Colonial Legacy and Changes of West African Cities
- Comparative Studies between Bamako and Segou Cities, Rep. of Mali -

Moussa Dembele
Collaborative Researcher, Kyoto Prefectural University, Japan

Abstract
The modernization of African cities, shifted toward decentralization in the early 90s, with state commitment to creating a platform for human resource development and poverty alleviation. The urbanization of West African cities occurred through transformations of socio-cultural structures resulting from colonial practices, leading to a rupture between tradition and modernization. This paper seeks to clarify the essence of changes that affect the spatial and social core of West African cities. Our research focuses on the transformation of Bamako and Segou and consists of (1) a comparative study of city forms, (2) a linguistic study of city words rooted in an historical assessment of spaces, and (3) a comparison of regional development between Bamako and Segou. Our results clarified the different ways in which the breakdown in communication between planning authorities and the proponents of local tradition have influenced the process of urban space.

Keywords: colonial legacy; decentralization; West African cities; linguistic study of urban spaces; traditional knowledge

1. Introduction
West African cities underwent modernization and changes of traditional structures deeply marked by colonization. Today African cities continue to move toward an urban environment by changing the political, economic and social environments around them. It is increasingly important that we make strong attempts at understanding the essence of changes in order to plan adequately for the future growth of these cities. The spatial transformation of African cities poses critical problems regarding the reconsolidation of tradition and modernization.

1.1 Study Objectives
The urban planning systems of West African cities are now experiencing rapid urbanization developed during the period of colonialism, and urban spaces are progressively changing. Major factors concerning these changes resulted from administrative laws that generated the basic ideals of colonial practices and the repetition of models of Metropolitan France. This paper makes an attempt to examine the evolution of the urban spaces of Bamako and Segou cities. Through this process the study brings into question the emergent role of traditional community embedded in the Mande creation myth and then discusses the paradigm of urban development characterized by tradition and modernization. Emphasis is placed on suggestions for the appropriate planning of cities through identification of the essence of dynamic traditional society and its use in decentralization and poverty alleviation. Where does this leave planning? The results of this study are significant in understanding the post-colonial conflict of interests and values in the urban context, and their possible role in the dynamic of future development in designing a strategy for intervention.

1.2 Study methodology
By taking the two important cities of Bamako and Segou in Mali as examples, the paper explored the essence of changes that characterize the process of modernization. Through the survey of historical and contemporary urban spaces, the study conducted comparative and linguistic studies, and an analysis of the regional development between the two cities. The linguistic study described spaces in relation to traditional communities through time and place and, through the classification and identification of words into categories and sub-categories, established the identification of city words. A comparison was carried out of regional development focused on residential and public spaces in relation to urban life. The main intention of this paper is not to discuss the principles of colonial urban planning, that has been done in a previous study by the author in the Japan City Planning Review (No: 37). Rather, the concern here is with the implication of the legacy of such planning in West African cities today.

1.3 Past studies
A number of studies have been conducted on African people within cities, and a growing number of them focus on how people respond to a given economical framework within West African cities. Studies on African cities include the work of Abdou Maliq Simon titled "Remaking Urban Life in Africa". Although...
in the Journal of the Architectural Institute of Japan, the research of Sakço. O focused on particularities of space and the activities of residents of the courtyard house of Bamako⁶, very little attention was paid to the complex transfer of authority from the colonial to post-colonial era. However, studies on decentralization have been numerous regarding Asian cities. As an example of this, the work of Maki. M focused on the process of slum settlement in Pakistan⁷. Studies dealing with the expansion of cities have occupied the center of debates in Bamako⁸. This paper tries to establish the essence of changes resulting from French colonial rule and their replacement by the set practices in current urban growth. The paper argues that rethinking urban planning in West Africa is necessary and requires critical understanding of top to bottom organization.

1.4 West African language system and cities

The cultural region known as Mande includes a wide range of linguistic and geographical spheres (Maurice Houis), (See Table 1.). Leading factors of Mande culture are represented by the myth of Mande creation. A determining factor of this trend includes the formation of cities through trade since the establishment of great West African empires. The development of cities on the basis of shared values characterizes the core culture of different ethnic groups through the cosmological order of space and its understanding. West African cities are constituted by space bearing meanings translated through proven and legends. Linguistic factors represent the primordial element of cultural identity of a place and the words used to indicate space are essential sources of communication. This process determines how the language criterion has played and continues to play a decisive role in the complex historical process of cities in West Africa.

Table 1. West African Languages Structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographical spheres</th>
<th>Mandinka</th>
<th>Jola</th>
<th>Wolof</th>
<th>Diola</th>
<th>Serer</th>
<th>Fulani</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Colonial Administration in Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French colonial administration structure</th>
<th>hierarchy</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Power</th>
<th>Remark</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>Minister of colony</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Top Legislative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>General governor</td>
<td>首都</td>
<td>Legislative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>Commandant</td>
<td>首都</td>
<td>Legislative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th</td>
<td>Trad chief</td>
<td>首都</td>
<td>Legislative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th</td>
<td>Village</td>
<td>首都</td>
<td>Legislative</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Colonial Administration in Africa

2.2 French communes in Africa

Introduction of the French commune occurred in Goree, Saint-Louis Dakar, and Rufisque (The French Law of 1884). Development of the communes experienced different degrees of change characterized by the process of their establishment, and had a determining effect on the core of civil society in West Africa, replacing the traditional social organization called "ton" in the Bambara language, (see Table 3.) and represent the nucleus of community in urban development.

Table 3. French Commune in Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>French commune</th>
<th>Factor of development</th>
<th>Mayor selection</th>
<th>Committee board</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>economy</td>
<td>social</td>
<td>term</td>
<td>restr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st degree</td>
<td>2nd degree</td>
<td>3rd degree</td>
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<td>1st degree</td>
<td>2nd degree</td>
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<td>2nd degree</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1st degree</td>
<td>2nd degree</td>
<td>3rd degree</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Changes of postcolonial cities

The transformation of post-colonial cities occurred through the modernizing trend of colonial practices. During this process the capital cities, that played a determining administrative and commercial role, served as the center of afflux for the population. As a result West Africa developed primary and secondary cities such as Bamako and Segou. The modernization of West African cities has witnessed a new epoch with the emergence of decentralization in terms of legislation and the contribution of communities.

2.4 Decentralization in the Rep of Mali

The logic of decentralization was backed by the views of international donors. In particular the World Bank, French government, the EU, USAID and the United Nations, as part of their action of supporting democracy in Africa, encouraged decentralization as an instrument of social development. The decentralization of Mali included three categories that are (1), the district, (2) the region and (3) the communes. In
this process the commune constitutes the nucleus of territorial development. Most important aspects of this process raise the question of how to create income and capacity building for the decentralized communities. Within the commune, this includes cooperation with NGOs and the program of matching cities. On the other hand, capacity building by internal forces includes the creation of the grouping of economic interests GIE (Groupement d’interêt économiques). Fundamentally the commune represents the basis of development for various aspects of urban life, (see Fig.1.).

![Fig.1. Schema of Commune](image)

### 2.5 Levels of decentralization in Mali

The need for decentralization occurred with the developmental phase of democracy in Africa. In Mali the law of December 1996 was related to the process of commune reform\(^1\), which resulted in the creation of 682 rural and 19 urban communes. Decentralization, which greatly affects urban spaces, reflects the following levels: (1) administrative level (laws and regulations), (2) modern civil society (the commune) and (3) traditional association (ton). It is argued that a combination of these three levels is essential for urban management and development.

### 3. Case Study of Bamako and Segou Cities

The study focused on Bamako and Segou is meant to shed light on the complex process of modernization in West Africa, with strong emphasis on language and communities. The city of Segou represents the nucleus of the Bambara ethnic group and its symbolic way of communication. The city of Bamako represents the modern character issuing from the colonial planning of space rooted in the new concept in French language.

#### 3.1 Urban evolution of Segou city

The city of Segou is significant in terms of West African history. It was the capital of the Bambara kingdom, which was one of the political organizations of the great West African empires before the colonial era. After the establishment of French colonial administration in 1891, progressive transformations occurred in the core of the city. Most important factor in this regard was the creation of the ON project (Office du Niger). The ON is an agro-industrial project designed by the colonial administration in 1932, the objectives of which included the irrigation of 960,000 ha of land for the cultivation of rice and cotton. The impact of this project was to increase the population of Segou to 800,000 people\(^1\). The ON production of rice and cotton was necessary to satisfy the growing need of the AOF region. With today’s modernization, Segou is characterized by the traditional model of social organization laid out through its means of communication and the strength of the spoken language.

#### 3.2 Urban evolution of Bamako city

The urban evolution of Bamako city, like most modern African cities, presents the dilemma of modernity and tradition. Leading factors of this trend are characterized by extension of the city through rapid urbanization. The essence of this modernization includes land use systems and planning modes determined by the "Lotissement", a system which was developed through words and concepts expressed in the French language. The subsequent effect of modernization greatly affected the mode of organization of social structures.

#### 3.3 Lotissement

The operation of lotissement permits the organization of a public domain for private use, and determines the legitimacy of land use. The organization of space includes different categories, (see Table 4.).

As a part of urban planning principles, progressive operation of lotissement has been held in all major cities of Mali including Bamako and Segou.

### 5. Linguistic Study of Bamako and Segou Cities

The study of urban linguistics focused on Bamako and Segou cities is an essential instrument for the
4. Comparative Study of Segou and Bamako City Forms

Segou City

1. Sebougou
2. Quadratif
3. Bananiabkoro
4. Sokalakono
5. Qemniel
6. Somono
7. Alaminsi
8. Bougoufle
9. Angoulme
10. Medine
11. Dar Salam
12. Garsalaye
13. Shypodrome
14. Missira
15. Darsalam
16. Sidoninkura
17. Zone industrielle
18. Pelegana

Bamako City

1. roxasumng
2. Djamaana
3. Djielbbuga
4. Korofina N
5. Bankoni
6. Sikoroni
7. Hippodrome
8. Korofina S
9. Bakarbuga
10. Z ind
11. Sans fil
12. Quinzambuga
13. Niorlerla
14. Bagadaji
15. Missira
16. Medina-kura
17. Beziola
18. Ex ville col
19. Q du fleuve
20. Bamako-kura
21. Dravela Bolibana
22. Bko-kura Bolibana
23. Wolofobugu
24. Wolofo bg bolibana
25. Niger River
26. Badiar 1
27. Badiar 2
28. Badiar 3
29. Niomirbuga
30. Dar Salam
31. Niomirbuga
32. Hamdallaye
33. Lafiabugba
34. Bako kikoroni
35. Sabaflbuga
36. Torokorobg
37. Q Maf
38. Badala
39. Daoudabugu
40. Sogonika
41. Nimakor
42. Faladie
43. Banankabuga
44. Sokoraji
45. Djineguela
46. Maganambuga

Fig.2. Colonial Segou City (Scale: 1:300km)

Fig.3. Post-colonial Segou City (Scale: 1:300km)

Fig.4. Colonial Bamako City

Fig.5. Central Bamako City (Scale: 1:300km)

Fig.6. Post-colonial Bamako City (Scale: 1:600km)

Fig.7. Behind the River Bamako (Scale: 1:400km)
5.1 Symbolic expression

The West African language system is rooted in the symbolic expression of words containing multi-dimensional meanings; words associated with space and their understandings have been inter-connected with life's continuity since ancient times. West African societies attached spiritual ties to their surrounding environment, including flora and fauna. The Bambara language, which constitutes the focus of this study, bears symbolic expressions associated with space and in this context words related to the natural environment in the cities of Segou and Bamako have more than literal meanings.

5.2 Bambara language in Bamako/Segou

The Bambara language emerged as a medium of communication through trade, while extension of the great West African empires and the dynamism of the language were favorable factors regarding its proliferation. The emergence of this language as a dominant urban language resulted from necessity rather than political imposition, and characterizes the evolution of historical cities in West Africa. This study focused on the cities of Bamako and Segou because both constituted the nucleus of changes that occurred in urban development in different eras. Today the two cities bear the characteristic of spontaneous growth of the Bambara language, due to its vital necessity to the communities.

5.3 Administrative/popular parlance of city word

The process of urbanization, which resulted from colonial practice, led to the urban stratification of Bamako and Segou, and their urban fabric is characterized by different socio-economic and cultural groups. Urban segregations were created through various boundaries (mostly through close ties with administrative authority) and those visible in the urban structure, are based on city language. These transformations, which are rooted in terminologies of space, affected the core of cities. French colonization introduced language regulating city spatial assessment, which contrasted with traditional concepts. City planning reflects the image of strongly centralized planning.

Table 7. Public Space of Bamako

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Public spaces</th>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Meaning/representation</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamako Vernacular P</td>
<td>admrtv</td>
<td>Functional</td>
<td>Symbolic</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dabamani</td>
<td>4 big gates</td>
<td>open space</td>
<td>circulation</td>
<td>trade/social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dibdibani</td>
<td>gate of Grill</td>
<td>market place</td>
<td>market place</td>
<td>trade/social</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Railaidji</td>
<td>gate of rail road</td>
<td>railroad</td>
<td>railroad/market</td>
<td>commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kubamana</td>
<td>New market</td>
<td>market place</td>
<td>commerce</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patina data culture</td>
<td>ANTIQUE</td>
<td>hall</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9. Typologies of Segou City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology of Residential architecture</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Symbolic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N Segou</td>
<td>Vernacular P</td>
<td>admrtv</td>
<td>urb. dom</td>
<td>Cal. P.</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Restive house</td>
<td>Bulon So</td>
<td>Old T. Hse</td>
<td></td>
<td>social</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Q. commercial</td>
<td>Skeo</td>
<td>commerce Q</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>economy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Q administratif</td>
<td>adrtv qrt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>authority</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 New Res. House</td>
<td>Toli-So</td>
<td>New Res</td>
<td></td>
<td>wealth</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Zone Industri</td>
<td>rd. Zone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Camp militaire</td>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>military cmp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Quarter villa</td>
<td>villa quarter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>success</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. Typologies of Bamako City

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Typology of Residential architecture</th>
<th>Types</th>
<th>Expression</th>
<th>Materials</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Symbolic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N Bamako</td>
<td>Vernacular P</td>
<td>admrtv</td>
<td>urb. dom</td>
<td>Cal. P.</td>
<td>H</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Old Res Hse</td>
<td>Bulon So</td>
<td>Old T. Hse</td>
<td></td>
<td>social</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Q. commercial</td>
<td>Dabamani</td>
<td>commerce Q</td>
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<td>3 Q administratif</td>
<td>adrtv qrt</td>
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<td>authority</td>
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<td>wealth</td>
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<td>5 Zone Industri</td>
<td>rd. Zone</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Camp militaire</td>
<td>Camp</td>
<td>military cmp</td>
<td></td>
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<td>power</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Quarter villa</td>
<td>villa quarter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>success</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Sptia qrt</td>
<td>somono bg</td>
<td>quatt</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>9 ACI</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Sema</td>
<td>Housing 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Logement social</td>
<td>Housing 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Legend: Sptns= spontaneous, Ind =industrial, Col=Colonial, Post-col=post-colonial
administration by means of laws and regulations, while the proliferation of new principles of space configuration created cumulative effects concerning the expression of space.

6. Interpretation of Comparative Studies

Comparative study focused on the forms of Segou and Bamako cities is an essential means to shedding light on the process of urban development through different dimensions. Major factors of this process include the zoning of urban spaces, and city extension through organic settlement.

6.1 The zoning of urban spaces

Exploration of the urban evolution of Segou and Bamako, clarified by means of spatial configuration, is dominated by the characteristics of colonial cities. The common practice of post-colonial urban growth rests on the organic settlement of popular tradition combined with modern planning principles (Lottissement). The development of Bamako city as a colonial capital led to the emergence of center (rich) and periphery (poor) along the main infrastructure of the railroad. Urban growth from the center to the periphery of Bamako covered an area of 21km by 18km, in which the long axis lay in a north/south direction perpendicular to the Niger river (see Fig. 4.). On the other hand urban growth from the center to the periphery of Segou covered an area of 29km by 9km in which the dominant axis runs parallel to the Niger river (see Fig. 3.). What characterizes this spatial assessment is an expression of symbiosis between the social structure and the natural environment in Segou than it appears in Bamako City (see Photos 5, 6.).

6.2 Administrative realms

Administrative areas constitute the center of post-colonial cities due to their functional meanings. The comparative study between Bamako and Segou city forms is meant to understand two divergent forces of urban growth. The first force is characterized by the concentration of economic infrastructure in the central administrative building in Bamako. The conversion of colonial buildings to administrative functions has resulted in the emergence of a centralized economic nucleus. The subsequent effect of this trend was characterized by the need for a progressive influx toward the center. On the other hand, the urban growth of Segou is multi-dimensional. The double-function assigned to colonial buildings, such as residential and working is a principal factor of this trend. In this process, secondary sectors such as commercial and artistic activities follow traditional patterns located away from these administrative areas. Urban growth is characterized by the quasi-distribution of activities within different areas of the city. The form of Segou includes an array of open spaces associated with the natural environment (see Fig. 3.).

6.3 Residential categories

Comparative study of the forms of Bamako and Segou, clarified the emergence of different types of architectural category. Through fieldwork involving examination of the contemporary urban spaces of Segou, we were able to identify three categories of residential type. They include (1) the traditional residential type of the early and late colonial era (vestibule house), (2) the administrative quarter (neo-Sudanese style) and (3) the residential villa type. On the other hand we could identify seven categories of architectural type in Bamako. These include (1) the traditional residential type of the early colonial era (vestibule house), (2) the traditional residential type of the late colonial era (corrugated iron), (3) the villa type, (4) the commercial and administrative quarter, (5) the Sudanese style, (6) the industrial and (7) the "spontaneous quarters". Each of these residential categories reflects a specific product of the trend towards modernization of the city. Rapid urbanization and ill-equipped modernization affect the spatial organization of Bamako and Segou differently. As a result, segregation between the downtown area and the periphery occurred in Bamako. The progressive conflict of urban space and rampant land speculation are principal manifestations of this trend. Deterioration of the physical environment of cities characterizes urban spaces. On the other hand, the spatial organization of Segou city reflects the patterns of social structure. The characteristics of these patterns are expressed through the association of old and new architectural forms (see photo 2.). Problems central to communities were those such as environmental degradation, and the polemical problem of spontaneous settlement. A comparative study between the forms of Segou and Bamako, clarified the existence of zonings; new categories such as the spontaneous quarter that represent a source of problems.
conflict between traditional society and the planning authority in Bamako (see photo 1). The process of formation and definition of these categories results from the lack of a communication system between popular tradition and the planning authority; (tradition and modernity), (see Tables 7. and 8.).

7. Classification of City Words
The words used to describe neighborhoods and public spaces can be classified in categories in order to identify their meanings for people who created them. Words related to flora, fauna, water and ethnic group dominate the names of neighborhoods and constitute significant factors of mental morphology. The linguistic study carried out classification of words into categories and sub-categories. Through this process, words related to primary elements of the cosmological world constitute the prefix of city words and are noted; A, B, C, and D (see legend 1). Sub-categories representing the suffix of city words bear historical notions regarding the understanding of space, and are constituted by dualistic expressions such as old/new, big/small, white/black etc (see legend 2). Through this classification the study identified the grouping of city words in relation to space and time.

7.1 Concepts of settlement in West Africa
The act of clearing an area to establish a place is expressed by the word "dugu" in the Bambara language. The common terminology associated with settlement is the word "bugu", which describes the temporary shelter of the nomadic Fulbe ethnic group. The words "bugu" and "dugu" became colloquialized within West African settlements, while expressions of space are borrowed words from these fundamental concepts of settlement. They constitute cosmological concepts shared by different ethnic groups in their spoken languages. The expression around the suffix "dugu" and "bugu" is an expression of the gathering of different localities in a federal system (Cafo), which enclosed most West African pre-colonial cities. Today these terminologies have experienced a change of meaning through the context of modernization (see Figs.5., 6.).

7.2 City words in the Bambara language
The expression of neighborhood names in the cities of Bamako and Segou presents similarities and differences which are full of meaning in the structure of the Bambara language. These similarities, found in categories Aa, Ba, Da, BC, and D characterize Bamako and Segou, while differences occurred through the existence of Aa and Cb in Bamako. On the other hand the existence of Cc, and A categories characterize the city words of Segou (see Table 6.). Expressions of public spaces and typologies of architecture are characterized by the absence or difference of connotations between vernacular and administrative words (see Fig.7.). This is an essential factor in understanding to what extend the urban language contradicts the popular tradition.

7.3 City words in the Arabic language
Expressions of city words in the Arabic language are of common concerns, and are focused on hope, as asserted in Islamic religious thought (category D). The emergence of similar words characterized Bamako and Segou cities in the colonial era (see Fig.6.).

7.4 City words in the French language
City words expressed in the French language include three principal trends. The first trend is characterized by means of modernity inflicted on space during and after the colonial era. The second trend, which combines Bambara with French, expressed social status of the time, while the third developed through adaptation of technical words related to principles of planning, with very little referential meaning.

7.5 Analysis of city words
The classification of city words in Bamako and Segou appears as a significant instrument in the understanding of the socio-cultural concerns embedded in urban spaces. Through their literal meaning the words used for neighborhoods can be classified into five principal groups. The first group constituted by ancient words in the Bambara language have lost their original meaning, but their etymological order is a significant means of mental morphology. Expressions of this kind include "Niarelal" and "Jikornal" in Bamako, and "Somono" and "Banasisabakoro" in Segou. The second group is characterized by expressions related to new situations that are translated into city words in the Bambara and Arabic languages. They include the category Cb and Bd. The third group of words bear expressions of social status in Bambara and French or a mix of the two. Examples of this kind occurred in category Da. The fourth group of city words is characterized by concerns of thankfulness and acknowledgment in the Bambara and French languages. Of this kind is the city word "Angouleme" which appears in the context of matching between Segou and Angouleme in France. The fifth group of words is characterized by concepts of administrative terminology through the operation of "Lotissement". Most of these words, which regulate the assessment of space, have been very little integrated into the core of traditional society. This linguistic study is a means of clarifying the colonization and decolonization of urban space, from the colonial to post-colonial eras in both cities.

8. Urban Regeneration of Segou and Bamako
The challenge of planning is partly about finding ways to work with, and to involve communities and in the development of city planning this is a common practice realized through collaboration between planners and people who use the space. With decentralization, an ideal method of urban reconstitution could be collaborative action with the communities. Many developed countries have
a planning aid service for the purpose of easing the involvement of non-professionals in the planning process. In the case of most African countries and especially in Mali, master plan schemes of the SDU have been discredited due to their tendency to fail. In order to reach a successful achievement in city planning special attention should be paid to the strategies of empowerment of the communities.

8.1 Grouping of economic interests (GIE)

The decentralization that was part of the developmental strategy of urban planning created groups of economic interest. In Mali these associations bring together unemployed youth to deliver services in the city center; their service includes a clean environment, water supply etc. In Bamako city, where urban space is facing a progressive crisis these associations resulted in total failure. Likewise the master plan, the reason behind this failure, results from a lack of adequate communication between planning specialists and the popular tradition within the core of the cities.

8.2 Learning from the popular tradition

A rethinking of planning should entail a rethinking of skills, attitudes, and knowledge. This new planning development places strong emphasis on communication and networking however, these have occupied very little space in the process of planning in Africa. The establishment of communication between popular traditions and planners is needed, however, it is important that communication be rooted in existing cultures and ways of thinking. The dynamism of popular culture decipherable in urban spaces can play an important part in mediating its consequences for economic and human development in positive ways.

8.3 Cosmological expression of city words

Thoughts of West African cosmology are based on metaphors of animals and trees of the region. These elements of the natural world bear particular sacred attributes such as the tree of life in the Islamic Sufi tradition in Tuba. Cities are the sphere of the manifestation of cosmological thought. As uncovered by our study, the prefixes and suffixes of city words are expressive of the fauna and flora of the savannah. In this process the description and understanding of space adhere to the cosmological expression that constituted factors of cohesion between the people of different ethnic groups and regions etc. The city of Segou is characterized by spiritual unity represented by the myth of Mande through its expression by 4,445 Balazans (Acacia Albida). This constitutes an essential factor for community strength on the basis of symbolism and commitment to social rule. The linguistic study of city words makes clear the existence of the cosmologic expression of city names in Bambara, Segou and Bamako. These cosmological expressions are full of meaning with regard to community action, and should therefore be given special attention if planning and development are to be based on endogenous soul and a sense of place making.

9. Conclusion

A comparative study between Segou and Bamako cities is clarified in 1) continuity of planning principles from the colonial to post-colonial eras, 2) the transport of urban models from Bamako to Segou, 3) the common expression of endogenous spatial configuration rooted in cosmology and 4) the rupture of communication between urban space and popular tradition. The essence of these practices was rooted in policies that support the function of the colonial city as an engine of economic growth. This mechanism is characterized by organization by means of "Lottissement" and its related concepts (see Table 4.). While urban planning appears as an idea of the twentieth century, its essence and development in the age of colonialism embedded principles that are alien and inappropriate in the context of today's Africa. The dynamism of traditional settlements emerged as the essence of traditional social structure translated through cosmological orders of space creation and its description in both Bamako and Segou. The linguistic study shed valuable light on how planning principles present discordance with popular practices. All these together create marginalized societies within cities. However, urban governance must accept challenge in order to develop a new relationship between the state and civil society.

Notes

1. The myth of Mande creation was described as a common tradition to different ethnic groups and people in Mali. This myth of creation is an essential force in validating the cohesion of mutual relations, which exist until today. Of this kind is the myth of cosmological representation of Segou by the 4444-1 Balazans (Acacia Albida). Although something similar is found in Tuba.
6. The study includes the problems of Bamako city expansion, which was at the center of a debate at a workshop held in Bamako in Feb 2005.
7. Laws and regulations concerning city planning in the Rep. of Mali result from Ministerial decrees. The SDU (Schema Directeur de Urbanisme) is the principal instrument of state planning authority. It was first elaborated in 1979 and rectified by the decree of 111/PCRN.
8. The population of Segou city was estimated to be 88,135 in 1987 and 90,898 in 1998. The Population of Bamako has seen progressive growth from independence to today. Variations in the population were described by the SDU as follows: 1987 (682,781), 1994 (1,054,078), 2000 (1,529,405), 2010 (2,844,060). It is important to note that this table of estimation of population growth knew a failure in 2005.

References

10) CARPOL de Bamako 2000 (Maps and documents).