt;</td>
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- All Companies, organisations and main actors of the following sectors: Local Public services: drinking water, liquid and solid purification, household waste, energy, street, lighting, transportation, Telecommunications and information technology, Housing and urban planning, Environment and land development, Risk and disaster management, Audit, counseling
Organised for the first time in Africa, with the expected participation of major cities from all over the world, the 4th UCLG Congress and the World Summit of Local and Regional Leaders will take place in Rabat, Morocco, from 1-4 October 2013.

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