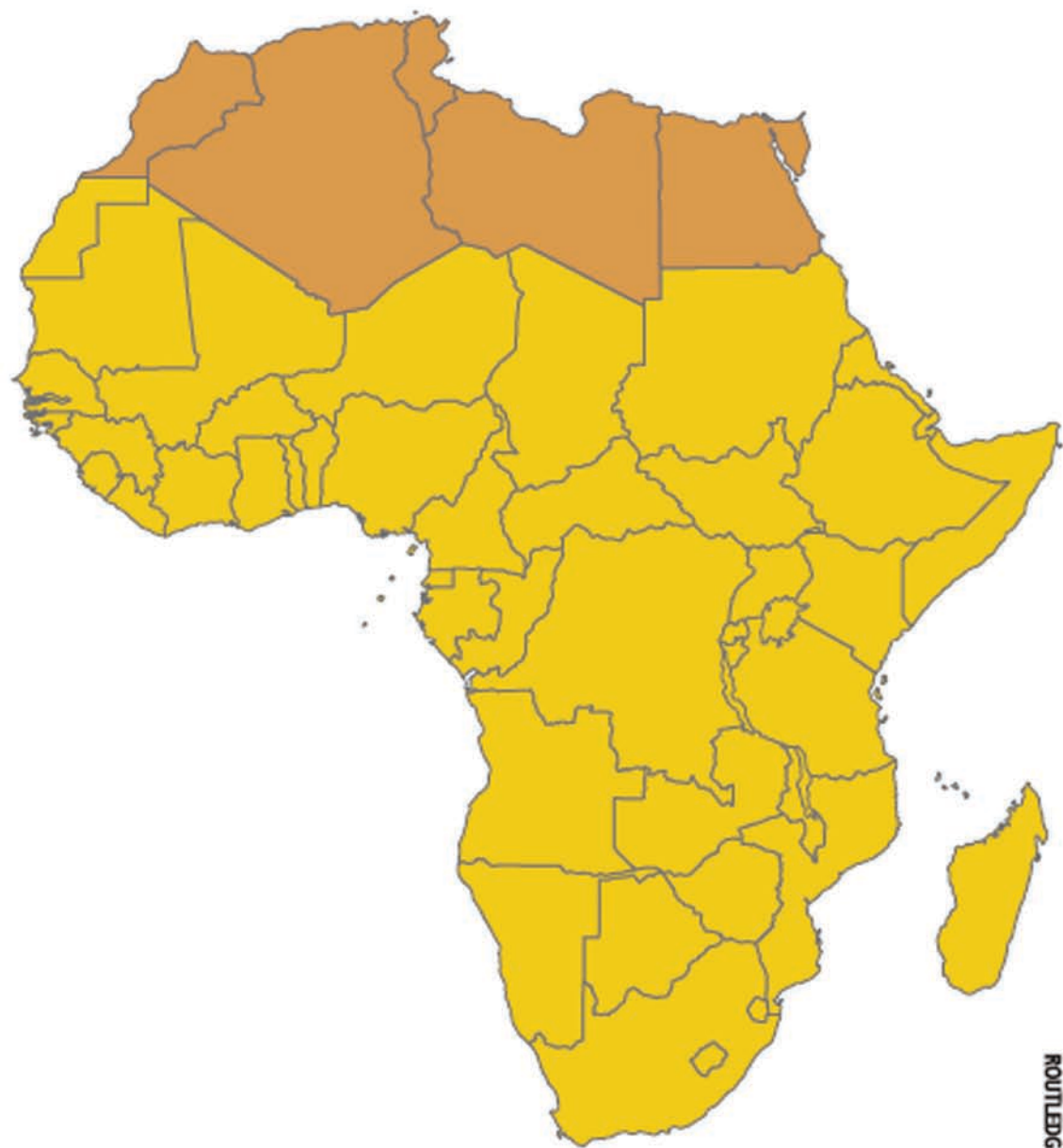


Edited by Carlos Nunes Silva

## Urban Planning in North Africa



# URBAN PLANNING IN NORTH AFRICA

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# Urban Planning in North Africa

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critique', *Environnement urbain/Urban Environment (EU/UE)*, vol. 7, 'Villes arabes, villes durable? Enjeux, circulations et mise à l'épreuve de nouvelles politiques urbaines' (2013), pp. 16–30 (with P.-A. Barthel and V. Clerc); and 'Maroc: des études urbaines saisies par le changement?', *Géocarrefour*, vol. 85, no. 4 (2010), pp. 265–73.

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# Introduction

Carlos Nunes Silva

The history of urban planning in North Africa has been somewhat neglected by planning literature despite the fact that the region's long and rich urban history dates back to Antiquity. North Africa is endowed with an exceptional cultural heritage, of great significance for all humanity, with numerous sites included in UNESCO's World Heritage List, and is increasingly seen as an important piece in the complex mosaic that characterizes the history of urban planning in the continent. We share this perspective and aim to contribute to an innovative vision of urban planning in Africa, adding new data and insights, which hopefully will help to shed new light on the planning cultures that have characterized North Africa, before and after the political independence of Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia.<sup>1</sup> Although each of the following chapters deals with different aspects of urban planning in North Africa, in different historical periods, they cannot provide a definitive and comprehensive view of the complex history of urban planning in the region, given the diversity and lack of uniformity in the prevailing planning cultures. Instead, each chapter, with its own specific focus, serves as a reference for further explorations into the history of urban planning in North Africa and helps to address the future challenges with which these countries and cities are likely to be confronted. In that sense, we trust these chapters will help bridge multiple gaps that still exist in the history of urban planning in these five countries and will provide evidence for a fruitful comparison with Sub-Saharan Africa and other regions of the world, namely with the former European colonizers and other countries that were once part of the Ottoman empire.

The 15 chapters that follow offer an informed analysis of the history of urban planning in North Africa, covering the precolonial, colonial and postcolonial periods. [Chapter 1](#) provides a broad overview of urban planning in North Africa and an outline of the main issues addressed in the book, drawing on the literature on urban planning history and current planning practices, as well as on the transnational flow of planning ideas in these countries during and after the colonial period, which are all discussed in detail in the following chapters. [Chapter 2](#) deals with the Ottoman period, while each of the following chapters focuses on one of the five North African countries: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. Among other issues, these chapters explore the transnational flow of planning ideologies and postcolonial legacies in urban planning in each specific country, offering valuable empirical evidence on the challenges likely to confront urban planning in this region in the future.

Nora Lafi, in [Chapter 2](#), 'Well-managed Cities: Old Regime Urban Planning Practices in Ottoman North Africa and Their Reform during the Tanzimat Era', outlines the early history of urban development during the Ottoman period, with special reference to the changes brought about during the Tanzimat era. Lafi examines the situation of North African cities and builds an interpretative scheme for the Ottoman period, characterized as the Old Regime, the later reforms, and colonization. In doing this, Lafi discusses the relevance of existing categories pertaining to colonial planning and its relationship to local societies, practices, and heritages. The author offers a new vision of the cities in North Africa during the Ottoman period (sixteenth to twentieth century), challenges and rejects the long-held dichotomy between a vague medieval heritage of Islamic nature and modernization efforts often assigned to the European colonial period, and puts emphasis on the importance of the Ottoman Old Regime and the Tanzimat reforms in the second half of the nineteenth century to the transformations of the built environment.

The next three chapters examine the former Portuguese settlements in North Africa which are now part of Morocco, the case of Ceuta, and contemporary urban planning in Morocco. In [Chapter 3](#), 'The "Oldest Modern" Colonization in Africa', Romeo Carabelli examines the former Portuguese settlements in North Africa, the result of a presence that started in 1415, when Portugal took over the town of Ceuta, and lasted until 1769, when Portugal abandoned Mazagão. As the author shows, this 350-year presence was marked by the construction of several fortresses and fortified cities, whose aim was to control the country and sailing

routes. This included the construction of new cities and the modification and fortification of existing towns, with fortresses built under late Middle Age principles and later also early Renaissance principles. Carabelli provides evidence on several of these cities but it is Mazagão that emerges as the *magnum opus* of Portuguese urbanism in North Africa. These former Portuguese settlements are now part of Morocco's national policy of urban heritage valorization. In [Chapter 4](#), 'Ceuta Circa 1930: The Construction of a Functional City in the North of Africa', María Cristina García González and Salvador Guerrero López describe, examine and discuss the ideas and proposals that contributed to the urban development of Ceuta in the 1930s, one of the most notable experiences of modern urbanism carried out in a Spanish-administered territory in Africa in the inter-war period, and which followed other notable planning attempts made by Spain in North Africa, for example the Ceuta-Tétouan linear city in the 1920s. The case of Ceuta illustrates well the multiple and highly complex transnational flows of planning ideas among colonial empires and among colonial administrations in Africa. This group of chapters focused on Morocco ends with an analysis of urban planning in the post independence period. Pascale Philifert in [Chapter 5](#), 'Urban Planning in Morocco: Historical Legacy, Approaches to Urban Policies, and Changes in Urban Planners' Roles and Practices, 1960–2010', explores and discusses the development of the urban planning system in Morocco between 1960 and 2010. This case confirms the continuities found in the field of urban planning in other North African countries and in Sub-Saharan Africa between the colonial period and the initial years after independence. Pascale Philifert shows how urban planning models inherited from the colonial period or brought in by planners from the former colonial power – this time in the context of international cooperation programmes – continued to be applied in the first years after independence. Later, in the 1970s, this gradually started to change when a new generation of Moroccan planners and other built environment professionals, often trained abroad, were integrated into the official state planning apparatus. In the 1980s a more authoritarian form of urban planning began to be implemented, a process that, since the 1990s, has further changed, this time towards a more decentralized planning system, with evidence revealing once again a strong transnational flow of planning ideas, as part of the neoliberal urban model developed in other parts of the world and brought in by planning consultants, international cooperation agencies, and multi-lateral international organizations.

Urban planning in Algeria in the colonial and postcolonial periods is examined in the following four chapters. Each of these chapters deals with one city or urban agglomeration in Algeria, another North African country with evidence of a long and rich urban history since Antiquity: the capital Algiers, Constantine, Setif, and Ain Arnat. In [Chapter 6](#), 'Urban Planning in Algiers in the Postcolonial Period: The Failure of Planning Instruments', Tahar Baouini examines and discusses the history of urban planning in the capital of Algeria over the last four decades offering, through this case study, a broad view of the history of urban planning in the country. Urban planning in the capital has been marked since independence by a succession of urban plans which were never fully implemented. As Baouini shows, the first urban plan for the entire territory of the capital was the Master Plan approved in 1975 (*Plan d'orientation generale* – POG), which was nonetheless never implemented. A second plan, the Master Urban Plan (PUD), was prepared but once again abandoned, while the third, the PUD prepared in the 1990s was cancelled in 2000. A new generation of plans for the metropolitan area of Algiers is now being prepared. This history of planning failures in Algiers, and the overall planning system in Algeria more generally – which we will see in the next chapters – show clearly how planning models imported from cultural and social contexts are different from the North Africa context, an issue also encountered in other countries in the region and in Sub-Saharan Africa. In [Chapter 7](#), 'The Making of the Urban Environment in Constantine', Nadia Chabi examines the influence and impact of colonial French urbanism and postcolonial planning practices through the case of Constantine. The period of French colonial occupation is important because it transformed the Algerian territory according to the needs of the colonizer, occupying existing settlements, transforming them to meet the colonizer's needs, and creating new towns, resulting in a new urban structure in Algeria. Chabi analyses and discusses the consequences of this colonial urban process for Constantine, an ancient city whose urban structure was directly affected and transformed by the French colonial authorities. The chapter deals also with the post-independence period and its urban modernity project, which also made important marks on the city structure. In [Chapter 8](#), 'Urban Changes in the City of Setif, Algeria: Colonial and Postcolonial Periods', Abderrahmane Diafat and Said Madani show how Setif, a city founded by the French colonial administration in the mid nineteenth century, is a good example of French colonial policy in North Africa. The urban history of Setif reveals the continuous changes

experienced by Algerian cities during the twentieth century as a result of the different urban strategies adopted during the colonial and postcolonial periods. As the initial colonial city was not able to accommodate the new urban dynamics of the post-independence period, new urban areas adopted different spatial organization principles. The chapter focuses mainly on the changes that affected the colonial city centre and on the impact it had on the periphery of Setif: densification of the city's historic centre combined with urban sprawl and informal urbanization in the periphery. In [Chapter 9](#), 'Postcolonial Urban Changes of a Colonial Village: Ain Arnat, Algeria', Said Madani and Abderrahmane Diafat examine and discuss the process of urban change in colonial hometowns or villages that became small towns or medium-sized cities in contemporary Algeria. Ain Arnat is one of the first villages founded by the Compagnie Genevoise, in 1853, as part of the concession of 20,000 hectares that aimed to bring farmers to the region of Setif. Due to its privileged location, Ain Arnat experienced rapid urban growth and, as a consequence, now faces major urban management problems. The authors' analysis, conclusions, and recommendations may help policy makers and planners to discover new planning approaches, through inter-communal cooperation, that will better suit the needs of the community of Ain Arnat by creating the conditions for sustainable urban development.

Tunisia is explored in two chapters, both focused on urban heritage in the city of Tunis. Compared to Algeria and Morocco, or Algiers and Casablanca, the history of French colonial urban planning in Tunisia, and in Tunis in particular, seems to have attracted less the attention from planning scholars. In [Chapter 10](#), 'Broadening the Study of North Africa's Planning History: Urban Development and Heritage Preservation in Protectorate-era and Postcolonial Tunis', Daniel E. Coslett examines Tunis's modern urban history and through the evidence provided opens new windows and perspectives on the history of urban planning and urban heritage preservation practices in North Africa. The Tunis case reflects lessons learned from the Algerian experience and seems to have inspired later developments in Morocco, again an illustration of the continuous and highly complex flow of planning ideas in colonial and postcolonial North Africa. In addition to his historical analysis, which covers the period from the middle of the nineteenth century through to the early twenty-first century, Coslett adds a brief consideration of recent tourist-friendly streetscape renovations in central Tunis. In [Chapter 11](#), 'Heritage Preservation and Contemporary Production in Northern Africa Towns', Romeo Carabelli examines the importance of architectural and urban features of the last two centuries, both monumental and ordinary, produced during European colonization, as spatial markers that shape the downtown landscape of Northern African cities. As Carabelli argues, the nineteenth- and twentieth-century urban heritage in North African cities needs to be enhanced, which requires effective valorization and an active role in urban development strategies, at both national and local levels. The chapter focuses on the Lafayette non-monumental quarter in Tunis, and provides an analysis that offers insights useful for similar processes that can be found in other cities in North Africa.

The case of Libya illustrates well the influence international cooperation had in the post-independence period in the field of urban planning in North Africa. In [Chapter 12](#), 'Maritime Ports as the Testing Field for a New Urbanity: Centroprojekt Zagreb Design for Naval Base Homs, Libya, 1976', besides providing an overview of the political and economic relations between Yugoslavia and Libya, Mojca Smode Cvitanović, Marina Smokvina, and Branko Kincl show how the Naval Base Homs in Libya, designed in 1976 by Centroprojekt Zagreb, is a good illustration of the values that were taken into account within the process of design and construction of port infrastructures by Yugoslav planners in that period, showing at the same time how Yugoslav companies cooperated in the planning field with developing nations in Africa. The design of the Naval Base Homs was seen as an opportunity for Yugoslav planners and architects to devise new spatial approaches that were later applied in other urban projects in the continent and in other parts of the world.

The following three chapters deal with Egypt, offering a broad and informed view of the history of urban planning in Cairo and in the Alexandria region during the colonial and postcolonial periods. In [Chapter 13](#), 'Chase over the Nile: The Social Evolution of the Riverine Landscape in Urban Egypt', Mohamed Gamal Abdelmonem offers an analysis of the socio-spatial structure of Cairo by following the rise and decline of several quarters along the margins of the Nile. The history of this city, as the author shows, provides a good illustration of the highly complex social and political processes that mark the long history of the urban space in North Africa. As with other cities, Cairo is seen as a social construct in which hierarchy and connectivity are key facets of its economic and spatial logic, and the Nile – both a natural barrier and a cohesive spine – as a key factor in the development of successive nuclei that have left their imprints on the contemporary urban

scene. This complexity is further explored by Gehan Selim in [Chapter 14](#), ‘Compromising Spatial Quality: Modernity in the Era of National State Building in Cairo’, in which the author debates the imposition of Western models of urbanism after 1919 that compromised Cairo’s original spatial qualities, showing how these Western models were integrated into local practice through Egyptian planners, influenced by the Western education they received, although such models were never taken as an absolute image of what should or could be done in Cairo. In [Chapter 15](#), ‘British Planning Schemes for Alexandria and Its Region, 1834–1958’, Cristina Pallini and Annalisa Riccarda Scaccabarozzi examine the British contribution to the planning of Alexandria and its surrounding region in the period that followed the decline of the Ottoman Empire and the rise of British influence in the Eastern Mediterranean, which will certainly help readers to gain a better understanding of the role of Alexandria as the centre of a wider geographical area. The authors explore the work of British engineers who installed the basic physical transport infrastructure in the region, and the three early projects for the wider region of Alexandria – namely the development of Ramleh as a garden city, the reclamation of Lake Aboukir, and the foundation of the frontier town of Burg el Arab. The chapter also examines the City of Alexandria Town Planning Scheme, prepared by William H. McLean, and the building of Smouha City and the company town of Beida Dyers.

In sum, we trust the book adds new information to the literature and provides new perspectives on the history of urban planning in North Africa and that the findings in each chapter will be helpful in the design of future urban policy measures in each of these countries, avoiding the uncritical adoption of imported urban models that in the past proved to be unsuitable for the specific cultural and social contexts of each of these cities and countries. The book is written for postgraduate students and advanced undergraduates, researchers, planners, and policy makers in the field of urban planning, namely for those working in the broad fields of spatial planning, architecture, geography and urban history, and for a wider audience interested in the history of urban planning in North Africa and on the current challenges confronting cities in Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt.

## Note

1 For the purposes of this book, North Africa, as a geographic area, comprises five countries: Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, and Egypt. The book does not analyse the cases of Western Sahara and Sudan, which, in some United Nations publications, are included in the sub-region Northern Africa.

# Chapter 1

## Colonial and Postcolonial Urban Planning in North Africa: An Overview

Carlos Nunes Silva

### Introduction

Urban planning is influenced by the political, social, and cultural contexts in which it is embedded. It reflects a society's local culture, its institutional frameworks, its legal traditions, the values and attitudes of its key stakeholders, and the local geography, among other conditions. It is thus difficult to make valid generalizations applicable to long periods<sup>1</sup> or to pinpoint a distinct urban planning culture for the entire region of North Africa,<sup>2</sup> because despite the intense transnational flow of planning ideas during the modern European colonial period<sup>3</sup> and after independence, significant variation is evident. The countries of North Africa differ in their political history, administrative and legal traditions, institutional frameworks, in the level of decentralization, their economic development, in the nature and intensity of their colonial past, and in the uniformity or variability of their urban layouts, to mention just a few of the factors that tend to influence urban planning practice. They also differ in their governance procedures, in the quality of their public administration sectors and public services, in the transparency and accountability of the public sector, and in the levels of citizen participation in the public policy process.

North Africa had varied colonial experiences in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and multiple forms of interaction with the European colonizers, with a number of different urban outcomes. The history of each of these countries during the long pre-modern period also varied as did the kinds of cities developed.<sup>4</sup> The European colonial presence had many faces and produced different impacts on North Africa cities and, as a consequence, an uneven legacy.<sup>5</sup> It was responsible for rapid urbanization<sup>6</sup> and the development of modern transport networks as key components of the strategy to link the colony to the colonial metropolis and for their integration in the world economy. If in some cases precolonial urban structures remained unchanged, in numerous other circumstances the juxtaposition of the old city and the new colonial quarters was the rule. Colonial experiences in the territories occupied by France varied from those of Italy in Libya, the British in Egypt, Spain in Ceuta, Melilla,<sup>7</sup> and Morocco, and those of the old Portuguese settlements in North Africa until the eighteenth century (Matoso, 2010). The French colonial experience in North Africa is distinct in Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. For Brown (1973: 189) Tunisia stands between Morocco and Algeria on the colonial intensity spectrum and therefore on the scale of urban transformation during the French colonial presence in North Africa, with Morocco having had the least intense experience and Algeria the most. This had consequences in the structure of the cities in these countries.<sup>8</sup>

### Urbanization in North Africa: Trends and Challenges<sup>9</sup>

North Africa has one of the most rapidly expanding urban populations in the world, a trend that is expected to continue until 2050 (UN-HABITAT, 2014; 2010; 2008). Population growth in North Africa is mainly concentrated in cities and, consequently, the urban share of total population grew from 26 per cent in 1950 to close to 51 per cent in 2010 and is expected to exceed 60 per cent by 2050. Africa as a whole, meanwhile, will reach the 50 per cent mark only in the 2030s (Table 1.1). This rapid urban growth in the region was the result both of migration from rural areas and small towns to the major urban agglomerations and of high fertility rates among the population living in urban areas (Ibrahim, 1975), a process that is slowing down due to the already high urbanization rate reached in the recent years in the five countries that we here consider

comprise the North Africa region (Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia) (Table 1.2). The population in North Africa is unevenly distributed due to the arid and desert conditions. Cities are located mainly along the coast and in the Nile Valley and Delta. With the exception of Morocco, capital cities in these countries are the dominant centres from both demographic and economic points of view.<sup>10</sup> In the five countries there are 36 cities with populations of over 300,000 (Table 1.3). Greater Cairo, which had a population of nearly 2.5 million in 1950, is now a megacity that maintains the dual character it inherited from the colonial period (UN-HABITAT, 2014; Denis, 1996; Abu-Lughod, 1965).

**Table 1.1** Urban population in North Africa, 1950–2050

	Urban population North Africa* (000s)	Urban population North Africa (% of total)	Urban population Africa (% of total)
1950	12,806	26.0	14.0
1960	20,339	31.5	18.6
1970	31,284	37.1	22.6
1980	44,687	41.3	26.7
1990	63,952	45.7	31.3
2000	81,901	48.4	34.5
2010	100,776	50.5	38.3
2020	124,073	52.9	42.6
2030	148,692	55.9	47.1
2040	174,967	59.5	51.5
2050	201,744	63.3	55.9

Source: UN, *World Urbanization Prospects, 2014; World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision*.

\* The UN includes Western Sahara and Sudan in its definition of North Africa.

**Table 1.2** Urban population in North Africa countries, 1950–2050 (% of total)

	Algeria	Egypt	Libya	Morocco	Tunisia
1950	22.2	31.9	19.5	26.2	32.3
1960	30.5	37.9	27.3	29.4	37.5
1970	39.5	41.5	49.7	34.5	43.5
1980	43.5	43.9	70.1	41.2	50.6
1990	52.1	43.5	75.7	48.4	57.9
2000	59.9	42.8	76.3	53.3	63.4
2010	67.5	43.0	77.6	57.7	65.9
2020	73.4	43.8	79.6	62.6	67.9
2030	77.4	46.7	81.8	67.0	70.6
2040	79.9	51.4	83.8	70.7	73.7
2050	82.1	56.5	85.7	74.0	76.6

Source: UN, *World Urbanization Prospects, 2014; World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision*.

**Table 1.3** North Africa: number of cities with more than 300,000 inhabitants

	Algeria	Egypt	Libya	Morocco	Tunisia
Number of cities	7	13	3	11	2

Source: UN, *World Urbanization Prospects: The 2014 Revision*.

All five countries are highly urbanized despite some inter-country variations (Ibrahim, 1975; UN-HABITAT, 2014; 2010; 2008). The average annual growth rate of the urban population was higher than the world average in 2010–2015 in Algeria and Morocco and lower in Egypt, Libya, and Tunisia. According to the UN, with the exception of Egypt, the urban population in each of the countries in the region exceeds 50 per cent of the country's total population. Egypt will reach this threshold only in the 2030s, and will continue to be the country with the lowest urban population percentage in the region until 2050. Cairo and Alexandria are the two main urban centres and economic poles in the country. In Libya, the most urbanized country in the sub-region, nearly 40 per cent of its population is concentrated in Tripoli and Benghazi, and nearly 86 per cent of its population is expected to live in urban areas by 2050, the highest percentage in North Africa. It is followed by Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco. In Algeria, urban growth occurred to a large extent as urban sprawl in the Algiers agglomeration, raising challenges for urban management in this capital city, which have been largely unmet as is shown in Chapter 6. In Tunisia, urban growth took place mainly in the coastal areas around Tunis and Sousse, and in Morocco also in the coastal areas and around major urban centres, for example Casablanca (UN-HABITAT, 2012; 2014; Zaimche, 1994).

This growth in urban areas has not always been followed by a proportional growth in basic urban infrastructures, such as for drinking water and sanitation, despite efforts and public investment made in recent decades in some of these countries.<sup>11</sup> Electricity seems to be the exception – most of the territory is already covered, making this the least problematic basic urban infrastructure in North Africa. Nonetheless, even access to improved water service provision and sanitation (wastewater and solid waste collection and treatment) is high in the region, particularly in Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, when compared to other sub-regions of Africa. However, even though improved water service provision covers, in most countries in the region, 100 per cent of all cities and nearly the same percentage of villages, as reported in the case of Egypt, sanitation services – sewerage, solid waste collection and disposal – still need substantial public investment.<sup>12</sup>

With the population growth experienced in the past and projected for the future, mostly in urban areas, the shortage of water and of improved drinking water in some parts of the region is certainly a major challenge for urban policies in these countries. Similarly, urban transport is now a major challenge (UN-HABITAT, 2014). Traffic congestion and air pollution are also issues confronting urban planning, particularly in the major urban agglomerations in the region. Pollution levels in Cairo, for example, frequently exceed the World Health Organization standards and recommendations.

With this urban transition, other challenges besides those linked to basic urban infrastructures will also have to be faced by urban planning and policy.<sup>13</sup> For example, the growth of the elderly population will require the creation of new provisions.<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, while some of these countries experienced economic growth in recent years, others registered economic downturn or fragile growth associated with political unrest and insecurity.<sup>15</sup> The excessive public debt, the fiscal deficit, the lack of economic diversification, a poorly developed private sector and infrastructure limitations are some of the constraints with which urban policy in the region is confronted (ADB, OECD and UNDP, 2014a; 2014b; 2014c; 2014d; 2014e). Increases in the size of the labour force, youth unemployment, and the persistently high rate of illiteracy – despite efforts made in education – raise complex challenges for future urban policy in some of these countries.

All these issues, whether already present or likely to emerge in the near future, raise new challenges for urban governance in the region, and for urban planning in particular, different from those experienced during the colonial and pre-colonial periods.

## Urban Planning in North Africa

Diversity in urban morphology and a complex urban network, continuously reshaped over the centuries, have been characteristics of North Africa since Antiquity (Stambouli and Zghal, 1976; Mabogunje, 1990; Boone and Benco, 1999; Van der Meerschen, 1987). The existence of ‘planned’ human settlements and the building of new towns before modern European colonization are two other characteristics of this region (Cowgill, 2004; Stambouli and Zghal, 1976; Boone and Benco, 1999).<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, urban regulations were extensively applied during the Ottoman period,<sup>17</sup> which was not, as is sometimes thought, a period of urban disorder in the region. Indeed, an overall coherent system of administrative regulations applied to the built environment during the Ottoman Old Regime, as well as specific autochthonous Ottoman regulations during the Tanzimat era (Lafi, 2001; 2006), are important characteristics that marked urban life in the region, as Nora Lafi shows in [Chapter 2](#). Notwithstanding this vigorous old local urban culture, contemporary formal planning systems and planning instruments in North African countries seem to reflect primarily the influence of the different European planning cultures applied in the region since the late nineteenth century. The example of Cairo in the nineteenth century illustrates the impact new urban developments in European cities had on North African cities, namely the influence that plans for Paris by Haussmann had on the political leaders of Egypt at that time (Abu-Lughod, 1965). The urban history of Tunis also provides ample evidence of these influences (Coslett, 2009). Later, new ideas, first inspired in the concept of the Garden City (Jelidi, 2014) and afterwards the CIAM discourse of modern urbanism and architecture, left an enduring mark on the region. Colonial expositions, in particular those focused on architecture and urban planning, played a key role in the dissemination of urban planning ideas across empires and colonies in Africa (McLaren, 2002a; 2002b).

However, this was not simply diffusion or a hierarchical process, from the centre of the European colonial power to the colonies or protectorates, but one of reciprocal influence between the metropole and the colony (McLaren, 2002a), as well as a process of mutual influence among colonial empires,<sup>18</sup> despite the intense international colonial rivalry during most of the post-Berlin Conference period, and among colonies of the same colonial power.<sup>19</sup> As Fuller (1988) and Henneberg (1996) note, Libyan vernacular architecture was seen as a possible source of inspiration by Italian modern architects during the fascist regime,<sup>20</sup> even if for some of these protagonists the Arab city and Arab architecture was no more than a mere legacy of the presence in North Africa of ancient Rome. At the same time, within the same European colonial power, colonies were treated differently in North Africa and in Sub-Saharan Africa, as Fuller (1988) and Henneberg (1996) show in the case of Libya and the Italian colonies in East Africa.<sup>21</sup> The differences and similarities found in Europe among the different planning cultures are also reflected in North Africa, as in the case of the urban policy propounded by the Italian fascist regime compared to that of French colonial urbanism.<sup>22</sup> Multiple commonalities are also evident due to the professional exchanges among planners and architects from different European countries, as shown in the case of César Cort Botí, a pioneering planner in Spain and author of the 1930 plan for Ceuta (González, 2013).<sup>23</sup>

Although functional zoning in North Africa’s cities seems to have been first introduced in Henri Prost’s plans in Morocco, it was the repairing of the devastation caused by the Second World War in Tunisia, ordered by the government of Free France in 1943, that marks the general shift towards modern urbanism and architecture (Kenzari, 2006).<sup>24</sup> The cases of Morocco and Algeria illustrate well the complex two-way interchange of planning ideas between the colonizer and colonized in North Africa, also between different colonial empires and between different colonies (Cohen, 2006; Fuller, 1988),<sup>25</sup> as happened also in Sub-Saharan Africa (Silva, 2015). As Cohen (2006) argues, Lyautey’s experience in Morocco influenced planning law adopted years later by the Vichy regime in France, as did the colonizer’s experience of Algiers, where some of the planning indicators (for example floor area ratio) later incorporated in the French national planning laws were first applied.<sup>26</sup> Similarly, some housing schemes were first experimented with in the North Africa colonies before being applied on a large scale in metropolitan France. This transnational flow of planning ideas and planning models increased after the end of the Second World War with new partners, as Cohen (2006) suggests, a process that continued in the post-independence period, in some cases through international bilateral and multilateral cooperation programmes.<sup>27</sup> After these countries gained independence, urban planning attracted international planning and architecture consultants, as had happened during the colonial period.<sup>28</sup>