

**BENIN ON THE AXIS OF THE LAW OF THE PRIMATE
CITY: THE CASE OF COTONOU**

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ESKİŐEHİR OSMANGAZİ UNIVERSITY

DIRECTORATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

This study titled ‘Benin on the axis of the Law of the primate city: The Case of Cotonou’ prepared by Abdel Bais Soumanou is found to be successful after the defence exam conducted on the 22th of June 2021 in accordance with the related article of the Graduate Education and Training Regulation of Eskiőehir Osmangazi University Institute of Social Sciences. The thesis has accordingly been accepted by the under listed Jury members and the Department of Political Science and Public Administration as Thesis.

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Abdel Bais SOUMANOU

ABSTRACT

BENIN ON THE AXIS OF THE LAW OF THE PRIMATE CITY: THE CASE OF COTONOU

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Master Degree-2021

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Jefferson's "law of the primate city" states that the principal city of a country is always disproportionate in population and exceptionally representative of national capacity and feeling. This thesis examines the extent to which Cotonou, the economic capital of Benin, is fully in line with Jefferson's "law". Some site and situation factors were highlighted to show how Cotonou has become the most populous city and dominant economic city in Benin. Considering that Cotonou is disproportionately large and has a significant share of the country's economic capacity, it is clear that today there is some uncertainty as to whether Cotonou is truly representative of national feeling. In order to clarify this issue, an explanation of the cultural landscape, a literature review and interviews with Beninese residents are conducted to assess the extent to which Cotonou represents national feeling. Furthermore, it is noted that as Benin modernises, Cotonou will continue to attract more people from other parts of Benin and may therefore become more representative of the country's cultural identity.

Key words: City, Primate City, Urban Primacy, Urbanisation, Benin, Cotonou.

ÖZET

TEK BÜYÜK KENT KURAMI EKSENİNDE BENİN: COTONOU ÖRNEĞİ

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Jefferson'un "Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı", bir ülkenin ana kentinin nüfus açısından daima oransız olduğunu; ulusal kapasitenin ve duygunun istisnai bir şekilde temsilcisi olduğunu belirtir. Benin, gelişmekte olan bir ülke olarak konumlanmaktadır. Bu bağlamda tezin amacı Benin'de kentsel öncelik olgusunun saptanmasıdır. Böylece, bu tez Jefferson'un görüşü bağlamında Cotonou kentini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Cotonou'nun Benin'deki en kalabalık ve en önde gelen ekonomiye sahip şehir haline nasıl geldiğini göstermek için, Cotonou'nun konumu ve tarihsel-coğrafi durumu ile ilgili bazı faktörler vurgulanmıştır. Cotonou'nun oransız derecede büyük olduğu ve ülkenin ekonomik kapasitesinin önemli bir bölümünü temsil ettiği göz önünde tutulsa da, Cotonou'nun gerçekten ulusal duyguları temsil edip etmediği konusunda bazı belirsizlikler olduğu açıktır. Bu belirsizlikleri netleştirmek ve böylece Cotonou'nun ulusal duyguyu ne ölçüde temsil ettiğini değerlendirmek için; ülkenin kültürel peyzajının bir açıklaması, bir literatür taraması ve Benin sakinleriyle mülakat yapılmıştır. Benin modernleşmeye devam ettikçe ve Cotonou Benin'in diğer bölgelerinden daha fazla insanı çekmeye devam ettikçe, Cotonou sonunda ülkenin kültürel kimliğini daha fazla temsil edebilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Kent, Tek Büyük Kent, Kentsel Öncelik, Kentleşme, Benin, Cotonou.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	v
ÖZET.....	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF PICTURES	xi
LIST OF GRAPHS.....	xii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	xiii
INTRODUCTION.....	1

CHAPTER ONE THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

1.1. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPT	6
1.1.1. City	6
1.1.2. Primate City and Urban Primacy.....	9
1.1.3. Primate City or Urban Primacy according to some post-Jefferson authors.....	12
1.1.4. Urbanization	13
1.1.5. The Law of the Primate City	14
1.1.6. Exception of the Law	17
1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW.....	18
1.2.1. Urban Theory and Non-Western Primate Cities	19
1.2.2. Concept of Dependent Urbanisation.....	19
1.2.3. The orientation of urbanisation towards large cities in developing countries.....	21
1.2.4. Distributions According to the Size of the City	21
1.2.5. Approach According to Which Primate Cities are Parasitic or	

Generator	22
1.2.6. Approach to Over-urbanization.....	24
1.2.7. Urban Origins and Evolution	25
1.2.7.1. Colonial Status and Colonial Rulers.....	27

CHAPTER TWO
GENERAL PRESENTATION OF BENIN AND COTONOU CITY

2.1. HISTORY AND PRESENTATION OF BENIN.....	30
2.1.1. History of Benin	30
2.1.1.1. Colonial Period	31
2.1.1.2. After Independence.....	31
2.1.2. Presentation of Benin	32
2.1.2.1. Geography	32
2.1.2.2. Population.....	33
2.1.2.3. Economy.....	33
2.1.3. Political System, Institutional and Administrative Organization of Benin.....	35
2.1.4. Decentralization in Benin.....	37
2.1.5. West African Urbanization Movements.....	40
2.1.5.1. Pre-colonial Period	40
2.1.5.2. Colonial Period.....	41
2.1.5.3. The Period of Independence till Today	42
2.1.6. Assessment of Urban Systems in West Africa.....	44
2.1.7. Urbanization in Benin	44
2.1.7.1. National Urban Context and Development of Beninese Cities.....	46
2.2. HISTORY AND PRESENTATION OF THE CITY OF COTONOU	48
2.2.1. History of the city of Cotonou.....	48
2.2.2. Presentation of the City of Cotonou	48
2.2.2.1. Population and Demographic Evolution in Cotonou.....	49

2.2.2.2. Economic Activities in Cotonou.....	50
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CHAPTER THREE
COTONOU CITY AND THE LAW OF THE PRIMATE CITY

3.1. THE ELEMENTS OF A PRIMATE CITY AND THE CASE OF COTONOU.....	52
3.1.1. Areal Extent of the Country	53
3.1.2. Relative Degree of a Country's Affluence	53
3.1.3. The Economy's Dependence on Exports	54
3.1.4. Ex-colonial Status.....	55
3.1.5. Proportion of the Population Engaged in Agriculture.....	55
3.1.6. The Rate of Population Growth.....	56
3.2. SITE, SITUATION AND EVOLUTION OF COTONOU	57
3.3. COTONOU AND "NATIONAL FEELING".....	62
3.4. ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTY-SIX INTERVIEWS	68
3.5. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA	86
CONCLUSION	88
GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET.....	90
REFERENCES.....	98

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: The departments and heads-places of the departments of Benin.....	38
Table 2: Structuring of the decentralized state in Benin.....	39
Table 3: Urban growth in Benin.....	45
Table 4: Trend in the evolution of the urban population from 1979-2013.....	44
Table 5: Evolution of the population of the main cities of Benin from 1979 to 2013.....	46
Table 6: Classification of the population of the first three major cities of Benin.....	52
Table 7: Population of the two cities at different dates.....	60
Table 8: Classification of the characteristics of the interviewees.....	69
Table 9: Summary of data collected from the interviews.....	73

LIST OF PICTURES

Picture 1: Geographical location of Benin in Africa.....	33
Picture 2: Map of the Republic of Benin.....	35
Picture 3: Place of Red Star and Monument in Cotonou, Square and monument of the revolution in Cotonou.....	63
Picture 4: Memorial Square (former place of the Martyrs) in Cotonou.....	64
Picture 5: CICA Toyota roundabout from Vedoko in Cotonou.....	64
Picture 6: Republic, Reconciliation and Peace Square.....	65
Picture 7: Old building where King Béhanzin stayed.....	65
Picture 8: Cotonou prefecture building with Afro-Brazilian architecture style.....	66
Picture 9: Zangbeto Kpakliyaou World Headquarters: Toïgbé Convent of Cotonou.....	66
Picture 10: Dantokpa Market.....	67

LIST OF GRAPHS

Graph 1: Distribution of interviewees according to age.....	70
Graph 2: Distribution of interviewees according to gender.....	70
Graph 3: Distribution of interviewees according to their function.....	71
Graph 4: Distribution of interviewees according to city or region.....	72

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INTRODUCTION

Most countries in the world have a city that dominates in terms of population and acts as the political, economic and cultural centre of its realm. Geographers call such an entity a "primate city"; a concept that was first introduced by Mark Jefferson in 1939. Jefferson established a law of the primate city to explain the pattern of city size distribution in a country. According to the law, "the principal city of a country is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of its national capacity and feeling" (Jefferson, 1939: 232). In the mid-twentieth century, the primate city and the concept of city size distribution were examined with varying results in different countries and political and regional units (Berry, 1961; Reed 1972). As evidenced by numerous studies on almost every continent of the world, there has been a revival of interest in these concepts in recent years. In some parts of the world, the phenomenon of urban primacy is found to be much more observed. This is the case, for example, of London, Paris, Buenos Aires and Cairo, which are primate cities in their respective countries (Dzik, 2018: 4). These cities not only represent capitals around which the political, economic and cultural life of their countries revolves, but they are also monuments of the nation's history. However, in other countries, the phenomenon of primacy is somewhat obscure. Several studies have shown that Cotonou is the main city (INSAE, 2013) and the economic capital of Benin. Given the multiple opportunities that this city offers, Cotonou is constantly welcoming new inhabitants. Thus, based on the literature on primate cities and the realities of Benin, questions may arise as to whether a disproportionate city is always still a true primate city in the context of Jefferson's law.

The Research Problem

Since the creation of the first cities, urbanisation movements have continued and have progressively reached the whole world. Urbanisation has been one of the most significant developments in Third World countries since the second half of the 20th century. From the 1950s, the number of urban areas in West Africa increased from 152 to 2,000. In West Africa, the total population was 312.2 million according to the 2011 census of which 140.1 million or (44.9%) of this population lived in cities

and 172.1 million or (55.1%) lived in rural areas. But it had been noted that in 2020, the urban population of the West African sub-region would number 196 million (UN habitat, 2014). In 2019, the urban population of West Africa was already estimated at almost 191,841,724 people or 47.7% (World meters, 2020). In Benin, the urbanisation rate jumped from 10% in 1960 to 36% in 1992. According to national studies of Benin's long-term prospects (UNDP, 2000), this rate could rise to 65% in 2025 (Gnéle, 2010). In 2018, the urbanisation rate in Benin was already 47.31% (Atlasocio, 2021). Most of the urban population is concentrated in two cities: Cotonou and Porto-Novo. Cotonou is the economic capital and Porto-Novo the administrative and political capital. In 1961, 68% of the urban population lived in the two cities; in 1979 and 1992, they still contained 51% and 40.5% of the country's urban population respectively. However, since the end of the 1950s, Cotonou has received more candidates for rural exodus than Porto-Novo. Through a cumulative process of acquiring new tasks supported by a polarisation of urban public investments, Cotonou rose to the top of the urban framework and ended up becoming the metropolis of Benin by appropriating the urban functions of economic, political and administrative command (Sébastien, 1999: 90). Unlike many nations where the relationship between administrative and economic capitals is expressed in terms of the demographic and economic supremacy of one or the other city, Cotonou arrogates the administrative and political command function traditionally assigned to the capital of a country, in addition to these characteristics (Sébastien, 1999: 90). According to the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Analysis (INSAE) of Benin, the population of Benin was 10,008,749 in 2013. Cotonou was the largest city in Benin with a population of 679,012. Abomey-Calavi had 655,965 inhabitants. However, it should be noted that this high population of Abomey-Calavi was largely caused by Cotonou, since thirty years ago Abomey-Calavi was only a village. Given the proximity between these two cities and especially given the lack of space in Cotonou, migrants who came to Cotonou for opportunities were obliged to settle in Abomey-Calavi while carrying out their various activities in Cotonou. Abomey-Calavi, though administratively autonomous, had close relations with Cotonou. It hosted a large part of Cotonou's population. For this reason, Abomey-Calavi was seen as Cotonou's satellite city or often referred to as a dormitory town. Considering Abomey-Calavi as a satellite city of Cotonou, the urban area of Cotonou could still be estimated at more than 1,200,000 inhabitants. Porto-Novo, which in this case became the second largest city in Benin, had 264,320 inhabitants compared to

255,478 for Parakou, the third largest city in Benin (INSAE, 2013). Yet, in his seminal work, Jefferson argues that the primate city attracts its inhabitants from all parts of the country and thus expresses the national disposition more fully than any other colonised region (Martin, 1961). This seems to be the case today for most primate cities (Reed 1972; Crampton 2005). It would seem that Cotonou may partly fit Jefferson's 'national capacity' if it is based on economic dominance and the influx of migrants from all over Benin. But the real questions that arise are:

Does Cotonou reflect a feeling?

Is Cotonou the real Benin?

In other words, does Cotonou meet all the criteria for primacy?

Research Objectives

General objective

The aim of this study is to examine the city of Cotonou in the context of Jefferson's original opinion.

From this general objective, the specific objectives follow.

Specific objectives

- **Specific objective 1**

Detecting the phenomenon of urban primacy in the Republic of Benin.

- **Specific objective 2**

Determine the advantages and disadvantages of urban primacy based on the case study of Benin and Cotonou.

Research Methodology

For this study, the qualitative method was adopted. This method allowed us to collect primary and secondary data. First, a theoretical framework was established by analysing what had been written about primate cities. Secondly, an extensive literature review on the geographical environment, history and culture of Benin and especially of the city of Cotonou was carried out in order to show on the one hand how the city

of Cotonou has developed in contrast to other cities in Benin, and on the other hand, to determine whether or not Cotonou is considered to represent the culture of Benin today. In order to acquire broad knowledge, to organise field research and especially to integrate theory and literature review on the geographical environment, history and culture of Benin and the city of Cotonou, a correspondence with a small number of inhabitants of several towns and villages in Benin was conducted. Indeed, given the current health situation related to Covid 19 and the fact that this study is being conducted outside Benin, for the collection of some primary data, semi-structured online interviews (twenty-six inhabitants of different cities in Benin, generally lasting from fifteen to twenty minutes) were organised so that respondents could give their perceptions of Cotonou's geography, history and cultural attitudes. In some cases, these Beninese inhabitants were interviewed by email and in other cases, the interviews were conducted via social networks (WhatsApp, Facebook). Thus, three approaches were used not only to deepen the question of whether Cotonou reflects Beninese culture but also to assess whether Cotonou actually represents the historical, economic and political centres of Benin. The first method consisted of "reading" the cultural landscape by analysing the cultural indices and landmarks of the city of Cotonou. Secondly, several theses and scientific articles dealing with the cultural aspects of the city of Cotonou today were consulted. Thirdly, the results of the twenty-six online interviews were analysed using NVivo software. This is how it began of the formulation of a descriptive analysis of the Cotonou city's condition of primacy.

Limitations of the Study

Various obstacles were encountered in the conduct of this study. Without affecting the validity of the results, this study suffers from three main limitations. Firstly, it should be mentioned that this type of study we are carrying out is usually carried out in countries where industrial capitalism has developed. Urban phenomena and urbanisation in the former socialist bloc and Third World countries have been the subject of scientific publications for a very short time. It should be noted, however, that this is mainly descriptive work rather than theoretical and analytical work. This explains the great lack of literature on this study in Third World countries and particularly in Benin. This situation has made it difficult for us to carry out our various analyses. The second limitation of this study concerns the current health situation

related to Covid 19 and the fact that this study is conducted outside Benin. This could explain the small size of our sample. For the collection of some primary data, semi-structured online interviews were conducted so that respondents could give their perceptions of the geography, history and cultural attitudes of Cotonou. Unfortunately, most of the respondents did not keep their promise due to some difficulties encountered in Benin. Some respondents were faced with the problem of lack of computers and smartphones. Those who did have these tools were confronted with internet problems. The third limitation relates to the available demographic data. It was noted that the official or updated demographic data was from 2013. The recent data that did exist was unofficial and remained just estimates. This situation also prevented us from making rigorous analyses over time.

Content of the Study

In order to achieve the research objectives, this thesis is structured in three chapters. The first chapter is devoted to the theoretical and conceptual framework and the literature review on primate cities. The second chapter briefly describes Benin and presents the city of Cotonou from its birth, its development to its current status. The third chapter presents the different analyses. At this level, the current role of Cotonou in Benin's national capacity and sentiment has been addressed through some interviews with some Beninese residents in order to determine to what extent Cotonou could be the primate city of Benin. Furthermore, it should be noted that the condition of primacy in this thesis revolves around three elements: an excessively large population compared to other cities in the country; economic predominance and the symbol of national cultural identity.

CHAPTER ONE

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the semantic content of some fundamental concepts, the literature review and some theories about primate cities.

1.1. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPT

1.1.1. City

Considering the parameters borrowed by this study, it is important to have a global understanding of the concept of city. The question “What is a city?” has remained for several years without a precise definition. Thus, the concept of city has had different definitions throughout history. It is noted that each state provides a definition of the concept of city for the use of its own legal and practical purposes. Thus these definitions of the concept of city differ from each other because each definition depends on certain criteria in each country. These criteria can take into account the size, population density and economic situation of a country. The first definition of the sociological city was included in “L'Origine et la fonction économique des villes” by Maunier in 1910. According to Maunier, the city is divided into heterogeneous groups such as families, professions, social classes, sects, etc. For Maunier, the definition of the city can be made according to its morphological, functional and mixed characteristics (Maunier, 1910). The concept of the city includes all the dimensions that surround and influence the urban person. In addition, it has a quality that should be widely recognized. Because people live their lives on a certain piece of land, this piece of space is called “city” or “village”, and the concepts of city and village cannot always be separated by precise lines (Keleş, 2002: 89). Although it is necessary to clarify the terms when trying to explain the basic differences between these two units of space, it is not enough to explain the differences only as an overpopulated colony, to indicate a new economic organization and a changed physical environment; because the city is also used to express a different social order which also affects human behaviour and thoughts (Kavruk, 2002: 65). Thus, the concept of

the city has an understanding beyond being a physical definition of space and population. At the same time, since it refers to the process of deeply rooted structures, studies and research on the city are carried out by many different disciplines. For this reason, the city is a multidimensional and imprecise field of study and trying to explain the concept of the city with a single definition is quite difficult as the city is a multidimensional element and changes from society to society at different periods of time. When the definitions are combined, it appears that the city is a place where non-agricultural production is carried out, control functions are collected and that it has reached certain levels of size, heterogeneity and integration (Hayta, 2016: 166).

To better understand what the city is, it is important to examine this concept within the framework of the paradigms of social theory. During the 19th century, Marx viewed the city as part of the process of social change from a realistic point of view. For Marx, the city is the space where social struggles can lead to the liberation of the poorest; it allows for emancipation “from the stupidity of rural life”. Adem also suggests that according to Marx, the city is an object related to the process of capitalism, which helps capitalism to develop (Adem, 2014: 1-2). In his first chapter entitled “The Nature of the City” of his book “The City”, Weber presents the history of how the concept of the city has evolved over time. Weber argues that there are several definitions of the city, but that in truth all these definitions have only one element in common. The city is “a collection of one or more separate dwellings which are located in a closed colony” (Weber, [1921] 1958: 65).

Weber also defines the city as a colony where economically the inhabitants live on trade and commerce rather than on agriculture. For this reason he proposes that in the presence of a feudal estate or a market where a regular exchange of goods can take place, the “economic versatility of the trades practised” (Weber, [1921] 1958: 66) should be considered important. The Chicago School based on an ecological or positivist approach sees the city as an ecosystem, claiming that the individual is part of this ecosystem ([Park, 1925; McKenzie, 1925; Wirth, 1938]; Adem, 2014: 2-3). A remarkable view of ecological theory is that it sees the city as an ecosystem and states that individuals should follow this ecosystem and find a place for themselves in it. For this school, the living are in constant competition within this framework, and because of this competition, the strong remain afloat and continue to belong to the ecosystem, while the weak remain outside this environment. Grafmeyer and Joseph give some

definitions of the city according to some researchers from the Chicago school. In 1925 in his article “The city: research proposals on human behaviour in an urban environment”, Robert Park, the founder of the Chicago school defines the city as “something more than an agglomeration of individuals and collective facilities. The city is rather a state of mind, a collection of customs and traditions, attitudes and organized feelings, inherent in these customs and transmitted with these traditions. In other words, the city is not simply a material mechanism and an artificial construction, it is involved in the vital processes of people who compose it: it is a product of nature and, in particular, of human nature” (Park, 1925 cited by Grafmeyer and Joseph, 1984). These authors also show that in 1938, from a sociological perspective, Louis Wirth defined the city “as a relatively important, dense and permanent establishment of socially heterogeneous individuals” (Wirth, 1938 cited by Grafmeyer and Joseph, 1984). On the other hand, as for the neo-Marxist approach of which the pioneers were Manuel Castells, Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey, Adem notes that this approach read the city through the dialectic according to the Marxist vision and realizes this vision in the economic and political context (Adem, 2014: 3). The main tendency of this approach concerns production (capitalism), as in Marx and Engels, and the reflection of this production on space and on classes. Capitalism transcends the crises it goes through by reproducing and occupying space. In fact, for capitalism, urban space is a bought and sold commodity. This approach states that local problems can be explained in the context of macroeconomic effects. The urban approach developed in the process of postmodernism seeing the city as a “collage” reveals that there are structures of different cultures in the city. In this context, this approach emphasizes that within the framework of all cities, not all areas of the city can be viewed from the same point of view. According to this approach, there will be several methods in approaching the city, hence the concept of relativism is needed (Harvey, 1989).

All these clarifications of the concept of the city lead us to draw one conclusion: all the paradigms and the different disciplines approach the city in different ways. For this reason, it must be said that it would be very difficult to talk about a common definition of the city.

1.1.2. Primate City and Urban Primacy

The concepts of primate city and urban primacy were first introduced by geographer Mark Jefferson in 1939. These two closely related concepts are rooted in theoretical approaches to urbanization in geography and in the sociology of human ecology that relate to “central places” and “urban systems” (Timberlake, 2019: 1). As Jefferson pointed out, the concept of primacy had long been recognized by another name, a name widely used at the time of his writing (Meyer, 2019: 131). “Outside of America,” as Jefferson put it, “capital” means the same as “primate city” (Jefferson, 1939: 227). He thus noted in this regard that his “law of the primate city” could just as well have been called “The law of capitals”. Jefferson therefore explained that in American usage the word "capital" simply referred to a seat of government, which may or may not be a dominant metropolis within its political unit. Indeed, for the sake of better understanding his general law that he had discovered and to avoid any sort of ambivalence, Jefferson had preferred to introduce a familiar name. He then replaces the word “capital” by “primate city”. Since Jefferson recognized that the phenomenon he called the primacy was already recognized under other names, to better understand the good sense of the concept of primate city, it would be important to recall some clarifications on the concept of primacy given by the pre-Jefferson authors according to the different concepts or names used by them. For Thomlinson, Alexandre Le Maître (1682) in his work “La Métropolitée” pleaded in favour of a national centre whose geographical, political, economic, demographic and cultural predominance was ahead of “the primate city” of Jefferson (Thomlinson, 1976: 566). To designate this centre in his work, Le Maître used the terms “capital city” and “metropolitan city”. At the beginning of the American Cloud, the term “capital” meant not only the centre in which the government resided but also defined itself as a single city dominating all its political unit. According to Jefferson, the term “capital” in other languages has two uses. One of them is the seat of government of a country and the other is a manner comparable to a “primate city” (Topalov et al., 2010). In 1828, Noah Webster defined “capital city” as “the metropolis or chief city of an empire, kingdom, state, or province” (Webster [1828] 1973: 1). For the geographer William Darby, a simple seat of government which is not provided with all its functions could not be considered as a true “capital” (Darby, 1828: 535- 611). We dare to understand from Darby's assertion

that a real capital is a real seat of government which is not only provided with all its attributes, but also which is dominant. At the beginning of the 20th century, a comprehensive dictionary of American English defined the “capital” as “[t]he city or town which is the official seat of government in a country, state, or province, or of justice in a county” (Whitney & Smith, 1911: 804). Based on these different definitions of the term “capital” used by some pre-Jefferson authors to deal with the phenomenon of primacy, we can agree with Jefferson who thought that another term or concept was indeed necessary to convey its significance to readers in the United States and around the world.

Jefferson introduced the concept of primate city and urban primacy to show the pre-eminence of large cities in a country. The primate city is most often defined as the most populous city in a country, the largest in a territorially circumscribed group of cities. In other words, a primate city is a disproportionately large city in terms of population size compared to other cities contained within a given demarcated geographic area, such as a region or nation (Timberlake, 2019: 1). It is a city to which ambitious people flock and natives can never imagine leaving (Lyman, 1992: 24). Jefferson (1939) defined urban primacy as the ratio of the population of the largest city to that of the second largest city or the second and third largest city. He also defined it as a city of great importance and a very high superiority over other cities of a nation (Rennie and Mauricio, 2009: 1246). He used this notion to explain the phenomenon of large cities, which not only attract most of the population but also where the country's economic activity is concentrated. The primate cities are characterized by “the presence of the finest goods, the rarest items, the greatest talents, the most famous men, the most skilled workers of every science and art. Fame and fortune are found in these cities. They are always to be found there many young people in search of fame, opportunity and fortune” (Jefferson, 1939: 226-227). They are also the best markets for all exceptional products. In other words, factors such as the economic success and efficiency of a single large city, the ease of providing skilled labour and technical personnel and the lack of capital are the main factors that justify the formation of a primate city. The economic advantages and the benefits of collection in certain centres, ready infrastructure, services provided by banking and management institutions, large local markets and cheap labour, culture, education, health and entertainment services are among the main factors that develop a primate city. Despite the fact that many

economic benefits can be obtained in countries where this rule is valid, many social problems are encountered, although there is an interregional imbalance (Keleş, 2020: 139-140). In short, primate cities represent the high points of national life. Jefferson therefore argued that primate cities play an important generative role in national development. Referring to Jefferson's meaning, urban primacy has been viewed as a permanent condition that develops regardless of high displacement rates of population growth or the temporary blossoming of secondary urban centres (Reed, 1972: 288).

However, it should be noted that even after Jefferson introduced the concept of the primate city, some post-Jefferson writers criticized the concept. Others hated the concept of Jefferson and preferred the use of other names to deal with the phenomenon of primacy. Cybriwsky criticized the concept of “primate city” used by Jefferson. It shows that in correct English, the adjective “primate” is not synonymous with “primary or first rank” but rather refers to a zoological classification (Cybriwsky, 1998: 234). As for the Oxford English Dictionary, the meanings of the term “primate” in the sense of the natural sciences referred to “social rank” (Meyer, 2019: 143). The economist Kenneth Boulding used the term “capital city” to denote “the largest city in the country”, one that “dominates the life of the country, acting as a centralized focus for inputs of information and outputs of authority and, as the derivation of the word implies, as a ‘head’ to the body of the rest of the country” (Boulding, 1968: 1114). Jane Jacobs in the 1960s, employed the concept “genuine capital” to refer to the dominant city of a country and which was also the seat of government (Jacobs, 1969: 143). In her work which consisted of evaluating the reasons which could lead a country to have a significant city, a primate city, Jacobs used the concept of “elephant city” to designate this centre (Jacobs, 1969: 172). This lack of familiarity of Jacobs with the concept of the primate city was also pointed out by Roger Clark. In one of her analyses, she explained that nations that depend on the export of manufactured goods breed “elephant cities” (Clark, 1988: 42). British historian Perry Anderson uses a German word “a true Hauptstadt” to refer to a city that is at the centre of a country's political, economic and cultural life. He also suggested some synonym such as “Metropole”, “Zentrum”, and “Residenz” (Anderson, 2009: 226). In addition to these different authors cited above in the time after Jefferson, several Francophone and Anglophone social scientists have also used several designations to deal with the phenomenon of

urban primacy while all these authors could well have continued to use the same term as Jefferson had introduced (Meyer, 2019: 133).

1.1.3. Primate City or Urban Primacy according to some post-Jefferson authors

A standard dictionary of geographic concepts defines urban primacy as “the largest city’s pre-eminence in economic, social, and political affairs” or as “a city’s predominance within an area” (Johnston, 2009: 580). According to Sawers, urban primacy is defined as “the overwhelming economic, social, demographic, and political dominance of the largest city” (Sawers, 1989: 841). For Johnston, primacy is generally explained by “the small size of the country, the export orientation of its trade and a recent colonial past” (Johnston, 1994). Michael Pacione specifies that a primate city is “dominant not only by the size of its population, but also by its role as the political, economic and social centre of the country” (Pacione, 2005: 673).

All these clarifications that we have just given above, allow us to affirm that the understanding of the concept of urban primacy or primate city depended on the historical process and various factors. The period before Jefferson explained the concept of urban primacy compared to a seat of government. For the authors of this period, the primate or dominant city of a country was very much relative to the place where the official seat of the government of that country was erected, even if it sometimes takes on another meaning. As for Jefferson, he explained a lot about the phenomenon of urban primacy in relation to the size of population. For him, the primate city is therefore the city that is disproportionate in terms of population. To detect this phenomenon, he has always compared the population size of the main city of a country with the population size of the second and in some cases the third city of that country.

Finally, for the period after Jefferson until today, the concept of urban primacy is explained in terms of certain factors. Factors that take into account economic, historical, political, demographic, cultural and geographical aspects.

1.1.4. Urbanization

The definition of the term “Urbanization” has been mentioned by several researchers. The first group of researchers considers urbanization as “a process of radiation whereby ideas and practices spread out from the urban centre into surrounding areas”. The second group defines urbanization “as the increase in intensity of problems or traits or characteristics that are essentially urban” (Tisdale, 1942: 311). However, the clarifications made by these two groups were deemed inadmissible in that these definitions, on the one hand, make the city cause of urbanisation rather than the result or product of this last, and on the other hand, presuppose the city before urbanisation (Tisdale, 1942: 311). Thus, urbanization is seen as a process of concentration of the population which manifests itself in two ways: on the one hand, the multiplication of concentration points and on the other hand the increase in the size of individual concentrations. This definition of urbanization reduced simply to the concentration of the population seems not only limited but also helps to avoid any kind of ambivalence. Based on this definition of urbanization, cities are therefore considered to be points of concentration (Tisdale, 1942: 311). This is why some researchers stipulate that all definitions of urbanization which show the superiority of cities should not be accepted because urbanization must end in the city if it is to be the process that makes the city (Tisdale, 1942: 312). Tisdale asserts that: “Just as long as cities grow in size or multiply in number, urbanization is taking place. It can stop, recede or go on at any point in time or space. There can be urbanization at one time and not at another. There can be urbanization in one area and not in another. There can be rapid urbanization and slow urbanization; there can be de-urbanization. There can be urbanization before there are cities and after there have been cities. Furthermore, there can be absence of urbanization even though there are many cities. As soon as population concentration stops, urbanization stops” (Tisdale, 1942: 312). We can therefore see urbanization as a process of becoming. For Ruşen Keleş, urbanization is not a simple population movement that describes the flow of people from villages to cities. For him, it would be important to perceive urbanization as a much broader change of its social, economic and cultural dimensions. He thus defines urbanization in its broad sense as a process of population accumulation which results in the increase in the number of cities and the growth of today's cities in parallel with industrialization

and economic development, created an increasing degree of organization, division of labour and specialization in the structure of society, and leads to city-specific changes in people's behaviour and relationships (Keleş, 1995: 1). When Keleş saw urbanization as also being a process of social and cultural change (Keleş, 1995: 1), Tisdale noted that urbanization is “one and the same throughout though it varies in rate and scope from time to time and from place to place” (Tisdale, 1942: 316). Wirth defends the idea that “urbanisation is a way of life” by trying to create the universal qualities of life in cities. According to him, urbanisation is about changes in lifestyle and worldview (Wirth, 1951). It should be emphasised that the concept of urbanisation is a “dependent” variable because it is a phenomenon that includes economic, social, cultural, political and technological dimensions as well as its demographic nature; but also an “independent” variable because it is a process that affects the economic, social and political structure of society, individual attitudes and behaviour, and technological developments (Kongar, 2003: 521).

1.1.5. The Law of the Primate City

The enunciation of “The Law of primate cities” was the product of many years of reflection by Jefferson. It all started when Jefferson noticed people, dwellings and culture, and realized that human beings have created patterns on the face of the earth. These thoughts had prompted Jefferson to ask himself a real question: “What is a city?” “Nobody knows what a city is” (Martin, 1968: 217). His curiosity to find an answer to this question had therefore led him to study the different dimensions of the city, starting above all with the study of the distribution of the population. He published several articles in which he explained how living things were distributed in a region. To carry out his work, Jefferson based himself on five maps namely: “the distribution of the population in South America; the high cities of South America; size of all cities with more than 5,000 inhabitants; people per square mile in each province and population distribution according to Berghaus' Physical Atlas 1884” (Jefferson, 1907: 1-11). As he continued his research, Jefferson collected data regarding the population density of contemporary cities. In order to achieve good results, he coined the term “anthropographic city” which he defines as follows: “A continuous area having everywhere ten thousand or more people to the square mile is a city.... For distinction

from the political city, this may be called the anthropographic one or city according to the distribution of people, just as lines indicating grades of population density may be called isanthropic lines and the maps isanthropic maps” (Jefferson, 1908: 114). He adapted this definition of the term “anthropographic city” to certain cities such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston and St. Louis given their population and demographic growth. Jefferson then addressed the relationship between urban and rural areas. He first tried to explain how cities developed. Secondly, he described by presenting the cities as creatures of the country. Briefly, Jefferson exposed the most promising and constructive side of city life. Still concerned with population density in large cities and the types of growth of cities in North America, Jefferson replaced his notion of “anthropography” (the distribution of man) for “anthropogeography” (the interplay between earth and man). This concept allowed him to explain the character and habits of a people by its environment (Jefferson, 1909: 537-566). With this concept, Jefferson not only carried out a lot of studies on large cities and their populations but realized several realities. The idea of the concept of “primate city” was manifested in 1931 when Jefferson was writing an article entitled “The Distribution of Urbanization” whose main idea was the function of the super city. In this article, he presented the distribution and importance of major cities around the world (Jefferson, 1931: 126). In 1936 Jefferson revised one of his older articles titled “Man in Europe”. The objective of this revision was to explain the factors responsible for the population growth rate for each of the European states. Thus, the sizes of the cities and the causes of the population growth of the cities had greatly interested Jefferson; which had therefore led him to classify the cities of several countries in decreasing order of size to end up excelling with his notion of the primacy of the city. The Law of Primate Cities was introduced in front of the Association of American Geographers in Cambridge in December 1938 (Jefferson, 1939: 226).

According to this law: “All over the world it is the Law of the Capitals that the largest city shall be super eminent, and not merely in size, but in national influence” (Jefferson 1939: 227). Several reasons prompted Jefferson to declare his law. Based on the 46 most advanced countries and comparing the population size of the first city to that of the second city in those countries, Jefferson found the following: in 18 of the 46 countries selected, he notes that the first city was at least three times the size of the second city. In 28 cases, he finds that the first city was twice the size of the second,

etc. (Jefferson, 1939: 227). His conclusion was that in many countries the largest city was two or three times the size of the neighbouring city, with a population ratio of around 100: 30: 20. The real exceptions to this law of Jefferson were the British dominions such as Spain, Italy and Russia. Indeed, after numerous analyses, it was found that this law elaborated by Jefferson takes into account three main factors that allow for the detection of the presence of a single large city (primate city) that is disproportionate in terms of size and influence compared to the other cities in a country.

The first very important factor in the growth of a big city is its primacy among the big cities of the country, its accession to a much larger number of inhabitants. By thus dominating the country, its size and its activities become very important factors of seduction allowing to attract other inhabitants. As a result, the primate city becomes even larger and more disproportionate to the other cities in the country (Rosenberg, 2019). That's why Jefferson says: "But once a city is larger than any other in its country, this mere fact gives it an impetus to grow that cannot affect any other city, and it draws away from all of them in character as well as in size. It is the best market for all exceptional products. It becomes the primate city" (Jefferson, 1939: 227).

The second very important factor that enables a large city to outperform other large cities in a country is its national capacity. Speaking of national capacity, Jefferson was referring to the economic pre-eminence of primate cities in a country. In other words, these large cities are in fact the dominant economic centres or economic lungs of their countries. "All great cities have, as important factors in their growth, the productivity of their region and its extent, as well as their situation with regard to the chief lines of movement of internal and external commerce. Cities generously endowed with these two elements of growth are likely to be very great cities. New development of resources or acquisition of new productive areas, or new development of transportation lines that favour them more than other cities are likely to cause them a sudden increment of population" (Jefferson, 1939: 78-79). Thus, in these cities is practiced almost all the public or private affairs of a country; from trade to manufacturing and transport, which promotes rapid exchanges. And it is in this that primate cities are the centres of creation and accumulation of wealth. Because of becoming places which offer a better potential of resources, these cities continue to attract the population and become the centres of interest of their country.

As for the third important factor, it concerns national sentiment. It should be noted that this concept of “national feeling” is ambiguous. Thus, in this present study, the meaning of “national feeling” is presented as the city being representative of the history and culture of a country. By assigning each country a cultural index that could indicate the degree of cultural achievement that country had achieved, Jefferson noticed that these indexes enjoyed good popularity. The results of his experiments had therefore shown that a country with a high cultural index had a large population (Jefferson, 1911: 241-265). It should be noted that the cultural index is supposed to indicate the degree of cultural achievement that a country has attained using criteria such as schools, patents, cities, communications, railroad freight, foreign trade, mail delivered per capita, telegraph, telephone, automobiles and art galleries. Thus, Jefferson's “law of primate cities” has been added a new dimension and becomes: “A country's leading city is always disproportionately large and exceptionally expressive of national capacity and feeling” (Jefferson 1939: 231). In presenting his law, Jefferson showed that most of the inhabitants of the primate city are migrants. Indeed, every corner of the country brings some of its most energetic and active spirits to then contribute to the growth of the primate city. In thus contributing to its growth, the primate city “thus expresses the national disposition more fully than any other city” (Jefferson 1939). This allows the various migrants not to completely lose the link with their province of origin. This is why Jefferson states that “the primate city contributes greatly to the unification of the country” (Jefferson 1939). A unifying effect that the primate city does not share with the other provinces of the country. It then becomes the spirit and soul of the nation.

1.1.6. Exception of the Law

Jefferson had therefore made it clear that the real exceptions to his concept of primacy were indeed the British dominions such as Spain, Italy and Russia. He explained that in Spain, there was the emergence of two capitals. As for the USSR, it had not been able to develop a representative capital of its people in the absence of a good communication network, while Italy had not had enough time to grow since the

time of its unification (Martin, 1968: 246-247). On the basis of these exceptions, we see that “distinct primacy grows out of a strong feeling of common nationality in all parts of a country, but general education and easy communication are important factors in the development of that feeling” (Jefferson, 1939: 232) . In other words, the high level of education and easy communication contribute to the development of a strong feeling of nationality which promotes the growth of the primate city. For this reason, Jefferson notes that the primate city not only contributes to the unification of the country but is at the same time a product of this national unity. He asserts “the primacy of a leading city is therefore the mark of intense nationalism” (Jefferson, 1939: 229). In short, nationalism is strengthening, solidifying in the primate cities.

1.2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review consisted of a comparative analysis and a critical analysis of the literature on urban primacy while basing itself on some empirical and theoretical studies.

Fifteen years after the publication of Jefferson's article on primate cities, it was found that researchers were not too interested in the demographic and functional aspects of primate cities. But a few years later and to the present day, the opinion on urban primacy has remained a matter of discussion among geographers, sociologists, economists and has generated a substantial literature in several disciplines. Thus, it has been noticed that the predominant emphasis in post-Jefferson literature has been much placed on the concept of primate city or urban primacy, its origins and evolution and especially on its effects (Meyer, 2019: 139). Although Jefferson convincingly demonstrated his law of primate cities, his work remains marked by a remarkable omission. Jefferson focused only on the sovereign states existing in 1939 to draw his multiple conclusions. In his various work, Jefferson excluded almost all European dependencies (colonies of Africa and Asia) (Reed, 1972: 288). However, the presence of these colonies which display a high level of urban primacy in Jefferson's investigations could reinforce his points of views and conclusions (Linsky, 1965: 506-513). Although Jefferson's arguments revolve only around the sovereign states of his period, the concept of the primate city has proven to be of distinguished utility and has

been used endlessly in the social sciences (Rose, 1966: 1-27). However, this is not to say that researchers agree on the precise nature of urban primacy. Several pieces of evidence attempt to show that the controversy will continue over the political, economic and cultural roles of the primate city for several years (Linsky, 1965: 506-513).

1.2.1. Urban Theory and Non-Western Primate Cities

Several researchers in Africa, Asia and Latin America have opposed the old models established only in the European and North American framework to discuss the phenomena of modernization, industrialization and urbanization. Some of these scholars began to oppose and reject certain thoughts that are applicable only to Western cities (McGee, 1971: 1). At a time when the work of one category of these researchers was to question the ideas that there is a reciprocal link between industrial development and modern urbanization (Fryer, 1970: 88-89), the migration of villagers to cities leads to social disorder (Edward, 1961); the work in a second category focused on the origins and evolution of urban centres (Edwin, 1963). As for the investigations of a third category of these researchers, they focused on the development of colonial capitals (sometimes called primate cities today) of various western dependencies which continues to grow and which continue to function as political, economic and cultural centres of these developing countries (Reed, 1972: 286).

1.2.2. Concept of Dependent Urbanisation

The concept of the dependent city and peripheral urbanisation was foreshadowed in Frank's (1969) description of the "metropolis-satellite structure" and systematically elaborated by Castells ([1972] 1977). These pioneering formulations were followed by a number of empirical studies applying the logic of the international political economy approach to comparative research on cities and urban systems (Roberts 1978; Timberlake 1985; Walton 1977). According to this approach, "Urbanization must be studied holistically-part of the logic of a larger process of socioeconomic development that encompasses it, and that entails systematic

unevenness across regions of the world. The dependence relation is an important theoretical concept used to pry into the ways in which the processes embodied in the world-system produce various manifestations of this unevenness, including divergent patterns of urbanization” (Timberlake, 1985: 10).

Indeed, the penetration of the world economy into the peripheral regions had led to a developmental dynamic that gave rise to a few relatively large cities that were commercial centres in the network of colonial exploitation. The result was a process of urbanisation that led to the primacy of cities, regional inequalities, centralization of political and economic power within cities, and intra-urban ecological segregation and inequality (Walton, 1982). Chase-Dunn explained the role of the dependent city in the world-system: “Peripheral primate cities are nodes on a conduit which transmits surplus value to the core and domination to the periphery, while primate cities in the core receive surplus value and transmit domination” (Chase-Dunn, 1984: 115). The important point was that dependent urbanism conceived in this way not only leads to unequal urban hierarchies and high levels of intra-urban inequality, but (using the terminology of Hoselitz 1954) creates cities that were more likely to be economically parasitic on the surrounding region than generative. However, a major criticism of some variants of the world system perspective argued that the overemphasis on the world system and the determinant effects of international trade could downplay the role of local and regional dynamics in processes of social change (Brenner 1977; Portes 1976). One way of dealing with this problem was to focus on the articulation between the pattern of economic penetration in dependent areas and the development of distinct local class structures and political economies. Thus, case studies of dependent urbanisation in Latin America (Roberts 1978; Slater 1978), Africa (Gugler & Flanagan 1978; Salau 1978) and Asia (London 1979; Nemeth & Smith 1983) highlighted the historical specificity of class alliances between urban elites in peripheral societies and central economic and political actors, and the way in which their overlapping interests shaped policies affecting urban development.

In this regard, it is worth noting that the form of the dependent city in the eighteenth-century American South is very different from that of the teeming cities of contemporary Asia, Africa or Latin America. This is why the peripheralisation of cities, regions or nations is a process that has to be situated in the historical context of the changing logic of capital accumulation (Tilly 1982).

1.2.3. The orientation of urbanisation towards large cities in developing countries.

The orientation of urbanisation towards large cities in developing countries occurs in two main ways. First, it is when one city in the country enters a process of immeasurable development at the expense of other cities and becomes the country's "primate city". This settlement structure, which consists of one or more large cities and many small towns or villages, is the structure observed in most underdeveloped countries today. In a second form of metropolisation, the population of a city is the figure obtained by dividing the population of the largest city by the order of size of that city. This second distribution provides a more equal distribution than the law of the primate city requires.

The first type of distribution is predominant in countries governed by centralism, while the second type is more visible in countries with a strong tradition of decentralisation. Thus, governments that want to distribute the population and economic activities over the surface of the country in a balanced way try to subject the settlement structures to the influence of the "Rank-Size Rule". (Keleş, 2020: 64-65).

1.2.4. Distributions According to the Size of the City

Several social scientists have conducted surveys of urban primacy over the past two decades. They showed great interest in the different distributions by city size and their relation to economic development. For some urban geographers and theorists, only the well industrialized countries present a regular hierarchical arrangement of urban places according to the rule of the size of the rank (Berry, 1961: 573; Mehta, 1964: 137). At the same time, other researchers associated primate cities with countries still at the first level of economic development (Berry, 1961: 573-574). But research carried out in recent years invalidates previous hypotheses. According to these researches, if there is no relationship between urbanization and industrial development, the relationship does not exist between the distribution by rank of cities and economic progress or even between presence of a primate city in a country and

underdevelopment. Today, researchers believe that regardless of location or stage of development, all nations with a large area or having achieved a good level of industrial development are moving towards the rank distribution of cities; while the small Western states, the small and medium-sized Third World countries are characterized by urban primacy (Berry, 1961: 573-588).

1.2.5. Approach According to Which Primate Cities are Parasitic or Generator

A real question still controversial in the literature on urban primacy is that of the economic role of large cities. Large cities are “parasitic” or “generator” instruments within the economies of developing countries (Hoselitz, 1955: 278-294). Some researchers believe that large cities in developing countries are not very useful for economic growth. They are however national parasites which absorb the various resources of these countries by attracting the greatest number of populations. Eric Lampard declares that “the presence of an overly large city in a preindustrial society may act as a curb rather than a stimulus to wider growth. Its growth and maintenance have been somewhat parasitical in the sense that profits of trade, capital accumulated in agricultural and other primacy pursuits have been dissipated in grandiose construction, servicing, and consuming by a “colonial” elite. The labour and enterprise which might otherwise have been invested in some form of manufacture or material processing in the interior are drawn off to the great city by the attractive dazzle of a million lights” (Lampard, 1955: 131). As for Hauser (1957): “These cities tend to be parasitic in the sense that they tended to obstruct economic growth in their country of location by retarding the development of other cities in the nation, by contributing little to the development of their own hinterland, by being oriented primarily toward the contribution of services to the colonial power abroad or the colonial or indigenous elite in the great city itself”. John Friedmann (1966) thinks that “the primate cities tend to feed upon the rest of the nation. Instead of generating a new socioeconomic order and new wealth, they feast on what may be extracted by the sweat of poor, provincial labour”. Stolper (1955) shows the way which Hoselitz asserts that primate cities are globally generative in developed countries, it is in this same way that these primate cities are parasites in underdeveloped countries. According to other authors, it is the size of primate cities that slows down the economic development of a country. We can

thus note that all these authors advocate the establishment of a policy to fight against this parasitic role played by non-Western primate cities by opting for the creation not only of economically generative capitals but also of secondary urban centres in all developing countries.

While some researchers accuse non-Western primate cities as instruments of economic exploitation in all Third World countries, other researchers do not share this thought. Like Jefferson, these researchers argued that primate cities play an important generative role in national development. According to some economists, the formation of a primate city is one of the fundamental requirements of the process of economic development. For these economists, the formation of a primate city will have many advantages for the country's economy (Keleş, 2002: 130). So based on some experiences in West Africa, Sheldon Cellar states: "The growing primacy of the capital city, at the present time, seems to be a step in the right direction since it is preferable to have a primate capital city with some industry than to have no primate city and no industry. Furthermore, the charge that the primate city, by absorbing a disproportionate share of the nation's resources, prevents the emergence of other development poles does not hold true in West Africa. Ghana, Senegal and the Ivory Coast, where the primate phenomenon is most advanced, are precisely those countries having other important development poles" (Sheldon, 1967: 261). Coming back to Southeast Asia, Donald W. Fryer argues that: "in modern times at least, it is not possible seriously to claim that over an appreciable period any great city has been essentially parasitic. The European created cities may initially have operated to impoverish the indigenous ruling and merchant classes and to lay heavier burdens on the peasants, but the effects of economic growth within the cities themselves and their repercussions on the countryside were such that ultimately these parasitic tendencies were greatly outweighed by new productive ones that did result in an increase in incomes per head. With an increasing urban population a specialized labour force came into being; the demand for food and for export crops increased, which together with improvements in transport did offer new opportunities to indigenous farmers; and the growth of processing industries at ports and the expansion of the production of inanimate energy began to lay the foundations for a higher degree of industrial activity" (Fryer, 1970: 84-85). This is what Mehta explained by saying that with the advent of third world countries independence, the primate cities turned more towards the interior of their

hinterland and allowed the growth of several cities (Mehta, 1964: 138). Several social scientists have also supported this thought that economic growth in developing countries is often promoted through primate cities (Edward, 1968: 6-7). These scholars explain the importance of primate cities by showing that general prosperity depends on the initial realization of considerable commercial, administrative, and industrial activities in primate cities (Breese, 1968: 5-8).

In demonstrating the many functions performed by the primate city (Fryer, 1953: 474-494), some authors have objected to discussions regarding the development role of large cities which are based solely on economic activity. As a result, they question the validity of a parasitic or generative designation based on a single criterion (Reed, 1972: 294-295). According to these authors, in order to make a balanced comparison of parasitic and generative relationships between large urban centres and their hinterlands, it is necessary to take into account all the functions of the primate city instead of relying solely on economic links (Hoselitz, 1955: 278-294). This will provide a full understanding of the different types of development that big cities offer.

1.2.6. Approach to Over-urbanization

From the discussion on the role of large cities as parasitic or generative instruments, the question on over-urbanization has also caught the attention of various researchers concerned with the development of large cities in certain parts of the world (Sovani, 1964: 113- 122). These authors believe that Non-Western States today are over-urbanized by justifying that: “larger proportions of their population live in urban places than their degree of economic development justified. In the [so called] underdeveloped nations, a much smaller proportion of the labour force is engaged in non-agricultural occupations than was the case in the West at comparable levels of urbanization. Furthermore, during the post-war period, the rate of urbanization in the underdeveloped areas has... [Proceeded]... more rapidly than the rate of economic development” (Hauser, 1969: 203). For these authors, the increase in the urban population is due to both internal demographic growth and a high rate of migrants leaving rural centres to settle in urban centres. As a result, large cities in Third World countries host a large portion of the population that exceeds the demand for

employment. This subsequently leads to various problems (unemployment, famine, underemployment, social unrest) which plague the primate cities of the regions of Asia and the Third World (Lewis, 1967: 13-22). The researchers being interested in the development of third world countries and still not having reached an agreement on the statistical dimensions of over-urbanization, estimate that everywhere in the non-Western primate cities “the most visible consequence of over urbanization and rapid rates of urban growth is the decadence of the urban environment The physical city is characterized by a large proportion of shanty towns and tenement slums; inadequate urban services, including housing, water supply, sewerage, utilities, and transport; uncontrolled land use; excessive population densities; deficient educational and recreational facilities; and inefficient commercial and marketing services. Rapid urbanization in the underdeveloped areas is accompanied by not a defective, but also by a deteriorating, urban environment” (Hauser, 1969: 207). From this estimate, it can be understood that large cities in parts of Asia and other developing nations are characterized by poor living and working conditions. These characteristics of large cities in Asian and other regions lead to strong pressure in improving urban living conditions such as investing in social housing, creating employment opportunities and improving urban infrastructure (Hauser, 1969: 207-208). According to these authors, this improvement in urban living conditions should be sacrificed in order to have a solid capital for the realization of the various more productive national projects (Hauser, 1969: 208). Thus, the unsuitable installation of the primate city, which represents a branch of the over-urbanization, generates many secondary difficulties which will merit solutions in the times to come (Reed, 1972: 298).

1.2.7. Urban Origins and Evolution

It should be remembered that the three previous approaches to the study of urban primacy are each based on comparative urban research. These three approaches mainly deal with the economic dimensions of primate cities on the one hand in developed countries and on the other hand in developing countries. However, the fourth approach focuses particularly on the geographic aspect (Reed, 1972: 298). This approach discusses the origin and evolution of primate cities nationally and regionally in parts of the world. To be even more precise, this approach generally examines the

political, social and historical dimensions which have resulted in the development of a large urban centre in a nation or of several large cities in a specific region.

In explaining his law, one can understand that for Jefferson, urban primacy is a phenomenon which occurs naturally, and which was desirable. For him, any early perks or initial privileges that made a city the largest in its country also allowed it to grow rapidly. Therefore, Jefferson says: “once a city is bigger than any other in its country, this simple fact gives it an impetus to develop”. In this regard, he shows that countries in which the phenomenon of urban primacy does not exist are countries that have not developed a national identity due to ethnic or regional divisions; States in which the meaning of nationalism was not yet clear. However, some authors have criticised the fact that Jefferson's analysis of the emergence of primate cities does not consider the historical aspect. In other words, Jefferson explains the emergence of a primate city without even having linked it to a historically specific form of production (Raju & Ashok, 1993: 126). Other authors also show Jefferson's neglect of the political factor in the presentation of his law (Szporluk, 1979-1980: 844).

To better understand the origins and evolution of high urban primacy, some authors have conducted studies to prove that high primacy was really caused by colonialism. In Southeast Asia in the 1950s, geographers Donald W. Fryer and Norton S. Ginsburg were the first official representatives of this approach by examining the colonial origins of the primate cities of this region. In discussing the role of primate cities as an engine of change, these two authors also touched on the different functions of these cities (Ginsburg, 1958: 455-462). Based on some experiences of the emergence of coastal capitals in the nations of the peninsular and island kingdoms during the first decades of the 16th century, it was found that European adventurers discovered two types of city which are: the coastal city-state and indigenous sacred city (Reed, 1972: 300). Coastal city-states, in their description, were really depend on trade. Despite their small size and thanks to their geographical position, they were considered places of heterogenetic change because they represented international centres allowing the circulation of goods and people (Wheatley, 1961: 282-328). In contrast, indigenous sacred cities served as the capitals of large kingdoms and benefited little from international trade (Sternstein, 1965: 98). These sacred cities “were intended as cosmic creations, substantive and symbolic pinnacles of and resplendent thrones for the Great Tradition, enshrines as well as administrators of a

relatively homogeneous and particularistic culture to which the market towns and peasant villages of the Little Tradition also belonged. Their planned, monumental urban forms reaffirmed their role as the head pieces of unitary civilizations centred on their own cultural worlds. They were predominantly political and cultural rather than economic phenomena, functioning as microcosms of the national polity, symbols of authority, legitimacy, and power, creators and moulders of literate culture, and seats of the dominant ideology. Commercial functions were for the most part secondary and were in any case under varying degrees of control or manipulation by the state, whose chief monument was the city itself” (Murphey, 1969: 68). From this quote, the sacred city was not simply seen as an economic, administrative centre, or the centre that housed most of the population. But it was a true symbol of political and cultural unity in the kingdom. The presentation of these two cities allows us to suggest that in the regions of Southeast Asia and in some non-Western regions before, the phenomenon of urban primacy was present. That is, long before European colonization, there were systems of cities linking Europe to Asia and Africa. Trade-based systems that operated across North Africa and the Middle East (Lyman, 1992: 26). These large pre-colonial urban centres in these regions seem to respect the primate city model introduced by Jefferson (Reed, 1972: 305). Therefore, if it is assumed that urban primacy already existed even before colonization in certain non-Western or colonized countries, the discovery of the historical pasts of the development of large modern cities should not be turned towards large pre-colonial urban centres. But arguments about the origins and hasty evolution of modern primate cities in parts of Asia and colonized countries must be investigated within the historical framework of colonization (Reed, 1972: 305-306).

1.2.7.1. Colonial Status and Colonial Rulers

As said before, before European colonization, there were systems of cities connecting Europe with Asia and Africa. Thus, from the 16th century, colonialism exerted an influence on the international level. Colonialism in the centralized politico-military context of world trade brought about “bilateral trade” (Chase-Dunn 1989) by imposing the movements of commercial values through colonial states. In order to avoid disputes between the navies of the colonizing countries regarding the control of

the sea lanes allowing transport to the ports of call, it was recommended that the trade is to be addressed only through the agencies or privileged places. (Lyman, 1992: 26). When this controlled and imposed trade exchanges created hierarchical city systems in some colonies, multilateral trade produced urban systems prevalent in other independent nations. If the primacy was not observed among the British dominions, it is because the British colonial domination was much more decentralized and more diverse (Gann and Duignan, 1978: 45-48; Fieldhouse, 1967: 243). The British not only encouraged ethnic identity in areas where it was weak in order to foster ethnic competition, but they also taught native languages in lower schools (Mazrui, 1983: 29-30). When the British recognized pre-colonial authority structures and confined themselves to just the supervision and advice of emirs and others, the French eliminated the traditional African ruling classes by creating an administrative and hierarchical apparatus that came from above (Albertini, 1982: 348-49). The French colonial administration was excessively centralized. French colonial rule played on a policy of assimilation which consisted in destroying the various African ethnic groups. This had therefore led to the loss of many African ethnic groups and the reduction of ethnic competition. This reduction in ethnic competition had thus fostered an increase in urban primacy in the French colonies. As for the colonial policies of Belgium, Portugal and Spain, they were also highly centralized and authoritarian (Cammack, Paul, David and Tordoff, 1988; Mazrui, 1983; Browning, 1958: 114-115). This had also encouraged the development of urban primacy in their various colonies.

Several authors have also attempted to demonstrate the conditions under which the phenomenon of urban primacy occurs. Mehta (1964) demonstrates that primacy is caused by the small area and size of a country's population. For Linsky (1965), "high urban primacy occurs most frequently in countries with small areal extent of dense population, low per capita income, export-oriented and agricultural economies, a colonial history and rapid rates of population growth". Ades and Glaeser (1995) show a reciprocal relationship between urban primacy with political instability and high levels of centralized political power. Davis (2003); Moomaw and Shatter (1996) combines the institutions of government and the production of urban primacy. Moomaw and Alwosabi (2004), based on a few studies in Asia and America, have shown that primacy is related to economic "development, population density, level of industrialization and capital status". On the Latin American side, some researchers

have established several theories of urban primacy. Portes and Walton (1976) argued that urban primacy was caused by the political power of colonial municipalities over rural centres. McGreevey (1971) notes that it is the development of large-scale agricultural exports and the growth of port cities that cause urban primacy. For Smith (1980), the cause of urban primacy is the free labour market in large cities. Hardoy and Langdon (1978) suggest that international immigration leads to urban primacy. Sebastian and Sukkoo (2008) argue that the strong urban primacy is due to the historical concentration of political power in a few centres.

Based on these different approaches and the experiences of some authors, it is concluded that the primate cities of non-Western countries were developed as instruments of imperialism (Reed, 1972: 320). Despite the attainment of independence and the expulsion of colonial administrations from non-Western regions, there have still not been adequate measures of tangible redevelopment of the urban systems established during the colonial period. The colonial capitals represent the centres around which revolve the economic, cultural and administrative life of the present countries of the non-Western regions. They are also place where nationalism crystallizes (Reed, 1972: 320). In short, these colonial capitals represent the soul of these nations. That is, they are centres where the national life is concentrated. Thus, certain authorities were obliged to transform the large colonial cities into the capital of their new developing countries (Murphey, 1969: 72). Although policy of urban decentralization has been implemented to promote development at all levels in these regions, these primate cities have not stopped growing in terms of national influence and population.

CHAPTER TWO

GENERAL PRESENTATION OF BENIN AND COTONOU CITY

2.1. HISTORY AND PRESENTATION OF BENIN

2.1.1. History of Benin

Originally, the land of present-day Benin was occupied by several kingdoms. The most prominent were called Danhomé (Abomey), Xogbonou (Porto-Novo), Allada, Nikki, Kouandé, Kandi. The first rulers of Abomey and Porto-Novo came from the Adja-Fon migration from neighbouring Togo (Tado). The other peoples came from present-day Nigeria, Niger or Burkina Faso. Thus, the country was once a home to ancient and brilliant civilisations, built around these kingdoms: city-States. These well-structured political entities had functional urban centres. They had developed a local trade, based from the 17th century on the slave trade, then on the oil palm trade after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. This trade economy favoured the installation, along the coast (nicknamed the "Slave Coast"), of trading posts controlled by the English, the Danes, the Portuguese and some French. In 1704, France was authorised to build a port at Ouidah, while in 1752, the Portuguese discovered Porto-Novo. In 1863, the first French protectorate was established with King Toffa of Porto-Novo, who sought help against the claims of the King of Abomey and attacks from the British established in Lagos. In the same year, Glèlè, King of Abomey, authorised the French to settle in Cotonou. In 1882, the sovereign of the kingdom of Porto-Novo signed a new protectorate agreement with France, which sent a "French resident" to assist the king. In 1894, the French, defeating the local kings, created the colony of Dahomey and its dependencies. The territory took the name of the most preponderant and most resistant kingdom to foreign occupation: Danhomé with its legendary king Béhanzin (Présidence de la République du Bénin, 2021).

2.1.1.1. Colonial Period

When the Chief of Porto-Novo, a man who was personally linked to King Glèlè of Dahomey signed a friendship and commercial treaty with France in 1851, the British captured the city of Lagos in 1861. Thanks to treaties signed in 1868 and 1878, France came into possession of the Cotonou region located between Ouidah and Porto-Novo. In order to avoid and protect themselves from the traps of the king of Dahomey who had expansionist aims, a protectorate treaty was signed in 1883 between the king of Porto-Novo and France. Gbêhanzin, son of King Glèlè who succeeded his father tried to take back the region occupied by France, but the latter was betrayed in 1892. He was thus deported by the French authorities on March 30, 1894. This encouraged the establishment of French settlements in southern Dahomey. Following the failure of Gbêhanzin, the northern Bariba kingdom opposed fierce resistance to French colonization. In fact, in the 1890s, Dahomey was integrated into French West Africa (AOF). During an assembly in Nigeria, the French authorities in agreement with Great Britain fix the borders of Dahomey and Germany wins Togo. During the interwar period, a high level of education was observed, especially in southern Dahomey, thanks to religious missions. This therefore made it possible to designate Dahomey as one of the main political and intellectual centres of the AOF. From this time, several political parties were created and at the same time an opposition against the colonial system was developing. By fighting alongside France during World War II, Dahomey not only became a French overseas territory in 1946 but also an autonomous state within the French Community on December 4, 1958. Protectorate in 1884, then French colony of Dahomey, Benin achieved full independence on August 1, 1960, under the name Republic of Dahomey and entered the United Nations the following month. It was not until 1975 that the country adopted the name of Benin (Présidence de la République du Bénin, 2021).

2.1.1.2. After Independence

Benin has had a turbulent political history since it gained independence. The first twelve years were marked by political and economic instability. It was subject to

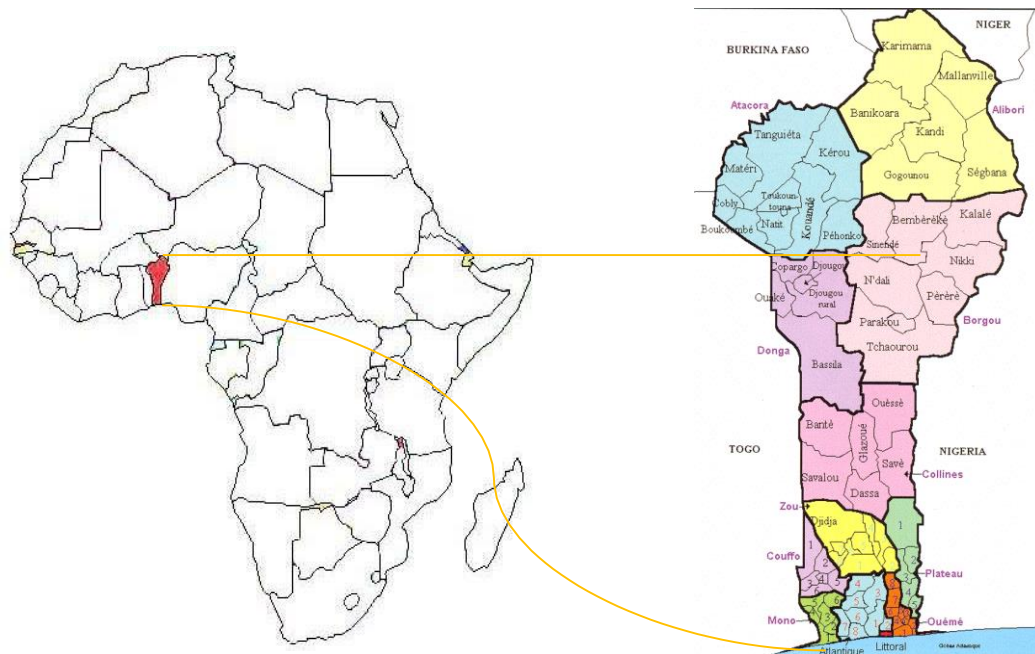
five military putsches, four constitutions and nine heads of state and government. These movements stopped only in 1972 following the military coup of General Mathieu Kérékou and the acceptance of the Marxist-Leninist ideology in 1974. A transitional government, established in 1990, paved the way for the return of democracy and a multi-party system. Following the presidential election of March 1991, Nicéphore Soglo replaced Mathieu Kérékou as President of the Republic. Mathieu Kérékou was elected in his turn in March 1996 then re-elected in March 2001. In March 2006, Dr Yayi Boni, former Director of BOAD, was elected President of Benin and re-elected in 2011. Following the presidential elections of March 20, 2016, Mr Patrice Guillaume Athanase Talon was elected President of the Republic and has been leading the country since April 6, 2016 (Présidence de la République du Bénin, 2021).

2.1.2. Presentation of Benin

2.1.2.1. Geography

Benin is in West Africa in the tropical zone between the equator and the Tropic of Cancer (between the parallels 6 ° 30 'and 12 ° 30' of North latitude and the meridians 1 ° and 30 ° 40 'of east longitude). Located precisely on the Gulf of Guinea, Benin covers an area of 114,763 km². It is limited to the west by Togo, to the east by Nigeria, to the north-east by Niger and to the north-west by Burkina Faso. Its official capital is Porto-Novo and Cotonou is its economic capital. The country has French as its official language and the CFA franc as its currency. Benin also has several local languages such as Fon, Yoruba, Bariba, Dendi, Minan etc. Several religions are practiced in Benin. Among others, we can cite Animists, Catholicism, Islam, Protestantism and Others (Présidence de la République du Bénin, 2021).

Picture 1: Geographical location of Benin in Africa



Source: Danvidé, 2014

2.1.2.2. Population

The population of Benin was estimated at nearly 3,331,210 inhabitants in 1979. In 1992, it numbered 4,915,555. The population was estimated at 6,769,914 inhabitants in 2002. In 2013, Benin had 10 008 749 inhabitants (INSAE, 2013). According to some sources, the current population of Benin is 12 million inhabitants in 2020 (World meters, 2020).

2.1.2.3. Economy

The structure of Benin's economy is characterized by three sectors. Firstly, a primary sector which brings together agricultural activities (cotton, production of

cereals and tubers), livestock and fishing. It should be remembered that these agricultural activities are marked by low productivity. This sector contributes around 37% of the GDP and occupies 48% of the working population (Gbetoenonmon, 2013: 11-12). Secondly, a very embryonic secondary sector, due to its low contribution to GDP (less than 14%) and to employment (16%). This secondary sector is dominated by cotton ginning factories, food industries and construction companies, especially cement factories. Thirdly, a tertiary sector is available which is characterized by a preponderance of speculative and even informal activities. The tertiary sector contributes around 49% of the GDP and is dominated by trade and transport (Gbetoenonmon, 2013: 11-12). Based on this economic structure, we can state that Benin is a country with an economy strongly dominated by agriculture and services (in total 85% of the economy). From 1999 to 2008, the primary sector contributed the most to the formation of the GDP. For example, since the 1990s, cotton production has accounted for 80% of export proceeds and Benin has become the leading cotton exporter in West Africa. But from the years 2002, thanks to the geographical position of Benin compared to the countries of the hinterland (Niger, Burkina Faso, Mali and especially of the giant Nigeria) which offers it wide opportunities in terms of transport, transit and tourism, it is the tertiary sector which has gained the upper hand over the primary and secondary sector by contributing to more than 50% of domestic wealth and occupying a prominent place in the Benin economy. This preponderance of the tertiary sector relates to the improvement of the competitiveness of the Autonomous Port of Cotonou (Amoussa & Hounsinou, 2009). Some studies have shown that port traffic plays a big role in the economic growth of Benin. The evolution of port traffic is an explanatory factor for the evolution of tax revenues, trade, banking and insurance, transport, other services and therefore economic growth in general. In addition, the development of numerous activities linked to port activities have resulted in job creation. This allows us to consider that the Autonomous Port of Cotonou is an engine of the national economy or the economic heart of Benin (Amoussa & Hounsinou, 2009). In 2020, Benin entered the category of middle income country with a per capita income of USD 1,250. The primary sector represents 28.1% of the GDP, the secondary sector 14.6% including 6% for the agro-food industries and 4.4% for the construction industry, the tertiary sector 48.8% of the GDP including 13% for trade and 9% for transport. Exports (CFAF 498 billion in 2019) are highly concentrated on three product categories, namely cotton lint (53% of the country's exports), cashew nuts (9% of

exports) and oilseeds (4.7% of exports) (MEFR, Direction générale du Trésor, 2020). In Benin, the social situation remains precarious despite an inflation rate maintained at 3% since 1995 (MEHU, 2002) and the various improvements made to the sectors of activity. Benin is thus classified among the countries with a low level of human development. The human development index (0.52) remains low and ranks Benin, in 2019 as in 2018, 163rd in the world out of 189 countries (MEFR, Direction générale du Trésor, 2020). While 67% of Benin's population are rural, 55% of the urban population are poor. This justifies that poverty also remains a serious problem in Benin (MEHU, 2002).

Picture 2: Map of the Republic of Benin



Source: Atlas-monde, 2016

2.1.3. Political System, Institutional and Administrative Organization of Benin

Since 1972, the country had been under a military regime led by General Kérékou with a single Marxist-Leninist party called the Benin People's Revolution

Party (PRPB). In 1977, the country adopted a socialist constitution and changed its name to the People's Republic of Benin. On April 30, 1990, the PRPB, the only authorized party since 1975, was dissolved. The new constitution adopted by referendum the same year provides for a multi-party presidential system (Schneider, 2000: 6). The President of the Republic is elected by direct universal suffrage, by majority vote in two rounds, for a term of 5 years, renewable only once. He is the holder of executive power and head of government; whose members are accountable to him. Legislative power belongs to Parliament, made up of a single National Assembly elected every four years by direct universal suffrage, with no limit on the number of terms. The law fixes the conditions of eligibility of the deputies whose number increased from 64 in 1991, to 83 since the electoral law of January 17, 1995. In constitutional matters, it is the Constitutional Court, installed on June 7, 1993 by decision 15 -DC (February 16, 1993) of the HCR, which is the highest court in the state. It settles conflicts between institutions and is the guarantor of fundamental rights and public freedoms. It also ensures the regularity of the ballots and proclaims the results, but since the electoral law promulgated on January 17, 1995, the elections are organized by an Autonomous National Electoral Commission (CENA). This Court is composed of seven members, four of whom are appointed by the National Assembly and three members by the President for a renewable term of five years and its decisions are rendered in first and last instance. In addition, the Constitution also provides for an Economic and Social Council, a Supreme Court, a High Court of Justice and a High Authority for Audio-visual and Communication.

The Public Administration is a body whose organs are made up of ministerial departments committed to specific missions that they carry out under the leadership and supervision of the brain that is the government. Heir to the French colonial administration, the Beninese administration has not undergone any major changes until our days. Thus, at the central level, the representation of the State and the government, of the General Administration and the coordination of public services are carried out by the ministries and central directorates. At the departmental level, there are the decentralized services and directorates of the State. At the local level, there are decentralized local authorities and certain state services (Ministère du travail, de la fonction publique et des affaires sociale, 2011-2020: 30-32).

2.1.4. Decentralization in Benin

It is with the beginning of the process of democratization of the country that the need to decentralize the administration of the country emerges. The various governments and political regimes which have succeeded one another at the head of state, of Marxist inspiration, have not paid much attention to decentralization. Law No. 81-009 of October 10, 1981 organises decentralisation at two levels: the province, the district. What was rather curious was that the commune, a basic community, did not constitute a local community in the sense of this law. Regardless, the three levels of administration were ruled on the one hand by elected revolutionary councils and on the other by government-appointed executives (Prefects, Chiefs and mayors). In either case, the management of local communities was tightly controlled by one-party authorities. It is to break with this tradition that "the living forces of the nation", meeting in "national conference" adopted the principle of administrative decentralization as a system of territorial administration in Benin. This is how the new constitution adopted on December 11, 1990 enshrines the principle of the free administration of local communities. Decentralization in Benin is conceived as an integral part of the democratization process initiated in 1990. The constitutional law provides that local communities are administered freely by elected councils and under the conditions established by law. Election by universal suffrage is of principle for the designation of municipal councillors. There is no provision for representation of civil society institutions on the boards, although the law admits independent candidates. The system also excludes a representation of customary notabilities within local authorities. Thus since 1999, Benin has been subdivided into twelve departments and seventy-seven communes.

On June 22, 2016, the regime of President Patrice Talon implemented a new map of the heads-places of the departments of Benin in order to promote development at all levels.

Table 1: The departments and heads-places of the departments of Benin.

No	Departments	Prefectures (heads-places)	Communes
1	Alibori	Kandi	Banikoara, Gogounou, Kandi, Karimama, Malanville, Segbana
2	Atacora	Natitingou	Boukoubé, Cobly, Kérou, Kouandé, Matéri, Natitingou, Péhunco, Tanguiéta, Toucountouna
3	Atlantique	Allada	Abomey-Calavi, Allada, Kpomassè, Ouidah, Sô-Ava, Toffo, Tori-Bossito, Zè
4	Borgou	Parakou	Bembéréké, Kalalé, N'Dali, Nikki, Parakou, Pèrèrè, Sinendé, Tchaourou
5	Collines	Dassa-zoumè	Bantè, Dassa-Zoumè, Glazoué, Ouèssè, Savalou, Savè
6	Couffo	Aplahoué	Aplahoué, Djakotomey, Dogbo-Tota, Klouékanmè, Lalo, Toviklin
7	Donga	Djougou	Bassila, Copargo, Djougou, Ouaké
8	Littoral	Cotonou	Cotonou
9	Mono	Lokossa	Athiémé, Bopa, Comè, Grand-Popo, Houéyogbé, Lokossa
10	Ouémé	Porto-Novo	Adjarra, Adjohoun, Aguégués, Akpro-Misséréte, Avrankou, Bonou, Dangbo, Porto-Novo, Sèmè-Kpodji
11	Plateau	Pobè	Adja-Ouèrè, Ifangni, Kétou, Pobè, Sakété
12	Zou	Abomey	Abomey, Agbangnizoun, Bohicon, Covè, Djidja, Ouinhi, Zangnanado, Za-Kpota, Zogbodomey

Source: Ribouis, 2016

The structuring of the decentralized state is based on fundamental principles, endorsed by the laws supporting reform in Benin, namely: a single level of decentralization throughout the country:

- ✓ *at the level of the municipality*: a single level of de-concentration;
- ✓ *at the level of the department*: the free administration of the municipalities under the authority of the Mayor and the Municipal Council; the administrative supervision which controls the legality of the acts of the municipalities and provides assistance and advice to the municipality by the prefect; the exercise by the Municipality of its own powers, shared powers and powers delegated by the State; the municipality's own budget, separate from that of the state and approved by the municipal council; the articulation between decentralization and de-concentration; State support for municipalities with a system of financial equalization between municipalities, and between the balanced development of municipalities; the possibility of inter-municipal cooperation (Danvidé, 2015: 87).

Table 2: Structuring of the decentralized state in Benin

Structure	Number	Status	Authority	Fashion of designation
Department	12	Administrative district	Prefect	Nomination by the Council of Ministers
Commune (old sub-prefecture)	77	Decentralized territorial collectivity	Mayor	Election among municipal councillors by peers
Borough (old Commune)	546	Local administrative unit	Head of district	Election among municipal councillors by peers
Village/city district	3628	Local administrative unit	Village or neighbourhood chief	

Source: CEDA, Bulletin 371

2.1.5. West African Urbanization Movements

Before talking about urbanization in Benin, it would be important to make a brief reminder of the different movements of urbanization in West Africa. The African continent is naturally divided into five regions. These are North Africa, West Africa, East Africa, Central Africa and South Africa. These different regions are made up of 54 countries. This study will only talk about West Africa. West Africa includes 16 independent countries: Benin, Burkina-Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo. According to Davindé, Africa has 1.08 billion people, of which 440 million live in urban areas, representing an urbanization rate of 41% in 2012. It has been estimated that in 2030, Africa will have 1.52 billion people, including 760 million in urban areas, or 50% (Danvidé, 2015: 64). On the African continent, East Africa is the most rapidly urbanising region. West Africa ranks second. According to the latest UN demographic outlook report, the population in West Africa is 391 million in 2019. 44% of this population lives in urban areas while 56% lives in rural areas. It is estimated that between 2011 and 2020, 50 million people would leave the countryside to settle in urban space (Population data, 2019). According to the statistics, this projection is confirmed by the fact that the West African urban population was 114 million in 2010 (United Nations, 2010), while in 2019 this urban population had already reached 172 million (UN demographic report, 2019). It is important to mention these data in order to reveal the rapid urbanisation movement in the West African region. Urbanization in West Africa took place in three periods: the pre-colonial period (1-1900), the colonial period (1900-1960) and the postcolonial period (1960 - nowadays).

2.1.5.1. Pre-colonial Period

The first large cities of West Africa (in terms of population) were observed in the lower Niger Bend region during the first millennium. At that time, these cities had a large population. Among the most famous cities are Jenne, Niana, Gao and Timbuktu. Thus, various studies have been carried out by archaeologists in the region

to confirm the weight of these cities. One example is the work of archaeologists Roderick and Susan McClosch in the micro-regions of the region. The work of archaeologists on the city of Jenne and on the Niger River offers scientists, historians and sociologists' new possibilities to reassess the concepts of Eurocentric city. It can be said that the existence of important cities in ancient times was remarkable (Biçakçi, 2019). In the pre-colonial period, there were only a few cities with a generally small structure. Most towns were considered "small towns". In terms of the political organisation of the region, several empires have emerged in West Africa over the years, the most important of which are the Mali Empire and the Dahomey Empire. There were well-organised defence and trade functions in various cities. Commerce, other than agriculture, was the most developed sector in the cities. Pre-industrial production, including persistent markets, food processing and metallurgy, contributed to the migration of people to cities. Most immigrants were looking for a market for the trade. Most of the cities have grown thanks to the new arrivals. In pre-colonial times, the populations of Timbuktu, Gao and Djenné were between 15,000 and 80,000 inhabitants (Biçakçi, 2018). However, in the south, Ibadan began to grow, and its population reached 70,000. Exterior walls 24 feet long were built around Ibadan. During the same period, there was an intense trade relationship with North Africa (Biçakçi, 2018). Djenné and Timbuktu were the main shopping centres. Merchants from North Africa and Europe came to these towns to buy and sell goods. Gold, salt, textiles, processed foods and products containing iron were sold in markets (Biçakçi, 2018). Other towns in the region had a lot of gold and natural resources, but the majority of those who lived there were farmers. In summary, economic activities and security have contributed to the rapid growth of urbanization in West Africa.

2.1.5.2. Colonial Period

The colonial era began with the Berlin Conference of 1885. At this conference, the Europeans decided to divide Africa (Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe, 2020). By drawing a map of Africa, these Europeans determined the borders of each region. It should be noted that long before this step, there were missionaries in Africa whose aim was to gather a lot of information, especially on the location of mineral resources. This information helped the division of Africa at the Berlin

conference (Encyclopédie d'histoire numérique de l'Europe, 2020). When the colonists arrived, the old cities such as Timbuktu, Gayo and Djenné lost their power completely and their population decreased. Europeans have settled in strategic areas to use natural resources. Thus, colonial administrative buildings were established in towns near the Atlantic Ocean. Construction of the railway began, and new small towns began to emerge. They created routes and brought raw materials to ships to bring them to Europe. At the same time, people from rural areas and old towns began to migrate to new towns created by settlers in order to find work. The settlers need workers to extract natural resources and bring them to Europe. For this reason, many people have migrated to cities. In fact, these immigrants helped Europeans extract natural resources effectively and efficiently. In this context, a new model of urban management has emerged. Several buildings constructed during this time looked like European buildings, so a new urban structure emerged. Newcomers to the cities can be compared to British peasants who migrated to the city to work in industries during the Industrial Revolution. However, over time, poverty and inequality in cities have increased. The rich class was the Europeans and the poor class was the Africans (Enquête du Comité d'évaluation, 2019).

2.1.5.3. The Period of Independence till Today

After independence in the late 1950s, poverty, informality and inequality increased in West African cities. This was due to the emergence of densely populated slums and informal settlements. The lack of regional and local infrastructure also hinders economic growth and development. After independence, there was a large influx of foreigners from neighbouring countries to major cities in countries like Nigeria, Senegal, Ivory Coast and Ghana. This migratory movement occurred because of the existence of jobs in the cities. For example, Côte d'Ivoire needs labour to produce cocoa and Nigeria needs labour to produce oil. Also, between 1950 and 2019, there was a major urbanization movement in the cities of West Africa. In 1950, only one in 13 people lived in cities and 12 lived in rural areas. It was estimated that by 2010, one in three people will live in a city (Denis and Moriconi, 2009). This projection is verified when comparing West Africa's urban population of 183,770,000 with its rural population of 207,230,000 in 2019 (UN demographic report, 2019). Despite this

growth, the African continent is lagging in urbanization compared to other continents. Since 1950, the urban population of West Africa has doubled. But in the 1970s, urban growth declined, and it took 30 years for the urban population to double (Denis and Moriconi, 2009). In 1960, there was still no city with more than one million inhabitants in West Africa. But it was found that by 2010 there will be no less than 16 cities with some 28 million inhabitants. At the same time, in 1960 there were 60 cities with 20,000 inhabitants, whereas it was estimated that by 2010 the number of cities with 20,000 inhabitants will have risen to 600 (Denis and Moriconi, 2009). All these projections are confirmed when one counts today almost 28 West African cities with an estimated population of at least one million inhabitants (Soriano, 2018). Later, public policies contributed to the development of small towns close to metropolises to prevent migration to large towns. Thus, several secondary cities have been developed with metropolises. This situation has accelerated the urbanization process (Ibrahim, 2016).

Historically, it all started with the Nigerian urban system (especially in the Yoruba countries), and the urban fabric gradually spread westwards and strengthened in the Sahelian strip. It can be recalled that there was a strong urbanization movement following the independence of West African states during the period 1950-2020, as well as large cities such as Kano in Nigeria, Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso and Cotonou in Benin. Industrialization and the construction of instruments for regulating public administration contributed to the emergence or strengthening of national capitals. Subsequent experiences of decentralization led to the promotion and equipping of small towns. Despite these experiences of decentralization, it has been observed that in African countries, urbanization is much more concentrated in urban areas while slums develop in other parts of these countries. This is because in most African countries, where decentralisation contributes to the development of certain cities, most of the major infrastructure in these countries is concentrated in one place. The state struggles to develop secondary cities while foreign investment is only directed towards the development of large cities or capitals. This justifies the presence of universities, hospitals, airports and international hotels only in the capitals of these African countries. As a result of this situation, there are very few large or developed cities in Africa as a whole, particularly in West Africa.

2.1.6. Assessment of Urban Systems in West Africa

There are different stages in the formation of any urban system. These stages essentially take place in four-step and West Africa does not seem to be an exception to this rule (Denis and Moriconi, 2009). Firstly, urbanisation is based on a small number of concentrations. This was the case for West African cities in the early colonial period when modern urbanisation was a new phenomenon. Then secondary concentrations appear so that in the second phase the urban network is based on a metropolis and several smaller cities. This is the case today for the smaller or less populated countries in the region, such as Gambia, Guinea Bissau and Togo. However, this was the case in Côte d'Ivoire and most West African countries in the 1950s and 1960s and after independence. In the third stage of evolution, the urban system developed, the secondary cities became hierarchical. Among them, there are several generations of agglomerations. Older and more built-up cities become large cities. Urbanisation rates increased, so that rural-urban migration rates began to rise. This is how the urban system emerges in Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria. In the fourth stage, cities resemble European cities and ancient urban systems. At this stage, urban hierarchies solidify. Population growth in the cities is low. The urbanisation rate is high, between 60% and 90% depending on the continent and the environment. However, the total urban population and the number of cities remain almost constant. It is noted that West African countries are not yet at this stage.

2.1.7. Urbanization in Benin

West Africa has long been the site of extreme urbanisation (Hitimana; Heinrigs; Trémolières, 2011: 8) with a population growing at 2.5% per year (Daziano, 2014: 47). Benin is hardly immune to this “urban revolution” that is taking place on the continent. In 1961, less than 12% of Benin's population lived in cities, in 1992 the urbanisation rate was 35% and it rose to almost 38.9% in 2002 (Ministère du Cadre de Vie et du Développement Durable, 2016: 6). In 2006, the urbanisation rate was estimated at 41.33% (INSAE, 2013), and according to the RGPH-3 data, this rate was 45.77% in 2012. According to Benin's Minister of Planning and Development, Benin

is currently undergoing rapid urbanisation correlated with strong demographic growth (+2.7% per year) which goes hand in hand with its economic development. He said: “It is very easy to see that urbanisation in Benin is concentrated in the coastal zone” with about 80% of the urban population located in the south of the country and 52% of the total population living in 10% of the territory. The minister also stressed that the urban framework was also unbalanced with four large agglomerations: Cotonou, Abomey-Calavi, Porto-Novo and Parakou which are under significant pressure in terms of social services, basic infrastructure and urban employment. This leads to environmental degradation, poverty, and a growing housing shortage (Tchané, 2019). The table below illustrates urbanisation rates in Benin over a period of about 40 years.

Table 3: Urban growth in Benin

Year	1979	1992	1997	2002	2006	2007	2012	2018
Urbanization	26.5	35.7	38.6	38.9	41.33	41.81	45.77	47
Rate	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

Source: RGPH3, outlook for the Beninese population from 2002-2012/ Tchané, 2019.

Some researchers find that this demographic dynamic is expressed not only by a rapid increase in the urban population in Benin but also by an urban concentration that is at the origin of a reduction in the number of cities from 32 to 27 (Tossou, Saliou, Vigninou , Guedenon and Agossou, 2018: 14). It must be said that the rate of urbanisation in Benin was relatively average, but the evolution from 2006 to 2018 shows strong growth. A trend towards urbanisation contrasts with the current capacity of Beninese cities to offer employment opportunities or to meet the needs of the population. These needs are often related to access to basic urban services and facilities, including housing. In addition, there is an urban imbalance, the corollary of which is the strong urbanisation of the coastline. This is due to the presence of the port in the city of Cotonou and the density of traffic with Nigeria (Danvidé, 2015: 65). While some researchers believe that only communes such as Cotonou, Abomey-Calavi, Bohicon, Abomey, Porto-Novo and Parakou have an urbanisation rate of more than 50% (Thomas and Djaouga, 2008: 25-46); other researchers argue that Benin's urban framework is articulated around three essential axes such as the three communes with special status (Cotonou, Porto-Novo and Parakou) which also represent the major

cities of Benin (Danvidé, 2015: 65-66). Cotonou and Porto-Novo are respectively the first two special status cities in Benin (INSAE, 2013). They are both located in the south of the country and are only 30 km apart at most (Danvidé, 2015: 66).

Table 4: Trend in the evolution of the urban population from 1979-2013

	Populations 1979		Populations 1992		Populations 2002		Populations 2013
	Total	Tx1979-1992	Total	Tx1992-2002	Total	Tx2002-2013	
Benin	3,331,210	2.82%	4,915,555	3.25%	6,769,914	3.51%	9,983,884
Cotonou	320,348	3.76%	536,827	2.17%	665,100	0.18%	678,874
Porto-Novo	133,168	2.14%	179,138	2.24%	223,552	1.48%	263,616
Parakou	60,915	3.86%	103,577	3.76%	149,819	4.81%	254,254

Source: Data extracted from RGPH4 (INSAE, 2013)

2.1.7.1. National Urban Context and Development of Beninese Cities

The national urban context is linked to the configuration of Beninese cities and the national framework. Based on the different criteria for defining cities in Benin, there are about 100 cities and urban centres. These cities are thus grouped according to three criteria: age, size of the administrative level, demographic and economic weight (Danvidé, 2015: 67). According to this grouping, there are three groups of cities in Benin.

- ✓ The old pre-colonial cities: (Abomey, Porto-Novo, Nikki, Djougou, Kandi, Ouidah, Athiémé), which have lost not only their influence but also their demographic growth is slower.

- ✓ Colonially created cities: (Cotonou, Bohicon, Parakou, Azové, Aplahoué) whose demographic and economic weight explains their high power of attraction.
- ✓ Cities born of the State's desire to create political-administrative axes whose creation does not have too much influence on the urban system: Natitingou, Lokossa.

Indeed, a new definition of a city has been introduced. A city is thus considered as “any agglomeration of 10,000 inhabitants or more and possessing at least four of the following infrastructures: post and telecommunications, revenue collection, public treasury, bank agency, water supply, electricity, health centre and high school” (INSAE, 1976). This definition adopted in 1992 considers an administrative criterion based on communal status and a population of at least 10,000 inhabitants. In 2002, a new functional criterion relating to activities was added to the definition and defined urban. The fourth general population and housing census (RGPH) conducted in 2013 counted 9,983,884 urban inhabitants (INSAE, 2013), compared to 6,769,914 in 2002 according to the third census (Danvidé, 2015: 68). According to some sources, Benin currently has 12,500,000 inhabitants in 2021 (Démographie en Afrique, 2021).

Table 5: Evolution of the population of the main cities of Benin from 1979 to 2013

	Populations 1979		Populations 1992		Populations 2002		Populations 2013
	Total	Tx1979-1992	Total	Tx1992-2002	Total	Tx2002-2013	
Benin	3,331,210	2.82%	4,915,555	3.25%	6,769,914	3.51%	9,983,884
Cotonou	320,348	3.76%	536,827	2.17%	665,100	0.18%	678,874
Porto-Novo	133,168	2.14%	179,138	2.24%	223,552	1.48%	263,616
Parakou	60,915	3.86%	103,577	3.76%	149,819	4.81%	254,254

Source: Data taken from INSAE statistics, 2013

2.2. HISTORY AND PRESENTATION OF THE CITY OF COTONOU

2.2.1. History of the city of Cotonou

Initially, the city of Cotonou was a very richly vegetated and densely forested area (Houinsou, 2006). The city was created during the reign of King Ghézo (1818-1858) by representatives of the King of Abomey who resided in the area. With its real name OKOUTONOU, which means “on the edge of the lagoon of death” (Sébastien, 1999: 91), present-day Cotonou is a colonial city that developed at the end of the 19th century. In 1888, the area of the city of Cotonou was ceded to the French by the king of Abomey, which had the effect of accelerating the process of its development (Danvidé, 2015: 70).

2.2.2. Presentation of the City of Cotonou

Being the main economic city of Benin and the capital of the Atlantic and Littoral departments, Cotonou is located on the coastal strip of Benin, on a narrow strip of land bounded to the south by the Atlantic Ocean, to the north by Lake Nokoué, the west by the municipality of Abomey-Calavi and to the east by the municipality of Sèmè Kpodji (Danvidé, 2015: 70). The city of Cotonou covers 79 km² and is cut in two by a natural channel of more than 4 km allowing lake waters coming together with the sea. The two parts of the city are connected by three bridges: the Old Bridge, the Martin Luther King Bridge and the Eisenhower Bridge (Danvidé, 2015: 70).

Administratively, the city of Cotonou is subdivided into thirteen districts and one hundred and forty (140) neighbourhoods. A special-status commune and essentially urban, Cotonou is the only city in the country to be set up as a department: that of the Littoral. It is governed by a municipal council headed by a mayor (Gnélé, 2010: 76).

Cotonou's climate is that of the coastal zone of southern Benin. However called “Beninese”, this climate is marked by two alternating dry and rainy seasons, as follows:

- a great rainy season from mid-march to mid-July;
- a small dry season from mid-July to mid-September;
- a small rainy season from mid-September to mid-November;
- a great dry season from mid-November to mid-March (Gnélé,2010: 83),

2.2.2.1. Population and Demographic Evolution in Cotonou

The expansion of the city of Cotonou has started since the end of the Second World War. In the thirties, the city of Cotonou was only a small town next to the large Porto-Novo. For example, in 1932, Cotonou had only 5,000 inhabitants, while Porto-Novo already had 20,000 (Gnélé, 2010: 88). In 1945, Cotonou was the second city after Porto-Novo with a strong population of 18,000 inhabitants (Sébastien, 1999: 91). This rapid development of the city of Cotonou was not only linked to the development of economic activities and administrative services but also to the construction of the “wharf” (Gnélé, 2010: 88). The city of Cotonou had 320,332 inhabitants in 1979 then to 536,827 inhabitants in 1992. In 2002, the population of the city of Cotonou rose to 665,100 inhabitants. We can therefore note that the city of Cotonou experienced an increase of 7.7% between the years 1961 and 1979. A rate which decreased to 5.4% between 1979 and 1992 and 2.17% between 1992 and 2002. This decrease is due to the installation of a few inhabitants in the peripheral municipalities such as Abomey-Calavi and Sèmé Kpodji. In the 2010s, the population of the city of Cotonou was around 1,200,000 inhabitants (Gnélé, 2010: 88). But given the observation of the demographic slowdown and the growth rate of around 2%, the population of Cotonou was 679,012 inhabitants in 2013 (INSAE, 2013). This increase which could allow the growth of the peripheral districts of the neighbouring cities such as Abomey-Calavi, Sèmè-Kpodji and Ouidah. According to some sources, Cotonou's urban area is 2.2 million inhabitants today (Bénin-tourisme, 2017). The only city to be established as a department, Cotonou appears to be the most important agglomeration of Benin with a population comparable to those of the most populous departments of the country such as the Atlantic, Ouémé and Borgou (Gnélé, 2010: 88). With a demographic weight of around 10% of the national workforce, the population of the city of Cotonou is, in a way, the "reflection" of the national population (Gnélé, 2010: 91-92). According to INSAE, the population of Cotonou is characterized by a socio-cultural plurality in that

most of the country's socio-cultural groups are represented. Among these nationalities, Fon and related (56.7%) are in the majority, followed the Adja and related (18.3%). Next come the Yoruba and related 11.5%. The rest are made up of many minorities including the Dendi, Bariba, Haoussa, Peulh, Bètamari (INSAE, 2002). In the city of Cotonou, there are also several foreign nationalities, the majority of which are Lebanese-Syrians, Indo-Pakistanis, Togolese, Congolese, Nigerians, Nigerians (Ibo and Yoruba), Ivoirians and Sierra Leoneans. On the religious level, we distinguish Catholics, Muslims and other Christians (celestial and traditional cults).

2.2.2.2. Economic Activities in Cotonou

It is important to remember that the city of Cotonou concentrates more than 45% of the assets of the ten (10) main cities of Benin. It is followed by Porto-Novo (14.5%) and Parakou (7.2%) (Gnélé, 2010: 101). The country's leading economic city, Cotonou is a double gateway to Benin: a maritime entry through the port of Cotonou, and an entry to Nigeria (which became the leading economic power on the African continent in 2014) via the land border of Sèmè-Kpodji (Danvidé, 2015: 100). Beninese metropolis, Cotonou is a gateway for doing business with other West African countries and particularly the UEMOA countries (Chabi, 2013). Like Benin, the city of Cotonou is also characterised by three sectors.

In Cotonou, the primary sector includes market gardening, floriculture, fishing (continental and maritime) and livestock. Market gardening is the most common form of urban agriculture and supplies the urban population with basic foodstuffs. The main cultivated products are Solanum, amaranth, carrot, cabbage, cucumber, leek, celery, tomato, beet, lettuce, radish, green bean, parsley, onion, chilli, horsehair and okra. As for floriculture, it concerns the cultivation of ornamental plants practiced along the main arteries and close to residential areas inhabited by senior officials and especially expatriates (Gnélé, 2010: 103). Fishing is practiced in several ways in Cotonou. Industrial maritime fishing, artisanal maritime fishing is practised by some 952 fishermen, of whom only 412 are Beninese (43.28%) and continental fishing practised mainly in Lake Nokoué. In the area of livestock, Benin has several species of domestic

animals, including cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, numerous rabbits and grasshoppers and a variety of poultry (chickens, ducks, pigeons and other birds) (Gnélé, 2010: 103).

The secondary sector in the city of Cotonou is relatively small but highly concentrated on the agro-food industry (SERHAU-SA / DPDM / MCOT, 2006). Apart from the predominant food industry, the other activities of the secondary sector in Cotonou encompass wood, rubber and plastics processing, printing, chemical industry, buildings and public works. This sector also includes artisanal activities of welding, ironwork, sculpture, basketry (Gnélé, 2010: 104).

Finally, the tertiary sector represents the most dynamic sector of the Cotonou economy. This sector employs only 36% of the working population and contributes the most to the formation of the local GDP. The success of this sector is linked to the geostrategic position of Benin, which makes Benin a transit corridor for imports from neighbouring countries or other countries in the region from the port of Cotonou (Gnélé, 2010: 105). The Autonomous Port of Cotonou is the real lifeblood of the national economy, with 90% exchanges with abroad and more than 60% of the country's GDP, it is one of the largest ports in the region. It trades with Europe, North and South America and Asia, making Cotonou a “warehouse city” generating intense trade, handling and logistics (Benin-tourisme, 2017). The tertiary sector in Cotonou encompasses not only trade but also considers banking and other services such as catering, tourism, transport and telecommunications.

CHAPTER THREE

COTONOU CITY AND THE LAW OF THE PRIMATE CITY

3.1. THE ELEMENTS OF A PRIMATE CITY AND THE CASE OF COTONOU

Table 6 presents the classification of the population of the first three major cities of Benin. In 2013, according to the 4th census in the Republic of Benin by INSAE, the total population of Benin was 10,008,749 inhabitants. But according to some sources, Benin currently has 12,500,000 inhabitants in 2021 (Démographie en Afrique, 2021). It was found that Cotonou was the largest city in Benin with a population of 679,012. Its association with the city of Abomey-Calavi, which was its satellite city, increased its population to over 1,200,000 inhabitants. Porto-Novo was the second largest city in Benin with a population of 264,320 followed by Parakou which was the third largest city with a population of 255,478 (INSAE, 2013). On the basis of this information from INSAE, and when the population of Abomey-Calavi (a satellite city of Cotonou) is combined with the population of Cotonou, it is easy to confirm that Cotonou fulfils the first element of Jefferson's law because it is disproportionately large.

Table 6: Classification of the population of the first three major cities of Benin

Year Cities	Populations in 2013
Cotonou	679,012
Porto-Novo	264,320
Parakou	255,478

Source: INSAE, 2013

There are several factors that can be used to justify why in a country, a single city manages to exceed all the other cities in terms of population. With reference to

Linsky's (1965) analysis, six factors can explain the reasons for such disproportion. Recent studies have also confirmed these analyses proposed by Linsky (Reed 1972; Dimitrova and Ausloos 2015). We will thus make the effort to examine Benin from the six factors proposed by Linsky in order to identify the possibilities of urban primacy existing in Benin as well as the degree of this primacy.

3.1.1. Areal Extent of the Country

In this first hypothesis, it is a question of the association between the geographical extent of a country and the degree of primacy. Thus, countries in which all requested “big city” services are provided by a single large city are considered to be countries where primacy is fairly high. This is what Linsky shows by explaining that the presence of a single large city manifests itself most often in a country where the primacy is clearly perceived. Given the importance and role played by this single large city, these countries are therefore obliged to invest in order to better maintain this large city. However, for some, the maintenance task of this city would then be much more important in a territorially extended country given the problems of transport and communication whereas this maintenance task would be much less important in a clearly dense country (Linsky, 1965: 507). Dzik therefore estimates that countries with an exceptionally small area are more capable to own a primate city than countries with a large area (Dzik, 2018: 8). Indeed, Benin is a country in West Africa with an area of 114.763 km² and has about 12 million inhabitants (INSAE, 2013). In terms of economy, Benin is a developing country (MEHU, 2002). Therefore, one can argue that Cotonou is the economic capital of a fairly small country.

3.1.2. Relative Degree of a Country's Affluence

The second hypothesis takes into account the degree of wealth of a country. To this measure the degree of wealth of a country, it would then be important to know the average income per capita of this country. It was shown above that the degree of possible primacy is limited by the geographical extent of a country. Considering that a more affluent population would need a greater volume and range of services and

goods, it is supposed that it would be very difficult for a single centre to provide these services at the risk of being faced with some problems: the problems of obtaining services over long distances and the slow pace of service delivery. We can understand that urban demands would strengthen the development of local cities in rich countries which will be able to meet these different demands. In contrast, in developing or poor countries, there is a limited number of services and goods provided by cities. This therefore allows the big cities of these poor countries to always maintain a monopoly on these services. In other words, it is these big cities that provide all the “big city” services demanded in these poor countries. Linsky predicts that per capita income is prone to be negatively associated with the degree of primacy of eminent city because a wealthy population would demand much more from high volume services than a low income population (Linsky, 1965: 507). Benin was considered a low income country. But since July 1, 2020, Benin finds itself in the category of middle-income countries with a per capita income that goes from \$ 870 to \$ 1,250 (MEFR, Direction générale du Trésor, 2020). Indeed, we can therefore observe an inequality in income levels between the different regions of Benin. Considering therefore that official statistics do not manage to display a complete picture of income levels given certain informal economic activities carried out by certain Beninese inhabitants in certain localities of the country, it can be argued that the revenues of the Cotonou region are clearly higher than other regions of the country.

3.1.3. The Economy’s Dependence on Exports

From hypotheses 1 and 2, we have shown that a high primacy would be stimulated both by a country with a small area and by a very poor country insofar as these two elements would make the problem of the distribution of services less serious in the big cities. In addition, we can estimate that the installation of consumers of these services in the primate city could further reduce the problem of distribution. This is why most countries whose economies are heavily dependent on exports usually have primate city distributions (Dzik, 2018: 10). Linsky then finds a positive relationship between the dependence of a country's economy on exports and the degree of primacy of the dominant city (Linsky 1965: 508). It should be remembered that the economy of Benin is strongly dominated by agriculture and services (in total 85% of the

economy). This economy is really dependent on exports of cotton. Since the 1990s, cotton production has represented 80% of export earnings and Benin has become the leading exporter of cotton in West Africa (Amoussa & Hounsinou, 2009). In 2019, exports (CFAF 498 billion in 2019) are highly concentrated on three product categories, namely cotton lint (53% of the country's exports), cashew nuts (9% of exports) and oilseeds (4.7% of exports) (MEFR, Direction générale du Trésor, 2020). The value of these exports is generally used for the construction of infrastructure, for social programs and the development of the country.

3.1.4. Ex-colonial Status

It is generally found that countries which were former European colonies or involved in a colonial system most often have a primate city model (Robinson, 1980) due to the fact that these countries remain economically interdependent (Linsky, 1965: 508). Dahomey, current Benin was a former French colony of which some elements of the economic and political structure still remain under the control of the French. Most of the inhabitants even consider Cotonou to be a “European city” due to the fact that this city was born during the colonial era (Sébastien, 1999: 91). The development of the city of Cotonou was favoured not only by the colonial policy but also by the policy of the governments of Benin. This therefore encouraged the abundant migration of populations from other regions of Benin to the city of Cotonou and certain large cities of Benin (Sébastien, 1999: 91). These policies then reinforced the existing inequality between the most populated cities and the villages of Benin.

3.1.5. Proportion of the Population Engaged in Agriculture

For some authors, countries where the vast majority of their population is engaged in agriculture are able to have primate cities. These strongly agricultural countries are generally exporting and poor countries in which the industrial sector is often embryonic (Linsky, 1965: 508). We note then that a strong population of a country engaged in agriculture would reinforce the degree of primacy of the dominant city. The economic structure of Benin is characterized by three sectors. A primary

sector dominated by agriculture which employs 48% of the working population and a very embryonic secondary sector due to its low contribution to GDP (less than 14%) and its contribution to employment (16%) (Gbetoenonmon, 2013: 11-12). In 2020, the primary sector represents 28.1% of the GDP, the secondary sector 14.6% of which 6% for the agro-food industries and 4.4% for the building (MEFR, Direction générale du Trésor, 2020). Although the tertiary sector contributes about 49% of the GDP and is dominated by services, trade and transport (MEFR, General Directorate of the Treasury, 2020), it can be said that most of the Beninese population lives thanks to the agriculture. It should be noted that all these activities are concentrated in the big cities of Benin in particular Cotonou.

3.1.6. The Rate of Population Growth

It was noticed that a rapid rate of national population growth would play a big role in the development of primate cities especially in underdeveloped countries. This growth is often caused by a sharp decline in death rates over a long period of time while birth rates stay always high (Karan, 1994). The population of Benin was estimated at nearly 3,331,210 inhabitants in 1979. In 2002, this population increased to 6,769,914 inhabitants. In 2013, Benin had 10,008,749 inhabitants (INSAE, 2013). According to some counting operations carried out in Benin, Benin currently has 12,500,000 inhabitants in 2021 (Démographie en Afrique, 2021). On the basis of these figures up to 2010, it can be deduced that the population of Benin is increasing by almost 300,000 people per year, i.e. a rate of 3.2% per year (Guengant, 2011: 8). From 1960 to 1990, Benin's crude birth rate was between 43 and 46 per 1,000 inhabitants; while from 1990 to 2010, this rate was between 40 and 45. In this same period, that is to say the period between 1960 and 1990, the mortality rate was between 17 and 25 per 1,000 inhabitants while from 1990 to 2010, this rate remained between 8 and 14 (Guengant, 2011: 8). It should be mentioned that Cotonou also respects these different elements mentioned above despite the fact that Cotonou is not the official capital of Benin. Cotonou is not only the most populous city in Benin but also the economic capital of the country (Guengant, 2011: 7). Cotonou has been entrusted with the majority of functions as it is the seat of most of the Republic's institutions, chancelleries, international organisations as well as the country's industries and main

business centres. In other words, 2/3 of Benin's industrial and administrative establishments are located in Cotonou (Gnéle, 2010).

3.2. SITE, SITUATION AND EVOLUTION OF COTONOU

It would be important to clarify the concepts of site and situation. The site constitutes the first stages of a human settlement (city or village). In other words, the site generally refers to the geographical position of an area and takes into account the physical characteristics of that place (Dickinson, 1947). These site characteristics include several factors such as climate, navigation and refuge potential, soil characteristics, potable water supply and relief. These characteristics can also include human constructions such as airports, ports, road infrastructures, large hospitals. When the site constitutes the first stages of a human settlement, the situation is then able to represent the factor that over time influences the success or failure of this human settlement (Dzik, 2018: 11). The situation usually includes a series of circumstances such as the location of a place in the regional or global framework, natural or man-made disasters, economic and social changes etc. Despite the climate of Cotonou which would seem to be like that of Benin, certain historical and current site characteristics of Cotonou are not favourable to the development of this city. According to some research, Cotonou was initially a city on the coast of the Gulf of Benin, located on the littoral and really wooded. Its site, a sandy and flat coastal plain (therefore difficult to drain) is dotted with lowlands and swamps, especially in the North and North-West (Sébastien, 1999: 91). It is understandable that the Cotonou site was in fact not very suitable for urbanisation or human settlement. Despite this, we can see that Cotonou is currently the city with the highest human concentration in Benin. With this in mind, it is important to understand what may have influenced the growth of this city.

Cotonou and Porto-Novo are two cities that belong to different generations. As said previously, Porto-Novo is a pre-colonial city dating from the 17th century while Cotonou is a colonial city from the 19th century. The city of Porto-Novo developed thanks to the royal palace built by Prince Tè-Agbanlin. Initially, like some cities, Porto-Novo was also a city-palace housing the royal court. In this city, there were

Yorouba immigrants and the companions of Prince Tè-Agbanlin. At the end of the slave trade, some Afro-Brazilians who returned to Africa had also decided to settle in the Porto-Novo region. Considering the influx of the population in this city in the years 1945, Porto-Novo was erected as the capital of the colony of Dahomey and was divided into two distinct parts: to the east of the city of Porto-Novo was the city African and to the south-west was the European city which brought together administrative buildings, urban roads and tidy residential houses, unlike the earthen huts of the original nucleus (Sébastien, 1999: 91). The city of Porto-Novo created by native populations which was originally a city-palace and became the colonial capital is located on a good healthy and salubrious site allowing urbanization. In the years 1945, the city of Porto-Novo had 29,000 inhabitants and was the first city and capital of Dahomey. It housed the seat of the governorate, the buildings and administrative services. The development of the city of Cotonou and the urbanization process in Cotonou began with the construction and commissioning of the Cotonou wharf in the years 1893. The construction of this Wharf required a large workforce came from others pre-colonial cities such as Porto-Novo, Ouidah, Grand-Popo, Agoué, Allada and Abomey (Sébastien, 1999: 91). This is how most migrants came to settle in the Cotonou region. This city was sheltered by settlers and separated from the African region. In 1945, the city of Cotonou was the second city behind Porto-Novo with a population of 18,000 inhabitants. Cotonou developed according to a checkerboard plan. In those years, Cotonou represented the commercial capital of the colony and was home to most of the trading houses and the first banks of Dahomey. Cotonou being the ocean and airport gateway, it is the hub of the communication routes that linked it to the rest of the colony and to the West African sub-region. The city of Cotonou was therefore assured of rapid growth in the years to come, given its geographical position and its various commercial functions in 1945 (Sébastien, 1999: 91-92).

World War II fostered new relations between France and its colonial empire. A new law was signed on the financial level and stipulated the direct financial intervention of the metropolis in the equipment of the colonies. French black Africa being poor in metropolitan public investment will therefore have to benefit from the new French economic policy. This funding released by the Investment and Economic and Social Development Fund (FIDES) should be granted first to the large cities of the colonial empire. These large cities at that time were the political and economic capital

of each colonies. The city of Porto-Novo and that of Cotonou of Dahomey, present-day Benin, were therefore part of the twenty large cities chosen at the time in French West Africa (AOF) (Marchés coloniaux du monde, 1952: 432). Thus, these two cities of Dahomey should benefit from these metropolitan investments. Indeed, in the distribution of funds to these two large cities of Dahomey, it was noted an inequality. The city of Cotonou had benefited from more urban public investments than the city of Porto-Novo because of its geographical position, its weight in the national economy, its nature (new city) and some situations (Sébastien, 1999: 92). Firstly, during the execution of the first four-year development plan (1948-1952), it was noted that the city of Cotonou had received more credit than the city of Porto-Novo in the sense that the important transport infrastructures (roads, bridges, wharf, airport) were concentrated in Cotonou and that this city also housed the majority of Europeans. Secondly, as Porto-Novo was previously a palace town, the implementation of the urban development plan in this town had experienced enormous difficulties linked to ancestral traditions. In other words, the population of Porto-Novo, very attached to its customs, opposed the layout of roads and the modernisation of the city in order to avoid the destruction of the graves of ancestors buried in the houses. While in Cotonou, funding has enabled the modernization and renewal of urban infrastructure. As a result, the urban plan drawn up in 1961 and which was included in the last four-year plan launched after 1956 by FIDES to build the capitals of future independent nations in 1960 only considered the city of Cotonou. It was therefore the realization of this development plan that had accelerated the process of concentration of the administrative function by Cotonou to the detriment of Porto-Novo with the construction of certain major national infrastructures such as the construction of the imposing 350-bed hospital, the palace Presidential, the creation of the new district of Patte d'Oie to house the major national administrative services. Even after independence, the city of Cotonou has not ceased to benefit from urban public investments to the detriment of Porto-Novo which is the real capital of Benin. We can therefore highlight some major infrastructures erected in Cotonou after independence: the construction of a deep water port in 1965, the construction of the large international market of Dantokpa in 1968, the construction of the Omni sport stadium of Kouhounou and the establishment of hotels PLM and Sheraton in the 1970s and 1980s. All these infrastructures have strengthened the power of attraction and the functions of the city of Cotonou (Sébastien, 1999: 93). These sites under construction in the city of Cotonou

in the 1950s and 1960s had therefore created many jobs which required an abundant workforce from the rest of the country. As a result, the population of Cotonou exceeded that of Porto-Novo and since that time, this gap has continued to widen between these two large cities.

Table 7: Population of the two cities at different dates

YEAR	COTONOU (Population)	PORTO-NOVO (Population)
1910	1,954	19,039
1937	6,811	27,016
1945	18,000	29,000
1956	56,529	31,009
1961	78,300	64,000
1979	320,346	133,168
1992	536,827	179,138

Sources: 1910, 1937, 1945: R. Dan-Koukpaki, 1986. 1956, 1961, 1979, 1992: INSAE publications.

In addition to the factors mentioned above, the development of the city of Cotonou to the detriment of the city of Porto-Novo is also characterised by two other phenomena. The first concerns the threat of the transfer of the capital from Porto-Novo to Cotonou. Considering the multiple infrastructures and equipment erected in Cotonou, several steps have been taken so that Cotonou becomes the capital of Benin. Unfortunately, none of the steps taken had been successful. Thus, after independence in 1960, the first president of Dahomey decided to establish, with French assistance, the seat of his government in Cotonou for reasons of personal security. The transfer of the seat of government from Porto-Novo to Cotonou had led to the second phenomenon: the exodus of services of national interest from Porto-Novo to Cotonou. This is what enabled Cotonou to acquire new functions and welcome a large part of the population. The departure of the seat of government from Porto-Novo to Cotonou

in 1960 has enabled the city of Cotonou to house today all the ministries, all the new institutions born thanks to the democratic renewal, the seat of the five large central unions in the country and all newspapers, almost all political parties and major universities in the country. Cotonou also represents the city which keeps the monopoly of French, American, Russian and Chinese cultural centres etc. (Sébastien, 1999: 96). As for Porto-Novo, it only inherited the seat of the National Assembly (Beninese parliament) but still retains the honorary title of capital of Benin (Sébastien, 1999: 96). In short, although the efforts to transfer the capital from Porto-Novo to Cotonou were unsuccessful, Cotonou strengthened and diversified its urban functions to the point where it is today the de facto capital of Benin with the functions of economic, administrative and political command (Sébastien, 1999: 93).

Today, Cotonou is made up of two large areas. A first area of large facilities housing the main institutions of the republic, foreign chancelleries, international institutions near Benin. The presence of these facilities in this city gives the city of Cotonou the status of the country's main decision-making centre. A second commercial zone which includes not only the two large markets Dantokpa and Ganhi but also infrastructures and equipment such as the port, the airport, industries, businesses and various companies, trading and transit houses. The presence of this equipment and infrastructure also confers on the city of Cotonou the status of the country's main economic hub. In addition to these infrastructures and equipment, the city of Cotonou has a long road network, a rail network and a little organized and reduced river network. As for basic urban services, the city of Cotonou has health infrastructure, school infrastructure, water and electric power. The city of Cotonou is one of the best equipped in the country in terms of health infrastructures with the National University Hospital Centre (CNHU-HKM) and the maternity hospital of national standing (HOMEL). This city is also the most endowed in the country in terms of educational infrastructure (Gnélé, 2010: 108-112).

As we can see, the site characteristics really did not play a big role in the growth of Cotonou. On the other hand, situational factors have allowed Cotonou to rise sharply to the primacy of population size and national capacity. And until today, Cotonou continues to develop while still benefiting from the favours of the Beninese government. This further encourages regional inequalities between Cotonou and other regions of Benin.

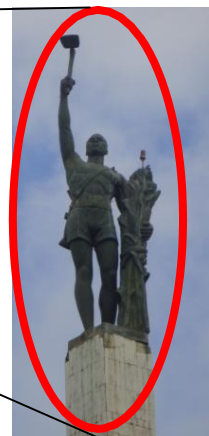
3.3. COTONOU AND “NATIONAL FEELING”

The third factor in Jefferson's law concerns “national feeling”. In our present thesis, the meaning of “national feeling” will focus on the city which is representative of the history and culture of a country. This is what Dickinson asserts when he mentions that “a primate city functions as the leader of the country and the cities of a vast hinterland and is a historic centre of economy and culture” (Dickinson, 1947). History has left many legacies in many cities of Benin. Historically, Beninese culture is based on spirituality, religious practice and myths (Benin-tourisme, 2017). In Benin, there are several endogenous religions of which the most practiced are Islam, Christianity and Voodoo. Benin had Voodoo as its first religion in 2000, but according to the latest general census of Benin, Christianity has become the first religion in Benin, followed by Islam and then Voodoo (INSAE, 2013). The great diversity of religious and ritual dances also contributes to the cultural richness of Benin. The cultural diversity of Benin is reflected in cults and traditions specific to each ethnic group. Danvidé declares that the fitted out spaces and the cultural heritage of a city, whatever they are, constitute an intimate part, structuring and reflecting the identity of this urban community (Danvidé, 2015: 122). Indeed, after the colonial period, Benin registered not only new cities such as Cotonou but also many legacies in several of its cities. These heritages also represented the cultural landscape and were indicators of Benin’s identity. These legacies generally encompassed landscaped areas, various sites and monuments. In the case of Cotonou, the landscaped spaces (gardens, roundabouts, public places) and the heritage potential are significant elements that influence the daily life of townspeople and Beninese citizens. Most of these developed spaces, the various sites and monuments in Cotonou constitute the identity indicators of a city created in 1830 on the initiative of King Guézo. This is explained by the fact that the city of Cotonou has gradually been enriched by all the ethnicities of the whole of Benin, but also of the country's political history (Danvidé, 2015: 122). This has therefore enabled Cotonou to become today a representation of Benin in miniature by the richness of its population. The cultural heritage of the city of Cotonou can be defined as the set of tangible and / or intangible goods inherited from the mixture of cultures and traditions that have influenced the development of the city in time and space. From a historical point of view and the influence of heritage expressions, the

factor of this mixture is the strongly marked ethnic component which is justified by the dynamic process of settlement (Danvidé, 2015: 125).

As mentioned above, the 'national feeling' in this thesis revolves around two aspects: the history and culture of a country. In other words, a city that reflects the history and culture of a country is then representative of the national feeling. Thus, the images below present various aspects of the cultural landscape of Cotonou. These images illustrate the juxtaposition of the modern Beninese metropolis and the country's recent history, combined with monuments to Benin's heritage. Events around the city of Cotonou reflect modern developments, some effects of globalisation and multicultural heritage. The cultural landscape of the city conveys conflicting messages about the extent to which Cotonou embodies national feeling.

Picture 3: Place of Red Star and Monument in Cotonou, Square and monument of the revolution in Cotonou



Source: Koutchoro, 2010; Danvidé, 2013

These two images above show the Place of Red Star which is the main landscaped square in the city of Cotonou. These images represent the strong symbol of the Benin revolution. The monument marks an important stage in the history of the revolution from 1972 to 1989 with the military regime led by General Mathieu Kérékou.

Picture 4: Memorial Square (former place of the Martyrs) in Cotonou



Source: Tripadvisor, 2021

On January 16, 1977, a group of mercenaries in the pay of hard-pressed international imperialism unleashed an armed aggression against the heroic Beninese people and their democratic and popular revolution by attacking the city of Cotonou. In fact, seven Beninese including six soldiers and one civilian perished during the mercenary aggression against Benin. Thus, a monument named "place of the Martyrs", current "place of memory" was set up in honour of these Heroes who died during this aggression.

Picture 5: CICA Toyota roundabout from Vedoko in Cotonou



Source: Danvidé, 2013

The CICA Toyota crossroads of Cotonou is a landscape heritage that includes tangible and intangible assets where economic and cultural activities are organised. This heritage is of major interest in understanding the history and development of the city of Cotonou and of Benin.

Picture 6: Republic, Reconciliation and Peace Square



Source: Danvidé, 2013

The Republic Square houses the monument of reconciliation and peace. In other words, this square is the symbol of reconciliation and peace. This square is located in area of the central power of the country (presidential palace, the courthouse, the convention centre), in the heart of the city of Cotonou.

Picture 7: Old building where King Béhanzin stayed



Source: Danvidé, 2013

This image located in Cotonou constitutes a royal heritage which presents an old building where King Béhanzin stayed before his deportation. Today, this building has been rehabilitated but still remains an element of testimony in memory of King Béhanzin who by his courage marked Dahomey, current Benin and the whole world.

Picture 8: Cotonou prefecture building with Afro-Brazilian architecture style



Source: Danvidé, 2013

This building is constructed in the city of Cotonou and represents a colonial heritage for Benin. It should be recalled that the colonial legacy is also manifested in the administrative and residential architecture of the settlers and the Dahomean bourgeoisie before the country's independence.

Picture 9: Zangbeto Kpakliyaou World Headquarters: Toïgbé Convent of Cotonou



Source: Danvidé, 2013

In Cotonou, religious traditions have often developed typical original aspects, and include as heritage elements temples and convents dedicated to "voodoo" deities, but also mosques and Christian churches of different denominations. The images above show some of Benin's religious heritage, cultural and sacred sites in Cotonou.

Picture 10: Dantokpa Market



Source: Tripadvisor, 2021

Opened in 1963, the Dantokpa Market is one of the largest open-air markets in West Africa. It covers 18 hectares of land on the coast of Cotonou in Benin. The Dantokpa Market is an important source of income for men and women in West Africa. Often described as a "city within a city", the Dantokpa Market functions as the region's trade Mecca with approximately one million shoppers gathering daily and a commercial turnover of over one billion CFA francs per day.

Although some studies clarify and confirm that Cotonou is a representation of Benin in miniature by the richness of its population and its cultural diversity (Danvidé, 2015: 122), other readings seem to reduce this clarity (Bénin-tourisme, 2017). The brochures and the websites of the tour operators present several other places such as Ouidah, Porto-Novo, Abomey, Djougou, Nikki and other cities as places where one can discover the "real Benin" and this therefore suggests that there are several "Benins". Knowing that Beninese culture is based on the one hand on spirituality, religious practices and some cultural diversity according to each ethnic group, some readings have noted that these practices have been embedded in the traditions of peoples for centuries. This allows us to understand that this aspect of Beninese culture

was born in the old pre-colonial towns of Benin (Gwenaël, 2015). It is only with time that these ethnic groups and all these practices have emerged in the city of Cotonou. In addition, to the few legacies present in the city of Cotonou, it should be mentioned that history has also left a multitude of heritage legacies in other regions of Benin. Among others, we can cite the “Door of no Return” and the “Temple of the Pythons” erected in the city of Ouidah. The “Door of no Return” is a monument that commemorates the deportation of millions of captives enslaved to the colonies across the Atlantic in the slave trade. As for the “Temple of the Pythons”, it is a Voodoo sanctuary, a place dedicated to the worship of the snake in Ouidah from the end of the seventeenth century. In Porto-Novo, we have the “Honme museum” (Royal Palace) which is a former royal residence. We find in Dassa-zoume the “Cave Notre-Dame d'Arigbo”. This cave is a place of pilgrimage for Catholics and is located in the area of the Hills of Benin. In the north of Benin, we have the presence of “Kaba museum” erected in the town of Natitingou. This museum is built in memory of King Kaba. We can also speak of the museum of the “Great Mosque” in Parakou and the museum of the “Royal Palace of Kilir” in the city of Djougou (Bénin-tourisme, 2017).

3.4. ANALYSIS OF THE TWENTY-SIX INTERVIEWS

In order to deepen our analyses, interviews were conducted with twenty-six Beninese residents, twenty of whom were men and six women. These interviews with these Beninese residents allow us to explain how the city of Cotonou has developed in relation to other cities in Benin and to better understand the issue of “national feeling”. The people chosen for the interview were selected on the basis of our knowledge and existing literature. These interviewees appear to be a representative sample as they ranged in age from twenty-three to sixty-five years and included students, service workers, housewives, pensioners and university professors. Twelve of the interviewees resided in southern Benin, three of whom had a direct link to the city of Cotonou and nine of whom lived in other cities in southern Benin. Ten lived in the north of Benin, while the other four lived in central Benin. The interviews took place in February 2021 and were mainly conducted in French.

Table 8: Classification of the characteristics of the interviewees

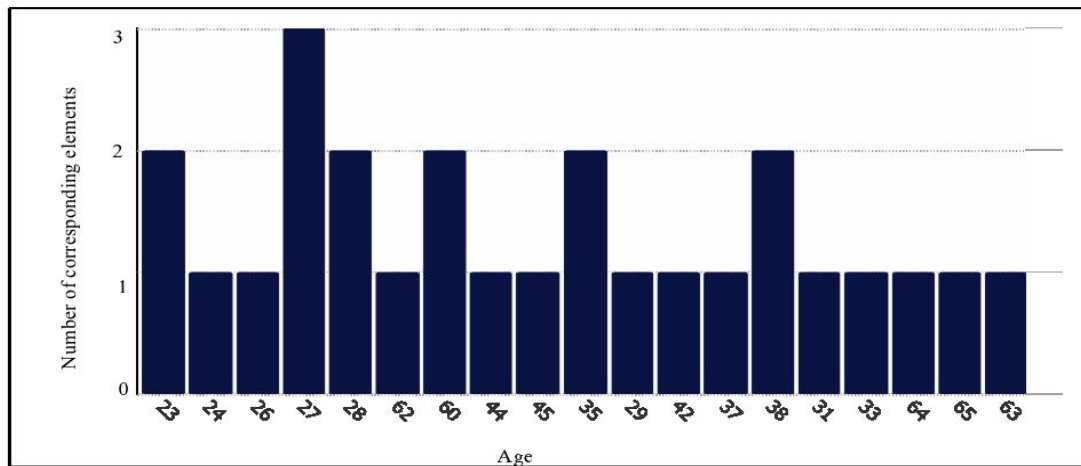
	1. Sex	2. Age	3. Function	4. City or region
A	Male	64	Pensioner	Djougou (North Benin)
B	Male	63	Pensioner	Kandi (North Benin)
C	Female	35	Housewife	Parakou (North Benin)
D	Male	45	Service worker	Porto-Novo (South Benin)
E	Male	23	Student	Abomey-calavi (South Benin)
F	Male	37	Service worker	Allada (South Benin)
G	Male	27	Student	Abomey (South Benin)
H	Male	62	Municipal councillor	Abomey-calavi (South Benin)
I	Male	33	Student	Savalou (Centre Benin)
J	Female	27	Student	Tchaourou (Centre Benin)
K	Male	31	Service worker	Bantè (Centre Benin)
L	Male	29	Student	Ouaké (North Benin)
M	Male	26	Student	Pobè (South Benin)
N	Male	65	Pensioner	Cotonou (South Benin)
O	Male	38	Service worker	Naguélé (North Benin)
P	Female	42	Housewife	Cotonou (South Benin)
Q	Male	38	Service worker	Parakou (North Benin)
R	Male	23	Student	Djougou (North Benin)
S	Female	28	Student	Kandi (North Benin)
T	Male	24	Student	Dogbo (South Benin)
U	Male	60	Pensioner	Abomey-calavi (South Benin)
V	Female	35	Service worker	Cotonou (South Benin)
W	Male	60	Service worker	Ouaké (North Benin)
X	Male	44	University Professor	Agonlin (South Benin)
Y	Male	28	Student	Bantè (Centre Benin)
Z	Female	27	Housewife	Kandi (North Benin)

Source: Interviews

In order to verify the proportions of the people interviewed according to each characteristic, we used certain graphs.

The age of our interviewees varies between 23 and 65 years. The distribution of the interviewees according to their age is presented in graph N°1 below.

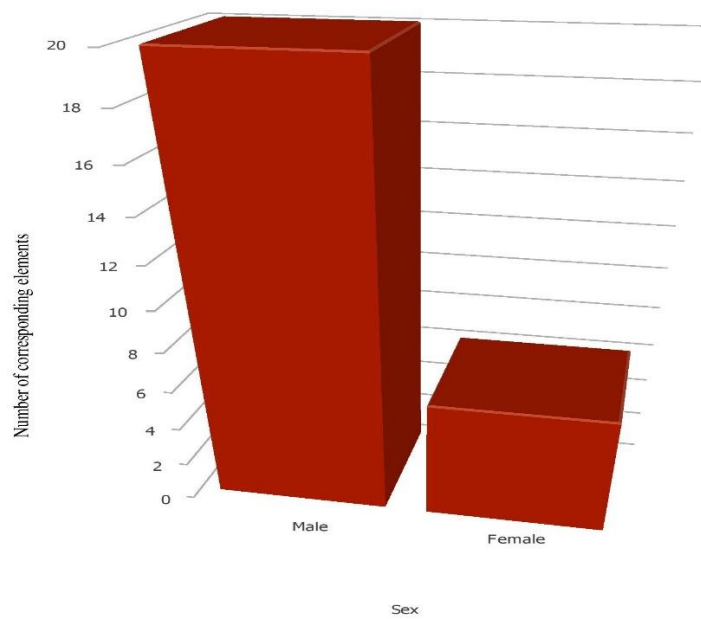
Graph 1: Distribution of interviewees according to age



Source: Interviews

The distribution of the interviewees according to gender is presented in graph N°2 below.

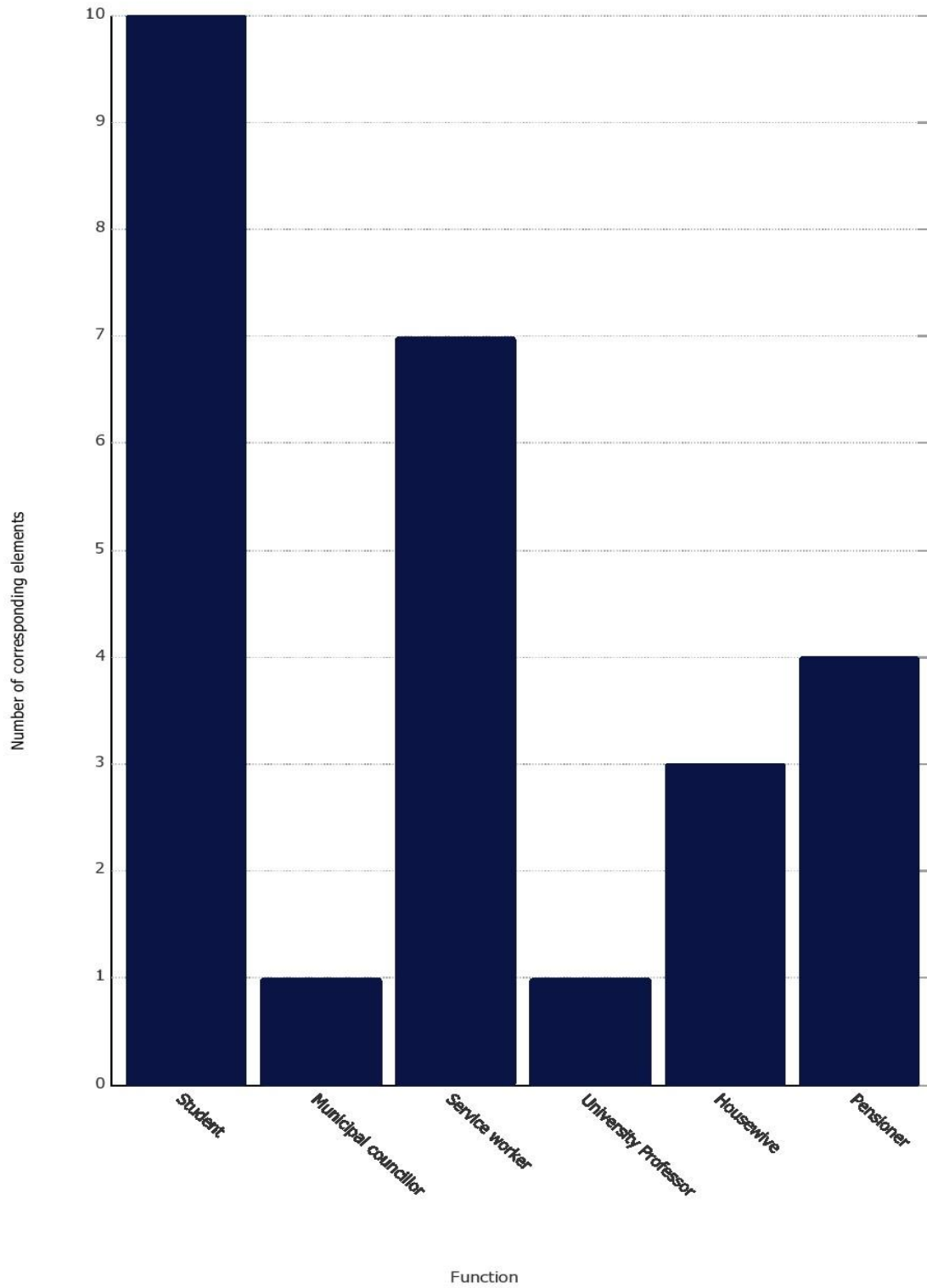
Graph 2: Distribution of interviewees according to gender



Source: Interviews

The interviewees work in six different functions. The distribution of these interviewees according to their function is presented in graph N°3.

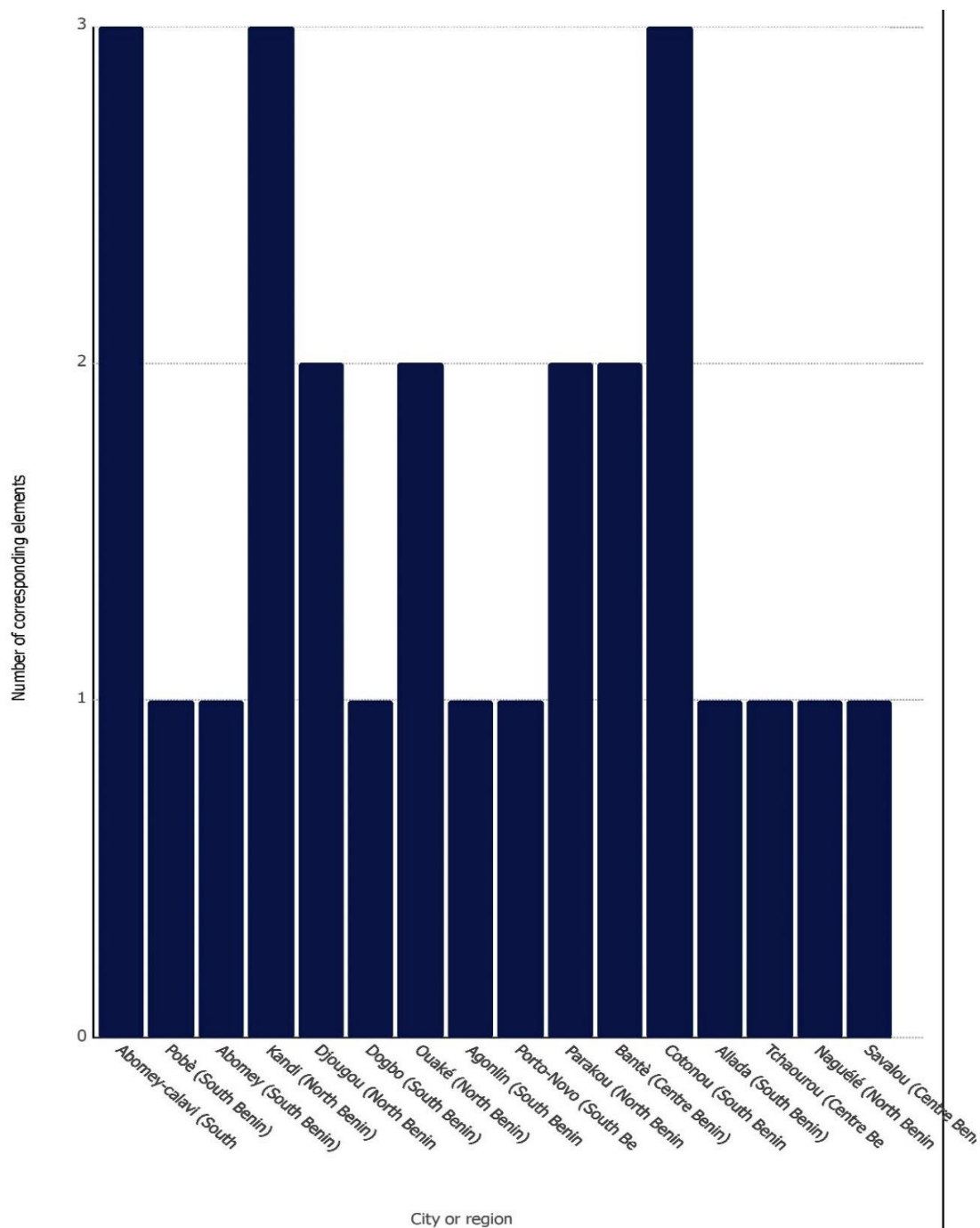
Graph 3: Distribution of interviewees according to their function



Source: Interviews

The interviewees were selected from sixteen different cities in Benin. The distribution of the different cities or regions within the twenty-six interviewees is presented in graph N°4.

Graph 4: Distribution of interviewees according to city or region



Source: Interviews

The data collected during the interviews with the twenty-six people are summarised in the following table. This table presents a brief summary of the results of each respondent according to the different terms used in the interview.

Table 9: Summary of data collected from the interviews

	3- Advantages and disadvantages of having one big city like Cotonou.	2- Does Cotonou represent the culture and image of Benin?	1- The most populous city in Benin is Cotonou according to INSAE. What do you think?
A	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages to this fact.</p> <p>On the one hand, it can attract domestic and foreign investment. On the other hand, it can create imbalances in development between the different cities</p>	<p>No, Cotonou does not represent the culture of Benin.</p> <p>The real Benin is to be found elsewhere in the pre-colonial cities of Benin</p>	<p>Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin as noted by INSAE.</p> <p>This is justified by the fact that Cotonou holds the functions of economic, political and administrative headquarters.</p>
B	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>The presence of Cotonou makes it possible to unify Benin when everyone is obliged to travel to get satisfaction. But having only one big city prevents the development of other cities and reinforces the phenomenon of urbanisation.</p>	<p>No, I don't agree</p> <p>I don't think Cotonou really represents Beninese culture.</p> <p>Beninese culture is outside Cotonou and is rather to be found in the historical and pre-colonial cities.</p>	<p>Cotonou is indeed the most populated city in Benin because of the various institutions and employment opportunities</p> <p>Cotonou remains the city that welcomes the most women because of the international market Dantokpa.</p>

C	<p>The fact of having only one big city like Cotonou has advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>I would say that it allows us to get to know Benin better and encourages exchanges. But having Cotonou as the only big city can erase the other rising cities.</p>	<p>No, Cotonou represents neither the culture nor the image of Benin.</p> <p>Cotonou only welcomes the inhabitants of these different ethnic groups who come in search of opportunities.</p> <p>Benin is not limited to Cotonou.</p> <p>To talk about the image of Benin, I think it would be better to also talk about the other big cities we have in Benin, such as Porto-Novo and Parakou.</p>	<p>I can confirm, like INSAE, that Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin, given the different favours granted to this city.</p>
D	<p>I think we can talk about advantages and disadvantages at this level</p> <p>In the first place, it can help the development of the country. On the other hand, there will be a strong influence of the population at one level of the country. This can lead to problems in many areas.</p>	<p>I say yes and no.</p> <p>In cultural terms, Cotonou does not represent the culture of Benin</p> <p>But Cotonou may well represent the image of Benin from the outside.</p>	<p>More than 2/3 of Benin's public and private establishments are located in Cotonou. Thus, the population heads to this city to find a job to satisfy their needs. This is how this city receives more candidates to the rural exodus. This has allowed Cotonou to become the most populated city in Benin.</p>

E	<p>Having Cotonou as the only major city in Benin has both advantages and disadvantages. Firstly, it can allow for economies of scale given the different infrastructures present in the city of Cotonou. On the other hand, having only one large city like Cotonou can hinder the development of other cities.</p>	<p>I will say Yes and No. On the one hand, Cotonou represents the image of Benin because it houses almost all the major institutions of Benin and is also the economic capital. On the other hand, in terms of culture, it is true that all the ethnic groups of Benin exist in Cotonou. But in reality the real Beninese culture is found in the old pre-colonial cities.</p>	<p>In terms of demography, I confirm that Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin. For me, the main reason why Cotonou has surpassed other cities in Benin in terms of population is due to colonisation. The fact that the colonist set up the colonial administration in Cotonou allowed this city to become attractive by attracting the majority of the Beninese and even foreign population</p>
F	<p>There may be advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, having a city of this size encourages trade and increases capital. On the other hand, when you have such a city in a country, the whole population wants to live in that city. This can prevent the development of other cities.</p>	<p>Yes, Cotonou represents the culture and image of Benin. All the cultures practised in Benin can be summed up in Cotonou.</p>	<p>I confirm that Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin. Cotonou is the city to which many Beninese migrate. This is due to the different opportunities that exist in this city.</p>

G	<p>There are of course advantages and disadvantages to having a single large city like Cotonou.</p> <p>The presence of such a big city in a country can allow the general development of that country. But having Cotonou as the only big city can at times lead to slowness in the delivery of public services.</p>	<p>For me, it is Yes and No. I say no because in general, Beninese culture has its origins in the old pre-colonial cities. Cotonou is only home to migrants who come in search of opportunities.</p> <p>But Cotonou could well represent the image of Benin, given its level of development compared to other cities in Benin.</p>	<p>As INSAE pointed out, Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin in my opinion because Cotonou is the economic capital of Benin.</p> <p>Moreover, knowing that the big institutions are built in Cotonou, people prefer to live in Cotonou in order to be served as quickly as possible.</p>
H	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages to this</p> <p>As we see in other countries, there is often a large city that crosses the borders of these countries and is recognised by the whole world.</p> <p>Coming back to Benin, we can consider Cotonou as one of these global cities.</p> <p>On the other hand, by dedicating funding only to the development of Cotonou, we can register slums in Benin.</p>	<p>Yes and No.</p> <p>On the one hand, Cotonou represents the image of Benin.</p> <p>If we compare Cotonou to other cities in Benin, we can see that it is the most developed city in Benin.</p> <p>Cotonou is the city that influences decision-making in the country.</p> <p>In terms of culture, Cotonou does not carry much weight. The real culture of Benin can be found in the old towns and villages of Benin.</p>	<p>I think Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin.</p> <p>It is the city where everybody wants to live because of the different opportunities that are in this city.</p>

I	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages</p> <p>By having one big city like Cotonou, you can have everything you are looking for, that is to say, it can facilitate quick exchanges. On the other hand, it encourages urbanisation and sometimes creates slums.</p>	<p>No. Cotonou represents neither the culture nor the image of Benin.</p> <p>As I said above, this city only welcomes people for opportunities.</p> <p>Although all the ethnic groups of Benin are present in Cotonou, I have noticed a kind of transformation of the Beninese culture in Cotonou.</p>	<p>Cotonou is full of great universities and schools of Benin. In my opinion, people settle more in Cotonou to receive good quality education and find job opportunities.</p> <p>That is why I can confirm that Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin.</p>
J	<p>I think there are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>The presence of such a big city in a country can allow the general development of that country. But having Cotonou as the only big city can sometimes lead to slowness in the delivery of public services.</p>	<p>Yes and no.</p> <p>I lived in Cotonou for some time. It's true that in Cotonou you feel the culture of Benin but not like in the old cities and villages of Benin</p> <p>One can see that Cotonou embodies the modern culture of Benin.</p>	<p>Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin in my opinion because Cotonou is the economic capital of Benin.</p> <p>The biggest market in West Africa and the biggest port in Benin are built in Cotonou. So, the Beninese population and even foreigners will move to Cotonou to have more opportunities and make their fortune.</p>
K	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>On the one hand, it can attract national and foreign investment.</p> <p>On the other hand, the leaders can only focus on the development of the city of Cotonou to the detriment of other cities. This can create imbalances in development between the different cities.</p>	<p>No.</p> <p>Cotonou does not represent the culture of Benin. When we talk about culture, I think we should go to the old cities of Benin. There, we can find the real Benin.</p>	<p>In terms of population, Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin.</p> <p>Cotonou is not only the city with the most opportunities in Benin, but also the city in which the major institutions of Benin are located.</p>

L	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages of having one big city like Cotonou.</p> <p>On the one hand, thanks to this large city, Benin is easily recognized.</p> <p>But having only one big city can create slowness in the delivery of public services.</p>	<p>I answer Yes and No</p> <p>Cotonou represents the image of Benin when we refer to its development and especially its geographical position.</p> <p>But to say that Cotonou represents the culture of Benin, I do not think</p> <p>The real culture can be found in the villages and old towns of Benin.</p>	<p>For me, Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin because it houses most of the institutions of the republic.</p>
M	<p>In my opinion, there are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>On the one hand, it can attract national and foreign investments</p> <p>On the other hand, the leaders can focus only on the development of the city of Cotonou to the detriment of other cities. This can create imbalances in development between the different cities.</p>	<p>Yes and No</p> <p>I can confirm that Cotonou represents the image of Benin from the external point of view given its weight in the economy of Benin and the various favours granted to this city.</p> <p>But in terms of culture it would be very difficult to confirm that Cotonou represents the culture of Benin even if all the ethnic groups of Benin are present in Cotonou.</p>	<p>I very much doubt that Cotonou is still the most populous city in Benin today. I think that Abomey-calavi could be the most populous city in Benin today.</p> <p>Although Cotonou has large universities, it should be noted that the largest university in Benin is erected in Abomey-Calavi. So people move to Abomey-Calavi to continue their university studies. Moreover, knowing that Cotonou is the city which abounds more opportunities among all the cities of Benin and seeing its proximity to the city of Abomey-calavi, migrants who came in search of opportunities in the city of Cotonou settle in the city of</p>

			Abomey-calavi to go to work in Cotonou. This is why Abomey-Calavi is called dormitory city.
N	<p>At this level, I would say that there are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>Having Cotonou as the only big city in Benin allows the development of the whole country in general.</p> <p>But it can also pose several problems if everyone has to come and live in Cotonou because of the different opportunities and status of this city.</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Cotonou represents the image and culture of Benin. Cotonou remains the only city in which all the ethnic groups of Benin exist. In a word, Cotonou is the miniature of Benin.</p>	<p>For me, Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin because it is the city that provides the most services requested by the Beninese population</p>

O	<p>I think there are both advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>Firstly, it can allow for economies of scale given the different infrastructures present in the city of Cotonou. On the other hand, having only one large city like Cotonou can hinder the development of other cities.</p>	<p>Yes and no</p> <p>Cotonou represents the image of Benin through its development and its status as an economic capital</p> <p>But in terms of culture, it would be difficult to confirm that Cotonou represents the culture of Benin if we have the ancient cities that have really marked the ancient history of Benin.</p> <p>Cotonou participates in the cultural diversity of Benin, but especially in terms of modern culture.</p>	<p>With reference to the various services provided by Cotonou, it can be confirmed that Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin.</p>
P	<p>For me, there are advantages and disadvantages to this</p> <p>On the one hand, Cotonou allows a unification of the whole country. On the other hand, having Cotonou as the only big city can lead to the disappearance of some cities in Benin.</p>	<p>I would say yes</p> <p>Cotonou is the image and culture of Benin. Cotonou remains the first developed city of Benin in which all the ethnic groups of Benin exist.</p>	<p>Cotonou remains the most populated city in my opinion.</p> <p>According to history, I would say that it is the effect of colonisation that first allowed Cotonou to attract the first inhabitants. The development of the city attracted the rest of the population.</p>
Q	<p>There may be advantages and disadvantages</p> <p>On the one hand, having a city of this size promotes the development of the country. On the other hand, having such a city in a country can sometimes lead to social unrest.</p>	<p>No</p> <p>Cotonou does not represent the culture and image of Benin. Although all of Benin's ethnic groups are found in Cotonou, it should be noted that the origins of these ethnic groups lie elsewhere.</p>	<p>I confirm that Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin</p> <p>This is due to the fact that Cotonou is home to more than half of Benin's public and private institutions</p>

R	<p>I can say that having Cotonou as the only big city in Benin has only disadvantages. Cotonou is not the only city in Benin. By building large infrastructures only in Cotonou, the population will be obliged to settle in this city; hence the birth of several problems such as the various forms of pollution, degradation</p>	<p>No and Yes.</p> <p>It is strongly observed that during cultural or religious ceremonies, most people living in Cotonou return to their towns or villages of origin.</p> <p>Furthermore, some research has shown that some families living in Cotonou send their children to their villages or towns of origin during the holidays to learn and not to forget certain cultural practices.</p> <p>All this allows me to say that Cotonou does not represent the culture of Benin. However, given the modernisation of Cotonou, I would argue that it represents the image of Benin.</p>	<p>In my humble opinion, Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin because it is home to the country's major public and private institutions.</p> <p>Cotonou is the city that provides the most services requested by the Beninese population. So, given the distance, the cost of transport, and above all to avoid delays in the provision of services, many Beninese prefer to settle in Cotonou.</p>
S	<p>I would say that there are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>Many foreigners recognise Benin through Cotonou. To refer to Benin, some foreigners use Cotonou. But developing or concentrating all of Benin's infrastructure in the city of Cotonou may well lead to the development of a single region of Benin.</p>	<p>No</p> <p>For me, it would be difficult to confirm that Cotonou represents the real Benin. When I am in my home town, I feel Beninese. But once in Cotonou, with the development and modernisation of this city, I find myself in a world other than Benin. In other words, I don't feel the culture of my country once in Cotonou.</p>	<p>For me, Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin because of what it houses the main institutions of Benin</p> <p>However, it is people from all over Benin who work in these institutions. So these people prefer to leave their town or village of origin to settle permanently in Cotonou with their family in order to be close to their workplace.</p>

T	<p>Having one big city like Cotonou has only advantages in my opinion</p> <p>Not only does it allow for the development of the country in general, but it also allows foreigners to get to know Benin and to know that there are large cities in Benin that can be compared to other cities in the world.</p>	<p>For me it is yes and no</p> <p>Yes because in terms of image, Cotonou really represents the image of Benin given the different functions of economic, political and administrative command that this city has appropriated.</p> <p>But in terms of culture, it would be difficult to confirm that Cotonou represents the culture of Benin</p>	<p>Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin, as in terms of economy it is the largest city in Benin</p> <p>It is home to Benin's largest port, a port that is also used by some of Benin's neighbouring countries such as Burkina Faso, Niger, but also the largest international market in West Africa, the Dantokpa market.</p>
U	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>Having only one big city like Cotonou can allow the development of other cities.</p> <p>But the problem with this is that some regions will be developed to the detriment of other regions, which may well cause regional problems.</p>	<p>I say yes.</p> <p>Cotonou has everything that is found in the other cities of Benin. That's why Cotonou represents the image and culture of Benin.</p>	<p>I believe that Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin, even if today some people think that it is Abomey-calavi.</p> <p>I would like to stress first of all that it is the population of Cotonou that continues to Abomey-calavi.</p> <p>Abomey-calavi was only a village but it is thanks to Cotonou that this city today welcomes some migrants and develops.</p>

V	<p>There may be advantages and disadvantages</p> <p>On the one hand, having a city of this size promotes the development of the country</p> <p>On the other hand, when you have such a city in a country, it can prevent the development of other cities.</p>	<p>Yes</p> <p>Cotonou is the city that sums up the aspect of the culture lived in Benin.</p> <p>Cotonou is the representation of all the cities of Benin, and therefore of all the cultures of Benin.</p>	<p>Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin, given the different opportunities that exist in this city.</p>
W	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages to having one big city like Cotonou.</p> <p>It allows rapid exchanges within the country and with the rest of the world.</p> <p>But the real problem with having only one big city is that it may well prevent the development of other cities in the country.</p>	<p>No</p> <p>Cotonou is not the real Benin</p> <p>Cotonou is just a developed city where most Beninese go just to look for work. When we talk about the culture of Benin, we have to go back to the old cities of Benin.</p>	<p>Cotonou is effectively the most populous city in Benin due to its status as an economic capital.</p>

X	<p>There are advantages and disadvantages to having one big city like Cotonou</p> <p>On the one hand, it attracts both national and foreign investments. On the other hand, having one big city like Cotonou can hinder the development of the rest of the country.</p>	<p>I can say yes and no. In terms of representation, I would say that Cotonou represents the image of Benin. When I come back to culture, Benin has a cultural diversity. This diversity includes the history of the country, the different religious practices. The ancient history of the country is often traced in the old cities of Benin, whereas Cotonou embodies more the recent history of the country and especially the modern culture. As for religious practices, they are often found in Benin's ancient cities. And it is by migrating to Cotonou in search of opportunities that the inhabitants of these old cities bring these different practices with them to Cotonou. So, it can be said that Cotonou does not represent the true culture of Benin, but rather contributes to the cultural diversification of Benin.</p>	<p>Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin due to the different functions it has taken on.</p> <p>Most Beninese migrate to Cotonou in search of opportunities. As for the youth, in order to take advantage of a new area that is modernization, they prefer to settle in Cotonou.</p>
Y	<p>In this case, I would say that there are advantages and disadvantages.</p> <p>At the same time that it allows the development of the country, it also prevents other cities from becoming like Cotonou.</p>	<p>Yes and No</p> <p>Cotonou represents the image of Benin in the sense that the major infrastructures of Benin are installed in Cotonou</p> <p>In terms of culture, it is true that all the ethnic groups of Benin are found in Cotonou. But the origins of these ethnic groups are not in Cotonou but rather in the old pre-colonial towns and villages of Benin.</p>	<p>I don't think Cotonou is still the most populated city in Benin.</p> <p>I think that Abomey-Calavi is the most populated city in Benin because of its proximity to Cotonou and especially because of the largest university in Benin which is located in this city.</p>

Z	There are advantages and disadvantages. Foreigners quickly recognise Benin through Cotonou. But having only Cotonou as the only big city in Benin, we are obliged to travel every time to get certain services that only Cotonou can offer.	Yes and no. Cotonou represents the image of Benin. For example, I have made two trips to Togo and Niger. Once there, people only talk to me about Cotonou. In terms of culture, I don't think Cotonou is up to the task.	Cotonou is the most populated city in Benin. I say this because the good ladies and young girls are going to settle in Cotonou because of the big Dantokpa market and the opportunities in terms of work.
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Source: Interviews

Interviewees were briefed on our research into the history and geography of Benin, then asked a few “demographic” questions before moving on to the two main questions.

Firstly, we tried to understand through our respondents, if Cotonou is the real Benin. To get there we asked the following question: Does Cotonou represent the culture and image of Benin? Eight (30.77%) of those questioned answered with a "No" and five (19.23%) thought that Cotonou represents the culture and image of Benin. What was surprising was that thirteen (50%) of the respondents answered with both a "Yes" and a "No". For these thirteen people, Cotonou represents the image of Benin but does not represent the true culture of Benin. Thus, we asked these respondents to clarify their positions and a sample of responses is provided in the table above.

Secondly, we asked respondents to give their opinion on the fact that Benin has a single large city like Cotonou that plays the functions of economic, political and administrative command of the country. While interviewee “T” thought that there were only advantages to this fact and interviewee “R” saw only disadvantages, twenty-four people thought that there were both advantages and disadvantages to having Cotonou as the only large city in Benin. For these interviewees, the development and modernisation of Cotonou gives a good image of Benin and allows other citizens from other countries to visit and do business in Benin. This allows the development of the country. But on the other hand, these people think that having Cotonou as the only large developed city is detrimental to other cities in Benin because regional disparities and inequalities may arise. This can also create development imbalances between cities

and can sometimes lead to social unrest. Moreover, for these people, the modernisation of the city of Cotonou tends to make Benin's traditional values disappear.

3.5. DESCRIPTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

From the interviews conducted, it was agreed that the inhabitants of Cotonou and some of the inhabitants of certain cities in southern Benin considered Cotonou to represent the culture, the image and the most populous city in Benin. These residents also noted that Cotonou is greatly involved in the transformation of Beninese culture and that this is a positive change. Respondents from the cities of Central and Northern Benin and others from some cities in Southern Benin had mixed views. On the one hand, a large majority of the inhabitants of these localities confirm that Cotonou is the most populous city in Benin and that it is representative of the national capacity. On the other hand, in terms of national sentiment, some tended to see their colonies as the real Benin, while for others Cotonou did not represent Beninese culture. The opinions of the inhabitants of these different localities could be explained by the fact that Benin was undergoing a cultural change and that this was a negative transformation led by the city of Cotonou. For these people, the modernisation and industrialisation observed in the city of Cotonou is gradually breaking the link with the traditional way of life in Benin. It should be recalled here that our sample size is small and that it is possible that some respondents may not be representative of Beninese sentiment. Although the respondents came from different regions of Benin and from different backgrounds such as students, service workers, housewives, pensioners and university professors, the answers given by them sometimes seem to be consistent with the literature (Danvidé 2015; Gnélé 2010; INSAE 2013; Sébastien 1999). The results of the three methods used to analyse the degree of national feeling embodied in Cotonou allow us to deduce that Cotonou is in some respects a symbol of a transforming Benin, even if not all Beninese would agree that Cotonou reflects the national culture. Despite the fact that Beninese people place great importance to their culture and traditional values, it has to be said that they also opt for the development and modernisation of their country. Moreover, based on the experience of Benin and Cotonou, and as Dzik noted, the presence of a primate city in a country has its advantages and disadvantages. On the positive side, the development of the primate city can attract domestic and foreign

investment, which will contribute to the development of the country in general. On the other hand, the presence of a primate city in a country can prevent the emergence of other cities, which often leads to a disproportion in terms of development between different cities in a country (Dzik, 2018: 4).

CONCLUSION

Through this thesis, we have tried to demonstrate to what extent Cotonou, the economic capital of Benin, is in line with Jefferson's Law. Long before the advent of Jefferson's law on the primate city, it should be noted that the phenomenon of primacy had been discussed by some European and American authors from the end of the 17th century. These pre-Jefferson authors often used the name "Capital" or similar names in other languages to discuss this phenomenon. Yet, in daily American usage, the name "Capital" was understood as the seat of government, which in some cases could be the dominant centre within its fiefdom. In order to avoid ambiguity, Jefferson introduced a new concept followed by a law in 1939: "The Law of Primate City". According to this law, the principal city of a country is always disproportionate in population and exceptionally representative of the national capacity and feeling. It is understood from Jefferson's law that the phenomenon of urban primacy occurs when a single city in a country combines the following three fundamental aspects: a population that is too large in relation to the other cities in the country, economic predominance and the symbol of national cultural identity. Several post-Jefferson authors have criticized Jefferson's position. In addition to admitting that Jefferson's investigations had only taken into account the sovereign states existing in 1939 to explain the phenomenon of urban primacy, today many colonies in Africa and Asia display a high degree of primacy. Post-Jefferson authors believe that the explanation of the phenomenon of urban primacy could not be limited to these three elements proposed by Jefferson. However, several studies show that today the explanation of the phenomenon of urban primacy should take into account the political, economic, cultural, historical and demographic dimensions of the primate city. A second discussion related to the study of urban primacy concerns the role of primate cities as "parasitic" and "generative" instruments in the economies of developing countries. Like Jefferson, some post-Jefferson authors argue that economic growth in a country is often facilitated through primate cities. The presence of primate cities in a country allows for huge economies of scale. However, other authors argue that primate cities rarely serve as effective stimuli for economic growth. Instead, these large cities represent national parasites that absorb large resources from other parts of the country. These cities are sometimes seen as instruments that slow down the development of many countries. It should be remembered that this type of study that we carry out is usually conducted in developed

countries. But in recent years, the authors have shown great interest in this study in Third World countries. Thus, we found that this study was appropriate for African countries, which today have a very high degree of urban primacy. It is in this perspective that we have chosen to study the case of Benin despite all the difficulties encountered during the realisation of this work.

Furthermore, what interested us most in this thesis was to show whether Cotonou fulfilled the three criteria of primacy pre-set by Jefferson. Numerous researches and statistics have shown that Cotonou was disproportionately large in terms of population (INSAE, 2013) and became the metropolis of Benin by appropriating the functions of economic, political and administrative leadership (Sébastien, 1999: 90). Thus, it would be easy to point to Cotonou as the primate city of Benin when referring to its population size and economic predominance. It should be recalled that these two factors (population size and economic predominance) are all related to its site and situational privileges. However, the main concern is whether Cotonou meets Jefferson's third criterion. In other words, does Cotonou meet Jefferson's argument about national sentiment? The answer to this question will depend on an explanation or interpretation. Situational changes attracted people from other cities in Benin to Cotonou, creating a kind of Beninese fusion in the city from which a multitude of traditions and cultures could be observed in Cotonou. Although interviews with residents of regions outside Cotonou leave mixed or somewhat unfavourable opinions on whether this fusion created within Cotonou leads the city to express a national feeling, there does not seem to be too much external contempt for Cotonou. This is often not the case for primate cities in other countries. Thus, two facts caught our attention. As Benin continues to modernise, Cotonou will certainly attract more migrants from other parts of Benin. This may in time allow it to become more fully representative of Benin's modern national sentiment, bringing together all the factors of Jefferson's "Law of primate city". The second fact that represents a new avenue for further study is whether the situation of Cotonou (Benin's primate city) is comparable to other large cities in other West African countries that also have a primate city distribution in terms of population.

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ÖZET

GİRİS

Son kırk yılda, kent büyüklüğü dağılımı kavramı sosyologların, siyaset bilimcilerin ve coğrafyacıların dikkatini çekmiştir. Nüfusun kent büyüklüğüne göre dağılımına ilişkin literatürde üç tür dağılım olduğu fark edilmiştir: Bunlar Özekselleşen Yerler Kuramı, Sıra-Büyüklik Kuralı ve Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı'dır (Das and Dutt, 1993). Ancak mevcut tez, esas olarak, ülkedeki en büyük kentin, ikinci kente göre iki veya üç katı büyüklükte olduğunu savunan son dağılım türü ile ilgilidir. Bu kavram ilk olarak Coğrafyacı Mark Jefferson tarafından 1939'da tanıtılmıştır. Jefferson, bir ülkedeki şehirlerin büyüklük dağılımının modelini açıklamak için Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı'nı oluşturmuştur. Bu kuramına göre, "bir ülkenin ana şehri her zaman orantısızdır ve ulusal kapasitesini ve duygusunu istisnai olarak ifade eder" (Jefferson 1939: 232). Jefferson, çığır açan çalışmasında, ülkenin en büyük kentinin; ülkenin her yerinden insanları çektiğini ve böylece ulusal merkezin diğer bölgelerden daha belirgin olduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Araştırmalar, 1950'lerin sonundan beri Benin'de Cotonou şehrinin kırdan kente göç için çoğu insanları çektiğini göstermektedir. Cotonou sadece ülke sakinlerini çekmekle kalmamakta, aynı zamanda Benin'in ekonomik başkenti olma görevini de üstlenmektedir. Benin'deki endüstriyel ve idari kuruluşların üçte ikisi (2/3) Cotonou'da bulunmaktadır (Gnélé, 2010). Böylece, Cotonou kentsel sistemin başına yükselmiş ve ekonomik, politik ve idari hâkimiyetin kentsel işlevlerini benimseyerek Benin'in metropolü haline gelmiştir (Sebastien, 1999). Benin Ulusal İstatistik ve Ekonomik Analiz Enstitüsü'ne (INSAE) göre, Benin'in nüfusu 2013 yılında 10.008.749 idi. Cotonou, 679.012 nüfusla Benin'in ilk sıradaki kentidir. Abomey-Calavi, INSAE'nin ilgili sıralamasında ikinci sırada yer alsa da, gerek coğrafi konumu gerek Cotonou'nun uydu-kenti olması nedeniyle çalışmamızda Cotonou içinde ele alınmıştır. Bu kapsamda Cotonou'nun nüfusu yaklaşık 1.200.000 kişiye ulaşmaktadır. Benin'in ikinci büyük şehri olan Porto-Novo ise 264.320 nüfusa sahiptir. (INSAE, 2013). Bu veriler ışığında Cotonou'nun nüfus fazlalığının, ekonomik üstünlüğüne ve Benin'in her yerinden gelen göçmenlere dayandığı düşünülmüş; Jefferson'un "ulusal kapasitesi" kavramına da karşılık geldiği düşünülebilir. Ama asıl soru şudur: Cotonou bir

duyguyu yansıtıyor mu? “Gerçek Benin” denildiğinde insanların aklına Cotonou mu gelmektedir? Başka bir deyişle, Cotonou; Jefferson’un kentsel öncelik kriterlerinin hepsini karşılıyor mu? Jefferson’un kentsel öncelik kriterleri aşağıda belirtilmiştir: 1- ülkenin diğer kentlerine kıyasla aşırı büyük bir nüfusa sahip olmak, 2- ekonomik üstünlüğe sahip olmak ve 3- ulusal kültürel kimliğin sembolünü üzerinde taşımak yani ulusal duyguyu taşımak. Böylece, bu tez Jefferson'un çığır açan kuramı bağlamında Cotonou kentini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu konuları açıklığa kavuşturmak ve böylece Cotonou'nun ulusal duyguları ne ölçüde temsil ettiğini değerlendirmek için, ülkenin kültürel peyzajının bir açıklaması, bir literatür taraması ve Benin sakinleriyle mülakat yapılmıştır. İlk olarak, Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı hakkındaki geçmiş çalışmalar analiz edilerek teorik bir çerçeve oluşturulmuştur. İkinci olarak, Benin ve Cotonou kentinin coğrafi çevresi, tarihi ve kültürü hakkında bir literatür taraması yapılmıştır. Bu literatür taraması, bir yandan Cotonou şehrinin Benin'deki diğer kentlere göre nasıl geliştiğini göstermekte; öte yandan Cotonou'nun günümüzdeki Benin kültürünü temsil edip etmediğini belirlenmesine yardımcı olmaktadır.

BİRİNCİ BÖLÜM

Bu bölüm, bazı temel kavramların anlamsal içeriğini, literatür taramasını ve bazı teorileri sunmaktadır. Bu tez çalışmasında “Tek Büyük Kent (Primate City)” veya “Kentsel Öncelik (Urban Primacy)” ana kavramlarının yanı sıra, “şehir (city)” ve “kentleşme (urbanisation)” gibi bazı temel kavramlar da ele alınmıştır. Her şeyden önce, belirtilmelidir ki Jefferson’un amacı yeni bir kavram tanıtmak olmamıştır. Jefferson’un amacı, uzun zamandır başka bir isim altında tanınan bir fenomene yeni, tanıdık bir isim bulmaktır (Meyer, 2019: 131). O zamanlarda, yazarlar “Kentsel Öncelik” olgusunu açıklamak için “Başkent (Capital City)” kavramını kullanmışlardır. Jefferson ise, Amerikan günlük yaşamında “Başkent” kavramının genellikle sadece hükümet merkezi için kullanıldığını iddia ederek, Kuramı’nın ifadesinde herhangi bir belirsizlikten kaçınmak için, “Başkent” kavramının yerine “Tek Büyük Kent” kavramını kullanmıştır. Bununla birlikte Jefferson, Amerika dışında “Başkent” kavramı “Tek Büyük Kent” ile aynı anlama gelebileceğini de doğrulamış ve “Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı”nın “Başkentler Kuramı” olarak adlandırılabilirliğini de belirtmiştir (Jefferson 1939: 227). Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı, Jefferson'un uzun yıllar süren düşüncelerinin sonucudur. İnsanları, konutları ve kültürü gözlemleyerek

Jefferson, insanların dünya üzerinde özgün formlar oluşturduğunu fark etmiştir. Bu gözlemler, Jefferson'un kendisine önemli bir soru sormasına neden olmuştur: “Kent nedir?” ve buna yanıtı: “Kentin ne olduğunu kimse tam olarak bilmiyor” olmuştur (Geoffrey, 1968: 217). Bu soruya cevap bulma merakı, nüfusun dağılımının incelenmesiyle başlayarak, kentin farklı boyutlarını incelemesine yol açmıştır. Jefferson, 1939'da Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı'nı ortaya koymuştur. Buna göre Jefferson, “bir ülkenin en büyük nüfusa sahip kentinin, nüfus açısından daima oransız olduğunu; ulusal kapasitenin ve duygunun istisnai bir şekilde temsilcisi olduğunu” belirtmektedir. Jefferson'un bu Kuramı, üç temel unsura dayanmaktadır. Büyük bir kentin büyümesindeki ilk önemli faktörü, ülkenin büyük kentlerinin arasındaki önceliğidir, yani görece çok daha yüksek bir nüfus sayısına sahip olmasıdır. Büyük bir kentin bir ülkedeki diğer büyük kentlerden daha iyi ekonomik performans göstermesini sağlayan ikinci önemli faktörü ulusal kapasitesidir. Ulusal kapasiteden bahsetmişken Jefferson, bir ülkedeki Tek Büyük Kentlerin ekonomik üstünlüğüne atıfta bulunuyordu. Üçüncü önemli faktör ise “ulusal duygu” ile ilgilidir. Tek Büyük Kent'in nüfus açısından daima orantısız şekilde büyük olması ve istisnai bir şekilde ulusal kapasiteyi üstlenmesi, Tek Büyük Kenti ülkenin tarihinin ve kültürünün temsilcisi haline getirmektedir. Bununla birlikte, son yıllarda, birkaç yazar Jefferson'un çeşitli varsayımlarına karşı çıkmıştır. Bazıları için Jefferson'un hipotezlerini açıklama şekli titiz testlerin yapılabilmesine engel olmuştur (Mehta, 1964). Jefferson, araştırmasını sadece 1939'da var olan gelişmiş devletleri hesaba katarak hazırlamış olduğu gerekçesiyle eleştirilerek; bugün Afrika ve Asya'daki birçok üçüncü dünya ülkesinin yüksek derecede kentsel öncelik göstermesi, kentsel öncelik olgusunun açıklanmasının Jefferson tarafından önerilen bu üç unsurla sınırlı olamayacağı şeklinde değerlendirilmektedir (Berry, 1961).

Kentsel önceliğin incelenmesiyle ilgili ikinci bir tartışma, Tek Büyük Kentlerin gelişmekte olan ülkelerin ekonomilerinde “parazit” ve “üretken” araçlar olarak görülmesiyle ilgilidir. Jefferson gibi, bazı post-Jefferson yazarları, bir ülkedeki ekonomik büyümenin genellikle Tek Büyük Kentler tarafından kolaylaştırıldığını savunmaktadırlar. Bir ülkede bir Tek Büyük Kent'in varlığı muazzam ölçek ekonomilerine olanak sağlamaktadır (Sheldon, 1967; Fryer, 1970). Ancak, diğer yazarlar, Tek Büyük Kentlerin; bir ülkenin ekonomik büyümesi için nadiren etkili katalizörler olarak hizmet ettiğini iddia etmektedirler. Bu yazarlar, belirtilen bu büyük

kentler ülkenin diğer bölgelerinden önemli kaynakları emen ulusal parazitler olduğu belirtmektedir. Bahis konusu bu kentler bazen birçok gelişmekte olan ülkenin gelişimini yavaşlatan araçlar olarak görülmektedir (Hauser, 1957; Friedmann, 1966).

İKİNCİ BÖLÜM

Bu bölümde Benin'i kısaca tanıtmaya çalışılmıştır. Benin; Batı Afrika'da, Ekvator ile Yengeç Dönencesi arasındaki tropikal bölgede yer almaktadır. Tam olarak Gine Körfezi'nde bulunan Benin, 114.763 km²'lik bir alanı kaplamaktadır. Batıda Togo, doğuda Nijerya, kuzeydoğuda Nijer ve kuzeybatıda Burkina Faso ile sınırlıdır. Resmi başkenti Porto-Novo ve ekonomik başkenti Cotonou'dur. İdari olarak Benin 12 bölgeye bölünmektedir ve özellikle Cotonou kenti, kendi başına bir bölge temsil etmektedir. Ülkenin resmi dili Fransızca ve para birimi de CFA Fransı'dır. Benin'in ayrıca Fon, Yoruba, Bariba, Dendi, Minan gibi birkaç yerel dili vardır. Benin'de İslam, Animizm, Katoliklik, Protestanlık ve diğer bazı dinler dâhil olmak üzere çeşitli dinler bulunmaktadır (Benin Cumhuriyeti Cumhurbaşkanlığı, 2021). Benin'in 2013 yılındaki nüfusu 10.008.749'dur (INSAE, 2013). Benin ekonomisinin yapısı üç sektörle karakterize edilmektedir:

- ✓ Tarımsal faaliyetleri bir araya getiren bir birincil sektör;
- ✓ Pamuk çırçır fabrikalarının, gıda endüstrilerinin ve inşaat şirketlerinin, özellikle de çimento fabrikalarının hâkim olduğu, embriyonik bir ikincil sektör.
- ✓ GSYH'nin yaklaşık% 50'sini temsil eden, ticaret ve taşımacılığın hâkim olduğu üçüncül sektör. Üçüncül sektörün GSYH'ye bu güçlü katkısı iki gerçeğe açıklanabilir: Bunlardan ilki Benin'in hinterlant ülkeleri (Nijer, Burkina Faso, Mali ve özellikle de Nijerya) ile ilgili coğrafi konumudur. Bu coğrafi konum Benin'e, ulaşım, transit ve turizm açısından geniş fırsatlar sunmaktadır. Öte yandan, üçüncül sektörün bu güçlü katkısı, büyük ölçüde Benin'in ekonomik akciğerini olarak nitelenebilecek Cotonou'nun Limanından kaynaklanmaktadır.

1972'den beri ülke, General Kérékou liderliğindeki bir askeri rejim altında bulunmaktadır. 1975'ten itibaren ülke yalnızca tek bir Marksist-Leninist parti (Benin Halk Devrimi Partisi'ni (PRPB)) görmüştür. 1977'de ülke sosyalist bir anayasa kabul etmiş ve Benin Halk Cumhuriyeti olarak ismi değiştirilmiştir. 1975'ten beri yetkili

olan tek parti PRPB, 30 Nisan 1990'da feshedilmiştir. Aynı yıl referandum ile kabul edilen yeni Anayasa, çok partili bir başkanlık sistemi sağlamaktadır (Schneider, 2000: 6). Cumhurbaşkanı, yalnızca bir kez yenilenebilen beş yıllık bir dönem için doğrudan genel oyla seçilmektedir. Yürütme gücünün sahibi ve Hükümet başkanıdır. Yasama yetkisi ise Parlamento'ya aittir ve her dört yılda bir doğrudan genel oyla seçilen tek bir Ulusal Meclis'ten, dönem sayısı üzerinde herhangi bir sınırlama olmaksızın seçilmektedir. Anayasal konularda, Devletin en yüksek mahkemesi Anayasa Mahkemesidir. Kurumlar arasındaki çatışmaları düzenler, temel hakları ve kamu özgürlüklerini garanti etmektedir.

Kamu Yönetimi, bakanlıkların bölümlerinden oluşan bir örgütlenmedir. Fransız sömürgesi yönetiminin varisi olan Benin yönetimi bugüne kadar büyük değişiklikler yaşamamıştır. Böylece merkezi düzeyde, Devlet ve hükümetin temsili, genel idare ve kamu hizmetlerinin koordinasyonu, bakanlıklar ve merkez müdürlükler tarafından yürütülmektedir. Bölge düzeyinde, merkezi olmayan hizmetler ve devlet müdürlükleri yer almaktadır. Yerel düzeyde, adem-i merkeziyetçi yerel yönetimler ve bazı devlet hizmetleri vardır (Ministère du travail, de la fonction publique et des affaires sociales, 2011-2020: 30-32).

Adem-i merkeziyetçi devletin yapılandırılması, Benin'deki reformu destekleyen yasalar tarafından onaylanan temel ilkelere dayanmaktadır, yani tüm ülke genelinde tek bir adem-i merkeziyetçilik düzeyi:

- ✓ Belediye düzeyinde: tek bir merkezi olmayan düzey;
- ✓ Bölge düzeyinde: Belediye Başkanı ve Komünal Konsey yetkisi altındaki belediyelerin serbest idaresi; belediyelerin eylemlerinin yasallığını kontrol eden ve belediyeye vali tarafından yardım ve tavsiye sağlayan idari denetim; belediyenin eyalet bütçesinden ayrı ve belediye meclisi tarafından onaylanan özbütçe; adem-i merkeziyetçilik ve merkez olmayan arasındaki eklemlenme; belediyeler arası işbirliği olasılığı.

ÜÇÜNCÜ BÖLÜM

Cotonou'nun Jefferson kuramının ilk iki unsuruna uyduğu kabul edilerek, bu Bölümde Cotonou'nun aynı zamanda ulusal duyguları da temsil ettiği hipotezi sınanmıştır. Analizin derinleştirilmesi için yirmi erkek ve altısı kadın olmak üzere

yirmi altı Beninli ile görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Bu Beninli sakinlerle yapılan bu röportajlar, Cotonou kentinin Benin'deki diğer kentlere kıyasla nasıl geliştiğini açıklamamıza ve “ulusal duygu” konusunu daha iyi anlamamıza olanak tanımaktadır. Görüşme için seçilen kişiler, mevcut literatüre göre seçilmiştir. Bu insanlar, yirmi üç ile altmış beş yaşları arasında oldukları ve öğrencileri, çalışanları, ev hanımlarını, emeklileri ve üniversite profesörlerini içerdikleri için temsili bir örneklem oluşturuyor gibi görünmektedir. Görüşülen kişilerden on ikisi güney Benin'de ikamet etmekte, üçü Cotonou kentiyile doğrudan bağlantılı ve dokuzu güney Benin'deki diğer şehirlerde yaşamaktadır. On tanesi kuzey Benin'de yaşarken, diğer dördü ülkenin iç kısımlarında yaşamaktadır. Mülakatlar 2021 Şubatında gerçekleşmiş ve çoğunlukla Fransızca yapılmıştır. Görüşme sorularına geçmeden önce görüşmeciler, Benin'deki kentlerin tarihi ve coğrafyası üzerine yaptığımız araştırmalar hakkında bilgilendirilmiştir. Görüşmeler sırasında üç soru sorulmuştur. Katılımcıların vermiş oldukları yanıtlar aracılığıyla Cotonou'nun “gerçek Benin” olup olmadığı sınanmaya çalışılmıştır. Bu amaca ulaşmak için şu soruyu sorulmuştur: ”Cotonou, Benin'in kültürünü ve imajını mı temsil ediyor?” Soru sorularının 8'i (% 30,77) “Hayır” cevabını verirken, beşi (% 19,23) Cotonou'nun Benin'in kültürünü ve imajını temsil ettiği yanıtını vermiştir. Şaşırtıcı olan, katılımcıların on üçünün (% 50) hem “Evet” hem de “Hayır” şeklinde yanıt vermesidir. Bu on üç kişi için Cotonou, Benin'in imajını temsil etmekte, ancak Benin'in gerçek kültürünü temsil etmemektedir. Bu nedenle, bu katılımcılardan konularını netleştirmelerini istenmiş ve bir yanıt örneği toplanmıştır. Analizlere göre, Cotonou'nun sakinleri ve güney Benin'deki bazı kentlerin sakinleri, Cotonou'yu ulusal duyarlılığın temsilcisi olarak görmektedir. Bu sakinler ayrıca Cotonou'nun Benin'in kültürünün dönüşümüne büyük ölçüde dâhil olduğunu ve bunun olumlu bir dönüşüm olduğunu belirtmiştir. Orta ve kuzey Benin'deki şehirlerden ve güney Benin'deki bazı kentlerden gelen birkaç kişi ise karışık düşüncelere sahiptir. Bir yandan, bu kentlerde yaşayanların büyük bir çoğunluğu, Cotonou'nun gerçekten de Benin'in en kalabalık kenti olduğunu ve ulusal kapasiteyi temsil ettiğini doğrulamaktadır. Öte yandan, ulusal duyarlılık açısından, bazıları kendi kentlerini gerçek Benin olarak görme eğilimindeyken, diğerleri için Cotonou gerçek Benin'i temsil etmediğini belirtmektedir. Bu farklı kentlerde yaşayanların görüşleri, Benin'in kültürel bir dönüşüm geçiriyor olması; bu dönüşümün insanlar için olumsuz olması ve Cotonou kentinin öncülüğünde olmasıyla açıklanabilir. Bu insanlar için, Cotonou kentinde gözlemlenen modernleşme ve sanayileşme, Benin'deki geleneksel yaşam

tarzı ile yavaş yavaş bağı koparmaktadır. Burada örneklemimizin küçüklüğünü ve bazı katılımcıların Benin'in ulusal duyarlılığını temsil etmemesinin mümkün olduğunu hatırlamak önemlidir. Katılımcıların; Benin'in farklı bölgelerinde ikamet eden öğrenciler, çalışanlar, ev hanımları, emekliler ve üniversite profesörleri gibi farklı gruplardan oluşmalarına rağmen, bu kişilerin verdiği yanıtlar literatürle tutarlı görünmektedir (Danvidé 2015; Gnélé 2010; INSAE 2013; Sébastien 1999).

Cotonou tarafından somutlaştırılan ulusal duygu derecesini analiz etmek için kullanılan üç yöntemin sonuçları; tüm Beninliler, Cotonou'nun ulusal kültürü yansıttığını iddia etmekte hemfikir olmasa bile, Cotonou'nun bazı açılardan dönüşümdeki bir Benin sembolü olduğu sonucuna varmamızı sağlamaktadır. Beninlilerin kültürlerine ve geleneksel değerlerine büyük önem vermelerine rağmen, ülkelerinin kalkınmasını ve modernleşmesini de tercih ettikleri açıktır. Dahası, Benin ve Cotonou'nun deneyimlerine dayanarak ve Dzik'in de belirttiği gibi, bir ülkede bir Tek Büyük Kent'in varlığının avantajları ve dezavantajları vardır. Olumlu taraf; bir ülkedeki Tek Büyük Kent'in gelişimi, yerli ve yabancı yatırımı çekebilir ve bu da ülkenin genel olarak kalkınmasına katkıda bulunacaktır. Bir ülkedeki Tek Büyük Kent'in varlığının olumsuz tarafı ise; diğer kentlerin ortaya çıkmasını engelleyebilmesi ve bu durumun o ülkenin farklı kentleri arasında çoğu kez kalkınma açısından eşitsizliğe yol açmasıdır (Dzik, 2018: 4).

SONUÇ

Özetle, nüfusunun büyüklüğüne ve özellikle ekonomik hâkimiyetine bakarsak Cotonou, kolayca Benin'in Tek Büyük Kent'i olarak adlandırılabilir. Nüfusun büyüklüğü ve Cotonou kentinin ekonomik hâkimiyeti, konumu ve çeşitli durumsal ayrıcalıkları sayesinde Beninliler tarafından Cotonou tercih edilmektedir. Ancak daha önemli olan soru; Cotonou'nun, Jefferson'un ulusal duygu hakkındaki argümanına yanıt verip vermediğidir. Bu bir yorumlama veya açıklama meselesidir. Ekonomik ve tarihsel değişikliklerin, insanları Benin'in diğer bölgelerinden Cotonou'ya çekmiş olması anlaşılabilir. Bu insanların Cotonou tarafından çekilmesi, Cotonou şehrinde bir tür Benin füzyonuna neden olmuştur ve böylece bu şehirde çok sayıda gelenek ve kültür gözlemlenebilir haldedir. Cotonou dışındaki bölgelerle yapılan görüşmelerde; bu birleşmenin, kentin ulusal duyguları ifade etmesine neden olup

olmadığı konusunda karışık veya daha ziyade olumsuz görüşler duyulsa da, Cotonou için çok da fazla olumsuz düşünceye sahip olmadıkları görülmektedir. Bu, diğer Tek Büyük Kentler için çoğu zaman geçerli değildir. Böylece iki olgu dikkatimizi çekmektedir. Benin modernleşmeye devam ettikçe, Cotonou diğer bölgelerden daha fazla göçmen çekmektedir. Bu, Jefferson'un Tek Büyük Kent Kuramı'nın tüm faktörlerini bir araya getirerek, zamanla Benin'in modern ulusal duygusunu daha iyi temsil etmesine izin verebilir. Yeni çalışmaların yapılma olanağını da içeren ikinci olgu; Cotonou'nun (Benin'in Tek Büyük Kenti), Batı Afrika'daki diğer ülkelerin Tek Büyük Kentleriyle karşılaştırılabilir olduğudur.

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