

French Colonial Policy in Algeria: Integration and Naturalisation Policies as a Model

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Abstract

The policies of integration and naturalisation are among the most significant strategies that French colonialism sought to implement in the Algerian territory as part of a comprehensive colonial project. Its primary aim was to assimilate and dissolve Algerian identity within the French colonial entity politically, religiously, and culturally to extend its influence over the region and seize its wealth and resources, thereby attempting to subject the Algerian people to eternal rule. Within the framework of this integration policy, colonial France implemented various political, administrative, and judicial laws and legislation in Algeria. This paper seeks to present the most prominent laws before addressing the French naturalisation laws applied in colonial Algeria under successive governments and examining the position of Algerians, both elites and the general populace, towards these measures.

Keywords: Integration, Naturalisation, Colonial Policy, Political Regulations, Colonial Algeria

Introduction:

During French colonial rule, Algeria witnessed one of the most complex historical phases, affecting all aspects of political, economic, social, cultural, and religious life. The colonial administration pursued an oppressive settler policy aimed at achieving complete occupation and comprehensive

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containment of the country, alongside the plundering of its resources. It sought to impose absolute domination by employing all available means, including the Frenchification of Algeria, the spread of Christianity, and the enforcement of arbitrary laws that served the interests of the colonial movement and ensured the prosperity of the settlers at the expense of the indigenous population, who endured impoverishment, displacement, and deprivation. In this context, the importance of studying the integration and naturalisation policies adopted by the French colonial administration becomes evident. Such an examination is crucial for understanding the instruments of control employed against the Algerians and uncovering the hidden dimensions of a colonial project that extended beyond military occupation and the plundering of resources. It sought to dismantle and reconstruct the national identity according to the French model. This necessitates an analysis of these policies, an exposition of their true objectives, an assessment of their impact on Algeria's social and cultural structure, and an evaluation of the extent to which they succeeded or failed in achieving their declared and concealed aims while also highlighting the various Algerian responses to these policies.

The central problem of this study is articulated as follows: what intellectual and political foundations prompted the French administration to adopt these policies, and what mechanisms were employed in implementing the project of integration and naturalisation? To address this problem, we proceed from key hypotheses, foremost among them being that French colonialism, through its integration policy, did not seek to establish equality between Algerians and settlers. Instead, its objective was to subject the Algerians to an alien cultural system and to create a class that would serve colonial interests. Moreover, despite the severity of these policies and the diversity of their instruments, they failed to erase Algerian identity, which remained vibrant owing to the preservation of religious and cultural heritage and the continuous resistance manifested in various forms.

To achieve these objectives, a methodology that combines the historical-analytical approach, aimed at understanding the background and development of these policies, with the descriptive approach, intended to observe the forms of their implementation and manifestations on the ground, is adopted. In addition, a critical approach will be employed to deconstruct the colonial discourse and reveal its contradictions. This study draws upon a range of historical sources, official documents, and academic studies that have examined this period of Algerian history, following a research plan structured around two main axes:

First Axis: The French Policy of Integration in Algeria

Second Axis: The French Policy of Naturalisation in Algeria

1. The French Policy of Integration in Algeria

The difference between assimilation and integration:

There is considerable proximity in the terminological meaning of the words "assimilation" and "integration." Assimilation is more closely associated with the social dimension and is characterised by being a collective, involuntary process imposed by a sovereign authority. In contrast, integration is an individual, voluntary process that is more closely linked to the political dimension. Therefore, the meaning of assimilation is broader than that of integration, as assimilation necessarily encompasses and leads to integration.

1.1.1 Definition of Assimilation

Linguistically: Derived from the verb (دمج), meaning to enter into something and become firmly embedded within it, referring here to forcible incorporation.¹

Terminologically, assimilation refers to merging two culturally and civilisationally different societies, either wholly or partially, through education and upbringing. Politically, assimilation aimed to make Algerians French in their beliefs, economy, and social life, thereby granting them the same political rights enjoyed by French citizens both within and outside France, such as access to education, public employment, and similar social privileges.² Consequently, Algerians were to be placed under the same or at least a comparable system wherever possible. The inhabitants of the territories across the sea should not have rights and guarantees inferior to those of the citizens residing in the older part of the state.³

1.1.2 Definition of Integration

Linguistically, derived from the verb (اندمج), two or more things merged, united, and became a single entity. Integration refers to a process whereby a human group is fused into a broader societal framework that is more significant than the one in which it originally lived.⁴

Terminologically, integration refers to the intention to form groups and generations who are deeply committed to and enthusiastic about French culture. Its objective was to erase the Arabic language and all the components of Algerian identity, including religion, culture, history, and education. Upon accepting integration, individuals become loyal to France and its colonial policy,⁵ applying French systems in administration, education, law, and elections. In other words, integration entailed the merging of Algerian and European naturalised, naturalised citizens into French society, embracing all its obligations and attributes.⁶

In colonial history, integration referred to the fusion of the indigenous population already present in the colony with the settler population arriving from the colonial power. Notably, these two human groups differed entirely in their origins, customs, traditions, languages, and, most notably, lifestyles and religious beliefs. This situation facilitated political and administrative procedures by subjecting both groups to the same rights and duties. However, this integration process would not be

fully realised unless a harmonisation of customs and behaviours occurred through general education, leading to a generation with a unified way of life. This was achieved mainly through intermarriage between members of the two groups, which was considered an essential condition for complete integration, ultimately resulting in intellectual and biological fusion.⁷

The historian Abou El Kacem Saadallah defines integration as follows: "An idea signifying the governance of Algeria according to French laws, and the application of the systems in force in France to the French settlers in Algeria, but not to the Algerians themselves. Thus, a new era began, known as the era of integration, during which the settlers, while in Algeria, felt as if they were in their homeland, France, in every respect."⁸

Although assimilation had a specific and limited meaning, the French redefined it according to the requirements of their economic, social, cultural, and political needs, adapting it to the various regimes that France experienced from monarchy to empire to republic. Thus, it came to be entirely at odds with the legal and political implications of the original concept, for in Algeria, it applied solely to the land and the European settler communities while deliberately excluding and marginalising the indigenous Algerian population. The colonial administration sought assimilation of Algerian territory into France rather than establishing equality in rights and duties between Algerians and French settlers.⁹

Within the framework of implementing the policy of assimilation, colonial France applied all French political, administrative, and judicial laws and legislation to Algeria. Several examples are presented.

1.2 Political and Administrative Integration

Since the French campaign to occupy Algeria in 1830, the French administration systematically expelled Algerians from their lands, granting them to European migrants within the framework of a policy aimed at integrating Algeria, both land and people, into France. This strategy sought to render all the Algerian territories subordinate to, and an extension of, the French provinces by abolishing all the distinctions between the two states and considering Algeria an inseparable part of the French territory.

On 18 February 1831, traditional administrative functions were restructured, with the reinstatement of the position of *agha*, who henceforth received directives directly from the general government. On 1 February 1844, a decree subsequently established the system of Arab Bureaux, headed by French officers. These bureaux served as administrative and intelligence intermediaries between the French authorities and the tribal leaders and local communities under what came to be known as the "Arab Government." This system, implemented by Marshal Bugeaud, was designed to

organise relations between the French and the indigenous population, monitor the inhabitants, and gather intelligence about them.¹⁰

In April 1845, another decree was issued to reinforce this policy, whereby Algeria was officially considered a French territory and was administratively divided into three zones according to demographic and geographical composition:

The Dual Zone: This area comprises a majority of Algerians alongside a small number of Europeans. A dual administrative system was established within it, whereby Europeans were subject to civil administration, while military governance was applied to the indigenous population. This system aimed to facilitate control over local inhabitants while granting special privileges to European settlers.

The Military Zone: This zone encompasses the high plateaus and the Sahara and is almost devoid of Europeans but heavily populated by Algerians. France imposed a strict military administration in these areas to confront resistance movements, which had established strongholds in remote regions.

Civil Zone: This zone included coastal cities and villages that experienced significant European settlements, such as Algiers, Oran, and Constantine. It was placed under civil administration, and France concentrated on developing it into a "Little France" by establishing modern infrastructure and promoting European colonisation.¹¹

The civil Arab Bureaux was abolished in September 1868, followed by the abolition of the military Arab Bureaux in December 1870. Upon the appointment of General Chanzy as Governor-General of Algeria (1871–1879), he set about implementing his proposed programme," an initiative in Algeria, a decision in Paris, execution in Algeria, and supervision from Paris," continuing the policy of administrative organisation within the framework of integration. Algeria was divided into two principal zones: a northern civil zone comprising three provinces, each containing two types of municipalities (municipalities with full powers and mixed municipalities), and a southern military zone.¹²

The integration process intensified with the arrival of the new governor-general, Albert Grévy (1879–1881), who promulgated the Law of 23 August 1881, under which various administrative departments in Algeria were attached to the respective ministries in Paris.

The project of Algeria's complete integration into France was further strengthened under Governor-General Tirman (1881--1891), who facilitated settlers' acquisition of political, economic, and social privileges.¹³ Conversely, restrictions on the indigenous population were tightened through the application of the Indigénat Code,¹⁴ a set of offences and penalties applicable solely to Muslim Algerians. The colonial administration enforced this code until 1944, with a few exceptions for conscripts, elected officials, and voters.

These policies had profound effects on Algerian society. Administrative integration reinforced segregation between the populations, with Europeans enjoying full civil rights and Algerians being subjected to harsh military laws. Moreover, these policies contributed to the erosion of traditional social structures and the weakening of the authority of local leaders, leading to significant transformations in the social fabric. This is particularly evident in the enactment of the Civil Status Law of 1882, which sought to replace Algerians' religiously significant names with hybrid names, distorted them to dismantle the tribal system, erased the Arab-Islamic identity, dispossessed landowners, and introduced the compulsory conscription of Algerians into the French army.¹⁵

On the other hand, these policies brought about significant demographic changes, particularly in urban and coastal areas, which witnessed an increase in European settlers at the expense of the indigenous Algerian population. These transformations, alongside the systemic discrimination imposed by the colonial administration, contributed to the rise of popular resistance and the strengthening of national consciousness among Algerians, which would later play a crucial role in the preparation for liberation movements.

1.3 Judicial and Legislative Integration

French colonialism in Algeria pursued a policy of judicial and legislative integration as one of its principal tools for tightening control over Algerian society and ensuring its absolute subordination to France. This was achieved by targeting the Algerian Islamic judicial system, which constituted a fundamental pillar in organising Algerian society's religious and social life. The colonial authorities sought to dismantle this system gradually and bring it entirely under French jurisdiction to forcibly integrate Algerians into French society and render them legally and legislatively subordinate to the French state.

The colonial authorities regarded Algeria as merely an extension of French territory in North Africa. They thus believed that the same legal and legislative systems in force in the French Republic should be applied there. This approach formed part of a broader colonial strategy to achieve consistency between France and its colonies and consolidate French cultural and legal hegemony.

As a result, several decrees and decisions were issued to reduce the role of the Islamic judiciary and gradually abolish it. Notably, the decree of 28 February 1841 established the Royal Court of Appeal, which handled civil cases. It extended the French Penal Code to all inhabitants of Algeria, regardless of their religion or nationality. This effectively restricted the role of the Muslim judge and the Islamic judiciary in Algeria. Another decree, issued on 26 September 1842, aimed at increasing the number of courts in the cities that had been occupied,¹⁶ further marginalising the Islamic judiciary and moving gradually towards judicial integration.

With the decree of 29 August 1874, the powers of the Islamic judiciary in the Kabylie region were officially abolished, making the Algerian peace judge the sole judicial authority in the region. This marked a significant step towards dismantling the Islamic legal structure in Algeria. Another decree on 11 September 1875 abolished the Higher Council of Islamic Law, the body responsible for implementing Islamic law and regulating Algerian societal affairs.

In 1890, a decree abolished 13 main courts, reducing them to only 61. The moderate deputy, Gunnar, wrote in 1892: "Reforming Islamic justice is about crushing the Arab through our judicial procedures." He expressed his regret over the existence of integrative laws and the absence of a policy that recognised the indigenous population.

1.4 Religious Integration

During French occupation, the management of religious affairs in Algeria was successively placed under the Ministry of War, then the Office of Judiciary and Religious Affairs, and later under the Directorate of Algerian Affairs on 24 July 1846. On 11 May 1848, it was transferred to the Civil Administration. The policy of religious integration is reflected in the colonial administration's control over religious education in mosques, zawiyas, and Quranic schools, many of which were closed down.¹⁷ Moreover, numerous statements by colonial military leaders asserted that Algeria could only become French if it also became Christian. During this period, many missionary societies, predominantly Catholic and a limited number of Protestant societies, arrived in Algeria, marking three significant phases in the spread of Christianity.

First phase (1830–1845): During this phase, nine missionary societies arrived in Algeria, most of which were brought by Bishop Dubois. These included the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) in 1842, the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition who arrived in July 1835, the Sisters of the Holy Trinity in 1840, the Sisters of the Christian Doctrine, the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul in 1868, the Pastoral Sisters of the Good Shepherd in 1843, the Sacred Heart Sisters, the Trappist Order in 1843, and the Brothers of St. Joseph of Monts in 1843.¹⁸

The second phase (1845–1866) involved the arrival of two more missionary societies: the Christian Doctrine Society in 1858 and the Brothers of Christian Schools in 1854.

The third phase (1867–1892): This phase was characterised by the colonial administration's initiative to establish the Diocese of Algiers on 8 August 1838, under the patronage of Antoine de Bech. It also saw Cardinal Lavigerie's founding of the Society of the White Fathers in 1868.¹⁹ Establishing a specialised school for training native missionaries to prepare them for evangelising in the Sahara and Sudan was another significant development. Among the 1,753 orphaned children taken in by orphanages following the famine and epidemic that struck Algeria in 1868, thirty-four children who

exhibited intelligence and aptitude were selected to become successful missionaries. These missionaries supported the policy of the Society of the White Fathers in Algeria and Africa, aligning with Lavigerie's integrationist plan that advocated for the Christianization of young children, particularly orphans. The rationale behind this approach was that integration would not succeed with older, more entrenched adults but would be effective with younger children, a principle also endorsed by settlers.²⁰

In 1930, the colonial administration in Algeria established advisory committees for Islamic religious affairs in each province, headed by a European and a representative from the colonial police. The constitution of 20 September 1947 was then issued, which stipulated the separation of religion from the state,²¹ assured the independence of religious practice and recognised Arabic as an official language at all levels. However, these provisions remained mere promises without substance, as France continued to oversee, in one way or another, all religious institutions, directing them in line with its interests. Moreover, the Algerian people rejected this separation, as Islam was, in their view, the fundamental principle from which they derived their beliefs, laws, and values. This was clearly expressed by Sheikh Béchir Ibrahimi, who stated:

"...If the constitution has separated Islam from the Algerian government, one of its articles, it has also supported the Algerian government through one of its provisions. The Algerian government does not want this separation, will not accept it, and does not approve of those who accept it. The constitution has ruled for separation, but it entrusted its implementation to this council, which the government created with its own hands and breathed life into it with its own spirit. "²²

2. French Naturalisation Policy in Algeria

The issue of naturalisation was one of the key strategies the French colonial administration relied upon to implement its integrationist project. On the basis of the importance of the human element in the settlement process, this strategy aimed at increasing the number of recruits in the French ranks by enacting various laws, decrees, and legislation.

2.1 The Sheikhly Decree of 14 July 1865

Known as the Naturalisation Decree or the *Sénatus-Consulte*, Napoleon III issued it on 14 July 1865 and, for the first time, defined the status of Algerian natives regarding French nationality. Article one states, "The Algerian Muslim native is French, but he remains subject to the provisions of Islamic law and, if he so requests, may enjoy the rights of a French citizen. In this case, French law should apply to him. "²³

This law sparked controversy within the Algerian elite, with some supporting it and others opposing naturalisation owing to the conditions stipulated by this law. French scholars view this decree

as the most liberal measure among French legislations, and it outlines part of the framework that would shape colonial French law in this area. According to the full text of the Naturalisation Decree, Algerian society, from a legal standpoint, was composed of the following categories:²⁴

French citizens of French origin and naturalised citizens.

European foreigners.

French Indigenes, i.e., Algerians who are Muslim or Jewish.

Foreign Indigenes, i.e., Muslims and Jews who emigrated to Algeria.

Thus, Algerians became French subjects, adhering to Islam and subject to their personal status laws. However, they were not granted French citizenship and could not participate in voting for French representatives unless they voluntarily renounced their status, integrated, and submitted to French law. Algerians rejected this condition, considering its apostasy and a departure from their faith.²⁵

2.2 The Crémieux Law of 24 October 1870

The Crémieux Law²⁶ of 24 October 1870 is one of the French laws that specifically targeted a particular group, granting collective naturalisation to Jews residing in Algeria without requiring them to renounce their religious beliefs.²⁷

The law also included several provisions with an integrationist agenda, including the following:

- The establishment of a civil system in Algeria aimed at forcibly integrating the country into France and making it an inseparable part of the French state, despite the opposition of the indigenous population to this measure.

- The appointment of a governor-general of Algeria, who would report to the French Ministry of the Interior, replaced the previous French governor of Algeria under the French Ministry of War.²⁸

It appears that the law's content was carefully considered. Since its occupation of Algeria, the French administration had sought to link the Jewish population to the French entity to serve its interests. Thus, the French authorities in Algeria began issuing this law as a practical measure within a preemptive strategy to benefit from the Frenchification of the European community, given the status of Jews as an important European community with considerable property holdings.

By doing so, French colonialism severed the Algerian Jews from their historical roots and distanced them from the rest of the Algerian population. Algerian Jews were granted all the rights and duties of French citizens, including the obligation to join the army and vote in elections, which granted them considerable political influence, especially after they became leaders of the Jewish community in Algeria. This development alarmed the European settlers and led them to establish anti-Jewish associations and groups, with some reaching nearly a thousand members.²⁹ Notably, none of these

groups were organised by Algerian Muslims, except for a few Francophone Muslims who were eagerly aligned with the colonisers.³⁰

2.3 The Law of 4 February 1919

This law was enacted after the end of World War I (1914–1918) as an attempt to repay Algerian workers and soldiers for their efforts and participation in the war alongside France. It allowed these individuals to become French citizens by the promises they had previously received. However, this law was merely a tool to facilitate colonialism and serve occupation administration, as envisioned by Governor-General Gunnar, which led to the disillusion of the Algerian elite.

The Law of 4 February 1919 included several promising political reforms before victory. These reforms included increasing the number of eligible Algerian voters from 40,000 to 400,000, thus allowing them to have representatives in the general councils. However, they could not constitute more than a quarter. The law also increased the number of Muslim deputies in municipal councils without exceeding one-third. Furthermore, the law provided for equality in access to employment positions, the abolition of taxes known as the "Arab taxes," and a relative reduction in the arbitrary measures of the Indigénat Code.

For naturalisation, or as outlined in this law, granting French citizenship complemented the 1865 Sheikhly Decree. According to Article 1, Algerian natives could become French citizens by applying for naturalisation, provided they met certain conditions that would make them French (as stipulated in Article 2 of the Law of 4 February 1919).³¹

Notably, Algerians largely rejected this law, as it required applicants to renounce their status, which distinguished them as Arab Muslims. Furthermore, the treatment of those who had been naturalised differed significantly from that of French citizens, as they were considered second-class citizens. From this, it becomes clear that the aim of this law was subjugation, not political integration.

2.4 The Blum-Viollette Bill of 1936

The project is named after two key figures who worked together to ensure its success: Léon Blum, the Prime Minister of the French Popular Front, and Maurice Violette, the French deputy Blum appointed Minister of State. This project, announced in the official journal on 30 December 1936, included eight chapters and fifty articles. Its key provisions were reforms in education, the implementation of agricultural reform, the extension of the same rights and duties to some Algerians as those enjoyed by the French, and efforts to increase their representation in local councils. The bill also proposed the abolition of special courts for Algerians and suggested the creation of a ministry dedicated to African affairs.

Regarding naturalisation, the bill proposed that Algerian natives could enjoy the political rights of French citizens and participate in elections within a single electoral body while retaining their status. It specifically targeted the following groups:

- Algerian Muslim natives who completed their military service and received military decorations or the Order of Merit, including former and noncommissioned officers who had served for 15 years.
- Natives who held diplomas from higher or general secondary education, as well as those with technical and agricultural qualifications.
- Elected Algerian natives, members of currency councils, financial councils, and former municipal councillors.
- Algerian natives who received the Order of Merit either through military service or as civilians.
- Algerian workers who had been awarded the Work Medal.
- Algerian employees were selected through competitive examinations and by local leaders such as the "caïds," "bâchaghas," "aghas," and former "caïds."
- Algerian natives were appointed by the administrative council of the regional economic authority in Algeria.³²

As a result of this project, 24046 Muslim natives were able to join the French family and gain the right to vote. This number gradually increased in subsequent legislative elections, reaching 30546 in 1940, corresponding to one deputy for every 20000 voters.³³

It is clear that the Blum-Viollette Bill, which appeared to be a reformist project on the surface, was essentially an implementation of the gradual integration of Algeria into France through the inclusion of the Algerian elite educated in French schools and the pro-French class, all without requiring them to abandon their status. However, this project faced opposition and rejection during parliamentary debates over three years (1936–1938), during which alternative proposals were proposed, including one by Senator Paul Ketteli of Constantine on 28 February 1938. This proposal was an extension of his earlier project, presented in 1935. It was followed by a proposal from Deputy Dufour in February 1938. The two proposals were not very different from those of the Blum-Viollette Bill, except for maintaining the status of the indigenous population and some of the groups included in the project. Ultimately, the Blum-Viollette Bill was never enacted into law, as there was a consensus between the parties of the Algerian national movement and the European settlers to reject it.³⁴

2.5 The Order of 7 March 1944

This was a set of political reforms issued by General de Gaulle after receiving a copy of the Algerian Declaration on 7 March 1944. It consisted of seven articles. Article One grants Algerians the same rights and duties as the French. At the same time, Article Two called for establishing equality between Algerians and French citizens before the law, alongside the application of Islamic Sharia law.

Articles Three and Four clarified the categories of Algerians who could benefit from French citizenship individually and be directly registered on electoral lists. Article Three, which amended Article Two of the Law of 4 February 1919, stated, "They are declared French citizens, on an individual basis, and are registered on the same electoral lists as non-Muslim French citizens, participating in the same elections. Algerian Muslim males, aged 21 years, belong to one of the following categories:

- Former officers.
- Holders of the following diplomas: higher education diploma, baccalaureate of secondary education, intermediate education diploma, primary education diploma, higher primary education diploma, secondary school graduation certificate, Islamic school certificate, graduation certificate from a large national school or a national school for industrial or commercial vocational education, diploma in Arabic and Berber languages.
- Employees or state agents in currencies, municipalities, or public services, whether active or retired, hold permanent positions and are subject to legal status under conditions specified by decrees.
- Current or former members of commercial and agricultural chambers.
- Bâchaghas, agas, and caïds who served for at least three years without subsequent dismissal.
- Individuals who have held positions such as financial delegates, general advisors, municipal advisors in a fully empowered municipality, or heads of a commune (douars).
- Members of the National Honour Committee.
- Editorial board members.
- Holders of the Resistance Medal.
- Holders of the Military Medal.
- Holders of the Work Medal and current or former members of regularly established trade union councils after three years of service.
- Judicial agents.
- Current or former members of the boards of directors of indigenous associations for the care of crafts and agriculture.
- Current or former members of branches of indigenous associations for the care of crafts and agriculture.

This amendment clearly shows that the process of granting citizenship to Muslim natives, or as the term "Muslim French" was used, was significantly expanded in terms of the categories of beneficiaries compared with the 1919 law, which had limited this to just seven categories. As a result, the number of Algerians who became French citizens increased while personal status laws were maintained.³⁵ Meanwhile, Article Five granted French citizens the right to vote and stand for election in Algerian councils without discrimination. For the practical implementation of the reforms introduced by the decree, Article Seven clearly stated that immediate application was impossible. A decree would be issued to specify the implementation measures, which would take longer.³⁶

Thus, this new reform provided for the naturalisation of between 50,000 and 70,000 Algerians while retaining their status. This represented a tangible development compared with the Blum-Viollette project of 1937, which stipulated granting French citizenship to only twenty thousand (20000) Muslims.³⁷

The order of 7 March 1944 reflected an integrationist project aimed primarily at consolidating the colonial presence and reinforcing French sovereignty in Algeria. The response from national forces was one of rejection of its content, with increased efforts to unite their ranks.

2.6 The Law of 20 September 1947

Under the pressure of the Algerian national movement and in an attempt to calm the Algerian population and contain the wave of anger that swept through its ranks following the bloody massacres of 8 May 1945, the French authorities rushed to issue what became known as the Algerian Constitution or the "Special Law." It was voted on by 332 votes in favour, 92 against, and 163 abstentions, mainly from French communist deputies opposed to the law and without the consent of Muslim representatives. The French government approved and ratified it on 20 September 1947.³⁸ This constitution comprises eight titles, twelve chapters, and sixty articles, the most significant of which are as follows:

- ❖ Algeria is an inseparable part of France, which is divided into three provinces, with the inhabitants enjoying equality in rights and duties, all holding French citizenship.
- ❖ An elected Algerian Council with 120 members, half of whom would be Algerians and the other half French, was established under the supervision of the governor-general.
- ❖ The council will be granted the authority to study Algeria's budget and the right to initiate economic and social projects. However, the French government must approve the budget before its implementation.

❖ Religion should be separated from the state while recognising Arabic as a second official language alongside French.

❖ Opening public civil and military positions to Algerians without discrimination against French citizens.

Despite these provisions, Algerians widely rejected the project for several reasons. Among these were the colonial administration's failure to consult with them during the drafting of the law and its contradiction with democratic principles, as it equated the representation of ten million Algerians with 800,000 European settlers. It was also seen as a new means of reinforcing Algeria's ties to France, which led to its complete rejection by the Algerian people.

The constitution also stipulated the establishment of an Algerian Assembly to manage the country's affairs in collaboration with the administration of the Governor-General. In addition, a government council was created to implement the assembly's decisions. The council consists of six members: two appointed by the governor-general, two elected annually by the Algerian Assembly from its members, one French deputy, and one Algerian deputy, with the president and vice president having opposite nationalities.³⁹

3. Conclusion

From the above, we can deduce the following conclusions:

✓ The methods of French control in Algeria are diverse and extensive, encompassing all aspects of political, economic, social, cultural, and even religious life. This was part of a comprehensive colonial project aimed at eradicating Algerian identity and its traditional institutions while imposing the dominance of the French system on all levels, including the judiciary and legislation.

✓ The integration policy adopted by France, especially during the Third Republic, had internal and external political motivations, serving the interests of the French state. Although it succeeded in imposing administrative dominance, it deepened divisions. It aroused anger and resentment among the Algerians, making it one of the main factors that led to the escalation of the national struggle against colonialism.

✓ There is a connection between integration and naturalisation; within the framework of the integration policy implemented by the colonial administration, efforts were made to make Algerians French subjects on their land by enacting a series of laws that outlined the conditions for acquiring French citizenship. The majority of Algerians rejected this.

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 - ¹⁴ The "Code of the Natives" was issued on August 29, 1874, by order of the Governor-General, Chanzé (1873-1897).
 - ¹⁵ Mokhtar Boushiba, *L'émigration algérienne en Tunisie, 1832-1962* (2008; Algiers: National Institution for Communication, Publishing, and Advertising, 2008), 244.
 - ¹⁶ Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire contemporaine de l'Algérie: De l'Insurrection de 1871 à l'Éclatement de la Guerre de Libération en 1954* (2008; 1st ed.; Algiers: Dar al-Ummah, 2008), 55.

- ¹⁷ In 1830, the French authorities closed 13 large mosques, 108 small mosques, 32 madrasas, and 12 zawiyas in Algiers, converting many mosques into stables, warehouses, military hospitals, and churches.
- ¹⁸ Abdelhamid Zouzou, *Études et Recherches sur l'Histoire Contemporaine de l'Algérie* (1984; Algiers: National Publishing House, 1984), 236.
- ¹⁹ Charles-Marcel Alman Lavigerie: Born on October 31, 1825, in Ouirre near Bayonne in southern France, he was appointed by MacMahon in 1867 as the Archbishop of Algiers, succeeding the deceased priest "Baffi." He contributed to establishing the colonial movement through his missionary work in Algeria and Africa. He died in 1892 in Algiers. See: Huda Titosh, "Cardinal Lavigerie and the Dimensions of His Missionary Work in Algeria, 1880-1867," *Historical Horizons Journal*, Center for Knowledge-based Research and Studies, vol. 1, no. 3 (2019): 520-539.
- ²⁰ Khadija Bakhtash, *The Missionary Movement in Algeria, 1830-1871* (1992; Algiers: Dahleb Press, 1992), 119.
- ²¹ Article 8: Religious freedom is guaranteed to all citizens, and the administration of religious buildings and their assets, including waqf properties, are under the sole jurisdiction of each religious council. The law ensures the separation of religious rites from public authorities. Article 51: The Islamic religion guarantees independence from the state, like other religions, and the implementation of this independence is subject to decisions of the Algerian Assembly. Article 56: Ensures the independence of the Islamic faith from the state in the same manner as other religions within the framework of the Law of December 9, 1905, and the decree of September 27, 1907, with its application, particularly concerning the administration of waqf property to be subject to the decision of the Algerian council..
- ²² Mohamed Draji, *Islam in Algeria During the Colonial Era, Through the Articles of Mohamed El-Bachir El-Ibrahimi* (2007; Algiers: Aalam al-Afkar, 2007), 76.
- ²³ *Sénatus-Consulte* Law, Article 01.
- ²⁴ Yassine Sidi Abdelkader, Mohamed Berrachane, "Algerians Between Status and French Citizenship: A Study of the Naturalisation Decree of 1865," *Algerian Journal of Historical Research and Studies*, University of Djilali Liabes, Sidi Bel Abbes, vol. 4, no. 08 (2018): 145.
- ²⁵ Saadallah Abu al-Qasim, *Cultural History of Algeria*, vol. 6 (1998; Beirut: Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, 1998), 373.
- ²⁶ Adolphe Isaac Crémieux, a French Jew born in Nîmes, France, in 1796, held several positions, including lawyer, parliamentarian, keeper of the seal of the French provisional government (1848-

1870), and president of the Jewish religious assembly in France. He was elected in 1871 as a representative of Algeria and later became a lifelong member of the French Senate in 1875. He passed away in Paris in 1880. See: Amal Ma'oushi, *Jews of Algeria and French Occupation, 1830-1870* (2013; Algiers: Dar al-Irshad, 2013), 80.

²⁷ Benjamin Stora, *Algeria: Contemporary History, 1830-1988* (Algiers: Casbah Edition, 2004), 41.

²⁸ Charles-André Julien, *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine: La conquête et les débuts de la colonisation (1827-1871)* (Algiers: Casbah Edition, 2005), 467.

²⁹ The anti-Jewish league, known as the anti-Semitic socialist league, was one of the most violent movements against Jews. It initiated a petition calling for the abolition of Crémieux's decree on July 2, 1897.

³⁰ Youssef Manasria, *Zionist Activity in Algeria, 1897-1962* (2014; Algiers: Dar Houma, 2014), 103.

³¹ The following conditions must be met:

- The individual must be at least twenty-five years old.
- The individual must be single.
- If married, the individual must have only one wife.
- The individual must not have committed any offences against France.
- The individual must have resided in their municipality for two consecutive years.
- The individual must have served in the French army.
- The individual must be able to read and write in French. *Bulletin Officiel*, Year 1919, p. 225.

³² Abdelhamid Zouzou, *Political Thought of the Algerian National Movement and the Liberation Revolution*, vol. 1 (2012; Algiers: Dar Houma, 2012), 441.

³³ Mahfoud Kaddache, *Histoire du Nationalisme Algérien: National and Political Algerian History, 1919-1951*.

³⁴ Charles-Robert Ageron, *Histoire contemporaine de l'Algérie* (Algiers: Dar al-Ummah, 2008), 725.

³⁵ Sidi Abdelkader Sebai, *The Issue of Integration in French Colonial Policy, 1870-1940: The Algerian Example*, PhD thesis, University of Abou Bakr Belkaid, Tlemcen, 2015-2016, 173.

³⁶ Jamal Qanan, *Issues and Studies in Modern and Contemporary Algerian History* (1999; Algiers: National Museum of the Mujahid Publications, 1999), 197.

³⁷ Benjamin Stora, *Algeria: Contemporary History, 1830-1988*, p. 332.

³⁸ *Journal Officiel de la République Française*, 79th year, no. 223, September 21, 1947.

³⁹ Abdelrahman Ibn Ibrahim Al-Aqoun, *National and Political Struggle Through Contemporary Memoirs, 1936-1954*, vol. 3, National Publishing House, Algiers, p. 40.

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