Teaching the History of Architecture in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco: Colonialism, Independence, and Globalization

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Colonial Heritage

The teaching of architectural history in North Africa is closely linked to the history of French colonization in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. It was only during the period of colonial rule that architecture was first taught in these countries, and architectural education varied according to the approach the colonizing power adopted in each case. Through a succession of “reforms,” the educational system was transformed from an exogenous, imported one into an endogenous one, in an effort to respond to the cultural and historical realities of each country. However, the cultural identity born of a long history shared by the three countries led to the convergence of the three systems toward similar objectives, focusing ultimately on the same concerns.1

The French conquest of Algeria in 1830 was followed by a systematic annexation that divided the new territory into departments, or administrative divisions, of France. All actions by the new settlers were long-term imperial investments intended to turn the region into a fully integrated part of France on all levels—social, political, economic, and cultural. Cultural differences were not considered instrumental to development, with the assumption that the French “civilizing mission” would eventually overpower local cultures. The traditional educational system was consequently abandoned, and the Arabic language was relegated to a secondary status and eventually taught as a foreign language, of far less importance than English, German, Italian, or Spanish. With notable exceptions, indigenous youth who had access to schools were discouraged from pursuing higher education; hence, their chances of reaching management or decision-making jobs in the administrative and economic structure tailor-made for the new settlers was restricted.

The colonization of Tunisia took place in 1881, when Ottoman power was greatly weakened as the result of a heavy debt burden and growing discontent among the population. The regency of Tunis became a protectorate run by its French residents, who set up a system of economic and sociocultural management very much like the one in operation in Algeria, in which French models were rigorously imposed.

In Algeria and Tunisia, the teaching of architecture was not a priority. The primary colonial interests were agriculture, trade, and industry, and consequently, the most attractive professions were those that directly related to sectors such as agronomy, administrative management, accounting, law, mining, hydrology, and geology. Architectural practice basically followed the French model and did not require professionals with knowledge of local building traditions.

The teaching of architecture was begun in the schools of fine arts of Algiers and Tunis to provide colonists with the kind of education then available in the provincial cities of France. It was limited to a preparatory cycle for students destined eventually to complete their academic training at the École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Nevertheless, with the growth of urban centers in North Africa, together with the increasing need to adapt construction and architectural models to the local context, it soon became necessary to set up consulting firms there. Architecture, as a profession, became a viable economic activity and was taken up by colonial practitioners operating on familiar ground, rather than by experts specially imported from France. The number of candidates attracted to the profession continued to rise, first with settlers’ sons, followed by the children of the Jewish community (who were given access to education by the Crémieux decree, which made it possible for this ethnic population to obtain French citizenship).2 The last to join was a handful of Muslim students who overcame the roadblocks on the way to higher education and ignored the taboos of a traditional culture that looked down on fine-arts schools as bohemian and thus unsuitable to the standards of a well-educated and morally sound person.

Paralleling the situation in Algeria, where architects were trained at the École des Beaux-Arts d’Alger (ÉBAA), the first École des Beaux-Arts de Tunis (ÉBAT) opened in 1930, initially to teach art, but offering an introductory course in architecture. The pedagogic programs were tailored after French models, which in turn were based on a classical vision of the fine arts; the learning process depended on the master-disciple relationship, whereby an artist in charge of a workshop would train a few gifted stu-
The colonization of Morocco occurred in a different context in 1912. The country was made a French protectorate under the pretext of shielding it both from German ambitions and the expansionist schemes of Spain. Due to the specificities of Morocco’s history, the French found there a relatively homogeneous and well-structured society, generally at peace with the power of the Sultan, despite some tribal unrest. The protectorate realized the potential problems in attempting to break up a traditional system strongly attached to its cultural heritage, and opted for preserving a dual structure. French rule in Morocco was based on material exploitation, without any ambitions to transform the indigenous society. This goal was clearly spelled out by Louis-Hubert-Gonzalve Lyautey: “The French bring a superior administrative organization, the resources of a more advanced civilization, and material means to take better advantage of the country’s resources, and a force that guarantees [order] against anarchy. Under this tutelary protection, the others [native Moroccans] will maintain their status, institutions, the free practice of their religion, and will develop their sources of wealth in tranquility and, in some cases, even compete with new urban practices of the country were alien. To develop new urban centers and expand the existing ones, the French colonists and the assimilated nationals who had subscribed to the new cultural models would appeal to expertise from metropolitan France.

This cohabitation of two cultural systems offered an alternative to subjection to a foreign sociocultural model. Local handicrafts and arts de vivre could continue to evolve in tranquility and, in some cases, even compete with new colonial production. The French did not feel the urge to create a school of architecture. Architects constituted a professional corps to whom the traditional construction practices of the country were alien. To develop new urban centers and expand the existing ones, the French colonists and the assimilated nationals who had subscribed to the new cultural models would appeal to expertise from metropolitan France.

After Independence

The teaching of architecture in the Maghrib continued to develop along the lines of the French system, while seeking to meet the redefined national requirements of each independent country. To carry out the restructuring process, it was necessary to challenge the academism prevalent in the 1950s and 1960s and to readapt the form and content of the curricula to the new objectives of the development policies of the three countries. The objectives called for consideration of specific contexts and knowledge of local referential models. As a result, the teaching of architectural history was closely linked to professional training. History was turned into an instrument to help develop a set of stylistic references to be put at the disposal of architects. Therefore, course content would change according to the current political orientation favoring this or that culture or period.

Independence set in motion a broad range of reforms including a call for wider integration of the North African heritage into the curricula. This proposal was far from easy to implement. The architecture student and the architect would be brutally and continuously faced with a cultural clash between, on the one hand, traditional systems represented by local forms and, on the other, systems shaped by modern technology and economics and represented by unfamiliar forms from abroad. From linguistic concepts to referential models of objects and spaces, the design of the architectural environment depended on highly complex intercultural choices and compromises. The language of teaching continued to be French, posing a major obstacle to comprehending local cultural phenomena unfamiliar to the Francophone school. Thus Arab and Berber sources remained inaccessible. The adoption of a pedagogical system based on professional requirements determined by exogenous criteria inevitably led to a teaching of history dominated by foreign references and cut off from the surrounding culture. Successive reforms were attempts to address the specificities of the Algerian, Tunisian, and Moroccan contexts more effectively.

Algeria

Established in Algiers soon after the declaration of independence in 1962, the École Nationale d’Architecture et des Beaux-Arts (ENABA) followed the academic principles of the French fine arts schools. In 1968, the academic approach in France was subjected to radical transformations, which led to the creation of a new model based on a course-credit system. This triggered a similar move in Algiers, producing a total restructuring of ENABA and ultimately bringing about its replacement in 1970 by a new institution, the École Polytechnique d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme (ÉPAU). ÉPAU was founded as an institution attached to the Ministry of Higher Education. Its relative administrative and financial autonomy helped in reconciling the specificity of architectural education with a university curriculum spread over five years and divided into semester-long courses. In 1980, the semester system was turned into one based on annual credit. Compared to fine arts pro-
grams, the ÉPAU curriculum was more oriented toward technology and engineering and required that prospective students hold a scientific or technical baccalaureate degree.

In view of the growing demands resulting from rapid urban development, the government of Algeria allowed several regional universities to form architectural institutes. Over a period of ten years, five new schools were established. However, according to reports of evaluation committees, the creation of these institutes was not founded on a careful reflection process that clarified the concepts and articulated the impact they intended to make on the university, but only maintained the ÉPAU model of autonomous pedagogic management and supported the same curriculum.

Currently, the teaching of architectural history spans a two-year period, starting in the second year of the university program. In order to reconcile an identity strongly influenced by the Arab-Islamic cultural heritage on the one hand, and belonging to a rich and diverse Mediterranean geocultural environment on the other, the emphasis is on Maghribi history. The Algerian territory, its Roman sites and monuments, medinas, and mosques from different periods, as well as various categories of Berber architecture, are well represented in the curriculum.

The first part of the architectural history program is ambitious, even if it is meant to be introductory. It covers periods from prehistory to the present, from Mesopotamia to modern Europe. Impregnated by the colonial heritage, the course follows the classical approach, which focuses on successive civilizations as recorded in the annals of Western culture. The second part (offered in the third year) is devoted to the architecture of the Arab-Islamic Maghrib. Mosques and other major monuments are studied in detail in order to illustrate the specific characteristics of regional traditions. While the first part has the disadvantage of presenting an overly broad account, the second part is limited by its concentration on one aspect of Maghribi culture, which carries the risk of distorting the overall picture the course is meant to convey. The shortcomings of this sequence have led to a very interesting reform project, still under discussion. In this proposal, which is described below, the history of architecture is distributed over a four-year period, beginning in the first year and progressively covering the local, regional, and universal aspects of architectural expression in the Maghrib.

The first year introduces the student to the mechanisms of architectural code formation and provides a broad referential field. It gives an overview that relates successive civilizations to the phenomena that defined them; for example, Mesopotamia is presented as the earliest agricultural civilization, and Egypt’s architecture is contextualized in reference to cosmology and geometry. The second year continues the basic training and examines the origin and evolution of the environmental patrimony and its restitution. It, too, offers an initiation in architectural language, now supplemented with a focus on the development of critical judgment. The Maghrib (and its related areas of cultural influence) is taken as a case study for investigating the early achievements of Islamic civilization, from the Kharijī-Rustamid to the Ottoman eras (that is, from the eighth to the sixteenth century). The third year is devoted to the acquisition of methodological tools required for a nuanced reading of architecture, based on a critical evaluation of the historic and modern languages of architecture. This course continues, in part, the classical pattern used for the analysis of the modern movement in Europe and North America, from its genesis to the postmodern period. The fourth year is aimed at examining the language of architecture from the
perspective of the “tradition versus modernity” dichotomy. Studying the Algerian context before and after colonization (from 1830 to the present), topics considered include the imposition of a “French” architecture in the early decades of the colonial rule, and the main features of neo-Mau-
resque expression around 1900.

Tunisia

After 1956, when Tunisia gained independence, the ÉBAT was placed under the supervision of the Secretariat of State for National Education. Five years later, the school was attached to the newly created Secretariat of State for Cultural Affairs. The new status meant that the school’s orientation was to depend largely on the political choices of the country, that is, it would be influenced by a certain definition of “progress” inspired by models from “advanced” countries. It was, therefore, only natural to continue aligning ÉBAT’s programs with French schools of fine arts.

In 1966, a full-fledged architecture section was created within ÉBAT with the cooperation of American Peace Corps instructors. Distinct from the other artistic disciplines, this department admitted holders of a baccalaureate of science and offered a six-year program, followed by a year of professional traineeship. History of art and architecture was included in a course called “Problems of the Environment,” which centered on man and his surroundings. Again under the influence of the events of May 1968 in France, ÉBAT introduced a set of theoretical topics that invited questioning of the academic system inherited from the colonial past. A decisive move was made to address the Tunisian context in the fine arts and architecture. The history of art and architecture began to be taught from the perspective of national patrimony. Greater attention was paid to the study of local objects, monuments, and archaeological sites; they were documented carefully, and the records were kept as an archive in the school. Although this approach still highlighted the monuments of antiquity, the examples were drawn from national sites and, above all, from the Bardo Museum and Carthage. Similarly, Arab-Islamic architecture was no longer addressed merely from the viewpoint of its contribution to the monumental order by analogy to classicism. Some mosques and palaces were studied as stylistic models illustrating a given period in the history of Islamic art, but they were also examined in reference to their urban contexts as well as their underlying meanings.

These transformations cleared the way for a second reform in 1973, which restructured the school entirely. ÉBAT was even given a new name, Institut Technologique d’Art, d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme de Tunis (ITAAUT). The cohabitation of two sections—architecture and plastic and graphic arts—was maintained; the mission of the rejuvenated institute was to train urbanists, architects, and art teachers for secondary schools.

By the mid-1970s, the ITAAUT had entered a period of lively intellectual and ideological activity. Furthermore, the economic crisis that had led to a critical assessment of Western values as the unique references for progress reawakened a sense of identity and stimulated a quest for alternative cultural choices more deeply rooted in the national heritage. It thus became crucial to study local traditions in vernacular architecture, as well as handicrafts, in an effort to promote techniques and skills better suited to the country’s socioeconomic realities. Journals from the early 1960s, such as Les Cahiers des Arts et Techniques d’Afrique du Nord were revived and proved instrumental in the analysis and documentation of vernacular architecture and handicrafts. These developments had a powerful impact on methodology. As most of the case studies were not included in the mainstream literature and there were no traditions and relevant sources on which to draw, the instructors had to design their own pedagogical approach and materials, and often conducted fieldwork. The very selection of faculty members posed a difficult issue. In the first stages, conventional art historians were replaced by specialists who could address the cultural components of an environment still lying fallow; the mission was commonly entrusted to theorists and critics, as well as to foreign architects with multidisciplinary training.

In 1979, ITAAUT was attached to the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research and its two sections were turned into separate departments with distinct functions. One concerned the training of architects and planners and the development and dissemination of research in architecture and urban planning; the other was directed at the creation and promotion of plastic arts that were culturally significant from an aesthetic and technical perspective. With this change, the institute began to consider architecture as a scholarly field and the history of art and architecture as one of the fundamental disciplines. It also advocated a multidisciplinary approach and intellectual rigor in its curricula. The ITAAUT finally split into two totally independent schools, the École Nationale d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme (ÉNAU) and the École Supérieure des Beaux-Arts (ÉSBA).

Established in 1995, ÉNAU maintained the principles inherited from its two predecessors, ÉBAT and ITAAUT. Its ambitious objectives were developed during numerous preparatory seminars: to promote knowledge and nurture architectural research in order to build and enhance the stu-
dents’ artistic and scholarly capacities; to integrate the human and social dimensions of the built environment with technological progress in architecture and related disciplines; to work toward the development of an architectural aesthetic that reconciles Tunisia’s Arab, Muslim, and Mediterranean cultural heritage with the requirements of modernity and the latest developments in contemporary architecture; and to contribute to environmental preservation, improvement of the quality of life, and the rejuvenation of architectural and urban culture in the country. In compliance with the guiding principles, the teaching of the history of art and architecture became a venue where the elements of the cultural heritage were to compete, in a constructive and valorized manner, with universal standards. History courses in this four-year program aimed to help students understand the genesis of culture, to put historic events in a relative perspective, and to recognize the artistic and architectural references of each civilization.

The first-year course at ENAU follows an anthropological approach to human settlements. It examines the phenomena underlying mankind’s journey in time and space and their manifestations in the built environment, culture, and art from prehistory to the Middle Ages. The course begins by looking at primordial events such as massive migrations, the emergence of agricultural activity, the discovery of metals, and environmental control via the management of goods and means of communication. It then proceeds to the great civilizations around the Mediterranean basin and, in particular, to the ones that most influenced art and architecture in North Africa. Starting from the premise that artistic and architectural productions reflect technical and industrial discoveries, social and democratic revolutions, and cultural currents, the second year deals with economic and political upheavals and the effects of religious thought and technological progress on European art and architecture from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. The focus on Europe is for the most part a legacy of colonial rule, but also stems from an understanding that this geocultural region presents useful case studies in architectural theory and practice. The third-year course is devoted to Islamic art and architecture. The mosque constitutes the central building type in this study of various aesthetic trends. Notwithstanding the stated purpose of discovering the complexity and wealth of Islamic culture through art and architecture, the syllabus reveals yet again the lingering traces of the colonial heritage. It reaches little beyond the reductive contents of a chapter on Islamic art and architecture one would find in textbooks of the colonial period; only mainstream monuments are included. The shortcoming is largely due to a lack of consideration of the cultural, spatial, and temporal interrelationships that shed light on the complexity of artistic and architectural productions. Modern movements and twentieth-century architecture form the topics of the fourth year. After an investigation of the origins, development, and main features of modern architecture, the course turns to the work of major architects, highlighting in the process the most notable trends such as Constructivism, Expressionism, Futurism, Purism, Brutalism, postmodern eclecticism, and deconstructivism. The examples are drawn from Europe and North America.

Besides this four-year-long survey, two additional his-
tory courses are required. “History and Theory of Urbanism,” which is taught in the third year, aims to provide the students with a set of references on cities and the schools of thought that have given birth to contemporary urbanism. Once again, the scope is limited to Europe and North America and to the theoretical works of such authors as Le Corbusier, Louis Mumford, Leonardo Benevolo, and François Choay, ultimately marginalizing the urban realities of Tunisia and drawing a reductive world picture.

The second additional course is a seminar on vernacular architecture, added as if to compensate for ENAU’s Eurocentric curriculum. In it, fifth-year students are introduced to the vast architectural environment that commonly falls under the heading “architecture without architects” and constitutes an essential dimension of architectural culture in North Africa. According to the interdisciplinary approach applied, the history of human settlements plays a decisive role in explaining how human and spiritual phenomena manifest themselves in architectural forms. Vernacular architecture provides a useful means to understand the interaction between a specific environment and a specific society since it expresses patterns of production and of the division, construction, and expression of space. Supported by theoretical frameworks, students conduct on-site research and analysis, producing original documents of previously unrecorded buildings and sites. For example, many Berber villages are now considered part of the country’s heritage on a par with such known archaeological monuments, such as the Antonine baths in Carthage, the El Djem coliseums, the Dougga forum, the villas of Bulla Regia, and the mosque of Kairawan. The subject matter of the seminar parallels a broader national initiative that seeks to extend historic interest in vernacular architecture to the entire fabric of medinas and villages.

Morocco

The École Nationale d’Architecture (ÉNA), established in 1980 in Rabat, is the only institution that trains architects in Morocco. As in Algeria and Tunisia, admission is by an examination open to holders of a baccalaureate of science degree and the educational system is derived from the French model. The program is spread over a six-year period divided into semesters and broken down into three cycles of two years each. The last year is devoted to a thesis and a diploma project. A survey of the history of art is taught in the first two semesters and follows a format inherited from the colonial period, moving chronologically from prehistory to the present. The third semester focuses on Islamic architecture; local mosques and monuments are studied in detail to illustrate the contribution of Morocco to Islamic architecture in general and to the architecture of the Maghrib in particular. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth semesters, students take a course called “History and City Development,” which outlines the main trends in Western urbanism. The primary goal is to explicate the systems inherent in the urbanization process in order to provide a better understanding of the transformations experienced by traditional cities exposed to contemporary development. All the history courses are taught either by art historians, by architects who pursue extensive research on the history of architecture, or by architectural historians with doctoral degrees. The differences in faculty profiles allow for a diversity of approaches and accommodate the specific context of the school, paralleling the trends in the other architecture programs in the Maghrib.

Prospects

Among educators in the Maghrib, the history of art and architecture is unchallenged as the discipline that articulates the references required for sound design. As we have seen, the schools of architecture in the Maghrib still oper-
ate along the lines of a pedagogy informed by the French system and based on notions developed in the self-centered environment of western Europe; the referents pertain to a universe that is largely foreign to the cultural realities of the region. The culture of the Maghrib can find no place in such a universe, or, at best, a very minor one, as a subchapter to the major narratives—reiterating the colonial position that it was inferior to the cultural heritage of Europe in general and of France in particular. The culture of the Maghrib can find no place in such a universe, or, at best, a very minor one, as a subchapter to the major narratives—reiterating the colonial position that it was inferior to the cultural heritage of Europe in general and of France in particular. The mimetic attitude adopted in teaching could only lead to inadequate solutions incompatible with the demands of the region's sociocultural conditions. The Tunisian and Algerian attempts to reform their history curricula should be viewed in this framework.

Today the situation is even more complicated as the referential context is continuously broadened by the crosscultural nature of the contemporary condition. The accelerated pace of this process increases fragmentation, creates discontinuity with cultural specificity, obstructs the smooth assimilation of marginalized cultures into the global scene, and leads to a confusion in codes. We thus find ourselves increasingly involved in a highly complex semiotic environment. The student-architect feels isolated from what he does, confronted with a collective imagination from which he is excluded. Yet, he is expected to expand the field of investigation of that collective imagination through the exercise of his own imaginative power. Consider the virtual vacuum in which a student born and reared in a southern village of the Saharian Atlas finds himself as he attends a lecture on the moldings of Baroque architecture or on the composition of a Jacques-Louis David painting. How can he be expected to make meaningful connections between the referents of his own culture and those of a world he only glimpses through a projected slide? How can he manipulate polysemic notions in a process at once intelligent and sufficiently open to allow his imagination to produce new potentialities? The problematic is, no doubt, of a pedagogic nature. Yet it addresses an aspect of the conceptual process, namely the move from concept to form; in semiotic terms, the articulation of the signified to its signifying. The question leads us to the core of Rudolph Arnheim's treatise on “visual thought” and the intrinsic relationships between perception and imagination.7 As long as the range of memorized forms is stable and coherent (that is, cognitively structured), notably by historic knowledge, the semiotic process will operate at the level of this conceptual articulation. But, against amnesia and cultural loss, history is helpless as images become isolated from their meanings and all forms become equivalent, hence unreliable for any conceptual choice.

Furthermore, today the teaching of architecture integrates other disciplines and covers a great diversity of topics, from the simplest everyday objects to the most complex spaces. Architectural conception is influenced by the sweeping developments in science and technology and their implications in relation to our apprehension of phenomena underlying the environment, as well as by the new forms of expression those phenomena assume in their own evolutionary process, be they material, human, or spiritual, as observed by Christian Norberg-Schultz.8 What is the role of history in such a system?

ÉPAU's recent program suggests that while architec-
ture is closely connected to science and technology, critical history alone helps organize the diverse relations binding architecture to science and technology. The same program argues, however, that due to inadequate initiation in the arts, lack of resources, and abstract forms of teaching, few students fully benefit from their architectural education. In response, the objectives of teaching history are outlined as “to widen the students’ referential and cultural field; to re-read the history of architecture and urbanism from the perspective of a specific historic and geographic context; and to understand the evolution of architecture.” Theory and history are thus connected in a dialectic relationship. Theory of architecture represents the philosophical, ideological, and linguistic support mechanism. It helps identify the actors and the movements that contribute to or influence architectural and urban production, as well as crosscultural relations. An anthropological dimension that would revalorize all cultural aspects discarded by the European discourse could further enrich the teaching of architectural history. To rehabilitate this complex heritage, historians are called upon to dig out of the archives the fundamental materials of Maghribi culture and to reevaluate them using appropriate methods. As reflected in the programs of ÉPAU (Algiers) and ÉNAU (Tunis), the introduction of vernacular architecture as a fundamental part of the core curriculum, and the new emphasis on the art and architecture of the Maghrib, mark a significant move in this direction.

Nevertheless, the process of opening the Maghribi horizon to a new way of teaching history may encounter difficulties due to the unavailability of reference materials and other resources, including methodologies that have been well tested elsewhere. Instructors of history are, for the most part, not only newcomers to the field, but they also face resistance in the form of pedagogical conventions and the professional emphasis of architectural education. In the Maghrib, we find ourselves grappling with a discipline that is still fundamentally in the making, and a great deal depends on the personal knowledge and initiative of history faculty, whether they are trained as historians specializing in architecture or architects specializing in history.

Information on the teaching programs in Algeria and Morocco has been provided, respectively, by Prof. Youcef Kanoun, Director, École Polytechnique d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme, Algiers, and Prof. El Fakroune, Director of Studies, the École Nationale d’Architecture, Rabat. I owe them my sincerest thanks for their kind contributions.

TRANSLATED BY ABDELWAHAB SAFI

Notes
1. The seminars organized by the Union Internationale des Architectes and the Institut Technologique d’Art, d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme and conducted in Hammamet, Tunisia, in May 1981, and by the École Polytechnique d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme and held in Algiers in January 1982 should be recognized for the development of the architecture schools in all three countries. Representatives from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco made recommendations involving, for example, the teaching of architectural history through its practical application in relation to issues such as the definition of architectural and urban policy in the Maghrib; the encouragement of all forms of research and exchange among the three countries; the use of local traditional materials; and the enhancement of architecture and urbanism through elements drawn from the cultural heritages of the region.
2. Adolphe Crémieux, French minister of justice, signed a decree in 1870 granting French citizenship and voting rights to the Jews of Algeria.
4. The situation stems in part from the fact that Morocco had never been incorporated into the Ottoman empire, unlike Algeria and Tunisia. Another factor may be the relatively late date of the French occupation.
6. The Institut d’Architecture et d’Urbanisme de Constantine (IAUC) opened in 1974; the Université Scientifique et Technologique d’Oran (USTO) in 1978; and the Institut d’Architecture de Séfír (IAS), the Institut d’Architecture de Blida (IAB), and the Institut d’Architecture de Biskra (IAB) in 1980.

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