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List of Non-English Terms and Abbreviations

Arab terms with explanation

Aït el Kebir	Islamic feast celebrated with the ritual offering of a sheep
bled el-makhzen	territory under control of the Sultan
bled el-siba	territory out of the control of the Sultan
chergui	extremely hot and dry wind from the Sahara
Darija	Moroccan dialect of Arabic
el fotor	breakfast/first meal of the day
fonduk	hotel
hamam	Turkish bathhouse
Hamdoulah/Hamdoulilah	praise the lord
jamaâ	Koranic school
kaid	mayor
kissaria	cloth market
makhzen	Morocco's governing elite
medina jedida	new city centre
medina kedima	old city centre
noualla	huts of branches or reeds
souk	market
wilaya	territorial collectivity with far-reaching economic and political freedom

French terms with explanation

bidonville	shantytown
colons	French settlers

dénombrement	superficial population census
Direction de la Statistique	government service charged with the gathering of statistical data
l'État civil	vital registration of births, marriages and deaths
habitat clandestin	illegal settlements/ buildings without permit
Haut Commissariat au Plan	Morocco's planning office
protégé	Moroccans protected by Europeans through another statute
recensement	extensive population census
registre de la population	population register
territoires d'Outre Mer	France's (colonial) transmarine possessions
travaux public	government service charged with public construction
ville nouvelle	new elitist part of the city where the French and other European colonists settled

Abbreviations with regard to source materials

RGPH	Recensement Général de Population et de l'Habitat
CERED	Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Démographique
ENDPR	Enquête Nationale Démographique à Passage Répétés
ENNVM	Enquête Nationale sur le Niveau de Vie des Ménages
ENPS	Enquête Nationale sur la Population et la Santé
PRJ-CERED	Projections du CERED
IUSSP	International Union for the Scientific Study of Population

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Preface

More than eight years have passed since I visited Casablanca the first time. I can never forget my first, tentative steps in this amazing metropolis, which simultaneously scared, impressed and intrigued me. The chaotic driving manners of the Moroccans, the endless traffic jams, the hooting of nervous motorists, the yelling of vendors at the *souks* and *kissarias* (cloth markets) and the wild mix of modern and traditional lifestyles evoked the symptoms of the much talked-of cultural shock within me. These were reinforced by the fact that I entered Casablanca during Ramadan, shortly before sunset, at the moment everybody was making their way home for *el fotor* (the first meal of the day). At this unique moment in time, when appetite and thirst reach their highest level, policemen leave their posts, disputes and fights arise everywhere in the streets and accidents are commonplace. At this chaotic time of the day, my brother and I made our way from the Mohammed V airport to the overcrowded *kissaria* of Derb Sultan, where we were warmly welcomed by my brother's future in-laws. This eventful trip into the largest metropolis of Northwestern Africa, led us through residential neighborhoods and shanty towns alike, and it marked the start of a growing personal interest into the population history of Casablanca.

Whereas most tourists avoid Casablanca nowadays, I quickly became attached to this sprawling metropolis. I revisited the city at least once a year to see friends and family. When I got the opportunity to do research abroad, I chose to go to Morocco, although my knowledge of the Moroccan dialect *Darija* was quite limited and my French a little rusty. In 2007, I spent five months in Casablanca and Rabat for research into the fertility transition in Morocco. In this period, I simultaneously attended courses in the twentieth century history of Morocco at the University Hassan II. I soon became aware that Casablanca's gigantic population increase was not, primarily, the result of natural growth but rather, the effect of a sustained influx from Moroccan country dwellers. Sitting with friends on the rooftop of a high apartment building in Derb Milan, I viewed Casablanca from above and wondered how it was possible that one city could attract so many people in just a century's time. This research project is a scholarly attempt to answer this intriguing question.

Introduction

“One of the major features that characterizes Casablanca is its ever-growing native population. It is perhaps the only Muslim town in the whole of North Africa where this type of development has occurred... As a consequence, grim suburbs and squalid slums have sprung up, unfortunately squeezed right in between the European quarters.” (Prost 1917, quoted in Cohen & Eleb 2002:215)

At the beginning of the twentieth century Casablanca was a minor Moroccan city. Conveniently situated on the Atlantic Coast, the small port, which the Moroccans called *Dar el Beida*, had a population of about 20,000 inhabitants (Kaioua & Troin 2002). The old Medina, which even today is distinguishable by its thick, ancient, four kilometer-long wall, covered some 50 hectares (Chavagnac 2004). In comparison with the principal Moroccan cities – Marrakech, Fez, Rabat and Meknes – Casablanca was an unimportant coastal settlement with an insignificant past. It had never served as a capital for the Moroccan Sultans, and there was no important economic or cultural role for the port in Moroccan history. Looking at photographs taken at the dawn of the twentieth century, one could be forgiven for thinking that Casablanca was a village. Except for its great walls, the small town left rather a rural than an urban impression (Adam 1968a). The many migrants from the countryside underlined this suggestion.

One century later, nothing of this picture is left. Casablanca has, in a few decades, grown into the largest metropolis of the Maghreb. Today, the city, with its large ocean port, broad boulevards, modern shopping centers and its great industrial sector covers some 14,000 hectares (Kaioua 1996). It is the economic heart of Morocco. ‘Who knows Casablanca, knows Morocco’, goes the modern saying, which is reinforced from a demographic point of view, as people from every region of the country are represented in the town’s population. Indeed, Casablanca owes its great population growth to a continuous influx of country dwellers during the twentieth century. In 1952, at the end

of the French protectorate, a census was held, which indicated that only 8 per cent of the city's population was born in Casablanca, 17 per cent came from other Moroccan towns, whereas as much as 75 per cent originated from the countryside (Awad 1964). Between 1936 and 1952 three-fifths of all rural migrants settled down in the booming town of Casablanca (Adam 1973).

Dar el Beida, then, was the major center of attraction for rural migrants, who faced high population pressures and heavy drought in the Moroccan countryside. The hope for a job and better living conditions seem to have driven them to the new economic heart of the country. However, in the course of the twentieth century, economic development fell behind population growth, the labor market became saturated and a serious housing problem arose (Adam 1968b). Yet, the influx of rural migrants did not stop and unemployment kept increasing (Escallier 1981). The outcome was in many ways catastrophic. Slums appeared at the outskirts of the city and the inhabitants of these so-called *bidonvilles* – a term which originated in Casablanca – lived in extremely poor conditions, unable to put together even the bare essentials for survival (Adam 1968b; Freund 2007). For decades, slum dwellers had no running water, electricity or a decent sewer system at their disposal and as economic development stayed low, perspectives for social-economic upward mobility were small. Life was miserable in the slum dwellings behind the concrete walls.

Why, then, did the influx of rural migrants not stop? One cause can be found in the bad circumstances in the countryside. Farmers' land was being constantly subdivided because of the high population pressure. The remaining tillage land was often too small to support a family. Employment in the non-agricultural sectors was rather scarce or even non-existent, as Morocco's twentieth century countryside was highly underdeveloped (Escallier 1981). There were also environmental factors behind the rural exodus and scholars have shown a strong connection between meteorological development and the size of the rural-to-urban migration stream. In times of heavy drought, more Moroccans left the countryside than in relatively rainy periods (Kerzazi 2003).

The development of land property can, in many ways, explain the problematic situation in the Moroccan countryside. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the largest part of Morocco's agricultural sector consisted of self-supporting small farmers, who sold only a minor part of their production at the market. The arrival of the French in 1912 marked the advent of the modernization of the Moroccan agricultural sector. Yet, as in many other developing countries, this turned out to be a very uneven development. The French *colons* got hold of the most fertile lands and enlarged steadily their estates during the colonial period (1912-1956), while the Moroccan farmers had to content themselves with less-fruitful lands which were constantly subdivided, as Islamic law grants heritage rights to the whole family's offspring (Lentjes 1981).

A dual-economy developed. The French managed to steadily raise their agricultural production through mechanization and the purchase of new lands, while most Moroccan small farmers continued to work their decreasing land estates in traditional ways. The smallholders faced a diminution in production and an increasing number

of them were no longer able to earn a living from their agricultural activities. Land flight was the ultimate outcome. After decolonization, large parts of the French tillage land fell into the hands of the Moroccan elite. Only a very few small farmers profited from land reforms in the 1960s and 1970s (Swearingen 1988). The dual economy persisted and the problems of smallholders grew worse as the partition of their lands continued (Lentjes 1981). Consequently, the flight from the land did not stop in the latter part of the twentieth century; in fact, migration from the country to cities increased.

To get an idea about the size and development of the Moroccan rural-to-urban migration process, we present some general figures. Whereas at the beginning of the twentieth century annually some 8,000 people left the Moroccan countryside, this number rose to more than 45,000 in the period 1952-1960 and to 106,000 per year between the census years 1994 and 2004 (Comité Directeur 2006). A strong absolute increase in the rural exodus had taken place, which clearly indicates that the situation in the countryside deteriorated during the twentieth century. Yet, the growth in rural-to-urban migration was no linear process. In periods of crises in the Moroccan countryside, as was the case during the Second World War and the early years of independence (1960s), a much larger number of country dwellers made their way to the city (Escallier 1981).

However, poor or deteriorating conditions in the area of origin can never fully explain why so many country residents consistently moved to Casablanca, where the misery in the slums may have been even greater and where, although some people managed to improve their situation in life, the majority of slum habitants had no real prospect of social upward mobility, as formal jobs were scarce. Many new city dwellers made a living as shoeblacks, cigarette sellers, garbage collectors, guardians and the like, i.e. they got jobs in the expanding informal sector of the economy. Others – and particularly widows, the sick and elderly people – relied on begging (Benkirane 1993). As money was scarce in the shanty towns, the new city dwellers could not afford a high education for their children, severely limiting inter-generational social upward mobility.

Why did so many Moroccan country dwellers decide, then, to leave their area of origin and head for a major Moroccan city; and why did most of them choose Casablanca as a final destination? Was there a great discrepancy between the perception of Dar el Beida and the actual situation in Maghreb's largest metropolis? Did migrants still view Casablanca as a job paradise with relatively luxurious living conditions, i.e. did rural-to-urban migrants have a too idealized picture of the possibilities Dar el Beida could offer them? Or, was the situation in the countryside so bad that they felt they had no other choice than to leave their agricultural activities behind? Ultimately, these issues give rise to the central question of this monograph: How is it possible that Casablanca developed from a small provincial town into Maghreb's largest metropolis?



► The Slums of Bachko set against Casablanca's skyline.

Status Quaestionis

In the past, several scholars were concerned about the paradoxical phenomenon of continuing rural-to-urban migration in times when the urban labor market was already saturated. John Harris and Michael Todaro developed a very influential theory on this subject. In their neo-classical approach, differentials in expected wages and the expected ability to find a job between the countryside and the towns are central causes for ongoing rural-to-urban migrations in developing metropolises at the moment unemployment starts to rise (Todaro 1969; Harris & Todaro 1970). Their presumption is that the 'lure of relatively higher permanent incomes will continue to attract a steady stream of rural migrants' as long as the rural-urban disparity in earnings outweighs the risk of becoming unemployed (Todaro 1969: 138; De Haas, 2003).

Another author of note is Akin Mabogunje, who is considered to be the founder of migration systems theory. This geographer paid special attention to rural-to-urban migrations on the African continent. According to his theory, migration not only changes the life of migrants but it also transforms the area of origin and the area of destination, creating a strong link between them. The system which subsequently arises will stimulate further migration, separately from the initial causes of the population movement, which, in Mabogunje's opinion, explains why certain North African cities are closely linked to certain villages (Mabogunje 1970).

Neither the 'Harris-Todaro model' nor Mabogunje's system theory have been tested in the context of Casablanca. In general, we can observe a negligence of the case of Casablanca, when it comes to explorations in the field of migration studies. Although several publications in the last decades have been dedicated to Morocco's internal migration, few contributions concentrated solely on Casablanca, the city which attracted after all the majority of the country's rural-to-urban migrants (Escallier 1980; 1981). André Adam investigated the integration process of Berber migrants in Dar el Beida but he did not pay much attention to the Berber's places of origin, the numbers in which they came and the reasons for migration (Adam 1973). Both Moussa Kerzazi and Khalid Benabdeljalil dedicated their PhD theses to internal migration in Morocco, however, neither author was particularly concerned about Casablanca and neither utilized a historical approach to the population movements on Moroccan soil (Benabdeljalil 1984; Kerzazi 2003). The Dutch geographer Wout Lentjes has also contributed to the exploration of rural-to-urban migrations in Morocco and although he considered Casablanca as a primate city and the center of attraction of the largest part of the Moroccan country dwellers, he did not highlight Casablanca as a special case (Lentjes 1981).

Historical contributions to the twentieth century development of Dar el Beida are also scarce. Few authors have concentrated on the past of the metropolis, which is often considered as a city without history. Again, the French sociologist André Adam is an exception, dedicating several publications to the historical evolution of Casablanca (Adam, 1950; 1968a; 1968b; 1969; 1973). In addition, Garret Pascal and Mostafa Nachoui have written equally interesting contributions about Casablanca's recent past (Nachoui 1994; 1998; Pascal 2002; 2006). In the 1980's, Nabil Rochd paid attention to Casablanca's population growth from a geographic point of view (Rochd 1988). His PhD thesis remained, however, unpublished. The same is true for the dissertations of Abdelmajid Ferrad and Nejmi El-Houssine, who deal, respectively, with the French housing policy in Casablanca during the protectorate and the social transformations which took place as a consequence of Dar el Beida's sustained and explosive population growth (Ferrad 1998; El Houssine 2004). For the industrial development of Casablanca, one can rely on the publications of Abdulkader Kaioua and Abdel el Makhoulfi (Kaioua 1992; 1996; 2005; Makhoulfi 2001). For those scholars who are interested in the economic activities of Casablanca's urban-in migrants the dissertation of Mohamed Laoudi is highly recommended (Laoudi 2001). Finally, the architectural history of Jean-Louis Cohen and Monique Eleb is worth mentioning as it presents a broad view of the city's past and the book includes a bibliography of archives and sources about Casablanca's past and present (Cohen & Eleb 2002).

The issues

Today Casablanca counts more than three million inhabitants and belongs to the largest cities of the African continent. It is a center of human activity and international

trade and commerce, a place of economic development and modernity. Yet it is also a spot of misery and lost hopes, as many slum habitants, who once left the countryside with great expectations, have failed to profit from the city's economic development and return migration does not seem to be a real option. The gap between rich and poor has widened and as exclusive residential neighborhoods were located next to shanty towns, social tensions were inescapable. Today's great social-economic differences are the result of the historical transformations Casablanca underwent during the twentieth century. The continuous flow of country dwellers to Morocco's primate city seems to have brought these social-economic differences within Casablanca to a head.

The issues we will consider in this work are of great relevance today, as rural-to-urban migration causes immense trouble for human development in Morocco. Neither the problems in the countryside are solved, nor is there a real solution for the social-economic challenges emanating from Casablanca's shantytowns. Although several state and intergovernmental projects have been established, aimed at erasing Morocco's slums, still some 75,000 households lived in Casablanca's shantytowns in 2005. That amounts to about a quarter of the city's population and, according to Fadoua Ghannam, these numbers are climbing as hundreds of new slum dwellings appear in Dar el Beida every day (Ghannam 2005). In the past, government programs, which helped to provide a decent residence for inhabitants of shanty towns, did not solve the problem. The people involved in these programs simply sold their slums to new migrants from the countryside (Pfeiffer, 2006). As destruction of hovels by the state increases so does the number of homeless people. To cope with the situation it is necessary to reduce the influx of rural migrants. Today, however, we are still no further in understanding why migrants continue to arrive in Casablanca, in spite of the fact that a large part of the city's population is already unemployed and thousands of citizens do not possess a decent dwelling.

If the Moroccan government wants to erase the slums without creating even greater problems, insight into the causes of the ongoing migration is essential. This study tries to increase this insight by exploring the process from a historical point of view. In addition, the research project tries to spur on scholars and politicians alike to focus more on Casablanca in relation to migration issues on Moroccan soil. There is not only a negligence of the case of Casablanca in the literature on migration but also in governmental programs aimed at erasing Morocco's shantytowns. As Casablanca formed the centre of attraction for rural migrants throughout the twentieth century and some half a million of the town's habitants appear to live in slums, Dar el Beida surely deserves more attention.

There is yet another, perhaps even more urgent reason to focus on migration from the Moroccan countryside to Casablanca. The city's shantytowns, which resulted from the ongoing rural-to-urban migration process, not only cause misery, poverty and physical and mental danger to their habitants, they also seem to create a serious security problem. Recently, a link between life in the slums and Islamic terrorism has been laid. The shanty towns appear to be a breeding ground for Muslim fundamentalists. In *Le Monde Diplomatique*, Selma Belaala summarized the problem in her article 'A new kind of Fundamentalism – Morocco: slums breed jihad': 'In Morocco violent jihadist

organizations have emerged over the past few years in shanty towns on the edges of cities, inhabited by the despised and forgotten migrants from the countryside. They are creating the conditions for a rebellion born of despair.' (Belaala 2004)

While in the 1990s Algeria faced a civil war because of Islamist terrorism, Morocco stayed for a long time relatively untouched by fundamentalism, with no major terrorist attacks occurring until the end of the twentieth century. However, in the new millennium a caesura is observable, as Salafist sects, who propagate jihad on the administration of Muslim countries, are growing. In 2003 and 2007 these fundamentalist groups – believed to be connected to Al Qaeda – launched several bomb attacks in Casablanca. As all the attackers originated from the city's shanty towns, it is easy to make the link between the desperate life in Casablanca's slums and Islamist terrorism. In Sidi Moumen, the city quarter where the majority of Casablanca's bomb attackers lived, a local resident underlined this point of view to a journalist from *Magharebia*: 'If certain extremist ideas have taken root easily in our neighborhood, it is because disillusioned, very poor and pessimistic young people are to be found here' (Benmehdi 2007). Another reason can be found in the fact that slum dwellers are, in general, only poorly educated. This exposes these people to an increased risk of becoming victims of extremist organizations. Last, but not least, the slum dwellers form a segregated part of society as they originate from the countryside and are not integrated into urban society. Such marginalization inclines them towards violence. Many inhabitants of Casablanca look down on slum dwellers and their way of life. Often they are not even considered as fellow-Moroccans. Consequently, a culture of poverty has arisen, in the sense that the famous anthropologist Oscar Lewis formulated it originally (Lewis 1966a; 1966b). In sum, misery, lost hopes, low education and marginalization make slum dwellers vulnerable and open to Islamist fundamentalism. It is, therefore, imperative that the influx of new country dwellers is curtailed (further). However, this will be impossible unless the Moroccan government tackles the roots of the problem. To be able to do this more knowledge about the causes of ongoing migration from the countryside to Casablanca is necessary. This study aims to increase this knowledge.

Sources and methods

This monograph relies on three different types of sources: 1) secondary literature, 2) statistical accounts and 3) interviews with rural migrants who ended up in Casablanca's shantytowns. A wide range of literature is used to sketch the historical, demographic and geographic context in which migration from rural Morocco to Casablanca took place. It concerns books and articles but also conference papers and unpublished PhD theses written by scholars from different disciplines: historians, sociologists, geographers, demographers and economists. Some of the works listed in the bibliography of this book are well distributed around the globe; others are rare and require extraordinary efforts in order to get hold of a copy.

The whole process of gathering the right literature is obstructed by the fact that PhD theses in Morocco and France cannot be borrowed from libraries and a maximum of twenty pages of a doctoral thesis may be copied without the authorisation of the author. To my amazement, not every scholar was willing to grant such permission. Worse still, many rare library books in Morocco have become lost and thus can no longer be consulted on the spot. This is a consequence of the library regulations, which seem to deter rather than encourage students and researchers from reading and also spur on egoistic souls to steal these books. Buying the relevant works is not feasible as they are no longer in press. Searching in antiquarian bookstores, by contrast, is like looking for a needle in a haystack, since Moroccan antiquarians have not yet started to make online inventories of available publications. All these complications have made the literature study on this topic extremely complicated. Since this book summarizes crucial information from many scarce studies, I hope this publication will help to make the knowledge from these works accessible to a broader readership.

The first chapter of this book, which is intended to make the reader familiar with migration theory and the history of rural-to-urban migration and urbanization, relies almost completely on secondary literature. The same is more or less true for the second chapter, in which a short overview of Casablanca's twentieth century history is presented, as far as it concerns our own topic of research. Chapter three, which deals with the demographic evolution of Dar el Beida is supplemented with important statistics on migration, urbanization, total population growth, fertility and mortality. In chapter four the tide is turned, as statistics become the main evidence of the structural analysis of the rural-to-urban migration process in consideration. This part of the research relies on quantitative data on a wide range of subjects such as life expectancy, mortality, illiteracy, living and housing conditions, the composition of the working population, living costs, agricultural production and the distribution of farmland. In order to explain why massive rural-to-urban migration occurred mainly in the direction of Casablanca, we have compared the standard of living, the availability of services and the possibilities for social-economic upward mobility between rural and urban Morocco on the one hand and between Casablanca and other cities on the other hand.

The statistics on which these comparisons are based originate largely from population censuses, (demographic) surveys and other publications from government services and research institutes such as the *Direction de la Statistique* and the *Centre d'Études et de Recherches Démographique* in Rabat. Many of the statistics presented in this book, I have gathered myself in these institutions during my stay in Morocco. Finally, I also derived statistics from the work of other scholars. This is particularly true for older statistics that were somewhat difficult to retrieve. Moreover, in Morocco – like elsewhere in the world – librarians and archivists charged with the preservation and disposition of statistical accounts often seem unaware of the value of *older* data series for the historian. Many older quantitative sources are simply thrown away by unsuspecting staff members of libraries of research institutions and government services, as these people were convinced that these sources had become useless with the time.

Notwithstanding the fact that much money, time and energy has been spent to produce the quantitative sources this work relies on, it is clear that most statistics are not wholly reliable, in the sense that they are not exact. Although under-registration of demographic events is a world wide problem – irregular migration, for instance, leads to an underestimation of population movements everywhere – in the case of twentieth century Morocco we have to treat the population statistics with some extra circumspection (Koser 2007). This is a consequence of the fact that during the larger part of the period in consideration, public administration was in its infancy. Before the protectorate, the Sultan controlled only a part of Morocco, the so-called *bled el-Makhzen*. The tribes who lived in the *bled el-Siba*, including large parts of the Rif region, the Atlas Mountains and the Sahara were not living under his control. What occurred in these regions of ‘institutionalized dissidence’ was only partially known to the Sultan and certainly not systematically registered (Gellner 2006; Hoffman 1967; Seddon 1981). Moreover, the sultan had never really developed a system of public administration. Quite the opposite is true, as illustrated by the fact that relatively few sources of the national history are preserved in Morocco.¹ It is even claimed that the sultan had one public servant at his disposal who was charged with the destruction of all his correspondence, as he found the preservation of all kind of written sources too suspect (Obdeijn, De Mas & Hermans 2002). In this context, births, marriages and burials were not systematically registered in pre-colonial times. There were no population censuses carried out either. In the absence of such sources of information, the sultan could only guess at who was living in his empire.

With the arrival of the French important change occurred. Gradually even the most remote corners of the Moroccan sultanate were brought under government control. Equally, great efforts were made to create a modern information system in French Morocco. However, when it comes to population statistics, the sources created were far from perfect. Although the French occupier surely had the know-how to conduct high quality population censuses and to maintain a modern population register and a trustworthy vital registration of births, marriages and deaths, the results were somewhat disappointing. The *dénombrements* which were held during the protectorate contained only very superficial information and some were absolutely unreliable.² This was the result of planning mistakes and resistance from the local population (Noin 1970). After all, it was only in 1936 that the bloody war of ‘pacification’ was ended and all tribes were brought under government control (Rivet 2004). As a consequence, the population living in the regions of resistance could only be estimated for the *dénombrements* of 1921, 1926 and 1931 (Heinemeijer 1960). Nevertheless, this was surely not the only reason why censuses were inaccurate. In 1947, when the French had controlled even the most remote corner of their own zone for already more than a decade, a census was held that, retrospectively, is completely unreliable (Adam 1968b; Noin 1970).

Equally, the Moroccan *l'état civil* was far from perfect. In fact, only the vital registration of births, marriages and deaths of Europeans and, to a lesser degree, of Jews was realized, as the registration of these life-time events was not made compulsory for

Moroccan Muslims before 1950 (Royaume du Maroc 1960). However, even from this point onwards the Moroccan *l'état civil* is a source which must be treated with great caution (Royaume du Maroc 1986; 1993). Until today, Berber tribes living in the Middle Atlas, still refuse en masse to sign marriage certificates; they still marry in a traditional ceremony without any legal basis (Venema & Bakker 2004). Consequently, nuptiality is considerably underestimated. The problems are, however, even more far-reaching as the registration of the children of parents without a marriage certificate seldom occurs due to the extra complicating bureaucratic problems involved. Hence, vital registration is considerably biased.

However, under-registration is not the only reason why the *l'état civil* is an unsuitable source for scientific research. Serious problems are also caused by the fact that data management by the Moroccan government is poorly developed. Anyone who has ever applied for some official documents at a Moroccan *arrondissement* will surely confirm this. Even today, the Moroccan administration is filled with immeasurable-looking stores of handwritten files, which are organized in a rather 'pre-modern' way. It is not uncommon, therefore, for the civil servant behind the desk to conclude that your birth or marriage certificate is missing or that you are not registered at the address where you actually reside, even though you have lived there from the moment you were born and you know that this has been registered in the past. These are the clear signs of the administration's inability to maintain such information systems. Indeed, to date no real population register has been developed. However, the Moroccan government was, from early on, aware of the deficiencies in the information system. Therefore, the *Direction de la Statistique* and the *Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches Démographique* started to work with demographic surveys. These surveys contain important information on Morocco's post-colonial demographic development. They even contain information that we do not possess for historical Europe. This is especially true for issues related to fertility, like the desired number of children and the methods applied in order to realize modern family planning.

Demographic surveys, in combination with the high quality population censuses of 1960, 1971, 1982, 1994 and 2004 allow for the presentation of a much more accurate picture of the demographic development of post-colonial Morocco than was possible during the protectorate. It is for this reason that in this monograph we rely as much as possible on these sources of information. Nevertheless, still today, shantytowns and the so-called *habitat clandestin* may cause declinations in population statistics and, since these types of housing are still growing in urban Morocco as a consequence of housing shortages, some kind of uncertainty remains (Benlahcen Tlemçani & Missamou 2009). It is largely because of this that so many conflicting figures regarding the size of the population living in Casablanca's shantytowns have been found. Uncertainty is also caused by undocumented international migration. Those who head for Europe without a visa are usually still registered as living at the same residence in Morocco that they did before they left the country. On the other hand, under-registration is caused by the hundreds of thousands of sub-Saharan Africans who settle without official documents more or less permanently in Morocco (De Haas 2008a). In their unsuccessful attempts

to reach Europe, these migrants become stuck between the Sahara and the Mediterranean. Their presence in Morocco stays largely undocumented (Schapendonk 2008).

The inaccuracies in the quantitative sources are clear. Unfortunately, however, there are no better statistics available on Morocco's twentieth century demographic realities than those considered above. For this reason, we must live with the fact of incomplete data. Nevertheless, be assured that the statistics presented in this book do not distort the picture of historical reality too much. When it comes to population statistics, in fact, the opposite is true, since there are serious reasons to believe that Casablanca's urban in-migration and, consequently, the city's population size are rather under- than over-estimated. After all, in a metropolis that struggles with shantytowns, illegal habitation and hundreds of thousands migrants, the chance of overlooking somebody seems far more likely than counting somebody twice. In this sense, *accurate* figures would have underlined even more the impressiveness of the demographic developments considered in this monograph. However, for the structural analyses of the causes of rural-to-urban migration in the direction of Dar el Beida, an under-estimation of (some of the) figures for Casablanca could have caused a biased view.³ I believe, however, that this is not the case as most of the statistics presented in this chapter originate from surveys and high-quality censuses from the post-colonial era, which are far less inaccurate in this respect.

The third pillar of this study is formed by ten interviews with rural migrants who settled down in Casablanca's shantytowns. This part of the monograph, which analyses the experiences of migrants on the micro-level, is based on oral history methods. Ever since the 1960's, oral history has been extending its spheres of activity. In this respect, the field of migration history has not stayed untouched. In the Netherlands, for instance, an oral history appeared under the title 'Heimat in Holland', about German life-cycle servants in the Netherlands during the twentieth century. In this impressive study, Barbara Henkes (1995) analyzed, amongst others, why these female migrants had decided to come to the Netherlands, how they were viewed and treated by the Dutch population and how the Second World War changed their position within society. In this way, an extensive picture of migration was presented. However, already before Henkes' work was published, interesting migration studies on the basis of interviews had appeared. With her work on Turkish social workers in Germany and the Netherlands, Helma Lutz (1991) was the first to focus on an oral history research on migrant women (Leydesdorff 2004). Ever since, this field of research has extended impressively and this has turned out to be a method of analyzing the history of female migrants most thoroughly. Although the women in consideration may have left no written sources, their experiences can be analyzed as they can be interviewed about their whole personal life course (Kopijn 2005). That is also the reason for the decision to rely, in part, on interviews for this work. Moreover, Moroccan rural-to-urban migrants have left few written sources; this is even truer for those who ended up in slums, the category we choose to interview.

The reason for choosing interviewees from Casablanca's shantytowns originates from the aim to explain the strange phenomenon of ongoing migration at the moment

the demand for labour ceased and a great housing shortage arose. By interviewing slum habitants who originated from the countryside we may get a better insight into the backdrops of the ‘unhealthy’ pace at which Casablanca grew during the latter part of the twentieth century. Rural-to-urban migrants, who ended up in the slums are people, who at least at first sight, seem to have taken an illogical decision by leaving their natal village, as Casablanca could offer them neither a good job, nor a decent living accommodation. We want to know why these people headed for Casablanca at a time when migration was not coupled automatically with social upward mobility. Their decision to head for and stay in Dar el Beida forms the main reason why Casablanca grew at an unstoppable pace. What were the reasons that these migrants took this decision and were their decisions logical in the light of the actual situation in the place of origin and place of settlement?

At this juncture, it is appropriate to deal briefly with some important advantages and disadvantages related to the use of oral history. One important advantage is the fact that the interviewer can ask at every possible moment during an interview for extra information and that he can have several conversations with the same person. This allows the researcher to investigate his subject thoroughly and to trace important information, which probably would not have been revealed with a simple query sheet (Leydesdorff 2004). Equally, it is possible to examine whether the interviewee understood the questions in the right way. In addition, the interviewer can ask additional questions on the basis of the response of the interviewee. Finally, a talented interviewer can reduce the incidence of non-responses in a way that is simply not possible with surveys.

However, since conducting and transcribing interviews are time consuming activities, the number of persons the researcher can question is highly limited. This, of course, gives rise to the question of how representative the interviews are. This problem is acknowledged, but I remain convinced that the interviews are representative for this category of rural-to-urban migrants, in the sense that most of Casablanca’s slum dwellers with a rural background will identify themselves in the stories told by their fellow sufferers. In fact, conversations were held with a much larger number of rural-to-urban migrants in diverse shantytowns of Casablanca but because of the limited time available only ten interviews were written up. It was essential that the interviews be transcribed thoroughly, as this allows for an assessment of the reliability of this oral history. Finally, the interviews in consideration are, of course, not representative for the experiences of other categories of rural-to-urban migrants in Casablanca. Those who found their way to the relative luxury of places such as the *ville nouvelle* or even *Polo* will have, for sure, other interesting life stories to tell which differ completely from the ones we present in this study.

In sum, three levels of analysis are taken into account in this monograph. On the micro-level, the intentions, expectations and actions of individual migrants are analyzed on the basis of interviews, which are transcribed entirely. On the meso-level the spatial imbalances between urban and rural Morocco and between Casablanca and other Moroccan cities are analyzed. This happened largely on the basis of quantitative

data from surveys and population censuses. Finally, on the macro-level, the effects of global processes such as colonization and the dispersion of capitalism on the evolution of spatial imbalances are considered.

Limitations of this study

It would be inaccurate to pretend that this study presents an all-embracing picture of the causes and consequences of migration towards Casablanca and all its related issues. This study, for instance, will not give a detailed description of the different migration streams to Casablanca and their diverse origins. Instead, it treats the Moroccan countryside as one great reservoir of migrants, through which the idea arises that there is just one migration stream. However, on a lower level of aggregation, many different flows of migrants can be traced, with one final destination: Casablanca.

Moreover, no attention is paid to emigration and return migration. Of course, this does not mean that it is supposed that urban-to-rural migration did not exist or that migration was a question of one-way traffic in the direction of Dar el Beida. Rather, the contrary is the case, as the findings of a recent paper by Embarek Bouchehboun confirm. On the basis of the population census of 2004, he demonstrated that in the recent past thousands of migrants have made their way from Casablanca to the adjacent Chaouia Ouardigha region. However, Casablanca's population is still growing. This is, apart from natural population growth, the result of a positive migration balance. The stream of migrants in the direction of Dar el Beida is many times larger than its counter stream (Bouchehboun 2009).

A decision was also taken to pay no special attention to the characteristics of the migrants involved in this study (sex, age, education, profession, marital status), the social mobility they experienced upon their arrival, their marriage and fertility behavior, as well as their mortality. In order to make any well-founded judgments about the paths of integration of rural-to-urban migrants in Casablanca, these and other related topics require further research. These issues are, however, out of the scope of this monograph. This study limits itself to the question how it was possible that the coastal settlement of Casablanca developed during the twentieth century from a small and relatively unimportant coastal settlement into the largest metropolis of the Maghreb. Nevertheless, I cherish the hope that this study may spur on scholars to do further research on the processes and issues related to urban in-migration in Casablanca. I hope in particular, that this study may inspire other scholars to do more research on the lowest classes of Morocco's society: slum dwellers, homeless persons and vagabonds. To date, they have no place in the mainstream history of Morocco and their voice is seldom heard outside of the song texts of the mythic music group of *Nass el Ghiwane*. To a certain degree, they are even forced into silence by the government. Oral history is a good instrument to break their silence and to incorporate their fate into the national historiography (Thompson 2000). It is, at the same time, a way of making the world

aware of the fact that even today hundreds of thousands of forgotten Moroccans lack all kind of basic needs.



► Casablanca's *ville nouvelle* looks like a modern European city.