



French settlement policy and laws dismantling the social and economic structure of the Arach tribes in Algeria, using the Hashim and Hadna tribes as examples, 1830-1914.

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Received 22/11./2024

Accepted 26/11/2024

• **Abstract:**

In this article, we will address the migration of Algerians from their lands to other lands within and outside Algeria, as it is a voluntary phenomenon by nature. However, the movement and departure of Algerians from their lands was forced, especially along the 1,200-kilometer coastline facing France and 150 kilometers inland, until it was mainly settled by Europeans. It decided to turn Algeria into a settler colony, leaving Algerians with no choice but to move to the mountains or high plateaus. The movement of Algerians from their land to other areas within and outside Algeria cannot be described as migration, as it is a voluntary phenomenon by nature. However, the departure of Algerians from their lands was compulsory and against their will, especially along the 1,200-kilometer coastline facing France and 150 kilometers inland, until Europeans settled there. They decided to turn Algeria into a settler colony, leaving Algerians with no choice but to move to the mountains or high plateaus.

The method of displacement was prevalent in the recommendations of the government that controlled Algeria, as the method of displacement and separation of the population through confiscation of property allowed for the construction of villages inhabited by settlers.

Keywords:

Displacement, Algerian tribes, European settlement, the Hashim and Hadna tribes.

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• Introduction

The French occupation of Algeria since the year **1830** represented a radical turning point in the history of the country. It was not merely a traditional military invasion but rather carried with it a **deep settler project** aimed at reshaping the social and economic structure according to a **colonial and eliminatory logic**. One of the most prominent manifestations of this project appeared in two interrelated phenomena that forcefully imposed themselves on the local reality: the **displacement of Algerian tribes (A'rāsh)** from their original homelands, and the **European settlement (colonists)** through the implantation of European groups at the expense of the indigenous population.

In this context, the **tribes of al-Ḥashm and al-Ḥaḍna** emerge as central models for understanding the repercussions of these two concurrent phenomena: the **migration of Algerian tribes** and the **organized colonization of European settlers**, which was supported by legal and administrative frameworks provided by the French colonial authorities to ensure the success of their **settlement project in Algeria**.

Main Problematic and Sub-Questions:

From this historical and cognitive context of the two phenomena — colonization and displacement — the following main problematic arises:

To what extent did the **French colonial policy and its legal system** affect the disintegration of the **social and economic structure of the Algerian tribes**, particularly the tribes of **al-Ḥashm and al-Ḥaḍna**, between **1830 and 1914**?

Conceptual Framework and Classifications of Migration:

1. Conceptual Framework of Migration:

A. Linguistically:

The word *hijra* (migration) is derived from *hajara*, which means *to leave* or *to part from*, the opposite of *to connect*. One says, *hajara-hu yahjuru-hu hajran wa hijrānan* (he abandoned him, meaning he refrained from him). The term *hijra* in Hadith (“There is no migration after three days”)¹ refers to the breaking of social bonds among Muslims due to estrangement or neglect of rights, not to matters of religion.²

Linguistically, *al-hijra* or *al-hujra* means “to move from one land to another.” The *muhājirūn* (migrants) who accompanied the Prophet ﷺ are derived from this meaning.

¹ Ibn al-Manzur: *Lisan al-Arab*, vol. 3, Dar al-Ma'arif, Cairo, Egypt, 2003, p 638.

The Holy Quran: Surah At-Tawbah, verse 111.

² Al-Fayruz Abadi, Majd al-Din Muhammad ibn Ya'qub: *Qamus al-Muhit*, Dar al-Turath al-Arabi, Beirut, vol. 2, 2003, p 336.

‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb (may Allah be pleased with him) said: “*Migrate (hājirū) and do not merely imitate migration (tahajjarū)*” — meaning, make your migration sincere for the sake of Allah, not in pretension.¹

Thus, the word *hijra* originates from the verb *hājara* (to emigrate) and the noun *hijra* (migration). The verb *hajara* (to abandon) differs from *hājara* (to migrate), for a person might leave a place he resides in (*hajara*) out of necessity or hardship, whereas *hājara* implies an **interactive and intentional movement** involving a change of residence from one land to another.

B. Terminologically:

Migration is defined as the **departure from one’s country or settlement abroad**, either on a permanent or long-term basis.

Australia, for instance, defines a *migrant* as anyone who settles abroad permanently.

Austria considers as migrants those who leave the country and establish permanent residence abroad or travel in search of work.

The United States, Canada, and France agree that a migrant is any person who leaves their country with the intention of **permanent residence abroad**.

Finland, China, Poland, Italy, and Japan define a migrant as one who **seeks employment abroad**, while Spain, Belgium, and Greece consider as migrants those who travel in third-class cabins when leaving their homeland.

In contrast, Switzerland regards movement within European countries as **not migration** unless it extends beyond Europe.²

It also appears from the data that most countries agree on the presence of two main conditions for defining migration:³

1. That the individual **leaves his country permanently**, and
2. That he **settles and works** in the destination country.

Migration also denotes the **movement of people from one place to another**, whether individually or collectively, for **political, economic, social, or security reasons**.⁴

According to **Gonnard**, migration is “the departure from one country and the joining of another, whether since birth or for a long period, with the aim of permanent settlement and, often, of improving one’s living conditions through work.”

¹ Abdul Hamid Zouzou: Migration and its Role in the Algerian National Movement between the Wars 1919-1939, National Book Foundation, Algeria, 2nd edition, 1985, p 11.

² Saad Rachid: The Reality of Illegal Immigration in Algeria from a Human Security Perspective, thesis submitted for a master's degree, University of Mohamed Khider, Biskra, 2012, p. 9.

³ Abdelhamid Zouzou: op. cit, p. 12.

⁴ Rashid, op. cit., p. 18. Ayman Zahri, International Migration: The Egyptian Case, National Population Council, Egypt, 2020, p. 7.

In **demography**, migration is defined as “the individual or collective movement from one location to another in search of better social, economic, religious, or political conditions.” In **sociology**, it refers to “a change in social status,” such as a shift in profession or social class.¹

From a **statistical** standpoint, migration includes all movements across international borders except for tourism. If such movement lasts **one year or more**, it is considered **permanent migration**; if it is **less than a year**, it is considered **temporary migration**.²

2. Types of Migration:

A. According to Duration of Residence:

- **Permanent or Semi-Permanent Migration (Settler Migration):**

This refers to migration for the purpose of **permanent residence** in the destination country or for a **long-term stay**. It is called **settler migration**, meaning that the migrant seeks to settle permanently and often aims to obtain nationality in the host country.³

- **Temporary Migration:**

This refers to migration in which the individuals intend to **return** to their country of origin after a period of residence abroad. A typical example is **labor migration to the Gulf countries**, where long residence does not grant any right to citizenship. In destination countries, this type is often referred to as **foreign labor**.

- **Circular Migration:**

This is a **temporary and recurrent movement** across national borders, where individuals migrate cyclically between the country of origin and the destination for varying periods. Organized circular migration programs have emerged as tools in migration policy to mitigate the effects of **brain drain** and to promote development in countries of origin through the continuous flow of remittances and the return of skilled workers⁴.

- **Seasonal Migration:**

This type of migration is linked to specific **seasons**, such as the movement of agricultural workers to neighboring countries during the **harvest season** and their return afterward. It can also occur within the same country for seasonal work or

¹ Ayman Zahri, op. cit, p. 7. Ibid, p. 7. Ibid., p. 7.

² Ayman Zahri, op. cit, p. 7. Ibid, p. 6.

³ Ayman Zahri, op. cit, p. 7. Ibid, p. 7.

⁴ El-Siddiq Taouati: Those Deported to New Caledonia: The Tragedy of an Exiled Identity, Dimensions and Consequences of the Mergani and Haddad Revolution, Dar Al-Umma Publishing House, Algeria, 2007, p. 49.

leisure activities, such as employment in **summer resorts** during particular times of the year.¹

B. According to Crossing International Borders:

Migration can be divided into two types depending on whether international borders are crossed or not:

- **Internal Migration:**

This refers to the movement of individuals **within the borders of one country**, such as from one province or region to another, for permanent or semi-permanent residence. It includes **rural-to-urban migration**, i.e., the movement of rural inhabitants to cities.

- **International / External Migration:**

This refers to the movement of individuals **from one country to another** for permanent or semi-permanent residence. The essential distinction between international and internal migration is the **crossing of national borders** into a different state.²

C. According to the Main Motive for Migration:

Migration may also be classified based on its **main motive**, as follows:

- **Voluntary / Economic Migration:**

This term refers to **migration from one region or country to another** undertaken **willingly and by personal decision**. It is thus **an elective migration**, usually driven by **economic reasons** and the pursuit of better opportunities³.

Forced Migration:

It is a migration that is compulsory by nature, usually resulting from wars and political conflicts, or due to natural factors such as earthquakes and volcanoes, and sometimes because of major developmental projects.

If forced migration occurs within the borders of one state, it is called “displacement,” and the person performing the act of migration is called a “displaced person” in their new place of residence within the same country.

¹ BORDIER .A, Scientific Colonization and the French Colonies, typographypaulschumdit, Paris, 1884, p.188. Qureshi Muhammad: The Social Conditions of the Algerian People from 1930 until the Outbreak of the Great Liberation Revolution, doctoral thesis, University of Algiers 02, Algeria, 2020, p. 393.

² The Ahali Law: a set of exceptional measures imposed by France on Algerians. See: Abu al-Qasim Saadallah: Cultural History of Algeria, vol. 5, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Lebanon, 1st edition, 1998, p. 475.Ibid, p. 476.

³ Othman Zoub: French policy in Algeria 1830-1914 – A study of administrative policy methods, doctoral thesis, University of El Hadj Lakhdar, Batna, 2015, p. 96

If it occurs internationally, it is called “asylum,” and the person performing the act of migration is called a “refugee” or an “asylum seeker” in the country of destination.¹

D – Types of Migration According to the Legality of Migration:

- **Regular Migration:**

Also called *legal* or *documented* migration. It occurs through following the procedures for entry or residence, such as obtaining an entry visa if required by the destination country, or obtaining an employment contract from that country and entering through the official border points it determines.

- **Irregular Migration:**

Also called *illegal* or *undocumented* migration. It refers to entering a country without following the required legal procedures, such as crossing borders illegally, or entering a country legally and then remaining in the destination country after the expiration of the permitted visa period.²

Second Section: The Drivers of Algerian Migration Between 1830 and 1914

1 – Political and Military Motives:

The movement of Algerians from their lands to other territories inside and outside Algeria cannot be called migration, because it is not voluntary by nature. However, the departure of Algerians from their lands was forced and beyond their will, especially along the 1,200 km coastal strip facing France and extending about 150 km inland, where France decided to settle its European kinsmen. It had resolved to transform Algeria into a settler colony, leaving Algerians with no choice but to climb to the mountains or depart to the High Plateaus.³

Dr. **Bordier** believes that the method of displacement was the dominant one among the recommendations of the government that controlled Algeria. The method of displacement and separation of the natives through land confiscation allowed the construction of villages inhabited exclusively by settlers. Algeria experienced a unique type of occupation—*colonial settlement*. To consolidate it, the French authorities enacted various land legislations and adopted different means and methods, among them forced displacement. At the same time, many European groups flowed in, making the land unable

¹ Ammar Hilal: *Algerian Migration to the Levant (1847-1918)*, Dar al-Homa, Algeria, 2007, p. 15. Abu al-Qasim Saadallah: *Cultural History of Algeria (1830-1954)*, vol. 5, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Lebanon, 1st edition, 1998, p. 473.

² General Bigeau: Born on October 15, 1784, Duke of Isley, member of a wealthy family of blacksmiths, enlisted in the army in June 1804, promoted to first lieutenant in the infantry on June 30, 1808, He was appointed lieutenant general on August 2, 1836, and governor of the province of Oran

³ Quraishi Muhammad: Previous reference, p. 394

to bear this European influx. Thus began the process of replacing Algerians with settlers, according to the logic of “*forced popular replacement*,” both internally and externally.¹

This was followed by *policies of confinement and regrouping*, by imposing private property, creating *douars* (rural administrative units), and expanding the civil zone to reorganize population distribution during the 19th century. This can be considered as a dispersal of the Muslim Algerian society, which, in reality, was part of a policy aimed at the disappearance of the original Muslim element or at least its reduction and confinement to regions where it could no longer secure its means of livelihood².

Other Algerians migrated after the failure of resistances and popular uprisings, as they were subjected to harsh punishments and repressive measures such as the *Code de l’indigénat* and other oppressive laws. On **February 3, 1912**, the French government issued the decree of **compulsory military service** for young natives to join the French army. The Algerian people strongly opposed this conscription, as they saw it as an affront to their Islamic identity. This resistance took various forms, including migration to some Islamic countries such as **Hijaz, Syria, and Turkey**³.

Among the factors that influenced these migrations was the issuance, in **1904**, of the French colonial law separating religion from the state, which caused fear among the population regarding the implications of its application in their homeland. This led many residents, especially from **Tlemcen**, to submit collective requests to leave the country, a phenomenon that was particularly evident in **1911**⁴.

Some of Algeria’s notables were forced by the French authorities themselves to migrate, such as the *Mufti Ibn al-‘Anabi*, *Ibn al-Kababti*, and *Qaddour Ben Rouila*. Some were exiled and ended up in the East, like *‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Haddad* and *Muhammad and ‘Ali Sahnouni*⁵.

2 – Economic and Social Motives:

The policy of colonial oppression adopted by the French administration—especially under **General Bugeaud**, most notably the *scorched earth policy*—accelerated the mass

¹ Ibid, p. 394.

² Hamdan Khoja was born in 1773 and was a prominent figure. He was a teacher and merchant who taught languages and was the first to experiment with intellectual resistance within the framework of the Maghreb Committee alongside other intellectuals. He wrote a book entitled *Al-Mar'a (Women)*. For more information, see: Hamida Amiraoui, *The Role of Hamdan Khoja in the Development of the Algerian Cause, 1827-1840*, Dar al-Baith, Constantine, Algeria, 1st edition, 1989, p. 59.

³ Hamdan Khoja: *Al-Mar'a (Women)*, edited by Muhammad al-Arabi al-Zibri, ANEP Publications, 2nd edition, 2007, p. 213.

⁴ Yahya Bouaziz: *Colonial Domination Policy and the Algerian National Movement (1830-1954)*, Diwan al-Muttaba'at al-Jami'iyya, Algeria, 1985, p. 57.

⁵ Ammar Bouhouche: *The Political History of Algeria from the Beginning to 1962*, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Beirut, 1st edition, 1997, p. 198.

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flight of Algerian populations from their lands, seeking safer regions either inside or outside Algeria¹.

In view of this situation, unfamiliar to the Algerian people, some families began to consider **changing their places of settlement, especially those opposed to French policy. Algerian** families started searching for safe havens to escape colonial oppression, heading toward less populated regions such as harsh mountainous areas or barren lands that were difficult to exploit, or abroad toward neighboring countries such as **Tunisia** and **Morocco**, in addition to migration to the **Arab East**, particularly to the **Levant**, especially after the failure of the resistance led by **Emir Abdelkader**².

Hamdan Khodja, referring to the effects of the policy of repression, destruction, and looting adopted by the French army, stated:

“This was one of the main reasons that drove landowners to relinquish their properties under the conditions offered to them and at low prices. Thus, no one could take pride anymore in owning real estate in Algeria.”

In the year 1845, the French colonial administration issued a decree stipulating the seizure of the lands of Algerian tribes, which resulted in the actual confiscation of approximately half a million hectares of land. In the following year, a new decree was issued providing for the confiscation of communal lands that were in the possession of the tribes, which represented an additional step towards dismantling the traditional social and economic structure of the Algerian rural society under colonial domination. Thus, the colonizer displaced the Algerians from their land and took possession of it, distributing it among themselves in an unfair manner.³

Official statistics issued in 1954 indicate the stark contradiction in the distribution of agricultural lands between the European settlers and the Muslim Algerian population. The French colonial administration supported about 24,900 European settlers to own approximately 2,720,000 hectares of the most fertile agricultural lands, at an average of 109 hectares per individual. In contrast, 532,000 Muslim Algerians collectively owned about 7,612,100 hectares, with an average not exceeding 14 hectares per individual. These figures clearly reflect the extent of inequality and marginalization practiced by the colonial

¹ Ammar Bouhouche: The Political History of Algeria from the Beginning to 1962, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Beirut, 1st edition, 1997, p. 198.

² Bouazza Boudrsaya: France's Barbaric Policy in Algeria (1870-1930) and its Repercussions on the Arab Maghreb, Dar Al-Hikma Publishing and Distribution, Algeria, 2009, p. 91.

³ Yahya Bouaziz: Previous reference, p. 58.

authorities within the framework of an economic and social exclusion policy that aimed to consolidate European dominance over agricultural resources in Algeria¹.

In addition to the official laws and direct confiscation operations, the French colonial authorities resorted to other means to seize more lands from the Algerians, represented in forced leasing and fictitious formal sales, where property transfer operations were carried out in circumstances devoid of the free will of the original owner. One French official expressed these practices clearly when he said:

“When the natives refused to sell their lands, we pursued them. If they resisted us with arms, then the soldiers’ ammunition was stronger than legal papers... and this is the right of conquest.”²

This statement embodies the repressive and aggressive nature adopted by the colonial administration in imposing its control over the land, where the tools of military violence were transformed into a “legitimate” means to enforce the policy of settlement, far removed from any form of legal or moral justice.³

As stated in a report submitted by the African Committee in 1833, part of the repressive practices that accompanied the French military expansion in Algeria was documented, revealing the extent of the violations committed against Algerian civilians. The report stated:

“We have killed people who were carrying travel permits, and we slaughtered the inhabitants of towns and villages who were suspected, and it later turned out that they were innocent.”⁴

This statement highlights the arbitrary and brutal nature that characterized the French repressive operations, in total disregard of the simplest rules of war and justice. They were not merely individual excesses but part of an organized approach of control and collective punishment.⁵

Not to mention the severe racial discrimination and harsh, inhuman treatment suffered by Algerians during the colonial period, which manifested in their exclusion from the basic rights enjoyed by European settlers, especially in the field of labor. The Algerian worker was forced to work between 12 and 14 hours daily for a meager monthly wage ranging between 14,000 and 20,000 francs, without the slightest guarantee of job continuity or social protection. In contrast, the French worker worked only eight hours per day and enjoyed all the privileges from which the Algerian labor force was deprived. Algerians were not allowed to enter industrial or artisanal fields of a technical or

¹ Ibid, p. 58.

² Ammar Hilal: op. cit, p. 15.

³ Yahya Bouaziz, op. cit, p. 73.

⁴ Ibid., p. 73.

⁵ Yahya Bouaziz, op. cit., p. 73.

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professional nature, in a deliberate attempt to prevent them from acquiring skills and professions that might enable them to achieve economic independence. They were thus driven to perform exhausting manual labor, such as digging, loading, and pulling carts in mines, construction sites, roads, and others¹.

The visit of the French politician **Jules Ferry** to Algeria in 1892 reflected the extent of the social misery and suffering endured by the Algerian people under colonial rule, as he declared after a field investigation, saying:

“We saw those miserable tribes upon whom colonialism had descended, displacement had exhausted them, forest regulations had hunted them, and its laws had impoverished them. We heard their complaints, and we saw with our own eyes their misery and touched it with our hands. We saw within the forests plowed spots and fields sown with barley and wheat near plains that for centuries had been plowed by the ancient Arab plow, seized from the hands of Algerians and added to the forest estates. We realized that in Algeria, there are matters taking place that are unworthy of France and incompatible with justice and with a prudent policy.”²

The harsh conditions experienced by the Algerian population, especially the working classes, led to waves of migration of various forms and directions. The country witnessed quasi-mass internal migrations toward cities, where many settled on their outskirts in search of better living conditions. Algeria also experienced significant collective migrations, the most notable being the migration of **1888**.³

3 – Religious and Cultural Motives:

The French colonial policy in Algeria was not limited to the political and military subjugation of the country or the exploitation of its economic resources, but it extended to fighting the cultural and religious identity of the Algerian people in an attempt to uproot their civilizational roots. From the early years of the occupation, France sought to spread ignorance and obscurantism, realizing that Islam and the Arabic language constituted the backbone of the society’s unity and the source of its strength in confronting the colonial project.⁴

To implement these objectives, the colonial authorities began issuing a series of decrees and orders targeting Islamic endowment (waqf) institutions. Mosques, zawiyas, and Qur’anic schools were confiscated, and their properties were annexed to state

¹ Ammar Hilal: op. cit., p. 17

² Meziane Ouchane: Immigration and Displacement Policy: A Colonial Approach in Algeria, *Annals of History and Geography*, Vol. 6, 2012, Algeria, p. 145.

³ Ammar Hilal: Ibid., p. 17.

⁴ Mustapha Khayati: Ibid, p. 278.

property. The report of the African Committee sent by the French king to Algeria in 1833 expressed this policy clearly, stating:

“We have annexed to state property all the real estate that had belonged to the endowments, and we seized the properties of a class of the population whom we had undertaken to protect and safeguard...”¹

This statement clearly reveals the hostile nature of colonialism toward the religious and cultural structure of Algerian society and reflects an evident violation of the commitments that France claimed to respect toward the indigenous population.²

In parallel with the colonial policy that aimed to weaken the Islamic religion and destroy its institutions, the French authorities sought to support Christianity and strengthen missionary movements in Algeria, in an attempt to create a spiritual and cultural rupture between the Algerians and their religion. This dual policy was clearly manifested in religious discrimination, as Qur’anic education and zawiyas were restricted, while facilities were provided for missionaries and church institutions. The colonial administration took advantage of the issuance of the law of December 27, 1907, which stipulated the separation of religion from the state in Algeria, to justify its interference in Islamic religious affairs and dismantle the bonds that had linked religion with society. Although this law was proclaimed under the pretext of “religious neutrality,” it was in fact used as a tool to reinforce French cultural and religious domination and to weaken the spiritual resistance formed by Islam in the face of the colonial project.³

The influence of the religious factor also appears clearly in the year 1847, when the inhabitants of the valley of Sebaou went to Sheikh El-Mahdi, the muqaddam of the Rahmaniyya order, asking him for advice on how to escape the calamity of French colonialism. He then guided them to migrate to a land not ruled by infidels. Thus, Sheikh El-Mahdi left Algeria at the end of 1847 and settled in Syria, followed by dozens of Algerian families.⁴

Section Three: The Trends of Algerian Migration between 1830 and 1914:

The Algerian individual found himself faced with two choices: either to live in extreme misery under the pressure of occupation and exploitation, or to migrate in search of another safe place and a secure livelihood.⁵

Although there is no specific date marking the noticeable beginning of Algerian migration, whether from Algeria to Arab countries or to European countries, we can,

¹ Abou El Qacem Saadallah: Previous reference, p. 474.

² Chatra Kheireddine, *Algerian Immigrants to Tunisia*, Dar Kerdada, Algeria, 1st edition, 2013, p. 91.

³ Ibid, p. 91.

⁴ Shatra Kheireddine: op. cit., p. 91.

⁵ Boukassim Saadallah: op. cit, p. 475.

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based on the available texts, say that the year 1871 represents a decisive year in changing the social map of Algeria.¹

1 – External Migration:

A – Migration to Tunisia and Morocco:

Tunisia was the preferred transit station for Algerians on their way to the East, particularly to Syria, and it was also a temporary refuge for them during times of hardship when French surveillance intensified, allowing them to continue their journey toward Syria. This is confirmed by French reports between the years 1800 and 1860, which refer to the migration of Algerian tribes to Tunisia. Tunisia witnessed the passage of 5,330 migrants through its territory, some of whom settled there while others continued their migration to the Middle East, between the years 1898 and 1912. Algeria witnessed a strong wave of migration following the surrender of Emir Abdelkader in 1847, as a result of the failure of the armed resistance he had led for fifteen years.²

From 1851 until 1870, entire tribes began to move toward Tunisian lands, whether for permanent settlement or temporary relocation, fleeing colonial oppression and deteriorating living conditions. Statistics indicate that the city of Algiers alone recorded the departure of more than ten thousand persons during this period a figure that reflects the depth of the crisis and the oppression suffered by the local population.³

In the Kabylie region, waves of migration increased especially among major families who had played a central role in leading the armed resistance. Their deteriorating material conditions pushed them to leave the country. The French researcher Ageron mentions in this regard: *“That did not prevent the descendants of Sheikh Al-Haddad from living in extreme poverty, and the sons of Al-Muqranī became small traders.”* This reflects the magnitude of the economic and social exclusion that affected the symbols of resistance and their families under the French colonial system.⁴

The Algerian South also witnessed successive waves of migration, where about 300 individuals left for the region of Al-Jarid in Tunisia, crossing the desert without obtaining official travel permits. They were followed by other groups, most notably the caravans of migrants coming from Oued Souf, whose number reached about 2,000 persons, in addition to 1,200 other migrants from the M’zab Valley. Migrants from Oued Souf formed one-

¹ Ibid, p. 475

² Shatra Kheireddine: op. cit., p. 92.

³ Ibid, p. 176.

⁴ Khayati Mustafa: Human Rights in Algeria during the French Occupation, National Foundation for Communication, Publishing and Advertising, Algeria, 2013, p. 278.

third of the population of the city of Tozeur, with a number exceeding 250 individuals, making them the largest community compared to other foreign communities in the city.¹

It is worth noting that these migrations were not random; rather, they were facilitated by the deep knowledge possessed by the inhabitants of the Algerian and Tunisian South of the desert routes and caravan paths. The two regions had long-standing trade relations across the Sahara, which contributed to facilitating the movement of people and goods, and paved the way for organized — though unofficial — migrations, in the absence or prohibition of official travel permits by the French colonial authorities.²

Eastern Algeria also witnessed variations in the pace and scale of migration movements during the nineteenth century. Among the most prominent were the migrations of the notables of the city of Annaba, who chose to settle in the coastal city of Bizerte in Tunisia. The city of Constantine likewise experienced a remarkable wave of migration, especially after its fall into French hands in 1837 and the failure of the armed resistance there. This coincided with France's tightening of its colonial policy based on oppression and restriction of the local population.³

The thinker **Malek Bennabi** describes this critical stage in the history of the city by saying:

“... to the extent that no trace remained in Constantine of the great Benshnarzi family; as for the family of El-Hajj Abi, it began to migrate towards Tunisia, while from the Ben Al-Aqoun family only a small group remained, owning a modest workshop.”

This is a clear indication of the social and economic bleeding that afflicted the city as a result of forced migration and collective exile.⁴

Migration was not limited to **Annaba** and **Constantine** only, but also included the regions of **Setif** and the neighboring areas, amidst the expansion of colonial repression, which made migration towards **Tunisia** and the **Maghreb region** an alternative means of escaping colonial control and seeking a safer and more stable environment.⁵

At the same time, the **western provinces of Algeria** also experienced successive waves of migration towards **Tunisia** since the early stages of the French occupation.

¹ Mohamed Amtat: *Algerians in Morocco between 1830 and 1962*, Dar Abi Qaraf for Printing and Publishing, Rabat, 2008, p. 44.

² Duro Vigo: Born in April 1774 in Meydan, France, he took power in Algeria as an ally of General Bertzen and was appointed commander of the African occupation corps. For more information, see: Abu al-Qasim Saadallah: *The Algerian National Movement*, Vol. 1, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Lebanon, 1992, p. 52.

³ The Aoufia tribe: A tribe in the Oued El Harrach region that was massacred on April 6-7, 1832, by the French army against defenseless people sleeping in their tents without any chance to defend themselves. Those who survived were sentenced to death without regard to age See.

⁴ Pellisier de Reynaud: *Annales Algériennes*, Librairie Militaire de Paris, Paris, 1845, p. 274.

⁵ Ammar Hilal: *Ibid.*, p. 52.

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These migrations began in **1832**, when many inhabitants of **Tlemcen** left following the French occupation of the region. This movement continued to grow, especially after the defeat of the **Mokrani resistance** in **1871**, as regions such as **Oran** recorded collective and large-scale migrations.¹

It is worth noting that the **French colonial administration** did not pay significant attention to these migrations; rather, it implicitly welcomed them, considering that most of the migrants were **notables and intellectuals** who represented an intellectual and political threat to its colonial project. It is also noticeable that the pace of migration would rise after every failure of popular uprisings, reflecting its close connection to the prevailing security and political conditions.²

These migrations were not limited to groups involved in **political struggle** only, but also included other categories such as **pilgrims, students of knowledge, and itinerant merchants**, who often settled in Tunisian territories instead of returning to Algeria, due to the relative safety and stability they found there.³

Meanwhile, the number of migrants to **Morocco** reached **20,000**, among them **5,000** who headed toward the city of **Fez**. As soon as the city of **Algiers** fell, waves of Algerian migration towards Morocco began. The **Makhzen documents** indicate the arrival of two ships loaded with migrants from the capital to **Tetouan**, consisting mostly of **merchants, soldiers, craftsmen, and some notables**.⁴

B – Migration to Syria:

The year **1832** is considered the beginning of **Algerian migration to the East** or elsewhere, as this year witnessed the appointment of **Durovigot** as the military governor of Algeria. Here the malicious intentions of the French became evident, for he suppressed the revolutions harshly, burdened the Algerians with heavy taxes, and the refusal of any tribe to comply would cost it extermination, as happened with the **Oufia tribe**.⁵

¹ Ibid, p. 12.

² Suhail al-Khalidi, *Algeria and the Levant: Pages from the Joint Struggle Against Occupation*, Al-Hadara Publications, Algeria, 2013, p. 153.

³ Ammar Hilal: Ibid., p. 30.

⁴ Tarchoun Nadia, *The Emigration of Doctor Ben Salem and His Group to Syria in 1847*, in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Algerian Emigration during the Occupation (1830-1962)*, Publications of the Ministry of Emigrants, Algeria, 2007, p. 224.

⁵ Ammar Hilal: Previous reference, p. 43.

In 1846, a **collective Algerian migration** took place towards **Syria**, as more than **200 families** from **Kabylia** emigrated. Religious associations continued to urge the locals to migrate towards the East.¹

Beginning in 1871, the **Levant** received a large wave of **migrant Zouaoua families**, numbering around **900 families**, coming mainly from the regions of **Bejaia**, **Bouira**, and **Tizi Ouzou**, in addition to migrants from the **Aurès** region and **Mount Arghis**. These Algerian migrants found refuge among their brothers who had preceded them to the Levant in earlier periods.²

Given the **difficult social and economic conditions** they suffered upon arrival, the **Ottoman state** hastened to provide assistance to them by granting **agricultural lands** and **material aid**, as well as establishing **villages** specifically for them to enable their settlement.³

It is worth noting that the **Zouaoua**, during their struggle against the French occupation, found support only from the **Arabs**, particularly the **Arabs of the Levant**, who received them warmly and provided them with an environment of **security and stability**, which helped them to **integrate and succeed** in their new society.⁴

Faced with the increasing migration movement towards the Levant, especially after many Algerians used the performance of the Hajj pilgrimage as a pretext to leave the homeland and settle in **Syria**, the **French colonial authorities** hastened to intervene in order to obstruct this phenomenon. They discovered that a large number of passport applicants, who claimed the intention to travel to the **Hijaz** to perform the pilgrimage, were in fact planning to go to **Syria** by land or sea, and then settle there to escape colonial repression. This was considered by the **French administration** a direct threat to its policies of maintaining control over the Algerian population, so it tightened restrictions on pilgrims and imposed strict surveillance on their movements outside the country.⁵

In light of the escalating authoritarian policies adopted by the French colonial authorities, accompanied by arbitrary measures that affected various segments of the Algerian people, many of the locals found no alternative but to **emigrate abroad**. In 1874, the country witnessed a **wave of mass migration** that included several regions, among them the **Oran region**, **Kabylia**, and even parts of the **Palestinian sector**, where the number of migrants reached about **700 people**. The pace of this migration increased in 1876, as estimates indicate that approximately **16,600 Algerians** emigrated to **Tunisia alone**, in a collective escape movement that mostly took place by land routes due to the colonial restrictions on maritime travel. From there, most of these migrants moved to the

¹ Ibid, p. 90.

² Adel Noueid: Dictionary of Algerian Notables from the Dawn of Islam to the Present Day, Noueid Foundation for Writing, Translation, and Publishing, Lebanon, 1980, p. 18.

³ Mustapha Khayati: Previous reference, p. 278.

⁴ Sahrawi: p. 174.

⁵ Khayati Mustafa: Previous reference, p. 278.

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Levant, Egypt, the Hijaz, and even Istanbul, in search of safety and stability away from the hell of occupation and its practices.¹

The years **1882** and **1884** witnessed a new wave of Algerian migration to the **Levant**, this time through apparently legal means, as most of the migrants possessed **passports or exit permits** issued to them by the French colonial administration. However, this situation raises several questions, especially in light of the **April 1856 law**, which explicitly prohibited granting passports and exit permits to the natives, particularly those wishing to leave the country without official authorization. This contradiction opens the door to the hypothesis of **collusion** between the French authorities and certain parties, aimed at facilitating the **forced migration** of Algerians and removing them from their lands, as part of a systematic policy intended to **empty the country of its indigenous inhabitants** and facilitate **European settlement**.²

This interpretation is reinforced by what is stated in the same law, which stipulates that any Algerian who remains absent from his land for more than **three years** loses his legal right to it, which means enabling settlers to seize the migrants' properties in a "legal" way — from the colonial perspective.³

The year **1888** witnessed a remarkable **Algerian migration wave to the Levant**, which the French colonial authorities considered **illegal migration**, due to the migrants' lack of official permits from the administration. This migration reached its peak in **Algiers**, where more than **347 people** were recorded to have left, while **Constantine** witnessed, during the same period, the migration of about **231 people**.⁴

In response to this unprecedented collective movement, the **French authorities** hastened to identify those responsible for it, directing the accusation toward **Sheikh Al-Taher Al-Jazairi**, who happened to be in Algeria at that time. They considered that his visit had served as a motive or a cover to encourage the locals to leave the country. This incident illustrates the extent of **colonial anxiety** over any **intellectual or religious activity** that might awaken **national consciousness** or strengthen **ties between Algerians**

¹ New Caledonia: An archipelago east of Australia, discovered by explorer James Cook in the 18th century, with an area of 19,000 km². It was first inhabited 1,200 years BC. Napoleon III annexed it as a French colony in 1854 and decided to turn it into a penal colony, where hard labor was carried out in 1863. New Caledonia is about 22,000 km from Algeria. Its capital is Nouméa, and the island is inhabited by a mixture of races. Their city is known as Kanak or Calédoche. The city of Bourail is considered the largest city hosting the community of Algerian origin, about 160 km from the capital Nouméa. See: Meziane and Shahn, op. cit., p. 150.

² Habous lands: These are lands that cannot be owned and are outside the scope of various real estate transactions. They are considered a type of charity and date back to the late Ottoman era. See: Saleh Hamir, French Real Estate Policy in Algeria (1830-1930), doctoral thesis, University of El Hadj Lakhdar, Batna, 2014, p. 28.

³ Local lands: These are called throne lands and are jointly owned by tribes. Their origins date back to the arrival of Islam in the region. For more information, see: Saleh Abbad, The Settlers and French Policy in Algeria, University Publications Office, Algeria, 1984, p. 74.

⁴ Mustafa Hishmawi: op. cit, p. 89.

and the Arab East, especially amid the rise of forced displacement and the tightening of restrictions on freedoms within the country.¹

C – Migration to the Hijaz:

The **land of the Hijaz**, containing sacred sites such as **the Holy Mosque** and the **Kaaba** in **Mecca**, as well as the **Prophet's Mosque** and the **Tomb of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him)** in **Medina**, has always attracted the hearts of Muslims in general, and Algerians in particular, during the seasons of **Hajj** and **Umrah**. Accordingly, the migration of Algerians to the Hijaz was often **temporary**, due to the **difficult living conditions** there.²

Although the migration movement toward this land was neither active nor extensive, that did not prevent some Algerians from emigrating to it, either **directly** or by passing through the **Arabian Peninsula**, especially **the Levant**. There are no detailed reports or statistics on the number of Algerians residing in the Hijaz.³

The number of migrants in the **Hijaz** was estimated at **30,000 Algerian migrants**, while other statistics indicate the settlement of about **1,000 Algerians** there at the end of the **19th century**, most of them from **the city of Sidi Okba** in **Biskra Province**.⁴

Meanwhile, **Egypt** witnessed the migration of **20,000 migrants**, whereas **Palestine** recorded the arrival of about **6,000 migrants**.⁵

D – Deportation to New Caledonia and the French Colonies

Since its occupation of Algeria, France seized the *Beylik* lands, then extended its control to *Habous* lands and the lands of the *indigenous people*, after expelling and displacing them. It seized five million hectares of fertile land. With every popular revolution against French colonialism, the fate of the rebellious tribes was deportation and exile. Several families were displaced to areas very far from Algeria, namely to *New Caledonia*, as a punishment for those who supported and aided the popular uprisings witnessed by Algeria.⁶

After the suppression of the major popular resistances, foremost among them the resistance of *El Mokrani* and *Sheikh El Haddad*, Algeria witnessed a wave of forced deportation that affected hundreds of Algerians to distant colonies belonging to the French

¹ SARRI djilali, ALI MAZIGHI kamel, ABDELAOUI houcin, l'emigrationAlgérienne en Europ, série de projets nationaux de recherches, publication de centre national d'études et de recherches sur la mouvrmnt national et la revolutiondu 1 Novembre 1954,Alger,2007,p.290 .

² Meziane Ouchane: Previous reference, p. 146.

³ SARRI djilali, ALI MAZIGHI kamel, ABDELAOUI houcin, op, p. 290.

⁴ Abu al-Qasim Saadallah: Summary of the History of Algeria: Resistance and Liberation 1830-1962, Dar al-Gharb al-Islami, Beirut, 1st edition, 2007, p. 79.

⁵ Othman Zoub: Previous reference, p. 96.

⁶ Kamal Bayram: Social, Economic, and Political Conditions in the Moroccan Enclave during the French Occupation, 1840-1954, doctoral thesis, University of the Brothers Mentouri, Constantine, 2011, p. 60.

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Empire, the most prominent of which was the island of *New Caledonia*. The figures vary regarding the number of deportees: some documents indicate that the first group deported consisted of 104 Algerians, while other accounts state that the total number of deportees reached about 500 people. They were tried on charges related to participation in resistance, planning rebellion, and incitement against the colonial authorities, and were sentenced to death, which was later commuted to lifelong deportation to overseas colonies.¹

It is worth noting that the policy of exile was not merely a punishment but a colonial tool aimed at emptying Algeria of its religious, national, and social elite, in preparation for implementing European settlement projects at the expense of Algerian land and identity. Later, even after the amnesty of 1881, the French authorities refused to allow the deportees to return to their homeland, which expresses the punitive and deeply political nature of these policies.²

Some were taken to *French Guiana* in Latin America, others to French islands located in the Mediterranean Sea, including the island of *Sainte-Marguerite*. In addition, 5,822 Algerians were recruited during the French campaign to occupy the island of *Madagascar* in 1895.³

One of the characteristics of Algerian external migration is that a large part of it was compulsory, and that the migrating groups often belonged to the wealthy and educated classes; thus, the country lost through them its economic and intellectual wealth.⁴

2 – Internal Migration

As for the internal migration of Algerians during the period **1830–1914**, it was mainly linked to the fall of the city of Algiers and the expansion of French occupation, and the resulting repression, destruction, looting, plundering, and confiscation. Thus, Algerians had no option but to choose places far from the oppressive hands of the occupation. This explains the emptying of cities of their Muslim inhabitants and their occupation by invaders and European migrants who accompanied the process of colonization of Algeria, and whose numbers increased with the expansion of occupied areas and colonial projects. This is what we shall study in light of the **tribes of El-Hashm** and the **inhabitants of the Hodna region**.⁵

¹ Kamal Beram: Ibid., p. 60.

² Sheikh Al-Tayyib bin Al-Mukhtar Al-Maghribi Al-Mukhtari: The Most Important Statement on the Genealogy of the Hashim Tribes, Al-Khaldounia Library, Tlemcen, 1st edition, 1961, p. 326.

³ Kamal Beram: Ibid., p. 63.

⁴ Ibid., p. 63.

⁵ Nour al-Din Makdar: The Hadna Region Through the Journeys of Paul Audal and De Gallon in the Late 19th Century, Journal of Historical Research, Vol. 6, No. 1, University of M'Sila, 2022, p. 567.

Chapter Four: The Phenomenon of Migration in Light of the Tribes of El-Hashm and the Inhabitants of the Hodna Region as a Model :

1 – The Origin of the Inhabitants and the Naming of the Tribes of El-Hashm and the Hodna

A – The Tribes of El-Hashm

The Origin of the Naming of the Tribes of El-Hashm:

The name *El-Hashm* goes back to the word *hashma* with the breaking of the letter *ha'*, which means modesty, or to *hashma* meaning anger. Linguists state that both meanings — modesty and anger — are valid. It is said in *Al-Qāmūs* that “*hashmat al-rajul wa hashmahu ma ‘rakatān wa iḥsāsuḥu man yaghdabu lahu min aṣl aw bayd aw jiran*” — that is, the man’s *hashma* and his *hashm* refer to those who are angered for his sake, whether from kin, slaves, or neighbors. The word *hashm* also denotes *supporters* or *partisans*, and this is how *Al-Busiri* explained it in his *Burda of Praise*: “in an army when you meet him, and among supporters.”¹

– The Origin of the Tribes of El-Hashm:

The *El-Hashm* tribes existed among the *Zayyanids* at the end of the fifteenth century AD, and before that period they were known as the *Banu Rashid*, one of the branches of the *Zenata* tribes. *Yaghmurasen ibn Zayyan* took them as his army, named them *El-Hashm*, and made them a strong fortress between him and his enemies. He established for them the city of *Mascara* in the *Ghriss Plain*.²

The *El-Hashm* belong to the *Hilalian* tribes, chosen by *Ahmed El-Mokrani* during his participation with *El-Hussein ibn Khayr Eddine* in retaking the city of *Oran* in **1563 AD**, after which they were settled in the *Majana Plain*, on the slopes of *Mount Hersban*. They became the main source of *El-Mokrani*’s guard divisions. A part of them also belongs to the *‘Arib* tribes, who formed the *Makhzen* group during the Ottoman rule of the *Hamza* region under the leadership of *El-Mokrani*.³

The *El-Hashm* tribes settled in the *Majana* region, as mentioned previously. This area extends from *Mount Moursiam* in the north to the *Ras El Oued* region (*Toqueville*, formerly) in the south, and from *Oued Majana* in the east to *Mount El-Kaf* and *Oued Nebih* in the west. It includes the regions of *Bordj Bou Arreridj*, *Sidi Mubarek*, *Majana*, and *El-‘Anasir*. The tribes comprised several groups, the most important of which were:

¹ Jean Despois, *Le Hodna*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1953, p. 7.

² Kamal Beram: *Social, Economic, and Political Conditions...*, op. cit., p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

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the *Douawir, Ouled Keddia, Ja‘afra, Majana, Ouled Hanaishia, Ouled Beddar, Neshaba, Bou Khabar, Ouled Ajeel, Ouled El- ‘Aqla, Ouled Chenini, Ouled Sghar, and El- ‘Alaoua.*¹

Statistics of the Hashem Tribes in 1846:

Statistics of the Hashem Tribes according to the 1861 Census:

Tribe	Total	Children	Women	Men
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Population	Number	Livestock	Number
Horsemen	400	Cattle	6,000
Shepherds	840	Sheep	10,000
Population (children, women, elders)	4,900	Horses	1,800
Total	6,200	Mules	2,000

Boudara Tribe	604	236	178	187
Ouled Ajil Tribe	504	174	155	175
Laâlaba Tribe	302	105	102	95
El-Kouaber Tribe	642	270	198	180
Sidi Mbarek	1,385	533	419	433
Laâlaouana Tribe	304	117	86	101

¹ Ibid., p. 88.

Ouled Lakhdar	1,132	472	318	348
El-Hnachiya	828	333	258	237
Beni Hammoud	738	300	213	225
Ouled Cheniti	748	292	212	244
Ouled Aqlah	568	231	170	185
Ezzallaka	510	191	164	155
El-Khabbana	923	326	297	300
Ouled Khalif	677	266	214	197
Ouled Senoussi	592	190	181	201

B – The Tribes of the Hodna

- The Origin of the Name “Hodna”

The name *Hodna* is derived from the word *Ihtidān* (embracing), and researchers trace it back to the late period of Ottoman rule. It carries a **geographical connotation** more than any other, as the inhabitants of the region gave the name *Hodna* to the vast plain that appears to be surrounded by a **mountainous belt forming an arc** between the Tellian and Saharan mountain ranges. These two ranges connect through the **Bibans Mountains** and embrace the plain through the **Aurès and Belzma Mountains in the east**, extending to the **Ouennougha Mountains** via the **Boutaleb, Maadid, and Boukhal Mountains**, which connect to the **Salah and Bou Saada Mountains** in the south.¹

This geographical configuration forms a natural boundary between the **Mediterranean Tellian regions**, the **plains**, and the **Saharan regions** of Hodna and the Ziban. This area

¹ Kamal Beram: The Crime of Confiscation and Displacement in the Region of Hadna and Bordj Bou Arreridj after the Mokrani Uprising, in Proceedings of the National Conference “The Algerian Revolution and the Problems of Memory,” Publications of the Laboratory for Studies and Research on the Algerian Revolution, No. 12, University of Mohamed Boudiaf, M'Sila, 2022, p. 24.

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was called *Hodna* by the Arabs and was **administratively attached to the Zab Province**.¹

- The Origin of the Tribes of the Hodna Region :

In terms of its human framework, the Hodna region represents a **distinct human area** whose particular characteristics make the term *Hodna* apply to the core of the region encompassing the tribes of **Ouled Darradj, Ouled Madi, and Ouled Sehnoun**.⁷⁹ The **colonial administrative policy** delineated the borders of the Hodna region with the aim of achieving **social fragmentation** and dismantling the **ties between the tribal communities** of the area. The Hodna, located within the **Province of Constantine**, was administratively bounded by **Bou Saada (to the south), Sidi Aïssa (to the west)** both belonging to the Province of Algiers—while to the **north** it bordered **El-Biban and El-Maadid**, and to the **east**, the **territory of Barika**.²

2 – The Motives Behind the Displacement of the Hashm Tribes and the Inhabitants of the Hodna Region:

By the year **1870**, a set of circumstances prompted the **French colonial authorities** to organize **large-scale displacement operations**, which heavily affected the regions of **Medjana –Bordj Bou Arreridj– and the Hodna**. Various interpretations have emerged regarding the nature of these operations, as they combined **political objectives** with **punitive measures**, following the **Mokrani uprising**, and coincided with the **Franco-Prussian War (the War of 1870–1871)** and the issue of **migrants from Alsace and Lorraine to Algeria**.³

A – The Repercussions of the Mokrani Revolt :

¹ Most historians believe that the Makrani family traces its lineage back to Fatima, daughter of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him). They mention that his ancestors from the Ayyad tribes migrated from the Maghreb region in the 11th century AD during the Hilalian invasion of the region and settled in the mountains of Beni Hammad in Maadid, north of the city of M'Sila and southeast of the city of Bouira. Bourguibah. Their history there is linked to the Hamadid princes, and some claim that the Makranis are related to the Hafsids who ruled Constantine. The last of them, Prince Abdul Aziz, migrated to the Beni Abbas fortress after the Spanish occupied Bejaia in 1510. See Yahya Bouaziz: The Revolt of the Makranis and the Blacksmiths, National Publishing and Distribution Company, Algeria, n.d., p. 44.

² Hayat Thabti: The Role of the Rahmaniya Order in Resisting French Occupation: The Resistance of the Makranis and the Blacksmiths in 1871 as an Example, Journal of the History of the Arab Maghreb, Vol. 8, No. 2, 2020, p. 26.

³ Bachir Balah: Contemporary History of Algeria 1830-1989, Vol. 1, Dar al-Ma'rifa, Algeria, 1st edition, 2006, p. 289.

France sought to **eradicate the Mokrani family and their supporters**, as they represented an influential and extensive leadership in **Central Eastern Algeria**. The aim was to **dismantle the Hashm confederation**, uproot them from their lands, scatter them across various douars, and prevent them from reorganizing their political structure— all within the broader colonial strategy of **crushing the spirit of popular resistance** and **breaking the rural-urban solidarity** that bound the Algerian countryside to its local leaders such as **El-Mokrani, Boumezrag, and El-Haddad**.¹

The **Mokrani Uprising of 1871** is considered **one of the most significant popular revolts** witnessed in 19th-century Algeria against French occupation. It was marked by its **popular and religious nature**, with participation from numerous tribes and strong backing from the **Rahmaniyya Sufi Order** under the leadership of **Sheikh El-Haddad**. The revolt extended across the **Departments of Algiers and Constantine**, from **Hadjout, Miliana, and Cherchell** in the west, to **Jijel and Collo** in the east, and from **Batna, Bou Saada, and Sour El-Ghozlane** in the south, encompassing the **Babors, Oued El-Kebir, the Soummam Basin, the Djurdjura Mountains, the Bibans, and the Hodna plains**, and even reaching **Médéa and Setif**.²

Following the revolt, the colonial authorities implemented **retaliatory policies**, consisting of **property confiscations** and the **total dispossession of insurgent lands** for the benefit of European settlers. Many revolutionaries were **exiled overseas**, particularly to **New Caledonia**, in addition to **mass executions** that claimed thousands of lives, and the **burning and destruction** of numerous rebellious villages.³

A large number of participants were **imprisoned or deported**, around **500 insurgents** sent to **New Caledonia**, including **Boumezrag and Si Aziz Ben Haddad**. Algerians were subjected to **degrading treatment**, as colonists deliberately **humiliated and targeted Muslims indiscriminately**, without regard for justice.⁴

Moreover, the French authorities **seized agricultural lands** in the rebellious regions and **redistributed them to European settlers**, while the **private properties of resistant families** were confiscated. Those individuals and tribes were subjected to **harsh and unjust trials**, both individually and collectively.⁵

In this context, **Louis Rinn** summarizes the outcome of the **Mokrani Revolt of 1871** as follows:

¹ Ibid, p. 289.

² Ibid, p. 289.

³ Louis Ren: History of the 1871 Uprising in Algeria, trans. Masoud Haj Masoud, Dar Al-Raid, Algeria, 2013, p. 50.

⁴ Kamal Bayram: The Crime of Confiscation and Displacement in the Hadna and Bordj Bou Arreridj Regions after the Mokrani Revolt, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵ Ibid, p. 24.

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“...313 groups—between villages and douars—participated in the revolt, representing a population of 761,030 inhabitants who, outside the Sahara, possessed 2,589,608 hectares of land and forest wealth valued at 91,948,450 francs. They paid a war indemnity amounting to 36,582,298 francs and surrendered to the state 446,406 hectares valued at 18,693,093 francs, in addition to paying 7,933,860 francs to the treasury. In short, the war indemnity paid by the indigenous population reached a total of 63,212,252 francs.”¹

All the policies that France adopted after the **Mokrani Uprising** aimed to **prevent the occurrence of similar revolts** by the **Hashm tribes**. These measures were in fact a **practical application of the decision of the Presbyterian Council** (which will be discussed in detail in the following chapter), through which France considered that **the Algerian countryside represented the reservoir of popular resistances**.²

On another level, they were part of a **revenge policy** targeting the tribes of the Hodna who had supported El-Mokrani, by **dispersing, displacing, and confiscating their lands**, while at the same time turning these areas into **settlement zones for Europeans**. (Many of these tribes were deported to **New Caledonia**.)³

B – The Repercussions of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–1871) :

These measures were also part of **preparations for European colonization** under favorable **natural and political conditions**. Thus, the **colonial administration** found in the **lands of the rebellious tribes** a convenient solution for the **settlers who had fled from Alsace and Lorraine** following the **Franco-Prussian War of 1870**, which ended with the signing of the **Treaty of Frankfurt on May 10, 1871**.⁴

As a result of this treaty, **France ceded the regions of Alsace and Lorraine to Prussia**, the victorious power. Consequently, many inhabitants of these two regions, who were French by nationality, found themselves **obliged to leave their homeland**. In this context, the **French government** took several measures to **encourage their migration to Algeria**, granting them **lands previously confiscated from Algerians**.⁵

¹ Kamal Bayram: Social, Economic, and Political Conditions..., op. cit., p. 88.

² Saleh Hamir: op. cit., p. 154.

³ Hayat Baïn and Rachid Miad: French colonization and its impact on European settlers' perception of Algerian Muslims, vol. 5, no. 1, Historical Perspectives on Mediterranean Research and Studies, Yahya Fares University, Médéa, 2024, p. 137.

⁴ Naima Kanzar: The Forced Deportation of Algerians to New Caledonia: A Crime Against Humanity, Vol. 12, Journal of Literature and Social Sciences, University of Blida, Blida, 2015, p. 150.

⁵ Saleh Hamir: Previous reference, p. 154.

To hasten the process of confiscation and settlement, **commissions were established**, and several decrees were issued to organize this operation, among which:

- **The Law of June 21, 1871**, which stipulated granting these settlers **100,000 hectares of the most fertile Algerian lands**, with the **state bearing the costs of their transportation to Algeria**.
- **The Decree of October 16/22, 1871**, which aimed to facilitate the process of **resettlement and land distribution** among the Alsatians and Lorrainers, after the arrival of **1,200 European families**—representing a total of **10,500 individuals**—in Algeria.¹

At the same time, these measures also served as **revenge against the inhabitants of the Hodna** who had supported the Mokrani uprising, by **dispersing, deporting, and dispossessing them**, while turning their lands into **European settlement zones** (many of these tribes were likewise deported to **New Caledonia**).²

C – The Dismantling of Algerian Society:

These measures also completed the **process of social disintegration and fragmentation** that France had initiated with the **Decree of April 22, 1863**, with the objective of **controlling and dominating the tribes** under a new system of **civil administration**, and of **eliminating the traditional leadership structures** of rural Algerian society.³

In this framework, the **Hodna region**, to which the **Hashm tribes** were relocated, was transferred from the **jurisdiction of the Mokrani leadership and the Arab bureaus within the military perimeter** to the **authority of mixed communes** under the supervision of **administrative officers**.⁴

3 – The Circumstances of the Migration of the Hashm Tribes and the Inhabitants of the Hodna in the Late 19th Century :

A – The Displacement of the Hashm Tribes Toward the Hodna

The **Hashm tribes**, displaced from the **region of Bordj Bou Arreridj** to the **Hodna**, were composed of several **subgroups**, which were distributed across different **administrative douars**. They were **forcibly relocated** and **resettled in the southern part of M'sila**, after

¹ Naima Kanzar: Previous reference, p. 150.

² Kamal Beram: The Social, Economic, and Political Conditions in the Western Hadna Region during the French Occupation (1840-1954), Previous reference, p. 89.

³ Kamal Beram: The Crime of Confiscation and Displacement in the Hadna Region and Bordj Bou Arreridj after the Mokrani Uprising, op. cit., p. 25.

⁴ Ibid, p. 25.

the **colonial authorities** had already displaced its original inhabitants to various and distant regions since **1876**.¹

These groups originally inhabited the regions of **Medjana, El-Ansar, Sidi Mubarak, and Snada**, fertile Tellian lands that were **their private property**.

- The **Hashm of Medjana**, composed of the groups of **Moqaddem, Medjana, Dar Zitoun, Ouled Khelif, Boukchata, El-Qaria, Snada, and Kherouba**, were **relocated to the Souamâa lands in the Hodna**, numbering **526 individuals**, and were granted **8,211 hectares**.
- The **Hashm of El-Ansar**, composed of the groups of **El-Hanachia, Ouled Cheniti, Moqaddem, Beli Mour, Ouled Khlouf, Ouled Riah, Boumerghed, El-Ansar, and Essennara**, numbering **485 individuals**, were **resettled in the lands of Chelal**, in the **Ouled Madi tribal confederation** of the Hodna, on an area of **10,988 hectares**.
- The **Hashm of Sidi Mubarak**, consisting of the groups of **Aïn Taghrout, Chouiha (under the authority of Zemoura), Ben Ahmed, A'louniya Sidi Mubarak, Regha, and Ouled Aqqa**, numbering **280 individuals**, were **settled in the lands of Saïda**, also belonging to **Ouled Madi**, on a total of **8,541 hectares**.
- Finally, the **Hashm of Snada**, consisting of **223 individuals** distributed among the groups of **M'zita, Sidi Moussa, Medjana, Ouled Ajil, and Ed-Douawir**, were **relocated to the Chelal lands** within the **Ouled Madi confederation** in the Hodna, over an area of **6,898 hectares**.²

The **total area granted to the Mokrani Hashm** in the **Hodna region** amounted to **34,649 hectares**, distributed across several locations such as **Bouhmadou**—which included a large part of the **Souamâa confederation** that had joined the Mokrani rebellion—along with **Chelal, Saïda (Ouled Madi)**, and other sites such as **El-Maadid**.³

This entire process produced **serious repercussions** at multiple levels, both for the **Hashm** and the **inhabitants of the Hodna**, which will be **analyzed in detail in the following chapter**.⁴

¹ Ibid, p. 26.

² Mouloud Aouimer: The Mokrani Revolt of 1871 and the Role of the Rahmani Brothers, Dar Al-Khayal Publishing, Algeria, 1st edition, p. 250.

³ Kamal Bayram: The Crime of Confiscation and Displacement in the Hadna and Bordj Bou Arreridj Regions after the Mokrani Uprising, op. cit., p. 27.

⁴ Ibid, p. 27.

B- Migration and Displacement of the Inhabitants of the Hodna Region:

- Migration and Displacement of the Hodna Tribes:

A demographic vacuum emerged in the Hodna region after the Mokrani uprising of 1871, due to the migration of a large number of its inhabitants who fled in fear of punishment. According to the estimates of the French military authorities, around 400 tents from the Souamâa group migrated from M'sila during the uprising, heading toward Biskra and Batna. This led to the disintegration of tribal ties and the division of the confederation into scattered groups far from their original homeland.¹

In order to deepen this division, France deliberately partitioned what was formerly known as the unified leadership of the Souamâa into four separate groups: Ouled Abdallah, who were displaced from the Bouhmadou area to the barren plains of the Soueid region (known today as Ouled Abdallah); the Loudhani group; the Hajaras group; and Ouled Hdidane.

As for the Souamâa group, the Mtarfa group witnessed the migration of 170 tents toward Ouled Khlouf in Sour El-Ghozlane. Similarly, 170 tents from the Ouled Addi group moved toward Batna, while 200 tents from the Ouled Madi confederation went toward Sour El-Ghozlane — including 133 tents from Oued Chellal and 92 tents from Ouled Maâtouk — in addition to the forced displacement of the Kharijia group due to their stance against France.

The inhabitants of the Ouled Darradj confederation also migrated significantly toward the eastern cities of Algeria, such as Tébessa, Chemora, El Eulma, Guelma, Oued Zenati, Annaba, Cheria, and the Constantine plains, and even to Tunisia. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of Kherabcha, Maadid, and Nougha moved toward the central regions, such as Algiers and Kabylia, where they worked in construction, slaughterhouses, and public baths.²

¹ Ibid, p. 19.

² Ibid, p. 19-29.



Conclusion of the Chapter :

Through the historical approach we have adopted in the sections of this first chapter, it can be concluded that the phenomenon of migration in Algeria during the French colonial period was the result of the convergence of multiple social, economic, cultural, religious, and military pressures.

This phenomenon was, in most cases, a form of forced migration caused by the repressive laws imposed by colonial authorities, which aimed primarily at consolidating the project of European settlement and emptying Algeria of its demographic, cultural, and religious substance.

The Hashm and Hodna tribes represent a significant example of this phenomenon, as their members were subjected to migration and displacement for various reasons, most notably the direct consequences of the Mokrani Uprising, which constituted a turning point that led to the intensification of repression and deportation policies against these tribes.