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The Beeker Method: planning and working on the redevelopment of the African City : retrospective glances into the future

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The Beaker Method
Planning and Working on the Redevelopment of the African City

The Beeker Method

**Planning and Working on the
Redevelopment of the African City**

Retrospective Glances into the Future

Edited by Antoni Folkers and Iga Perzyna

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Table of Contents

	The Beeker Method	7
	<i>A preface by Ton Dietz</i>	
	Introduction	9
	<i>Antoni Folkers and Iga Perzyna</i>	
	PART I	
	Retrospective Glances	
1	Mr. Coen Beeker: A Reflection	19
	<i>Aklilu Kidanu</i>	
2	The Making of the Beeker Method	23
	<i>Johan Post</i>	
3	Working in the Urban Fields of Ouagadougou	35
	<i>Antoni Folkers</i>	
4	Coen Beeker et la transformation de Ouagadougou en ville moderne. Expériences sur le terrain	59
	<i>Joseph Guiébo</i>	
5	Dutch Development Cooperation and Urban Planning in Ouagadougou	67
	<i>Saskia de Lang</i>	
6	Du Programme Villages-Centres-Banlieue de Ouagadougou au Programme d'Aménagement du Grand-Ouaga: Un bel exemple d'une fructueuse expérience de coopération bilatérale entre le Burkina Faso et les Pays-Bas	73
	<i>Yolande Lingané</i>	
7	Actions Urbaines Réalisées de 1980 à 2005 au Burkina Faso sur Financements des Pays-Bas négociés par Mr Coen Beeker	87
	<i>Gilbert Kibtonré</i>	

PART II

Coen Beeker

- 8 **Scurrying Around the Sahara – Tunis, Ouagadougou,
Port Sudan, Addis Ababa: Retrospective** 95
Coen Beeker
- 9 **Coen Beeker: A Biography in 16 Steps** 105

PART III

Into the Future

- 10 **Coen Beeker’s ‘Urban Fields’ for Addis Ababa** 109
Anteneh Tesfaye Tola
- 11 **Participatory Planning Approaches and Capacity
Development in Cape Town, South Africa** 123
Ellen Geurts and Saskia Ruijsink
- 12 **How to Read Coen Beeker in the Habitat III Period.
The Experience of Zanzibar’s Urban Planning Process** 135
Muhammad Juma
- 13 **‘Unplanning’ the Planned City: Lessons from Ouagadougou
for African New Towns** 141
Rachel Keeton
- 14 **A is for Africa** 147
Peter Russell
- 15 **Africa’s Urbanity as Heritage** 151
Ton Dietz and Peter Pels
- 16 **The Coen Beeker Collection at the Canadian Centre
for Architecture** 161
Martien de Vletter
- About the Authors** 167

The Beeker Method

A preface by Ton Dietz

Le principal acquis du programme d'aménagement des quartiers d'habitat spontané de Ouagadougou est sans conteste l'expérimentation et la réussite de la méthode d'aménagement progressif dans les secteurs concernés par le project. Sa généralisation au reste des quartiers d'habitat spontané de la ville et son adoption pour toutes les autres villes a constitué une consécration de son succès.¹

Already in 1989, the link between Coen Beeker and the African Studies Centre in Leiden was obvious: the late Gerti Hesseling (then a senior researcher and later the director of the Centre) was one of the evaluators of the work that Coen Beeker and his team of Burkinabé collaborators did for the Ministry of Works in Burkina Faso and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the Netherlands. Those were the years of intensive development assistance between the two countries, and the years of the 'programmatic approach', and 'participatory planning'. Although the emphasis of the Dutch government's development assistance has always been more rural than urban, there was a genuine involvement in urban development assistance. What Coen Beeker and his team did (not only in Ouagadougou, but also in other cities in Africa) can be regarded as a boost to a form of urban development that was bottom-up, holistic, and which acknowledged the importance of combining sustainable development with inclusive development, long before those became buzz words. No wonder, then, that, after the launching of the Sustainable Development Goals and the breakthrough of interest in urban inclusive development in 2015, there is currently a revival of interest in this approach, which we define as the Beeker Method. As we will see in this book, it is not only part of the world's tangible and intangible heritage, it is also an approach worth practicing and revitalizing.

Coen Beeker was based at the University of Amsterdam, in the Department of Urban Planning, where he was one of a few 'urban development planners',

¹ Hesseling, Gerti, Ardjouma Ouattara et Thomas Yikli. (jan-fev 1989). Programme d'aménagement des zones d'habitat spontané. Rapport d'Evaluation. Coopération Néerland-Burkinabé: Ministère de l'Équipement (Burkina Faso) et Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (Pays Bas), p. 58.

who navigated their own routes through university bureaucracy, and had the freedom to do so during their long careers. For Coen Beeker, this meant that he did not have a PhD (as became the requirement), and that he published most of his work in Dutch and, for practical reasons, his policy documents in French. Marginalizing himself in the 'publish or perish culture' that was gripping the Dutch universities (and universities elsewhere), he continued to be a central figure in participatory experiments of urban planning, and particularly among the urban poor, in Africa. This book shows how important that has been and will continue to be. With the current emphasis in Dutch government circles on 'useful research,' and 'valorization,' Coen Beeker's work would have been highlighted as exemplary for relevant scholarly work, if it had been done in 2017. The African Studies Centre Leiden is proud to contribute to and publish this token of appreciation for the man behind the Beeker Method. Thank you, Coen, for your contribution to relevant academic work! And thank you for consistently doing this together with African colleagues, who you always treated as equals, as well as with local and Dutch students whose experiences under your guidance gave them a cause in life!

The African Studies Centre Leiden, now part of Leiden University, is creating more linkages to other Africanist scholars in Leiden (the Leiden African Studies Assembly), to colleagues in other area studies departments (in LeidenGlobal, which has just accepted 'Heritage on the Move' as its central theme for 2017 and 2018, and also with Africanists in Delft (the University of Technology as well as UNESCO-IHE, the expert centre for water) and in Erasmus University Rotterdam (and particularly at the International Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies, and the International Institute of Social Studies), the so-called LDE collaboration. This book and the seminar about 'the Beeker Method' is one of the outcomes of the new Africa strategy of Leiden University, and of LDE as a whole. And it is the outcome of the collaboration between LDE Africanists and an organization called AAMatters, African Architecture Matters, an NGO based in Amsterdam with a decades-old fascination for bottom-up architecture, urban planning and for urban heritage preservation in Africa.

Africa's urbanization matters. Africa's architecture matters. The enormous growth of Africa's urban population in the decades to come will demand solid knowledge about ways to make that urbanization more sustainable and more inclusive. This cannot be done in a technocratic manner, by planning from above. It must involve urban people, harness their energy and creativity, and learn from bottom-up experimentation. Just like Coen Beeker did.

Introduction

Antoni Folkers and Iga Perzyna

This publication is part of a project initiated by African Architecture Matters to celebrate Coen Beeker and his work. *The Beeker Method: Planning and Working on the Redevelopment of the African City* project consists of three complementary components, including a symposium held at the University of Leiden on 23 March 2017, an exhibition *Urban Fields: Coen Beeker at Work in the African City* and this publication. The project is undertaken in partnership with the African Studies Centre Leiden and its aim is to bring wider attention to the work of Coen Beeker, a Dutch urban planner active in Africa between 1967 and 2010.

Despite his many years as an urban planner, Coen Beeker remains largely unknown to a wider audience. As Ton Dietz justly points out in the Preface to this book, the ‘publish or perish culture’ prevailing in Dutch universities at the time when Beeker started to work abroad, and the fact that he mainly published in Dutch, limited general access to his work. With hindsight, it is tempting to think that a relative neglect of academic ambitions enabled Beeker to focus more wholeheartedly on things that really mattered in the context of urban Africa. Rather than losing himself in theoretical meanderings, Beeker focused on the implementation and testing of his ideas in the field. This is not to say that his work has gone entirely unnoticed by the academic world or without impact on the fields he has worked in. On the contrary, as we hope this book and the accompanying exhibition and symposium will prove. It is, nevertheless, the case that his work on the African continent has so far not been researched in depth or received the attention we believe it merits, which is also one of the reasons why we initiated this project.

Coen Beeker graduated in 1964 with a BA in Social Geography and in 1968 with Master’s in Urban and Rural Planning, Cultural Anthropology and Sociology from the University of Amsterdam. The interdisciplinary educational training of Beeker formed the backbone of his innovative approach to urban planning. For instance, as discussed more in depth in this volume by Johan Post, Beeker’s background in anthropology was particularly instrumental in shaping his people-centred and holistic approach to urban planning.

Beeker spent most of his career working on urban redevelopment projects in four African countries: Tunisia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Burkina Faso. Most notable is the redevelopment of the residential neighbourhoods in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. The scale, duration and the outcome of this project resulted in a formalization of 60,000 plots, impacting nearly half a million residents of the city over a period of five years. This alone makes it a prime example of long-term urban planning in Africa.

We are convinced that the lessons learned in the process and the underlying principles of Coen Beeker's project approach can have a real impact on contemporary urban planning in Africa. Initial thoughts about its potential relevance for contemporary practice have been shared here by authors looking at the cases of Zanzibar Town, Addis Ababa and Cape Town. Ouagadougou and Beeker's other projects are presented in more detail in the first part of this book by Folkers, Guiébo, Kibtonré, Lingané and Beeker himself.

The main subject of this book is Coen Beeker and his work, but, as the title indicates, we not only wish to present his work to a wider audience, but also to catalyze discussion about its contemporary relevance. Hence, one of the guiding questions of this project was: what can we learn by reassessing the work of Beeker from a present-day perspective? It is difficult to judge what the long-term outcome of this project may be and whether the topics discussed during the symposium and in this book will be picked up by others and debated further. That said, we consider this publication as the start of what we hope will be a fruitful contribution to ongoing debates on urban planning in Africa.

The Beeker Method

If we consider Beeker's work at large we notice a persistent pattern in his approach to urban planning. Regardless of the location, scale, and scope of the project, there are several recurring elements that provide the foundation for his work. It should be noted that the Beeker Method as such is not a clearly defined term. Indeed, it is likely that Coen Beeker would deny the existence of an eponymous method and refer instead to his work as a *Méthode d'Aménagement Progressif* or 'progressive redevelopment method'. The name 'progressive redevelopment method' is in fact quite descriptive and gives an immediate sense of the character of the method. Nevertheless, we regard Beeker's approach to urban planning as specific to its author and therefore promote the use of the name Beeker Method.

The Beeker Method can be defined as a series of consecutive steps applied in urban planning. These steps encompass community mobilization, drafting of a 'social contract' between the residents and the local authority, prioritization of civic rights and access to basic infrastructure. In relation to this publication, the Beeker Method has become a leitmotiv that unifies the respective articles from Part I, which examines the history and the context in which the method emerged, and Part III, in which the contributors reflect on its contemporary relevance.

We would like to leave it to the reader to explore more deeply the principles of the Beeker Method by giving a voice to the authors. This is because, primarily, we believe that it is only through Beeker's projects that the real impact and significance of the method can be grasped. In this introduction, therefore, we will limit ourselves to a few general remarks on the method.

The Beeker Method is a pragmatic approach to the redevelopment process, which, from its inception, is carried out by residents through a dynamic process of *palavers*, long community consultations and with the planning and site work done with little interference from above. It is an approach founded on the principle 'first things first', where the first and most important step is to provide people with tenure security (land titles were usually made available for a modest fee) and plot allotment on the condition of building a basic structure within a certain period of time.

For the approach to be successful, the shared financial responsibility for the redevelopment between the public and private parties needs to be assumed. Restructuring private properties according to a previously agreed layout is carried out by the owners, while the government is responsible for the provision of basic services and prioritizing their importance in relation to the liveability of the area. An important aspect of the approach is its long-term and progressive implementation. It is particularly significant given the fact that redevelopment projects often take place in areas to which people have a long-standing attachment, hence giving them the time to gradually adapt to the new circumstances.

The method strikes a balance between the involvement and responsibilities of both the inhabitants and the local authorities. This means that the essentially bottom-up process is carried out under the wider umbrella of top-down urban planning. As the redevelopment project in Ouagadougou proved, the approach is easily replicated in other places. As such, it may also serve as a basic guide for future urban extensions and redevelopment. Yet, as Beeker

himself warns, no two cities are alike, and one must be wary of copying a strategy without first investigating the context.

Rethinking Coen Beeker

Why is it worth rethinking Beeker in the context of contemporary urban planning in Africa?

In today's discourse on urban planning, the importance of community participation has been widely acknowledged. It is considered a fundamental prerequisite to fair and representative decision making in contemporary urban planning practices and a sign of the democratization of a process that was once in the hands of experts. Increasingly, the notion of community participation in urban planning has also become a part of small- and large-scale urban and architectural interventions in developing countries.

While we are nearing the end of the eras of 'development aid' and 'development cooperation' with primarily top-down and expert-led urban planning projects, during which Coen Beeker commenced his work in Africa, Africa continues to attract foreign assistance and expertise on all levels of urban planning and architectural projects. The increased focus on Africa, pronounced loudly by Peter Russell, the Dean of TU Delft, in his article, and the changing perceptions of the continent, have certainly made it an attractive destination for young practitioners graduating from the universities in the Global North. There is also an ever-growing number of local architects and urban planners/practitioners gradually taking the lead in shaping their own urban environments.

Multiple examples from across the continent, such as the projects by Kounkuey Design Initiative in Ghana and Kenya, selected designs by MASS Design Group or projects by Development Action Group in Cape Town discussed later in this volume, to mention only a few, prove the growing importance of participatory processes. It can even be argued that, in order to stand a chance in the competition for donor money, inclusion of a participatory approach in the project has become a prerequisite. Clearly, and not without a reason, the paradigm among the practitioners and donors has changed over the years from the World Bank-led and founded top-down modernization process of the Cissin district in Burkina Faso in the 1980s.

Although there is a considerable interest on the part of authorities and practitioners working in developing countries to apply a bottom-up and partic-

ipatory approach, involvement of poor and often disadvantaged groups in these processes remains difficult to achieve. Smaller projects like the ones mentioned above may in a more or less successful way (only time will tell) work as spot injections addressing pertinent needs of smaller communities and stand as ‘good’ examples of community engagement. However, the redevelopment of the large number of informal settlements, be it those located within or at the edges of the expanding cities, remains one of the major challenges of rapidly urbanizing Africa.

One can argue that much has changed in the African city since Coen Beeker carried out his crown project in Ouagadougou. With the omnipresence of the ‘participatory approach’ across the fields of urban planning and architecture, the pioneering character of his approach might not be as evident as it once was. Nevertheless, it is worth giving a thought to the fact that in setting out its ambitious New Urban Agenda, UN Habitat structured it around five key principles, including protection and promoting human rights, forging more inclusive urban development and empowerment of civil society. It also provides several suggestions as to how these goals could be achieved, such as the important combination of top-down and bottom-up planning and strengthening of the municipal financial systems which, after closer examination, appear to correspond closely with the steps applied by Coen Beeker in his approach.

In his contribution, Muhammad Juma proposes a reading of Coen Beeker in the Period of Habitat III in the context of urban planning in Zanzibar. Juma’s text and the proceedings from the Habitat III Conference in Quito suggest that despite the changing circumstances the (possible) solutions to some of the challenges urban Africa is facing today might be found in the past.

It is clear from the texts included in this volume that Coen Beeker’s approach is not equally applicable in all places. Anteneh Tola revises the steps employed in Beeker’s Method in the context of Addis Ababa, analysing its potential benefits for contemporary urban development of the city. Ellen Geurts and Saskia Ruijsink note in their text on participatory planning approaches in Cape Town that the principles on which the method are founded remain relevant, but need to be adjusted to the existing circumstances. Here, a remark made in relation to Beeker’s common practice of long community consultations, which in the case studies from Cape Town gave space to intensive processes of capacity building of the community.

New Towns are at the other end of the scale of challenges urban Africa is facing today in relation to informal settlements. The inclusive and just cities to which most of socially committed urban practitioners are aspiring to is a goal we are unlikely to achieve any time soon. Nevertheless, urban planning and architecture remain the most important tools we have in the process of shaping the cities we wish to live in. Coen Beeker was certainly committed to the idea of inclusive and socially just cities in his work. He was also a vocal critic of the New Town developments taking place in Burkina Faso. While it may seem that the New Towns are a far cry from informal settlements which were Beeker's prime occupation, it is not entirely unrealistic to think that even this type of urban formations could benefit from the nuanced and adaptive planning methods Beeker and his team employed in Burkina Faso.

Apart from the practice-oriented purpose of this project in general, there is also another more scholarly oriented purpose at its heart. In 2016, the extensive and until recently not widely accessible archives of Coen Beeker were transferred from the holdings of African Architecture Matters to the Canadian Centre for Architecture. The transfer corresponded with the inception of this project, which we believe will strengthen the visibility of the new materials in the holdings of the CCA. Hopefully, coupled with the attention this project will generate around the person of Coen Beeker, it will lead, in a long-term perspective, to a sound scholarly reassessment of the work and thought of the pioneering urban planner within the field of bottom-up planning and participatory approaches that Coen Beeker is.

Into the future

The aim of this publication and the project at large is not so much to give answers, but rather to ask questions that we hope will feed into the ongoing debate on urban planning in Africa. In many ways, the project originated from a desire to honour the work and person of Coen Beeker to which the articles by his former co-workers included in this volume commit. However, the enduring relevance of Beeker's work made it impossible for us to limit this project only to the past.

The advantage of the Beeker Method lies in the fact that it has been tested in the field over a prolonged period of time. The approach is in many ways based on common sense principles, which have proven to be effective when applied in work with local inhabitants and authorities. The time that has elapsed from completing the projects by Beeker gives us today the possi-

bility to reassess his work; hence, learning not only from the successes of his approach, but also from the mistakes.

It is not our intention with this publication to over-romanticize the work of Coen Beeker, or claim that his approach is a panacea for the challenges of rapidly urbanizing Africa. Rather, our aim is to draw attention to the practical steps of Beeker's method and their potential for adaptation to varied circumstances.

Structure of this book

This book is organized in three parts that loosely correspond with its title. Part I Retrospective Glances includes articles by former co-workers of Beeker from Burkina Faso, Ethiopia and the Netherlands providing a historical background to his work. Personal reflections on Beeker and his approach to urban planning are interspersed with more critical attempts to define the Beeker Method and assess his projects. Part I of this publication paints a picture of Coen Beeker as a great friend and committed urban planner. It provides detailed information on his project in Ouagadougou and discusses some of the long-term impacts of his work. In Part II, the voice is given to Coen Beeker himself. In *Scurrying Around the Sahara – Tunis, Ouagadougou, Port Sudan, Addis Ababa: Retrospective*, Beeker reflects on his work in four African countries. Part III, Into the Future, consist of articles by contemporary urban planners and scholars. The contributing authors were asked to consider the relevance of the Beeker Method in relation to contemporary urban planning in Zanzibar, Ethiopia and South Africa. This section also looks at the future of Beeker's legacy both the material in form of his archives and the immaterial in form of his approach to urban planning.

PART I

Retrospective Glances

1

Mr. Coen Beeker: A Reflection

Aklilu Kidanu

This short article is a personal memoir by Aklilu Kidanu, a friend and former collaborator of Coen Beeker. Kidanu tells the story of his long-time friendship with Beeker through various anecdotes from the past. His thoughtful and at times funny stories paint a picture of Beeker not only as highly devoted and consistent in his professional approach to work, but also as someone respectful to the local culture of the people he wanted to help and, most of all, a great friend.

Monsieur Coen Beeker. Souvenirs

Ce court article est un recueil de souvenirs personnels d'un ami et ancien collaborateur de Coen Beeker, monsieur Aklilu Kidanu. Tout au long de ce texte, il raconte l'histoire de sa longue amitié avec Beeker au travers d'anecdotes diverses et passées. Ces histoires, à la fois pleines d'attention et amusantes, dressent un portrait de Beeker comme celui d'un professionnel rigoureux dans son travail, respectueux de la culture locale des habitants qu'il voulait aider, mais aussi celui d'un ami dévoué.

I have known Coen since the early 1990s and feel privileged to be his friend. I had the chance to get to know his wife, Martine, during her visit to Ethiopia, and I also fondly remember their hospitality during my visit to Amsterdam.

I have many memories about Coen, and I want to share just a few with readers of this book.

The Entoto Mountains

I believe the word '*entoto*' must have been Coen's favourite foreign word; even in his last email to me, which was only a few days ago, he fondly mentioned the Entoto Mountains. The mountains, with summits as high as 3,300 metres, enclose Addis Ababa on one side. During almost all of his trips to Ethiopia, Coen and a few friends would walk up the mountains for two hours.

Once on top, the view below was breathtaking. After congratulating each other on a job well done, we would take a break and sneak into one of the local tea houses and enjoy the best-tasting tea ever. Coen enjoys mixing with local people. Then, after visiting the churches, a small museum, and the first palace of Emperor Menelik II, the founder of Addis Ababa, we would walk down the mountains on the other side to make a full circle, back to where we started from. The whole exercise would take us about six hours and we would only go our own ways once we had shared a couple of beers to celebrate our adventure. This was not without noticing that Coen, a few years older than us, was also the fittest among us.

The DDO (Donkey for Development Organization)

The frequent trips to the Entoto Mountains initiated an idea to start a small volunteer project. During our trips up the mountains, Coen noted that there were several women carrying tree branches/leaves and walking in the opposite direction, downhill to Addis Ababa. We spoke to a couple of them and found out that they collected the tree branches from the mountains and sold them in Addis for about 50 US cents; the burden and the benefits did not match at all. So, Coen came up with an idea that would at least alleviate the physical burden of the women: let us raise money and buy them donkeys! Without delay, we established the DDO, and Coen raised some start-up money in Amsterdam. Over the next ten years, the DDO distributed close to 900 donkeys to deserving women, mostly to female-headed households with no other income. During a short study a few years into the project, we found out that the women had begun using the donkeys for purposes other than ferrying tree branches and leaves, doing something less taxing, but with more income.

Our first solar-cooked meal

In the early 2000s, Coen was trying to introduce solar cooking to Ethiopia. He believed women would save plenty of precious time if they only knew how to use a solar cooker. So, on one of his trips, he had brought a couple of kits from the Netherlands that he wanted to use to demonstrate solar cooking. Lucky for me, Coen decided to try his first solar meal at our house. He picked the best location in the garden, and carefully unpacked the solar cooking kit as my wife and two daughters watched in curiosity and wonder. Then, he put a bowl of rice in the kit so it got the reflection of the heat from the sun. We then took a walk for a couple of hours. On our return, the rice was ready to be served. A few years after the introduction of solar cooking in Ethiopia, I

went to a demonstration by about 25 peasant households, just outside Addis Ababa. The women were among the 300 households that had been given a solar kit to trial and they used them to cook a meal for over 50 people who came to witness the outcomes. It was clear that the idea was catching on in the country and people were learning the benefits of solar cooking.

Coen does not like free rides

Regarding the projects that Coen was involved in Ethiopia, he believes that the beneficiaries should not be totally dependent on the assistance they received from outside. For the Urban Fields Development in Ethiopia (UFDE) project, he wanted the beneficiaries to contribute their labour in return for the building materials that they received free of charge; for the DDO project, he wanted the beneficiaries to plant trees and maintain them in return for the donkeys they received free of charge; recipients of the first solar cooking kits were expected to organize and learn to produce their own kits. For Coen, there is no free ride. He strongly believes that people should contribute to their own betterment.

Chocolates for our daughters

Every time Coen travelled to Ethiopia, he would bring boxes of Dutch chocolates for my two daughters, who he has known since childhood. Coen had his own way of distributing the chocolates to our daughters and would not give them all in one go. Instead, if he were to stay in Ethiopia for 12 days, he would divide the chocolates into three. Then, three times during his stay, he would give them a box of chocolates. In this way, our daughters learnt to appreciate the chocolates, and I must admit that I have started using the same approach.

Coen, friend of Ethiopia

Coen has a bond with Ethiopia and its people. Over the course of the last two decades, as we chatted over glasses of beer, it was very clear that he had the utmost respect and sensitivity to the culture and way of life in our country. I also noted that, during his visits to Addis and even when he could easily afford it, Coen would not stay at the fancy hotels or dine in the best restaurants in the city. He would always pick a decent, local place to stay; somewhere he could mix with local people and eat local food.

His appetite for visiting as many places as possible in Ethiopia was demonstrated one day when he volunteered to travel by car with me and my col-

leagues deep into Western Ethiopia, over 900 kilometres west of Addis Ababa. He is fascinated by the countryside, especially by the gorges and mountains, which I know he likes the most. At one point, he told me:

Aklilu, there is only one small man-made hill, less than 50 metres high, in the whole of Holland. Most of Holland is flat and below sea level. In this country, you have these great mountain chains and gorges that the Dutch people would love to see. If you had the hotel and transportation facilities, many Dutch people would come here, just to see the mountains.

Finally, let me just say that, in addition to our friendship, I have learnt a great deal from working with Coen. His devotion to his work and the consistency in his approach, and his respect for the local culture of the people he wants to help are exemplary.

Thank you.



Figure 1
From left to the right: Gullilat Aberra (Director of the Donkey for Development Organization), Coen Beeker, Aklilu Kidanu and Hailemariam Gemetchu (Administrator of Debre Zeit District, at the time). Team is looking for a suitable area near Debre Zeit for the urban fields development project at its inception. (Author Unknown, Courtesy of Coen Beeker).

2

The Making of the Beeker Method

Johan Post

The Beeker Method is constructed retrospectively on the basis of the planning work of Coen Beeker in the 1980s and 1990s in urban Africa. It refers to an, at that time, innovative approach towards the 15 largely developed in the capital of today's Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou, where Beeker's ideas guided settlement planning during at least two decades with considerable success. In essence, the Beeker Method is about providing tenure security to residents, demarcating the settlement plan in the field, and allowing beneficiaries and authorities to gradually develop the area. A major characteristic is that the approach strikes a good balance between the customary practice of land allocation, and the official process of title registration and allocation. Furthermore, the strength of the Beeker Method lies in its simplicity: recognizing what poor people want most when it comes to their habitat, and what is affordable to them as well as to the authorities. However, the Beeker method was no cure to all housing pains. A number of drawbacks are identified.

La création de la méthode Beeker

La méthode Beeker est construite rétrospectivement sur la base des travaux d'urbanisme de son auteur, conduits dans les années 1980 et 1990 dans l'Afrique urbaine. Elle se réfère à une approche innovante pour l'époque, concernant la réhabilitation de l'habitat spontané et l'aménagement de ses expansions en Afrique urbaine. Elle fut largement développée dans la capitale actuelle du Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou, où les idées de Beeker guidèrent l'aménagement de l'habitat au cours des deux dernières décennies du vingtième siècle, avec un succès considérable. En résumé, la méthode Beeker consiste à fournir une sécurité de propriété aux habitants en définissant des principes de lotissement du terrain, permettant ainsi aux bénéficiaires et aux autorités de développer progressivement le territoire. La caractéristique principale de cette approche est de permettre de trouver le juste équilibre entre les pratiques coutumières d'allocation de terrains et le processus administratif d'inscription au cadastre et de lotissement. Par ailleurs, la force de la méthode Beeker réside en sa simplicité: il s'agit d'identifier ce que les populations pauvres désirent le plus en matière d'habitat,

ce qui est dans leurs moyens et ce qui est de l'ordre des pouvoirs publics. Néanmoins, la méthode Beeker ne résout pas tous les problèmes du logement. Un certain nombre de lacunes est mis à jour.

Introduction

Few scholars are able to put a distinct mark on the development of their discipline. The vast majority of academics will never be remembered for the significance of their work, while others will only find recognition after they passed away. Only in rare cases is someone put in the spotlight of professional fame when they no longer expect it. Coen Beeker belongs to the latter category and is likely to be quite surprised by this late tribute to his academic achievements. Hopefully, though, he will be proud to see that so many of his former students, colleagues and cooperation partners think his approach to planning for adequately housing the poor merits deep respect and, moreover, should pass into urban planning history under his own name: the Beeker Method.

Coen Beeker's approach is marked by his training as a planner and anthropologist, his dedication to the plight of the poor, his fascination for Africa, and his inclination for pragmatism. In the 1970s and 1980s, the planning profession was still largely controlled by people with a technical background in architecture, urban design, landscape planning or building. This was certainly true in Africa. Furthermore, African planners had largely received their training at Western universities, where they were submerged in ideas and approaches that effectively assumed a strong institutionalization of planning as well as the political will and money to smoothly progress from plans to implementation. Coen Beeker was among the first to better attune African urban planning to the grim conditions of fast growing cities under adverse financial and regulatory conditions. His anthropological background was certainly instrumental to that innovative approach. As an anthropologist, he was very much aware of the importance of tailoring policies and interventions to a specific context, more in particular to the prerequisite of respecting the cultural practices people rely on. At the same time, however, he was dissatisfied with the largely academic slant of anthropology, and its apparent neglect for improving the lot of the subjects of inquiry. Coen Beeker has always been keen to move beyond reflection and to rally for effective change. That was an important reason for him to switch as a student from Anthropology in Nijmegen to Planning at the University of Amsterdam. That discipline held better promise of meaningful work.

Coen Beeker's deep and sincere indignation about inequality and injustice in the world made him a natural partner of the poor. He never saw them as passive victims of adversity, but rather as active agents of change. Their creativity and perseverance stimulated him in developing an approach to planning and housing that took the poor's own ideas and initiatives as a starting point. At the same time, he recognized that an enabling environment – recognizing the value of people's direct involvement in planning and implementation – would not materialize without political struggle. Obviously, he was not in a position to decide on desired changes in courses of action or planning procedures. However, what he did do – and was amazingly good at – was to engage with key decision-makers at ministerial and municipal level, whether it was in Burkina Faso, Sudan, Ethiopia or Ghana. He went to considerable lengths – sometimes quite literally – to persuade his partners both during official visits, and through networking and socializing in his spare time. And Coen Beeker was no bystander who administrators could politely but easily ignore. Both to the poor and the elite he demonstrated his commitment, not only by returning time and time again, but also by seeking support beyond what he (or his students) could provide in terms of research and planning proposals. In Ouagadougou, he was highly instrumental to the Dutch government's support for the urban extension scheme in the 1980s. And the rehabilitation of various spontaneous settlements on the outskirts of Port Sudan greatly benefited from the logistical, technical and financial support from Almere municipality. Indeed, it was Coen Beeker who initiated the city twinning between Port Sudan and Almere.

Finally, Coen Beeker's attraction to Africa is probably familiar to all those who have worked somewhere on this marvellous continent. Once you have experienced the charm of its people, the generosity of its nature, the richness of its cultures, and its intriguing development trajectories you cannot but keep returning. And so did Coen Beeker. His love for the continent is unconditional and visible, for example, in some of his artwork (see figure 1), which is a tribute to ancient African artists. But certainly, also in his academic work to which I turn now.



Figure 1

Coen Beeker made a tribute to African artists who carved and painted drawings on rocks in the Sahel 4,000 to 10,000 year ago (Author Unknown, Source: Bibliotheek Gooi en meer).

Major elements of the Beeker Method

In this section, I will try to identify the distinctive features of Coen Beeker's method. The first thing that springs to mind when reflecting on his planning approach is the conscious choice to put planning subjects at the centre stage. In fact, he was a pioneer of people-centred ideas for development, emphasizing community self-reliance, people's participation in decision-making, and local ownership. Such ideas, countervailing the conventional narrow focus on economic growth in development strategies, became more prominent in the 1990s. However, Coen Beeker already started working along these lines in the late 1970s and early 1980s. At that time – and certainly in the African setting – urban planning was still dominated by master planning, grand physical designs of different degrees of detail, usually produced by foreign consultants. The approach was top-down, had a strong technocratic slant,

and was largely modelled on Western cities. It demonstrated an amazing lack of awareness of the planning context, more in particular the socio-cultural acceptability and financial feasibility of plans.

Coen Beeker's approach was both refreshing and against all odds. He started from the observation of rapid urban growth in Africa – commonly, a staggering doubling of the population of major cities in one decade – and the obvious, yet daunting task to accommodate that growth. It contained two basic challenges, namely incorporating spontaneous settlements in the planned city, and planning ahead of future settlement growth. Initially, the emphasis was on developing a suitable approach towards spontaneous settlements. Reflecting his anthropological training, Coen Beeker began by simply going out into the field to discover how people actually live, what they appreciate and dislike about their habitat, and how their housing situations is impacted both by their livelihoods situation, and by the communities they are part of. In retrospect, it may sound self-evident, but he discovered that an effective approach towards the restructuring of spontaneous settlements should come to terms with the poverty of most inhabitants, as well as with the cultural practices moulding access to land. What matters most to poor urbanites is to have security of tenure, a roof above their heads, access to potable water, and a simple pit latrine. These became key components of all Beeker inspired (re)settlement schemes. It went further – or perhaps better, less far – than the sites and services approach that was so popular among donors at that time. The World Bank sponsored Cissin project in Ouagadougou, for example, had not met its expectations because repayment of the costs of the basic infrastructure (roads, private taps) installed in the area proved prohibitive for beneficiaries, and many were unable to satisfy the construction requirements (concrete buildings). Consequently, there were a lot of unoccupied plots, and reselling to more affluent residents was quite common. Beeker's informed response was simple: keep it simple. More on that below.

Effectively incorporating customs and tradition was another part of the challenge in restructuring spontaneous settlements. Obviously, this is specific to the place under investigation. A common denominator in the four countries Coen Beeker has worked in, however, is the continued importance of customary law, especially in providing people access to land. Despite the fact that urban land is usually appropriated by the state, local chiefs or tribal leaders continue to exercise major influence on the land allocation process. In Ouagadougou, for example, local chiefs (*naba*) acted upon their traditional entitlements as custodians of the land by allocating plots for residential (or other) purposes. In the past, such rights were granted almost automatically

to locals based on ethnic affiliation or kinship ties. Custom also prescribed that chiefs would receive a symbolic token in exchange for the rights of occupation they granted to their people. In the urban setting, this practice has gradually evolved into a more commercial, money-based exchange, especially for 'outsiders' in search of a place of residence. However, the customary procedure, whether commercialized or not, almost always preceded efforts towards regularization and legalization. The Beeker method involved recognition and integration of this practice, rather than formalistically denying its relevance. This translated into a need to a) involve local chiefs and elders in the planning and reconstruction exercise, and b) to make their cooperation financially and socially rewarding. The challenge was to strike a good balance between the monetary benefits the allocation of land brings to the chiefs, and the responsibility they have for the promotion of well-being in their areas.

In Ouagadougou, Coen Beeker invested a considerable amount of time and energy in establishing good working relations with the local leadership. He sat down with the elders to discuss the most pressing issues with respect to the living conditions in their areas. The apex of those meetings was the discussion of a future settlement plan, and how that would affect the existing make-up of the area. Four alternatives were presented, ranging from a model that respected the existing structure of the settlement as much as possible to a radical restructuring based on the conventional grid layout practiced in older parts of town. He showed what the alternatives would mean on the ground by walking around the area with the participants in the debate, and showing what structures could be retained and which had to be demolished or removed. A favoured method was to draw the existing layout in the sand and then to redraw it according to the logic of the alternatives. This made the consequences very real and imaginable. An often heated and lengthy debate followed on the pros and cons of the variants, with Coen Beeker only interrupting every now and then, either to clarify or to raise an issue that was not yet debated. The approach generated a lot of enthusiasm, probably because it accorded so well with the traditional palavers the community leadership used to discuss collective affairs. It won Coen Beeker a great deal of sympathy, and helped him to gain access to the settlement to repeat the exercise with small groups of ordinary residents.

The outcome of the resident consultations was astonishing. Contrary to the expectations detailed in habitat literature at that time – which not only praised self-help housing, but also advised maintaining the structures people had erected themselves in spontaneous settlements as much as possible (the minimally invasive approach) – inhabitants in poor African cities favour a

complete make-over. At least that is what Coen Beeker discovered both in Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) and, later, in Port Sudan (Sudan). The vast majority clearly preferred to rationalize the layout of their area on the basis of a grid (or checkerboard) pattern that would ensure optimal (car) accessibility, create standardized plots (usually in two or three sizes, reflecting differences in wealth), and would compare well (also in terms of commercial value) with the established planned quarters. The fact that they often had to demolish and move the shelter they had built, was not perceived as a major problem. Provided they were given a bit of time, they were able to rebuild their shelter on the allocated piece of land within one year with the help of neighbours and friends.

In understanding these remarkable research findings, two reasons stand out. Firstly, the assets people had invested in their accommodations were usually quite modest, while the materials used – mud walls and zinc rooftops in Ouagadougou, wooden planks and tin roofs in Port Sudan – could often be re-used, or were cheap and fairly easy to find locally. Widespread poverty in combination with tenure insecurity effectively hampered construction in more durable building materials. Secondly, urban land was not a scarce or highly expensive resource, at least until a few decades ago. Both in Burkina and in Sudan (but more commonly in urban Africa) spacious settlement layouts are omnipresent. Having a sizeable plot – allowing for extended families to share a compound, and/or to have separate shelters for men and women – with good opportunities to live outside is deeply embedded in culture. This contrasts sharply with the much more cramped living conditions in spontaneous settlements in Asian and Latin American countries. And low residential densities make restructuring easier than in situations of overcrowding and congestion, where large segments of the community have to be settled elsewhere in order to open up the area, instal infrastructure, bring in services and provide plots of acceptable size. The fact that existing communities could largely be consolidated in the new situation helped to mitigate dissatisfaction and contestation. Yet another benevolent condition was that the preferences of residents for the conventional grid layout corresponded nicely with prevailing ideas on an orderly, modern and future-proof city among appointed and elected government officials. It surely facilitated political support for the approach.

The above findings in Ouagadougou were translated into a new method for the reconstruction of spontaneous settlements, and, subsequently, into a new forward planning approach to guide future urban extensions. In existing unplanned settlements, land surveyors clearly demarcated the future layout

with spaces for roads, drainage canals, service areas (markets, schools, etc.) and residential plots. Every family with recognized resident status received a plot of land and a provisional legal title on condition of building a basic structure and a simple pit latrine within a specified period. Usually, they only had to move over a small distance if any. After a year or so, the land reserved for roads and services were cleared, and the main streets were levelled. Land titles could be obtained for a modest fee shared between the governments (to cover costs) and the local chiefs. Affordability, both for residents and government, was a major reason for the success of the approach. The leading idea was that settlements thus created would gradually develop into decent living quarters. Following the ideas of John Turner on tenure security and self-help housing, inhabitants were expected to invest in their new habitats according to their economic conditions. Similarly, the authorities could gradually instal services. In the early phase of reconstruction, they were only expected to ensure access to potable water by way of public taps along the main roads. Over time, other facilities could be brought to the area.

With respect to future urban extensions, the Beeker Method entailed negotiations between formal and traditional authorities on the incorporation of community lands in the planned city. Initially, chiefs shared in the revenues of the official issuance of plots; later, they benefited by receiving legal title for a number of newly created plots on their lands. The main structure (roads, canals, public spaces) and layouts were clearly demarcated in the area preceding as much as possible its spontaneous occupation. Chiefs were keen to cooperate, not only because they were compensated, but also because the settlement scheme provided immediate clarity on where to build and where not.

The combination of providing people with tenure security and allowing for progressive infrastructure and services development, starting virtually from scratch, proved a success formula. In the 1980s, an impressive 60,000 legal plots were allocated in Ouagadougou to Burkinabe families. Both the massive scale of the operation, and the speed of its implementation worked to the advantage of the poor. During that decade at least, Ouagadougou compared well in terms of accessibility and affordability of urban land for the poor. And, in essence, the approach was easy replicable.

Beyond the Beeker Method

Obviously, the Beeker Method is not a panacea for all housing pains. The approach has worked remarkably well in Ouagadougou, and has also been

utilized to the advantage of urban residents and authorities in Port Sudan and Addis Ababa. But Coen Beeker was among the first to recognize that plans, no matter how well designed, will always have a number of drawbacks on the ground. He noted the following pitfalls with respect to the planning of Ouagadougou:

- a Whilst most residents succeeded in gradually improving the accommodation on their new premises, the public investments needed to realize schools, health centres, market places, garbage collection and road construction often lagged far behind. Both scarcity of government funding, and poor cooperation among different government bodies seriously hampered the development of adequate services in the (re)planned living quarters.
- b Political developments – ranging from regime change to administrative reform (notably due to the neoliberal call for decentralization and democratization) – immediately affected the fate of the approach. The strategy had to be sold to new political stakeholders time and again, not only causing delay, but also creating new patrons and new clients to serve.
- c Land increasingly became a commercial asset, a process that was even spurred by the allotment and title registration exercise. Obtaining a parcel of land in the customary way was the best guarantee for being recognized as beneficiary for a legal plot in the future. This generated price rises, eventually to a level beyond what less affluent families could afford. Similarly, the exchange value of legal plots caused pressure on poor beneficiaries to cash on their newly obtained assets.
- d Decisions on who is entitled to a legal plot were never uncontested. Despite the acceptability of official criteria for plot allocation – including: being an adult, having a family, not being in possession of a plot already – some candidates were ‘more equal than others’. In situations of scarcity social divides, such as that between owners and tenants, or between locals and outsiders, play out.
- e Participation of residents in the planning procedure remained a thorny issue. Although the research preceding the (re)planning operation in Ouagadougou tried to engage strongly with local communities and ordinary residents, even that exercise was biased towards men and owners-occupants. The views of women, usually more reliant on the qualities of local spaces than men, were not really incorporated. At the same time, tenants and resident family, far less likely to be included in the group of beneficiaries, hardly had a voice. Later, during the implementation phase, it proved difficult to adapt legal and regulatory frames to the idea of popular participation. The operation remained strongly technical with private

companies assigned to deliver rather than to consult beneficiaries on their priorities and gain their support.

- f Finally, the role of donor agencies proved a mixed blessing. Admittedly, the success of the allotment and title registration operation often depended on the financial means, however modest, external actors inserted in the process. At the same time, major donors such as the World Bank, had difficulty reaching down to residents and even to local authorities. They were more inclined and better equipped to deal with national bodies negotiating with them on what investments should be given highest priority, usually major infrastructural works. The outcome did not always chime well with the interests of less affluent families.

Conclusion

The Beeker Method entails an encompassing approach to the (re)settlement of residents in poor African cities. It is based on the prosaic principle 'first things first'. After establishing tenure security and demarcating the plots, both residents and authorities were required only to realize the most essential: a simple shelter, a basic pit latrine and a water tap in the vicinity of residential plots. Over time, the area could be further developed in an organic manner depending on available public and private resources. The strength of the approach was its affordability, feasibility and replicability.

It is unfortunate that, at that time, this novel approach did not receive more publicity both in the policy arena and in academia. The Beeker Method provided both a critique and a contextualized response to the donor embraced self-help housing approach inspired by people such as John Turner and Geoffrey Payne. It showed, for example, that the African urban poor do not overwhelmingly try to find shelter in downtown areas (near to the centres of work), but more frequently start their housing careers in the urban periphery. Such conclusions, based on careful comparative analysis, would certainly have enriched the academic debate, and would have improved chances of his ideas spilling over into wider policy circles. However, Coen Beeker's quest was not so much to theorize and publish on urban planning and housing in Africa, but rather to ensure that his work as a planning practitioner would have a lasting and positive impact on the livelihoods of the poor.

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3

Working in the Urban Fields of Ouagadougou

Antoni Folkers

Coen Beeker became involved in the urban planning of Ouagadougou in 1978 and continued his active involvement until his retirement in 2003. Beeker's approach on urban redevelopment, firstly tested in Larlé Extension in 1984, was adopted by the charismatic president, Thomas Sankara, as the leading methodology for the urban planning of the capital in the years that followed. At the same time, Beeker initiated a master plan for Ouagadougou and involved the wider environment of the city, the future Urban Fields, into development plans and actions. The fruitful cooperation between the Direction Générale de l'Urbanisme et de la Topographie, under direction of Gilbert Kibtonré and Joseph Guiébo, together with Coen Beeker with his colleagues and students proved to be crucial to the success of the project. Meanwhile, Ouagadougou changed from a predominantly rural town inhabited by farmers and trading herdsmen into a modern city, inhabited by modern citizens.

L'expérience de travail dans les Champs urbains de Ouagadougou

Coen Beeker se confronta aux problématiques de planification urbaine à Ouagadougou en 1978 et continua son travail engagé jusqu'à sa retraite en 2003. L'approche de Beeker sur la question du redéveloppement urbain, précédemment utilisée et expérimentée dans les aménagements de 'Larlé Extension' en 1984, fut adoptée, dans les années suivantes, par le charismatique président Thomas Sankara comme méthodologie phare pour l'aménagement urbain dans la capitale. Parallèlement, Beeker entreprit de définir un schéma directeur pour Ouagadougou en y englobant un périmètre plus vaste de la cité – les futurs 'Urban Fields' – au sein des plans et des actions de développement. La coopération fructueuse entre la direction générale de l'Urbanisme et de la topographie sous la direction de Gilbert Kibtonré et Joseph Guiébo d'un côté et Coen Beeker, ses collègues et ses étudiants de l'autre fut cruciale dans la réussite de ce projet. Entre temps, Ouagadougou se transforma progressivement, passant d'une ville à prédominance rurale, habitée par des paysans et des bergers commerçant leurs denrées en une cité moderne, habitée par des citoyens modernes.

Ouagadougou, from Mossi capital to Bancoville

In the eleventh century, Ninisi king Zabra Soba Koumembra established his throne in Ouagadougou. His fame was so great that his residence became known as Wogé Zabra Soba Koumbemb'tenga. According to the records, this name was later shortened to Ouagadougou by merchants from the powerful Madinka kingdom of Mali. The Mossi, the most important population group of middle Burkina Faso, abandoned their original capital of Tenkodogo to invade Ouagadougou in the twelfth century, where they founded the powerful and warlike Mossi kingdom under their Mogho Naaba, the King of the World. Today, Ouagadougou is still the capital of the Mossi kingdom and the residence of the Mogho Naaba, with its characteristic royal palace court and the central market, the Mogho Naaba (Na'Tenga), surrounded by the *na-yiri*, the courts of the most eminent functionaries and princes. Most of these *na-yiri* still exist today and are passed down in the names of the various districts, such as Bilbago, Bilibambili, Dapoya, Kamsaoghin, Samandin, Kamboinsin, Larlé, and Gounghin.

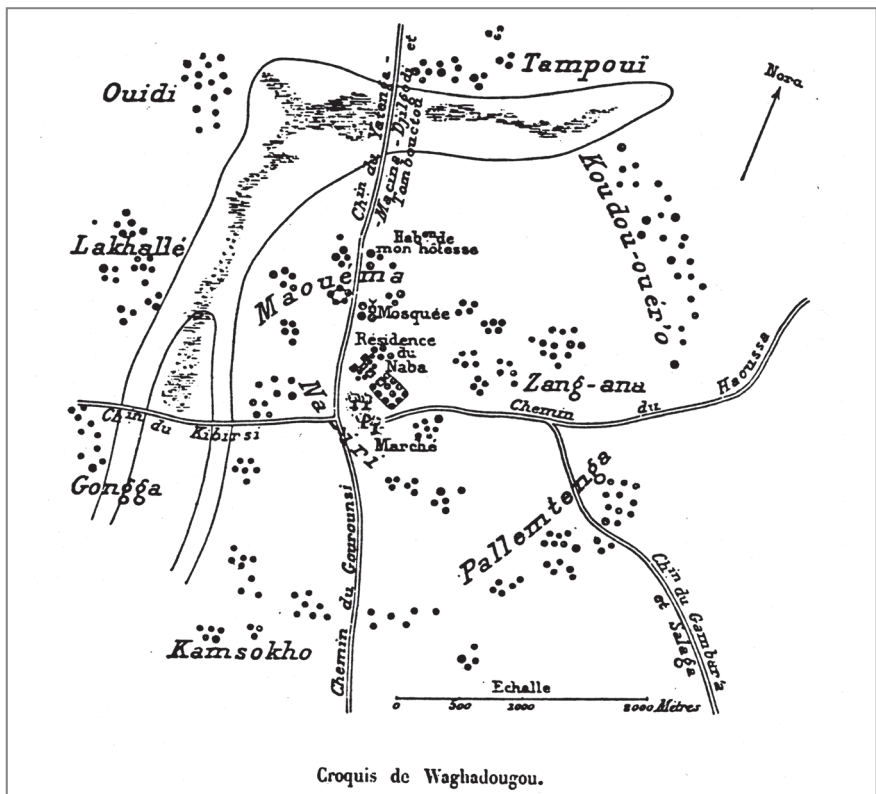


Figure 1
1888 city map of Ouagadougou by Captain Binger (Courtesy of S. Jaglin)

According to nineteenth-century visitors, the city encompassed an area of 12 square kilometres and had at least 5,000 residents. It had never needed walls for protection, the military reputation of the Mossi sufficed. François Crozat, the explorer who visited the city in 1890, characterized it as a *ville campagnarde*, a rural city of loosely arranged buildings separated by kitchen gardens and farmland. Ouagadougou was always an open city to foreign traders; accordingly, the Mogho Naaba informed Crozat that the French were also welcome to trade there. However, when the French made it clear that they had other interests besides trade, the king revolted. The French subsequently destroyed Ouagadougou in 1897, and rebuilt it as a garrison city. The city was erected with a Place d'Armes, a parade ground, simple government buildings and residences, tree-lined avenues, canalized rivers, and a reservoir.



Figure 2
1931 Aerial photograph of northern outskirts of Ouagadougou (Courtesy of Mittelholzer, Tchadsee Flug)

After 1919, governor François Hesling built a new government residence in the area of Koulouba, and transformed Ouagadougou into an imposing colonial capital with monumental buildings, broad boulevards, a track reserved for the planned railway to Abidjan, and a ring road. Because the buildings were constructed of clay, Ouagadougou was given the nickname of Bancoville, from *banco*, the West African word for sun-baked mud bricks. Hesling was responsible for the new layout of the city. He reorganized the centre and

forced the population living there to move to traditional settlements on the periphery, which were parcelled out and provided with a basic infrastructure in the following years.



Figure 3
Aerial photo of the centre of Ouagadougou in the 1960s (Courtesy of E.P. Skinner)

Ouagadougou was an expanding and developing city when the French bequeathed it to the independent Upper Volta in 1961. The new power elite was full of good intentions and plans. The city authorities of Ouagadougou wanted to pave the streets and provide every inhabitant with water and electricity. They aimed to regulate the growth of the suburbs, and provide the city with a water drainage system. Unfortunately, with few resources and a rapid growth in the city's population due to a birth explosion, it was an unattainable goal. Moreover, the city was overwhelmed by an influx of people from the countryside, which was triggered by long periods of drought and famine in the Sahel. It was during this period that the population became structur-

ally dependant on international aid and imports. The government failed to realize the promised infrastructure or to control and structure the growth of the city. ‘Structure’ was defined as the possession (or not) of a *Permis Urbain d’Habiter* (PUH), the right to live in a certain place, according to a 1960 law.

1890	5,000
1908	8,000
1914	20,000
1931	11,000
1945	18,000
1953	32,000
1960	60,000
1978	250,000
1985	441,514
1990	600,000
1999	788,581
2003	907,459
2007	1,200,000

Figure 4
Population growth of Ouagadougou (author estimates based on different sources)

In 1960, almost every inhabitant of the city had a PUH, living in *zônes loties*, the parcelled-out areas. But a quarter of a century later, more than half the population lived without a PUH in *zônes spontanées*, areas that had not been parcelled. These spontaneously developed settlements, however, did not look like slums. They were areas of low population density, seemingly disorderly to Western eyes, but they were neatly constructed and reasonably clean. Ouagadougou was still, largely, the rural city described by Crozet at the end of the nineteenth century. The unstructured growth of the city worried both the government and the international community. The World Bank and the Dutch government supported the redevelopment of the spontaneously expanding areas in the mid-1970s. The aim was to divide the areas into plots and to provide them with basic infrastructure consisting of unpaved roads, surface-water drainage, and strategically placed wells. There was no money available for sewage and electricity, nor was any attempt made to provide social housing – all of which were considered to be beyond the means of the local population.

Replanning the informal metropolis: working with Coen Beeker and the D.G.U.T.

I was sent to Burkino Faso to work within the framework of the Dutch 'redevelopment project for city districts in Ouagadougou.' This project, which lasted from 1978 to 1989, was initiated and coordinated by Coen Beeker of the Department of Planning of the Free University Amsterdam and, later, the Institute for Planning and Demography of the University of Amsterdam (UvA). Research into the possible parcelling methodologies began in 1978, as a joint project of the Free University and the *Ministère des Travaux Publics, des Transports et de l'Urbanisme*, and was led by Coen Beeker and R. Scheffer. The aim of this research was to come up with 'some ideas concerning the future development of the capital.' From the ad hoc field research in parcelled-out and spontaneously developed areas of the city, it soon became apparent that the city did not have an overall master plan or structural development scheme, and that extension of parcelled-out areas was brought about by a system of random planning at district level, consistent with 1:2,000 development schemes.

Both the spontaneously developed and the formal plots measured an average surface of 500 square metres, which explained the low population density of the city. Beeker and Scheffer completed an assessment, which took into account the advantages and disadvantages of this low density. Arguments in favour of a higher density included economic access to infrastructure (water, roads, electricity) and public facilities (schools, markets, and so on) as well as a shorter distance to travel to and from work. Arguments against increasing the population density included the need to retain traditional patterns of life within an extended family and its links to other families, as well as the possibility of creating employment in the existing plots, such as in shops, guest houses, workshops, or vegetable gardens. The planners eventually concluded that the ideal plot size would be 300 square metres.

One interesting discovery made by the researchers was that the occupants of formal districts did not have significantly more money to spend than those living in the spontaneous areas, nor did they spend more money on their homes. Most of the buildings in Ouagadougou at this time were constructed using *banco*, and sometimes plastered over with cement. The *droit coutumier*, or, the traditional rights, was considered to be the insurance that guaranteed people the right to remain living where they were. People saw the plot as something they owned, even if they did not have a PUH.

In accordance with recommendations that resulted from the research, the Dutch 'redevelopment project for city districts in Ouagadougou' was established with an initial gift of five million guilders to the Upper Voltan government, with the aim of reorganizing the spontaneous districts throughout the city. The money was to be used to create a master plan for Ouagadougou, the *Schéma Directeur de l'Aménagement Urbain* (SDAU), and to provide an urban development plan, *Plan d'Aménagement Urbain*, for the three expansion zones Wagadogo-Nossin, Tampouy, and Gounghin-Sud. These urban plans were to serve as a basis for the provision of a *Plan de Lotissement*, a zoning plan for the spontaneous residential areas of Ouagadougou. The project took ten years and was concluded on 31 December 1989. Halfway into the project, a second project was initiated concerning the layout and development of the peripheral areas of Ouagadougou, which formed the basis of the success of the city's rehabilitation project.

The Dutch money was placed into a *Fonds de Roulement* – later called the *Fonds d'Aménagement Urbain* (FAU) – a fund that was intended to provide structural sanitation and development for the city by levying taxes. However, that was not a realistic option. Instead, the fund was to generate income by selling plots, which was intended to cover the actual costs of running the scheme. This would ensure the survival of the fund. The price of the plots was calculated on the basis of what the residents could afford and what it cost to maintain the operation of the fund. In 1989, when the Dutch project was closed down, there was almost half a billion cfa Francs in the fund and, thanks to the project, the 30,000 homeowners were now legally in possession of their own plots as well as a PUH. The amount more or less matched the original gift of five million guilders.

The project was also intended to assist in the professionalization of the *Direction Générale de l'Urbanisme et de la Topographie* (DGUT), the urban planning office that was to provide the 500,000 inhabitants of Ouagadougou with a PUH by 1995, in a restructured city with a density of 50 households per hectare. This sounds like an appeal for the 'compact city', a model considered in the Netherlands of the 1980s as a way of combating and controlling the feared urban sprawl; but it was difficult to get the project off the ground due to political unrest, as one coup d'état followed the next. Coups took place in 1980, 1982, 1983, 1987, and 1989, and most were accompanied by disturbances and bloodshed.

The project was also hindered by the fact that the DGUT lacked the capacity to perform its task independently. Beeker nonetheless succeeded in as-

sembling a good team, despite the constant political turmoil and changes in DGUT management. The project's subsequent directors and coordinators – Gilbert Kibtonré, Joseph Guiébo, Paré Omar, and Martin Ouédraogo – later played key roles in the Burkinabé government and Guiébo even worked for UN-Habitat in Nairobi.

That said, the design and planning experienced a rough start. The DGUT could not draw up the needed structure, zoning, and urban plans. Moreover, local bureaus were unable to implement the work, making it necessary to enlist the assistance of Dutch organizations. The engineering office of Royal Haskoning in Nijmegen was commissioned to design a master plan for Ouagadougou, and development plans for the areas of Wagadogo and Nossin were drawn up by the Amsterdam-based urban designer René van Veen. The drafts were completed in 1984.

Joseph Guiébo and Gilbert Kibtonré of DGUT were crucial players in getting the project off the ground; their testimonies and findings on the project are found elsewhere in this publication. The project was given a boost when, in 1984, they succeeded in persuading the new president of Burkina, Captain Thomas Sankara, who had seized power with the revolution of 1983, to continue with the planned modernization of Ouagadougou as proposed by the Beeker. Sankara established the goal that every household in Ouagadougou would be provided with a PUH and, thus, have a decent roof over their heads. Sankara's revolution was intended to rid Ouagadougou of the spontaneous residential areas. The strong, social aspect of the Dutch methodology seemed to correspond better with the revolutionary ideals preached by Sankara and his supporters than with the development projects coordinated by the World Bank at the time. The great difference between the approaches of Beeker in Wagadogo-Nossin and those of the World Bank in the Cissin district lay in the degree to which the residents were involved in the project.

The World Bank developed a modern zoning plan based on the imposition of a rational infrastructure, without taking into account the existing, spontaneously evolved urban fabric. Roads and sewage were installed without taking into consideration the existing buildings, which, if necessary, were bulldozed. Plots were marked out with stones and assigned to the residents on a top to bottom basis. Consequently, precedence was given to residents who had lost their homes because a street needed to be built. The households paid a sum for their new plots, which was equivalent to the amount advanced by the World Bank's loan. This amount was so high that riots broke out in Cissin, which the army had to suppress. The riots took place in 1982 and slowed

down all the city renewal projects in Ouagadougou. This also led to delays in the development of the Dutch project.

The World Bank method was certainly quick to develop and simple to implement, but it led to a loss of capital and even political unrest among the population. There was another risk associated with this procedure: speculation. The residents who lost their homes moved in with family members elsewhere and sold their new plots. Despite this problem, bulldozing remains a popular method. Beeker recognized the lesson to be learned from the World Bank experience in Cissin. The design for the areas that were reorganized, supported by Dutch aid money, was based on the existing situation. This situation was carefully examined by means of field recordings and interviews, as well as by projecting the planned urban fabric onto aerial photos. This allowed the designer to work on the design like a jigsaw puzzle, and ensured as much overlap as possible between the existing layout and the rationalized new plan.

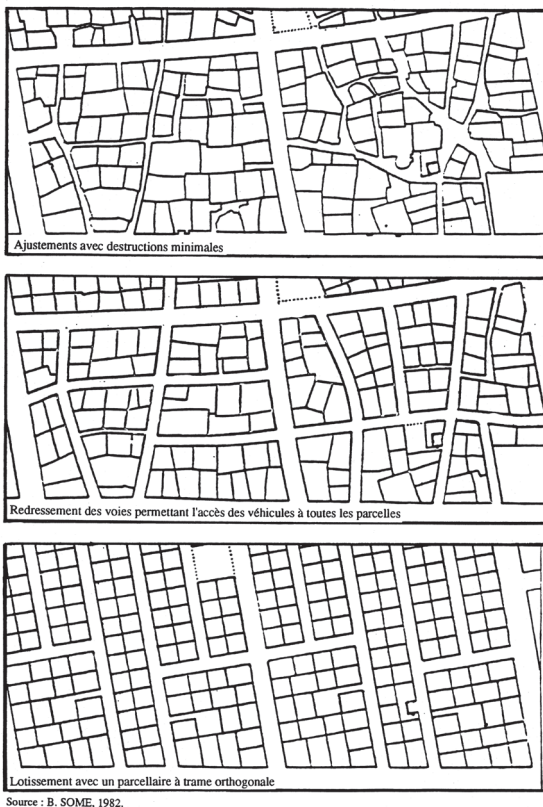


Figure 5
Plot variants proposed to the inhabitants of Larlé-Extension in 1983-84
(Source: Coen Beeker and René van Veen)

The project first focused on the allocation of plots, which was carefully implemented with the involvement of residents. This procedure proved to be a real challenge for the project, and required complex guidelines and long discussions with all parties. I was reminded of the opportunities for public comment I was involved in as a student in Amsterdam in the late 1970s. During the discussions, the boundary markers were placed. The residents were then given a year to remove their house from outside the boundaries and rebuild them within the new borders. After this phase had been completed, the basic infrastructure was installed.

A small area was selected as pilot project, in order to test the Beeker method. It concerned the redevelopment of the most eastern area of Wagadogo, Larlé-Extension, which took place from the end of 1983. My job was to guide the residents and to monitor the experiment. With the experiences of the World Bank projects in mind, René van Veen worked out a number of parcel variations for Larlé-Extension and presented them to the population. The variations presented to the residents were as follows:

- 1 The urban fabric would, in principal, remain untouched, the main streets broadened and additional space allocated for public use. The often irregular fabric and the difference in surfaces of the parcels would be retained. In this way, 85 per cent of the building stock would be saved;
- 2 All parcels would be given access to roads that could be used by motor vehicles. The new roads would involve cutting into the existing fabric, but would leave the irregular forms and surfaces of the remaining parcels unchanged. Forty per cent of the buildings would need to be replaced if this option was chosen; and
- 3 A completely new chess-board grid would be superimposed on the whole area that would create uniform plots, all with access to the road system. Seventy per cent of the buildings would need to be replaced if this option were chosen.

The residents of Larlé-Extension overwhelmingly selected the third model, which Beeker attributed to the fact that this new plot system guaranteed a more equitable division of land, and that the model corresponds with the layout of formal Ouagadougou, and, hence, corresponded with the inhabitants' ideas of modernity.

In establishing the rights of the residents of the spontaneous areas Wagadogo and Nossin, the *Naabas* and their surrounding nobles, the *chefs coutumiers*, played a decisive role, because they still held the power to distribute land

at that time. There was no concept of private property in traditional Mosi law; all land belonged to the community and thus could not be bought or sold. The *chef coutumier* was the community representative and decided who could use the land and when it could be used – but he was clearly not the owner and only received a ceremonial gift, a handful of *Kola*-nuts for instance, for his negotiation and approval. This custom began to change in the 1980s, when certain *chefs coutumiers* started to accept money for their negotiation. The power and growing wealth of the *chefs coutumiers* were challenged by the government, and legalizing the spontaneous areas by means of government action was an important way of breaking the power of the *chefs coutumiers*. In the case of Larlé-Extension, I had to deal with a *chef coutumier* named Kafando. I had no reason at all to suspect the amiable Kafando of accumulating undeserved wealth or power, or to accuse him of corruption or dishonesty. He was always willing to help settle disputes and assist me in my endeavours.

In order to ensure that the allocation procedure did not result in an endless palaver involving all 300 households of Larlé-Extension, it was decided to implement the experimental project with small groups of residents, led by the DGUT and the *Comités de la Défense de la Révolution* (CDRs). The CDRs were established by President Sankara so as to bring the revolution closer to the people and to ensure their cooperation with his ambitious projects. They often comprised small local groups of unemployed boys who supported the revolution. The CDRs gained power when I was living there. '*La Patrie ou la Mort! Nous Vaincrons!*' ('My fatherland or death! We will overcome!') was the slogan of the revolution and the CDRs. Every official letter I wrote or received during my stay in Ouagadougou closed with this slogan. The voluntary aid of the CDR was welcomed in the project. United work on the railway and other public projects was carried out on Saturdays and in Larlé-Extension the CDR joined in and helped with infrastructural work and with procedures. But not all members of the CDR had pure motives and, as a result of being armed and protected by Sankara, the CDR became an extra power, in addition to the bureaucracy and the *chefs coutumiers*.

The chaotic situation during the revolution was evident in the imposed curfew, but also in the liquidation of opponents during my time there. The charismatic President Sankara was pushed aside in 1987 by his fellow revolutionary, Blaise Compaoré, because, according to insiders, he had operated too independently inside the French sphere of influence. After his last two opponents, Lingani and Zongo, were executed in 1989, Compaoré became head of state.

From the study I carried out in Larlé-Extension, it appeared that the residents were satisfied with the results and collaborated with the restructuring project. Almost all streets were cleared of private structures within six months after the plots had been allocated. The residents had dismantled their corrugated iron-roofed dwellings and taken the lumps of *banco* with them to their new plots. The *banco* was mixed with water and straw and made into new blocks, the nail holes in the corrugated iron sheets were soldered, and the sheets were fitted to the reused frames. Thus, everything was recycled with little need for new materials. The work was done by the residents, their family, or a hired master bricklayer.

By the mid-1980s, Ouagadougou was still Bancoville. In 1985, the rehousing was complete and the infrastructure was in place. At the end of 1984, Sankara decreed that all further restructuring of the spontaneous city areas of Ouagadougou should be based on the successful experiences in Larlé-Extension. The Beeker Method – a term coined and described in more detail by Johan Post in his contribution to this publication – was then applied to 30,000 plots that were legalized and parcelled out by the Dutch project until 1989, and to an additional 30,000 plots legalized by the Burkinabé government during the same period. By 1990, this resulted in a total of 60,000 plots for half a million residents, who now had a legalized and formalized home in the city, equipped with safe drinking water from local deep wells, as well as some public services, parks, and adequate space for the construction of future roads. Given this security, residents initiated the large-scale planting of fruit trees and installation of septic tanks.

The main objective of the project – the provision of secure accommodation for the residents of the spontaneous areas, which was always their greatest desire – had been successfully achieved. It appeared that the process had proceeded harmoniously and with a minimum of direction, advice, or negotiation. The involvement of the residents was a crucial factor here. The Larlé-Extension experimental project had its roots in the intrinsic rationale and structure of the city, and was devised and implemented by the residents themselves, rather than according to an abstract model imposed top-down.

Notwithstanding all good intentions, the careful superimposition of the chessboard structure onto the existing Larlé-Extension fabric resulted in the loss of a number of buildings that could have been preserved. During my research, only 60 per cent of the 40 per cent of all structures that could be preserved, were ultimately saved. This means that three quarters of the old buildings were demolished within a year. The most important reason for the

wholesale demolition was the gradual, but inevitable, transition from the traditional *cour* to the modern villa type, a development brought about by the change in family lifestyle. The communal living space of the extended family gradually made way for the home of the nuclear family. This development – the modernizing of daily life – was hastened by the acquisition of a modern status in the form of a PUH.

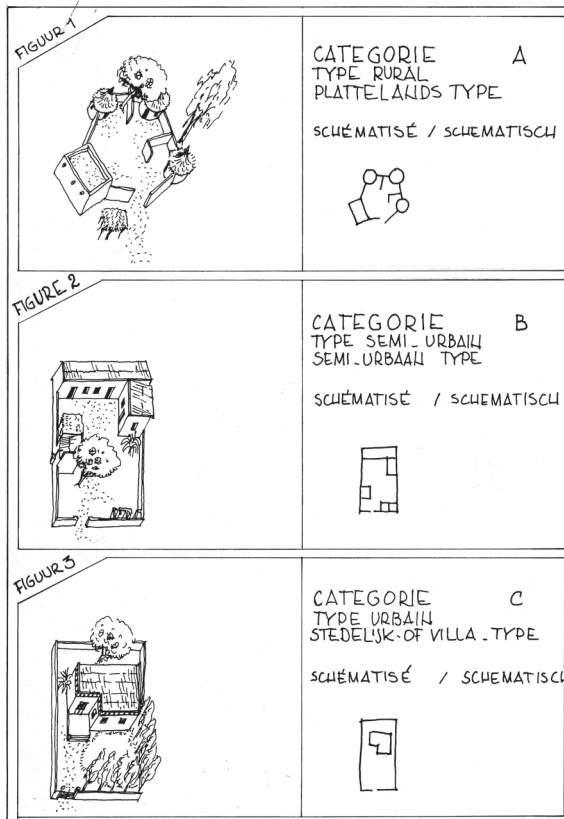


Figure 6
Conversion of the *zaka* into the modern villa (Source: Antoni Folkers, 1984)

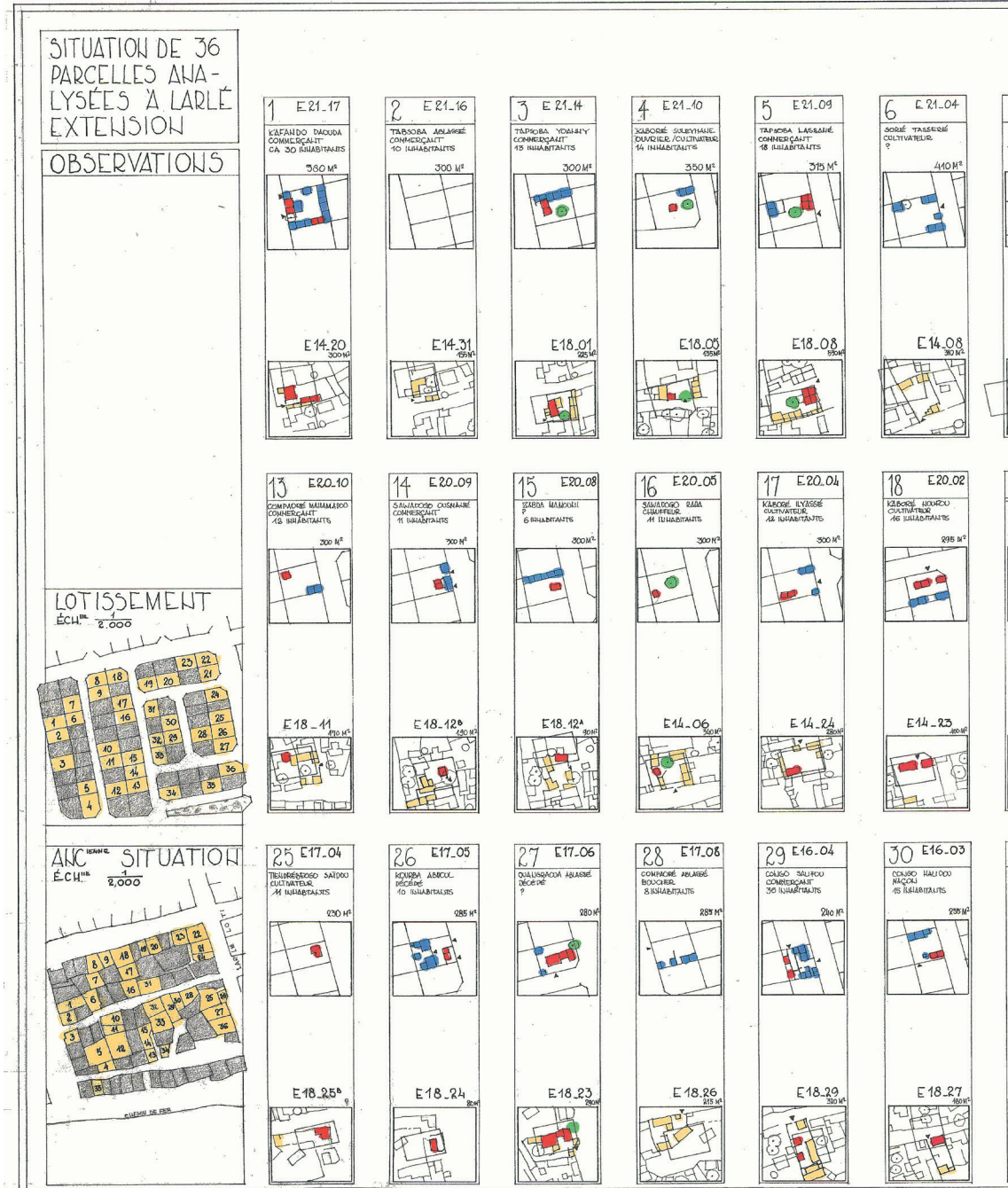
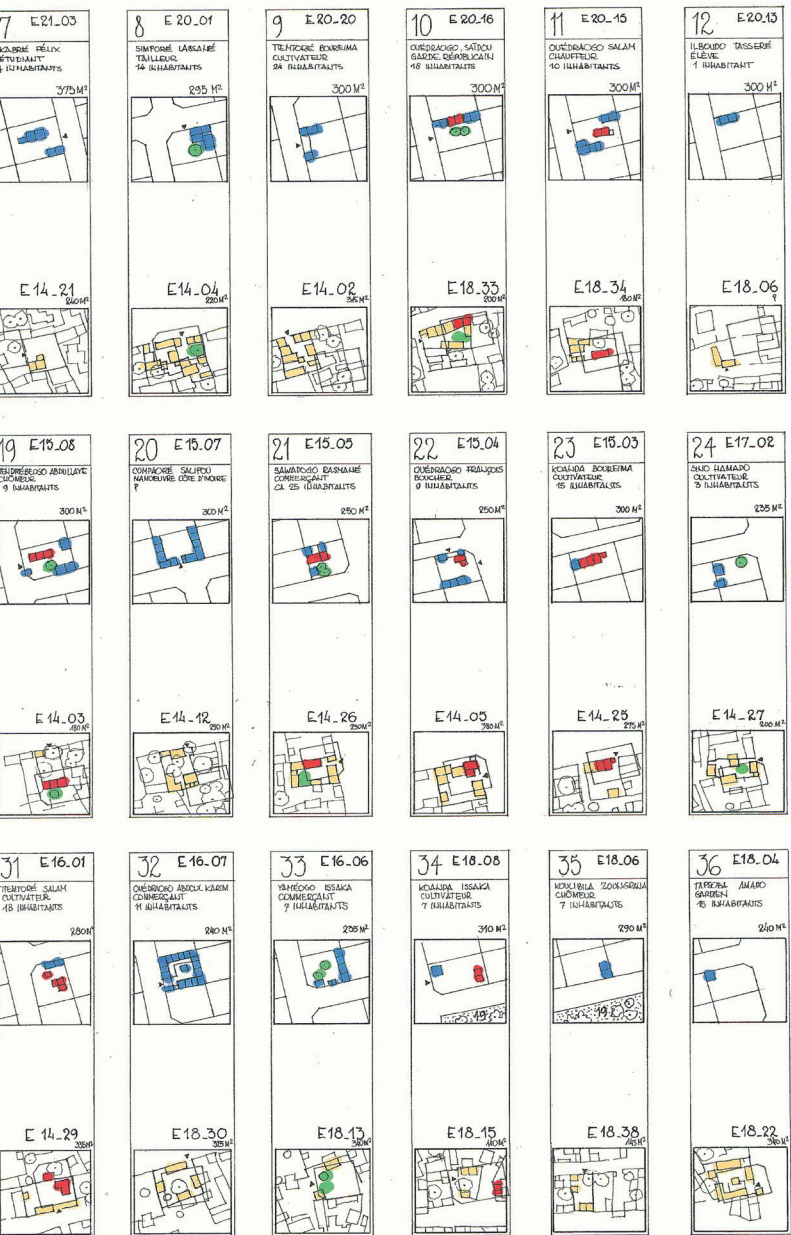


Figure 7
Overview of Larlé plots in 1984 (Source: Antoni Folkers)



LEGENDE

STRUCTURE :

- PRESERVÉ
- DÉMOLIE
- NEUVE
- ARBRE CONSERVÉ

N

ÉCHELLE $\frac{1}{1.000}$

LES CHIFFRES DES SURFACES DES PARCELLES SONT APPROXIMATIFS !!

OUAGADOUGOU LE 29 MAI 1984
ANTOINI FOLKERS
DIRECTION DE L'URBANISME DE L'AMÉNAGEMENT ET DU LOTISSEMENT
PROJET WAGADOGO - NOSSILI

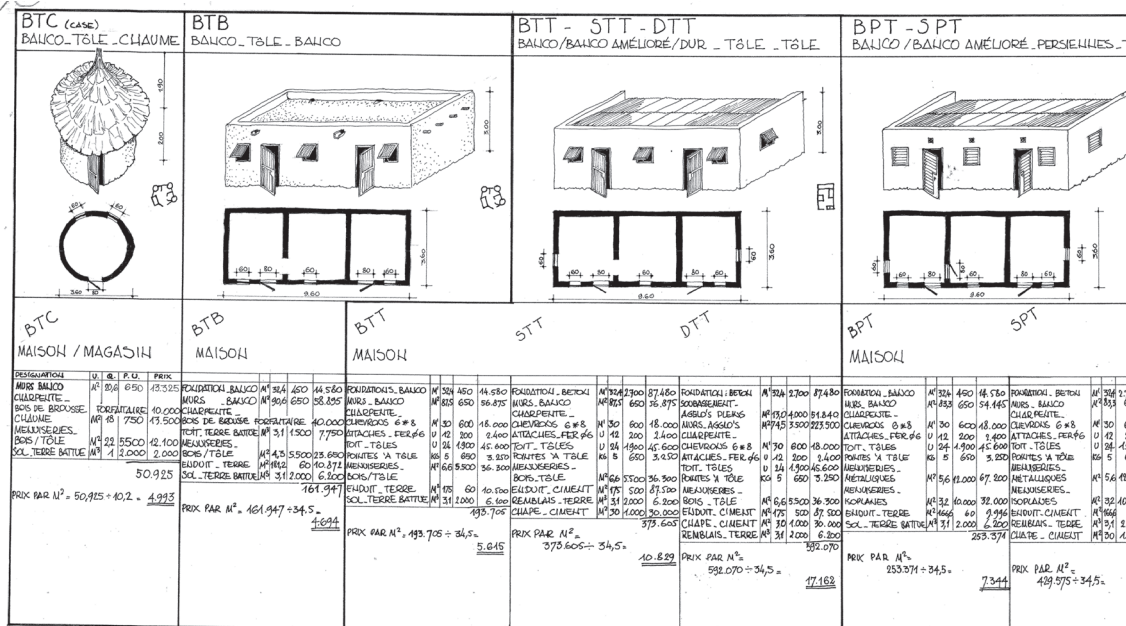


Figure 8
The building typologies of Ouagadougou's Urban Fields in 1984 (Source: Antoni Folkers)

At that time, when the people from the country moved into the informal areas of Ouagadougou, their family lifestyle still depended upon tradition. The *chef coutumier* determined their legal status, not the modern bureaucracy. The spontaneously expanding city had its origins in the savannah and the organically organized rural city of Crozat. In 1984, Wagadogo, the area Larlé-Extension belonged to, was still a largely rural area, organized according to the land use tradition of the Mossi. Many of Wagadogo's residents were still farmers and small-scale cattle owners in the 1980s and worked in market gardens and fields in the surrounding areas. The manner in which residents of the spontaneous area of Wagadogo arranged their living space, called the *niri*, had to be adapted to the spatial limitations of their new homes and the lack of traditional materials. The organic layout and shape of their homes had already been replaced by a more orthogonal form, and the *zaka*, the inner courtyard, was reduced in size and enclosed. Due to this process, the traditional outdoor courtyards of the various *niris*, the *samandes*, were drawn together and formed a public space with unwritten rules. The *samandes* were laid out in linear form along the streets of the grid, and the boundaries of the *zakas* were now defined by straight walls.

DPT (VILLA) PUR. PERSIENNES - TÔLE		BT - DT (CUISINE) BAÏCO / DUR - TÔLE	B' - B² - D' - D² (WC DOUCHE) BAÏCO - DUR	B ₀ C (HANGAR) BOIS - CLAUONE																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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ISORANE</td><td>M³ 3,4</td><td>10.000</td><td>34.000</td></tr> <tr><td>11.000</td><td>VENTILATEUR - CLAUSTRAS</td><td>U</td><td>10</td><td>1.500</td></tr> <tr><td>12.000</td><td>ENDUIT - CIMENT</td><td>M³ 14,3</td><td>500</td><td>174.500</td></tr> <tr><td>13.000</td><td>REINTE S - TERRE</td><td>M³ 15,1</td><td>2.000</td><td>23.000</td></tr> <tr><td>14.000</td><td>DALLE - BETON</td><td>M³ 4,7</td><td>150.000</td><td>44.000</td></tr> <tr><td>15.000</td><td>CIMENT - CIMENT</td><td>M³ 4,7</td><td>150.000</td><td>44.000</td></tr> <tr><td>16.000</td><td>PLACERD - COITZE PLAQUE</td><td>M³ 4,2</td><td>5.000</td><td>291.000</td></tr> <tr><td>17.000</td><td>PERITURE - TOM</td><td>M³ 4,4</td><td>850</td><td>344.000</td></tr> <tr><td>18.000</td><td>PERITURE - MOULE</td><td>M³ 3,7</td><td>950</td><td>35.625</td></tr> <tr><td>19.000</td><td>SANITAIRE</td><td></td><td></td><td>2.191.191</td></tr> <tr><td>12.451</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> <tr><td colspan="2">PRIX PAR M² = 3.693.445 + 67 =</td><td colspan="2"></td><td>40.201</td></tr> </table>	01.440	CHARPENTE - 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10.000	MENAGERIES - ISORANE	M ³ 3,4	10.000	34.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
11.000	VENTILATEUR - CLAUSTRAS	U	10	1.500																																																																																																																																																																																																							
12.000	ENDUIT - CIMENT	M ³ 14,3	500	174.500																																																																																																																																																																																																							
13.000	REINTE S - TERRE	M ³ 15,1	2.000	23.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
14.000	DALLE - BETON	M ³ 4,7	150.000	44.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
15.000	CIMENT - CIMENT	M ³ 4,7	150.000	44.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
16.000	PLACERD - COITZE PLAQUE	M ³ 4,2	5.000	291.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
17.000	PERITURE - TOM	M ³ 4,4	850	344.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
18.000	PERITURE - MOULE	M ³ 3,7	950	35.625																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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20.000	SOUMMEGEMENT AGGLO'S PLEINS	M ² 47	4.000	188.200																																																																																																																																																																																																							
21.000	CHASSIS - FER 4#6	U	3	300																																																																																																																																																																																																							
22.000	TOIT - TÔLES	U	6	4.800																																																																																																																																																																																																							
23.000	REINTE S 2 TÔLES	U	4	850																																																																																																																																																																																																							
24.000	REINTE S - TERRE	M ³ 0,45	2.000	1.500																																																																																																																																																																																																							
25.000	CIMENT - CIMENT	M ³ 0,4	1.000	6.440																																																																																																																																																																																																							
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26.000	SOUMMEGEMENT AGGLO'S PLEINS	M ² 48	450	21.600																																																																																																																																																																																																							
27.000	CHASSIS - FER 4#6	U	3	300																																																																																																																																																																																																							
28.000	TOIT - TÔLES	U	6	4.800																																																																																																																																																																																																							
29.000	REINTE S 2 TÔLES	U	4	850																																																																																																																																																																																																							
30.000	REINTE S - TERRE	M ³ 0,45	2.000	1.500																																																																																																																																																																																																							
31.000	CIMENT - CIMENT	M ³ 0,4	1.000	6.440																																																																																																																																																																																																							
PRIX PAR M ² = 43.535 + 6,64 =				50.235																																																																																																																																																																																																							
32.000	PORELAUX ET CHEVREDS BOIS DE BROUZE	M ³ 5,625	12.000	67.500																																																																																																																																																																																																							
33.000	PERFORATION	M ³ 1,1	10.000	6.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
34.000	CHASSIS	M ³ 1,1	10.000	6.000																																																																																																																																																																																																							
PRIX PAR M ² = 14.750 + 1 =				1.639																																																																																																																																																																																																							

PLANS, TYPES GÉNÉRAUX TROUVÉS DANS LE QUARTIER LARLE - EXTENSION, AVEC DEVIS ESTIMATIFS ET PRIX PAR M² LE 19 JUIN 1984
 RECHERCHES DE ANTOINI FOLKERS (89) MAR. D.F. MEINERS) OUAAGADOUGOU

New building regulations, which were imposed in the 1990s, introduced a new phase to the modernizing of the city. The rules prescribed that building lots became separated areas within the plot boundaries. Buildings should maintain a minimum of 1.5-metres of clearance space from the boundaries, in order to avoid fire risks and obstruction of light and fresh air. This further curbed any possibilities for a spacious inner courtyard, and eventually caused the ground plan of the *zaka* to be turned inside out. Simultaneously, the rules regarding streets and public space were also made more restrictive, and it became more difficult to use the public areas for the *samandes*. These combined regulations resulted in a suburban freestanding villa type that adapted remarkably well to the changed lifestyle of the Burkinabé citizen. The inverted *zaka*, the negative of the *cour*, became popular.

On 31 December 1989, Beeker's city renewal project was completed. It had been a success. The simple approach, the participation of the residents, and a good team working for a tireless project coordinator, who had been involved in the urban development of the city for more than ten years, were, I think, the reasons for this success. By 1989, 95 per cent of the *Ouagalais* lived on an official PUH plot.

1984 SDAU masterplan and later plans for the urban fields of Ouagadougou

The redevelopment projects of the World Bank and the Dutch for the spontaneously developed areas were necessary to relieve the demand for living accommodation and helped fulfil the ambitions of the revolution. At the same time, Beeker regretted a lack of vision for the city as a whole or for its development in the long term. As early as 1978, Beeker reported that redevelopment had to be implemented according to an integral vision and a long-term master plan, for which he provided an initial sketch. But it was not until 1983 that the DGUT issued a memo in which a proposal was presented to draw up a master plan that would curb the spontaneous growth of the city and define its borders. This proposal was incorporated in the *Schéma Directeur de l'Aménagement Urbain* (SDAU), a master plan for Ouagadougou drawn up by the Dutch engineering firm Royal Haskoning. In 1984, the SDAU was completed and was presented to the minister, but it was not until 1986 that the plan was accepted by the government.

The SDAU departed from the idea of a city with a population of 600,000 residents by 1995–2000. The master plan was initially based on a number of geological factors. It was argued that the extension had to take place eastwards, and not westwards, because that is where the water-collection area was. Borders to the north and south were defined by the watershed of two chains of hills. The soil conditions of Ouagadougou – actually quite similar throughout the country – are characterized by an ancient, impermeable subsoil – Precambrian granite – and an infertile, leached-out, porous upper layer of laterite. The precious groundwater is found between the laterite and the granite, at a depth of ten to fifteen metres. Because of the porosity of the surface layer, the danger of groundwater pollution is substantial, and hence it was considered sensible not to plan the city expansion in a water-collection area.

Apart from these geological considerations, the master plan was also constrained by a number of elements that go beyond the city's interests: the airport, the large water reservoir, the radial road structure, and the railway and its city terminus. These structuring elements enabled Haskoning to divide the city into three development areas, each with around 200,000 residents: the western part around the existing centre, the part east of the airport, and the part to the north of the reservoir. Haskoning proposed that these three areas should be autonomous and that each should be provided with two or three centres. According to Haskoning, development would be simpler to control in a polycentric city; moreover, phased growth would be possible,

future adaptation and additions to the plan would be easier and no radical changes to the existing structure would be necessary, and, for the time being, the airport could remain where it was. The SDAU is a product of its time. It is a structuralist plan that, according to Jak Vauthrin, is based on the concept of New Towns in England (Vautrin, 1985). The influence of Dutch Structuralist thinking, *en vogue* in the 1970s and 1980s, with its intention to serve an egalitarian society and its aversion to monumentality, is evident.

The 2007 city map shows that little became of the proposed polycentric structure. Gilbert Kibtonré, by then secretary general of the ministry (Kibtonré, 2008) confirmed this observation. But Kibtonré was, nevertheless, positive about the SDAU. The fact that the road network is laid out and extended according to the routes indicated in the SDAU, justifies the costs and work that went into the master plan. Moreover, the SDAU was the first of a string of master plans and urban development plans for Ouagadougou that would play an important role in the development of the capital. Kibtonré emphasized the importance of a binding structure plan for a city such as Ouagadougou that, in 2007, covered a surface area larger than that of Paris within the Périphérique.

In 1991, according to the new constitution, Ouagadougou was divided into five districts, each with its own mayor. This decentralization had certain advantages, but it limited the development of the city as a whole, and gave rise to financial speculation. Kibtonré argues that the mayors began to make plans according to their own needs, without consulting the mayors of the other districts and without taking the SDAU into consideration. This meant that many of the sites, allocated in the SDAU for public buildings and green areas, were sold to private parties and used as building areas. Moreover, because of the decentralization, the registration of the PUHs is no longer directed centrally, which again increased the possibility of speculation and abuse.

In 1985, a year before the SDAU was established, interventions were made in the city that conflicted with the fundamental aims of the plan. The central market was rebuilt and extended and the old district of Bilibambili was cleaned up to make way for the brand new *Cité An III*, an exemplary housing estate celebrating the revolution of Sankara. Blaise Compaoré, who supplanted Sankara in 1987, was a completely different leader. In his ambitions in the field of public works, he conformed to the French tradition of *grands projets*, rather than to the social goals of his predecessor. The *Cités* of the revolution could, of course, also be called *grands projets*, but these had a predominantly social character, which was formalized in a straightforward urbanism and sober architectural expression.

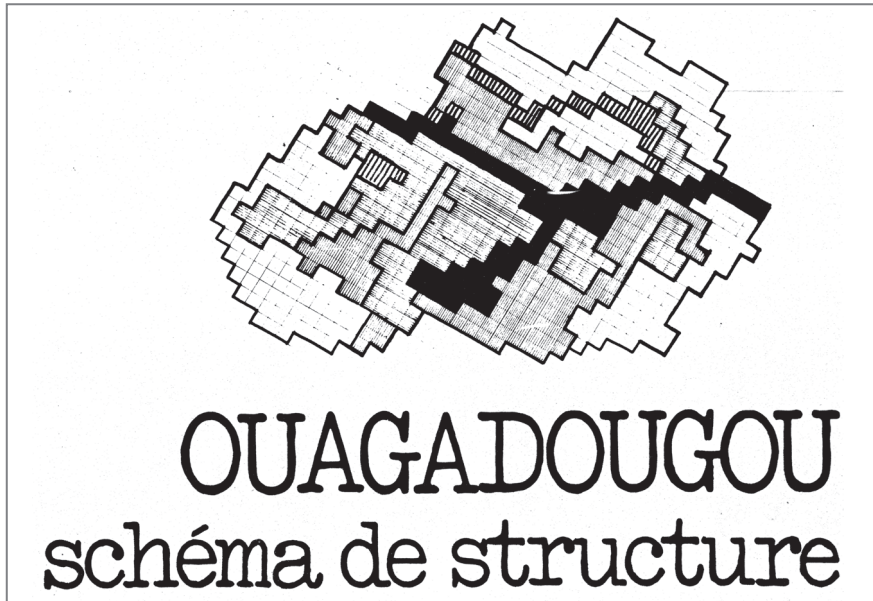


Figure 9
SDAU cover 1984 (Source: Haskoning Archive)

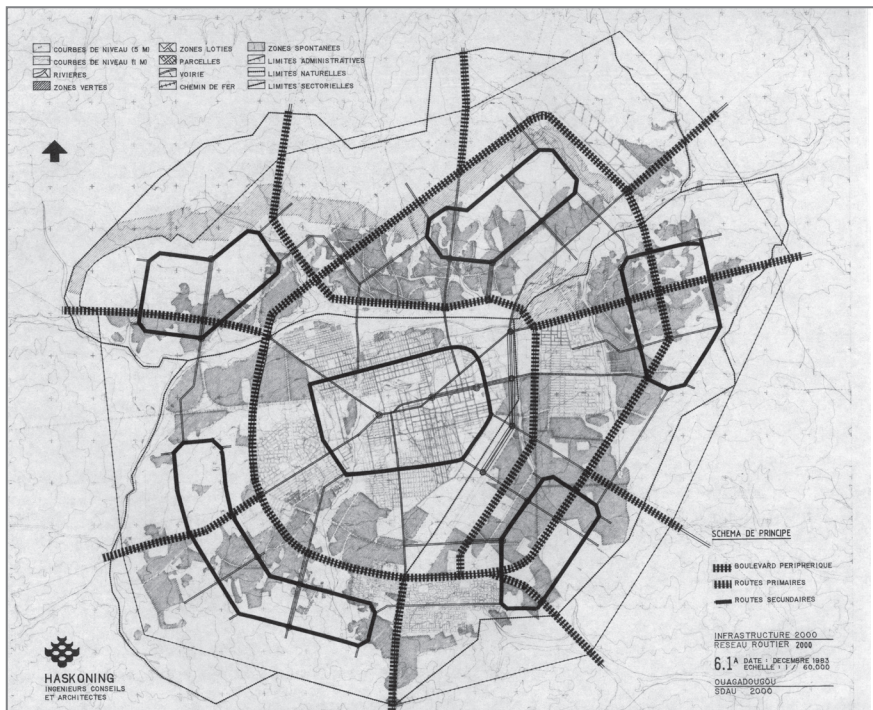


Figure 10
SDAU master plan 1984 (Source: Haskoning Archive)

In contrast, Compaoré's *grands projets* were given a much more monumental character and they served liberal capitalism and confirmed presidential power. Compaoré managed to host the French-African summit meeting of 1996, and for this occasion, he had the Ouaga 2000 district developed, located in the green buffer zone south of the SDAU. Ouaga 2000 was laid out in the context of the new presidential palace. It was intended for the housing of ministers, senior civil servants, diplomats, presidential guests, and was to be the accommodation of the great French-African conference, with congress palaces and prestigious hotels. Space was also reserved for commercial and recreational facilities such as a shopping mall, and living accommodation for the wealthy. Beeker has never been shy of criticising projects like Ouaga 2000, as shown in Keeton's contribution to this publication.

Even before the SDAU plan was drawn up, team members from the University of Amsterdam questioned its practical feasibility, and the extent to which it could define the structure of the city as a means of reference for future spatial developments. According to Johan Post, a colleague of Coen Beeker, it was clear from the beginning that it would be impossible to raise the billion guilders that were needed to implement the infrastructural works, such as the road system, drainage, sewage system, water purification works, drinking-water supplies, and electrification, in the plan period between 1985 and 1995. How could this work be financed? Furthermore, the master plan, according to Post, was based primarily on ideas that were fashionable in Europe, but not well suited to African conditions. How did the plan's designers come up with the idea that there should be one market for every 7,000 residents? That would mean that, by 2007, there would have to be at least 150 markets in Ouagadougou. Moreover, these market spaces were reserved according to the density of Dutch suburbs with corner supermarkets, while people in Ouagadougou often worked at home and shopped from home, meaning that shopping was linked to other household activities.

Post questioned how such an unrealistic plan could have been accepted by the Burkinabé central government and the city council of Ouagadougou. His answer:

the city in a positive sense needs to distinguish itself from the rural hinterland in terms of order, [...] quality of the built environment, level of infrastructural provision, and extent of social services. Spatial planning serves the deeply rooted idea of urban superiority. It should not be forgotten that Ouagadougou is the capital and in the eyes of the power elite it has to be a symbol of national pride. This explains the enthusiasm for the master plan,

which not only allowed the government to control spatial development, but also did justice to the idea of the modern city of Ouagadougou.²

But Ouagadougou is still largely a rural city and, in terms of income and services, it remains dependent on the hinterland. Only two per cent of the working population in 1980 was employed by industry, 20 per cent worked for the government, and ten percent for a private company. At least 25 per cent still worked in agriculture, 25 per cent in the informal trade, service industries and crafts, and the rest was unemployed. Post instead pleaded for an 'agropolitary' planning scheme in place of the introverted master plan, i.e. a plan for the metropolitan district based on intensification of agriculture in the rural areas surrounding the city. This contemporary urban-rural approach would, in fact, be incorporated in the later plan for the surroundings of Ouagadougou, the *Schéma d'Aménagement de la Banlieue de Ouagadougou* (SABO), also referred to as the *Plan Villages Centres de la Banlieue de Ouagadougou* (PVCBO).

As early as 1984, Coen Beeker launched the idea of a systematic plotting of the peri-urban influence zone of Ouagadougou, the *aire d'influence*, something he would later refer to as 'the Urban Fields'. Research showed that the majority of the population growth in Ouagadougou was caused by people moving to the periphery of the city (less than 40 kilometres around the city). As a preventative measure to curb the growth of the city, an attempt was made to improve living and working conditions in these areas, and to undertake measures to protect the environment. In 1985, the *Plan Villages Centres de la Banlieue de Ouagadougou* (PVCBO) was put into action, on the basis of which a number of smaller projects led by Beeker were implemented. The Dutch landscape architect Marjolein Spaans outlined plans for villages in the PVCBO area. In 1989, when the plans were getting started, they affected an area that accommodated approximately 166,000 people in over one hundred villages, of which ten were designated as *villages centres*, or centres of urban growth. PVCBO aimed to protect and intensify agriculture, provide attractive housing, and restore the ecological balance by the planting of a buffer zone of trees. If the periphery were strengthened, it could better absorb the population increase and thus curb the growth of the spontaneous areas, while preserving space for important future infrastructure, such as an airport, industrial areas, motorways, and high-tension cables.

2 Post, Johan cited in: Beeker, Coen (ed.), 'Urbane planning in Afrika. Palavers over de ruimtelijke inrichting van de agglomeratie Ouagadougou'. Reader University of Amsterdam (Institute of Planning and Demography), 1987, p.33.

Characteristic of the PVCBO plan was a careful distribution and positioning of the areas intended for agriculture, dwelling, and large-scale activities (new airport, industrial area, ecological buffer zones, and so on) combined with the concentrated development of the urban growth centres. The plots were relatively large, so that the residents themselves could develop their own activities. The most fertile and best-irrigated agricultural land was divided into relatively small allotments that could be intensely worked for high production. At the same time, from 1993 onwards, adjustments were made to the SDAU by the DGUT, which led to the *Schéma d'Aménagement du Grand Ouaga* (SDAGO), the 1993 master plan that was linked to the PVCBO. In 1999, the PVCBO was succeeded by the *Programme d'Aménagement du Grand-Ouaga* (PAGO). More detail on this important project can be found in the contribution by Yolande Lingane in this publication. Lingane played and plays an active role in the various projects that were initiated in Ouaga's Urban Fields in the early 1990s.

Note

The above text is derived from the book *Modern Architecture in Africa*, chapter *Popular Housing in Ouagadougou*, pp. 98-138 (Amsterdam, SUN Publishers, 2011), and subsequently adapted to this publication by the same author.

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4

Coen Beeker et la transformation de Ouagadougou en ville moderne **Expériences sur le terrain**

Joseph Guiébo

Le Professeur Coen Beeker a travaillé au Burkina Faso en tant que chercheur de 1978 à 1980 puis comme praticien et conseiller technique principal (CTP) de la Coopération néerlandaise auprès de la direction générale de l'Urbanisme et de la topographie du Burkina jusqu'en 2005. Durant plus d'un quart de siècle, il a apporté une immense contribution à la planification et à la gestion urbaine au travers de plusieurs initiatives toutes aussi originales qu'avant-gardistes. Il a notamment ; (a) développé la méthode d'aménagement progressif visant à améliorer, de manière participative, les conditions de vie et d'habitat des populations au sein des zones d'habitat spontanées tout en leur garantissant la sécurité d'occupation foncière ; (b) initié et appuyé le gouvernement dans l'élaboration du premier Schéma directeur d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de Ouagadougou (SDAU) de l'après-indépendance ; (c) développé et expérimenté le concept de 'Villages-centres-banlieues' de Ouagadougou (PVCBO) avec ses 'Relais-cités', précurseur du Schéma de développement et d'aménagement du Grand Ouagadougou (SDAGO) et pour finir ; (d) s'est impliqué dans diverses activités spécifiques telles que la production d'eau potable en sachets, l'appui à la création d'activités génératrices de revenus en zones urbaines et péri-urbaines ou bien encore, la promotion et la vulgarisation de foyers améliorés et de l'énergie solaire comme contribution à la lutte contre les effets du changement climatique.

Coen Beeker and the Making of Modern Ouagadougou: Experiences from the Field

Professor Coen Beeker worked as a researcher in Burkina Faso between 1978–1980, and then as a practitioner and Chief Technical Advisor (Conseiller Technique Principal – CTP) to the Dutch Cooperation at the General Direction of Town Planning and Topography of Burkina Faso until 2005. Over a quarter of a century, he made an enormous contribution to town planning and management through

numerous initiatives, which were both original and avant-garde. He has, in particular, (a) developed a method of progressive planning aimed at improving, in a participatory manner, the living and housing conditions of the population of squatter settlements while ensuring the security of land takeover; (b) initiated and supported the government in the preparation of the first Guiding Scheme of Management and Town Planning of Ouagadougou (SDAU) since the acquisition of independence; (c) developed and tested the concept of Ouagadougou Villages-Centres-Suburbs (PVCBO) with its Relay Cities (Relais-Cités), a forerunner of the Plan of Development and Management of Great Ouagadougou (SDAGO); and (d) a number of specific activities such as the production of drinking water in packets, assisting in the creation of revenue-generating activities in urban and suburban areas, the promotion and popularization of improved households and solar energy as a contribution to the fight against the effects of climate change.

Introduction

J'ai eu le privilège de travailler avec Coen Beeker de 1983 à 1995 et c'est un honneur et un devoir de lui rendre hommage en partageant ici quelques-unes des multiples actions qu'il a eu à mener au Burkina Faso et qui ont grandement contribué à la planification, à la gestion urbaine et à la modernisation de la ville de Ouagadougou et à développer une réflexion prospective sur l'urbanisation et la lutte contre la pauvreté urbaine au Burkina Faso. Au titre de ces actions variées et multiformes, j'ai retenu les suivantes :

Le projet Wadadogo-Nossin ou Projet d'Aménagement des quartiers d'habitat spontanés de Ouagadougou: innovation dans la démarche et la mise en œuvre d'une méthode d'aménagement

Sur la base d'études³ menées sur le terrain par une équipe de l'Université Libre d'Amsterdam⁴ conduite par Coen Beeker, une démarche novatrice et originale pour l'aménagement de quartiers spontanés a été développée. Appelée Méthode d'Aménagement Progressif (MAP), elle part du postulat que ni l'Etat n'a les moyens de procéder à la viabilisation, ni les ménages les ressources suffisantes pour payer les coûts d'une parcelle viabilisée et qu'il est nécessaire de distinguer le domaine public (voirie, espaces réservés aux équipements collectifs) relevant de l'Etat et le domaine privé (la parcelle) relevant des ménages.

3 Coen Beeker, Les effets du système de lotissement à Ouagadougou, Ouagadougou, 1978

4 Convention de partenariat entre la Section de Planification Urbaine et régionale de l'Université Libre d'Amsterdam et le Ministère des Travaux Publics, des Transports et de l'Urbanisme signée en octobre 1978

L'Aménagement de la voirie et la construction des équipements collectifs étant considérés de la responsabilité de l'Etat et de ses démembrements et l'aménagement de la parcelle de la responsabilité du ménage, qui une fois la sécurité d'occupation garantie, investit dans l'amélioration de son habitation. La MAP peut se résumer comme suit (a) implantation du plan d'aménagement avec délimitation des espaces publics et privés ; (b) attribution des parcelles aux bénéficiaires avec un réseau d'alimentation en eau potable par extension du réseau existant et création de postes d'eau autonomes à partir de forages équipés de pompes et de châteaux d'eau ; (c) accord sur un délai d'un an préalablement convenu avec les habitants occupant le domaine public, pour leur déménagement ; (d) décapage et profilage légers des voies ainsi libérées pour faciliter la circulation et la mise en place progressive des réseaux et des équipements publics avec la participation populaire. La phase pilote de Larlé-Extension menée au secteur 8 de Ouagadougou a montré qu'au bout d'un an, les habitants qui se trouvaient dans l'emprise des espaces publics ont déménagé sur leurs nouvelles parcelles, libérant ainsi la voirie et les espaces réservés aux équipements collectifs.



Figure 1
Echelle: 1/20000
(Source: IGB Mission 2012)



Figure 2
Echelle: 1/50000
(Source: IGB Mission 1979)

Participation des populations dans le choix du parti d'aménagement

La participation des populations dans les actions de développement qui les touchent est un gage de succès pour un projet. C'est conscient et convaincu de cela que, sous l'impulsion du CTP du projet, plusieurs rencontres ont été initiées dans les secteurs concernés, soit avec les populations directement, soit avec les chefs traditionnels ou encore avec les représentants desdits quartiers. Des séances d'information et de sensibilisation, des "palabres", sur les objectifs du projet, les options d'aménagement ont eu lieu aussi bien au début du projet que durant son exécution et ont permis l'adhésion des populations à la restructuration de leur zone d'habitat, et le choix du parti d'aménagement orthogonale quand bien même cela impliquait une destruction plus importante du bâti.

Réduction de la taille des parcelles

C'est au cours de ces « palabres » que la question de la réduction de taille des parcelles a été débattue avec les habitants. Il me souvient d'une session où le CTP et l'équipe locale du projet, plan de situation avec les relevés précis des concessions en main, ont fait des "travaux pratiques" d'aménagement de l'espace aux habitants, leur montrant la taille actuelle de leurs parcelles (entre 100 et 150 m² en moyenne) et l'implantation de leur maison d'habitation (généralement en plein milieu de la parcelle), leur démontrant que la taille des nouvelles parcelles représenterait plus du double de leurs parcelles actuelles et qu'avec une meilleure exploitation de l'espace par une implantation rationnelle du bâti, on pouvait habiter à l'aise dans sa "petite" parcelle. C'est le début de ce qu'on pourrait appeler "la densification horizontale". Désormais, la taille des parcelles dans les nouveaux lotissements allait être ramenée en moyenne à 250⁵-300 m². C'était la fin des "Caré-caré"⁶.

Renforcement des capacités

Sous l'impulsion du CTP, des actions de formation des cadres ont été organisées. Ainsi, des cadres de la Direction Générale de l'urbanisme et de la Topographie (DGUT) ont effectués des voyages d'études aux Pays-Bas, en France,

5 Cf. Direction de l'Urbanisme et de l'Architecture : Procès-Verbal de la réunion du 26 octobre 1978 au Ministère des Travaux Publics, des Transports et de l'Urbanisme et Compte rendu 27 octobre 1978 chez le Ouidi Naba

6 Expression désignant la parcelle, suivant les lotissements au temps colonial qui étaient généralement de forme carrée (25m × 25m) ; rapporté en 1978 par P. Ouédraogo, dessinateur à la Direction de l'Urbanisme et de l'Architecture

au Ghana et en Tunisie sur la planification et la gestion urbaine et sur la gestion de projets. L'assistance technique fournie par l'Université Libre d'Amsterdam (Département de la Planification urbaine et régionale) et animée par le CTP et des experts et consultants néerlandais ont permis également le renforcement in situ des capacités des cadres et techniciens de la DGUT à travers les échanges d'expériences et la confrontation d'idées résultant des travaux de terrain. Cela était une innovation à l'époque d'avoir initié et développé la coopération entre une Université du Nord et une Administration nationale du Sud, pour mener des recherches en vue de réaliser des actions sur le terrain. Ainsi, les recherches académique et scientifique ont conduit à des expérimentations lors des opérations pilotes de restructuration de quartiers à Wadadogo-Nossin et les leçons tirées du terrain ont également permis de développer des concepts et des outils pour la recherche. De nombreuses études et recherches ont été conduites par les étudiants et chercheurs – dont entre autres Antoni Folkers – de l'Université Libre d'Amsterdam des Pays-Bas.

Création d'une brigade de viabilisation

Une brigade de viabilisation a été créée en 1991 dans le souci de participer à l'aménagement des voies primaires dans les quartiers spontanés suite aux lotissements et aussi à aménager les voies de liaisons inter-villages dans le cadre du Programme Villages-Centres-Banlieue de Ouagadougou (PVCBO). Initialement constituée d'un bulldozer, d'une niveleuse, d'une pelle chargeuse et de deux camions benne, le parc d'engins de cette brigade a été renforcé en 2012 par un don du gouvernement japonais. Cette brigade a ainsi permis de contribuer à l'aménagement de plus de 300km⁷ dont 232km de voies dans les quartiers périphériques de Ouagadougou et d'environ 106km dans le cadre des liaisons inter-villages et des Relais Cités du PVCBO.

Le Fonds d'Aménagement Urbain (FAU)

Le Fonds d'Aménagement Urbain est une autre initiative innovante de la vision qu'avait Coen Beeker sur la nécessité d'un financement durable des opérations d'urbanisation et d'amélioration des conditions de vie et d'habitat de populations urbaines. Face aux faibles ressources de l'Etat et à la faible part de financement du budget de l'Etat accordée à l'urbanisme à cette époque, il a été convenu entre les parties nationale et néerlandaise, la création d'un Fonds de roulement constitué des paiements des redevances de parcelles,

7 Données fournies par Richard Yaméogo, Responsable de la Brigade de viabilisation

d'un montant de 45,000CFA/parcelle, issues des lotissements du programme financé par l'Assistance financière néerlandaise.



Figure 3
The Brigade de Viabilisation (Courtesy of Coen Beeker)

Ce fonds a pour objectif de doter le gouvernement à travers sa Direction chargée de l'urbanisme opérationnel, de moyens pérennes pour poursuivre les travaux de lotissements, et de doter les zones nouvellement loties en équipements socio-collectifs et infrastructures primaires. En vue de garantir le bon fonctionnement dudit Fonds, il a été créé une Commission de Contrôle, chargée entre autre de veiller à la bonne gestion du Fonds, d'approuver le budget et de superviser et contrôler l'exécution du programme placée sous la responsabilité de la DGUT.

Les ressources du Fonds avaient été exceptionnellement déposées dans un compte domicilié dans une banque locale. Ce Fonds dont le montant en 2016 avoisine 1,5 milliards de francs CFA, a ainsi permis d'effectuer dans les quartiers restructurés, les travaux de bornage des parcelles, les travaux de décapage et de nivellement de la voirie, l'installation de forages avec des châteaux d'eau autonomes, des bornes fontaines et enfin l'électrification desdits quartiers.⁸

⁸ L'approvisionnement en eau potable et la fourniture de l'électricité ont été réalisés en partenariat avec l'ONEA et la SONABEL avec qui la DGUT a signé des conventions spécifiques.

Autres initiatives

Hormis les questions d'urbanisme proprement dites, Coen Beeker a développé d'autres initiatives telles que l'appui aux groupements de femmes et de jeunes agriculteurs à Ouagadougou, Bobo-Dioulasso et Koupéla pour des activités génératrices de revenus avec l'appui du SUPO, une ONG néerlandaise dont il assurait la présidence et dont il avait bien voulu me confier la Représentation au Burkina. Il convient également de souligner ses efforts dans le domaine de la protection de l'environnement avec la promotion et la vulgarisation de foyers améliorés qui visent non seulement à soulager le travail des femmes dans la cuisson des aliments, mais également de réduire la consommation du charbon et du bois de chauffe, contribuant ainsi à l'atténuation du changement climatique.

Conclusion

Coen Beeker a consacré près de 30 ans au développement urbain au Burkina Faso et plus particulièrement à la planification de la ville de Ouagadougou. Au cours de cette période 1978-2010, la population de Ouagadougou est passée de 364.804 à 1.527.622 habitants⁹ environ, avec ce que cela implique comme défis en matière de fourniture de logements adéquats et de services sociaux de base. Avec la méthode d'aménagement progressif, expérimentée à Larlé-Extension puis à Wadogogo-Nossin et adoptée par le Gouvernement du Conseil National de la Révolution, il a été possible de dégager plus de 60.000 parcelles à Ouagadougou dont environ 45.781 parcelles¹⁰ de 1984 à 1986, notamment dans les sept secteurs du projet Wadogogo-Nossin, et d'offrir ainsi une sécurité foncière aux ménages notamment à faibles revenus qui ont ainsi amélioré leurs logements et développé des activités génératrices de revenus le long des rues. Des efforts ont été faits par le gouvernement national et local pour la fourniture de services de base tels que l'eau potable et l'électricité et les voiries ont été ouvertes progressivement. Des centres de santé tout comme des établissements scolaires ont été construits aussi bien par l'Etat que par le secteur privé. A la suite du SDAU de Ouagadougou et du SDAGO, 12 villes, sièges de régions ont été dotées de SDAU et des mécanismes de suivi et de contrôle ont été mis en place pour garantir l'opérationnalisation desdits outils de planification.

9 Estimations fournies par la Direction de l'Urbanisme et du Foncier de la Commune de Ouagadougou

10 Souleymane Ouédraogo, Ardjouma Ouattara, Jean-Baptiste Ouédraogo : Le régime foncier : pratiques réglementaires et juridiques, in Réseaux Habitat Urbain, Aménagements des quartiers spontanés africains, 1986, Paris pp.125

Un programme participatif d'amélioration des bidonvilles (PPAB)¹¹ est en cours d'exécution à Ouagadougou (quartier Bissighin) avec le financement de l'Union Européenne et l'appui technique d'ONU-Habitat. Sur la base des leçons tirées du programme d'aménagement des quartiers d'habitat spontanés, ce nouveau programme devrait aboutir à la formulation d'une politique nationale d'amélioration des bidonvilles, cela en conformité avec les objectifs du développement durable, et du Nouvel Agenda Urbain adopté à Quito en octobre 2016.

Ces résultats sont le fruit du travail inlassable d'un expert de renommé qui a toujours voulu et a consacré sa vie à œuvrer pour un développement durable de l'Afrique en général et du Burkina Faso en particulier : Merci Professeur Coen Beeker !

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11 Site web UN-Habitat, Participatory Slum Upgrading Programme (PSUP) : www.unhabitat.org/psup

5

Dutch Development Cooperation and Urban Planning in Ouagadougou

Saskia de Lang

According to Saskia de Lang, the social-geographer Coen Beeker was far ahead of his time in his visionary approach to the urban planning of African cities following the demographic explosion of the 1980s and increased rural-urban migration. At the heart of his approach to urban planning lies, what De Lang calls a social contract between local authorities and inhabitants based on a number of principles encouraging democratization and responsibility at a local level. Beeker's low-cost approach distinguished it from other urban schemes at that time, which advocated bulldozing poor quarters in favour of building new middle-class residences. The Department of Urban Planning in Burkina Faso translated Beeker's approach into a national policy, which was one of the key factors ensuring the success of the programme as a whole, and resulting in implementation of the method in various neighbourhoods across the city. While other programmes usually relied heavily on external technical assistance, Beeker transferred the responsibility for the implementation of the programme to the Director General of the Department of Urban Planning Joseph Guiébo and to the Director of Department of Urban Planning Gilbert Kibtonré, and followed up the process himself by regular visits to Burkina Faso. During the presidency of Captain Thomas Sankara, the Burkina Faso authorities allocated 62,000 plots of land following the Beeker Method. As a result, nearly half of the population of Ouagadougou saw its living conditions improved.

La Coopération néerlandaise pour le développement et la planification urbaine à Ouagadougou

Selon Saskia de Lang, ancienne responsable-programme de la Coopération néerlandaise pour le Burkina Faso dans les années 80, le géographe Coen Beeker était largement en avance sur son temps, porté par sa vision sur la nécessité de préparer les villes africaines à faire face à l'explosion démographique suite au phénomène d'exode rural massif. A la base de son modèle figure un contrat social entre autorités locales et habitants: la sécurité foncière, basée sur un titre de

propriété, ainsi que la mise à disposition de services de base en échange d'une contribution monétaire des habitants et de leur liberté de disposer de leurs parcelles pour y développer leurs propres habitations. Son approche à faible coût se démarquait nettement d'autres schémas urbains onéreux qui prévoyaient l'éradication de vieux quartiers insalubres pour y construire des logements dédiés à la classe moyenne. L'approche de Beeker allait à contre-courant de la Coopération néerlandaise qui misait, elle, sur la sécurité alimentaire et l'agriculture au Sahel afin d'enrayer l'exode rural. Cependant, Beeker prévoyait aussi une production agricole dans la périphérie de la ville pour approvisionner les marchés urbains et donner des emplois aux migrants. Dans toutes les phases du programme, son approche participative préconisait d'associer les populations urbaines concernées. Le fait que la direction générale de l'Urbanisme ait traduit l'approche de Beeker en politique nationale constituait un facteur clé du succès de ce programme avec, pour conséquence, la reproduction de la méthode d'un quartier à l'autre. Contrairement à d'autres programmes qui bénéficiaient d'effectifs importants d'assistance technique, celui-ci donnait d'emblée la responsabilité au directeur général de l'Urbanisme Joseph Guiébo et au directeur de l'Urbanisme Gilbert Kibtonré avec un suivi constant de Beeker sous forme de visites ponctuelles. Sous la présidence du capitaine Thomas Sankara, les autorités burkinabés octroyèrent 62.000 parcelles loties selon le modèle de Beeker. Ainsi, près de la moitié de la population de Ouagadougou vit ses conditions de vie améliorées et obtint la sécurité foncière.

The concept 'urban development' conjures up images of shanty towns flattened by bulldozers, of dusty waste lands, treeless streets and neighborhoods that will need decades to recover from alienating work. That was not what I wanted to be associated with, when I travelled to Ouagadougou in 1979 for a research internship in the field of urban development. My task was to collect data as part of Coen Beeker's urban development programme, linking research and the implementation of a new urban development model.

The African countryside was emptying and cities growing unrestrained: this trend has increased ever since. Social geographer and planner Coen Beeker was familiar with the response of governments to get rid of urban slums, hotbeds of unrest: bulldozers would appear, followed by a far from social housing scheme, with a World Bank loan contributing to the debt position. After such an exercise had taken place, there were few traces of the original residents.

My first job at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in The Hague put me in charge of development cooperation with Burkina Faso, a donor darling since the

great Sahelian drought of 1973–74. My portfolio included Coen Beeker's Ouagadougou urban development programme, which was funded under the bilateral development cooperation programme.

At that time, assistance to Burkina Faso fanned out over a wide range of projects. Against the backdrop of the famine, food security and agriculture ranked high, emphasizing improvement of living conditions in rural areas to call a halt to the exodus. In this view, rural migrants would only swell the numbers of urban unemployed. However, we overlooked the fact that, since time immemorial, migration was part of the coming of age of Sahelian men and provided villages with remittances. In the Sahel, you are not a man if you stay in the village.

Coen Beeker's work was unconventional. He did not mean to prevent or attract migration to urban centres, but wanted to create the basic facilities to accommodate their growing population, leaving the residents to choose and build their own dwellings. For him, there was no contradiction in developing the urban area and the countryside, since both were interdependent. The idea was to secure nearby food production for the urban dwellers and to provide employment for the ever-growing urban population in the periphery of town, thus creating jobs for rural migrants.

Development cooperation was still in its learning phase. It would soon become clear that projects would not have a chance of sustainable success if local government was not involved; that target groups would need to be involved from the design to the end stage of a project; that local capacity needed to be built to allow countries to shape their own sustainable development policies. Donor coordination, transparency, donors speaking with one voice, adhering to the policy of the recipient country: these principles are widely accepted today, as reflected in the Paris Declaration; but, at that time, they were still to be established. Coen's approach to the urban development of Ouagadougou anticipated these principles.

While other programmes leaned heavily on the presence of experts and too often remained independent from local governmental structures, Coen's programme, from the outset, became part of Burkina's government policy. The Ministère des Travaux Publics et de l'Urbanisme was in charge and its Director General for Urbanism, Joseph Guiebo, and Director, Gilbert Kibtonré, were the flag-bearers for urban policy. Together with Coen, they would set the strategy and establish a work programme. His own presence was limited to two or three visits a year. He would entrust a maximum of responsibility to

the Ministry and encourage Guiebo and Kibtonré to link up with other parts of central and local government. In those days, communication between Coen and both men was limited to a few letters or phone calls.

The urban development programme for Ouagadougou was based on the following principles:

- Legal security: it stems from the land title and will encourage the land owner to invest;
- Since you pay for land title and public services, as a citizen you have a say in their quality;
- The government fulfils its part by providing services: a land registry, public water taps;
- From the outset, the Burkina government was responsible, at national and local level;
- The planning of each quarter was part of an overall zoning for the city, called the 'Schéma Directeur: Ouagadougou à l'horizon 2000', developed by Haskoning;
- Stakeholder participation in the physical planning of their neighbourhood: this was particularly important in the old quarters, where residents were supposed to move their homes to allow for an equal distribution of land and the opening of streets and sewerage infrastructure. Voluntary removal of homes was triggered by the promise of a land title;
- In the second phase, new quarters were created, anticipating population growth. With 750,000 inhabitants in 1984, the city now has over 1.6 million residents.

In 1983, the charismatic Captain Thomas Sankara seized power and initiated a programme of austerity, self-help and the rejection of Bretton Wood formula. In terms of urban development, his motto was '*un ménage, une parcelle, un toit*', with smart, middle-class dwellings replacing shanty towns. At one point, bulldozers appeared to erase a poor borough that was covered by the programme, thus threatening the trust that had patiently been built between residents and local government. The Dutch ambassador, with clear instructions from The Hague, protested at the highest level. When Sankara understood the scope of the programme, with its low cost, public participation, control by local government and grant funding, he embraced Coen Beeker's method, realizing it was consistent with his vision. Thus, between 1983 and 1987, 62,000 plots were allocated, affecting almost half the population of Ouagadougou. This 'social contract' between government and residents was a first step in promoting good governance and democratization at a local level.

Returning to Dutch development cooperation; in those years, the omnipresent agricultural engineers from Wageningen University promoted the small holder farmer in the Sahel. Developmental policy favoured rural areas and urban development did not stand a chance. In hindsight, we missed the opportunity to link both approaches.

Coen Beeker and his Burkina counterparts Joseph Guiebo and Gilbert Kibtonré deserve recognition for their pioneering work, which is in growing demand as a result of the rapid urbanization of Africa.

6

Du Programme Villages-Centres-Banlieue de Ouagadougou au Programme d'Aménagement du Grand- Ouaga:

Un bel exemple d'une fructueuse expérience de coopération bilatérale entre le *Burkina Faso* et les Pays-Bas

Yolande Lingané

Pendant plus de 20 ans, le Burkina Faso a entretenu des relations de coopération avec les Pays-Bas. Ce pays, en tant que partenaire technique et financier, a participé à l'effort de l'État burkinabé en soutenant le processus d'urbanisation. En 1991, l'État burkinabé, constatant l'afflux massif des populations rurales vers la capitale, a initié, avec l'appui technique et financier des Pays-Bas, le projet 'Villages-centres-banlieue' de Ouagadougou (PVCBO) dont l'objectif principal était de fixer les populations des villages satellites dans leurs terroirs. Ce projet a donné naissance au Schéma directeur d'aménagement du Grand-Ouaga (SDAGO), adopté en conseil des ministres le 07 juillet 1999. Le Programme d'aménagement du Grand-Ouaga (PAGO) qui a succédé au PVCBO a poursuivi les ambitions de ce dernier tout en se fixant, parmi d'autres, l'objectif d'améliorer l'accès des populations aux services urbains de base et d'intégrer les villages-centres à la dynamique de la ville de Ouagadougou.

Le PVCBO et le PAGO étaient tous placés sous la tutelle du ministère chargé de l'urbanisme et de l'habitat, avec la direction générale de l'Urbanisme et des travaux fonciers (DGUTF) comme structure d'exécution et de gestion. De 1978 à 2005, monsieur Coen Beeker, représentant les Pays-Bas, a été le conseiller technique principal (CTP) du programme et fut à l'origine de plusieurs réalisations. En treize années d'activité, les deux projets ont réussi à contribuer à apporter un changement positif dans la vie des burkinabé en améliorant les conditions et le cadre de vie des populations des villages-centres. Le présent article vise à reconnaître les mérites de cette expérience de coopération dont les résultats, en termes d'impacts sur le quotidien des populations, sont probants.

From the Ouagadougou Villages-Centres-Suburbs Programme to the Programme of Planning of Great Ouaga: a good example of successful experience of bilateral cooperation between Burkina Faso and the Netherlands

For over 20 years, Burkina Faso has maintained cooperative relationships with the Netherlands. As a technical and financial partner, the country has participated in the efforts of the Burkinabé state by supporting the process of urbanization. In 1991, the Burkinabé state, recording a mass influx of the rural population into the capital, launched the Villages-Centres-Suburbs of Ouagadougou Project (PVCBO) with the technical and financial aid of the Netherlands. Its principal objective is to bond the residents of satellite villages to their land. The project gave rise to the Guiding Planning Scheme of Great Ouaga (SDAGO), passed by the Council of Ministers on 7 July 1999. The Programme of Planning of Great Ouaga (PAGO), which followed the PVCBO, pursued the goals of the project, while aiming, among other things, to improve people's access to basic urban services and to integrate the village centres with the dynamics of the city of Ouagadougou.

Both the PVCBO and PAGO were placed under the supervision of the ministry responsible for town planning and housing, with the General Direction of Town Planning and Earthworks (DGUTF), as its executive and managerial body. From 1978 to 2005, Coen Beeker worked as the Chief Technical Advisor (CTP) of the Programme, representing the Netherlands, and was the originator of numerous projects. During thirty years of activity, the two projects succeeded in bringing a positive change to the lives of the Burkinabé, by improving the conditions and the living environment of the population of village centres. This article aims to identify the merits of this experience of cooperation, the results of which, in terms of impact on the daily lives of people, are consequential.

Introduction

Le *Burkina Faso*, comme la plupart des pays africains a connu une forte croissance liée à l'accroissement démographique naturel et à l'exode rural. *Ouagadougou*, la capitale et la plus grande agglomération urbaine du pays, est un pôle d'attraction des jeunes. Autour d'elle, se sont développés des espaces périurbains.

Ainsi, le taux d'urbanisation est passé successivement de 6,4% en 1975, à 12,7% en 1985 puis à 15,5% en 1996. Les conséquences d'une telle croissance urbaine se sont traduites entre autres par : l'accroissement du besoin en logement, la naissance et la prolifération de quartiers spontanés, la paupérisation, l'insuffisance des équipements et services sociaux de base. Pour faire face à

ces problèmes, le *Burkina Faso*, avec l'aide des Pays-Bas, a initié le Projet Villages-Centres-Banlieue de Ouagadougou (PVCBO) et le Programme d'Aménagement du Grand-Ouaga (PAGO).

Cet article fait un bilan synthétique de l'exécution et des résultats du PVCBO et du PAGO. Il s'inscrit dans le cadre de la décision des anciens étudiants et collaborateurs de monsieur Coen Beeker, brillant professeur, de lui rendre hommage. Pendant plus de 20 ans, nous avons eu la chance de côtoyer cet homme au "cœur d'or" et cela est un honneur pour nous de lui rendre hommage.

Le Projet Villages-Centres-Banlieue de Ouagadougou (PVCBO)

Le PVCBO a été exécuté dans le cadre du Schéma d'Aménagement de la Banlieue de *Ouagadougou* (SABO). Il avait pour objectifs d'améliorer les conditions et le cadre de vie des populations des villages-centres et de freiner l'exode vers la capitale, en aménageant et en dotant lesdits villages d'infrastructures et de services, afin de maintenir les populations dans leurs terroirs. Le projet a connu deux (02) phases :

- le PVCBO I, exécuté de 1990 à 1992 et prorogé jusqu'au 30 juin 1994, après une évaluation. Le budget total de la phase 1990-1992 était de 1 114 000 000 FCFA (note écrite sans références de la DGUTF) ;
- le PVCBO II, approuvé par le Burkina Faso et les Pays-Bas en 1995, exécuté jusqu'en 1999. Pour cette phase d'une durée de cinq (05) ans, l'assistance financière néerlandaise était de 5 000 000 de florins, soit 1 500 000 000 de FCFA à l'époque; l'Etat *burkinabé* a contribué pour un montant de 616 000 000 de FCFA (cf. rapport d'évaluation à mi-parcours, novembre-décembre 1997).

Dans le cadre de l'exécution du PVCBO, un Fonds d'Aménagement Urbain (FAU) a été créé par arrêté n°0054/MIHU/MFB/MAT/SG du 26/11/1991. Il est alimenté par les recettes générées par la vente d'eau *Yilemdé* et celle des parcelles des relais-cités. Une convention relative au FAU a été signée entre le *Burkina Faso* et les Pays-Bas. Le suivi et le contrôle du FAU sont assurés par une commission créée par arrêté interministériel n°0054/MHLU/MFP/MAT/SG du 26 novembre 1991 (Rapport d'évaluation à mi-parcours, novembre-décembre 1997).

Parmi les réalisations du PVCBO, nous pouvons citer, en dehors des aménagements: la promotion des activités socio-économiques par le préfinancement des micro- projets, la construction et le réaménagement des marchés des villages-centres, l'exploitation de l'eau potable *Yilemdé*. La production de

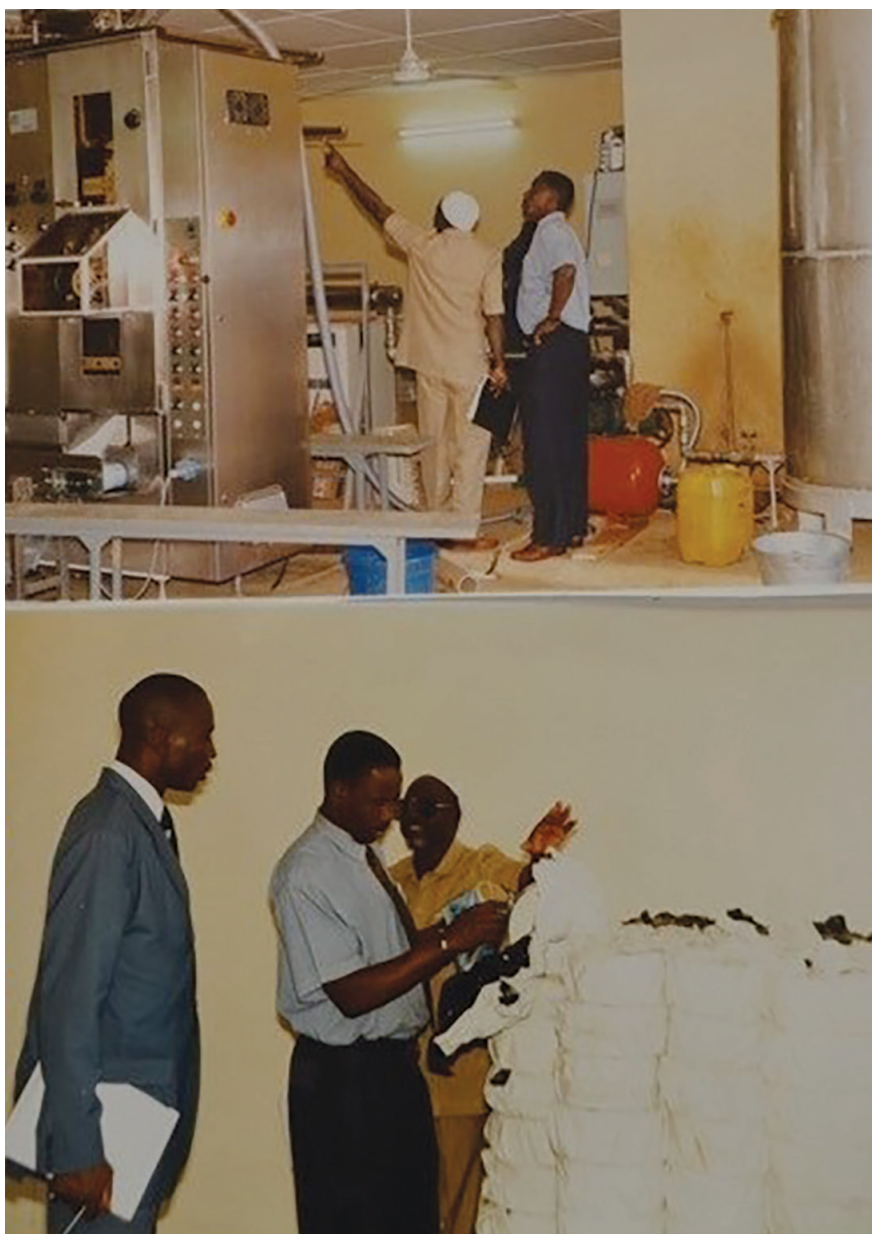


Figure 1
La visite de l'usine Yilemdé (Source: Direction générale de l'urbanisme et des travaux fonciers)

l'eau *Yilemdé* est une initiative de monsieur Coen Beeker, après une enquête sur les maladies hydriques et la qualité de l'eau consommée par les ménages. L'idée était de mettre à la disposition des populations de l'eau potable à prix réduit, afin de les préserver des maladies liées à la consommation de l'eau non potable. Le *Burkina Faso*, à travers le ministère de l'urbanisme et de l'habitat est le premier pays de la sous-région à produire l'eau en sachet. De nos jours, on compte de nombreux exploitants d'eau en sachet aussi bien au *Burkina Faso* que dans la sous-région.

Il y a eu également : la construction des écoles, des forages, des abattoirs, la construction et le revêtement de pistes rurales reliant plusieurs villages, les opérations relais-cité – une généreuse idée de monsieur Coen Beeker – qui tirent leur légitimité de l'Arrêté n°98-054/MIHU portant création des relais cités dans la banlieue de *Ouagadougou*. Les principaux objectifs de ces opérations sont : offrir la possibilité aux personnes ayant un revenu intermédiaire de disposer d'une parcelle viabilisée, tout en conservant une marge financière relative pour la réalisation d'un logement décent ; offrir une égalité de chance d'obtenir une parcelle à tous les postulants, à travers le tirage au sort. Au total, deux (02) relais-cités, *Zagtouli* et *Kamboincé* ont été réalisées par le PVCBO en 1999. Malheureusement, ces deux opérations n'ont pas respecté le tirage au sort, ce qui a été déploré par la partie néerlandaise.

Cette approche d'attribution des parcelles est un succès. Après plus d'une décennie, l'opération relais-cités a permis de réaliser sept (07) relais-cités dont cinq (05) à *Ouagadougou* (*Zagtouli* et *Kamboincé* en 1999, *Nioko I* en 2001, Secteur 19 en 2004, et *Basséko* en 2006), un (01) à *Bobo Dioulasso* (secteur 23 en 2009) et un (01) à *Saponé* en 2013. La Société Nationale des Terrains Urbains (SONATUR) vient de lancer sa première opération d'attribution de parcelles qui aura lieu par tirage au sort. L'idée de reproduire cette approche dans les collectivités territoriales est en gestation.

Au cours de l'exécution du PVCBO, monsieur Coen Beeker a également :

- initié l'élaboration et l'application de la méthode *ZAKA* (la méthode *ZAKA* consiste à aménager en essayant de maintenir au maximum l'habitat existant) pour la restructuration de 10 villages-centres de la banlieue de *Ouagadougou* ;
- fait venir plusieurs étudiants Néerlandais au *Burkina Faso*, dans le cadre de leurs recherches ;
- fait planter des arbres fruitiers, le *jatropha* et autres types à *Bazoulé*, à *Dayoubsi*, etc. ;

- intégré la dimension culturelle dans le développement, en accordant une attention particulière à l'approche du théâtre pour sensibiliser et faire passer des messages ;
- fait réaliser plusieurs enquêtes pour connaître les conditions de vie des *Burkinabé*, les avis des ménages sur l'aménagement et sur des sujets tels que l'eau, la santé, l'emploi etc. ;
- encouragé et développé l'utilisation du soleil pour la cuisine ;
- initié le sport à vélo avec les responsables et agents de l'ambassade des Pays-Bas et du ministère de l'urbanisme, de *Ouagadougou* à un village-centre, en passant par les pistes rurales réalisées dans le cadre du programme, lors de quelques-unes de ses missions à *Ouagadougou* ;
- prôné le développement de projets concrets et plus proches des réalités, tout en tenant compte des intérêts des populations, pour ne citer que ceux-là.



Figure 2
 Quelques filles du centre-habitat de Zagtoui, bénéficiaires de l'apprentissage en couture (Source: Yolande Lingané)



Figure 3
 Quelques bénéficiaires de Tanghin-Dassouri en construction métallique (Source: Yolande Ligané)

Le Programme d'Aménagement du Grand-Ouaga (PAGO)

Le PAGO a démarré le 1^{er} janvier 2001 et a pris fin le 31 décembre 2004. Son financement s'élève à un montant total de 2 325 240 761 FCFA (note de présentation du programme d'Aménagement du Grand-Ouaga, septembre 2004).

Au terme de l'article 2 du décret N° 99-270/PRES/PM/MHU/MATS/MEE/MEF, portant approbation du Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement du Grand-Ouaga (SDAGO), " le "Grand-Ouaga" s'étend par l'espace géographique compris dans les limites administratives de la ville de *Ouagadougou*, de la Province du *Kadiogo* et du département de *Loumbila*, (Province d'*Oubritenga*). Il est d'une superficie d'environ 3300 km²".

Exécuté dans le cadre du SDAGO, le PAGO avait pour objectifs, entre autres, de:

- élaborer des instruments de planification et de gestion de l'espace du Grand-Ouaga, afin de maîtriser le développement de la zone ;
- améliorer l'accès des populations aux services urbains de base que sont : l'eau potable, la santé, l'éducation, les voies de communication ;
- préserver et restaurer l'environnement et mettre en place des espaces verts et des ceintures vertes.



Figure 4
Quelques apprenants du centre-habitat de *Kamboinsé*, bénéficiaire de l'apprentissage en maçonnerie (Source: Yolande Lingané)



Figure 5
Quelques apprenants du centre-habitat de *Tanghin- Dassouri*, bénéficiaire de l'apprentissage en menuiserie bois (Source: Yolande Lingané)

Le PAGO a poursuivi en partie les activités du PVCBO et initié d'autres, avec toujours à côté des enquêtes de terrain, des séances de sensibilisation à travers le canal artistique initiées par le Conseiller Technique Principal (CTP) Coen Beeker.

- Dans le cadre du soutien aux collectivités locales par des projets prioritaires, le CTP nous a commis d'effectuer des visites de terrain aux préfets des villages-centres, afin de les rappeler et leur expliquer l'importance de la participation de la population dans le choix des projets ;
- Sur insistance du CTP sur le respect dans l'approche des attributions des parcelles des opérations relais-cités, les attributions des parcelles des relais-cités de *Nioko I* et du secteur 19 réalisés par le PAGO ont été faits par tirage au sort, en partenariat avec la Loterie Nationale Burkinabé (LONAB) et sous la supervision d'un huissier de justice, chargé de valider toute l'opération. Le tirage au sort concerne à la fois l'attributaire et la parcelle. Il s'agit pour un premier tirage au sort de déterminer les numéros gagnants et ensuite de tirer le postulant à la parcelle. Le tirage du postulant est fait par le public. Après ce tirage de la parcelle, le coût des frais de viabilisation à payer par le bénéficiaire est fonction du niveau de viabilisation et de la superficie de la parcelle.

Dans le souci de remplacer les bénéficiaires défailants dans le paiement des frais de viabilisation, une liste d'attente est retenue pendant la séance de tirage au sort.

A la fin de l'exécution du PVCBO et du PAGO, un protocole de transfert des biens au ministère des infrastructures, des transports et de l'habitat a été signé le 24 février 2004, entre monsieur Hippolyte Lingani, Ministre du dit département et monsieur Hubert G.M. Hendrix, Chargé d'Affaire a.i des Pays-Bas au Burkina Faso (représentant l'Ambassade des Pays-Bas). L'une des conditions de monsieur Beeker pour défendre le ministère chargé de l'urbanisme, pour le maintien du FAU au sein du département était la création de centres habitat au profit des jeunes déscolarisés et non scolarisés (le FAU devait être reversé au ministère des Finances, comme tout fonds à la fin d'un projet). C'est ainsi que cinq (05) centres habitat ont vu le jour, dont trois (03) à *Ouagadougou*, un (01) à *Bobo-Dioulasso* et un (01) à *Bama*.



Figure 6
Veuve Brigitte Kaboré et 3 de ses orphelins. (Source: Yolande Lingané)



Figure 7
Veuve Pauline Asséta Ouédraogo, 2 de ses filles et sa petite-fille. (Source: Yolande Lingané)

Conclusion

38 ans après sa mise en œuvre, le bilan de cette coopération se révèle très positif. Monsieur Beeker a lutté pour l'amélioration du cadre et des conditions de vie des *Burkinabé*. Bien que la coopération entre les deux pays ait pris fin, il continue de s'intéresser au développement urbain du *Burkina Faso*, en s'informant sur *Google Earth* et en cherchant à suivre le développement urbain au Burkina Faso. Pour confirmer cela, voici ce qu'il me dit dans son courriel du 16 décembre 2016:

“Comme promis, je te présente ci-joint une notice avec 5 suggestions pour l'élaboration d'un théâtre forum. Notre Fonds Social pourrait offrir une modeste contribution pour la réalisation d'une pièce de théâtre forum par votre collectif à *Tanghin*. J'aime bien lire tes idées à ce sujet.

Quant à la zone d'habitat spontanée, en face de *Kossodo*, tu pourrais te renseigner certainement si la commune de *Nongremassom* a effectué des travaux de voirie. Après l'étude des photos satellites, je suppose que la commune a contribué à l'ouverture de quelques voies principales. Mais cela n'est pas certain. Si tu puisses trouver un étudiant qui pourrait entreprendre un dialogue avec quelques familles pour tester les opinions en ce qui concerne l'aménagement et le lotissement éventuel de leur zone d'habitat spontané. Il s'agit surtout pour trouver une réponse à la question principale: faut-il lotir la zone en créant le plus grand nombre des parcelles (par exemple de $12 \times 15 = 180 \text{ m}^2$), sans tenir compte de leur habitat actuel? L'avantage est surtout que presque tout le monde pourrait rester après le lotissement et l'attribution des parcelles dans cette zone. Mais deux tiers des familles sont obligées à déplacer leur foyer, vers la parcelle attribué. Un déplacement de leur foyer actuel en général de moins que 50 m!!

La DGUH a appliqué cette “Méthode d'Aménagement Progressif” MAP dans tous les quartiers entre 1984-1989 (en créant surtout les parcelles de $12 \times 20 = 240 \text{ m}^2$ dans toute la ville de *Tampouy*). Appliquant cette méthode MAP, on a pu maintenir environ 30% de l'habitat existant. Je suppose que le maintien de 30% de l'habitat existant soit certainement aussi possible dans cette zone spontanée en face de *Kossodo* et aussi ailleurs.

La méthode MAP est surtout intéressante pour les conduites d'eau à installer par l'ONEA et pour l'électricité par la SONABEL dans les années à venir”.

Il convient de signaler que Coen Beeker a soutenu et continue de soutenir financièrement des veuves, des orphelins et des personnes démunies au Burkina Faso.



Figure 8
Veuve Assèta Pauline Ouédraogo, bénéficiaire d'une aide pour son activité commerciale. (Source: Yolande Lingané)



Figure 9

Veuve Assèta Ilboudo et 2 de ses enfants. (Source: Yolande Lingané)

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7

Actions Urbaines Réalisées de 1980 à 2005 au Burkina Faso sur Financements des Pays-Bas négociés par Mr Coen Beeker

Gilbert Kibtonré

De 1979 jusqu'à la fin de sa carrière professionnelle en 2012, Gilbert Kibtonré a participé activement aux divers programmes de redéveloppement urbain de la ville de Ouagadougou. Il était alors directeur général de l'Urbanisme et de la topographie (DGUT) lorsque Coen Beeker débuta ses recherches sur de nouveaux procédés de planification urbaine de la ville. Au cours des années 80, environ 3000 hectares de la capitale furent restructurés en suivant la méthode Beeker, autrement dénommée 'méthode de redéveloppement progressif' (MAP). Coen Beeker était farouchement opposé à l'utilisation d'une méthode alternative, alors initiée par le gouvernement révolutionnaire en place dans le cadre d'un vaste programme de logements érigés en commémoration de la révolution, consistant au remplacement drastique de quartiers entiers par la construction de plusieurs 'Cités' connues sous le nom de Cités An I, II, III et IV. Il introduira ainsi un programme pour le développement de dix centres de villages périphériques localisés dans un rayon de vingt-cinq kilomètres de la ville de Ouagadougou. Cette opération précéda le Schéma Directeur d'Aménagement du Grand Ouaga (SDAGO) initié en 1999 et valide jusqu'en 2005 pour cette même zone. Le travail de Coen Beeker se traduira alors par la mise en œuvre des plans de centres relais au sein de ces communes périurbaines n'incluant pas moins de 4800 parcelles allouées, durant la période 1999-2005, à cette réalisation.

Urban Programmes in Burkina Faso between 1980 and 2005, supported by the Netherlands and negotiated by Coen Beeker

Gilbert Kibtonré was involved in the urban redevelopment schemes for Ouagadougou from 1979 until his retirement in 2012. He was Director General of the Department of Urban Planning (DGUT) during the early days of Coen Beeker's involvement in the (re)planning of the city. Some 3,000 hectares of the city were restructured according to the Beeker Method in the 1980s, also referred to as the 'method of progressive redevelopment' (MAP). Beeker was greatly opposed to

the alternative method launched by the revolutionary government, which consisted of radical replacement of existing neighbourhoods by government-built housing schemes in the so-called Estate-Year I, II, III and IV, commemorating the anniversaries of the revolution. Later, Beeker introduced a programme for the development of 10 suburban village centres, which were created in the urban fields within the 25km radius of the city. This operation preceded the Structure Plan for Grand Ouaga of 1999–2005, for the same area. Beeker's work concluded with the implementation of the plans for the relay centres in these villages encompassing some 4,800 plots allocated over the years 1999–2005.

Introduction

Mr Kibtonre Gilbert a travaillé avec Mr Coen Beeker de 1980 à 1984 et c'est un réel plaisir pour lui de contribuer à ce symposium par une brève description de certaines des actions urbaines réalisées de 1980 à 2005 au Burkina Faso et défendues avec succès par Mr Coen Beeker qui a fortement contribué à la mobilisation de l'appui des Pays-Bas à cet effet, à savoir :

1980–1983: Le Projet Wagadogo – Nonsin

La croissance urbaine a engendré la formation de quartiers d'habitat spontané autour de la ville de Ouagadougou. Le Gouvernement a alors engagé de 1980 à 1983 avec l'aide des Pays-Bas, un programme d'aménagement participatif exigeant la participation physique et active des populations bénéficiaires. Ce programme a concerné six quartiers dont celui de Wagadogo-Nonsin, et a permis de lotir trois mille (3000) ha comportant de nombreuses parcelles d'habitation et des équipements urbains de base relatifs à l'eau potable, la santé et l'enseignement primaire.

La spécificité de ce programme est son concept de «Méthode d'Aménagement Progressif» (MAP), où un délai de 2 ans sollicité par les populations leur a été accordé pour reconstruire leurs habitations sur leurs nouvelles parcelles avant la destruction de leurs concessions se trouvant dans les emprises des voies et des espaces réservés aux équipements publics ou communautaires. Mais ce délai a été amèrement écourté à 1 an par l'avènement du Régime Révolutionnaire intervenu en 1983 avec ses principes radicaux et fermement volontaristes.

1985–1986: La Cité de Tampouy / Arrondissement de Sig-Noghin

Le Régime Révolutionnaire a déclenché au cours de la période 1985-1986, un vaste programme de construction de logements à travers la construction de « Cités de la Révolution » dénommées « Cités du 4 Août » dans 23 Provinces mais surtout à Ouagadougou où furent construites en plus de la « Cité du 4 Août », les Cités AN II, AN III, AN IV A, AN IV B, et la « Cité 1200 Logements », avec la participation obligatoire de certaines structures (Banques, Sociétés d'Assurance, d'Electricité, etc...), auxquelles il a été assigné la mission de financer la réalisation de certains de ces logements.

Il importe de relever que certaines de ces cités ont été construites après destruction totale des habitations de certains quartiers, tel que le quartier Bilibambili de Ouagadougou où a été construite la « Cité AN III », au mépris des investissements et des titres d'occupation des habitants.

Face à ce radicalisme et à cet extrémisme du Régime Révolutionnaire, Mr Coen BEEKER a négocié avec succès auprès de la Coopération des Pays-Bas le financement de la réalisation d'un lotissement au cours de la période 1985/86 dans l'Arrondissement de Sig-Noghin sis au Nord de Ouagadougou, où ont été relogés les ménages du quartier Bilibambili, dans le respect du « principe de bon voisinage ».

1991–1996: Le Projet Villages-Centres Banlieue de Ouagadougou (PVCBO)

Constatant la formation de petites agglomérations autour de Ouagadougou engendrée par le « Programme de Lotissements Massifs » du Régime Révolutionnaire, il a été initié en 1991 à l'initiative de Mr Coen BEEKER, le Projet Villages-Centres Banlieues de Ouagadougou (PVCBO), couvrant les dix (10) Villages-Centres de Zagtoui, Tanghin-Dassouri, Kienfangué, Koubri, Saaba, Loumbila, Pabré, Kamboincé, Laye et Bassinko.

D'un coût global d'environ deux (2) milliards de FCFA, ce projet a abouti aux réalisations suivantes :

- L'aménagement des 10 Villages-Centres qui s'est soldé par la mise à disposition nombreuses parcelles d'habitation et autres équipements ou services urbains de base (voirie, eau potable, électricité, lieux de culte etc...) au profit des habitants, ce qui a contribué à freiner le développement de l'habitat spontané dans la banlieue de la capitale ;

- La construction d'une Grande Route Circulaire par l'amélioration et le renforcement des routes et pistes inter-villages reliant les 10 Villages-Centres ci-dessus cités, afin de faciliter l'écoulement de la production agricole de ces villages, ce qui a énormément soulagé les nombreuses braves femmes villageoises qui rejoignent Ouagadougou très tôt le matin à bicyclette pour la vente de leurs fruits et légumes et autres fagots de bois.

1997–1999: Le Schéma de Développement et d'Aménagement du Grand Ouaga

L'élaboration du Schéma de Développement et d'Aménagement du Grand Ouaga (SDAGO) sur un rayon de 25 km autour de la capitale a été entamée en 1997 et constitue une des finalités du PVCBO. Les principaux objectifs visés par le SDAGO sont de :

- maîtriser l'organisation et la gestion de l'espace pour un développement rationnel de la capitale ;
- proposer des aménagements en tenant compte des réalités du terrain ;
- améliorer le cadre de vie et les conditions de travail des populations du Grand Ouaga ;
- créer des activités génératrices de richesses et mettre en cohérence les différentes interventions actuelles ou prévues sur le territoire du Grand Ouagadougou ;
- optimiser et assurer une meilleure répartition des équipements et infrastructures dans l'espace, tout en préservant les ressources naturelles.

Le SDAGO a été allègrement adopté en Conseil des Ministres en 1999.

1999–2005: Les opérations Relais-Cités

L'année 2005 a vu la réalisation du relais-cité de Bassinko dans l'Arrondissement de Sig-Noghin, où deux milles (2000) parcelles viabilisées ont été dégagées pour un montant de 1,2 Milliards de FCFA.

Cette opérations vient s'ajouter à celles qui ont été exécutées entre 1999 et 2004 dans les localités de Zagtouli, Kamboincé, Nioko I et le secteur 19 de l'Arrondissement de Boulmiougou, totalisant 4 800 parcelles viabilisées qui ont été ainsi mises à la disposition des populations.

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PART II
Coen Beeker

8

Scurrying Around the Sahara – Tunis, Ouagadougou, Port Sudan, Addis Ababa: Retrospective

Coen Beeker

Coen Beeker spent more than four decades working in Africa. He has a particular working relationship with four cities : Tunis, Ouagadougou, Port Sudan and Addis Ababa. In this personal account of the time he spent in Africa, Beeker presents his work and experiences from the field and shares his reflections on the processes taking place in each of the cities. He also provides a brief insight into the events that shaped his future career.

Tournoyer autour du Sahara – Tunis, Ouagadougou, Port-Soudan, Addis Abeba. Rétrospective

Coen Beeker passa plus de 40 années à travailler sur le continent africain. Sur son parcours, quatre villes se détachent en particulier. Tunis, Ouagadougou, Port-Soudan et Addis Abeba ont été, pour lui, les objets d'une attention particulière dans son travail. Au travers de ce compte-rendu personnel du temps passé en Afrique, Beeker présente son travail, raconte ses expériences sur le terrain et partage ses réflexions sur le processus mis en place dans chacune de ces cités. Il offre également un bref aperçu sur les événements qui ont alors forgé sa carrière.

Introduction

At the age of 21, I enrolled for the study of social geography at the University of Nijmegen. It soon dawned on me that this was the start of a new phase in life. Numerous memories now press themselves upon me. The search for suitable accommodation with a landlady, getting acquainted with fellow students who had also thrown themselves into this maze, rising when the professor strode into the lecture hall, getting lost in this old town centre on the river Waal all come to mind. I enjoyed the free life of a student, but soon became aware of the necessity to pass exams in order to keep my grant. The

book by Charles Abrams, *Man's Struggle for Shelter in an Urbanizing World*, gave a definite direction to my future career. After my Bachelor's degree, I left Nijmegen and, in March 1968, earned my Master's degree in Urban and Rural Planning at the University of Amsterdam. The title of my Master's thesis was Goubivilles in Tunis. These 'spontaneous' settlements around several African cities are the main item of this narrative. I will give a short description of my work for each country: Tunisia, Burkina Faso, Sudan and Ethiopia.

In the autumn of 1968 I left with my family for Tunisia. In 1977, I was appointed senior lecturer at the department of Urban and Rural Planning at the Free University of Amsterdam. My assignment was to give form and content to the optional course 'Practical Urban and Rural Planning', focussing on developing countries. As part of an exchange in 1984 this department was assimilated into the Planning and Demographic Institute (PDI) of the University of Amsterdam. The optional subject was then limited to Africa. In September 2004, I took leave of the UvA. This offered me the opportunity to present colleagues, family and friends with an outline of my activities as a planner in the field with the title 'Au revoir Tunis, Ouaga, Port Sudan and Addis Ababa'.

Tunis

On arrival in Tunis, it took me a while before I understood that there was a serious difference of opinion between the president of Tunisia and his brother-in-law who was mayor of Tunis. This mainly concerned three major spontaneous settlements: Saïda Manoubia, Melassine and Djebel Lahmar. Should these be demolished or could they be saved for the families who had lived there for years? My job was to view and report on the situation. It was a tricky, politically-charged dossier with an uncertain outcome. After three years, a task force was formed at the Ministry of Regional Development to draw up a development plan for Tunis. This plan proposed that the government should renovate the spontaneous settlements. But it was only after the first United Nations Habitat Conference in 1978 in Vancouver that three donors proved willing to provide the means for these renovations. It took seven years to prepare and execute these plans and from 1984 till 1988 I was able to supervise the allocation of the legalized residential plots.

During the period from 1972 until my departure from Tunis in January 1977, I worked at the study centre of the Forestry Commission. The plan was to form forest villages in order to restrain migration to Tunis and to halt the degradation of the vegetation. Because of better access to roads and public

services (water, schools, medical care) there proved to be some interest for this in the more remote regions. Suitable *douars* (villages) were chosen to enable new inhabitants to settle there.

For many years, the Dutch town of Rheden has supported the improvement of living conditions and facilities in two villages in the north-west of Tunisia, Sidi Mahamed and Sidi Mansour. Here, I could assist on a voluntary basis. After the founding of a Tunisia society, these activities continued and were extended to several other villages.

In 1969, two important rivers overflowed far beyond their banks. There was a lot of damage, especially in the middle of the country, around the city of Kairouan. In the Netherlands, a committee was set up to support the stricken families. A total of 4 million guilders was raised via radio and television. At the request of the committee, a task force in Tunisia assisted in the spending of this fund. As the secretary of this task force, I was able to spend quite some time on this, with the assent of my manager at the city of Tunis.

Taking leave of this varied job and the volunteer work in Tunisia was not easy after more than eight years. Practice had taught me a lot and I had become increasingly aware of the limited margins within the strongly controlled political system of this country. The possibility of sharing this experience with motivated students seemed to me a wonderful challenge. Also, I would be able to monitor the allocation of dwelling plots in Saïda Manoubia, Melassine and Djebel Lahmar during short missions. When President Zine ben Ali (since ousted) had installed himself in the palace at Carthage, I was asked by the United Nations to take stock of several villages where the old *gourbi's* had been replaced by new houses. The result was not very positive as the families had not been involved in the preparation and realization of this extensive national programme. Residential plots of 60 m² proved unsatisfactory to the families of these villages. My plea to allot the eligible families in the numerous *douars* in the country with a cadastrally registered plot of 1000 m² in the chosen villages was rejected. During talks, in particular the landless had expressed an interest in moving to such a village, on the condition that this plot of 1000 m² would become their rightful property, so they could fit it out as a dwelling place and keep some small livestock (some goats, sheep, chickens, a donkey). It should be noted, here, that more than half of the arable land in Tunisia is in the hands of 3 per cent of large landowners.

In May 2010, I visited the *douar* where I had stayed 44 years ago, during my research. In the course of this three-month research in 1966, I was told that

several boys and girls had left to live with family members in Tunis. However, in 2010 in a local bar in Sidi Mhamed, I talked to a group of young men who had had an education, but they were now staying in this *douar* without a job. The uprising against the dictatorial power broke out six months later in Gafsa, spreading quickly through the whole country.

Port Sudan

In February 1977, I was appointed senior lecturer of Practical Urban and Rural Planning at the Free University, Amsterdam, focussing on developing countries. A broader study of the available literature made apparent the rapid migration towards the urban centres. In 1976, the United Nations organized the first Habitat Conference in Vancouver, where there was much attention for the establishment of 'spontaneous' settlements around these urban centres. A contribution from Sudan to this Habitat Conference was made by the Director of Urban Planning from Port Sudan. This harbour town on the Red Sea was built around 1900 for the British colonial empire. The interior was part of the Sahara Desert. The old harbour town of Suakin no longer met the demands of the shipping industry. The British planners in Port Sudan chose a set-up for three living classes: class one for the British, class two for the local elite and other foreigners, and class three for all other inhabitants of this harbour town. Clear requirements and building regulations were laid down for each living class.

Migration to Port Sudan increased strongly, particularly after Sudan's independence. At that time, many households settled in the non-planned surroundings of the harbour town, where a relatively large number of workers found temporary employment in loading and unloading ships. In the contribution for the Habitat Conference, it was described how these spontaneous settlements (particularly El Nan and Dar es Salaam) were included in the urban territory as living class four. Neither the authorities, nor the inhabitants had the means to finance the construction of roads, waterworks and electricity. However, a simple approach was chosen where the residential plots were marked with stones and stakes, leaving enough public space for the construction of roads, schools and other amenities. In 1981, I went to Port Sudan to investigate on site what had become of this approach. I was received warmly by the Director of Urban Planning, engineer Shingray, author of the Habitat contribution. After an extensive tour in Dar el Naïr, I was received by the head of the municipal council, Mr. Ali Mageit. He asked me to find out whether there was a city in the Netherlands that would be willing to strike up a twin town relationship. Students from the Netherlands were welcome

in Port Sudan. During the eighties, the town of Almere maintained a twin town alliance with Port Sudan. In this context, the department of urban planning in Almere made an important contribution to adjusting and expanding the allocation plans for Dar el Naïr and Dar es Salaam. The residential titles were registered cadastrally. This approach to the allocation of spontaneous settlements proved to be a good lesson for other African cities. How, with very little means, can you start a process that will benefit the majority of the households? Households that vary widely in terms of spending levels, education and ethnic background. This was certainly the case in Dar el Naïm and Dar es Salaam, where households from all regions in Sudan and also refugees from Eritrea sought shelter.

When the current President Bashir came to power in 1989 following a coup d'état and the civil war between North and South Sudan broke out with great violence the cooperation stopped. Almere set up a new twin town alliance with Kumasi in Ghana. With the help of Google Earth, it is possible to observe the formation and expansion of spontaneous settlements via satellite pictures, e.g. from a height of 500 metres. You can also follow the building process over several years in allocated settlements.

A comparison between the same living blocks in Dar el Naïm in 2004 and 2015 clearly shows that several plots, which were empty in 2004, are being used in 2015. It is also important to observe that unpaved main roads in 2004 have been asphalted in 2015. Anyone who wishes to find more information about the inhabitants and their activities will have to go to Port Sudan.

The two pictures of South Dar es Salaam in 2004 and 2015 were taken at the edge of the desert belt around Port Sudan.¹² It is remarkable that the probably spontaneous expansion in 2004 had occurred using the same method for plot allocation. In 2015, houses had been built on the plots that were empty in 2004. This appears to be a good example of how spontaneous expansion can be supported. Monitor the expansion in the surroundings, mark the residential plots, roads and public space for amenities and services which might be realized in the near future, depending on the available means.

Ouagadougou

In 1966, Upper Volta became a sovereign state with Ouagadougou as its capital. Following a coup d'état in 1983, captain Sankara came to power as

¹² The two images referred to in the text are available at Google Earth.

president. The name of the country was changed to Burkina Faso, 'land of the honest people,' in 1984. When Sankara was assassinated in 1987, Blaise Compaoré seized power until his exit in 2014. The current government is trying to set things right, mainly by attempting to fight corruption. In 1950, the urban population of Ouagadougou, now to be called Ouaga, was estimated at 80,000. On request of the Director of Urban Development and Public Housing, an investigation was carried out from 1978 to 1982 into the current situation of the planned quarters and also the spontaneous settlements in Ouaga. This was an attempt to gain more insight into the background of the inhabitants from the various regions, the level of spending of the households and the actual use of the residential plot. Subsequently, 100 heads of households in the partly planned quarter of Wagadogo were shown four different options with regard to the layout of their neighbourhood. It should be mentioned here that ten years before, several broad, main roads had been rather violently cleared; after local protests this 'bull-dozer strategy' was stopped. It took quite some explaining before the 20 groups of five households were reassured that there was absolutely no intention of using the bulldozer again. The Netherlands provided a donation of 5 million guilders to support the renovation of spontaneous settlements on the basis of a structure plan for Ouaga called Horizon 2000. The Ministry of Finance of Burkina Faso deposited the money in the Fonds d'Aménagement Urbain (FAU, Fund for Urban Management). A board of administration was appointed to supervise the spending of this donation.

In 1980, for 20 afternoons, I rode my bike to Wagadogo, where a family had been kind enough to make their yard available for this dialogue with the randomly chosen households. The public was welcome to come and listen, but were asked not to partake in the group discussion with the five heads of households, men and women. With my assistant and interpreter, I had staked out with posts and rope the three versions in the near surroundings. I had extensively discussed these three versions (cf. figure 1) with this assistant. He spent a lot of time explaining to each group in the Mooré language the versions that could be chosen. There was also the possibility of maintaining the current situation (the zero-setting), but only one out of the 100 participants pleaded for this version. And he had the biggest plot, more than 1500 m², but he was jeered down by the public present. Sometimes a participant who spoke French would ask me direct questions about the three versions. This gave me the opportunity to explain the pros and cons of each version in that language. This, too, was translated into Mooré and sometimes in another of the national languages (Dioula, Fulfuldé, Bissa, etc.). Language is a difficult obstacle, especially translating technical terms from French into a local national language.

Staking out the three versions with posts and rope turned out to be a lucky shot. A majority of the participants and also of the public certainly understood what the consequences of their choice would be. In the *Third World Planning Review* (TWPR, 16-3-1994) the article 'Plotting the urban field of Ouagadougou' was published, explaining the three versions.¹³ The three versions were designed by architect René van Veen, a temporary assistant at the Free University in 1981, on the basis of existing aerial photographs of Wagadogo. Each group discussion usually took about three hours. Every participant was asked to make known his own choice. When it became clear that 75 per cent had opted for version three, I attempted to find out what the arguments were for this rather surprising choice. After all, carrying out this version meant that only a third of the existing houses would be spared, all the other houses would have to be moved completely or partially to the staked out legal dwelling plots. When asked whether it would take 6, 12 or 24 months to realize this move, a majority answered 12 months. All the houses were built with sun-dried mud bricks and a varying number of sheets of corrugated zinc.

However, the main argument for the choice of version three was made clear to me during a long talk with the Larlé-Naaba, the Minister of Information of the Mooro-Naba, the traditional ruler of the Mossi-realm. He observed that in versions one and two there was a clear difference between the sizes of the plots, and in version three these were all equal. Also, in version three significantly more plots were available, so that everyone could stay in Wagadogo.

Equal allocation of the available plots and the assurance of being able to stay in this neighbourhood on a legally recognized residential plot were the decisive arguments for this choice. Moving their current provisional houses was sometimes quite difficult, but not a crucial obstacle.

Addis Ababa

In Ethiopia, the dictator Mengistu was ousted in 1991 and Meles Zenawi came to power. He invited many countries to contribute to the redevelopment of rural and urban regions in this country ravaged by civil war and famine. At the request of the city of Addis Ababa, the PDI/UVA was approached to assist with the urban planning of the country's capital. The Embassy of the Netherlands was well informed about the reorganization of the spontaneous dwellings in Port Sudan and Ouagadougou. In 1993, I was invited

13 For image see: Folkers, Working in the Urban Fields of Ouagadougou, figure 5, p. 43.

by this embassy to discuss this procedure directly with the Mayor of Addis Ababa. During initial talks, it immediately became clear that he was looking for a way to receive the large influx of people from all regions into the capital. Later, it became clear that the mayor was to be the number two in the inner circle of the new Ethiopian regime. I had written a short memorandum in preparation for the meeting. It was obvious he had read and understood it well. What Thomas Sankara had done in Ouaga ten years before must also be possible in Addis Ababa. At once he called the Vice-Minister of Works and Urban Development to set up a task force that would study and test this method. The Vice-Minister himself led this group for four years. He was an honest man who did not hesitate to chastise a corrupt civil servant in the Amhaa language.

The embassy provided a small starter fund for the PDI/UVA. If the test was successful, Ethiopia could ask the Netherlands for a further \$ 2 million donation as a contribution for the reorganization of the spontaneous settlements. The big Addis market lies at an altitude of 2600 m. It took some getting used to after the hot flatlands of Port Sudan and Ouaga. Around 1900, Addis Ababa was no more than a small mountain village, built around a hot-water spring, where the queen at the time had raised a lovely palace. With two highly regarded colleagues from the task force, we explored the spontaneous settlements in these mountains, mainly on foot. We encountered dire poverty in the little shacks built with wooden poles, clay and a sheet of corrugated iron. Firewood collected from the eucalyptus plantation nearby was dragged in by the women. As a result, the slopes became increasingly bare. An expansive territory with low-rise buildings was visible all around.

In 1995, the expansive urban territory of Addis Ababa had approximately 1.5 million residents. It was a surprise that during the eighties, at the time of Mengisto's rule, several neighbourhoods in Addis had been allocated, using a method similar to that employed in Port Sudan, i.e. simple staking of residential plots, usually sized about 300 m². During this rule, all the land and buildings were the property of the state and everyone had the right to a plot for which rent had to be paid to the community committee. There was little change to this housing policy in the nineties. However, this policy was extensively explained and completed with critical comments during a seminar (1).

- (1) Urban Fields Development in Ethiopia and other Related Issues.
Proceedings of the Workshop, 26/27 May 1997
Editors: Zewdie Serbarro & Zelleke Zewdie- Addis Ababa 1998

The task force had already agreed on a 'UFDE Pilot Project' in Debre Zeit, a town about 35 km south of Addis, within the suburban region of the capital. The centre of Debre Zeit had become a sanctuary for numerous migrants, mostly women and children, living in dire conditions under leaking roofs. The Council social services provided our task force with a long list of households eligible for better housing. Families living on less than ten Birr (one US\$) a day. How does one find a solution for this?

The Debre Zeit City Council, which ministered the land, made available ten hectares. In Addis, it was much harder to find an appropriate piece of land. There were no means to relocate these families. The embassy was willing to donate \$200,000 towards the implementation of the pilot project in Debre Zeit and Addis. This money was properly managed by putting it into a separate bank account owned by the task force.

In Debre Zeit, a development plan was launched for 462 families, with a plot size of 160 m². All selected candidates were invited to compete for an allotment in a public raffle. It was quite remarkable that 72% of the land was obtained by women, who were now able to exploit these allotments with their children and other relatives. However, how were they going to go about building a home on an empty plot?

The council provided a qualified technician to help execute the project. He suggested the instalment of three water taps on the land, as well as a communal acquisition of all building materials. In this way, every household could obtain a construction kit, consisting of wooden poles, corrugated iron and nails. This would not be a gift, but a loan for an indefinite period. Every plot holder was supposed to put 10 Birr per month in a revolving fund. The income from this fund could then be used to realize high priority facilities for this neighbourhood in years to come.

Six months after receiving the construction kits, 27 per cent of the plots were already occupied and 58 per cent of the houses were in the process of being built. The current state of the building works can be seen on Google Earth. All residential plots have now been built.

In 1998, the task force was hoping to be eligible for a donation of 2 million US\$, but then a nasty war broke out between Eritrea and Ethiopia. The Dutch government froze all financial support of either country. After 2000 relations were restored, but by then the new Dutch minister for Development Affairs was no longer concerned with the issue of urbanisation in Ethiopia. Very unfortunate, for this pilot and the obvious enthusiasm of the local people irrefutably proved that a wider-ranging program would have been feasible. In the new Master plan for Addis, The UFDE approach was highly recommended by its initiator.

9

Coen Beeker: A Biography in 16 Steps

- 1 Born, 13 May 1939 in Grubbenvorst, the Netherlands
- 2 Primary school in Arcen until 1950
- 3 Diploma Advanced Elementary Education A in 1953 and B in Wellerlooi in 1954
- 4 Diploma High School Sciences St.Thomas' College, Venlo in 1957
- 5 Military service till June 1959
- 6 Study of Social Geography at the University of Nijmegen, Bachelor in 1964
- 7 Study of Urban and Rural Planning, Cultural Anthropology and Sociology of SE Asia at the University of Amsterdam, obtained Master's in March 1968
- 8 Assistant to the Director General of Urban Planning and Public Works of the city of Tunis, responsible for the city's '*gourbivilles*' till 1971
- 9 Member of the task force 'Four Year Plan for Tunis 1972-1976', till June 1972
- 10 Staff member at Forestry Study Centre of Tunisia as part of the FAO-SIDA, responsible for the planning of forest villages in eight provinces, till January 1977
- 11 Senior lecturer at the department of Urban and Rural Planning at the Free University, Amsterdam for the optional subject Practical Planning, focussed on developing countries, till June 1984

- 12 Teacher at the Planning and Demographic Institute at the University of Amsterdam for the optional subject Urban Planning in Africa (URPA) till July 2003
- 13 Advisor to the Director General of Urban Development and Public Housing of Burkina Faso, responsible for the periodical counselling (about 30 days a year) of the redevelopment of spontaneous settlements in Ouagadougou and the urban planning of ten villages around Ouaga
- 14 Chairman of the Foundation for Urban Projects Developing Countries from 1977 till 2012, and the Foundation for Development Cooperation Netherlands-Tunisia, from 1980 till 2012
- 15 Organizing an Ecoparc in Cendrecourt, Haut-Saône, France from 2008 till present
- 16 Making imitations of Sahara rock-drawings on tiles, exhibition in the library of Muiden in May-June 2016, cf. the paragraph on rock-drawing on www.beeker.nl

PART III

Into the Future

10

Coen Beeker's 'Urban Fields' for Addis Ababa

Anteneh Tesfaye Tola

Cities under rapid urbanization such as Addis Ababa offer a set of challenges for today's designers and planners. The urgent need for access to affordable and decent living environments presses city administrations, whose primary response tends to be a top-down approach of public housing projects and allocating plots through a bidding process in which only the affluent become beneficiaries. Such socially selective approaches usually segregate urban dwellers into economic classes and fall short of providing affordable housing options.

The formal and informal horizontal sprawl of the city has continued unabated since the mid-1970s and has gained even stronger momentum in the past decade. It is important today to consider options that allow integration instead of segregation and to find options for legal and planned urban environments that deal with peripheral urbanization.

Coen Beeker's 'step-by-step' process of urbanization, which allows gradual changes that promote incremental and adaptable formation of 'urban fields' in the peripheries of Addis Ababa, illustrates the possibilities. He argues that access to legally tenured plots of land and further urbanization through measured steps is crucial for developing affordable and cohesive communities in these areas.

This paper is an analysis of the pertinent challenges faced by the city of Addis Ababa in relation to peripheral urbanization and an assessment of Coen Beeker's proposal to deal with these challenges.

Les 'Champs Urbains' de Coen Beeker à Addis-Abeba

Les villes ayant subies une urbanisation rapide, comme Addis-Abeba, offrent des défis singuliers aux concepteurs et aux décideurs d'aujourd'hui. Le besoin urgent d'accéder à un milieu de vie digne et abordable exerce une pression sur les pouvoirs publics dont la démarche initiale consistait jusqu'alors en une approche imposée par le haut concernant les projets de logements publics et la distribution de lots en appels d'offres publics bénéficiant exclusivement aux personnes les plus aisées. Une approche aussi sélective, d'un point de vue social,

fini par séparer les citoyens en classes en fonction de leur pouvoir d'achat, visant en outre le court terme en ce qui concerne les stratégies d'attribution de logements abordables. Alors que l'extension de la ville, formelle ou informelle et se déployant continuellement depuis le milieu des années 70, avait gagné un point culminant dans la décennie passée, il est aujourd'hui important d'envisager des choix permettant l'intégration à la place de l'isolement, tout en favorisant des outils pour un cadre légal et des environnements urbains planifiés dans la gestion de l'urbanisation périurbaine.

Le processus d'urbanisation « pas-à-pas » de Coen Beeker, rendant possible une évolution graduelle et visant à promouvoir la formation adaptable et progressive des « champs urbains » dans les périphéries d'Addis-Abeba, illustre une telle possibilité. La présente contribution est une analyse des défis pertinents de la ville d'Addis-Abeba pour son urbanisation périphérique et une évaluation des propositions de Coen Beeker visant à relever ces défis.

Introduction

A step-by-step approach could be planned for the implementation of a large-scale operation in the first 10 or 15 years, offering 1 to 2 million people (legal) access to an upgraded urban environment in Addis Ababa and other metropolitan areas in Africa. This is pertinent to the place of rapid urbanization: [...] (Beeker 2001)

In his contribution to the book *New Institutional Forms in Urban Management, Emerging Practices in Developing and Transitional Countries*, (Beeker 2001), Coen Beeker asserts that transforming a rural environment into an 'urban field' may be realized step-by-step. He identifies the 'urban fields' in Addis Ababa as built-up areas present in the metropolitan area of the city. If building technique is used as a criterion, he claims, four fifths of the city structure are comparable to villages in the urban periphery. Implicitly, he is arguing that adopting low-tech means of urbanization is important, especially in portions of the city's periphery. In dealing with the peripheral development of the city, it is essential to consider what such an option can offer in terms of affordable dwellings for the majority, while government investment in infrastructure and basic works of allocating the plots are crucial to this.

Such an understanding of peripheral urbanization stands in contrast to what is happening today in Addis Ababa. The city administration is availing land to either real estate companies or through a bidding process in which only those who can afford it are able to acquire leasehold plots. While peripheral gov-

ernment housing projects are hoped to host the urban poor, this has resulted in segregated communities of different income levels and the urban poor is forced to commit to dwelling acquisition schemes that compel them to raise the necessary funds despite being at a distance from the city centre and opportunities to earn an income. Consequently, most decide to either sell or rent out their contracted residences as they cannot afford them.

Addis Ababa's pertinent challenges

The city of Addis Ababa is particularly known for its organic growth, dictated by prime positioning of Ethiopian nobilities, topography, the availability of resources, as well as the need for mobility, shelter and communication. Having passed through three distinct socio-political systems – the monarchy of 1886–1974, the socialist regime of 1974–1987 and the current federal democracy that has been in practice since 1991. The intuitive beginnings of Addis Ababa have been enriched with the additions of places and structures representing each progressive system. “Addis Ababa falls into the pattern of autochthonous development [...] With the exception of the brief intervention of the Italians in the second half of the 1930's, its evolution had an internal dynamics.” (Zewde 2005). Though it can be claimed that it is a city that grew out of the needs of its dwellers, through these different historic contexts one can still see urban and architectural influences that resulted from trade, infrastructure development and cultural exchange with countries such as France, India, Greece and Armenia. Recent trends show a unique tread of urbanization resulting from attempts to alleviate dire urban poverty and the need to have a global presence as a city with multiple diplomatic and cultural responsibilities.

As a city experiencing rapid urbanization but with multiple urban challenges, needs and demands – including the sway between *global socio-economic pressure*¹⁴ and issues of defining local identity – and an urgent need to highlight its global competitiveness and alleviate urban poverty, contemporary Addis Ababa is stretching itself to a new level of complexity. It is a young city, just 130 years old, with an estimated current population of about 4 million. It also hosts the seat of the Government of Ethiopia, the seat of Government for the Oromia Region, the African Union and many more international organi-

14 Reaffirming and building on the 2002 Monterrey Consensus and the 2008 Doha Declaration, the Addis Ababa Action Agenda – also referred to as the Addis Accord – was issued in July 2015 as follow-up to the Millennium Development Goals and to serve as a basis for the new Sustainable Development Goals. (United Nation 2015). Such a global agenda and goals are designed to garner the necessary political and financial support for development, but they also put considerable pressure on cities through the timelines that need to be met.

zations. This compounds an ever-growing need for Addis Ababa to represent and display a certain regional and global image. As the biggest city in Ethiopia with multiple opportunities, it attracts people from every corner of the country seeking a place of work and a better life. The World Bank's Ethiopian Urban Migration Study 2008 (World Bank 2010) indicates that 37 per cent of the city's inhabitants are born outside of Addis Ababa and have subsequently moved to the city. Almost 90 per cent of those who migrated to Addis state that they have no intention of moving any further. This phenomenon, coupled with the natural increase in density through births, comes with its own demands on the city.

On the other hand, the sudden economic progress and the growing private sector have evolved into a force that restlessly works to profit from every space and opportunity the city promises. The relatively competitive market economy has allowed for the private sector to grow considerably and the progressive interest in capitalizing what the city has to offer is leaving obvious marks on the landscape.

Policies, plans and projects that are working to restructure the city are based on the premise that the existing dilapidated urban environment, which covers about 80 per cent of the physical mass in the city, are no longer inhabitable. The unhygienic conditions of these structures leaves no room for upgrading and re-appropriation. Instead, complete redevelopment as an objective strategy is being considered. Since the master plan of 1986, Addis Ababa has been developing as per revisions to this plan made every ten years, i.e. the recent wave of urbanization is mainly being steered by revisions made to the master plan during 1999-2001 and validated in 2002. This version of the plan introduced the tool known as the Local Development Plan (LDP), used to cope with the required evolution of the city. The LDP is serving as a tool to extend the effectiveness of the structural plan on the ground, for better implementation of the master plan in recent times. In addition to the major infrastructural transformation and the expansion of the city to its fringes, the redevelopment of the 'Casa Incis' and 'Bole Medhanealem' areas into 'mixed use' business districts can be seen as products of using an LDP as part of the master plan. The Integrated Housing Development Program with its Grand Housing Scheme of 2005 (designed to address a backlog of 300,000 housing units in 2004), the Light Rail Construction (aiming to mobilize 60,000 people per day) and road construction and massive redevelopment projects are actualizations of the previous and still active master plan.

Debates about the suitability of LDPs as tools for urbanization aside, the visible results of ten years of their practice are standing in major parts of the city. It can be said that the recent urbanization processes of the city of Addis Ababa are a result of strong top-down planning, design and implementation practices. This can be accounted for by many socio-political realities, but also by the existence of the state as the strongest institution capable of undertaking such massive development endeavours.



Figure 1
'Yeka Abado' a peripheral housing project (Source: A.T. Tola)

Currently, the Addis Ababa City Administration is developing the tenth version of its master plan, which envisions an increasing intensity of urbanization. The Addis Ababa Master Plan Project Office is responsible for the task of creating a plan to drive the development of the city for at least the coming decade. Initially established as the Addis Ababa and Surrounding Oromia Integrated Development Plan Project Office (AASOID), this office had ambitions to develop a plan that would have clear, multi-scalar guidelines to equip both the city of Addis Ababa and smaller towns on the fringes of the city, in the administrative region of Oromia, for integrated urbanization.



Figure 2
'Yeka Abado' urbanization confronting
urban farming (Source: A.T. Tola)

By April 2014 this plan was confronted by public resistance and demonstrations that resulted in chaos, loss of lives and detentions in many parts of the Oromia region. It was perceived as a contentious political move intended to expand the administrative boundary of the city of Addis Ababa into the Oromia region.

Politics aside, this incident brought a long-standing concern to the fore. The horizontal sprawl of the city, ongoing since the mid-1970s, had gained an ever-stronger momentum in the past decade. Prior to 1974, the growth rate of Addis Ababa was 6.5 per cent, declining to 3.7 per cent during the communist rule of 1974–1991 (Tufa 2008). By the time the 1986 master plan was implemented, the city had expanded to 51,000 hectares, from the 21,000 hectares prescribed under the 1965 plan. As shown in figure 3, this planned and unplanned expansion resulted in a significant horizontal enlargement, especially within the 25 years from 1975 till 2000. This trend has been complemented by the master plan of 2003 and actualized by intensified investment from both the state and private sectors.

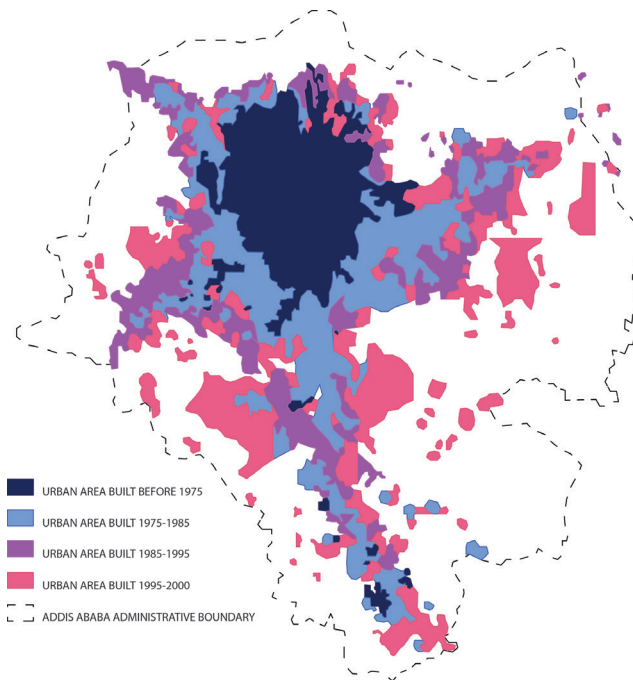


Figure 3
Expansion Trend of Addis Ababa until 2000 (Source: ORAAMP 2000, redrawn by Anteneh Tesfaye Tola)

In the peripheries of the city, this expansion took place with the few implementation tools available. The city continued to expand, especially in the eastern and western parts of the territory, which used to be large farmlands and small farmers' communities. Smaller bordering towns of the Oromia region, such as Sululta, Gefersa, Lege Tafo, Alem Gena and Dukem, also felt the stress Addis Ababa was experiencing. With the lack of integrated development plans, governing local development plans (LDPs), and deficiency in institutional administrative capacity in these areas, such developments resulted in farmers having to adapt to a changing demography and lifestyle. Government compensation and under-the-table exchange of land for money to facilitate new developments resulted in a loss of employment and income. The new developments were neither participatory nor inclusive to the farmers. Consequently, the youth in the farming communities were forced to change their occupations and become, for example, construction workers, to commute to city centre to search for work or take low-wage jobs such as being guards and house maids in the new communities. It can be argued that Addis Ababa remains with the challenge of finding an appropriate means of urbanization, especially in terms of peripheral developments.

The proposed land-use map shown in figure 4 is an excerpt from the newly revised master plan of the city that will guide urbanization for at least the next ten years. This proposal embraces and builds on this pertinent trend. The horizontal expansion is enhanced by the newly proposed tracts of land for developments designated as ‘mixed residence’, indicated in yellow.

Such a land-use map on a structural level is necessary. Details in terms of local development plans, including urban designs and guidelines, have also been prepared to facilitate further implementation. But they are still largely ‘top-down’ tools and prone to failure unless complemented by grass root studies and projections. In other words, such plans can only serve as directions and will only be effective when supplemented by the necessary implementation tools.

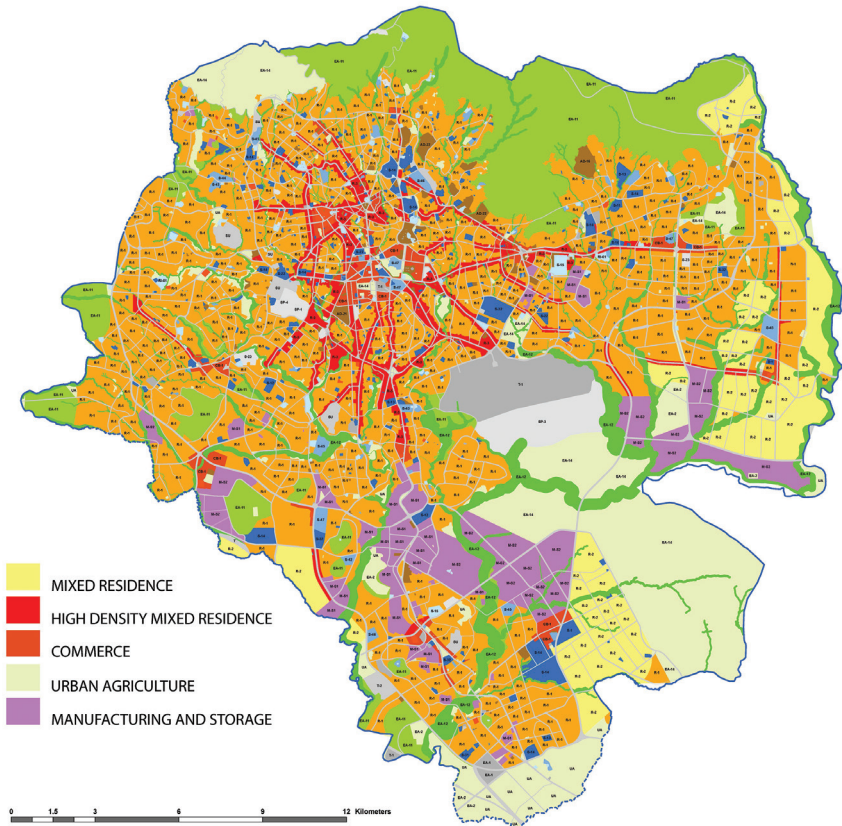


Figure 4
Proposed Land Use Map for Addis Ababa 2006 (Source: Addis Ababa City Master Plan Revision Project office. 2014)

Coen Beeker: Rural environments to ‘urban fields’

According to Coen Beeker (2001), the generation of ‘urban fields’ can base itself on structural plans, as in figure 4, provided by the city administration and then pass through several other steps. In Beeker’s view, these steps build up on each other but are not necessarily to be followed in order, nor are they performed separately as there will be overlap and revisions necessary as the process unfolds. That said, these steps can broadly be grouped into two stages comprising eight steps, outlined below.

Stage A: Availing the plot

The availability of legally tenured land that can be leased by the government to dwellers is an important stage in the process of forming the ‘urban fields’. The end goal is the availing of residential plots from the farm lands currently being used by farmers belonging to peasant associations. The proper steps need to be taken to make sure the process is satisfactory to all stakeholders.

Step 1 Preparing the Settlement Scheme: It is essential to start such a process with a plan. Such a plan will help demarcate infrastructure, public function spaces and private plots. Given that the land is owned by the government and allocation of this land has social implications, it is usual that local- and city-level offices are mandated to generate a plan for such areas. Nevertheless, it is crucial to have all partners on board. Thus, such a development scheme cannot be a purely top-down process. Coen Beeker’s work in Ouagadougou is relevant in this regard: “three proposals on this issue were discussed with an arbitrarily selected 100 household heads (Folkers 2010). The main purpose of this dialogue was to involve the residents in a ‘spontaneous’ settlement in the choice of the most feasible proposal” (Beeker 2001). This primary engagement allows the planners to collect essential issues and formulate vital concepts for the scheme, and the local farmers get an opportunity to present their interests related to the upcoming changes, thus averting the possibility of dissatisfaction and potential confrontation. By using different planning tools, discussions can be held regarding different options in order to come up with the most favourable proposal.

Step 2 Demarcation of land for public activities: Once a scheme is approved, the demarcation and protection of proposed public use areas follows. Areas drafted for social, economic and infrastructural purposes are included in this category of space and the demarcation of these areas paves the way to the subsequent parcellation.

Step 3 Creation of a local agency: A local agency, under the authority of the city administration, can be created to take responsibility for the implementation and follow-up of the scheme generated in the first step. Such an agency is a key unit for the tasks related to plot allocation, administering finances, etc. and is positioned between the city council and the local dwellers.

Step 4 Plot allocation: Coen Beeker proposes that each farmer who gives up his/her land use right for such a development should be offered two legal plots per hectare for a maximum of ten years, as part of a compensation scheme. Incoming beneficiaries should be selected through a lottery system. A request for a plot, accompanied by an initial basic fee and evidence of the ability to proceed according to the plans, can be forwarded by the aforementioned agency.. Contrary to the current practices of allocating plots through a bidding process, this inclusive method allocates land to those unable to participate in a competitive scheme and ensures access to different income groups.

Step 5 Bank loan: At this point the agency should have sufficient money to be granted a bank loan, which will facilitate the gradual handing over of plots. Major site works, such as main access roads, water, and electricity provision can be done using such a fund. In this way, the agency develops its capacity in terms of public works and forming of communities.

Step 6 Compensate farmers: In addition to the ability to own two plots of land per hectare in the newly allocated parcels, farmers will also be compensated financially. The amount of compensation needs to be calculated based not only on the area of the plots, but also their yield. This is important to ensure farmers are properly compensated. The government should play a role at this point, by making sure a consistent annual fund is provided to the farmers. This is only to jump start the whole development process and eventually the agency should take over. A special fund for compensation should be established that the new beneficiaries should contribute to every year.

Stage B: Local associations and shared responsibilities

Step 7 Forming cooperatives: Such a gradual development process should recognize local socio-economic practices. Ethiopian traditions such as ‘*equb*’,¹⁵ and ‘*edir*’¹⁶ form financial interdependences among communities. Such traditions of solidarity supported by the local agency can be organized into cooperatives. These cooperatives will be agencies for maintaining infrastructure and social spaces. In addition, local financial schemes can be used to build the capacity of households to upgrade their dwellings so that the ‘urban field’ continues to grow and urbanize. The partnership can further be extended to include private partners, who can also create job opportunities and possibly extra development support.

Step 8 Shared responsibilities: While the city council remains the main authority in governing the neighbourhoods, through the gradual process the original peasant associations, the local agency and cooperatives can share responsibilities. This sustains the initial concepts of the plan while accommodating potential alterations through timely negotiations and decision-making.

Conclusion

The gradual steps posited by Beeker place the availing of residential plots into the market as key target. He argues that security of tenure offers opportunities for a phased upgrading of rural environments. Because of the realistic steps involved, beneficiaries of such a process will be motivated to continuously invest in their own dwellings and the environment. Local farmers will have enough time to adapt to such changes and will have the opportunity to gradually integrate into the planned urbanization they have already had a say in. Recognizing that governments and city administrations play a key role in contexts such as Addis Ababa is both practical and important. Also key is crafting methods in which actual users of these urban structures play significant parts in defining the goals and participating in the implementation as they see fit and affordable. In addition to the multistorey housing models the city administration is implementing today, Addis Ababa can also use such modest models to make individual housing options available to lower- and middle-income groups of the city population. Moreover, cities going through

¹⁵ A savings scheme used by local communities.

¹⁶ A communal organization initially intended for funerals, currently embracing more functions such as the up-keep of neighbourhoods.

rapid urbanization should be equipped with multitude schemes and methods to deal with the various urban challenges and should not enter into a campaign mode, implementing a short list of options all over their territories.

It is also becoming evident in such models of urbanization that planners and designers tend to morph into moderators of such processes. Today's rapidly urbanizing cities offer a different set of challenges in which ready-made and set-to-implement plans tend to be short lived. Coen Beeker's early engagements in African cities and the methods he used in places such as Ouagadougou showcase such an evolution in the practice. His ability to form coalitions with and among different actors in the field demonstrates a paradigm shift.

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11

Participatory Planning Approaches and Capacity Development in Cape Town, South Africa

Ellen Geurts and Saskia Ruijsink

This contribution looks at the ideas of Coen Beeker in contemporary Cape Town, specifically the role community participation plays in urban planning. Over the years, the Institute for Habitat and Urban Development Studies (IHS) has trained many professionals, from government sectors, private sectors, NGOs, CBOs and academics, in e.g. participation processes in urban planning, in particular in the Global South. In this contribution, we meet two of our alumni and a colleague who work for the City of Cape Town (CoCT) as well as the Development Action Group NGO (DAG) and they share with us their experiences in two settlements as well as an innovative scheme rolled out across the city. It shows that community participation is implemented together with NGOs who operate as intermediaries. It is strongly enshrined in planning processes and there is political support, an open dialogue and active participation between local government and NGOs vis-a-vis community participation. However, it is a fine balance and it does not always the tip the 'right' way in the complex urban world, as we see in contemporary Cape Town.

Approches participatives de planification et capacité de développement en Cape Town, Afrique du Sud

La présente contribution revisite les idées de Coen Beeker mises en œuvre dans la ville actuelle de Cape Town et, en particulier, ce qui concerne la participation des communautés pour l'aménagement urbain. Dans les années passées, le IHS, Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (l'Institut du logement et des études de développement urbain) dispensa à de nombreux professionnels au sein des pouvoirs publics, des secteurs privés, des ONG mais aussi dans le secteur de l'administration territoriale et celui du monde enseignant, une formation pour une meilleure participation dans le processus de l'aménagement urbain, en particulier dans le Grand Sud. Nous avons fait appel, depuis, à deux de nos an-

ciens élèves et à un collègue travaillant dans les services de la ville de Cape Town ainsi que dans le groupe Action Développement, afin qu'ils partagent alors, avec nous, leurs expériences conduites dans deux localités ainsi que la mise en place d'un plan d'occupation innovant, déployé à travers la ville. Ceci montre bien que la participation communautaire va de pair avec les ONG qui jouent ainsi le rôle d'intermédiaires. Cette collaboration est fortement inscrite dans le processus de planification et, supportée par une réelle volonté politique, un dialogue ouvert et une participation active entre les pouvoirs territoriaux et les ONG se mettent en place pour tendre vers une plus grande participation communautaire. Toutefois, l'équilibre demeure fragile et il n'est pas toujours évident de faire un pas dans la bonne direction tout en devant faire face constamment à la complexité de ce monde urbain, comme nous pouvons le voir actuellement pour la ville de Cape Town.

Introduction

The Institute for Housing and Urban Development Studies (IHS) at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam (since 2008) has delivered capacity building in the field of affordable housing and inclusive urban development for nearly 60 years, particularly in the Global South. IHS believes in supporting local professionals, rather than having international teams who implement projects in the Global South. This chapter draws on the experience of two IHS alumni: Zamikaya Mgwatyu (Zama) and Peter Ahmad (Pete) and their colleague (Emil Sinclair). Saskia Ruijsink and Ellen Geurts (IHS staff) reflected with them on the relevance of the participatory planning principles in their daily work in urban informal settlements in Cape Town. Zama works as Programme Coordinator of Development Action Group (DAG), a leading Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) that focuses on facilitating access to affordable housing opportunities and promoting inclusive urban development. Pete is a planner and manager of the Metropolitan Spatial Planning Unit at the Energy, Environmental and Spatial Planning Directorate of the City of Cape Town (CoCT) Metropolitan Municipality and was joined by Emil Sinclair, Senior Professional Officer for the Urban Design Branch in this department.

Contextualizing: Background on South Africa

When the African National Congress (ANC) came to power in 1994, it faced the legacy of the Apartheid past: a country with severe levels of (racial) inequality, ranging from access to education and health services, housing and extreme physical segregation. Despite the great efforts and achievements

since 1994 (e.g. in reducing racial inequality), South Africa remains one of the most unequal countries in the world.

One of the priorities for the ANC was to provide everyone with a housing solution. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was the ANC manifesto for change and it intended to provide everyone with a house for ownership and, in so doing, it also aimed to eradicate informal settlements.

The delivery of >2 million so-called RDP housing units has provided many households with a house, but has failed to address the (spatial) inequalities of the past since houses have been developed in poorly-located locations. Furthermore, it appeared unfeasible to provide everybody with a house, let alone eradicate informal settlements. On the contrary, over the last 20 years such settlements have increased. Both public and private sectors involved in the spatial and housing legacy of the past have gradually come to accept the need for other solutions, recognizing informal settlements and the many informal backyard extensions located in formally planned and developed areas. Moreover, programmes such as the Upgrading Informal Settlements Programme acknowledged that the housing challenge goes beyond delivering houses. Despite this, for many residents, it is still not clear that alternative programmes also imply that they no longer receive a (RDP) house from the government.

The new programmes (upgrading, re-blocking) by nature require participatory approaches. Government, in particular local government, increasingly works with NGOs and community-based organizations (CBOs) in order to engage residents. South Africa has a relatively well-developed (inter)national NGO sector with some organizations focusing specifically on housing and planning of human settlements. One such example is DAG, an NGO active in Cape Town and the region.

Coen Beeker approach: A contemporary Cape Town perspective

The reality of contemporary Cape Town differs much from Ouagadougou in the 1980s. Emil, Zama and Pete discussed two projects (The Hanover Park Public Investment Framework and Hangberg in Hout Bay) in the Cape Town metropolitan area and one innovative urban planning approach (re-blocking) to illustrate how participation works and sometimes does not work in urban planning in Cape Town.

Hanover Park

Emil explained that gang-related crime, (extreme) violence and high unemployment rates are among the biggest challenges in many settlements, including Hanover Park. The neighbourhood is prioritized in the Mayoral Urban Regeneration Programme (MURP) and it is in the process of being upgraded with the support of a partner organization Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading (VPUU) and the NGO CeaseFire. MURP started the process by identifying key stakeholders in the community, ranging from: leaders of NGOs, people running soup kitchens, owners and trainers of local sports clubs, etc. The team then engaged with those key stakeholders and provided them with training on issues such as leadership and negotiation and how to understand space and spatial plans. Subsequently, the CoCT-team and stakeholders did a baseline analysis on social, economic and environmental issues and it was assessed what this meant spatially. The CoCT put much emphasis

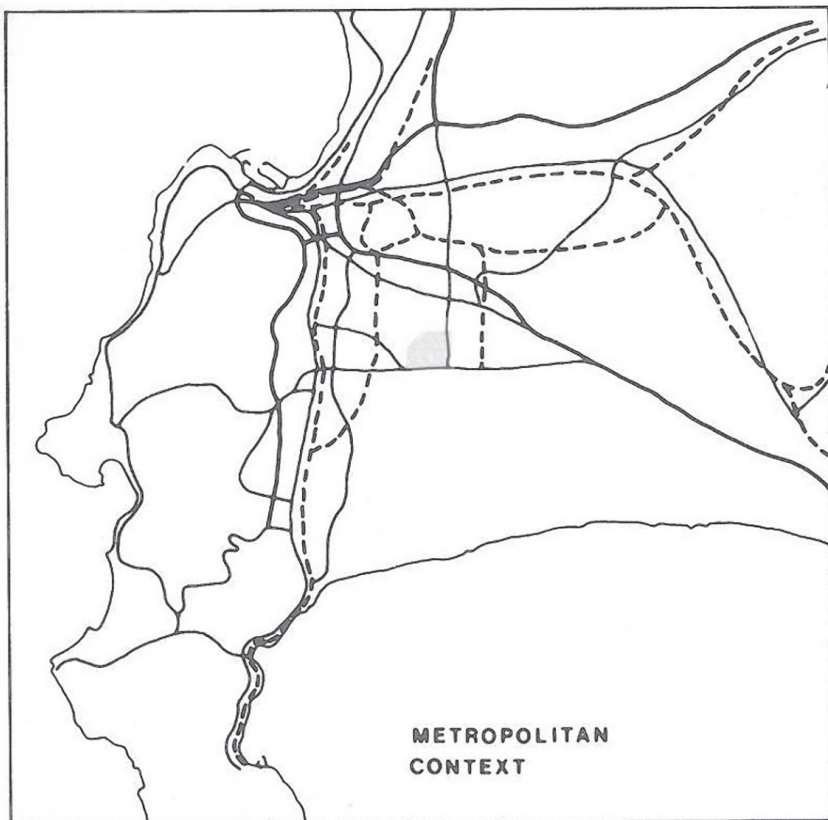


Figure 1
Hanover within Cape Town (Source: City of Cape Town Spatial Planning & Urban Design Department)

on community and stakeholder mobilization and developed a Community Action Plan (CAP): a non-spatial plan at ward level about general principles and commitments. All stakeholders signed the CAP and this guided them in the planning process. The project had support from CeaseFire in dealing with ‘gangsterism’ and gang-related crimes and they used a recently developed technology ‘Shot-spotter’ to understand the spatial pattern of the worst gun-related crimes. This was complemented by a night survey that looked at which areas were best and worst in terms of lighting and in terms of crimes committed. All efforts culminated in the Public Investment Framework (PIF), which identifies key spatial investments and priorities to fulfil the CAP. PIFs are commonly developed in Cape Town in a process that takes around three years, but, in this case, the PIF was developed and implemented under the MURP (urgent, high political commitment) in less than a year.

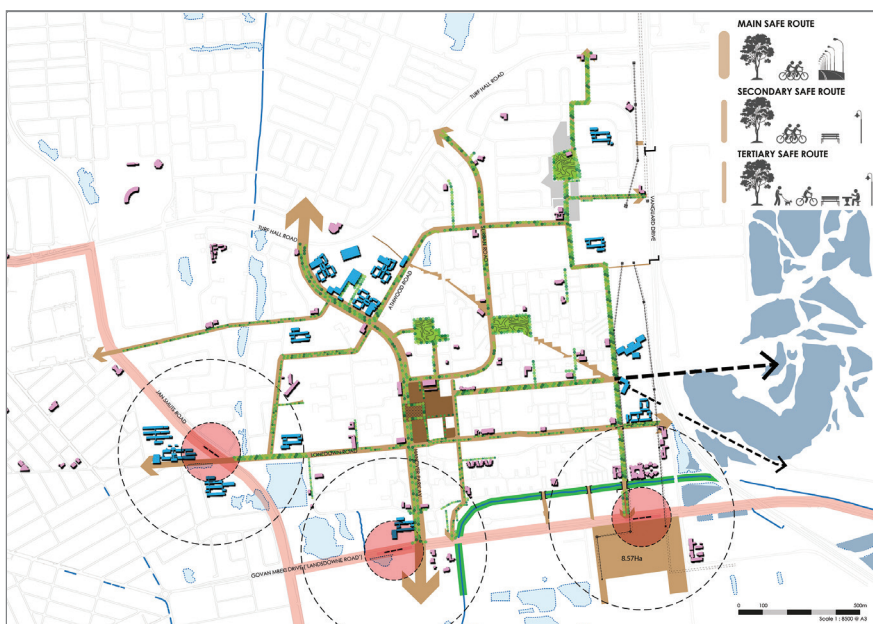


Figure 2
Proposed Safe Routes in Hanover (Source: City of Cape Town Spatial Planning & Urban Design Department)



Figure 3
Youth showing 'gang signs' and holding a knife, close to little girl in Hanover Park
(Courtesy of Sivert Eimhjellen)



Figure 4
Unsupervised kids in Hanover Park (Courtesy of Sivert Eimhjellen)

Hangberg

Zama explained why NGOs such as DAG are and need to be concerned with urban planning. As a result of high unemployment, communities in many (informal) urban settlements are comprised of people struggling with 'bread and butter issues'. Urban planning issues are not their most pressing concern, although they are important. NGO staff have been trained to work with communities and they are typically engaged in capacity building in the informal settlements, so community members can learn to make themselves heard and understood in professionally led projects. Despite its commitment, the CoCT does not always manage to successfully engage the community, as the case of Hangberg, Hout Bay exemplifies. Hout Bay is a wealthy area located in a bay and Hangberg is an informal settlement within this area that is 'clashing' with the rest of the community in social, economic, cultural and spatial terms. Hangberg was identified as an area for upgrading by the CoCT following the deaths of a number of informal fishermen from the area. DAG has worked in Hangberg since 2002 and the upgrading project has become controversial. There were unresolved issues in the communities and this resulted in a divided community. The Mayor appointed a mediator; however, many DAG- and other professionals felt that he did not understand the community and that he was not neutral. The mediator did not manage to settle the dispute and there is still divided leadership in the community resulting in delays in upgrading.

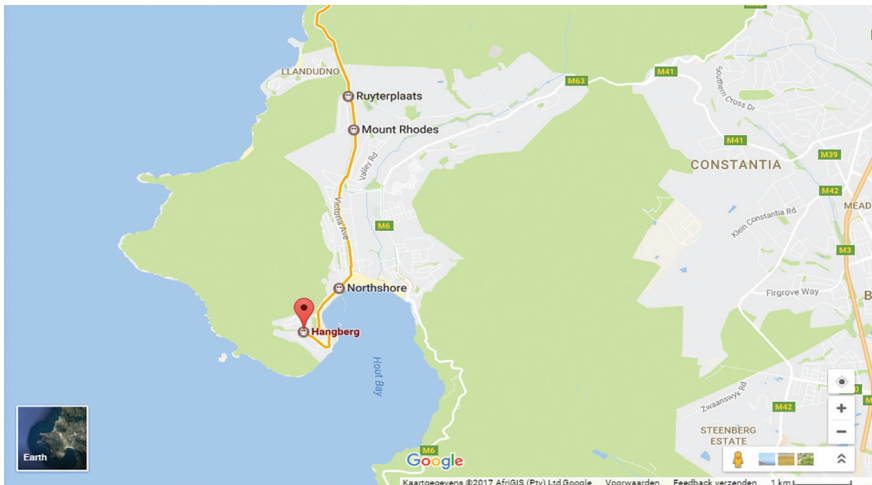


Figure 5
Hangberg within Cape Town (Source: Google Maps)



Figure 6
Hangberg, informal settlement within Houtbay (Photo by: Dylan Geldenhys; Source: The Development Action Group/DAG)

Re-blocking

‘Re-blocking’ is a process that is identified as one of the most innovative and energy-mobilizing approaches in urban planning in Cape Town by Pete, Zama and Emil. It is about the spatial reconfiguration of informal housing units to provide residents with title, services and improved access. This process usually follows a spatial framework and precinct plan that is developed with and largely by the community. This approach has been promoted by the South African Shack/Slum Dwellers International (SDI) alliance and has now been included in the CoCT’s policy framework. It is further implemented by a coalition of the CoCT and the South African SDI partners (e.g. ISN, FED-UP and CORC). Re-blocking leads to improved service provision, increased spatial quality, increased safety and the development of social capital. It is not primarily a technical exercise, but rather a social one. Emil explained that the CoCT often provides support for re-blocking projects in terms of resource allocation, including technical expertise needed for designing the nitty gritty of the spatial plans. Zama stressed the importance of the community: at the implementation stage (providing labour for infrastructural works) and, equally, during the design process, since the residents have all the knowledge about the settlements in which they live, they understand the place, and know the escape routes.



Figure 7
A boy on a toilet in Hangberg (Photo by: Dylan Geldenhys; Source: The Development Action Group/DAG)

Reflection

There have been phenomenal shifts in urbanization in Cape Town since 2001. Although urban planning methods developed in the 1960s, 70s and 80s have useful elements, they typically do not consider the complexity of the current urban context, comprising massive and rapid urbanization and urban change, globalization and increased connectivity. Pete concludes that, in contemporary Cape Town, participatory urban planning can only succeed if the city has a willingness to truly engage with 1) the community; 2) NGOs and; 3) technology (e.g. the Shot-spotter technology). Doing so implies a recognition that problems are multi-dimensional and go beyond spatial issues: an institution-wide approach is needed.

Emil addressed the point that community engagement should move beyond being ad hoc: it is politically and socially important and a legal requirement set out in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. He furthermore stressed the legitimacy of ward councillors (CoCT official at ward level) who must therefore be involved in upgrading activities from the outset. The success of projects in municipalities is incumbent upon the support of the councillors, ward forums and the sub-council in order to harness political support for the implementation of projects. With hindsight, a pro-active approach (preventing severe violence, including deadly shootings) should have been implemented long ago.

According to Zama, it is important to recognize the diversity of the various people that make up 'the community' and not treat them as a homogeneous group. Moreover, trust is the key to success in participatory planning processes. In Hangberg, there seemed to be a lack of commitment to some important political principles, which resulted in distrust within the community and towards the ward councillor. Building trust takes time, breaking it can happen quickly. NGOs and especially local governments have experience of this. The lack of clarity and contradictions in governmental procedures and policy, also between the various levels, often exacerbates this, since national, provincial and city administrations have their own funding schemes. In addition, many people still expect a RDP house or at least support for housing while the existing governmental funding framework excludes certain households under the Housing Code (e.g. young people, single persons and migrants).

International cooperation and capacity development

As mentioned in the introduction, part of the IHS approach is to support local professionals, rather than implementing projects locally by international teams. In Cape Town, this type of international support is only part of the solution.

Cape Town has a strong core of professionals in various sectors, including government, NGOs and universities, who have been internationally exposed (e.g. knowledge exchanges on urban informality and participatory urban planning between South Africa and India, Colombia and Brazil). In addition, South Africa has received much support and has national resources to facilitate international cooperation. This international cooperation is useful, but it has not addressed all existing issues. Two types of challenge remain: 1) probably the most important challenge relates to the *absorption capacity* for new (including international) knowledge; and (2) another challenge concerns the *type of knowledge* that is available to South African urban professionals.

Despite a strong core of urban professionals, there is both a quantitative and qualitative 'absorption issue'. There is still much inequality and segregation linked to the Apartheid history. Many South African's still do not have access to tertiary education. Moreover, tertiary education is not adequately addressing the contemporary challenges of South Africa (rapid urbanization, violence in settlements, inequality, etc.). NGOs such as DAG invest in improving education, e.g. by offering holiday courses to future engineers, confronting them with the reality of the engineering work that needs to be done in informal settlements.

Secondly, there are topics that are new, or simply underdeveloped in terms of useful innovative participatory urban planning approaches, include scalability, or moving beyond the pilot project, particularly in the context of rapid urban growth and change. Furthermore, the nature of informality changes: informal settlements initially spread mainly horizontally and we somehow know how to address this; subsequently, they start to densify and grow vertically. Another challenge is finance: innovative options are needed for communities and households who need to access funding outside existing formal options. But this is also the case for governments in terms of returns on investments and increasing tax revenue. Finally, the 'menu' of participatory urban planning approaches could be complemented by innovative options.

The contemporary validity of the Coen Beeker approach

Just like the Coen Beeker method, in contemporary Cape Town we see the importance of and attention for *community involvement*. The main approach is engaging NGOs in *intensive* processes of capacity building of the community, rather than holding *long* community consultations as was common practice by Coen Beeker. Community capacity building focuses on developing leadership skills, including the capacity to translate needs into 'spatial consequences.' Training empowers the community to make *their voices heard* and they feel less overshadowed by professionals. In post-1994 South Africa, there is strong *political commitment* for improving the housing condition of the South African people. Like the Beeker approach, the importance of *regularizing* informal settlements is the cornerstone of urban policies in South Africa in general and in Cape Town specifically, albeit this is a recent (last decade) phenomenon.

Time and space (or place) explain why the Beeker method is only relevant to certain principles: focus on communities' needs over focus on professionals' ideas, doing this in an intensive manner with adequate (time) investment and the importance of political commitment. It is clear that the contemporary urbanization pressures (another time) and the contextual factors of inequality, segregation, conflict and violence in South Africa (another place) mean application of the Beeker method in South Africa is probably 'less romantic.' The cases in this chapter clearly demonstrate the rough edges and the challenges that are faced by both the communities and (mostly local) professionals involved in urban upgrading activities. In this context, it is clear that various professionals (government, NGOs, spatial planners, social workers, etc.) and community members (informal community leaders, women's groups, sports teachers, etc.) need to collaborate and that urban planning cannot be done by (international) urban planners and 'the local people' alone. It also shows that there is a need to constantly develop the capacity of all the actors involved. That said, participation in urban upgrading and planning remains relevant. Indeed, it is very much alive and seems more needed than ever.

12

How to Read Coen Beeker in the Habitat III Period

The Experience of Zanzibar's Urban Planning Process

Muhammad Juma

Similar to what happened in Burkina Faso, the main objective of spatial planning in Zanzibar is to 'enable transformation' in order to make these islands modern. In Zanzibar, the government supports the idea that mediation and partnership is important for enhancing the interaction between global ideas and local understanding, and for strengthening the link between the work of academics and professionals for sustainable urban planning and development. The Department of Urban Planning (DoURP) mediates ideas and sustains partnership in the process of sustainable urbanization. This seems to be the position and the role that Beeker occupied successfully in Ouagadougou. However, in the spirit of Habitat III, and in contrast to the method of palaver where citizens and partners take the lead, it is important to look again at the way we craft the social contract between the authorities and citizens to reach our goals of sustainable development. The DoURP believes that a new relationship is needed between public authorities and their partners, where the former drives the process in the interest of the public. It should also envision the targets that create continuity between past and present, between historic and modern landscape as well as between natural and cultural environment with strong involvement from citizens and partners to achieve sustainable development.

Comment interpréter Coen Beeker à l'époque de Habitat III. L'expérience de planification urbaine à Zanzibar

L'archipel de Zanzibar se compose de deux îles majeures, Unguja et Pemba. De même qu'au Burkina Faso, l'objectif principal de l'aménagement urbain à Zanzibar réside dans la possibilité de transformer et d'amener progressivement ces îles vers la modernité. Les autorités zanzibarites soutiennent l'importance de la médiation et du partenariat pour développer le lien entre la globalisation et les spécificités locales et pour renforcer le lien entre le monde académique et celui des professionnels afin d'œuvrer, ensemble, pour un urbanisme et un dé-

veloppement durables. Le département de la Planification urbaine et rurale de Zanzibar (DoURP) propage déjà des idées et développe des partenariats dans une démarche d'urbanisation durable. C'est le parti-pris et le rôle que Beeker endossa et mit en pratique avec succès à Ouagadougou. Toutefois, dans l'esprit de Habitat III, et en contradiction avec la méthode 'palabres' où ce sont les citoyens et les partenaires qui mènent le jeu, il est important de regarder à nouveau les façons de forger le contrat social entre les autorités et les citoyens, pour réussir les objectifs de développement durable. La direction de la Planification urbaine et rurale estime qu'une nouvelle relation est nécessaire entre l'autorité publique et ses partenaires, là où l'ancienne oriente le processus dans l'intérêt du public. Elle devrait également relever des défis visant à assurer la continuité entre le passé et le présent, entre le paysage historique et moderne aussi bien qu'entre l'environnement naturel et culturel, menée de pair avec un fort engagement des citoyens et des partenaires pour parvenir à un développement durable.

Introduction

There are some parallels between ideas and works of Coen Beeker, and what is happening in the islands of Zanzibar today. Similar to the vision of Burkina Faso, the main objective of the spatial planning in Zanzibar is to 'enable the transformation' in order to make these islands modern. This short paper supports an idea that mediation and partnership are important tools to influence an interaction between global ideas and local understanding, and to enhance the link between academic and professional work for sustainable urban planning and development. However, it also upholds the idea that in this period of global influences, with the spirit of UN-Habitat III, and to enhance a sustainable urbanization, a new relation is needed between the public authority, citizens and their partners, where the public authority should be the driver of the process in the interest of the public. In Zanzibar, the Department of Urban and Rural Planning (DoURP) mediates ideas and sustains partnerships in the process of urban development. It also drives the process of urbanization to create a continuity between the past and the present and between the natural and cultural environments. This seems to be the position and the role that Coen Beeker successfully occupied in Ouagadougou.

Mediating global ideas and the local context

Globally, urban issues have gained more visibility and have reached the stage described in the Sustainable Development Goals – SDG (2015) and New Urban Agenda – NUA (2016). Since Vancouver (Habitat I, 1976), global ideas

on urban issues are emerging and substantially influencing our narratives on urban development. We are continuing to work on slums, informal settlements, upgrading areas, but today we are also discussing sustainability, resilience and inclusiveness. These notions impact our work at the local and global levels. We believe that a common understanding of these concepts is an important criterion to influence the results of urban planning and development in increasingly complex local contexts. In that sense, Coen Beeker was a living example of a successful mediation of the relationship between global ideas and local context.

The urban planning process in Zanzibar was prompted by the establishment of the department of Urban and Rural Planning in 2011. Similar to what happened in Burkina Faso, the first task of the DoURP in Zanzibar was to formulate a new spatial framework vision: the National Spatial Development Strategy (NSDS – 2015). For the implementation of NSDS, Development Management Maps (DMM) and Local Area Plans (LAP) were formulated at regional and local levels, respectively. Yet, in Zanzibar the main mission of NSDS is to promote culture and natural values as an enabler of sustainable development. As such, ideas of resilience, inclusiveness, and green cities have been at the centre of urban planning and designing. The planning process is inclusive and participative, but does not extend to the level of *palavers*. Nevertheless, the DoURP plays an important role in mediating the importance of sustainable urbanization in the islands.

The transformation of Ouagadougou is a good example of mediation between local desires and complexities, and global concepts and partners. The outcome of this work goes beyond the provision of plots for shelters. It is a formation of neighbourhoods and towns that respond comprehensively to the demands of their inhabitants. Coen Beeker emphasized both public spaces and inclusiveness. To achieve such sustainable urban planning today, a good mediation is needed to link global ideas with the local context. Beeker showed us how to be champions in dealing with urban issues while fulfilling people's desires. He also showed us the importance of engaging citizens and making a social contract between citizens, the government and its partners. He believed that peoples' drive to be involved in the development of their surroundings, channelled through the process of *palavers*, could overcome urban challenges.

Partnership in the production of urban ideas

Another important similarity between the work of Beeker and the process of urban planning in Zanzibar is in terms of the partnership between academics and professionals. DoURP has a strategy of working closely with universities and research centres to apply new ideas in urban design, planning and landscaping. The preparation of the Local Area Plan of the City Centre, *Ngambo Tuitakayo* (the city we want) is an example of such endeavours. As a mediator, DoURP and its partners, the City of Amsterdam, African Architectural Matters, and Chalmers University of Technology, worked together during the research period leading up to the preparation of the plan. The approach employed to prepare the development plan was also novel. It is one of the first local plans in Africa to be prepared based on UNESCO's Recommendations on Historic Urban Landscape (HUL).



Figure 1
Ng'ambo Tuitakayo Planning Session (Source: Department of Urban and rural Planning, Zanzibar)

With regards to the idea of *palaver*, it is right to say that Beeker's works emphasized a largely bottom-up approach. However, in Zanzibar the approach is different. It is heavily driven by public authority in order to guarantee a common vision and sustainability. As a mediator, and with its partners, the DoURP ensures continuity of the process and of ideas – between past and present – of landscape – between old city and new neighbourhoods, as well

as of environment – between nature and culture, while implementing a participative planning process. For example, a total of 1014 members of the communities and stakeholders were involved in the preparation of NSDS, 229 of whom were women. DoURP strongly believes that to ensure an inclusive and resilient society, in the spirit of Habitat III, and in the context of the African Continent in particular, the role of the public sector is essential, in particular in terms of guaranteeing sustainable urbanization, which, in turn, will serve as a stepping-stone towards a New Urban Agenda and Sustainable Development Goals.

Conclusion

While the world continues to discover new challenges in relation to urbanization, it is imperative that Africa seeks new tools and comes up with novel ideas for sustainable urbanization. In doing so, mediation and partnership are important tools for linking global ideas and local actions and for keeping academics and practitioners working together. In the wake of Habitat III and the New Urban Agenda, it is the role of public authorities to formulate visions and drive the process of sustainable urbanization so as to forge a continuity between tradition and modernity, between historic landscape and new neighbourhoods, and between natural and cultural environment. This is what DoURP believes to be a novel social contract between the government, communities and its partners for the benefit of all, and to ensure an inclusive and resilient society. Inspired by the work of Beeker, mediation and partnership should be our common goal in terms of working together towards a New Urban Agenda.

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13

‘Unplanning’ the Planned City: Lessons from Ouagadougou for African New Towns

Rachel Keeton

Following the emergence of neoliberal economic policies across the African continent, over the last three decades many African countries have seen a shift from state-led housing development to fully privatized development. Increasingly, this urban development takes the form of New Towns: master planned communities developed on greenfield sites. Because they are dependent on market-driven returns on investments, these privately-developed New Towns tend to ignore existing social and environmental realities and instead accommodate only the upper and middle classes in spatially segregated enclaves. Although this urban model has recently become more popular with both investors and politicians, it is not entirely new. As early as the 1980s, Dutch urban planner Coen Beeker was a vocal critic of developments in and around Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, which replaced vibrant traditional communities with both formally and demographically uniform developments. This paper argues for a re-examination of Beeker’s own methods and the reasons for the sustained popularity of the urban projects that he led.

Déplannifier la ville planifiée. Leçons de Ouagadougou pour les villes nouvelles africaines

Suite à l’émergence des politiques économiques néolibérales à travers le continent africain, de nombreux pays africains sont passés, au cours des trois dernières décennies, d’une planification centrale à une approche entièrement privatisée du développement du logement. De plus en plus, cette tendance détermine les formes des villes nouvelles – des communautés aménagées sur la base d’un plan d’occupation des sols sur des sites vierges. Ces nouvelles cités, développées sur la base de financements privés et dépendantes des retours en investissement dictés par le marché, tendent à faire l’abstraction des réalités sociales et environnementales existantes et visent à répondre essentiellement aux besoins des classes supérieures et moyennes, en les logeant dans des enclaves spatialement délimitées.

Bien que ce modèle urbain devienne récemment de plus en plus en vue parmi les investisseurs et les politiques, il n'est pas entièrement nouveau. Déjà, au début des années 80, l'urbaniste hollandais Coen Beeker dénonce ardemment les aménagements menés à Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso) et dans ses environs, où des développements formellement et démographiquement uniformes firent table rase des dynamiques existantes des communautés traditionnelles. Cet article plaide pour un réexamen des méthodes propres à Beeker, en affirmant le bien-fondé de la popularité constante des projets qu'il a pu mener.

As both per capita wealth and urban populations continue to increase, African countries have increasingly embraced New Towns as a way to provide housing. The benefits of this approach are immediately obvious: governments can allow the private market to fulfil housing needs (sparing them both financial and human resources); middle-class buyers can purchase homes in areas that are perceived as safe, with access to private services and amenities; and the developer can 'start fresh' on ground unencumbered by competing land claims and buried hundred-year-old sewage networks. The shortcomings of this urban model, however, are perhaps less obvious. As African governments allow New Towns to be built outside of existing cities, they antagonize already existing spatial divisions and create a problematic juxtaposition between the master planned New Town and the older, established city. This highlights the difference between the (perceived) security and predictability offered by the planned enclave and the vibrant, if potentially unsafe and unpredictable nature of the existing city. As inequality increases and these disparities become more visible, the extreme opposition between entitled wealthy groups and disadvantaged urban poor may lead to increased violence, political instability within African countries, and, ultimately, affect global networks and processes.¹⁷ My contribution to this edited volume argues that it is useful to return to African urban development models that have proven successful, such as the 'redevelopment project for city districts in Ouagadougou' led by Coen Beeker from 1978 until 1989.

The African New Town is not a new phenomenon. For millennia, African rulers have ordered the construction of planned cities across the continent. Although most of these elaborate cities have been lost to the erosion of time and the violence of war, evidence of their presence remains. These highly

17 Fjelde, H. and Østby, G. (2014) 'Socioeconomic Inequality and Communal Conflict: A Disaggregated Analysis of Sub-Saharan Africa, 1990–2008', *International Interactions* 40: 5, pp. 737–762. Sassen, S. (1999) *Globalization and Its Discontents*. New York: The New York Press.

specific urban forms reflected local religious and cosmological beliefs, intricate social organizations, and political hierarchies. More recently, beginning with the advent of colonialism in the nineteenth century, openly racist urban planning was used to facilitate ‘control’ over native populations.¹⁸ The ramifications of this approach remains visible in many African countries, including Kenya, Zambia, Malawi, Cameroon and Nigeria, among others.¹⁹ Often, the spatial policies put in place by colonial governments continue to be used by contemporary planning departments, despite the segregationist implications of these regulations. Both ‘soft’ and physical divisions, barriers and retardants once based on race, can now be understood as agents of economic apartheid.



Figure 1
Entrance to one of the original gated compounds in Sheikh Zayed (Source: Rachel Keeton)

As an organizational tool, the top-down master plan was widely used during the colonial era and remains popular today among governments struggling with weak institutional frameworks, capacity shortages, and lack of sufficient funds. The master plan’s potential for clear organization stands in opposition to what many politicians see as existing cities’ chaotic and unmanageable na-

18 Silva, C.N. (ed.), (2015) *Urban Planning in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial and Post-colonial planning cultures*. New York: Routledge. Myers, G.A. (2003) *Verandahs of Power*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

19 Njoh, A.J. (2009) ‘Urban Planning as a Tool of Power and Social Control in Colonial Africa’, *Planning Perspectives* 24: 3, pp. 301–317.

ture. For this reason, New Towns continue to be embraced as an alternative to largescale urban expansions, upgrading, or redevelopment.

As neoliberal policies have spread across the continent and evolved, public-private partnerships have morphed into 'private projects with state approval'. As governments step back from planning practice and allow private developers to fill the void, New Town construction has become synonymous with privileged enclaves that limit access and exacerbate spatial segregation. There is simply no (financial) incentive for private developers to build low-income housing. This phenomenon can be seen in contemporary, 'middle-class' New Towns like the proposed Konza Techno City, Kenya; Appolonia, Ghana; Sheikh Zayed New Town, Egypt; and Eko-Atlantic City, Nigeria. These New Towns are often based on imported urban models, left largely unadapted to complex African landscapes.

The perceived dichotomy between the planned city and its 'unplanned' neighbour, the informal settlement, has been repeatedly called into question and definitions of 'formality' have rightly been stretched broadly in recent discourse.²⁰ However, planning practice in Africa since the colonial period has remained firmly attached to the concept of the master plan, and – with notable exceptions – largely unconcerned with unregulated 'informal' areas. This sharp divide does nothing to support inclusive development. Rather, it reinforces separation and creates boundaries to the growth of hybrid, heterogeneous societies. Those notable exceptions of the post-independence period, then, deserve a second look.

The planning narrative of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso follows the pattern of many African cities. Originally a political and trading centre, the city was destroyed by French troops in 1897. Seven years later, the city was rebuilt in a typically French style, and attracted an influx of rural-to-urban migrants in the first two decades of the twentieth century. In 1919, the new French governor, François Hesling, oversaw the redevelopment of the city into an imposing administrative capital, "and forced the population living [in the city center] to move to traditional settlements on the periphery."²¹ This reorganization set the precedent for spatial division between the 'planned' city and its 'unplanned' suburbs.

20 Van Ballegooijen, J. and Rocco, R. (2013). 'The Ideologies of Informality: Informal Urbanisation in the Architectural and Planning Discourses', *Third World Quarterly* 34: 10, pp. 1794–1810. Roy, A. (2005) 'Urban Informality: Toward an Epistemology of Planning', *Journal Of The American Planning Association* 71: 2, pp. 147–158.

21 Folkers, A. (2011) *Modern Architecture in Africa*. Amsterdam: SUN Publishers, p. 102.

In his work in Ouagadougou in the 1970s and 1980s, Dutch urban planner Coen Beeker implemented a series of projects that addressed the need to formalize property ownership in the traditional settlements surrounding the city centre. Looking back, Beeker's approach was ahead of its time. Using a participatory planning method that engaged residents directly in the process, clever financing strategies that acknowledged realities on the ground, and respect for the existing environmental and residential conditions, Beeker achieved what many land formalization projects have not: namely, a sustainable long-term solution that legalized tenure for 30,000 households and increased access to multiple public services.²²

In 1985, Beeker was an early critic of the type of New Town currently under development across the continent: namely, the neoliberal prestige project that responds to an existing market (the so-called middle class), but fails to acknowledge the need for low-income housing, mixed demographics, or environmental considerations. In response to President Thomas Sankara's proposed *Cités* (urban developments with a clear formal lineage to France's *villas nouvelles*), Beeker wrote:

The typical and heterogeneous (in terms of income rates) character of the households in the old and spontaneous neighborhoods was broken up by Sankara and his comrades. It is peculiar that this operation was carried out by a military regime that on the one hand claims to be inspired by the ideas of Marx and Lenin, and on the other hand in Ouagadougou seeks to establish an exclusively middle-class neighbourhood. In reality, *Cité An II* and *Cité An III* comply with the colonial French distinction between *quartiers traditionnels* (comprising different income groups) and *zones résidentielles* (homogenous groups in terms of income and intended for the French and native elite).²³

A decade later, in response to the 1996 African Summit Meeting in Ouagadougou, President Blaise Compaoré's *Ouaga 2000* New Town project emerged as proof that the shift from African socialism to neoliberalism was complete. *Ouaga 2000* was originally planned to accommodate the elite visitors to the Summit and, to this day, remains off-limits to the majority of Burkinabé.

Faced with decreasing public involvement and intensifying inequality, African New Towns could benefit from a re-examination of Beeker's methods. Specifically, the application of participatory planning that acknowledges the

²² *Ibid.*, p. 118.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

realities of chronic poverty and finds viable alternatives to existing models. Planning has the ability to provide greater access to public services, closer proximity to employment and amenities, as well as incorporated public transport options. All these advantages are desperately needed in the contemporary African urban landscape. African New Towns must now begin to transform backwards, 'unplanning' their highly regulated spaces to allow access to a greater diversity of residents, and supply services more democratically. By combining the nuanced, adaptive planning methods employed by Beeker and his team in Ouagadougou, one imagines the emergence of a hybrid, inclusive planning practice: a New Town for *everyone*.

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14

A is for Africa

Peter Russell

The indications are that the greatest potential for change is in Africa. It is also the place where the greatest potential to make more people's lives better can be realized. This is an issue of architecture and the built environment. This continent has long been synonymous with failed investment and corruption. It is the place where people with good intentions went to see their hopes and dreams quashed, for any number of reasons, including the two mentioned above. Yet, there are places with stable governments and stable growth, and a growing middle class looking to invest its new wealth. Inevitably, investment means construction. So there is a real need for excellent architecture and planning that can ensure the retention of value.

A pour Afrique

L'Afrique, parce que tous les indices montrent un potentiel croissant de l'Afrique pour le changement. C'est aussi le lieu où il y a les plus grandes chances d'améliorer la vie du plus grand nombre de gens. C'est un enjeu pour l'environnement et le milieu bâti. Ce continent fut trop longtemps synonyme d'investissements ratés et de corruption. Ce fut le lieu où se brisaient les bonnes intentions de nombreux habitants, pour diverses raisons, y compris les deux mentionnées ci-dessus. Pourtant, il y a encore des pays avec une gouvernance et une croissance stables ainsi qu'une classe moyenne en progression et qui cherche à investir leurs nouvelles richesses. Inévitablement, investir rime avec construction. Il y a donc un vrai besoin pour l'excellence en matière d'architecture et d'urbanisme qui pourrait assurer la cristallisation de cette valeur.

Where in the world do we want to go? TU Delft is recognized as a top technical university in the world. The Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment is among the top ten schools worldwide. As such, the world looks to us for guidance and leadership, if not for cooperation and collaboration.

The answer is Africa. I say this not because we have a long history there or because of some personal connection. It is because all of the indications are that the greatest potential for change is in Africa. It is also the place where the greatest potential to make more people's lives better can be realized. This is an issue of architecture and the built environment. To begin with, Africa is not a country: it is a continent and it is huge. It has 64 countries and territories of varying size and wealth, encompassing 1.2 billion people. This continent has long been synonymous with failed investment and corruption. It was the place where people with good intentions went to see their hopes and dreams quashed, for any number of reasons, including the two mentioned above.

Yet, since the turn of this century, a few African countries have experienced something we in Europe take for granted: good governance. A decade and a half of this in some African countries has allowed citizens in those countries to believe in the rule of law and has permitted their economies to grow in a solid, stable fashion. In countries with growing economies, there is a consistent correlation between GDP per capita and car ownership. Once people have their phones, a threshold of approximately 4,000 USD/head is where car ownership takes off. Interestingly, this levels off at about 12,000 USD/head. This is because most people do not need or want two cars. Instead, they want to own a home.

In these countries, with stable governments and stable growth, there is a growing middle class looking to invest its new wealth. Instead of putting their wealth in offshore bank accounts, people are looking to invest in their own country. Inevitably, investment means construction. Then there is a real need for excellent architecture and planning that can ensure the retention of value. This means there is also a need for excellent architects and planners. This is where TU Delft's Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment can play a role. As a leading school of architecture, we can establish relationships in education and research to help improve the quality of the universities and hence their graduates, their scholarship and their research. We are also flanked by several TU Delft initiatives that will help to build and ensure excellence and capacity.

To be clear, there are already excellent architects in Africa. The Makoko Floating School designed by Studio NLÉ in Lagos is a perfect example. Facing an almost impossible problem, NLÉ figured out a solution that is responsible and ingenious. It is not that there are no brilliant planners in Africa; it is just that there will need to be more of them. There is and will be a need for a multitude of ingenious and responsible architects, engineers and planners. The

expected population growth in Africa will essentially double the population by 2050, meaning 2.4 billion people. This is an increase of over 40 million people a year – that is a new Netherlands every six months for the next 30 years. Most, if not all of this growth will take place in urban areas. This means that the way we plan our cities will also need radical help, if not a fundamental change in how we think, understand, plan and manage these cities.

We do have help in this area, and maybe even a secret weapon. The Amsterdam Institute for Advanced Metropolitan Solutions (AMS) offers a place to try out some of these methods. The City of Amsterdam has set itself up as a living lab, in which new methods of understanding urban issues can be developed, tested and deployed. Amsterdam is clearly a safe city. The problems facing it are nice ones to have. But that also means it is the perfect place to test systems and methods before turning to the truly wicked situations. A wired city deploying tens of thousands of sensors to collect information and produce ‘big data.’ Indeed, the analysis of this information may allow us to see solutions that were not envisaged before. Until now, we have had to compartmentalise our cities – by field and by geography. Using new types of analysis, the ‘data-lake’ of our cities can now show us things we could not see or envision before. This is the promise of AMS – testing new ways of understanding our cities. Providing this information will allow us to make better decisions and enable us to better manage our cities.

Better decisions mean we can be more efficient with our energy and our natural resources. This is immensely important in Africa. The continent currently produces only as much energy as Belgium, with a population two magnitudes larger. Catching up with population growth and the demands for energy and resources will be crucial to human development there.

Frugal innovation

Other institutions, like the Leiden-Delft-Erasmus Centre for Frugal Innovation, will help on smaller scales. By focusing on leveraging innovation, the LDE Frugal Innovation group is pursuing bottom-up strategies to meet demand despite scarcity. This has proved to be a perfectly complementary method in Africa. As an example, the Solarkiosk project, led by GRAFT Architects from Berlin, is providing power to off-grid communities. These kiosks let people charge their phones and act as a watering hole. They also happen to lengthen the day by providing light after dusk, which assists commerce and education in these communities. So, architects are working on both top-down and bottom-up projects. We are also working to establish the

networks to foster mutual advances in knowledge. The African Architecture Network is one such organisation. It will provide the leverage to create a network of excellent schools of architecture and the built environment in Africa, with TU Delft helping to foster its growth and cement its longevity. We do not want to lead per se, but to enable the way forward.

TU Delft and Africa

The TU Delft Global Initiative is also working in concert with these goals. Interestingly, an initial survey within the faculty found a surprising number of links with the African continent and activities already in place. Thus, this is not so much the start of something new as it is the coordination and accentuation of activities and collaboration already underway. Africa is on the map, on our radar, and we are stating it here. To be perfectly honest, the faculty is not interested primarily in helping. Instead, we simply want the best minds at TU Delft, be they students, researchers or academics. In short, we want the best minds in Africa to do their Master's thesis, their PhD, or their research project here with us. One way to facilitate this is to create a Fellowship Programme. By allowing the best of the next generation of urban planners and managers in Africa to coalesce at AMS, for example, we can create the best place in the world to discuss and analyse the wicked challenges in urbanization that are facing us. When these people return to their cities, they will be alumni of TU Delft and likely take on positions of leadership. Our alumni are the real fruits of this endeavour. Again, the future is there to be designed and determined. Africa is the place where a lot of bright futures are not inevitable yet – it is our task to change that.

15

Africa's Urbanity as Heritage

Ton Dietz and Peter Pels

The rapid growth of urban populations and cities in Africa since the 1960s raises the question of how such expansion can be managed, and how it can be understood historically and globally. Beeker's method in Ouagadougou provides an example of how postcolonial management of expanding African cities can be understood and designed, and therefore deserves recognition as modern architectural heritage in Africa. However, an analysis of UNESCO's heritage sites in Africa makes it clear that UNESCO (and African governments) so far have used a very biased approach in deciding what should be defined and preserved as Africa's architectural heritage. There are few sites reflecting post-1970 urban developments. This article is a plea to adopt a more current approach, and add heritage examples of Africa's post-independence urban development, acknowledging the importance of modern urban heritage in Africa. Ouagadougou's adoption of a participatory approach to urban planning can be seen as a combination of both material and immaterial/institutional heritage, which can be an example for many other expanding cities in Africa and elsewhere.

L'urbanisation en Afrique Comme Patrimoine

La croissance rapide des populations urbaines et des villes en Afrique depuis les années 60 remet au goût du jour la question de la gestion d'une telle expansion, et la manière dont elle peut être comprise historiquement et globalement. La méthode Beeker à Ouagadougou fournit des pistes pour la gestion postcoloniale des cités en expansion et pour leur reconnaissance au titre du patrimoine contemporain en Afrique. Toutefois, l'analyse des sites du patrimoine de l'UNESCO en Afrique met en évidence que l'UNESCO (et les gouvernements africains) utilisent une approche biaisée dans la désignation de ce qui doit être défini et préservé en tant que patrimoine architectural africain. On peine à trouver des sites relatant des développements urbains datant d'après 1970. Le présent article est un plaidoyer pour adopter une approche plus contemporaine et pour inclure des exemples de patrimoine postcolonial parmi les développements urbains en Afrique, en démontrant l'importance du patrimoine urbain africain contemporain. L'approche participative de développement urbain, adoptée à

Ouagadougou, peut être perçue comme une combinaison de patrimoine matériel et immatériel (institutionnel) et peut servir de modèle pour bien d'autres villes en expansion en Afrique et même ailleurs.

Africa's urban explosion

Until 1960, the year in which many African colonies became independent, urbanization in Africa has been very limited. Only one fifth of Africa's population lived in cities (defined as administrative units with at least 5,000 inhabitants, of which the majority of the working population is not employed in agriculture). In some areas, urbanization was an ancient phenomenon, with cities in Egypt and Tunisia going back thousands of years. In other areas, there was some form of urbanization around ruling courts (the Mossi Kings established a central place in what is now Burkina Faso in 1441), and there are a number of mysterious strongholds (like the Zimbabwe ruins). Elsewhere, urbanization started as a colonial project, initially by Arabs expanding cities in Morocco and Algeria, but also in East Africa and along trade routes, connecting inland areas with coastal cities (some of which became important places, like Timbuktu). Later, urbanization was initiated by Europeans. Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, English, French, Spanish and German trading places along the coasts of Africa often became fortresses (or 'castles') and played key roles in, particularly, the slave trade from the sixteenth century onwards. Once European colonialism had conquered most of inland Africa as well, from the 1870s until the early twentieth century, existing 'old' cities received new rulers (like Ouagadougou or Dar es Salaam) or new centres were established as administrative headquarters (like Nairobi). Other cities started as mining enclaves, often growing with the influx of migrant labourers, with traders catering for their needs and often imported from Asia (in West Africa, mainly Lebanese; in Southern and Eastern Africa, mainly Indians). Most colonial rulers, afraid of Africans modernizing too rapidly, tried to curb urban expansion, in some countries by implementing clear racial laws restricting 'permanent African urbanites'.

As colonial rule ended (and after the end of Apartheid in, first, Rhodesia/Zimbabwe and, later, Southwest Africa/Namibia and South Africa) restrictions on rural-urban migration were lifted and, gradually, urban areas began to grow, both in population and in physical size. Much of this physical expansion took the form of unplanned settlements, filling up the inner-city areas that were left empty (often because of marshy or other problematic environmental conditions), but mainly expanding into peri-urban zones. In some

(rare) cases, new cities such as Dodoma (Tanzania) and Abuja (Nigeria) were planned, as nation-building projects that established capital cities in inland areas, rather than the coastal settlements privileged by colonial rulers. Even here, much of the urban expansion took place in ‘spontaneous settlements’. Currently, Africa’s urban population is approaching the 50 per cent threshold, and, in 2015, Africa’s estimated urban population was at least eight times larger than in 1960, an increase unprecedented in world history. See table 1 for an assessment of the growth figures.

Table 1
Africa’s urbanization 1600-2100

Year	estimated population (m)	urban %	urban people (million)
1600	80-100	10	8-10
1900	100-150	15	15-22
1960	284	20	56
2015	1166	45	480
2050	2000-2400	60	1200-1440
2100	3400-4400	70	2400-3100

Sources: own assessment on the basis of numerous sources; see also Hayashi, 2007; AfDB 2012; Parnell & Pieterse 2014; Citylab 2014; UN-ESA 2015.

And it will not end here. The same table 1 predicts an estimated tripling of Africa’s urban population between 2015 and 2050, if we take the modal population projections as our point of departure, and 60 per cent urbanization (under ‘low projections’ it would be two and a half times). And during the remainder of this century, there will be at least another doubling.

Today, Africa has four urban agglomerations of more than ten million inhabitants (Lagos, Cairo, Kinshasa and The Rand area) and another 50 agglomerations with more than one million.²⁴ By 2100, there will be many more and one can even predict a few huge band cities of more than 100 million inhabitants, like a continuous built-up area between Abidjan and Lagos, and other heavily urbanized coastal areas, connecting one expanding city after another. But although most of Africa’s ultra-urbanization will take place near its coastal areas (between 1960 and 1995 most coastal areas in Africa increased fourfold), there are major urban zones in inland areas as well. A belt of multi-million

²⁴ See Dietz, Ton, Foeken, Dick, Soeters, Sebastiaan & Nel de Vink. *From a Continent of States to a Continent of Cities*. Leiden African Studies Centre Thematic Maps, 2012. <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/20017>.

cities in the Sahelian countries is an example: from Bamako, via Ouagadougou to Kano, Maiduguri and Niamey.

Ouagadougou provides a good illustration of the explosion of Africa's urbanity.²⁵ At the time of independence of what was then Upper Volta, and later became Burkina Faso, the capital city (and old headquarters of the Mossi King) Ouagadougou had a mere 60,000 inhabitants. In 1996, its population had increased to 710,000 inhabitants. In 2015, it had expanded to more than two million people, a stunning thirty-fold increase in 55 years. And much more can be expected, not only because of continued rural-urban migration, but also because the young population will produce many urban-born children due to its relatively high fertility rate (for Burkina Faso, as a whole, 5.9 children per woman in 2012).

Africa will be the continent with by far the highest population growth in the rest of this century and it will experience a further explosion of its urban population. A global comparative assessment of fertility levels, as given by the United Nations Estimates and Forecasts website, shows²⁶ that all continents reached a population equilibrium around 2015, with the big exception of Africa. Furthermore, Africa is currently experiencing a demographic transition, but it started later than elsewhere, at a higher level and, so far, with a slow speed of adjustment to lower numbers of births per woman. Until the 1980s, Africa's fertility levels were, on average, higher than 6.5 live-born children per woman. This decreased to 5 in 2000, and currently stands between 4 and 4.5. These figures are for Africa as a whole, including Northern and Southern Africa, where the levels have become much lower during recent decades. According to UN demographers, Africa's fertility rate will decrease to 3 live births per woman in 2050 and then stabilize in 2100. Meanwhile, Africa's population will probably grow to the predicted four billion people in 2100.²⁷

25 See Beeker, Coen. 'Pitfalls in Planning: A Look at Ouagadougou in Burkina Faso', in: I. Baud, J. Post, L. de Haan & T. Dietz (Eds). *Re-aligning Government, Civil Society and the Market. Essays in Honour of G.A. de Bruijne*. Amsterdam: AGIDS, 2002. Dietz, Ton & Fred Zaal. 'The Provisioning of African Cities, with Ouagadougou as a Case Study', in: J. Post & I. Baud. *Realigning Actors in an Urbanizing World: Governance and Institutions from a Development Perspective*. Ashgate, 2002: 265-286.

26 See United Nations ESA. *World Population Prospects*. The 2015 revision. New York: UN-ESA, 2015. https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/publications/files/key_findings_wpp_2015.pdf.

27 Dietz, Ton. 'Afrika in 2100. Vier miljard mensen?' *Geografie*, November/December 2016: 6-8.

The UNESCO approach to heritage sites neglects Africa's urbanity

To date, Africa has 118 UNESCO (material) heritage sites, of which 78 are so-called cultural sites, 5 mixed sites and 35 natural sites. A typology of the 83 cultural and mixed sites shows an approach that neglects Africa's recent urban history.

Table 2

Typology of UNESCO's Cultural and Mixed Heritage Sites in Africa (at December 2016)

Type of heritage site	Number	Where
Paleolithic site	9	Botswana 1, Ethiopia 2, Libya 1, Malawi 1, Namibia 1, South Africa 1, Tanzania 1, Zimbabwe 1,
Ancient Egyptian/ Sudanic site	5	Egypt 3, Sudan 2
Phoenician, Greek, Roman site	8	Libya 3, Morocco 1, Tunisia 4
Early Christian site	5	Egypt 2; Ethiopia 3
Arab expansion site	14	Egypt 1, Ethiopia 1, Kenya 1, Mali 1, Mauritania 1, Morocco 4, Tunisia 3, Tanzania 2
Indigenous site	28	Benin 1, Burkina Faso 1, Chad 1, Ethiopia 2, Gabon 1, Ghana 1, Kenya 1, Libya 1, Madagascar 1, Mali 3, Morocco 1, Niger 1, Nigeria 2, Senegal 2, Senegal and Gambia 1, South Africa 2, Togo 1, Uganda 1, Tanzania 1, Zimbabwe 2, South Africa and Lesotho 1
Early European expansion site	11	Cape Verde 1, Gambia 1, Ghana 1, Kenya 1, Mauritius 2, Morocco 2, Mozambique 1, Senegal 2
Late European site	3	Côte d'Ivoire 1, Morocco 1, South Africa 1
Post-independence site	0	

Source: UNESCO website: <http://whc.unesco.org/>

Of everything that has been built in urban environments, only three sites that date from the period after high imperialism (c. 1870) have been selected as Africa's cultural heritage: the French coastal colonial city of Grand Bas-sam in Côte d'Ivoire, the modern capital city of Morocco, Rabat, and the infamous prison on Robben Island in South Africa, symbol of the struggle

against Apartheid. Some ‘indigenous’ sites also contain elements of twentieth-century heritage, but most of the symbolism preserved by UNESCO heritage inscriptions dates to pre-colonial periods or to non-urban cultural features. This neglect of the heritage of African urbanity has many sources. One can blame African governments for neglecting heritage conservation: only 33 out of 51 African nations that are signatories to the World Heritage Convention have managed to designate World Heritage Sites so far, and of the African sites with World Heritage status roughly half are considered ‘in danger.’²⁸ Indeed, many government departments in Africa remain understaffed and insufficiently trained, although some African countries (Tanzania, South Africa, Ghana) now possess comprehensive heritage legislation.²⁹

However, the neglect of African urban heritage has as much to do with a narrow understanding of the concept of ‘Africa,’ shared by UNESCO’s experts and Africans alike. The coastal forts of Ghana, or Zanzibar Stone Town, are classified as ‘European’ or ‘Arab expansion sites’: their World Heritage inscription has systematically excised indigenous African histories and material remains that can be found at those same sites, or immediately adjacent to them – such as the vibrant culture of Zanzibar freed slaves, banned by British colonial rule from Stone Town to Ng’ambo across the lagoon (Fair 2001); or the pre-colonial, mixed-race cities that emerged around St-Georges de Elmina or St. Anthony’s fort in Axim in Ghana. Dar es Salaam’s celebrated modern architect Anthony Almeida explicitly denied that his buildings had anything to do with Africa (“I am not an African. [...] There is no African architecture”³⁰). Even the classification of Robben Island as a ‘European’ site implies a questionable denial that Apartheid – as a typically modern form of rule – has indigenous (Afrikaner) roots. The tendency to separate ‘modernity’ from ‘Africa’ is a European prejudice that was frequently adopted by Africans and that still saturates global heritage management circles. At least in the world of art, music and intangible heritage, we have learned that such intellectual segregation can no longer be upheld.

The recognition of Coen Beeker’s achievements in Ouagadougou perfectly illustrate a non-segregated, historically aware conception of urban heritage in Africa: not only is it crucial to realize that Beeker picked up on a form

28 UNESCO (n.d.). *World Heritage List Statistics*. Retrieved 28 June 2016 from <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat/#s9>.

29 Chirikure, Shadreck. ‘Heritage Conservation in Africa: The Good, the Bad, and the Challenges’, *South African Journal of Science*, (2013) 109(1/2): 1-3.

30 Cited in: Rausch, Christoph. *Rescuing Modernity. Global Heritage Assemblies and Modern Architecture in Africa*. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers Maastricht, 2013, 148.

of indigenous urbanization caused by rural-urban migration, it is also important to see that his participatory methods made it possible to build new forms to cope with it and incorporate indigenous preferences and desires. The resulting creative mixture is familiar to anthropologists working on urban culture in Africa, from the Kalela Dance in the Rhodesian Copperbelt in the 1950s, through the fashion of the *sapeurs* (La Société des Ambianceurs et des Personnes Élegantes) of Paris and Congo-Brazzaville in the 1970s, to the uncanny suturing of visible and ‘invisible cities’ in Kinshasa and Lubumbashi today.³¹ This creative mixture becomes easier to see once one realizes that intangible heritage is living heritage, and that to preserve such heritage one not only has to solicit these living stories, but also make them visible and tangible to subsequent generations.³² This is precisely what the Beeker Method has made possible.

There is clearly an ethical dimension here as well.³³ It is time that African governments, UNESCO, and others responsible for heritage management in Africa recognize the importance of Africa’s more recent colonial and post-colonial urban history and the history of its built environment as part of its historical heritage, not only because some of it is worth preserving, but also because it makes these managers (literally) responsible to those who live in those cities. This is not only true for preserving individual buildings or building styles (which also includes, beyond residential and office buildings, industrial, mining, religious and touristic built environments), it is also true for the ways urban areas have expanded and improved, as part of both planned and spontaneous interventions. The most interesting examples have been experimental forms of ‘participatory planning’ of urban improvements of the built environment and service provision in those (re)planned neighbourhoods, which brought together planning and spontaneous development. Ouagadougou’s urban planning movements of the 1990s are, therefore, examples worth highlighting, and with it, the work of Coen Beeker and his local colleagues: Dutch and African pioneers in participatory urban planning, bottom-up improvements of the built environment in hitherto spontaneous, and often very

31 Mitchell, J. Clyde. *The Kalela Dance. Aspects of Social Relationships among Urban Africans in Northern Rhodesia*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956. Gandoulou, Justin-Daniel. *Dandies à Bacongo. Le culte de l’élégance dans la société congolaise contemporaine*. Paris: l’Harmattan, 1989. De Boeck, Filip & Sammy Baloji. *Suturing the City. Living Together in Congo’s Urban Worlds*. London: Autograph ABP, 2016.

32 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. ‘Intangible Heritage as Metacultural Production’, *Museum International* (2004) 56 (1-2): 52-65

33 Meskell, Lynn M., and Peter Pels (eds.). *Embedding Ethics: Shifting the Boundaries of the Anthropological Profession*, Oxford: Berg, 2005.

chaotic settlements, built by the hundreds of thousands of migrants who arrived from rural areas and who started a new life in Burkina Faso's capital city and elsewhere in Africa's cities.

This article is a plea for African governments and for UNESCO to adopt a much more current approach, and add heritage examples of Africa's post-independence urban development, acknowledging the importance of modern urban heritage in Africa. And Ouagadougou's participatory approach to urban planning can be seen as a combination of both material and immaterial/institutional heritage, which can be an example for many other expanding cities in Africa and elsewhere.

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16

The Coen Beeker collection at the Canadian Centre for Architecture

Martien de Vletter

When we think of where a legacy is best kept, we often think it should be close to its place of creation or to the location or subject it deals with. Obviously, for archives or collections that have a very local meaning, it is best to make them easily accessible to a local public. But for archives and collections that have a more international character, exposure or range of potential users, the best place to be is a more complicated issue.

This article reflects on the international role of the Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) in Montreal, founded in 1979, and why the Coen Beeker collection (as well as the Kiran Mukerji collection and Georg Lipsmeier collection) are well placed at CCA. CCA's acquisition strategy was not focused on Africa, but there are other topics represented in the collection that relate well to the material that Antoni Folkers generously donated to CCA, such as urban planning (in a non-Western context), environmental research, low-cost housing and energy conservation. Beeker's collection interconnects with many aspects of the CCA's holdings and, at the same time, open unexpected directions in the future development of CCA's curatorial and collecting strategy.

La collection Coen Beeker au Centre Canadien d'Architecture

Lorsque nous réfléchissons à l'endroit idéal pour conserver un héritage, nous pensons souvent que celui-ci devrait être à proximité de l'endroit de sa création ou encore du lieu ou de l'objet dont il traite. Il est évident que, dans le cas d'archives ou de collections dont la signification est très locale, il vaut mieux les rendre facilement accessibles à un public local. Par contre, dans le cas d'archives ou de collections dont le caractère, le rayonnement ou la gamme d'utilisateurs potentiels sont davantage internationaux, la question s'avère plus complexe.

L'article se penche sur le rôle international du Centre canadien d'architecture (CCA) à Montréal, fondé en 1979, et sur les raisons pour lesquelles la collection Coen Beeker, de même que la collection Kiran Mukerji et la collection Georg Lipsmeier, sont à leur place au CCA. La stratégie d'acquisition du CCA n'était

pas centrée sur l'Afrique, mais d'autres sujets représentés au sein de la collection sont en lien avec le matériel généreusement offert en don au CCA par African Architecture Matters et Antoni Folkers, tels que la planification urbaine (dans un contexte non occidental), la recherche environnementale, le logement à coût modique et la conservation énergétique. La collection Beeker a des liens avec plusieurs aspects de la collection du CCA et, en même temps, ouvre des voies inattendues pour un développement futur de la stratégie du point de vue de la conservation en collection du CCA.

When we think of where a legacy is best kept, we often think it should be close to its place of creation or to the location or subject it deals with. This has certainly been the most prevalent way of thinking when it comes to archives and collections. Interestingly, the same idea does not necessarily apply to works of art or books: art and books are meant to spread out and to be found in collections and libraries worldwide.

Clearly, it is best to make those archives or collections, that have a very local meaning, easily accessible to a local public. But where to locate archives and collections that have a more international character, exposure or range of potential users, is a more complicated issue.

What to do if you are an internationally operating architect, urban planner or historian with projects all over the world? Architecture has always transcended borders: architects and urban planners have long worked in many different places, exporting their expertise, taking experience back home and publishing works in international magazines. In other words, it is not just their works or projects that may have an international component, their dissemination and legacy may well be international too.

Given the international character of architecture, it is interesting that nearly all specialized collecting institutions have a national mandate. This often relates to funding structures: for example, the State Archive for Dutch Architecture and Urban Planning, based in Rotterdam, is funded by the Dutch government and has been given the task of upholding the Dutch legacy in nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture. The same is true for many other European collecting institutions. However, this tendency is due to more than funding; it also reflects a deeply rooted idea about national identity expressed by and through these institutions.

The Canadian Centre for Architecture (CCA) has given itself an international mandate from the very beginning, as architecture and research cross borders all the time. The CCA defines itself as an international research institution, based on the fundamental premise that architecture is a public concern. Founded in 1979, it was established as a new type of cultural institution with the specific aim of increasing public awareness of the role of architecture in contemporary society and promoting scholarly research in the field.

This mandate has resulted in an international curatorial programme and collection that includes the archives of Peter Eisenman, Aldo Rossi, John Hejduk, Cedric Price, Gordon Matta-Clark, James Sterling and Pierre Jeanneret and the contemporary archives of Foreign Office Architects, Greg Lynn and Ábalos & Herreros.³⁴ Recently, the CCA received the archives of the Portuguese architect and Pritzker Prize winner Álvaro Siza, which are shared with the Fundação Serralves (Porto) and the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian (Lisbon). The CCA received all of Siza's projects outside Portugal, while the Portuguese projects are shared by all three institutions. Legacy has prompted a different way of thinking in this case, and extends beyond national boundaries.

Though the CCA's curatorial and collecting strategies have always been international – indeed, the two go hand in hand – there has not been much focus on Africa. The continent is represented in the CCA's photography holdings by a dozen works by B. Elliot on Johannesburg from the late nineteenth century, as well as significant albums by unknown photographers documenting North Africa – Morocco, Libya, Egypt – during the same period. To date, the library at the CCA holds around 1,000 publications on Africa.³⁵

Why, then, is the CCA interested in the collections carefully assembled by Antoni Folkers, which include the collection of Coen Beeker as well as the papers of Georg Lippsmeier and Kiran Mukerji? The aim of developing its holdings with sources related to Africa should be seen in the light of the CCA's interest in alternative modernisms, (post-)colonial issues and other narratives of architecture history. Beyond the individual legacies of Lippsmeier, Beeker or Mukerji, this material also relates to the organization that

34 For a full overview of the CCA's archives see <http://www.cca.qc.ca/en/33511/guide-to-archival-holdings>.

35 With the addition of the published material within the Lippsmeier, Beeker and Mukerji collections, the CCA will become one of the largest and richest resources on modern and contemporary literature on African architecture.

brought it together, ArchiAfrika. The CCA is interested in these kinds of collectives, as they perform as an alternative to architecture as a built form.³⁶

While studying architecture at Delft University, Folkers worked as an intern with Lippsmeier in Munich; he later went to Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso, in 1984 to work with and for Beeker on his urban plan for the city. Folkers stayed for a year in Burkina Faso; upon his return, he stayed in contact with Beeker, teaching occasionally in his planning classes. Folkers kept working in Africa as an architect and, with Berend van der Lans, co-founded the network ArchiAfrika in 2001. Having both worked in Africa, they realized how unknown African architecture and urbanism was in the West. They were convinced that African architecture and architectural history are rich in depth and variety and should become known to other parts of the world. ArchiAfrika became a professional network through which dialogue between institutes and individuals on architectural and urban developments in Africa is facilitated.³⁷ Having established ArchiAfrika, and while building his architecture practice both in Africa and in the Netherlands and starting to work on his PhD, Folkers was asked around 2007 to take possession of the Lippsmeier papers and, around 2010, to look after the Beeker collection. At the time, ArchiAfrika seemed to be an appropriate environment for these collections. ArchiAfrika received funding to make an inventory of the material, but giving access to the collections was not a core activity for the group. Folkers felt these research collections needed a research environment that could expand on their content.

The CCA – as a research museum, and one of the few institutions in the world that allows itself an international mandate rather than a national one – became a serious option. In turn, the work of Lippsmeier, Beeker and Mukerji adds a more concentrated focus on Africa to the CCA's activities and offers the potential to read this material alongside its other archives. The work of Lippsmeier and his Institut für Tropenbau (and the involvement of Mukerji), for example, is of interest in relation to the work of the Montreal-based but internationally operating Minimum Cost Housing Group,³⁸ as both were in-

36 See the 2015 exhibition and publication *The Other Architect* as well as the holdings of ANY, the Institute for Architecture and Urban Studies (IAUS) and the Groupe de Recherche de Montréal, among others.

37 In 2010, the board and organization of ArchiAfrika were transferred to Accra, Ghana. Ghanaian architect Joe Osae-Addo took over the chair of the board, and the organization is run entirely out of Accra.

38 The Minimum Cost Housing Group (MCHG) of the McGill University School of Architecture was founded in the early 1970s by Alvaro Ortega, Witold Rybczynski, Samir Ayad, Wajid Ali and Arthur Acheson, a group of architects and students. The group later included Vikram Bhatt, Garo Kevorkin, Bernard Lefebvre and Alex Morse.

terested in not only human settlement problems in developing countries, but also low-cost housing and energy conservation in wealthy countries.

Also significant for the CCA, Beeker's work as an urban planner can be seen in the context of the work of Pierre Jeanneret. From 1951 to 1966, Jeanneret was entrusted with the project of the new city of Chandigarh, in India, under the planning direction of Le Corbusier and in association with the architects Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Jeanneret's archive and the collection of material related to Fry and Drew at the CCA provide a rich context for Beeker's work as it relates to post-war, non-Western urban development and modernity. His involvement in Ouagadougou, Addis Ababa, Tunis and Port Sudan from the 1960s to the early 2000s, and the publications and project-related documents (such as research documents, reports, theses and articles) in his collection, interconnect with many aspects of the CCA's holdings and, at the same time, open unexpected directions in the future development of CCA's curatorial and collecting strategy.

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Ton Dietz PhD (University of Amsterdam) 1987; Professor Human Geography University of Amsterdam since 1995, guest professor since 2010; Professor Social Sciences Utrecht University and director research school CERES 2002–2007; Professor African Development and Director African Studies Centre Leiden since 2010. Major areas of expertise: African development; dryland development initiatives; participatory evaluation of planned development and social change; impact of and adaptation to climate change; vulnerability and poverty; governance and livelihoods; inclusive development. Major countries of research and supervision experience: Kenya, Ghana, Burkina Faso and South Africa. Colleague of Coen Beeker at the University of Amsterdam (Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies).

Antoni Folkers PhD is an architect and urban designer. He commenced his professional career as researcher and designer in Ouagadougou before joining the Institute for Tropical Building (IFT) in Starnberg, Germany (1983). He is co-founder of FBW Architects & Engineers (1995) and currently FBW Group Consultant and director of FBW Netherlands. He has been responsible for the design and execution of a wide range of architectural and urbanism projects throughout East Africa and Europe, and is currently involved in various projects in Tanzania as architect, urban planner and researcher. In 2001, he co-founded the ArchiAfrika, platform for research and news on African architecture. In 2010, the management of ArchiAfrika was handed over to African network partners. In the same year, Berend van der Lans and Antoni Folkers established African Architecture Matters, active in research, education and activism in the field of African architecture and urbanism. Antoni Folkers published a wide range of books and articles architectural subject, amongst which *Mtoni – Palace, Sultan & Princess of Zanzibar* and *Modern Architecture in Africa* on his 25 years of building and research experience in Africa in 2010.

Ellen Geurts is a housing specialist who has worked as a trainer and consultant since 2004 and joined IHS in 2007. She holds both a MSc in Housing from the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg and in Technology and Society from the Technical University in Eindhoven. At IHS,

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Joseph Guiébo est sociologue-urbaniste, titulaire d'une maîtrise à l'université Paris V-Sorbonne, d'un DEA en urbanisme et aménagement puis diplômé de l'Institut d'urbanisme de Paris 12-Créteil. De 1980 à 1995, il a été successivement directeur de l'Urbanisme et de l'aménagement, directeur général de l'Urbanisme, de la topographie et du cadastre, conseiller technique du ministre puis secrétaire général du ministère chargé de l'Urbanisme au Burkina Faso. De 1995 à 2014, il a été également conseiller technique principal au Bureau régional pour l'Afrique au sein de l'ONU-Habitat.

Muhammad Juma PhD, Director of the Department of Urban and Rural Planning, Zanzibar. Architect, and planner from Zanzibar. He works as the Director of Urban and Rural Planning since 2011. Before that, he was the Assistant Director General of the Stone Town Conservation and Development Authority (STCDA). From 2009–2011, he worked as an in-house consultant at the UNESCO World Heritage Centre in Paris and advised on urban conservation on the African continent.

Rachel Keeton is an urban researcher specialized in contemporary New Towns. She obtained her Master's in architecture in 2008, and worked at the International New Town Institute from 2009–2015. In 2015, Keeton opened her own office for urban research: Urban Anecdote. She is the author of *Rising in the East: Contemporary New Towns in Asia* (SUN, 2011), and a Global Initiative Fellow. Keeton is currently pursuing a PhD in urbanism at TU Delft, under the Design as Politics chair.

Gilbert Kibtonré Originaire du Burkina Faso, marié et père de deux enfants, Gilbert Kibtonré est géographe-urbaniste de formation. En 1958, c'est à Ouagadougou qu'il fait ses premiers pas à l'école. Ce n'est qu'en 1972, en débutant ses études supérieures, que son parcours scolaire l'amène à se déplacer entre Ouagadougou, Kumasi au Ghana et Toulouse en France.

En 1978, son diplôme d'Etudes approfondies en urbanisme et aménagement du territoire en poche et de retour sur ses terres natales, il débute sa carrière professionnelle en tant que coordinateur et superviseur du « Projet de restructuration du quartier Wagadogo-Nossin » de 1979 à 1980. Il devient, par la suite, directeur de l'Urbanisme, de l'aménagement et des lotissements de 1982 à 1983 puis directeur général de l'Urbanisme et de la topographie l'année suivante, de 1983 à 1984 et en 1992. De 1993 à 2001, il s'engage dans la coordination du Projet d'amélioration des conditions de vie urbaines (PACVU) dans le cadre du 3ème Projet de développement urbain (PDU). De 2006 à 2008, il endosse le rôle de secrétaire général du ministère de l'Habitat et de l'Urbanisme. De 2008 à 2011, il dirige le comité de gestion du Centre de facilitation des actes de construire (CEFAC) et accède par la suite au titre de directeur général du Contrôle des opérations d'aménagement et de construction en 2011. Devenant fonctionnaire de l'Etat admis à la retraite en 2012, il est, depuis Avril de cette même année, responsable du bureau d'études privé "Prospectives urbaines".

Aklilu Kidanu graduated in English literature from Addis Ababa University in 1977. He travelled to the United States in 1978, in 1983, and in 1990 he received his Master's and doctoral degrees, respectively, in urban planning and policy, specializing in applied demography. He returned to Ethiopia in 1992, where he worked as an assistant professor at the Institute of Development Research, Addis Ababa University, until 1995. After a one-year post-doctoral programme at Brown University in the United States, in 1996 he started a private research Center called The Miz-Hasab Research Center. After 20 years of mostly public health and demographic research in Ethiopia, the Center closed its doors, and Aklilu is now happily retired.

Saskia de Lang holds a Master's in political science from Leiden University, the Netherlands. She joined the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1982, first as the desk officer for Burkina Faso. In her early career, she held positions in Development Cooperation and Trade, at home and abroad. Her senior positions include postings as Deputy Head of Mission for the Netherlands in Canada, Energy Envoy, Ambassador of the Netherlands to Uganda and to Mali and Ambassador at large. In 2014, she became EU Ambassador to the Republic of Congo (Brazzaville).

Yolande Lingané est titulaire d'un DEA en sociolinguistique. Actuellement en service au ministère de l'Urbanisme et de l'habitat en tant que sociologue, elle a travaillé comme assistante au projet « Villages-centres-

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Peter Pels PhD (University of Amsterdam) 1993; Professor in the Anthropology and Sociology of Sub-Saharan Africa at the University of Leiden since 2003. Before and after editing *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie sociale*, the journal of the European Association of Social Anthropologists (2002–2007) and running the Leiden Institute for Cultural Anthropology and Development Sociology (2009–2012), he researched cultural patterns of (post-) colonial contacts in religion and politics in Africa, the UK and the Netherlands. He is currently completing *The Spirit of Matter*, a book on the power of objects, and a project on the anthropology of the future (see 'Modern Times', *Current Anthropology* December 2015). He plans future research into heritage in Africa, both *in situ* and *ex situ*.

Iga Perzyna holds a master degree in Architectural History from Bartlett School of Architecture and in Historic Conservation from Oxford Brookes. After graduating in 2014 she worked for 0047 in Oslo and collaborated on the Conservation Area Statement Proposal – Sagene/Akerselva with the Cultural Heritage Management Office of the City of Oslo. She is working on a project basis with African Architecture Matters since 2015. In years 2015/2016 Perzyna worked as the project coordinator and researcher on the Ng'ambo Tuitakayo Project in Zanzibar on behalf of African Architecture Matters.

Johan Post PhD, currently heads the Department of Geography, Planning and International Development Studies, University of Amsterdam. Johan Post has been a researcher and teacher of urban planning and development in Africa for more than three decades before transferring to university management positions. The themes he took up in his research work included: informal sector, urban markets, refugee settlement, solid waste management, and community action in neighbourhood upgrading. Johan Post was a close colleague to Coen Beeker both at the Free University and the University of Amsterdam.

Saskia Ruijsink is an expert in urban planning and development. She has worked in practice, research and education since obtaining her Master's degree (2005) in Urban Planning at the Post Graduate Institute for Human Settlements (Leuven, Belgium) and in Technology and Society at the

Technical University in Eindhoven (2004). At IHS (since 2007) she works on and manages training and advisory work in fields of participation, self-organization, co-creation in urban governance and social innovation for urban planning and sustainable urban development mainly in Africa, Europe and Latin America.

Peter Russell has been Dean of the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at TU Delft since 2015. Prior to this, Peter Russell was Professor of Computer Supported Planning in Architecture (CAAD) at the RWTH Aachen University. He also served as Rector's Emissary for Alumni Affairs at RWTH, where he was also Dean of the Faculty of Architecture and chaired the Dean's Council. He is a partner in architectural practice IP Arch GmbH and served as vice-chairman of the German Architecture Dean's Council (DARL). From 2012 to 2013, he served on the Council of the Association for European Education in Architecture (AEEA/EAAE). He is also a founding member of the newly formed European architectural research network ARENA.

Anteneh Tesfaye Tola studied Architecture and Urban Planning at the Addis Ababa University in Ethiopia, followed by a Masters of Advanced studies in Urban Design at the ETH Zurich in Switzerland, with a study on urban transformations in developing territories, taking Brazilian cities as a case. Currently, he is a PhD candidate at the Delft Technical University with research entitled *The Making of Places of Coexistence – Addis Ababa*. His study takes housing as a protagonist in the make-up of cities of rapid urbanization and intends to investigate local responses to global urbanization trends in contexts of rapid urbanization. He has had a total of eight years' experience of engaging both in the practice and academics of design and planning being a lecturer at the Ethiopian Institute of Architecture, Building Construction and City Development of Addis Ababa University.

Martien de Vletter is an architectural historian who started her career in 1997 at the Netherlands Architecture Institute in Rotterdam. In her capacity as the Chief Curator from 2004 until 2008, she worked on exhibitions and publications regarding Dutch architecture and urbanism of the seventies, tropical architecture in Indonesia, and monographic projects on Asymptote, UNStudio and J.J.P. Oud, to name a few. In 2008, she became publisher of SUN Architecture Publishers in Amsterdam, responsible for more than 200 publications. In 2012, she joined the Canadian Centre for Architecture in the position of Associate Director of the Col-

lection, responsible for collection development, collection care and collection access. From 2006 until 2010, Martien de Vletter functioned as a board member and chair of ArchiAfrika.