Panoptic Urbanism: Techniques of State power and Pacification in Colonial Algiers

Elena Becerril Salas

The 1958 Plan de Constantine and Mayor Chevallier's 1954 "Battle for Housing" initiative for colonial Algiers embraced "welfare colonialism" as a vital instrument to the pacification of Algerian unrest caused by the rise of unemployment, informal settlements and anti-colonial resistance. The rationalization of modernity and order through architectural design epitomize two dominant state mechanisms persistently utilized for social ordering. This papers examines how colonial France sought to legitimize and retain state control of Algiers through the 'the rhetoric of progress' in addition to panoptic design during the 1930s-1950s.

In 1840, General Marshal Thomas Bugeaud of France was left with the task of pacifying the Algerian insurrection led by Abdel Kader's Berber and the Arab tribal army. General Bugeaud begins to seize control of Algerian insurgents by the utilization of rapid mobile task forces assigned to murder civilians, decimate villages and seize Algerian territorial land *(Weizman, 2006).* Colonial French rule over Algeria during the late 1800s was characterized by the destruction of 'mosques, architectural patrimony and historical buildings within the lower medina area' *(Djiar 172, 2009).*

The 1930s defined a new phase in colonial French rule within Algeria. Pacification methods that emphasized benevolent cultural assimilation and 'progressive' urbanism replaced the brutal French military initiatives of the 1840s. This essay traces the history of French imperial rhetoric and colonial housing reform throughout the 1930s and 1950s within three sections,

The first section examines the ideological impact the 1931 International Conference of Colonial Urbanism and the 1944 Brazzaville Conference had on colonial reform and ideology.

The reconfiguration of colonial rule through initiatives characterized by cultural assimilation and architectural design of Algerian housing during the 1934 Conference in addition to the international anti-colonial sentiment during the 1944 Brazzaville conference represented a critical shift within the rhetoric and policy of imperial France. The transition from draconian mechanisms of pacification to 'progressive' tactics of social reform defined the objectives within Mayor Chevallier and President De Gaulle's colonial policy. They as well represented policies sought to retain control of the French Empire.

The second section details the political climate of Algiers in addition to methods of 'progressive' reform through a detailed analysis of President De Gaulle's Plan de Constantine and Mayor Chevallier's "Battle for Housing" strategy. Calls for Algerian independence and anti-colonial movements reached a turning point during the 1940s. President De Gaulle and Mayor Chevallier's plans revolved around the need to pacify the strong anti-colonial sentiment through the destruction of shantytowns, implementation of education and construction of housing.

The third section analyzes the Architectural design of Climat de France, a housing complex constructed during Mayor Chevallier's tenure in Algiers. Designed by Fernand Pouillon, the complex epitomized the social reform objectives of Mayor Chevallier and President De Gaulle. The design of Climat de France was meant to operate as a 'practical and psychological weapon' against Algerian resistance *(Djiar 174, 2009).* Pouillon's use of 'thick walls' and 'small apartment units subsumed beneath the complex' *(Crane 193, 2017)* resembles panoptic architectural design. The third section highlights the similarities between Pouillon's Climat de

France with Foucault's analysis of 17th century 'observatories', Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon and Timothy Mitchell's study of colonial ordering in 19th century Egypt.

Insidious architecture disguised through the veil of progress and modernity encapsulates two dominant forms of pacification used since the height of Georges-Eugene Haussmann[1]. Transparency operates as a mechanism of suppression critical to the strength of the state. While the pacification and urban reordering of Algiers does not define the apex of state control through mechanisms of social reordering, it but is one example illustrating the pervasive use of 'modernity as rationalization' for panoptic architectural design persistent throughout societies. What is often overlooked within current forms of private or state redevelopment is the brutality of forced migration caused by architectural decimation. The societal push towards a restrictive universal modernity remains at fault for the 'transformation of the underclass'[2] and marginalization of the 'other'.

The 1931 International Conference & 1944 Brazzaville Conference:

---

[1] The use of rhetoric to reshape the urban form can be seen in the Haussmannization of Paris during the Napoleanic era. Haussmann, who was appointed as the prefect of Seine in 1853 reestablished the city form through neighborhood cleansing and the clearing of slums. Haussman normalized urban cleansing by asserting pre-modernity as backwards and distasteful. Which ultimately perpetuated the redevelopment of central areas of civic activity, such as the transformation of the market in Paris. Haussmann's development project of the central market acted as an agent of submission through geographical form. Through the rhetoric of public health and security, Haussmann produced a form of surveillance centered around structure and numbered market stalls meant to silence insurgency and anti-governmental activity within the market *(Alex G. Papadopoulos, 2016).*

[2] As stated by Craig Calhoun within his analysis of Pierre Bourdieu's research on Kabyle villages and urban to rural migrants in Algeria, "He [Bourdieu] studied the difficult situation of those who chose to work in the modern economy and found themselves transformed into its 'underclass', not even able to gain the full status of proletarians because of the ethno-national biases of the French colonialists (Bourdieu, 1958; Bourdieu et al., 1995)."*(Calhoun 1405, 2006).*

The 1931 International Conference on Colonial Urbanism in Paris emphasized the importance of hygiene, sanitation, housing and administrative organization within the execution of colonial city planning *(Royer 1, 1932).* Marshal Hubert Lyautey, Army general of the French protectorate in Morocco, considered urban planning and indigenous policy as essential to the constructive pacification of colonial entities.

> *"L'Urbanisme, entendu dans son sens le plus large, est de la meme famille que la Politique Indigene. Il apporte l'aisance de la vie, le confort, le charme et la beatue."* (Lyautey 7, 1932)

> "Urbanism, understood in its broadest sense, belongs to the same family as indigenous politics. It brings the ease of life. Comfort, charm and beauty." *(Lyautey 7, 1932)*

Lyautey additionally emphasizes the importance of protecting 'landscapes, tradition of races and the creation of segregated settlements' as additional forms of control during the International Conference of Colonial Urbanism *(Zeynep 68, 1992, Njoh 150, 2016).*

Poulot Hugh takes note of two similar dominant philosophies during the turn of the 20th century critical to the integration of native populations and anti-colonial resistance, Cultural Assimilation and 'Welfare Colonialism'[3] *(Pouliot 27, 2011).*

---

[3] Robert Paine's 1977 description of Welfare colonialism which emphasizes the subversion of Northern Canadian native populations traditional means of subsistence as a form of state dependency (*Paine, 1977*), shares similarities with French Algerian pacification tactics beginning from the 1830s and ending during World War I that resulted in the loss of '7.5 million hectares of command land' for indigenous Algerians *(Lyons, 2013).* The loss of land by rural Algerians as stated by Bourdieu, caused the dismantling of village life and traditional culture that was crucial to their productivity and survival *(Bourdieu, 1958).* The implementation of housing developments, hospitals and schools in Algiers during the beginning of the 1930s and lasting till the 1950s was a form of 'Welfare colonialism' meant to create native subservience, loyalty and dependency similar to Robert Paine's depiction of native Canadian populations. It is imperative to divulge the history of colonial Algiers during the 1830s to recognize the

Cultural Assimilation and Welfare Colonialism defined the objectives of Algiers' 1930s

housing policy. The first objective was to 'civilize the colony' by relocating native Algerians to

housing developments that connected Algerian and European architectural forms in the hopes

of gradually drawing Algerians into modernity. The second objective was to create 'hygienic'

and 'easy to police' Muslim quarters from the disorder of *biodonvilles* [4] and Muslim

Architecture *(Pouliot 37, 2011).* The objective of 'civilization' within Algier's 1930s housing

initiatives concealed the underlying objective of colonial France.

> "While benevolence and humanitarianism underpinned these social welfare initiatives for
> housing, it was clear that the control of native populations remained paramount, and that
> housing was very much a preferable alternative to increased police or military presence."
> *(Pouliot 38, 2011)*

The philosophies of 'welfare colonialism and cultural assimilation' during Algiers' 1930s Housing

Policy persisted through the 1950s. President De Gaulle's Plan de Constantine and Mayor of

Algiers Jacques Chevallier's "Battle for Housing" initiative embraced welfare colonialism and

assimilation as a last attempt to maintain control over Algeria.

During the Brazzaville Conference of 1944, President Charles de Gaulle of France

addressed the French Committee of the National Liberation and representatives of colonial

---

draconian incidences that assisted in the subjectification of Algerian Natives within the context of the
20th century.

[4] Shantytowns

African territories on the necessity to 'transform' and progress into 'modernity' *(Gasanabo, 2007).*

> "--- as in all the other countries where men live under our flag, no progress will be possible if the men and women on their native soil do not benefit materially and spiritually and if they are not able to raise themselves to the point where they are capable of taking a hand in the running of their countries. It is France's duty to see that this comes about." *(De Gaulle, 1944).*

The 'anticolonial rhetoric of the United States and Soviet Union' during the end of World War II resulted in the 'reframing of the French empire into a Union' *(Lyons 27, 2013).* Anxious of losing colonial territories, the creation of the French union allowed France to maintain control through the promise of economic reforms, equal rights to citizens and the right to vote *(Lyons 27, 2013).* In addition to the transformation of the French empire, French colonial rhetoric was replaced by terms such as 'development, citizenship and modernization' *(Lyons 27, 2013).*

The 1931 International Conference on Colonial Urbanism in addition to The Brazzaville Conference of 1944 represent critical shifts in the philosophy and rhetoric of colonial planning. Cultural assimilation and welfare colonialism replace the violent pacification methods of the 1850s by emphasizing the efficiency and simplicity of a transparent, well-ordered master plan. The use of control through urban planning and policy emphasized by Marshal Hubert Lyautey creates a colonial doctrine that ensures the creation of civilization through loyalty and attachment *(Zeynep 114, 1997).* The 1930 and 1940 colonial reforms rationalized under the new 'progressive'[5] imperial rhetoric of France impacted colonial Algiers well into the 1950s.

---

[5] I draw upon Blaney and Inayatullah's analysis of the 'wound of wealth', which defines advancement as singular and distinctly European *(Blaney and Inayatullah 16, 2010)* to assert that 'Progress' operates in a

Plan de Constantine and the Battle for Housing in Algiers:

The Great depression and World War II dramatically affected the promised grandeur of 1930s housing initiatives. By the late 1940s, master plans designed by Henri Prost, Rene Danger, Maurice Rotival and Le Corbusier lost funding or were placed on hold *(Pouliot 33, 2011)*. The wave of rural to urban migration in Algeria aggravated funds and resulted in the rise of biodonvilles. In 1954, biodonvilles reached a record high,

> "Between 1938 and 1953, the official number of residents living in *biodonvilles* in Algiers skyrocketed from 4,800 to 125,000; by 1954, Algiers was the fourth largest 'French' city, after Lyons, with 570,000 inhabitants, while 41.5% of the native Muslim population lived in some kind of informal housing, or had no housing at all." *(Pouliot 36, 2011)*

Algerian anti-colonial resistance[6] exacerbated the need to properly relocate migrants in easily controlled housing developments. Biodonvilles represented a dense and illegible urban form that operated as a battleground and area of refuge for National Liberation Front (FLN)[7]

---

similar temporal singularity. The interpretation of modernity within the rhetoric of 'Progress' rationalizes mechanisms of control persistently veiled behind a rigid singular notion 'advancement' exclusively outlined by the state. I use 'the rhetoric of progress and 'progressive' interchangeably and define each as the implementation of liberal ideas and social reform.

[6] The rejection of Algerian culture, Islam, and the Arabic language by France, were the main points of contention that compelled Algerians to join and form nationalist movements in the 1900's. Political players such as North African Star (ENA), which later became known as the Algerian People's Party (PPA) and *Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques* (MTLD) were the first nationalist movement parties in Algiers (Khenouf 1992, Davis 2007).

[7] In 1954 the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) is formed by a group of dissenters from the MTLD, many of whom were part of the paramilitary wing of the MTLD called the *Organisation Spéciale* (OS) *(Davis 2007).* The FLN operated differently from the previous nationalist movements. Unlike the MTLD and UDMA, the FLN sought to eliminate competing parties and consolidate their power *(Davis 2007).*

operatives and Colonial Algerian resistance during the 1950s *(Crane 188, 2017).* The urban form

of biodonvilles in addition to the Casbah created a dangerously volatile landscape of warfare.

Mayor Chevallier's 1954 'the battle for housing' initiative in addition to President De

Gaulle's 1958 Plan de Constantine were direct responses to the growing conflict of Algerian

resistance. Although Chevallier and De Gaulle rationalized their initiatives as essential to the

sociopolitical advancement of Algerian natives, each plan was designed to assuage anti-colonial

resistance. Both plans were a last attempt to rectify biodonvilles and anti-colonial tactics

deemed threatening to state surveillance and order. Like Marshal Hubert Lyautey, Mayor

Jacques Chevallier and President De Gaulle considered indigenous policy and urban planning as

critical to the pacification of colonial entities.

In 1954, Mayor Chevallier sought to repress the unstable political climate of Algiers by

promising 'construction projects' and 'employment' to Algerian Natives *(Crane 190, 2017).*

Chevallier's 'Battle for Housing' initiative embraced housing reform as critical to the recovery of

Algerian 'loyalty',

> "From its inception, the mayor's self-described "battle for housing" actively reframed
> architecture as a mechanism of appeasement, one intended to forge in the words of the
> deputy mayor, a new "fraternity of pacified and happy men" (Blanchette 1954, 26)"
> *(Crane 190, 2017).*

Mayor Chevallier appointed Fernand Pouillon as chief architect of Algiers. Both Chevallier and

Pouillon shared the belief that the fulfillment of proper housing, schools and health services

would assimilate and pacify Algerians *(Zeynep 156, 1997).* Commissioned by Mayor Chevallier for multiple housing complexes such as Diar el-Mahçoul, Diar es-Saada and Climat de France, Pouillon's architecture situated order and transparency as critical to the assimilation and control of populations.

Announced on October 3, 1958 President De Gaulle's Plan de Constantine sought to 'ease international scrutiny, anti-colonial resistance and European fears' by promising to 'reduce unemployment, raise salaries and redistribute agricultural lands' *(Pouliot 41, 2011).* In addition, the plan focused on education and housing[8]. De Gaulle considered architecture as an influential mechanism of social control and assimilation.

> "The Plan de Constantine, in this regard, wagered that the power of built environments over people would be instrumental in harnessing the trust of Algerians, and in turn, demonstrating French civility and benevolence to the international community." *(Pouliot 42,2011)*

President De Gaulle's Plan de Constantine as well as Chevallier's 'battle for housing initiative' focused on the construction of housing complexes and the eradication of biodonvilles within their objectives. Within the Plan de Constantine, De Gaulle reserved a substantial amount of funding towards the assured construction of housing,

---

[8] President De Gaulle's Plan De Constantine additionally focused on control through an assimilation policy that incorporated 'language' and 'economy' *(Gosh 5, 2017).* The plan's projected enrollment of '2/3 of children in school', 'promised incentives of private capital investment' in addition to its intended inclusion of 'French technical and cultural aid programs (including the training of Algerians) were central to De Gaulle's 1958 plan *(Naylor 59, 1980).*

"Of the 15.5 billion francs in credit devoted to the plan by de Gaulle, 3.6 billion was dedicated to new housing and urban infrastructure, including the construction of two hundred thousand new housing units to shelter roughly one million inhabitants." *(Pouliot 41, 2011).*

Although President De Gaulle contributed a considerable sum towards Algerian housing, the annual construction quota of 50,000 housing units during the first four years resulted in 'dismal and alienating landscapes' throughout Algeria *(Pouliot 48, 2011).*

Social reform through architectural design, Fernand Pouillon's Climat de France:

Educated at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Marseille and Beaux-Arts in Paris, Fernand Pouillon's extensive commission of Public and Private buildings likely landed Pouillon the position of Algiers' Chief Architect during Mayor Chevallier's term. Fernand Pouillon's style represented a 'mix of modernity, classical antiquity and local tradition' *(Zeynep 144, 1997)* that conveniently symbolized the ideology of assimilation through colonial benevolence deemed critical during Mayor Chevallier's 'Battle for Housing' initiative.

Climat de France is one of many Algerian Housing complexes built by Pouillon during the 1940s and 1950s. Located near the west of the Casbah, Climat de France is enclosed by three major roads, Boulevard Mohamed Harchouche, Avenue Harchouche, Avenue Ahsan and Boulevad el-Kattar. Due to its isolated built environment, Pouillon approached Climat de France as a self-functioning 'small town' (*Zeynep 151, 1997)*. Pouillon's complex covers 30 hectares and consists of 4,000 units. The complex comprises of four types of buildings, 'linear

buildings, buildings with interior courtyards, buildings linked to each other and single towers'
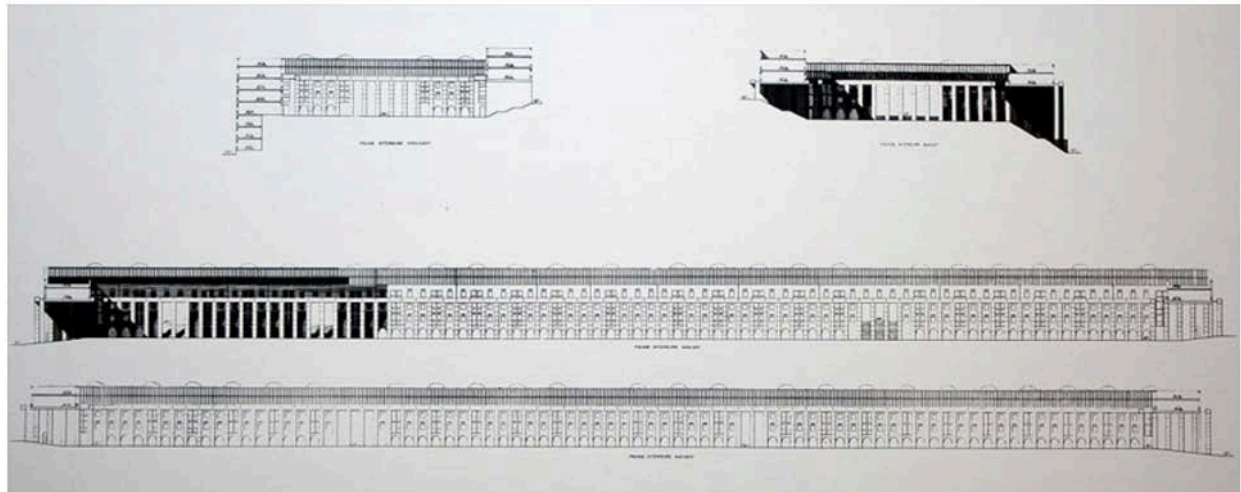
(*Zeynep 152, 1997*).

Source: Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014

200 Columns is the largest plaza in Pouillon's Climat de France. Located in the middle of

Climat de France, the building is four stories, 233 meters long and 33 meters wide *(Lucarelli,*

2014). Its exterior consists of natural stone panels with small rectangular openings lined

vertically across the walls. The complex alone has '200 shops, educational, commercial and

health services' making 200 columns completely autonomous (*Zeynep 154, 1997*).
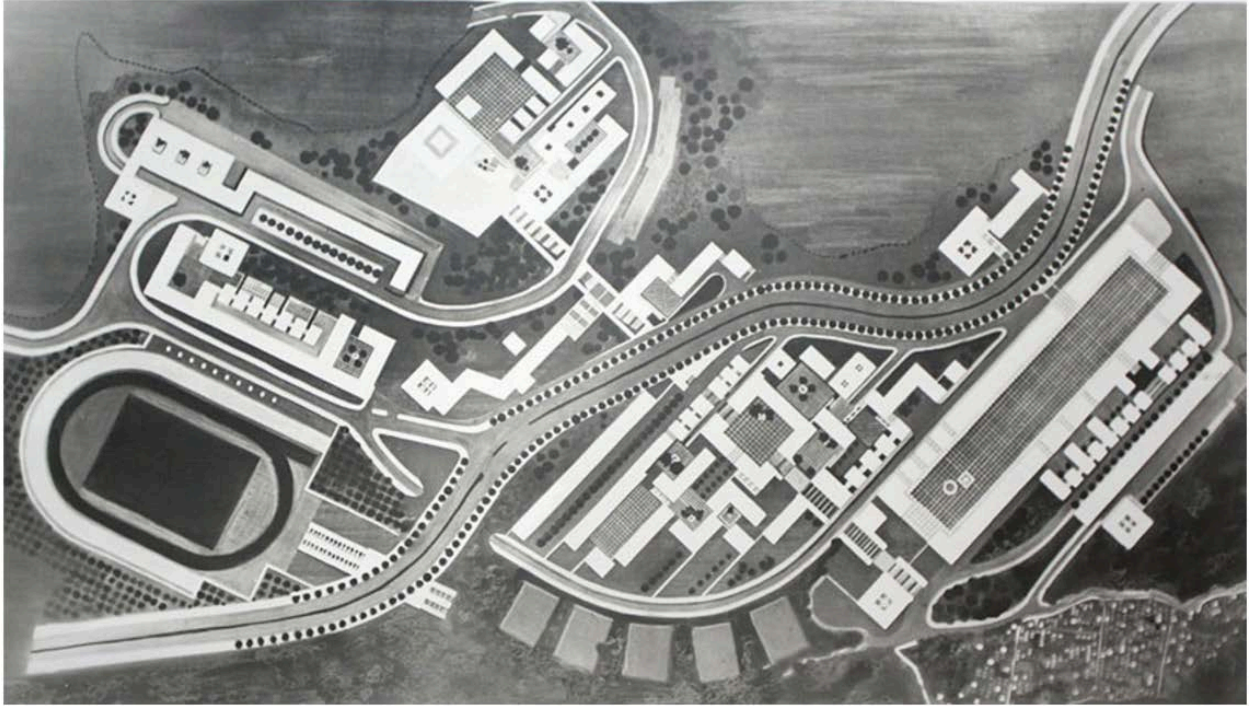
Source: Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014

Source: 200 Columns, Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014

Fernand Pouillon considered Climat de France as 'the first palace for its poorest

residents' *(Crane 193, 2017).* The complex complemented Mayor Chevallier's 'progressive'

social reforms by aiming to instill a 'sense of pride' and loyalty within the Algerian residents

(Djiar 174, 2009). Pouillon's Climat de France was ultimately considered a victory for Mayor

Chevallier's housing initiative.

Source: Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014

The Rationalization and Architectural ordering of Climat de France:

The mechanism of social ordering in Algiers during the 1950s can be characterized

within the architecture of 200 Columns, Climat de France. The homogeneity of apartments,

columns and windows leaves Pouillon's housing complex without a distinct identity. The extensive open space within the plaza, lack of windows and two openings across from each other resembles the architecture of a prison yard rather than a housing complex. Additionally, the small apartments within 200 columns and Climat de France discourage private gatherings and symbolize an architecture of 'containment and control' *(Crane 193, 2017)*.

While the rhetoric of progress and welfare policies championed the 1950s-housing reform on Algerian equality and assimilation, low income housing units for Algerians operated as a means of pacification for colonial France. For Climat de France to be regarded as progressive, disregards the architecture of control eerily similar to Bentham's Panopticon and Foucault's analysis of architectural surveillance.

In "Discipline and Punish", Foucault's analysis of 'observatories'/ 'military camps' in the beginning of the 17th century as a new form of architecture designed to 'inadvertently' control shares similarities to the aesthetics of Pouillon's Climat De France. In Foucault's Discipline and Punish, one draws similarities to the camps and the housing complex.

> "The old simple schema of confinement and enclosure – thick walls, a heavy gate that prevents entering or leaving – began to be replaced by the calculation of openings, of filled and empty spaces, passages and transparencies." *(Foucault 172, 1977)*

Climat de France's thick limestone walls, regimented columns defined by precise openings validate the panoptic architectural similarities between Foucault's analysis of observatories and Poillon's Climat de France.

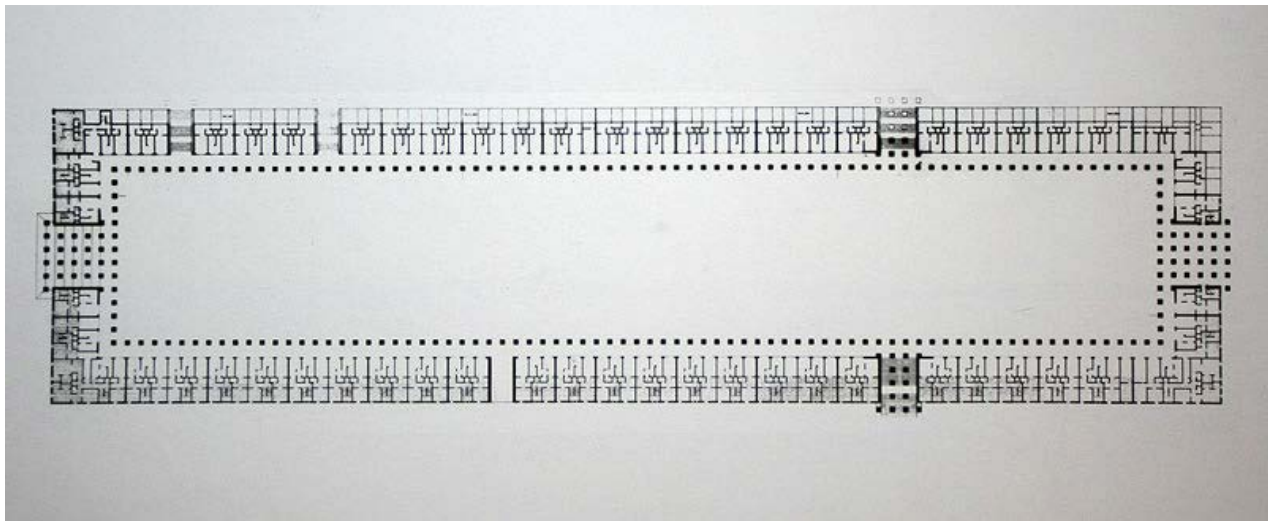*Source: 200 Columns, Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014*

Source: Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014

One can

draw parallels to Jeremy Bentham's Panopticon, as another example of disciplinary architecturalism. Bentham sought to bring similar ideals as Algerian architects such as Pouillon and Mayor Chevallier to his design. The following quote taken from Bentham's Panopticon emphasize the similar rhetoric of 'progress' and 'assimilation' within his design.

> "Morals reformed- health preserved- industry invigorated instruction diffused- public burthens lightened- Economy seater, as it were, upon a rock-the gordian knot of the poor laws are not cut, but united - all by a simple idea in Architecture!" (*Bentham, 1787*).

Source: Climat de France (1954-1957) in Algiers, Fosco Lucarelli, 2014

Jeremy Bentham's architectural design of the Panopticon as well shares similarities to Pouillon's Climat de France. The 'Panopticon' operated as a means to obtain power over mind and body by creating a building which manipulated the inmate to believe he was constantly being watched. The Panopticon's orderly division of cells, placement of unit area entrances towards the center, lack of exterior windows and minimal building exit points share similarities to the architectural design of Pouillon's Climat de France.
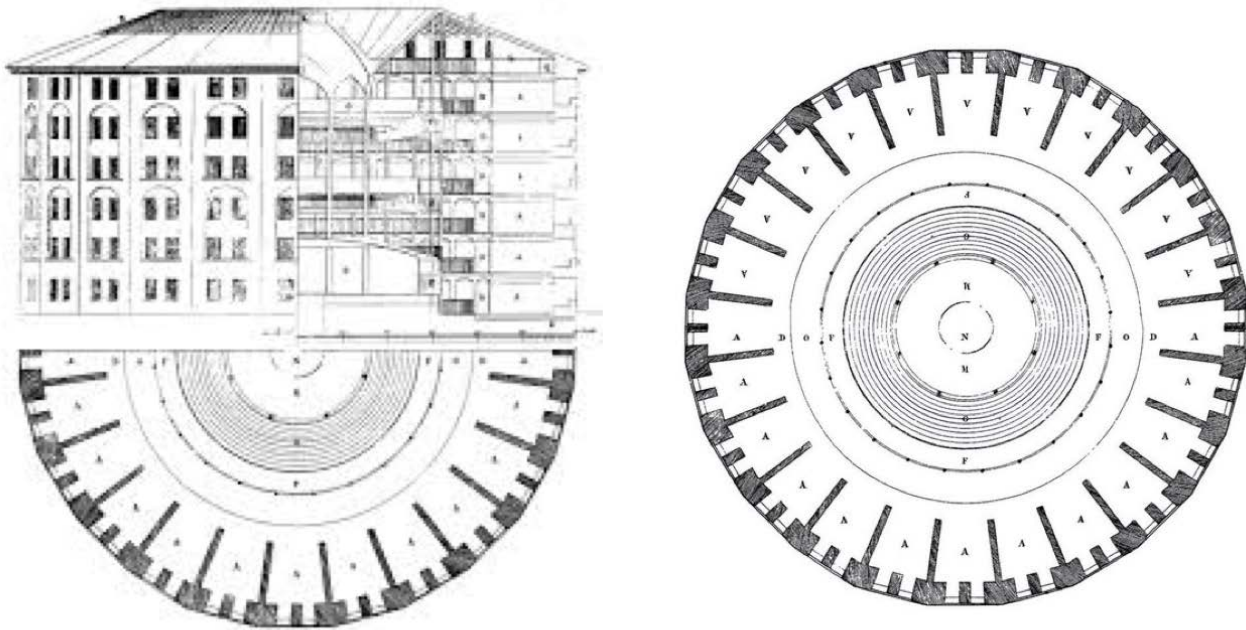
Source: Jeremy Bentham, Panopticon, Wiley Reveley 1791

Timothy Mitchell's analysis of nineteenth century colonial Egypt characterizes similar forms of panoptic design. The village of Kafr al-Zayat in 1846 illustrates colonial reordering throughout Egypt. Restructured and designed 'under the supervision of French Engineers *(Mitchell 44, 1991),* inhabitants of Kafr al-Zayat were 'moved into new houses and allotted to certain rooms'. The village of Neghileh and Ghezaier in Egypt faced a similar fate. As stated by Timothy Mitchell, 'Huts formerly piled together' were eradicated and replaced with 'regimented and neat streets' *(Mitchell 44, 1991).* Mitchell considers projects such as Kafr al-Zayat, Neghileh and Ghezaier, as examples of a less brutal method of 'military order'. He, defined the new method of 'dividing up and containing of villages through the similar

construction as military barracks in colonial Egypt as the process of 'enframing[9]' *(Mitchell 44,*

1991). Mitchell details the reorientation of space within the method of enframing,

> "In reconstructing the village, the spacing that forms its rooms, courtyards, and buildings is specified in exact magnitudes, down to the nearest centimeter. Rather than as an occurrence of walls, floors, and openings, this system of magnitudes can be thought of apart, as space itself. The plans and dimensions introduce space as something apparently abstract and neutral, a series of inert frames or containers." *(Mitchell 45, 1991).*

Similar parallels can be drawn from Mitchell's analysis of Egypt and Fernand Pouillon's design of

Climat de France. The standardization of homes created a 'uniformity' that Mitchell asserts

would be a 'hallmark of the new order' *(Mitchell 45, 1991).* The 'new order' defined by Timothy

Mitchell characterizes Pouillon's Climat de France. Like the leveling of local native villages

throughout Egypt during the second half of the nineteenth century, Pouillon's housing complex

resulted in the obliteration of the former biodonvilles which once stood where Climat de France

now stands.

Conclusion:

The use of modernity as rationalization to De Gaulle and Chevallier's policies in addition

to the application of 'abstract and neutral' form within architectural design throughout housing

developments in Algiers, operated as a critical method of state control. The lack of identity and

---

[9] Mitchell's definition: "Enframing is a method of dividing up and containing, as in the construction of barracks or the rebuilding of villages, which operates by conjuring up a neutral surface or volume called 'space'." *(Mitchell 44, 1991).*

recognition experienced by Algerians relocated from recognizable and familiar biodonvilles to newly constructed housing complexes created a disorientation essential to colonial pacification. Kevin Lynch considers five elements essential to the establishment of a strong mental representation to space. Notable 'Paths, Edges, Districts, Landmarks and Nodes' familiar only to inhabitants of a particular space (such as Algiers) establish a sense of classified legibility unfamiliar and dangerous to the state apparatus (Lynch 46, 1960). James C. Scott within his book "Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition" considers illegibility and disorder as central to state instability.

> "Illegibility, then has been and remains a reliable resource for political autonomy."
> (Scott 54, 1998).

Illegibility remained a central point of concern throughout the 1940s and 1950s within colonial Algiers. Mayor Chevallier's change in rhetoric noted by Sheila Crane validates the potential risk and capacity of disorder.

> "Whereas Mayor Chevallier had earlier drawn attention to the hygienic concerns associated with the shantytown, SAU officers repeatedly insisted that these areas were centers of criminality where the FLN had made particularly deep inroads, thanks in large part to the difficulty of policing their labyrinthine dwellings." *(Crane 198, 2008).*

One notes that the 'rhetoric of progress' and the necessity to 'modernize' for hygienic concerns remains central to private and state redevelopments. While colonial planning was meant to pacify insurgent guerilla tactics through the guise of modernity, the rise of CCTVs, security cameras and militarized police today demonstrates that the threat of safety and incessant calls towards progress continues to be implemented in current rhetoric for the redevelopment of

slums (internationally as well as locally) and low income/minority communities. David Garland's

analysis in "The Culture of Control and Social Order in Contemporary Society" highlights similar

points of state concern in contemporary society.

> "Today there is a new and urgent emphasis upon the need for security, the containment
> of danger, the identification in management of any kind of risk. Protecting the public has
> become the dominant theme of Penal policy." *(Garland 12, 2001)*

'Protecting the public' operates as a rationalization for state control comparable to De Gaulle

and Chevallier's justification for slum clearance. A question that must be continually asked

when considering the geographical morphogenesis of a city or new urban planning policy is who

this plan or use of surveillance is being used for and whether it is truly benefitting those it

claims to benefit.

Sources Cited:

Bourdieu, Pierre (1958). *Sociologie d'Algerie*, PUF, Paris.

Blaney D.L., Inayatullah N. (2010). Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty and the Temporal Walls of Capitalism. New York: Routledge.

Blanchette, G. (1954). Loger des multitudes de citoyens, Alger: Revue Municipale, 24–27.

Calhoun, C. (2006). Pierre bourdieu and social transformation: Lessons from algeria. Development and Change, 37(6), 1403–1415. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-7660.2006.00535.

Crane, S. (2017). Housing as battleground: Targeting the city in the battles of algiers. City & Society, 29(1), 187-212. DOI:10.1111/ciso.12118.

Garland, David (2001). *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society,* University of Chicago, Chicago.

Davis, M. (2007, Summer). The FLN's Strategy for Gaining an Independent Algeria, 1954-1962. Retrieved May 2, 2017, from http://www.ecusd7.org/

De Gaulle, C. (1944, January 30). Speech at the Opening of the Brazzaville Conference. Speech presented at Brazzaville Conference in French Equatorial Africa, Brazzaville. Retrieved from http://www.charles-de-gaulle.com/l-homme-du-verbe/speeches/30-january-1944-spee ch-at-the-opening-of-the-brazzaville-conference.html

Djiar, K. A. (2009). Locating architecture, post-colonialism and culture: Contextualisation in algiers. The Journal of Architecture, 14(2), 161-183. http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13602360902867392

Gasanobo, J. D. (n.d.) The Brazzaville Conference, 1944. In Online Encyclopedia of Significant People and Places in Global African History. Retrieved from http://www.blackpast.org/gah/brazzaville-conference-1944

Gosh, M. (n.d). Imperial legacies and the influence on architecture: Differences between case of beirut and algeria. Retrieved from http://www.academia.edu/27162644/Imperial_legacies_and_the_influence_on_archite cture_Differences_between_case_of_Beirut_and_Algeria_How_did_French_modern_st yle_become_an_architectural_culture_in_Algeria_and_Lebanon

Khenouf, M. (1991). The development of Algerian nationalism 1936-1954. Des frères Mentouri university. doi:10.1007/978-1-349-18264-0_10

Lyautey, Hubert. (1932). *L'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux.* Report Prepared for Communications & Rapports Du Congres International De L'Urbanisme Aux Colonies Et Dans Les Pays De Latitude Intertropicale. Paris

Lynch, Kevin (1960). *Image of the City*, The Technology Press & Harvard University Press, Cambridge.

Lloyd, C. (2003, April). Working Paper Number 104 Multi-causal Conflict in Algeria: National Identity, Inequality and Political Islam [Scholarly project]. Retrieved May 2, 2017, from https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/0f83/234bd008b0ae52822b93a1ad45b466ca2d35.pdf

Lyons, A. H. (2013). The civilizing mission in the metropole: Algerian families and the French welfare state during decolonization. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press

Paine, R. (1977). The White Arctic: Anthropological essays on tutelage and ethnicity. St. John's NL: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial University of Newfoundland

Papadopoulos, A. (2017). Lecture 7: Comparative Urbanism. DePaul University.

Pouliot, H. (2011). Between the medina and the metropole: Race & urban planning from Algiers to paris (1930-75). Retrieved From https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/14187?show=full

Royer, Jean. (1932). *L'urbanisme aux colonies et dans les pays tropicaux.* Report Prepared for Communications & Rapports Du Congres International De L'Urbanisme Aux Colonies Et Dans Les Pays De Latitude Intertropicale. Paris

Zeynep, C. (1992). Le Corbusier, orientalism, colonialism. Assemblage, No. 17, pp. 58-77.

Zeynep, C. (1997). Urban forms and colonial confrontations: Algiers under French rule. Berkeley: University of California Press.