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**PREPARING FOR THE FUTURE:  
A VISION OF WEST AFRICA IN THE YEAR 2020**

**RETROSPECTIVE 1960 - 1990  
AND  
LONG TERM PERSPECTIVES**

**Provisional Document**

*population*

*land*

*development*

The WALTIPS study is coordinated by the CINERGIE unit in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. CINERGIE is a joint initiative of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the African Development Bank (ADB).

The study is being conducted jointly by a group of experts based at the Secretariat of the Club du Sahel in Paris and by several groups of African experts in the countries of West Africa. National case studies and the main sectoral studies dealing with political and social change, regional migration, land use planning and management of border areas are being conducted under the direct responsibility of African specialists.

The scientific committee in charge of monitoring the study and defining priorities comprises around twenty people, one-half of whom are researchers from West Africa.

A committee of experts comprised of sixty people is also consulted on a regular basis. Forty-five West African researchers and specialists who are members of this committee form the core of a network of correspondents whose role it is to make constructive comments and recommendations on the study itself as well as to promote the dissemination of its findings in their respective countries.

The CINERGIE unit maintains permanent contact with senior political decision-makers and with the media. A region-wide network of journalists has been set up by the unit to maintain contact with public opinion and mobilize the West African press on the subjects addressed by the study.

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Cinergie-ADB  
OECD-Club du Sahel

**RETROSPECTIVE 1960-1990  
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INTRODUCTION

Anne de Lattre

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PROVISIONAL DOCUMENT

## THE ORIGINS OF THE STUDY

In 1991, four member countries of the Club du Sahel (Canada, the United States, France and the Netherlands) suggested that a regional study be undertaken on the long-term prospects for West Africa. Several Sahelian countries and several coastal West African countries backed the idea of such a study.

To carry out this regional study, the Club du Sahel Secretariat and the CINERGIE project formed a multidisciplinary team of African and non-African experts (CINERGIE is a project set up under a 1991 agreement between the OECD and the African Development Bank). The European Commission, the World Bank and the African Development Bank provided the funds to finance the necessary African and European experts.

The experts carrying out the study worked under the joint direction of two facilitators, *Jean Marie Cour* in Paris and *Brah Mahamane* in Abidjan. On several occasions, CINERGIE and the Club du Sahel Secretariat organized meetings of a Scientific Committee and various advisory groups, submitting to them the study's provisional findings and listening to their views. The study's facilitators were in constant touch with the groups of experts set up by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to run National Long-Term Perspectives Studies (NLTPS) in African countries; this group is headed by *José Brito*. The Club du Sahel Secretariat and CINERGIE had thirty months to carry the regional study through to completion.

Undertaking a study of the long-term prospects for West Africa meant stepping back and taking the long view. CINERGIE and the Club du Sahel, not being bound by any short-term policy deadlines, were in a good position to take such a perspective.

However, since long-term developments depend on individual or collective short-term decisions, it is to be hoped that the study will provide food for thought and, if possible, some guidelines for day-by-day action.

Such was the hope of the countries that commissioned CINERGIE and the Club du Sahel Secretariat to carry out the study.

## AIMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the West Africa Long-Term Perspectives Study (WALTPS) is to gain a better understanding of the main trends that have governed change in the region over the past century or so, and to reflect on the direction of change over the next three decades. The aim is to make a set of hypotheses on the direction of future change and sketch in a picture of the region around the year 2020, based on these hypotheses. The authors have confidence in scientific progress, human ingenuity, their entrepreneurial spirit and the will of West Africa's people to live and to live better. They are aware of the dangers the future holds for West Africa. They have sought to draw a picture that holds promise, despite other more difficult prospects.

The picture they draw incorporates a scenario. However the steps toward the scenario will have to be brought to maturity and carried out by Africans, although outside agencies with a desire to help Africa should be able to assist in it.

A further aim of the study is to show that the West African population has made very considerable efforts to adapt to the changes going on in the region. In all probability, it will continue to do so. It has done so under difficult conditions, with traditional civilizations that were very archaic, political and administrative leadership that was ill prepared to observe and direct the changes, human resources that lacked education and training, and extremely low levels of capital accumulation and financing capacity. Moreover, nation-building took priority over regional cooperation. For a certain period the international context favored support for African development efforts; then, the situation became unstable and gradually became highly competitive. Foreign aid, though abundant for the first twenty years, has not managed to pull Africa out of its crisis and has kept the region in a position of dependence. The economic crisis has undermined Westerners' confidence in the future in general and above all in the future of Africa. Official aid has diminished substantially.

The authors of the study do not underestimate the dangers such extreme and very rapid change represents for West Africa. But they are convinced that West Africans have learned much through the opportunities and difficulties of the past thirty years and that, despite the exceptional constraints they will be working under in the coming decades, they will be able to benefit from the lessons learned. The authors take quite the opposite view to that of a region with no future.

To describe past developments and future prospects, the authors have made a more detailed analysis than is usual in futures studies, of the changes that have taken place in the region's human geography, i.e. in the relationship between its people and their natural environment. The study facilitators asked the team (which consisted of African and non-African experts from a number of disciplines - statisticians, demographers, economists, geographers, agronomists, town planners and political scientists) to take human geography as the core discipline to synthesize their findings.

The experts were at first surprised by a reference frame that was new to them but, as they became accustomed to it, they agreed that human geography has its advantages and sheds a different light on African realities to that of the more usual approaches. It is a discipline well suited to describing one of West Africa's most significant facets: the fact that it is still undergoing settlement. It is also a visual discipline: it produces maps. It tries to grasp the direction of long-term trends. It encourages modesty, for it shows that unexpected upheavals make prediction hazardous. And it teaches patience.

Because it looks at large-scale, long-term phenomena, human geography cannot place so much importance on the short term. It cannot make a detailed analysis of sectoral trends. That is its particularity and its strength, but also its limitation. The working papers on which this final report is based do not contain detailed observations on recent social or economic trends in West Africa. They do contain detailed analysis of sectoral trends in education, training, agriculture, health, environment etc... Nor do they include any recipes for what should be done tomorrow - at most, they suggest some priorities and a few promising directions to take. This West African long-term perspectives study is intended to complement the many careful studies made by specialists in different disciplines. It seeks to examine trends in West Africa from a long-term viewpoint and draw from this examination some encouragement for continued action.

## **WEST AFRICA, A REGION STILL UNDERGOING SETTLEMENT**

The underlying image depicted in the report is of a region whose most restrictive yet dynamic characteristic is the rapid growth and redistribution of its population. This process will continue for some time to come: the region's population is almost certain to double over the next thirty years. While it accounted for only a minute portion of the planet's population growth up to the beginning of this century, Africa is today home to one additional earthling in four. By around 2030, one human baby in every two could be African-born.

West Africa is not the first region in the world to undergo such rapid population growth. Other examples are America in the nineteenth century and China and the Asian sub-continent in the first half of the twentieth. But population growth in Africa is occurring under rather special conditions compared to these other examples:

- Population growth began later than elsewhere, and under even more difficult circumstances: an archaic world was suddenly thrust into contact with the modern world and the world market;
- Whereas North America's immigrant flood included a proportion of urbanized migrants, businessmen and capitalists whose skills and savings helped to build the nation, West Africa's population growth comes from its own rural population base.
- Unlike India or China, two ancient civilizations that were able to isolate themselves for a while from the rest of the world while accomplishing (in a cruel fashion) their social and demographic transformation, West Africa is entirely open to outside influences.

A further factor is that progress in medicine and information, combined with the developed countries' capacity to intervene, have reduced mortality rates long before the society was ready to reduce its fertility rates.

### **A MOBILE, ENERGETIC POPULATION**

In a situation of rapid population growth, West Africans have striven with great vigor and individualism to improve their living conditions.

Their spirit of initiative has taken many different forms: its main characteristic has been the mobility of this population around the region, regardless of frontiers - migration to the towns especially. In the towns, citizens have invested savings and labor to make their surroundings acceptable. They have created jobs to absorb the uninterrupted influx of migrants. The farmers, for their part, have moved closer to the concentrated population centers where their produce finds more reliable outlets than in areas of more scattered settlement. And town dwellers and country folk alike have taken advantage of the low-priced consumer goods and capital goods available on the world market.

The authors of the study do not deny that the population's behavior has created not only positive developments but also major dysfunctions of all kinds - economic, social, ecological, etc. Of course they think the changes could have taken place differently, and better, and that far wiser policies could have been applied. Policy makers would have had to separate intertwined effects, minimize the negative and maximize the positive. But African governments were concentrating

on trying to catch up on the advanced countries, copying exogenous models and amassing private wealth, rather than on careful observation and wise guidance of their people. The overseas development agencies failed to grasp the scale and rapid pace of the changes going on in the region, and did not adequately grasp what could and could not be done. The authors of the study make no judgements on the past: rather, they try to understand it.

From their standpoint, one of the positive aspects of African government policies has been their laissez-faire attitude. With a few exceptions, these governments have not sought to prevent migration around the region. And despite the drawbacks, it has, in a way, been this mobility that has allowed a region with such a fast-growing population to breathe.

## **URBANIZATION: THE MAIN FACTOR IN STRUCTURING SETTLEMENT PATTERNS**

The most striking feature of the population movements around the region has been the rapid growth of the towns. This has also been the most active factor for change in people's thinking and behavior.

West Africa is no longer an essentially rural region, and it will be still less so in future. Moreover, contrary to one widespread view, urbanization is not necessarily a harmful trend. While it does tend to destabilize, it also plays a part in restructuring and moving towards a new equilibrium.

In West Africa, rapid urbanization has so far taken place undramatically and in a balanced way. The big coastal towns and the capital cities have grown, but so have the smaller towns. Nigeria doubtless represents the likely pattern of urbanization in the neighboring countries twenty or thirty years hence: a majority of town dwellers living in a tough world, having to mobilize all their energies to ensure their day to day survival, but gradually becoming productive.

Despite this rapid urbanization, the countryside has not emptied - on the contrary, its population increased by roughly 60% between 1960 and 1990. On the other hand, the towns have helped to restructure rural settlement patterns by encouraging farmers to move closer to the markets. In the years to come, urbanization will continue to have a strong influence on the spatial distribution of the rural population.

Urban growth has slowed down since the crisis. The West Africans have adapted to the new, harsher circumstances. However, urban growth will start up again, though perhaps less rapidly than between 1960 and 1990. The study gives a striking but convincing picture of urbanization in the year 2020: some thirty cities with populations of a million or more, as against six in 1990; several coastal towns merged into one high-density ribbon conurbation; sixty cities of over 500,000 people compared to eleven in 1990; about 300 towns of over 100,000 people; and a scattering of some 6,000 urban centers. In the year 2020, between Benin City and Accra, there will probably be five mega-cities with a combined population of about 25 million.

Changes on this scale - almost beyond the scope of our imaginations - require a huge amount of investment in infrastructure and social services. An enormous effort will have to be made to settle the population and provide it with work. Singularly talented political and administrative leadership will be required, capable of managing imbalances, inequalities and lasting tensions, and

able to rally the energies needed to provide urban infrastructures and education for the growing population.

Such changes also necessitate skilful regional negotiations; and if the necessary talent does not come to the fore by inclination, then reason should summon it. In describing the towns in the year 2020, the study assumes that the national urban systems, which were encouraged to become autonomous after national independence, should now tend to merge into a small number of sub-regional systems, each centered on a sub-regional metropolis with influence beyond the borders of its own country. This tendency is in line with the movements and behavior of the population, for which national borders might just as well not exist.

## **URBANIZATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH**

The expansion of the towns and the futuristic urban picture sketched in this study have aroused considerable debate among the experts connected with the study team. While there is general agreement as to the contribution urbanization has made to economic growth over the past thirty years, there are unresolved questions regarding the particular characteristics of this growth. The experts agree that existing models should be extensively changed if they are to become more effective.

### **Accumulation of urban capital**

The experts agree that, starting from a much weaker urban capital base than other countries around the world, West Africa has made great efforts over the past thirty years. The accumulated urban capital has been estimated at about US\$ 300 billion, consisting of public infrastructures, roads, markets and housing. The citizens of West Africa have worked hard to finance the private building stock accumulated since independence - worth an estimated US\$ 200 billion, or two-thirds of total urban capital. They have done so largely by their own means. These figures are worth comparing with the total for official aid received by West Africa between 1960 and 1990: US\$ 50 billion in current values.

In view of the prospects for urban growth, this indigenous investment must continue and increase. But in fact, it has slowed down since the crisis, as have foreign official aid investments in the urban sector: transfers of the resources needed to finance deferred-payback capital works have declined sharply. If the shortfall in local-purpose investments continues, the living conditions of urban West Africans will suffer a lasting setback; this in turn will damage the capacity of trade, industry and the service to gradually bring greater solvency to the towns, and the capacity of agriculture to grow more prosperous from the urban markets.

### **Job creation in the towns**

For thirty years, with an unceasing influx of country people seeking work and a better life, the West African towns have adapted to demand as best they could. The foreign firms of the modern sector, demanding of skills, productivity and outlets and concerned to speedily amortize their investments in a high-risk situation, were not able to absorb more than a small minority of migrants. It was in response to the need for huge numbers of jobs of different kinds that the informal sector spread like wildfire.



The informal sector was well suited to absorbing an abundant supply of labor with few urban skills and little education. It offered opportunities to learn a division of labor that is not widespread in the countryside. It obliged its workers to attain a sufficient level of productivity to cover their cash income needs, which were higher in town than they had been in the countryside, but was not too demanding in this respect. The informal sector enabled people to meet their essential needs with the use of simple technologies. In short, its vocation was, and still is, to absorb and employ as many urban newcomers as possible, rather than increasing productivity in the sense of output of goods and services per labor unit.

Despite the low productivity of the informal sector, urban productivity has been rising, owing to the increasing density of population and trade. The urban environment concentrates an increasing proportion of economic activity and gross regional product - a proportion that increased from 38% in 1960 to 66% in 1990 and would have increased even more had the crisis not greatly affected progress in the West African economy. The urban economy already makes a significant contribution to changes going on in the region.

However, this contribution will have to increase if the town is to become a driving force for development. And it is on this point that the experts disagree:

- \* Some consider that the present, non-egalitarian and excessively rent-seeking model of the urban economy could well impede the progress of the towns, encouraging a State, very sensitive to the urban losses, to levy revenue wherever it can from foreign aid and the rural areas to foreign trade, land and even the illegal drugs business. This hypothesis gives a pessimistic view of West Africa's future development.
- \* Others consider it unlikely that the towns will grow without production making some headway. In their view, there are encouraging signs suggesting that urban society may, of itself, engender new dynamic processes. These signs are of various kinds but can be united under the heading of "competition", a new concept for Africa. At present, these promising signs are as follows:
  - Civil society is becoming differentiated and is organizing itself to confront the political power structure. Whereas Africa's essentially rural societies were hitherto hierarchical but egalitarian, as the struggle between divergent interests grows fiercer and the need to survive in an ever more crowded world becomes more demanding, competition becomes a factor for change.
  - The traditional forms of trade with the outside world are now running out of steam, and Africa is forced to take account of world competition. The recent devaluation of the CFA franc shows that the competitiveness of African exports, the progress of local agricultural and industrial production, regional trade, and less expensive social services now take priority over political considerations. Other measures will follow, reviving the economy. These measures may give national products a better chance in regional trade and world markets.
  - A class of African entrepreneurs is beginning to emerge. It is made up of people whose attitudes, shaped by their education, knowledge and contacts with the outside world, are closer to those of business people in the developed countries. A competitive spirit is one aspect of this.

Despite these changes, progress in the urban economy will, of course, be difficult and slow. The perspectives study does not believe there will be strong growth in modern manufacturing, trade and services: the financial, legal, economic and political conditions will not favor this and competition with other parts of the world will be too fierce for foreign investment to start flooding into West Africa. The informal sector will remain the main employer: in the year 2020, the majority of town dwellers will still be earning meager incomes from these low-productivity jobs. But the informal sector could gradually subdivide with the emergence of small and medium intermediate enterprises run by city-born business people possessing a certain urban culture. In high-density regions, considerable markets will be open to these enterprises. They will doubtless become more attentive to the conquest of these markets than they are at present.

As has already been shown, these changes will not come easily. Fierce competition in economies characterized by shortage leads to severe social inequalities, i.e. to a combination of progress, pitiless social relations and acute tensions. Westerners, imbued as they are with the social sensibilities of the 20th century, find such models antipathetic. But, for the optimists among the study's authors, these are the least unlikely models of urban development in West Africa over the coming decades.

## **FARMERS IN SEARCH OF MARKETS**

Food crop production has responded quite well to the food needs of a rapidly growing and increasingly urbanized population. The authors of the study, combining various methods to compensate for the unreliable nature of the statistics, have estimated that food production increased by 2% a year between 1960 and 1990. This was not enough of an increase to fully meet demand; the balance has come from commercial imports and abundant food aid (indeed, too abundant). However, food production is lagging only three years behind population growth, while food dependence, as expressed in calories, has slightly more than doubled since 1960, from 6% to 14% - still a fairly modest level compared to other parts of the world.

Demand on the urban markets has played a significant part in stimulating food production, as can be seen from the maps showing the spatial distribution of the farming population. Farmers have moved closer to the towns for the sake of higher and more reliable incomes. Besides moving to new areas, they have begun to improve their productivity, yields, production techniques and structures. Intensification is so far occurring only locally and cautiously; it is still rare for all the right conditions to come together for a sustainable agriculture and the regional market still plays only a minor part in food trade. However, trends in food crop production in Nigeria may be an example of what could happen in other parts of West Africa. The States of the Nigerian Federation now import scarcely any food, meeting an increasing proportion of their requirements from their own output. Population density, highways linking market towns (financed in the days of high oil prices), and an endemic shortage of hard currency since the downturn in the energy market, have all been favorable for domestic food crop production, favorable to a small extent for regional food production, and unfavorable for food imports from the world market.

Although food production has performed fairly well in West Africa, for the last ten years export cropping has proved a disappointment. It is the mediocre performance of export cropping that explains the overall lack of progress in agriculture. World price trends, the inadequacies of government policies and rent-seeking levies have had a major impact on farmer behavior and on

the weakness of African competitiveness. Since export crops will remain a significant source of hard currency in future, the failings of earlier policies ought to be corrected.

The authors of the study are united in considering that, despite the many, complex problems that have to be resolved, despite the very severe ecological dangers in some regions (especially the Sahelian zone and the increasingly densely populated coastal strip), prospects for the development of food cropping in West Africa are not unpromising. Several factors should contribute to turbulent but positive progress:

- Farmers will continue to shift towards the most useful farmland, as they have in Nigeria. Over the next thirty years hence, usable farmland will become virtually saturated throughout the region, forcing farmers to move on from their present extensive farming systems to intensive farming with increasing yields.
- Farmers will continue to move closer to the urban markets. To meet the growing demand on these markets, capitalist farm enterprises will gradually emerge. Where they emerge will be essentially dictated by land availability. A modern form of farming will probably develop, geared to commercial production for the domestic and regional markets.

These developments will take place more easily if governments resist the pressing call of the world market, and if the mobility of the farming population can be maintained. These conditions run directly counter to some conceptions of development for Africa. They are also contrary to certain Western interests. Further, the vision this study gives of future patterns in food production, like its vision of the urban economy, is not at all egalitarian: population pressure, the quality of the available physical resources and the location of commercial outlets will mean that intensification potential varies very widely from one area to another; there will be many farmers, including some of the better-off, who will find it hard to make a place for themselves in the changing pattern of agriculture. In the view of the authors of the study, this will be the price of progress in an economy with rapid population growth. It will mean permanent and sometimes acute social tensions. But surely the most important thing is that progress should be made?

## **A REGION IN SETTLEMENT TRANSITION AND LASTING IMBALANCE**

After this brief introduction to WALTPS, some remarks and questions are in order.

West Africa, as a region in rapid settlement transition, will be imbalanced for the foreseeable future. Even if attempts are made to reduce fertility rates, this can only have an effect on population growth in the medium and long term. The region's population is virtually certain to double in thirty years. Indeed, of all the things we know about the region's future, that fact seems the most certain. If that fact is recognized and accepted, then the crucial question is, what steps to take to house, feed and employ this new population in acceptable conditions. Two measures appear to be essential: to decentralize the State, and organize civil society. Decentralization will enable individual towns and villages to implement land use planning policies that have been arrived at after consultation. A properly organized civil society will make it possible to discuss the present and the future, handle predictable conflicts by negotiation, and plan local financing of the public facilities needed for the new population.

West Africa, as a region in rapid settlement transition and lasting imbalance, will be subject to great political, economic, social and environmental tension. Changes will be abrupt, unstable, and varied. How best can positive changes be fostered, and risk and regression reduced? One major source of tension will likely be migration from poor areas to those with more resources and to towns. The WALTPS estimate is of some twenty million people migrating, compared with the eight million between 1960 and 1990. What can be done to stop migration within and between countries becoming a source of conflict? How large might migration to the outside world become, if development does not provide enough employment for a growing population? In this area, as in others, a more aware and better organized civil society can help to achieve the trade-offs and negotiations needed to protect migrants from arbitrary treatment and insecurity.

West Africa, as a region in rapid settlement transition, will need to manage a permanent scarcity of financial, technical, and human resources. In the next thirty years, the gap between supply and demand in these resources will be marked. There will be strong temptation to adopt illegal solutions.

The resources of States are modest compared with needs, however much they attempt to increase taxation and levies. Rural land capital and urban wealth will increase only slowly. States will need to supplement direct and indirect taxes with levies on commercial transactions. However, they will have to avoid their past excesses in this area, or competitiveness in exports and production for domestic and regional markets will be compromised.

How can the resources be found to finance the huge need for public facilities? Would not one way be, apart from public and private investment, to use new forms of labor-investment to meet the demand for education, public health care and infrastructure maintenance? Should not innovative experiments be tried in mass education, using modern technology now available? For the huge problem of educating the young, there has been up to now a distressing lack of thought and action.

It is hard to predict what will happen to official development assistance. Past trends show that it is cyclical: abundant in boom years, limited during crises, and greatly eroded by indebtedness. Indebtedness to multilateral bodies is likely to cause some States serious problems in the future. WALTPS suggests that official development assistance should be predictable, grant-based, and targeted to supplement low domestic savings. It argues that official assistance should be extensively devoted to investment in new population: economic and urban infrastructure, local facilities, and land use planning. The authors believe that local people have so far proved their ingenuity, mobility and ability to adjust, and that they will therefore be able to use this new infrastructure to work, produce, and trade. Since aid is at present divided between macro-economic recovery and a plethora of objectives of varying usefulness, and since the proportion devoted to long-term investment has dwindled, the WALTPS proposals would require hard choices and changes that are worth close consideration. Has aid not too many objectives and functions? Should it not be more focused?

Likely changes in private external resources are varied. West Africa could make better use than at present of its basic commodities, but, despite cyclical surges, the long-term trend is not hopeful, except for energy products. Non-traditional exports to world markets will increase only moderately. Loans and foreign direct investment may increase, but there is fierce competition from successful regions in Latin America and Asia. West Africa is likely to suffer from a chronic

shortage of foreign exchange, which may not be entirely a bad thing, since it may encourage African enterprise and the expansion of the regional market. How can this enterprise and this expansion be promoted?

The authors of WALTPS are well aware that this is not a good time for discussion of the long term. The recession in the developed countries is not yet over; adjustment to new circumstances will take a long time. Uncertainty is in the air. Africa has a poor image in the media. However, the specialists who worked on WALTPS are convinced that a clearer vision of the future could give a justification and a purpose to short-term action. To abandon to its own devices a continent in settlement transition, when it shows signs of dynamism despite its insecurity, would be a serious error, and would involve shutting one's eyes to the consequences of such a policy.

Finally, a few suggestions for Africans and those countries that want to help Africa. These suggestions are intended to prepare for the future, and inform choice, in the hope that, after due consideration, the decisions to be taken will not be too long delayed.

## **WORKING SUGGESTIONS BASED ON WALTPS**

### **Negotiation and conflict resolution / Keeping the peace**

It is hoped that WALTPS has provided enough evidence that, of West Africa's particular features, two will have a determining influence on the future: it will long remain a region in settlement transition, and an unbalanced region. In the next thirty years, as in the last, population mobility and changing settlement patterns will be essential conditions for progress in development.

Rapid settlement transition, lasting imbalance, and massive migration will expose West Africa to the permanent danger of disorder and conflict. Predictable migration into towns and resource-rich areas is likely to exacerbate national and regional tension, particularly in social and ethnic policy. These threats are a great danger for countries with shaky institutions, where civil society is too poorly organized to attenuate conflicts.

Africans are aware of these problems. They have begun to discuss what measures could be taken to settle conflicts. They are considering the creation of an African intervention force.

The discussion and action needed for West Africa's long-term development can hardly be dissociated from a discussion of the negotiation and resolution of national and regional conflicts. How can the connection be made? Would not a first step be to examine the WALTPS conclusions at the highest political level in Africa, so that policy makers are aware of the opportunities and risks in the future and of the steps that need to be taken to maximize the former and minimize the latter?

### **Deciding on investment priorities**

The study shows that West Africa's need for public investment in connection with population growth and settlement will be immense, and that local and foreign resources for this purpose will be insufficient. So, inevitably, choices will have to be made. And they will be cruel choices. They will resemble war-time economics (managing shortage) more than peace-time economics (managing abundance).

Most of the public sector economic and social investment requirement will have to be met by the Africans themselves. The governments' tax-raising capacity will not be sufficient. The country studies on long-term development prospects should provide an opportunity to debate ways and means of mobilizing civil society to complement government efforts. Sectors with especially urgent need are mass education (literacy), basic public health and hygiene, natural resource preservation and infrastructure maintenance. Foreign aid can only very partially cover needs in these spheres.

In the view of the authors, foreign aid must in future be guided by a view of West Africa as a region undergoing rapid population growth and settlement. The keynote of aid must be to favor fluidity in economic relations within the region; communications infrastructure investment to facilitate trade and the mobility of persons, local-purpose investment in the towns - in short, deferred-payback, long-term investments which local savings cannot cover. As these are long-term, costly investments, the overseas development agencies should seek agreement among themselves on investment priorities, a schedule for implementation, and the criteria for concerted action.

### **Supporting change in agriculture**

Agriculture will continue to play an essential role in West African societies. It will continue for very many years to be one of the region's main earners of hard currency. West Africa has some important assets for tropical crop production, which ought to show the way forward to an intensification of regional trade: by the year 2020, it is estimated that roughly half the food imports into West African countries will be from neighboring countries. Lastly, the capacity of the rural areas to regulate their output of migrants to match the economic health of the towns will be an essential element for the region's social and political stability.

For agriculture to be capable of fulfilling these three crucial functions, farmers must shift from practices essentially based on exhaustive consumption of natural resources, which end in progressive saturation and exhaustion of farmland, to practices that allow for renewal of soil fertility. This implies a more intensive form of agriculture, using both more labor and more inputs per hectare.

The capacity for a given area to make this shift to intensive farming depends very heavily on the quality of its natural resources, the degree of saturation in their use, and local market incentives (i.e. the existence of profitable outlets). We know in advance that not all areas will be able to carry through this intensification at the same time: some areas where opportunities are low, or zero, will find it hard to make up for what they take out of the natural environment. The volume and buoyancy of urban demand will be very important in determining farmers' investment capacities. However, there is a whole set of measures that could be taken to maximize the number of rural people taking part in this shift to intensification. These concern, for example:

- Providing an appropriate framework for local communities to manage these important changes in their production systems: appropriate legal frameworks, especially with regard to land tenure; decentralized farm credit structures; concerted land use planning;
- Farmers' ability to organize themselves and play a part in defining farm policy, on a par with the merchants, processors and consumers of farm produce;

- The visibility and predictability of agricultural produce markets and the macro-economic background to production.

### **Encouraging regional cooperation**

The study shows that the decline of traditional exports, combined with the difficulty of breaking into the world markets with new export products, the low level of private investment and the inadequacy of official aid will lead to endemic shortages of hard currency. These shortages will have an unfortunate impact on capital goods and works, but could also have more beneficial effects, by slowing down imports of consumer products.

The shortage of hard currency could also give the regional market a better chance to expand.

However, mentalities are ill prepared for giving the regional market free play. Governments, more than the people, regard regional competition as a bad thing, just as, until recently, they saw competition on domestic markets as dangerous.

Nor are the development agencies much in favor of regional cooperation, whatever they may say. They are not as hostile as one might think to the Balkanization of the region. Some prefer the *de facto* split between English- and French-speaking countries, as reflected e.g. in transport networks and the organization of the markets, to a closer relationship. Regional infrastructure and capital works are not developing as fast as the need for them, and the existence of different currency zones complicates commercial transactions.

West Africans ought themselves to take the initiative of launching a well-informed debate on the advantages and drawbacks of the present situation and the prospects for regional markets. The aid agencies should support a serious African debate of this kind, based on careful observation of the facts and involving both businessmen and civil servants.

### **Fostering the development of civil society**

The Club du Sahel and the Cinergie unit took the initiative of setting up an enterprise network in West Africa because they considered that the gradual formation of a tissue of modernizing African enterprises is one of the main ways of increasing urban income and, indirectly, rural income. Proper organization of entrepreneurs can also change the attitude and behavior of the State towards business and help entrepreneurs to be masters and mistresses of their own fate.

Encouraging the success of African entrepreneurs requires, among other things:

- the organization of enterprise networks nationally and regionally. Not only would these improve the general business environment, but they can also encourage a better sharing than in the past of technical, management, and commercial experience. Exporters could collectively learn from obstacles and opportunities on world markets. They could combine to sell on regional markets;
- the organization of financial networks nationally and regionally, to profit from current practice (securities markets, venture capital companies, local business banks, etc.) in order to acquire experience and independence.

Many other associations could be created by African civil society: national and cross-border farmers' associations, educational, religious, arts associations, charities, self-help groups for collective needs (health care, hygiene, urban clean-ups, etc.).

Political associations based on civil society also have an increasingly important role to play in gathering information, discussing and encouraging discussion, training officials, and providing early warning for politicians before conflicts arise.

Civil society in West Africa is already facing challenges, and will face more in the future. It will have to cope with and make up for the State's shortcomings. Progress so far, progress yet to be made, and possible forms of support could be widely discussed in the light of the WALTPS conclusions.

### **Observation and analysis of the facts**

Throughout the duration of the study, the experts tried to gather and process as much as possible in the way of facts and observations on long-term trends in West Africa. In this way, despite the shortage of available statistics, they have built up an original database, combining and comparing demographic, geographical and economic data.

The study shows that the great region-wide transformations that will result from population growth and settlement, urbanization, new economic trends, relations between town and country and interactions between output and markets, etc., will have both positive and negative effects on development. It will be necessary to assist the positive trends and minimize the negative.

Knowledge being a precondition for clear-sighted decision-making, we hope the African governments and foreign aid agencies will set about acquiring more reliable means for observing, understanding and anticipating these changes and the needs of a region undergoing rapid population growth. It would be possible to make a modest start to this work based on findings of the WALTPS study.

The Club du Sahel and the CINERGIE project are working together to further these objectives. They hope the overseas development agencies will wish to be associated with their efforts.



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## ANNEXES

- **List of presentations and debates organized around the study from 1992 to 1994;**
- **List of working papers completed within the framework of the study;**
- **List of published working papers;**

## EXTENSIVE DISSEMINATION AND BROAD DISCUSSION

In line with CILSS and Club du Sahel tradition, the interim findings of the experts who have taken part in the WALTPS have been extensively disseminated and discussed in West African countries and donor agencies.

Members of the study team have also contributed to several internal seminars and discussion sessions organized by a number of different institutions.

Finally, the main ideas discussed in WALTPS study have been released to the media in West Africa through the network of journalists coordinated by the CINERGIE project.

### Presentations and debates

- Meeting of the Scientific Committee of the study (Abidjan, November 1992 and Brussels, January 1994).
- Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (La Haye, December 1992).
- West African experts committee (Abidjan, January 1993).
- Commission of the European Community (Brussels, February 1993 et January 1994).
- The World Bank (Washington D.C April 1993, in accordance with the presentation by the NLTPS team).
- USAID (Washington D.C., April 1993 and March 1994).
- Meeting concerning the interactions between Nigeria and it's neighbors, in the agriculture sector (Cotonou, May 1993).
- Meeting of West African political science experts (Lagos, Nigerian Institute for International Affairs, October 1993).
- French Ministry of Cooperation (Paris, September 1993 and July 1994).
- Two meetings: West African urban experts and Political mutation in West Africa (Dakar, November 1993).
- African Development Bank (Abidjan, March 1994).

- CIDA (Ottawa, March 1993).
- Global coalition for Africa (Dakar, June 1994).
- Caisse française de développement (Paris, May 1994).
- National meeting on the Mali Case Study (Bamako, June 1994).

### to come:

- Presentation inter-ministerial in Senegal.
- Ouagadougou regional meeting (September 1994, organized by the CILSS).
- Meeting on the Nigerian Case Study (Lagos, to be confirmed).
- CIDA presentation.

### Internal reflection and seminars

- Discourse at seminar : Desertification and migration (Almeria, February 1994).
- Contribution to the evaluation of the politics and projects in the field of road transport (EC Brussels, February 1994).
- Participation in the study, Renewable Energy in the Sahel (The World Bank, AFTPS, 1994).
- Participation in the seminar: Municipal management and decentralization (Ouagadougou, Program of Municipal Development, The World Bank, March 1994).

■ Contribution to the strategy post-UNCED "Towards environmentally sustainable development in Africa" (The World Bank, AFTES, Washington D.C.).

■ Preparation of remarks concerning urban politics and projects in the year 2000 in West Africa (The World Bank, AF5IN et AF1IN, 1994).

■ Participation in the Scientific Committee of CIRAD on the theme "Nourrir les villes" (Montpellier, June 1994).

■ Participation in the training seminar for the French urban sector contributors (Paris, September 1994).

■ The United Nations Conference on World Population (Cairo, September 1994).

■ Seminar reflecting on the impact of technological evolution on the future of West Africa (to be held in December 1994)

### **Media coverage**

■ Articles in the press of numerous countries following the meetings throughout West Africa.

■ Press conference scheduled for Dakar (December 1994).

■ Awareness seminars for West African journalists (Dakar, November 1993 et Abidjan, April 1994)

■ Program "Echos d'Afrique" on Radio France International, March 1994.

■ Program on Radio Netherlands, December 1993.

■ TV report on Télévision Burkina.

■ Articles in the Malian press and a televised debate on the occasion of the Mali National Meeting (June 1994).

**WORKING PAPERS PREPARED FOR THE  
WEST AFRICAN LONG TERM PERSPECTIVE STUDY**

Preparing for the Future:  
A vision of West Africa in the year 2020.

Synthesis of the WALTPS, September 1994

Working paper n°1 SAH/D(93)415

Settlement patterns in West Africa.  
B. KALASA, December 1993. 124 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°2 SAH/D(93)410

Retrospective demo-economic analysis and  
suggested long-term demo-economic picture of  
West Africa. J.M. COUR, January 1994  
80 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°3 SAH/D(93)411

Economic prospects for West Africa in the decade  
ahead. J.D. NAUDET (DIAL)  
November 1993, 62 pp.

Working paper n°4 SAH/D(94)422

Economic geography of West Africa; markets,  
settlement patterns, agriculture, roads; modeling  
for 1960-1990. B. NINNIN  
June 1994. 107 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°5 SAH/D(93)421

States, borders and trends in land-use planning in  
West Africa. J.O. IGUE, B.G SOULE  
December 1993. 74 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°6 SAH/D(94)423

External financing of development in West Africa:  
study of transfers and discussion of development  
aid (1960-1990). J.M. COUR and D. NAUDET  
(DIAL), July 1994. 124 pp.

Working paper n°7 SAH/D(94)432

Education in West Africa: situation, issues and  
prospects. R. PONS, June 1994. 47 pp.

Working paper n°8 SAH/D(93)412

Urbanization in West Africa. M. ARNAUD,  
December 1993. 30 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°9 SAH/D(94)420

Eléments d'analyse socio-politique de l'Afrique de  
l'ouest. A. BOURGUI et M. DIOUF.

Working paper n°10 SAH/D(93)417

Les conséquences démographiques de l'épidémie  
de VIH/SIDA en Afrique de l'Ouest. J.J GABAS,  
M. POSTEL et B. KALASA, December 1993.  
23 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°11 SAH/D(93)406

Settlement patterns and economy in West Africa.  
J.D. NAUDET, November 1992. 51 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°12 SAH/D(93)414

Farm performance and population redistribution  
in West Africa. J.M COUR, December 1993.  
33 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°13 SAH/D(93)405

Modélisation des flux d'échanges extérieurs  
internationaux 1970-90 (effets structurels,  
inclinaiions spécifiques) et analyse des modèles  
d'ouverture en Afrique de l'ouest. J.D. NAUDET  
(DIAL), February 1993. 33 pp. + annexes.

Working paper n°14 SAH/D(93)407

Modélisation démo-économique des pays en voie  
de peuplement. J.D. NAUDET  
January 1993. 33 pp.

Report on the first phase of work (Round one)  
SAH/D(93)402 \*\*

Summary of the conclusions of the first phase and  
Summary report of the meeting on the findings of  
the first phase (Abidjan 18-19 January 1993),  
SAH/CR(93)80 \*\*

Echanges et espaces en Afrique de l'ouest  
(Analyse rétrospective), John IGUE, December  
1993, SAH/D(93)403 \*\*

**NATIONAL CASE STUDIES  
CONDUCTED WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE WALTPS**

Senegal

Les villes sénégalaises : population, espace et développement, Momar C. DIOP, Amadou DIOP, December 1993 \*\*

Les Villes sénégalaises : population, espace et développement. Compte rendu de la réunion de Dakar, December 1993 \*\*

Nigeria

Population, space and development in Nigeria. Summary of the Lagos Workshop. Ibrahim JIBRIN, November 1993 \*

Population, space and development in Nigeria: The Southwestern case, J.A. ARIYO, November 1993 \*

Population Dynamics in Eastern Nigeria and their Socio-Economic and Political Consequences. Adebayo O. OLUKOSHI, Babatunde AHONSI, 1993 \*

The History and Contemporary Trends in Nigeria: Rural-Urban Migration and Urbanization. D. J. ABIN, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria Nigeria. August 1993 \*

Population and Socio-economic change in Southeastern Nigeria. B. AHONSI, A.OLUKOSHI, 1993 \*

The Southwestern Nigeria Case Study. Abukar MOMOH, Lagos State University, 1993 \*

Population Change and Socio-Economic Processes in the Nigerian Middle Belt. Z.A. BONAT, Ahmadu Bello University, 1993 \*

Population, Space and Development in Northern Nigeria. Jibrin IBRAHIM, 1993 \*

Population Dynamics in Eastern Nigeria: Their Socio-economic and Political Consequences. A.O. OLUKOSHI, B. AHONSI, 1993 \*

Ghana

Structure and growth prospects of the economy of Ghana from a demo-economic perspective - Nii Kwaku SOWA, December 1993 \*\*

A study of urban-rural linkages in Ghana, S.T. ADDO, Kwasi ADARKWA, November 1993 \*\*

Regional development and land use in Ghana. George BOTCHIE, December 1993 \*\*

Regional integration issues in Ghana, Kwame A. NINSIN, James BOK ABBAN, December 1993 \*\*

Population dynamics, urbanization and migration in Ghana, John S. NABILA, Prof. A.F. ARYEE, November 1993 \*\*

Mali

Mouvement des populations, spatialisation de l'économie. Sékouba DIARRA, Bakary SACKO, November 1993 \*\*\*

Les relations villes-campagne au Mali, Bakary SANOGO, January 1994 \*\*\*

Aperçu sur les tendances lourdes de l'histoire. Analyse démo-économique et du nomadisme. December 1993 \*\*\*

Les politiques d'aménagement du territoire, Ousmane M. DIALLO, November 1993 \*\*\*

Burkina Faso

Etude de cas national, document de synthèse, 1993 \*\*

\* document presently in final editing

\*\* Working paper with limited distribution

\*\*\* A synthesis document on the Mali case study is presently being prepared

## PRESENTATION OF THE WORKING PAPERS

Working paper 1:

SAH/D(93)415

Settlement patterns in West Africa, commentary on the database. B. Kalasa. December 1993. 124pp + appendices. English version available.

This paper is a commentary on the demographic database set up for WALTPS: a population explosion unprecedented in history, rapid but fairly balanced urbanization, very varied rural settlement patterns, huge migrations, etc. It includes extracts from the database for the 19 countries studied (total, urban and rural population 1930-2020, growth rates, internal migration, etc.) and comparative regional tables.

Working paper 2:

SAH/D(93)410

Retrospective demo-economic analysis and suggested long-term demo-economic picture of West Africa. J.M. Cour. January 1994. 80pp + appendices. English version available.

In the absence of reliable basic statistics, national accounts in West Africa give an incomplete and distorted picture of reality. This paper proposes a complementary picture, just as incomplete and distorted, using demo-economic accounting. After recapitulating the construction and scope of social accounting matrices (SAMs), the author proposes an overall audit of the demo-economic performance of West Africa from 1960 to 1990. This analysis reveals encouraging features which may lead to faster sustainable economic growth. They are massive, largely private, capital formation, the emergence of significant domestic and regional markets linked to urbanization, and a structural reduction in the rate of population movement which should make it easier to manage. Conversely, West Africa is subject to serious liabilities such as indebtedness, marginal share of world markets, aid fatigue, and demotivated elites. The author uses these positive and negative features to suggest a possible picture of West Africa in 2020.

Working paper 3:

SAH/D(93)411

Economic prospects for West Africa in the decade ahead. J.D. Naudet (DIAL). November 1993. 62pp. English version available.

This paper assumes that existing features will play the major part in shaping the ten years ahead. They are: a flourishing informal sector, a collapsing modern sector, extensive growth without increased productivity, an economy turned towards the outside world, trade and rent-seeking. The total result, however, is overall economic growth that has kept pace with population growth and coped with new settlement patterns. The author describes long-term trends in the world economy and West Africa, and then proposes three ten-year scenarios. An **extrapolation scenario**, based on overseas trade and economic rents, in which Nigeria expands in importance in the regional economy and the international community withdraws. A **"multipolar" scenario**, in which the countries of highest potential adopt long-term structural adjustment with the very conditional aid of the international community. And, breaking with existing trends, a **regional integration scenario**, based on economic and monetary integration and aiming for the development of production and trade within West Africa.

Working paper 4:

SAH/D(93)433

Economic geography of West Africa; markets, settlement patterns, agriculture, roads; modeling for 1960-90. B. Ninnin. June 1994. 107 pp + appendices. English version in preparation.

Advances in quantitative geography in the last decade mean that the spatial dimension of the economy can now be examined, especially in rural areas. This paper presents the "market attractiveness" approach devised for WALTPS. Market attractiveness can be defined as the attraction that urban and international markets need to exert on production areas to satisfy their demand. It provides a composite indicator of the impact of various markets, their distance, transport costs, the supply of marketable surpluses, market competition for those surpluses, and competition from imports. This empirical relationship is strengthened by comparing market attractiveness with spatialized data on farm production and settlement patterns. Apart from revealing the specific features of production areas, the study proposes a measurement of the spatial structuring of farming by markets, and defines how this measurement can be used to produce a long-term image. Market attractiveness also provides an approximate explanation of the wide disparities in road density from one area to another.

States, borders and trends in land-use planning in West Africa. J.O. Igué and B.G. Soule. December 1993. 74pp + appendices. English version in preparation.

How have the states defined by the colonial division developed their land use? This paper reviews the institutional framework of land-use planning policies and evaluates the achievements (communications, education, healthcare, farming, industry, etc.) of West African countries. With few exceptions it reveals the inconsistency of these policies, which were often poorly framed, deprived of resources, and based on unsuitable areas of land. This unsuitability of territory for policy explains why spontaneous forms of development have arisen, such as networks of markets and border areas. Land-use planning needs to be re-thought; the authors suggest a few ways forward, such as defining policies on the basis of regions that are coherent ecologically and culturally, and quite different from the administrative units which exist for the convenience of government rather than to encourage development.

External financing of development in West Africa: study of transfers and discussion of development aid (1960-90). J.M. Cour and D. Naudet (DIAL). July 1994. 124 pp. English version available.

WALTPS has shown the value of regarding West Africa as a region in *settlement transition* where the greatest part of internal investment over the last thirty years has gone towards coping with new population.

What is the state of external financial aid to an area of the world generally seen by the international community as a "basket-case"? This paper attempts to answer this question, with a consolidated analysis of all external aid and a study of development aid which is "one transfer among others, but unlike the others".

In Part One, Jean-Marie Cour provides a retrospective quantitative analysis of transfers, establishes the link between shifting settlement patterns and West Africa's financing requirements and puts forward some ideas for new methods of financing. In Part Two, David Naudet analyzes the role, methods and impact of aid, and suggests that aid should be designed for the long term, focussing on land use planning and the circulation of knowledge.

Both parts stress the need to adapt the international financial flows for West Africa to the region's internal processes, of which the most important is the shift in settlement patterns.

Education in West Africa: situation, issues and prospects. R. Pons. June 1994. 47 pp.

Of all the challenges posed by West Africa's population explosion, education is without doubt one of the greatest. This paper brings together the most recent quantitative data and analyses to show the size of the problems the region is facing now and in the future: 24 million children attending primary school in 1990 (60% of the age group) and more than 50 million to educate in the year 2000. The growth in school attendance over the last decade has been slow or even negative at primary and secondary level, especially in technical education and apprenticeships. However, higher education, reserved for the urban elite, saw considerable and sustained growth up to the end of the 1980s. Not only, therefore, is there a lack of money and staff, but the strategy of allocating resources is out of phase with the needs of the majority, especially disadvantaged urban youth.

Urbanization in West Africa: local ways and local thinking. M. Arnaud. December 1993. 30pp + appendices. English version available.

This paper describes West African urbanization which, from 1960 to 1980, occurred at three times the highest rate achieved in Europe during the Industrial Revolution. This speed of change explains settlement patterns and land use, and the importance of the informal sector, the preferred "reception area" for new migrants. The city also determines a special social structuring in which "closeness to the authorities" is the main road to individual and collective wealth. The paper deals with meeting basic needs, management of urban land, economic activity and social change in terms of how they have developed and adapted to the economic crisis of the 1980s.

Elements of a socio-political analysis of West Africa. A. Bourgui and M. Diouf. July 1994.

This paper presents the working document and results of the working group on political and social change in West Africa set up by the Cinergie unit. Between 1960 and 1990 in Africa, only Mauritius experimented with the democratic alternation of political power: the other hundred or so changes in government were *coups d'état*. However, in the last four years, democratic alternation has affected one in five African countries. Democratic governance does not seem in most cases to be able to cope simultaneously with financial pressure and immediate demands from regionalists or social categories. Consequently the democratic State of the future must be rethought.



Working paper 10:

SAH/D(93)417

Demographic consequences of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in West Africa. J.J. Gabas, M. Postel and B. Kalasa. December 1993. 23pp + appendices.

As for so many other areas, knowledge of the extent of the AIDS epidemic in Africa is limited. What, however, is known for sure, is that, unlike the rest of the world, the mode of transmission in Africa is mostly heterosexual. Its demographic impact will therefore be greater than elsewhere.

Working paper 11:

SAH/D(93)406

Settlement patterns and economy in West Africa. J.D. Naudet. November 1992. 51pp + appendices.

This paper compares international and West African databases to assess the real economy in West Africa. The results of this analysis are then re-examined according to two deliberately contrasting and controversial demo-economic viewpoints: the **predatory city**, bloated, distorting the natural regulation of relations with the countryside, generating food dependence and unemployment; the **structuring city**, which for all its imbalances creates solvent demand and structures its hinterland.

Working paper 12:

SAH/D(93)414

Farm performance and population redistribution in West Africa. J.M. Cour. December 1993. 33pp + appendices. English version available.

From 1930 to 2030 the population of West Africa will have increased tenfold and the urban population one-hundredfold. The farm performance of West Africa over the last thirty years is examined against the background of this enormous population shift. Overall, regional food balances have admittedly deteriorated, as production lags some three years behind demand. But, contrary to widespread opinion, urban eating habits have not become more Western, and West Africa comes second only to the rest of SSA as the region in the world with the lowest per capita food imports. However, poorly recorded intra-regional trade appears to be below expected levels by world standards. The model of farm growth led by domestic demand has not worked well. The problem is analyzed under four main topics: the impact of urban demand on farming, what cities offer the countryside in return for food, more intensive farming, and the macro-economic environment.

Working paper 13:

SAH/D(93)405

Modeling international trade 1970-90 (structural effects, specific trends) and analysis of models of openness in West Africa. J.D. Naudet (DIAL). February 1993. 33pp + appendices.

The paper constructs and analyzes an econometric model explaining world foreign trade behavior as a function of countries' structural features. In particular it : 1) examines the links between a country's size or population and its openness to foreign trade, and 2) defines theoretical or potential levels for trade between countries, to be used for forecasts or to estimate a region's trade with the rest of the world when combined or divided into countries. West Africa is analyzed as an example of openness in a region. The analysis shows that West Africa as a whole does not appear to be a special case for exports or imports, given its size, wealth and domestic prices.

Working paper 14:

SAH/D(93)407

Demo-economic modeling of countries in settlement transition. J.D. Naudet. January 1993. 33pp.

Population in West Africa is usually strangely absent from economic modeling and therefore discussion. Demand models ignore the influence of demography. Supply models assume, often rightly, that the labor supply is unlimited, separating economy from demography. The paper examines ways of integrating population growth and settlement patterns into economic demand models. It starts from the idea that population distribution affects economic behavior. Its hypothesis is that the main cause and effect of population movements is to share income variations throughout society. They therefore regulate internal and external shocks to the economy, by increasing or diminishing their effects.

### **DISTRIBUTION OF THE WEST AFRICA**

#### **LONG TERM PERSPECTIVE STUDY**

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CINERGIE (*Cellule Internationale d'Etude et de Recherche pour la Gestion de l'Information sur les Echanges*) is a joint initiative of the ADB and the OECD. The unit is financed by four OECD member countries (Canada, France, the Netherlands and the United States).

Operating costs are financed by organizations including the World Bank and the European Commission. The aims of the CINERGIE unit are as follows :

- to improve dialogue between Sahelian countries, coastal countries along the Gulf of Guinea, and donor agencies,
- to highlight obstacles to trade,
- to assist African leaders and policy-makers in taking the realities of regional cooperation into account in their decisions.

On the basis of the findings of the WALTPS study, CINERGIE will draw up a **joint action program** in West Africa, incorporating a series of recommendations for the region's governments and for donor agencies.

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