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## Urban policy within the projects of the French colonial administration in the countries of Maghreb between the two wars (1919–1939)

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**Abstract.** In this study, I try to shed light on one of the practices of the French administration in the Maghreb (and we mention here in particular the three countries, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco), within the framework of the colonial policy, through which it aims to tighten the grip and consolidate the feet of the French in the region within the so called project colonialism, and it is related to urban policy, given that the French colonial policy in the Maghreb affected various aspects and aspects. In this context, the French colonial administration relied on an urban policy, based on segregation, discrimination, and exclusion of Maghribans (the inhabitants of the three countries of Maghreb), given that it allocated to the colon an urban cities based on the modern style in modern cities that are available on various conditions of life, while the Maghribans were displaced To Al- Fayafi and Al-Bawadi., relying on the traditional style of housing in huts and tents, and even the remaining Maghribans in the cities resorted to tin houses.

**Keywords.** Urbanization, the Maghreb, the three countries, colonial policy.

**Résumé.** Dans cette étude, je tente de mettre en lumière l'une des pratiques de l'administration française au Maghreb (et nous mentionnons ici en particulier les trois pays: la Tunisie, l'Algérie et le Maroc), dans le cadre de la politique coloniale. Cette politique vise à renforcer

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l'emprise et à consolider l'implantation française dans la région, dans le cadre du « projet colonial ». Elle est liée à la politique urbaine, car elle a affecté divers aspects.

Dans ce contexte, l'administration coloniale française a mis en œuvre une politique urbaine fondée sur la ségrégation, la discrimination et l'exclusion des Maghrébins (les habitants des trois pays du Maghreb). Elle a attribué aux colons des villes modernes offrant des conditions de vie variées, tandis que les Maghrébins ont été déplacés vers Al-Fayafi et Al-Bawadi, s'appuyant sur le style traditionnel d'habitat en huttes et en tentes, tandis que les Maghrébins restés dans les villes ont eu recours à des maisons en tôle.

**Mots- clés.** Urbanisation ; Maghreb ; les trois pays ; politique coloniale.

**Introduction.** The French colonial administration relied on an urban policy based on discrimination, discrimination and exclusion of Maghribans ( residents of the three countries of Maghreb), considering that it allocated to the colon a modern urban revival in modern cities that provide various living conditions, while Moroccans were displaced to the deserts and countryside., relying on the traditional style of housing from huts and tents, and even those Moroccans who remained in the cities resorted to tin houses and tin houses.

In this research paper, we will try to stand on that policy ( urban colonial policy), which formed a spur in the French attempt to tighten their grip on the three countries of Morocco, relying on well-known historical methods, such as the descriptive method, and this is by standing on the various events and trying to review and describe them, which were related to the colonial policy in the urban aspect, in addition to the analytical method, and this is through analyzing what was mentioned by the various sources and references that dealt with the subject.

#### **French urban policy in Algeria:**

Within the framework of the impoverishment policy pursued by the French occupation administration, which affected various aspects of Algerians' lives, especially the land that represented their source of livelihood, given that the majority of Algerians were farmers. Therefore, various Algerian families were harmed by this policy. When discussing the policy of impoverishment and the resulting misery, it is necessary to address housing, and perhaps discussing it is shameful, given that it is closest to being described as unfit even for animals!<sup>(1)</sup>

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<sup>(1)</sup> -Housing in decent conditions and with minimal amenities can be considered a fundamental element in improving the standard of living. The disappearance of shanties as an indication of the changing urban pattern due to colonial policy, which effectively contributed to the destruction of society and its structure is one of the signs that will mark the revolution against poverty. For more insight into this, see Djilali BENAMRANE: The Housing Crisis (Prospects for Socialist Development in Algeria), translated by Abdelghani Ben Mansour, ENL, Algeria, p 11.

However, a large portion of the homes that were spared from the hands of colonialism under threat of confiscation and usurpation were subjected to demolition <sup>(1)</sup>, which led to a transformation in the pattern of rural housing <sup>(2)</sup>.

Accordingly, housing was among the most difficult problems that troubled Algerians during the French occupation. In light of the rapid population increase in parallel with the urban policy pursued by the colonial administration within the framework of what is called the construction industry, 3,226 buildings were built between 1919 and 1925 in the three main cities (918 buildings in Algiers, 2,046 in Oran, 263 in Constantine). It should be noted that this data was allocated as a whole to the European colonists.<sup>(3)</sup>

These cities took on a European character beginning in the second decade of the 20th century. This is not just a formal aspect; it also applies to the lifestyle imposed on Algerians <sup>(4)</sup>. This stems from the migration of large numbers from the countryside to the city and its resulting effects and repercussions, particularly with regard to the spread of shantytowns.<sup>(5)</sup>

There is no doubt that the existing housing stock certainly lacked water and electricity, ventilation and visibility, private or collective sanitary facilities, sewerage pipes, and a waste collection facility... Ultimately, this concerns housing that comprised nearly half of the residential real estate. What further complicated the situation was the spread of individual, familial, and social ills...<sup>(6)</sup>

Colonial capitalism controlled the architectural style in Algeria, creating two housing models:

- \* Urban housing, semi-urban housing, and rural housing.
- \* Housing for Europeans and housing for Muslims.

The following table shows housing models during the colonial era:

Table No. 01: Types and categories of housing during the colonial era in Algeria.

1)-Salima Boudekhan: French Colonialism and the Policy of Destruction, Extermination, and Disintegration of the Infrastructure of Traditional Society, Proceedings of the National Symposium on: Natural Disasters and Colonial Holocausts and Their Impact on the Infrastructure of Algerian Society, L'Emir Abdelkader University of Islamic Sciences, Constantine, June 2013, pp 62-63.

2) -Even the residential structure was a victim of colonial policy, based French laws that targeted the traditional society that lived in tents, which underwent fundamental transformations. For example, based on the number of tents recorded in Hodhna region in 1911, which was 2,518, and which declined to 1,466 in 1938... See Kamal Birem: The Social, Economic, and Political Conditions in Western Hodhna during the French Colonial Period (1840-1954), PhD Thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, University of MENTOURI, Constantine, 2010-2011, p. 294.

3) Adi Lhouari: French Colonialism in Algeria, The Policy of Socio-Economic Disintegration (1830-1960), translated by Joseph Abdullah, Dar Al-Hadatha for Printing, Publishing, and Distribution, Beirut, 1st ed, 1983, pp 115-116.

4) Mustafa Al-Ashref: Algeria, Nation and Society, translated by Hanafi BEN ISSA, Algiers, 1983, pp 36- 37.

5) Kamel KATEB, Européens, Indigènes, et Juifs en Algérie (1830- 1962) représentations et réalités des populations, el-Maarifa Pub, Alger, 2010, p278.

6) -Djilali Ben Amrane: The previous reference, p 63.

| <b>Housing Types</b>            | <b>Unit Price</b> |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Luxury;</i>                  | 7,000,000 Fr      |
| <i>Bourgeois;</i>               | 4,500,000 Fr      |
| <i>Moderate Rental Housing;</i> | 2,500,000 Fr      |
| <i>Economic;</i>                | 1,400,000 Fr      |
| <i>French Climate Type;</i>     | 1,100,000 Fr      |
| <i>Simplified Economic;</i>     | 550,000 Fr        |
| <i>Islamic City;</i>            | 350,000 Fr        |
| <i>Concise;</i>                 | 200,000 Fr        |

Source: Djilali BENAMRANE, **The previous reference**, pp 64- 65.

Perhaps all of this occurred within the context of what is known as colonial sociology, as, after the centenary celebration of the occupation of Algeria, the conflict between the Algerian people and the colonial administration crystallized. This conflict was characterized by the concentration of land ownership powers in the hands of the colonists, in light of the increasing numbers of the working masses in the countryside and the accelerating pace of capital stagnation as a result of the decline in grape production <sup>(1)</sup>, and all of this within the context of the “Native Law” <sup>(2)</sup> - which was considered ominous <sup>(3)</sup>.

The historical period extending from 1927 to 1935 was a very difficult period, on the basis that it was a difficult crossing for the Algerian society project, since the colonial authority, which represented the actual authority of the colon class in Algeria, was the master of the situation and the demands of the elected and the elite no longer threatened anything in French sovereignty in Algeria <sup>(4)</sup>. On this basis, this colonial oppression generated a kind of growth of the national tendency <sup>(5)</sup>.

<sup>(1)</sup> -Mohammed Hafez Dhiab: The Algerian Crisis, Political, Social, Economic, and Cultural Backgrounds, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut, 1st Pub, 1996, p 303.

<sup>(2)</sup> -The Native Law (June 28, 1881): Within the framework of the policy of repression pursued by the French occupation authorities against Algerians, the colonial authorities drafted a set of laws, perhaps the most severe of which was the Native Law, issued on June 28, 1881. This law included 41 articles specifically for violations committed by Algerians, later reduced to 21 articles, and then completed in 1897. With this law, the colonial administration empowered itself to punish Algerians without trial, and thus this law was considered tantamount to slavery! On this law..., Yahya BOUAZIZ: The Policy of Colonial Domination and the Algerian National Movement, Dar Al-Basaer Pub, 2009, pp 36-37

<sup>(3)</sup> -Gilbert MEYNIER, L'Algérie et les Algériens sous le système colonial, Approche historico historiographique , Insaniyat, n°65-66, juillet- décembre, 2014, pp 16- 17.

<sup>(4)</sup> -Taher LAMRI: The Algerian National Elite and the Social Project (1900-1940), PhD thesis in Modern and Contemporary History, L'Emir Abd elkader University, Constantine, 2003-2004, p 296.

<sup>(5)</sup> -Mohamed Hafez Dhiab et al.: The previous reference, p 28.

### French urban policy in Tunisia

It is worth noting at the outset that Tunisia, despite its apparent status as a protectorate, was deeply affected by the French protectorate policy, which harmed very broad segments of Tunisian society. This was all part of what is known as the colonial project, which aimed to control the land and those on it. What further exacerbated the situation was the global economic crisis and its repercussions on the world's economies. In this regard, Tunisia has been experiencing an economic and social crisis since 1929 <sup>(1)</sup>, which profoundly impacted the structure and composition of Tunisian society and harmed the interests of many segments of society.

Unemployment and rural migration worsened <sup>(2)</sup>, and poverty and underdevelopment increased <sup>(3)</sup>. All of this created what is known as the marginalized, the lump en proletariat <sup>(4)</sup>, or the semi- proletariat <sup>(5)</sup>.

Perhaps the French colonial administration, with its arbitrary policy of exploiting the land and those on it <sup>(6)</sup>, by investing in the land, its resources, and its wealth, and exploiting human energies, employing them, and harnessing them in the service of its colonial project, stemmed from

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(1) -This crisis resulted in famine in Tunisia. Here, we ask: Is the problem a financial one, or one of food production and supply? For Tunisians, the problem is the same, whether financial, political, or economic. The problem is the problem of famine, with the responsibility it places on those in power in this country... It is the problem of famine, in which hundreds of thousands of human lives are floundering, threatened with extinction and annihilation! It is the problem of famine that requires a quick, decisive and purposeful treatment that does not accept diplomatic analyses, political fallacies or denial of reality. This is what we find according to the expression of Farhat HASHED, As for Ali EL-MAHJOUBI, he mentions that Tunisians were not affected by this crisis! Considering that most of them were small earners, if not destitute, and the living conditions of Tunisians did not deteriorate, but rather their resources increased! For more in this regard., Ali EL-MAHJOUBI: The Roots of the Tunisian National Movement, translated by Abdel Hamid SHEBBI, Bayt Al-Hikma Pub, Tunis, 1999, p 492.

(2) -The issue of rural migration can be referred to as the French protectorate policy of seizing agricultural land from Tunisians, leaving them with only internal migration within the framework of what is known as rural migration. Statistics indicate that the number of migrants between 1926 and 1936 reached 9,084, representing 6.5%, at a rate of 1,000 migrants per year. For more information on this matter, see: Al-Hadi TAYMOUMI: Capitalist Colonialism and Pre-Capitalist Social Formations (The Toilers and the Khammasa in the Tunisian Countryside 1861-1943), Vol. 2, Dar Mohammed Ali Al-Hami publication, Tunis, p 135.

(3) -Ismail LARBI: French Colonial Policy and Its Political, Economic, and Social Influences between 1919 and 1939 in the Countries of the Maghreb, PhD thesis in the History of the Maghreb National Movements, Abou Baker BELKAID University, Tlemcen. 2019- 2020, p 285.

(4) - Proletariat: The class that owns no means of production other than its physical and muscular effort to survive.

(5) -Ismail LARBI: French Colonial Policy in Tunisia and its Political, Economic, and Social Impacts between 1919 and 1939, Alfa Publications, Constantine, 2023, pp 210- 211.

(6) -Faced with the French protectorate policy of excessive injustice against Tunisian rights, Tunisians stood up up against these measures through numerous protests. Tunisians also protested the failure of the French High Commissioner, who was sent to Tunisia to study the situation, to fulfill his promises. Tunisians considered this an insult and an affront to their dignity., "Mustaqbal Tunis": Al-Difaa Newspaper, No. 173, Year 1, Tuesday, July 13, 1934.

the ambitions of the French protectorate in Tunisia. All of this made Tunisians and poverty twins <sup>(1)</sup>.

This is considering that the latter (poverty) has coexisted with Tunisian society <sup>(2)</sup> and has left its mark on it for years <sup>(3)</sup>.

In the context of discussing the manifestations of misery and poverty that characterized Tunisian society as a result of the French protectorate policy, we cannot fail to mention Tunisian housing. What can be said is that the housing situation was extremely poor, and was linked to a number of considerations, such as extreme poverty... <sup>(4)</sup>. Tunisian housing has various types, including spacious and adequate, inadequate, and crowded in the city. As for the countryside, most housing consisted of tents and huts. <sup>(5)</sup>

In the same context, major cities such as Tunis witnessed an unprecedented emergence of tin houses <sup>(6)</sup>. This is due to the phenomenon of rural migration that emerged starting in 1930, which is

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(1) -Given the miserable conditions and extreme poverty that the majority of the Tunisian people were living in during the protectorate and the period between the two wars in particular, they decided to confront that situation with solidarity among themselves, and to form a relief committee, in addition to organizing days in which to collect aid similar to religious days and holidays, as the country took advantage of the opportunity of the Day of Arafah and the Eid to be the great day of Tunisia, in order for people to show the extent of their awareness and to contribute to saving those who fell between the jaws of poverty. To delve deeper and increase in this regard, see Mohammed Ali BELHOULA: The Time of Hardship (1930-1940) - Folded Pages from the History of Tunisia -, 1989, p 145.

(2) -Regardless of France's contribution to the impoverishment of Tunisians, we wonder in this regard about the other side of the powers of protection in the face of manifestations of misery, based on the fact that France is a state - protector - of Tunisia? The reforms introduced by the Popular Front government called for improving the conditions of Tunisians in cities and villages. In 1936, certain tax laws that had placed a heavy burden on the people were abolished. The government also recognized the collective ownership of the tribes' lands they owned before the protectorate was established, which the French had been unable to control. At the same time, the government established a program for agricultural development, regulating land use, and assisting farmers. However, this program was not fully implemented in its designated timeframe..., Ahmed Ismail Rashed, The Modern and Contemporary Political History of the Maghreb Countries, Dar al-Nahda al-Arabiya Pub, Beirut, 2004, p 105.

(3) -It is worth noting that, in addition to its primary political activity, the party also took on a social aspect, in which it also fought. Party activists collected donations for needy families, who were affected by poverty as a result of France's policy of impoverishing the Tunisian people..., National Archives of Tunisia, series- MN, box 34, folder 1, under folder 1, document n 6, dated 1936.

(4) -Younes DERMOUNA: Tunisia Between Protectorate and Occupation, Dar Al-Yaqadha Al-Arabiya Pub, Damascus, pp 92-93.

(5) -Fatima JERRAD: The Family and Family Life on the Titaouine Front (1881-1956), Publications of the Higher Institute for the History of the National Movement, Tunis, 2015, p 335.

(6) -The Tunisian Journal of Social Studies states that colonialism, throughout North Africa, had a profound impact on society, producing numerous structural changes primarily in the economic and social spheres. Perhaps among the most directly influential influences are: land plunder and the complete transformation of agricultural structures, the emergence of shanty towns, along with the dissonance between the city, economic growth, and employment. Perhaps the disruption of the economic foundations of agricultural societies also produced a mass exodus, which in turn created an unbalanced city as a result of unbalanced urban development. For more on this point., Faraj STAMBOULI: Slums in North African Cities (A Social Study), Tunisian Journal of Social Studies, Issue 64, Year 18, 1981.

is due to the colon's seizure of the best agricultural lands in Tunisia, which caused fundamental transformations that led to multiple social crises. <sup>(1)</sup>

### French Urban Policy in Morocco

When discussing the housing that barely accommodated animals in Morocco the Protectorate during the interwar period, it is necessary to discuss the policy of impoverishment pursued by the French Protectorate administration as part of its colonial project, with the aim of consolidating the colonial presence and establishing its roots. French colonialism sought to tighten its grip on Morocco, adopting numerous policies and strategies.

It is worth noting that the main reason for the spread of poverty and destitution in Morocco was land expropriation, which eliminated Moroccans' livelihoods, in addition to price speculation <sup>(2)</sup>, which further exacerbated poverty and destitution. Speculation spread throughout Morocco, especially in the city of Marrakesh, which was not immune to such speculation, especially wheat, which was purchased for 25 francs and then resold in Rabat for 120 francs <sup>(3)</sup>.

These speculations were also considered a cause for the return of the hard days, which revealed the misery and hardship that had pervaded Moroccan society in its most eloquent forms and manifestations. In addition to speculation, we find the colonists' control over the Moroccan Budget Council, in which Moroccans are absent <sup>(4)</sup>.

This is due to the colonists' control over Morocco's economic affairs <sup>(5)</sup>, which resulted in a massive internal migration of Moroccans <sup>(6)</sup>, within the framework of what is known as rural exodus

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<sup>(1)</sup> -Khalifa SHATER: Studies on Population Issues in the Tunisian Republic, Tunisian Company for Graphic Arts, Tunis, 1985, p 83.

<sup>(2)</sup> -Speculation also affected the real estate sector. Planning for urban growth requires complete control over the lands on which they are intended to be built. This means breaking the grip of real estate speculation that is sweeping the cities and halting internal migration. This was the policy pursued by the French Protectorate, which failed. Years of drought, the unfair protectorate policy, and the resulting misery forced rural populations to migrate (= hunger marches or migrations) to the cities. For a more in-depth examination of this issue, see Ahmed KEOUAL: Urbanization, Modernization, and Modernity in Modern Moroccan Society, Africa East Pub, Casablanca, 2012, p. 162.

<sup>(3)</sup> -Al-Shihab, Vol. 13, No 8, October 1937, p 385.

<sup>(4)</sup> -In this context, the worlds of Moroccans and Europeans remained isolated from each other, separated by ethnic and social barriers similar to the borders of a guarded state, due to the discrimination that existed in all fields, health, education..., to the point that some Europeans would not enter a neighborhood - a local - except by force, and in the European neighborhoods there were no Moroccans except the elite of the upper echelons of the Makhzen administration or friends of the French upper echelons who were collaborators. As for the rest of the Moroccans, they were not allowed to enter the European neighborhoods except for servants, newspaper vendors, porters, and some beggars who - were lucky enough - to enter those neighborhoods in order to win the hearts of some Europeans due to poverty, destitution, and misery... For more information, see Ahmed TAFESKA: The Development of the Labor Movement in Morocco, Dar Ibn Khaldoun Pub, Beirut, 1st ed, 1980, p 108.

<sup>(5)</sup> -Mohammed KERAGHEL: Al-Shihab Newspaper and the Issues of the Arab Maghreb, 1925 AD- 1939 AD, Master's thesis in the history of the Maghreb national movements, University of Mentouri, Constantine, 2005-2006, p 180.

<sup>(6)</sup> -Immigration coincided with a steady population growth, due to the high birth rate (= between 38 and 44 per thousand) and the decline in the death rate. This coincided with an increase in the number of European

exodus and the resulting social problems, such as the spread of social ills and crime, as well as the spread of shantytowns.

Speaking of housing, Moroccans settled in the old neighborhoods spread across most Moroccan cities. These cities and neighborhoods were paralleled by shantytowns and tin houses <sup>(1)</sup>. Consequently, urban growth in Morocco underwent profound changes, but their impact on rural life was negative, due to migration to the cities. Consequently, colonialism created a rift in the population distribution and did not create a means of livelihood for these people.

In the same context, it can be said that French colonialism had previous experiences in other countries. To ensure the continuation of its physical, cultural, and urban presence in Morocco, the Residents-General competed to leave their mark on the countries they were entrusted with administering. Consequently, traditional cities were a focus of great interest for the French Residents-General in Morocco, who contributed significantly to urban development, given that urban activity was directly subordinate to the Ministry of War in Paris <sup>(2)</sup>.

It is worth noting that shantytowns accompanied modern economic growth and the violent urbanization process <sup>(3)</sup>. From an aesthetic perspective, shanty towns symbolize ugliness. Furthermore, from a political perspective, they are a source of chaos and rebellion. Economically,

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immigrants to Morocco, which quadrupled between 1921 and 1954, thus increasing the population in the Sharifian region from 80,000 to 362,000..., Mohammed LGUEBLI : History of Morocco, Updated and Reconstructed, Publications of the Royal Institute for Research in the History of Morocco, Rabat, 1st ed, 2011, p 465.

<sup>(1)</sup> -Plans to expand existing cities or build new ones, in turn, embodied the racial and class discrimination that characterized the French protectorate's policy in Morocco. Accordingly, the protectorate administration focused on building modern European neighborhoods with wide streets and paved roads. In addition, shops, cafes, hotels, and other public facilities were established. Moreover, the old Moroccan cities stand in stark contrast, with their dilapidated houses. The general dark atmosphere there, which logically led to the emergence of shanty towns, clearly reflects the principle of racial discrimination that formed the cornerstone of French urban policy..., Ahmed TAFESKA: The previous reference, p 108.

<sup>(2)</sup> -Perhaps the most prominent thing that French colonialism established in Morocco in the urban field is represented in making urbanization a main tool for directing the development of society - and the expansion of the capitalist mode of production, which contributed to the mummification of the landmarks of the old city. In this context, Casablanca constituted the first field of experiments in the field of managing society through space and managing space through society, based on the complementary relationship between them. On this basis, activating space in managing society remains one of the innovations established by the colonial era, given the role that the centers of power give to space in directing the development of society..., Ahmed KEOUAL: the previous reference, p. 148.

<sup>(3)</sup> -It is worth noting that the urbanization rate in Morocco in the early twentieth century was very weak, based on the fact that the urbanization rate represented only 8% before the French protectorate was imposed on Morocco (= i.e. before 1912). However, the urbanization rate in Morocco under the protectorate (1912-1956) remained in that state (= weak percentage), to move within the fifty years after independence (1960-2014) to 29% - and perhaps exceed 70% in the horizon of 2030 according to the official projections of the High Commission for Planning - and the population of the seven major cities in Morocco represents more than 41% of the total urban population, and 25% of the total population of Morocco as a whole. For more detail in this regard..., Abd errahmen RASHIQ: Urban Policy and Social Relations in Morocco, Omran Magazine, Issue 18, Autumn 2016, p 8.

they are a breeding ground for the unemployed, which has led to deterioration in the social status of their residents.

According to general statistics for 1932. Shanty towns have swept across Moroccan cities. Casablanca alone housed 150,000 shantytown residents, in addition to Rabat, which housed approximately 15,000 residents. Agadir had 10,000, and Safi had 10,000 residents (this is only for major cities).<sup>(1)</sup>

Accordingly, it can be said that shantytowns swept across Moroccan cities as a whole, with shacks accounting for 12.2% of the total housing stock between 1919 and 1952 in urban areas, compared to 3% in rural areas.

The following table shows the number of shantytowns spread across all Moroccan regions in 1930:

Table 2: Number of shantytowns spread across Morocco in 1930.

| Prefectures and Provinces | Total Number of Housing | Slums             |            |            |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------|------------|------------|
|                           |                         | Number of Housing | Percentage | Population |
| <i>Casablanca;</i>        | 55750                   | 7750              | 13,9       | 41900      |
| <i>Rabat;</i>             | 51250                   | 12550             | 24,4       | 67800      |
| <i>Tangier;</i>           | 32150                   | 6000              | 18,7       | 32400      |
| <i>Meknes;</i>            | 49300                   | 7350              | 7,6        | 20250      |
| <i>Tetouan;</i>           | 34350                   | 3350              | 9,8        | 18100      |
| <i>Oujda;</i>             | 36100                   | 300               | 0,8        | 1600       |
| <i>Agadir;</i>            | 11250                   | 250               | 2,2        | 1400       |

<sup>(1)</sup> -Perhaps the mixing and the lack of the simplest conditions of comfort and the simplest necessities of life in these neighborhoods, as in populated paths, represent a terrible danger, as these neighborhoods do not have sewers and toilets, and therefore men and women relieve themselves in the open, and water is not available, compared to the Europeans who enjoy greater freedom naturally within the new cities prepared for them. In Casablanca, they occupy within the municipal area 3442 hectares out of a total of 3850 hectares, while what Moroccans own does not exceed 804 hectares, while in Rabat it reaches 932 hectares compared to 182 hectares, and the average density in these two cities reaches approximately 100 people per hectare/km<sup>2</sup> in the European neighborhoods compared to 1100 people/km<sup>2</sup> in the Moroccan neighborhoods in Casablanca, while as for Rabat, we find 86 for the European neighborhoods compared to 420 in the Moroccan neighborhoods..., Albert Ayash: Morocco Colonialism - The Result of French Control-, translated by Abdelkader CHAOUI and Nour eddin SAOUDI, Dar El KHETABI, pp 305- 306.

|                   |       |     |     |      |
|-------------------|-------|-----|-----|------|
| <b>Fez;</b>       | 28450 | 200 | 0,7 | 1100 |
| <b>Marrakesh;</b> | 65300 | 200 | 0,3 | 1100 |

Source: Ahmed KEOUAL: The previous reference, p. 139

From the table, it is clear that the phenomenon of shantytowns is widespread in Casablanca and Rabat, and is confined to the northwestern cities such as Meknes and Tetouan, and is non-existent in the southern regions such as Ouarzazate, Tarfaya, Errachidia, and other cities.

In general, the spread of shantytowns in Moroccan cities was a result of the colonial policy of impoverishing the population, which led to their migration to the cities, which in turn led to the spread of this phenomenon.

**Conclusion:**

The conclusions of the study on the topic: **Urban Policy within the Projects of the French Colonial Administration in the Maghreb Countries Between the Two Wars (1919-1939)** point to several conclusions, such as:

- \* French colonial policy in the Maghreb countries was based on numerous policies and strategies aimed at strengthening French control and consolidating their presence in the region within the so-called colonial project. Urban planning constituted one of the pillars of this policy.

- \* The French colonial administration relied on an urban policy based on segregation, discrimination, and the exclusion of Maghrebans (= the inhabitants of the three regions of Maghreb).

- \* The colonies were allocated modern-style urban neighborhoods in modern cities that provided various living conditions, while Maghrebans were displaced to the deserts and countryside.

- \* Maghrebans relied on traditional housing styles of huts and tents, as a result of the French colonial urban policy. Based on this (= French colonial policy), those Maghrebans who remained in the cities resorted to tin houses and tin shacks.

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