Representations of Algerian Identity in School Textbooks for the Teaching of French and English in Algeria Since 2003

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis is the first comparative analysis of representations of Algerian identity in French- and English-language textbooks used in Algerian middle and secondary schools since 2003. This study employs critical discourse analysis in addition to content analysis to question the representations of three different identities in the textbooks under analysis: national, cultural and gendered identity. In this research, 14 textbooks of French and English constitute the main corpus of analysis. In addition, interviews with some members of the staff involved in the production of these textbooks constitute secondary data for the thesis. The findings show that the textbooks, which are supposed to bring modernity to the postcolonial country, paradoxically promote different controversial and conflicting representations of Algerian identity. French-language textbooks, on the one hand, construct a sense of national identity by emphasising the oppression of French colonialism and the heroism of colonised Algerians. English-language textbooks, on the other hand, do not highlight Algeria's colonial past, but rather focus on cultural representations of the present-day nation. Therefore, French-language textbooks can arguably lead to the construction of a culture of resistance by reproducing the image of the French as a 'devilish entity', subsequently contributing to diminish the appeal of French language in postcolonial Algeria. In contrast, English-language textbooks construct a culture of peace by focusing on an education based on democratic values and openness. These different approaches to teaching culture in foreign language textbooks have arguably strengthened competition between the two languages and escalated the language and identity problems in postcolonial Algeria. Related to these questions of identity crisis in Algeria is the representation of gender roles in these textbooks. The stereotypical and discriminatory representations of women in these government-produced textbooks contradict drastically with the official position of President Bouteflika towards the empowerment of Algerian women. The analysis of gender visibility and gender roles in the textbooks reveals the persistence of patriarchal legacies from the colonial period. Therefore, this thesis will show how these foreign language textbooks are regressive in their representations of gendered roles, and that this is closely connected to the textbooks' representations of Algerian national and cultural identity in the postcolonial period.

Timeline of Different Political Events in Postcolonial Algeria

Year	Events
1962	• July: Algeria achieves its official independence.
	• August: <i>Oulémas</i> demands that Arabic and Islam become the main constituents of Algerian identity.
1963	August: Arabic gains the same position as French in all administrations.
	• September: Arabic becomes a compulsory subject for all school levels.
	• The adoption of the first institution that affirms Arabic as the first language of state (Article 5).
	• Ahmed Ben Bella is elected as the first President of the Algerian state.
	• Ahmed Ben Bella states in his first presidential speech : "l'arabisation est nécessaire, car il n'y a pas de socialisme sans Arabisation [], il n'y a d'avenir pour ce pays que dans l'arabisation" (Cited in Chaker & Abrous, 1988, p. 184).
	Creation of the Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes (UNFA).
1964	Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographique (CRAPE) was founded.
1704	Arabic is introduced as the main language of Parliament.
	• June: The Journal Officiel is published in Arabic for the first time.
	• October: 1000 Egyptian teachers are recruited by the Ministry of Education.
1965	June: A military coup against Ben Bella leads to Boumedienne becoming the head of state.
	• With the arrival of the Egyptian 'cooperatives', the process of Arabisation in primary schools begins. (Tessa, 2017).
1966	• June: Rulings Number 66-154 and 66-155 specifies the role and place of the Arabic language in the legal system (Benrabah, 2005)
1967	• A survey conducted by the University of Berkeley indicates that 80% of young Algerians are against the Arabisation of the Algerian
	University (Benrabah, 2005, p. 427).
1968	 Houari Boumedienne declares that "les écrits concernant la Révolution algérienne par les étrangers ne reflètent nullement la réalité de notre Révolution. Les intellectuels algériens n'ont pas joué le rôle attendu dans ce domaine (Cited in Remaoun, 2006, p. 156).
	• Boumedienne imposes Arabisation in the civil service (Maamri, 2016, p. 55).
1969	December: The National Commission for the Reform of the Educational System and sub-commission for Arabisation is created.

1970	Ministry of Education.	Ministry of Education divided into: Ministry of Primary and Secondary Education, Ministry of Higher Education, and Ministry of Islamic Education.		
1971	• 1971 is dec	1971 is declared as the 'year of Arabisation' by the Council of Ministers.		
	• June: Fond	ls des Archives Nationales was created as a necessary construct of the state (Alcaraz, 2017).		
	• The Centre National des Etudes Historiques (CNEH) was created.			
	• The Nation	alisation of Hydrocarbons by the president Boumedienne.		
	• June: Arabic declared officially as the unique language of the judicial system.			
	• September	r: 20 Islamic high schools were opened and degree of Baccalaureate in Islamic education was created.		
1972	1997).	n of the Volontariat des Etudiants pour la Révolution Agraire (VERA) was designated by the president Boumedienne (Stone,		
1973	• The National commission of Arabisation (<i>Al-Lajna Al-Wațaniya lit-ta 'rīb</i>) was created (IJMES system is adopted for all transliterations in this thesis, see p.XIX).			
	• September 1965.	r: Ministry of Higher Education prohibited Mouloud Maamri from teaching Berber language although it had been tolerated since		
	• December	: Algiers holds the 2 nd Pan-Arab Congress for Arabisation.		
1974	Boumedien victoire. C'	ne declared "cette génération (de 1954) n'a pas uniquement combattu le colonialisme, mais a eu l'insigne honneur de réaliser la est là où réside la différence entre nous et nos ancêtres " (Remaoun, 2006, p. 152).		
1975	• May: The government organised the First National Conference for Arabisation that aimed at accelerating the Arabisation process.			
	• May: total Arabisation of the judicial system.			
	•	r: Arabisation of humanity subjects in secondary schools.		
	September			
1076	• March: Al	l public signs were Arabicised.		
19/0		April is declared as 'Journée du Savoir' or 'Yawm Al-'Ilm' which is still celebrated today. This day is the day of the death of		
		d Ben Badis "Chef spiritual des Oulémas algériens" (Tessa, 2017, p. 211)		
	• April: Ord	inance 76-35 was passed with its Article 2 affirming the responsibility of the education system in developing citizens' identity and their patriotism (Maamri, 2016, p. 55).		
	• June: Nati	onal referendum approved, with 98.5 %, a National Charter that affirmed the monolingualism in Arabic and considered French as nguage, with the Berber language completely ignored.		

	•	November: Article 3 of the second constitution of the state affirms: "Arabic is a national and official language. The state must seek to generalise its use".		
	•	December: Election of Boumedienne as the president of the Algerian State.		
1977	•	January: "Total Arabisation of the daily (Oran) paper El Djoumhouria" (Benrabah, 2005, p. 428)		
1978	•	December: The death of the Algerian president Boumedienne.		
1979	• February: Chadli Benjedid was recruited as the new president of the Algerian state.			
	•	June: Violent incidents took place in Berber speaking Wilayas.		
	•	September: French was taught as the first foreign language from grade four in primary schools and English in the 8 th of fundamental schools.		
	•	November: Arabic-speaking students went on strike for two-months against favouritism and better opportunities provided to their French-speaking counterparts (Maamri, 2016), they demanded immediate Arabisation of administration. Movement ended by the government agreeing to their demands.		
1980	•	January: A circular from the Ministry of the Interior urged all government agencies to consider Arabicised candidates for jobs.		
	•	February: The FLN announces the national plan to Arabise the administration.		
	•	March: Mouloud Maamri's conference on Berber poetry at the University of Tizi-Ouzou was banned by the regime.		
	•	April: Social riots in Kabylia met with violent suppression by the authorities, resulting in 32 dead and around 200 injured. Hundreds of Berbers were arrested and the Kabyle region was isolated from the rest of Algeria for four days (Stone, 1997, p. 62).		
	•	April: General strike took place in the University of Tizi-Ouzou and then most Kabyle schools indicating the start of the Berber Spring.		
	•	August: The first seminar on language and identity in Algeria organised by militants of democracy and the Berber cultural movement was held demanding the 'institutionalisation' of Algeria's national languages: Algerian Arabic and Berber.		
	•	November: The creation of the permanent commission of Arabisation by the Ministry of Higher Education.		
1981		arch: Establishment of the National Glossary of Forenames in Arabic (Al-Qāmūs Al-Waṭanī Li-'Asma' Al-Ashkhāṣ) according to Decree nmber 81/26.		

	• September: The adoption of the Family Code project by the state.
1982	• January: A group of <i>Moudjahidat</i> gathered and expressed their demands for the Family Code to include six points to ensure gender egalitarianism, which led the State to postpone the Code (Bouatta, 1997).
	• Increasing in State funding of Islamic schools and Imam training (Maamri, 2016, p. 57).
1983	• October: A new family code was submitted to the parliament.
1984	 The end of the process of Arabisation of different fields of social sciences and humanities in Algerian Universities (Tessa, 2017, p. 212). June: The <i>Code de la Famille</i> based on the Shari'a Law was adopted by the government.
1985	• May: The establishment of the Association for Equality between Men and Women before the Law.
	• June: The Ligue Algérienne pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme (LADDH) was founded by the Moudjahid and lawyer Abdenour Ali Yahia (Stone, 1997, p. 62).
1986	• New National Charter was created stating "the Arabic language is an essential constituent part of the cultural identity of the Algerian people" and 'Algerians are Arab and Moslem people" (Benrabah, 2005, p. 429)
	• Socio-economic crisis in the country as a result of the oil crisis.
1987	• July: Legislation was passed to permit the creation of local associations (Stone, 1997, p. 62).
1988	• October: National revolt against the regime, specifically the FLN, resulted in up to 600 dead.
1989	• February: The third Constitution of the country passed by popular referendum, affirmed the Arabic language as the main language of the country.
	 End of one-party FLN rule and enacting of a law that granted freedom of expression and association in the constitution of 1989. Total Arabisation of the different levels of education system.
	 March: Thousands of women gathered in front of the parliament building to condemn violence against women (Bouatta, 1997, p. 16). The foundation of the Front Islamique du Salut (FIS)
1990	January: The Department of Amazigh Language and Culture was opened at the University of Tizi-Ouzou.

	•	March: Three women's associations organised a march on the parliament building.	
• April: Demonstration of 100,000 members of the Islamic group FIS in Algiers demanding abolition of the bilingual system for the Algerian Constitution to be based on Shari'a Law.			
	•	December: Demonstration of up to 400,000 Algerians demanding the abolition of the law of total Arabisation which was scheduled to be passed by the Parliament and calling for democracy.	
1991	•	January: The National Assembly Approved the Act No 91-05 of total Arabisation.	
	•	October: Opening of the Second department of the Amazigh language and culture in the University of Bejaia.	
	• November- December: University teachers' strike against Act No 91-05, and the recruitment of 1500 Iraqi teachers.		
	•	December: Parliamentary elections won by the FIS.	
1992	•	January: Claiming democracy, the Algerian Army aborted the elections and suppressed the Islamic group (FIS) and arrested its leaders.	
	•	January: Resignation of the president Bendjedid.	
	•	February: Mohamed Boudiaf recruited by the Algerian military as a head of the Algerian state, after 28 years of exile.	
	•	June: The assassination of President Boudiaf.	
	•	July: Postponement of the Act No 91-05 for total Arabisation.	
	•	30th November-1st December : National Meeting of Algerian Women (Bouatta, 1997). Algerian feminists demonstrate against the FIS (Vince, 2015).	
1993	•	September: English is introduced in the fourth grade of primary schools as a rival to French language.	
1994	•	September: The Berber Cultural Movement called for strike in the educational sector (Benrabah, 2005, p. 430).	
1995	•	January: 'The Platform for a Political and Peaceful Solution to the Algerian Crisis' was signed by the FLN, FIS and other groups.	

	•	Centre National des Etudes et Recherches sur le Mouvement National et la Révolution du Premier Novembre 1954 (C.N.E.R.M.N.R.54) was Founded.
	•	May: The Haut Commissariat à L'Amazighité was created.
	•	November: The election of Liamine Zeroual as a president of the state.
		*
1996	•	July: Act No 91-05 for total Arabisation was revived. November: The preamble of the third Constitution is changed to affirm: "the fundamental constituent parts of identity [] are Islam,
	•	Arabism and Amazighism" (Benrabah, 2005, p. 430).
1997	•	Ratification of the United Nations Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW).
	٠	May: The two departments of Amazigh language and culture in Tizi Ouzou and Bejaia became institutes and faculties.
1998	•	The assassination of the famous Berber singer Lounes Matoub, which caused unrest and riots in Kabyle speaking wilayas.
1999	• April: The election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika as the new president.	
	•	May: The president states, "it is unthinkable to spend ten years study in Arabic pure sciences when it would only take one year in English" (Cited in Benrabah, 2005, p. 430).
	•	September: Nationwide referendum on the Civil Concord Law was held.
2000	•	April: Participants in the National Conference on the Teaching of Arabic declared "after 9 years in basic education, pupils still do not master Arabic properly" (Cited in Benrabah, 2007).
	•	May: Setting up of the National Commission for the Education Reforms (CNRSE) by President Bouteflika.
2001	•	March: The CNRSE recommended French be introduced in grade 2 of primary schools as the first mandatory foreign language (Benrabah, 2007).
	•	September: The Ministry of the Interior suspends the Education reforms.
2002	•	April: President Bouteflika declares Tamazight as a second national language after Arabic, although not official.
	•	April: Article 3 of the Constitution was modified to include Tamazight as the second national language of the State.
	•	Establishment of the National Centre for Tamazight Language Planning.
L		

 A <i>fatwa</i> was issued by the opponents of bilingual education reforms, accusing the defenders of bilingualism of being enemies of Islam and advocates of westernisation (Benrabah, 2007, p. 227). 18-20 October: Algeria participated in the first time in the IXe Sommet de la Francophonie in Beirut not as a member, but President Bouteflika was a guest of the Lebanese authorities. During which, the president declared, "Le Français est un atout, pas une menace" (Cited in L'Orient le Jour, 2002). The president declared, as well, the end of the Civil War ensuring "Le terrorisme politique est battu en Algérie, il reste une forme de banditisme" (Cited in L'Orient le Jour, 2002).
 March: Establishment of the Algerian National Association for the Defence of La Francophonie. September: Launching the education reforms using new textbooks and based on new programmes.
• September: French is introduced in the 2 nd grade of Primary School (total of 11 years of compulsory education) instead of the 4 th grade (total of 9 years of compulsory education), and English in the 1 st grade of Middle School (total of 6 years of compulsory education) instead of the 8 th grade of elementary education (total of 5 years of total education).
 February: Modification of the Family Code of 1984 by Ordinance No.05-02. August: The Prime Minister agreed with Kabylia's representatives on making Amazigh language official without a referendum. September: Bouteflika surprisingly disagrees with his Minister in public by declaring that Algeria will never have two official languages and Arabic will always be the only language recognised by the constitution (Benrabah, 2007, pp. 246-247).
• November: The Minister of Higher Education declared that 80% of first year students fail because of linguistic incompetence (in French specifically), and that University graduates could not be integrated into the economic market (Benrabah, 2007, pp. 226-245).
 The Minister of Higher Education also admitted that "the European Union had suspended its aid to Algerian universities because the government was dragging its heels over reforming the educational system (Benrabah, 2007, p. 246). Meeting between the Minister of Education Boubaker Benbouzid and a group of experts from the US, Jordan, and India to discuss different issues related to teaching English in Algeria ended by signing cooperation agreements between the Algerian government and its American counterpart (Ounis, 2012).
• September: Moving the French language from grade two to grade three of Primary School (10 instead of 11 years of compulsory education).
• December: France was still the first destination of 90% of Algerian immigrants (Maamri, 2016).
• January: Modifying the Constitution by adding Law No 08-04 called La Loi d'orientation sur l'éducation nationale. This law defines the role of the school and the fundamental principles of education.
• For the first time in the history of Algeria, a woman obtains the rank of general in the military ceremony of the 47 th anniversary of the independence (The Media Line News Agency, 2009).
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2010	•	September: the Minister of Higher Education declared in a plenary session of the Asssemblée Populaire Nationale (APN) that his Ministry is working towards introducing English instead of French as the main language of instruction for scientific and technological fields in the Algerian universities (<i>El-Watan</i> Newspaper, cited in Semmar, 2010).	
	•	85% of students registered in technological fields abandon their studies because of the problem of languages, declares <i>El-Watan</i> Newspaper (Semmar, 2010).	
2011	•	July: Making the results of the baccalaureate degree public which uncovered the students' poor performance in French (Shahjahan, 2011).	
2012	• January: The Loi no12-03 was enacted to increase "les chances de la femme à la représentation dans les assemblées élues" (Journal Officiel, 2012).		
	٠	The number of women in the Assemblée Populaire Nationale (APN) increased to 31.6% (Bessadi, 2017).	
	•	July: Celebrating half a century of independence from French colonialism.	
	٠	July: 70% of the total population of Algeria were able to read and write in Arabic (Shahjahan, 2011, p. 74).	
2013	•	Up to 30000 complaints by women who were subject to violence (Issoun, 2015).	
2014	•	May: Recruiting Nouria Benghabrit as first female Minister of Education in the Algerian postcolonial history.	
2015	٠	March: Algerian Parliament passes legislation to protect women from any form of violence (Issoun, 2015).	
	•	July: Benghabrit proposes using the Algerian dialect as 'la langue maternelle' of the pupils as a language of instruction to facilitate teaching Modern Standard Arabic.	
	٠	July: The Algerian Islamist parties accused the Minister of Education of creating Fitna (strife) among Algerians, asserting that her	
		suggestion represents "un précédent dangereux dans l'histoire de l'enseignement en Algérie [] de nature à faire exploser l'identité et l'unité nationales" (Cited in Bouziri, 2015).	
	•	The Minister of Tourism, Amar Ghoul, responds to Benghabrit affirming that Arabic is 'une ligne rouge' (Bouziri, 2015), explaining that he	
		is against any linguistic policy that would change the position of Modern Standard Arabic as the first language of the country.	
2016	٠	Hundreds of Algerian youth participate in Arabic-language social media campaign entitled 'French is not a symbol of development'.	
	•	Some Ministries, like the Ministry of Defence and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, changed their names officially from French to English, as did different Algerian Universities.	
2017	•	July: Another social media campaign entitled 'no to French in official documents' was launched by Algerian youth (El-Watan News, 2017).	
	•	November: The Minister of Education, Nouria Benghebrit, signed cooperation agreement with the ambassador of Great Britain, Andrew	
		Noble, to improve the teaching of English in Algeria (Khalsoun, 2017)	

Reworked from Benrabah (2005, pp. 426-31), Tessa (2017), Maamri (2015), and some others (cited in the table).

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Abbreviations

AOMA	Association des Oulémas Musulmans Algériens.										
САН	Commission d'Agrément et d'Homologation.										
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis.										
CEDAW	United Nations Convention of the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women.										
CFLN	Comité Français de Libération Nationale.										
CIDEF	Centre de Documentation sur les Droits des Femmes et des Enfants.										
CNEH	Centre National des Etudes Historiques.										
CNRA	Conseil National de la Révolution.										
CRAPE	Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistoriques et Ethnographique.										
EFL	English as a Foreign Language.										
FBV	Fundamental British Values.										
FFL	French as a Foreign Language.										
FIS	Front Islamique du Salut.										
FLN	Front de Libération Nationale.										
FOREM	La Fondation Algérienne pour la Promotion de la Santé et de la Recherche.										
GPRF	Gouvernement Provisoire de République Française.										
IGP	Inspection Générale de la Pédagogie.										
ILO	International Labour Organization.										
INRE	Institut National de Recherche en Education.										
KIDC	Kigali International Declaration Conference.										
LADDH	Ligue Algérienne pour la Défense des Droits de l'Homme										
MENA	Middle East and North Africa.										

MTLD	Le Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques.
OAS	Organisation Armée Secrète.
OFSTED	Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services, and Skills.
OIF	Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie.
ONPS	Office National des Publications Scolaires.
ONS	Office National des Statistiques.
PPA	Parti du Peuple Algérien.
RND	Rassemblement National Démocratique.
SNAPEST	Syndicat National Autonome des Professeurs de l'Enseignment
	Secondaire.
UK	Secondaire. United Kingdom.
UK UNESCO	
	United Kingdom.
UNESCO	United Kingdom. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
UNESCO UNFA	United Kingdom. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes.
UNESCO UNFA USA	United Kingdom. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes. United States of America.

IJEMS Transliteration Chart

			-	MES RAR											
						C	CONS	SONAN	тѕ						
		A =	= Ara	bic, P = 1	Persia	n, OT	= Ot	toman T	urkish, I	MT = 1	Mode	ern Turki	ish		
	A	P	ОТ	MT		A	P	ОТ	MT		A	P	OT	MT	
ş	с	С	с	-	ز	z	z	z	z	ك	k	k or g	k <i>or</i> ñ	k or n	
ب	Ь	b	Ь	b or p	ژ	-	zh	j	j				or y	or y	
پ	-	p	р	р	س	s	s	s	s				or ğ	or ğ	
ت	t	t	t	t	ش	sh	sh	ş	ş	5	-	g	g	g	
ث	th	<u>s</u>	<u>s</u>	s	ص	ş	ş	ş	s	J	1	1	1	1	
う	j	j	с	с	ض	ġ	ż	ż	z	٢	m	m	m	m	
چ	-	ch	ç	ç	ط	ţ	ţ	ţ	t	ن	n	n	n	n	
て	ķ	h	ķ	h	ظ	ż	ż	ż	z	٥	h	h	h	h^1	
ż	kh	kh	h	h	٤	c	c	c	—	و	w	v or u	v	v	
د	d	d	d	d	ė	gh	gh	g or ğ	g or ğ	ي	У	У	у	У	
ذ	dh	Z	Z	z	ف	f	f	f	f	õ	a ²				
ر	r	r	r	r	ق	q	q	ķ	k	ال	3				
1 When	n h is	not fin	al. 2	In constr	uct sta	te: at.	3 For	the articl	e, al- and	-l					
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	AF	RABI	C AN	ID PER	SIAN			OTT	OMAN	AND	мо	DERN '	TURKI	SH	
Long	or	ی	ā					ā		de of	Arabi	c			
		و	ū	ū					words of Arabic and Persian						
		ي	ī	origin							only				
Double	d		iyy (final form ī) iy (final form ī)												
Doubled		ري د س _و	uww (final form \bar{u}) uvv												
Diphthongs		وَ	au <i>or</i> aw ev												
		َى	ai <i>or</i> ay ey												
Short		-	a a or e												
511011		,	u												
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Introduction

Algerian identity has been defined in various ways throughout the occupation and after independence and is still being redefined at present. (Bekkai, 2015, p. 51)

By studying social identities, we gain insights into the complex range of factors influencing the way we see ourselves, the way we are seen by others and the pressures exerted on individuals to readjust or at least prioritise some social agendas over others. (Taylor & Spencer, 2004, p. 4)

1.1.Introduction

Most postcolonial populations face the turmoil of colonial legacies that can be challenging. These societies are "products of a different set of historical circumstances" (Rasool, 2007, p. 61) that affected and (re)-shaped their identities. Algeria is a well-known example, where identity was, and still is, a subject of endless debate. The vast majority of the Algerian population was born within Algerian borders and shares the same religion, history, culture, traditions, and values. Ethnically, most of them are of Berber or Arab descent. They often see western influence as the main threat to Algerian identity as it is believed that it can replicate the previous colonial hegemony. In this postcolonial nation, identity and language have been always at the heart of conflicts. Consequently, educational reforms in Algeria were launched in 2003 with the aim of bringing linguistic and intercultural peace to the country, which can be seen through president Bouteflika's acknowledgement of cultural and linguistic plurality in Algeria¹ (Le Roux, 2017), together with consolidating the sense of Algerian identity and Algerian 'distinctiveness'².

However, the consequences of the reforms appeared to contradict the stated objectives, and the hostility between Algerian Arabophones and Francophones over the position of the first foreign language of the country escalated, with the first group

¹ Bouteflika once stated, "[f]or Algeria I will speak French, Spanish and English and for that matter, and if necessary Hebrew. Let it be known that Algeria is part of the world and must adapt to it and that Arabic is the national and official language", and he also said "Algeria does not belong to Francophonia ['Francophonia' is the translation used by Cheryl Le Roux for the term 'Francophonie' adopted in the thesis], but there is no reason for us to have a frozen attitude towards the French language which taught us so many things and which at any rate opened [for us] the French culture" (cited in Le Roux, 2017, p. 122).

² Identity construction is a dichotomous process where the Other is as important as the Self. One cannot define her/himself without being able to identify the similarities with the members of her/his in-group as well as the differences with the members of the outgroup. About Otherness, Zygmunt Bauman states: "woman is the other of man, stranger the other of the native, enemy the other of friend, 'them' the other of 'us'" (1991, p. 8) (Further discussion about 'Otherness' is provided in Section 2.3.1). Therefore, Algerian distinctiveness refers to what makes Algeria and Algerians distinct from other cultures and other people.

stressing the importance of English to overcome the bitter past of the colonial period, and the latter claiming French to be a '*butin de guerre*^{,3} and part of Algerian identity that should not be eradicated from the postcolonial society. In this regard, Benrabah explains "the debate over French involved those who defended its maintenance as 'the spoils of war' and those who rejected it because it held 'too many bitter memories' for them" (2013, p. 53). On this basis, this thesis questions the role played by these educational reforms in a period of increasing linguistic conflict in Algeria. It argues that the colonial past of the country is still affecting the process of identity (re)-construction through the teaching of foreign languages. Instead of achieving the target aim of modernising Algerian identity, the textbooks linked to the 2003 reforms have created more problems than they solved through showing controversial representations of identity.

The first of these problems is the strong emphasis on developing Algerian national identity and Algerian distinctiveness, specifically in the French language textbooks, through the representations of the bitter memories of colonialism. This emphasis has arguably led to resistance against learning the French language that subsequently brought about young people's hostility against the French language *per se*. This resistance can be seen in students' low attainment in French as well as in the different social media campaigns that call for the official eradication of the French language from Algeria, since French is considered as a threat to national unity and as being inseparable from the colonial past. English-language textbooks, on the other hand, although they provide some representations of the colonial past and of the French as enemies, mostly emphasise the values of peace and interculturality. The main aim of developing national identity is almost absent in the English language textbooks: instead, the ultimate objective is to develop the students' cultural identity and interculturality. This, in addition to many other factors, arguably, has led Algerians to believe in this language as the main language of modernity.

In addition, the promised objective of promoting gender equality in education is paradoxically absent in the textbooks under analysis. This has led, I argue, to the persistence of colonial patriarchy in the postcolonial period. The official emphasis placed on developing the students' national identity in French textbooks and to intercultural identity in the English language textbooks is not seen when it comes to representations of gender equality in the textbooks of both languages. Therefore, this has

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³ Kateb Yacine was the first to use this expression to defend his use of the French language in his writings.

led to the adoption of the 'masculine as default' representations, which emphasises male domination and female subordination in postcolonial Algeria. Subsequently, these textbooks emphasise Algerian women's contradictory position between a modern world in theory and a discriminatory one in reality. This contradicts the stated objectives of the reforms and contributes towards maintaining one of the dangerous legacies of colonialism: gender discrimination. Accordingly theories of postcolonialism are crucial to this thesis as they address the postcolonial paradoxes and expose, address, and analyse important concepts like power and hegemony in the postcolonial context.

This introductory chapter has three parts. First, it starts with a historical review⁴ that will explain the political conflicts that have influenced Algerian identity during the colonial as well as the postcolonial period. This review will contextualise this project's research questions and introduce the later thesis chapters which will answer these questions. Second, it will explain the 2000s educational reforms and discuss the specific focus on the corpus of educational textbooks that will be analysed in this thesis. Finally, the chapter will demonstrate the purpose and focus of the thesis and the different research questions, as well as the thesis structure.

1.2. Algerian Identity in the Turmoil of the Colonial and Postcolonial Period

Education in postcolonial Algeria is highly influenced by the politico-linguistic conflicts that have emerged since 1962. The country was colonised for more than a century and was managed as part of French overseas territories and was meant to be culturally and linguistically assimilated. French language and culture were the dominant features of Algerian identity throughout the colonial period (1830-1962). This assimilation "involved an expressed desire to turn Algerians into Frenchmen" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 182). Algeria constituted "a colonial territory fully integrated into the Republic that, as politicians liked to say, ran from Dunkirk in the north to Tamanrasset in the Sahara, the Mediterranean separating France and Algeria 'like the Seine running through Paris'" (House, 2006). After the defeat of the Emir Abd el-Kader, who showed strong resistance against the French, Algeria was declared as a French territory in 1848 (Barclay, et al., 2018, p. 119). France, then, started sending large numbers of Europeans to this new land in order to maintain its control over it (Bekkai, 2015).⁵ The number of Europeans increased

⁴ The political events that happened in Algeria since independence are summarised earlier in this thesis in the Timeline of Different Political Events in Postcolonial Algeria.

⁵The number of European settlers, for example, increased from 833,000 to 984,000 between just 1926 and 1954 (Lloyd, 2006, p. 180).

significantly, reaching a population of one million in 1936 (Cahman, 1945, p. 349). Consequently, a major change occurred to the Algerian identity through the cultural and legal concept of 'l'Algérie Française'.

The concept of Algerian identity was exposed to the challenge of the 'Mission Civilisatrice' which aimed at converting Algerians to French culture through the colonial ideology of assimilation. This mission was used as another weapon of conquest, as Alf Andrew Heggoy states:

Physical conquest was followed by attempted conquests in other realms, and education was an important part of this secondary invasion. And while it may be harsh to suggest a totalitarian model of education as a weapon to be used by one culture to permeate another, the potential clearly existed in colonial Algeria. (Heggoy, 1973, p. 183)

The colonial regime suppressed Arabic and Qur'anic schools and allowed education in French for some Algerians who had the right to attend French schools. In addition, many missionary campaigns were launched to destroy Islamic values in Algerian society and to help in this assimilation process. The missionaries saw "Algeria as a blank state in which to create Catholic society they perceived as increasingly foreclosed in a secularizing Europe" (Francis, 2015, p. iv). Heggoy defines the priests as one of the main categories, in addition to medical doctors and teachers, of French officials that were responsible for educating Algerians. He says, "conquering soldiers were, for example, closely followed by administrators, then by priests, doctors, and teachers" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 183). The priests were even sent before teachers because religion is "an agency of education" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 181). Yet, they had "the least success. Very few Algerians, practically all of whom were and are Muslims, were ever converted" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 181). Algerians showed strong resistance against all types of assimilation. This resistance made it extremely difficult to apply the French mission civilisatrice. However, "throughout the colonial period attempts were made to assimilate [...] Algerians to the French" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 182). Therefore, the cultural assimilation that targeted Algerians had failed before the end of a century of colonialism (Heggoy, 1973, p. 182).

As a counter-policy to the attempts of cultural assimilation, Algerian leaders during the postcolonial period launched a policy of radical Arabisation as a form of *linguistic nationalism*⁶ to (re)construct an Algerian identity based on Arabic language and

⁶ Linguistic nationalism is "the belief that nationality is characterized by a single language, which unifies a nation" (Briggs, 2010, p. 1).

Islamic religion. Some of these leaders were influenced by French linguistic nationalism and French culture that defines language as a "core value', that is, a feature that characterises culture" (Benrabah, 2005, p. 412). In addition, some of these leaders were also inspired by Arab-linguistic nationalism in the Middle East as Mohamed Benrabah explains:

The other linguistic culture that influenced Algerian intellectuals comes from the Middle East where many nationalists lived in exile during colonialism and the War of Algeria. In the Middle East, they discovered Pan-Arabism and Arab linguistic nationalism. (Benrabah, 2005, p. 412)

However, Arabisation has become "one more prop of an authoritarian regime that refuses to engage in much-needed economic and political reforms" (Lewis, 2004, p. 42). This policy, in fact, concluded with political uprisings and civil war which lasted for two decades (1980s-1990s). The post-war nation, subsequently, decided to base itself on holistic education reforms, giving more priority to French and English as foreign languages, to build peace and harmony through constructing a modern identity which they thought would help avoid any future uprisings. Yet, as this thesis argues, the consequences appeared to contradict the stated objectives, and language and identity conflicts started to escalate again.

1.2.1. The Colonial Projects of 'Algerian Identity Annihilation' through the Policies of Assimilation and Oppression

As the self-proclaimed country of 'human rights and freedoms', France used the 'Mission Civilisatrice' as an official pretext for the 'noble' French aim of colonialism. The French state officials stated that they aimed to enlighten and liberate people who were enslaved by their own beliefs (Addi, 1996, p. 93). In addition, 'liberating women' was another discourse the French focused on as a proof of the legitimacy of colonialism. Colonial power claimed that the veil of Muslim women is a sign of gender inequality that must be removed (Further details are provided in Section 5.2).

French colonialism arguably exploited Algerian women to dishonour their men. Many of these women were subject to rape and sexual abuse by French soldiers, especially during the war for independence (Vince, 2010, p. 446). Therefore, to protect their honour, Algerian men put their women in the cage of the dark space, and if they appeared in the public space, women were forced to wear a veil to protect themselves. This has been confirmed historically through the work of Peter Knaus (Knauss, 1987), Neil MacMaster (MacMaster, 2009), Woodhull (Woodhull, 2010), in addition to many

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others. Frantz Fanon⁷ also argued in his work about Algerian women during the colonial period that colonialism was the main reason behind escalating patriarchy in Algeria (Fanon, 2001). This has led to the development of an extreme patriarchal attitude amongst Algerians, which led women to suffer a 'double oppression' of the coloniser as well as their own society. Throughout the 132 years of colonialism, the discrimination against women was consolidated to become part of tradition in Algerian society, where domestic roles were the only available option for women. Only the revolution (1954-1962) could bring a change in the position of women, as it witnessed a major alteration in gender roles.

During the colonial period, the civilising mission aimed to culturally and religiously assimilate the colonised. It was the objective of French colonialism to make "Algeria look and function far more like France" (Hill, 2009, p. 7), not to integrate Algerians into French society (Myreng, 2013, p. 8). This is by asserting that Algeria and "its inhabitants first had to be changed, to be refashioned into something that France was willing to embrace" (Hill, 2009, p. 7). This process was undertaken to "replace the local culture, language, and customs", it "constituted a prolonged, thorough effort to francize the country" (Bekkai, 2015, p. 52). Amongst the major assumptions of the 'Mission Civilisatrice' is the creation of the myth of Christian and Western superiority. The colonial power developed many myths of the glory of French and western civilisation in comparison to Islam, and the primitiveness of the natives who were supposed to gain many advantages through being colonised by the French (Addi, 1996, p. 95). Consequently, an inferiority complex appeared amongst Algerian populations; the word 'Arab', for example, was used by the French as a synonym of 'barbaric and uncultivated' and this negative connotation continued to be used in Algeria in the postcolonial period (Bekkai, 2015, p. 52).⁸ Paradoxically, despite the aim of assimilating Algerians and making them French subjects, they were not considered as citizens and did not have the right to vote or the right to own lands in their own homeland (Merrouche, 2007, p. 5) until the last two decades of colonialism (1940s-1950s) when some modest reforms were launched. As a result, Algerians experienced severe poverty and different types of oppression. This discrimination led to the growth of several kinds of resistance which

⁷ Fanon's book *L'An V de la Révolution Algérienne* was first published in 1959.

⁸ An 'Arab job' for example is an expression used to refer to a poorly done job (Bekkai, 2015, p. 52).

helped Algerians to gain limited rights during the colonial period and before the revolution.

With respect to education, many Algerians in the pre-colonial period were literate as Algerians used a traditional system of schooling to learn how to read and write in Arabic. This system focused on teaching Arabic language and Islamic religion, which made all schools dependent on the mosques rather than the authorities (Benrabah, 2013, p. 32). A French general in 1834 was impressed by this system and by the high literacy rate amongst Algerians. He said "nearly all the Arabs can read and write; in each village there are two schools" (Cited in Benrabah, 2013, p. 32). While the French, on the other hand, had a hierarchal system of education which started from the French government based in Paris, then French Ministry of Education, and ended with the schools in France and its different overseas territories (Benrabah, 2013, p. 32).

During the first period of colonialism, the European settlers, who would later be known as the 'pieds noirs', refused any decrees from Paris giving the right to Algerians to learn in French schools as they believed that literacy would be a way of empowering Algerians (Benrabah, 2013, p. 32). This led the colonial administration to block "the systematization of education in Algeria" (Benrabah, 2013, p. 32). In addition, the colonial oppression of Algerian people, their culture, and religion led Algerians to develop a cultural 'resistance-refusal' against French schools considering them as 'l'école du diable' (Myreng, 2013). Algerians, for a long time, "refused the education, at whatever level and under whatever guise, offered by French conquerors" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 183). In the first five decades of colonialism, Algerians considered French education as a threat to their identity as they "were distrustful of its religious agenda and considered the offer as an evangelistic effort to drive their offspring away from Islam" (Benrabah, 2013, p. 32). In fact, most Algerians refused any form of education and preferred to stay illiterate rather than attending French schools (Benrabah, 2013, pp. 32-33). An Algerian Elder stated "they intend to abolish the teaching of the Koran in our schools to alienate us from our religion. They try to teach our children French to turn them into renegades [...] Can I rally to this people who plan to suppress the teachings of the Koran?" (Djeghloul, 1986. Cited in Benrabah, 2013, p. 33).

According to Benrabah (2013, pp. 31-36), a drastic shift in Algerian socio-cultural views on education occurred after World War I (WW1). Thousands of Algerians were

forced to fight under the French flag by the colonial administration, while thousands more were obliged to travel to France to replace French workers participating in the War. This enabled Algerians to recognise the importance of education for social development. When back in Algeria, "they tended to abandon outright resistance to anything French and to seek, for their children at least, to achieve equality of citizenship with the settlers by gaining access to popular and public education" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 184). In addition, "the 'loyalism' of Algerian soldiers fighting on metropolitan French soil during the First World War 1 was attested and celebrated by the authorities; it was in recognition of this that the government began, in 1919, to acknowledge the necessity of a politics of 'reform' in Algeria" (McDougall, 2017, p. 146). Consequently, the cultural resistance-refusal policy started to diminish from 1922 and the number of Algerians joining French schools started to increase. Yet, the 'colons' did not accept the situation and preferred a "racial demarcation and a schooling system of separate development" (Benrabah, 2013, p. 33), and they allowed only the children of a small elite of Algerians to access their schools until 1949.

Two school systems ran in parallel in this period of time: A and B teaching programmes. The first was for European children and a small elite of Muslims, who all had the right to access higher education in France or the University of Algiers (Benrabah, 2013, p. 33). The second, also known as the 'Programme des indigènes', was a programme for other native children. It 'represented a 'strong' form of elite closure, an apartheid-like programme that aimed at training second-class citizens, who could not progress beyond low-level vocational training' (Benrabah, 2013, p. 34). Schooling 'was mainly restricted to primary education, and even that was with limited access, confined to a minority of the indigenous populations, poorly resourced, and with a restricted curriculum inferior to that of the metropolitan school on which it was modelled'' (Enslin, 2016, p. 3). Accordingly, the majority of Algerians received a very poor education, except for those families who succeeded in integrating with the French and who were considered by the French as collaborators (Benrabah, 2013, p. 33). They entered their children into the same programmes as French children.

These families managed to maintain their social status, culture and tradition, while at the same time they could cope with the restraints of the coloniser. They "had long since learned to combine preservation of their cultural capital and dignity with careful, strategic accommodation, seeking both to protect their patrimony and to engage the authorities to

improve the condition of their compatriots" (McDougall, 2017, p. 138). One of the members of these families was a prominent figure, who played a major role in the rehabilitation as well as the identification of the Algerian identity. Abdelhamid Ben Badis was born in 1889 to a middle-class family in Constantine. His grandfather, Si- al-Mekki, was honoured with the légion d'honneur by Napoleon III, while his father, Muhammad Mustapha, was a member of the *Conseil général* of Constantine, and as a reward for his loyalty, his father had also received the légion d'honneur. His brother, Mouloud, became the first Algerian lawyer and a director of a francophone newspaper in the 1930s (McDougall, 2017). However, Abdelhamid was different, as he studied Arabic and Islamic studies in Constantine and then in the Zaytuna University in Tunis before moving to Saudi Arabia to perform pilgrimage and develop his knowledge. In Saudi Arabia, Ben Badis was advised by his former teacher, Hamdan al-Wanisi, "neither to accept employment under the French, nor to use his learning to seek it" (McDougall, 2017, p. 139). Consequently, Ben Badis returned to Algeria, and wished to "avoid political conflict with the French but insisted on teaching his people the true meaning of Islam. Pure Islam, as Ben Badis saw it, required the ability to read the Qu'ran, hence the necessity to learn Arabic" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 188). Therefore, he started the most influential reforms in Algerian history: Islah.9

In the 1920s, the *Islah* movement started to be promoted through a group of Oulémas ¹⁰ headed by Ben Badis, which led to the foundation of the *Association des Oulémas Musulmans Algériens*¹¹(AOMA) in 1931 (McDougall, 2006, p. 12). The Oulémas based their association on the emblem of "l'Islam est notre religion, l'arabe notre langue, l'Algérie notre pays" (Cited in Leperlier, 2012). The main aim of the AOMA was 'resurrecting' the Algerian Muslim identity (McDougall, 2006). The reformists who "first provided Algerians with a nationalist history intended to map out, in Arabic, their community's glorious past and the way to the future they saw as necessary for it" (McDougall, 2006, p. 14). The AOMA founded many *madrasas*¹² in the mosques and *zawiyas*¹³ to teach Algerians the Qur'an, Islamic studies, history, and literature. It was

⁹ It is also referred to as the modern *Salafiyya* as "its members posited a return to the supposed purity of the earliest Islamic tradition, that of the 'pious ancestors', '*al-salaf al –salih* " (McDougall, 2006, p. 12).

¹⁰ *Oulémas* is the Arabic translation of scholars.

¹¹In Arabic: Jam'iyyat al-'Ulamā' al-Muslimīn al-Jazā'iriyyīn

¹²Madrasa (Plural Madaris) is the Arabic word for a school.

 $^{^{13}}Zawiya$ (plural Zawaya) is a small Islamic school that used to provide traditional teaching to Algerian children in the pre-colonial period. Although colonialism closed most of them, the AOMA helped in reviving them again.

the main aim of this education to create a generation aware of their otherness from the French as well as raising the Algerian consciousness of the French policy of Algerian identity annihilation. From 1931 through to 1956-7, the *Oulémas* aimed to create a unified Algerian nationality by enforcing the Islamic religion and Arabic language. The AOMA schools did not constitute much of a danger to the French, yet; "legislation forced Qu'ranic schools within three kilometres of public school to teach only during the hours when the French school was not in session. If such schools developed a full program, further legislation forced them to offer at least fifteen hours of course work per week in French" (Heggoy, 1973, pp. 188-189). The AOMA, however, provided more attractive programmes than French schools: "theirs was a modern curriculum offering mathematics, history, geography, and other subjects, not simply reading, writing, and memorization as in the more traditional Qu'ranic schools" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 189). By the 1940s, about 10,000 Algerian students had joined the AOMA schools, and this number increased drastically to become about 50,000 students (Heggoy, 1973, p. 188).

This prominent role played by the AOMA and the *Parti du Peuple Algérien* (PPA),¹⁴ in addition to the discrimination in education and other aspects of life promoted by the French, led Muslim populations to demonstrate against the colonial regime during World War II (WWII) asking for their civil rights. These demonstrations, in addition to the role played by the nationalists from the *évolués*¹⁵ and *Oulémas* in placing an international spotlight on the Algerian issue, put pressure on the French administration to improve the education system in 1941. However, these reforms changed little in the Algerian situation and the colonial oppression of Muslim Algerians remained.

Ferhat Abbas published his *Manifeste du peuple algérien* on February 10th, 1943, to ask for a new status for the Algerian population. Amongst many of the rights in this Manifesto, Abbas asked for better reforms to the educational system and the elimination of discrimination between Muslim and European learners. This *Manifeste* increased Western awareness of French colonial discrimination against Algerians drastically. In response, Charles de Gaulle, the leader of *Le Comité Français de Libération Nationale* (CFLN), launched education reforms in July of the same year based on providing more

¹⁴ The *Parti du Peuple Algérien* was created by the nationalist Messali Hadj in 1937 with a hope of peacefully achieving Algeria's liberation.

¹⁵ The *évolués* are the Muslim Algerians who were allowed to access French education. This category of Algerians was considered by the French as the evolved version of Algerian Muslims, who absorbed the French culture. Ironically, many of them became leaders of the resistance against French colonialism.

rights for Algerians while, using the French word, *les indigènes*. The CFLN was aware of the crucial role played by Algeria in WW2 (Myreng, 2013, p. 22) and of the Algerian soldiers who had sacrificed themselves for France and whose families and communities were now waiting for something in return. Accordingly, these education reforms were meant to calm the Muslims' anger. At that time, de Gaulle was based in Algiers, which was a base of the French resistance in WW2. However, when France achieved its independence from the Nazis in 1944, the reforms were delayed because the CFLN moved immediately from Algiers to Paris to form *le Gouvernement Provisoire de la République Française* (GPRF). This increased people's feelings of discontent towards French administration and augmented their sense of nationalism. In the meantime, university and high school students were increasingly drawn to the PPA and the idea of Algerian nationalism (Pervillé, 2002).

Under international pressure, the French administration was forced to increase the number of Algerian children in schools, which led to a major alteration in the previous schooling system. By the end of 1944, an education plan related to De Gaulle's ordonnance of the 7th March 1944 led to a significant increase in the number of Algerian Muslims in French-medium schools. This plan merged the two school systems, mentioned above, allowing Algerians and Europeans to access the same schools and the same educational programmes. In addition, in theory, Algerians were allowed the same access to higher education as their French peers. Consequently, schools played an important role in affirming French identity in *l'Algérie Française*. Heggoy claims that "part of the 1944 school reform was probably conceived as a direct response to Reformist Ulama competition" (p. 189), since this programme of the *Oulémas* was "not likely to turn young Muslims into little Frenchman" (p. 189).

Most of the Algerian *évolués* who were taught in French schools from the 1910s onwards were living in a state of tension between what they learned at home and in school. Because of their French education, they "in effect became Europeans" (Heggoy, 1973, p. 181). The school used to teach them that their *patrie* is 'la France' through French language, literature, and history, while at home and in the Arabic *Madrasa* they would learn that they were Arabs/Berbers and their real *patrie* is 'l'Algérie', with a focus on the Islamic religion as the most important aspect in their identity. Many French-educated leaders of the Algerian revolution, as well as Algerian francophone writers, have faced this contradiction. Assia Djebar, for example, explained that Algerian children

used to learn in French schools that 'the Gaulois' were their ancestors. The notion of language is a major theme across all of her works, using French to express her relationship to Algerian history: "le français donc, celui de l'école, celui de « nos ancêtres, les Gaulois », or ils n'étaient pas « nos ancêtres », et ils n'étaient pas Gaulois !" (Cited in Kherfouche, 2016). This education "was both alien to and alienating its recipients, who played no part in deciding its direction and content" (Enslin, 2016, p. 3). This curriculum arguably played a crucial role in creating an Algerian identity crisis amongst most of the *évolués*, if not all of them (Further details are provided in Section 4.3.2).

While attempting to improve access to French education, the reforms led to the appearance of many problems. Chief among them was the lack of qualified teachers, as Myreng explains: "la formation de maîtres qualifiés n'arrivait pas à suivre le rythme de cette scolarisation massive et rapide. Le résultat était de nombreux instituteurs peu formés et sans expérience, et ceux-là se retrouvaient souvent dans des milieux ruraux défavorisés" (Myreng, 2013, p. 24). This resulted in a very poor standard of education for Algerians, as Louis Rigaud says: "ce système était bon pour gonfler les statistiques des classes crées et des enfants scolarisés. On se gardait bien d'indiquer dans quelles conditions" (Rigaud, 2001, p. 60). Despite the fact that these reforms increased the number of Muslim Algerians in schools significantly, "les réformes, jugées inefficaces, n'ont pas réussi à calmer l'agitation de la population musulmane, qui se voit obligée désormais de prendre une autre voie" (Myreng, 2013, p. 21). Indeed, these reforms did little to reduce the educational divide between settlers and colonised as practically all settler children were schooled, while throughout the colonial period from 1830 to 1954, only 15% of Algerians were educated (Heggoy, 1973, p. 192). Therefore, despite educational reforms in the post-war period, it was clear that Algerians were still vastly undereducated compared to the French settlers, increasing the former's anger and dissatisfaction, and affirming their perception that the only hope for change was to achieve independence.

The events of 8th May 1945 represented a crossroads in Algerian history. On the one hand, it was an important day for the French as it marked the European victory over the Nazis and the end of the Second World War. On the other hand, it was also of vital importance for Algerians, who had sacrificed themselves in the war therefore were waiting for something in return – their liberation – if the Nazis were defeated. After

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victory, the PPA organised a peaceful demonstration of thousands of Algerians to celebrate their victory and build up support for independence. Their hope was "to show the Algerian flag alongside those of the Allied powers, and to lay a wreath alongside the other parties at the municipal war memorial" (McDougall, 2017, p. 179). In fact, in many villages, "le drapeau algérien se mêle aux drapeaux allies et français parmi les Musulmans qui défilent" (Planche, 2006, p. 10). The PPA organised a peaceful demonstration in Setif to show that they outnumbered the Europeans with the emphasis on using slogans like 'Free Messali' and 'Long live free independent Algeria' (McDougall, 2017, p. 179). The French police "tried to seize the banners, scuffles broke out, a panic-stricken policeman started shooting, and a full-scale battle began" (Okoth, 2006, p. 218). The order was then maintained but another demonstration in Setif on the same day placed a "wreath at the war memorial, honouring the tens of thousands of North Africans who had been killed or wounded serving in French uniform over the past five years" (McDougall, 2017, pp. 179-180). In the meantime, news about the murder was spread all over the city and therefore some Muslim peasants started attacking European settlers randomly leading to the death of twenty and the injury of forty-eight (McDougall, 2017, p. 180). Consequently, European civilian militias joined the police and gendarmes and violently intervened to suppress any symbol of Algerian nationalism. The French administration responded to these V-day celebrations by killing 'some' thousands of civilian unarmed Algerians in Setif, Guelma, and Kherrata. From 8th until 22nd of May, between 6,000 and 8,000 Algerians were killed. The PPA claimed them to be between 30,000 and 45,000 Martyrs, in addition to thousands imprisoned (McDougall, 2017, p. 180). This was an effective way for the French to deny the existence of a distinct Algerian identity and to let the world know that Algeria is, and should always stay, part of France. In retrospect, this day has come to be known as the first day of the Algerian revolution (House, 2018). The outrage provoked by this colonial violence galvanized Algerians in the gradual resistance against the French administration until 1st November 1954, when an official declaration of the revolution was made.

The years of revolution (1954-1962) have been seen as a period in which Algerian identity was rehabilitated.¹⁶ Algerians discovered their Otherness in relation to the French, even though many of them continued learning and speaking the French language.

¹⁶ Restoring the dominant version of Algerian identity, although not the only one, based on the Islamic religion and the Arabic language and separated from the French.

Women during this period challenged the imposed discrimination and participated in the war, which led them to gain their right to participate in the public sphere. In fact, thanks to the French education reforms, which allowed women to access education, many of these educated women played a major part in the revolution. Women joined the *maquis* and participated in the war through performing a number of roles such as nursing, planting bombs, carrying weapons, and many others. Women also sought paid employment to feed their children in the absence of their communities of support (Vince, 2015).

However, paradoxically, the number of Algerians learning the French language increased during the years of the war due to French reformist policy. The increased access to French education during the Revolution, which adopted a cultural assimilation policy, actually reinforced an Algerian national identity crisis. This crisis is summarised in Frantz Fanon's question "Qui suis-je en réalité?" (1991, p. 240). In addition, Malek Haddad once said "la langue française est mon exil" (Cited in Serrano, 2005, p. 84). Haddad here, according to Heather Sharkey hints to the identity crisis which continued to exist after independence (Sharkey, 2014, p. 317). This identity crisis "reflected crippling uncertainties, about which language or languages Algerians should be using most authentically - or most legitimately - to read, write, speak in public, study science, pray to God, or even whisper to their lovers" (Sharkey, 2014, p. 317). The current Algerian president, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, described the colonial effects on the Algerian identity as a 'genocide', he declared, "la colonisation a réalisé un génocide de notre identité, de notre histoire, de notre langue, de nos traditions", he added, "nous ne savons plus si nous sommes des Berbères, des Arabes, des Européens, ou des Français " (Cited in Garcon, 2006).¹⁷Here, the deliberate use of the polemical rhetoric by using the term 'genocide' highlights the president's strong emphasis on the negative effects of French colonialism on Algerian identity. However, this statement also explains that this genocide was not entirely accomplished as it did not lead to the disappearance of the Algerian identity but rather it led to the appearance of a 'perpetual identity crisis' (Benkhaled & Vince, 2017, p. 243). The French educational system led to radical changes in Algerian identity, composed of "a hybrid language and culture consisting of French, European, Algerian, Arabic, and Amazigh/Tamazight elements" (Bekkai, 2015, p. 52). It is this 'identity

¹⁷ The president declared this to TV channels on the 17th April 2006 during his visit to Constantine.

crisis' that was inherited by the newly independent nation (Roberts, 2003; Silverstein, 2004; Benkhaled & Vince, 2017).

1.2.2. The Postcolonial State between Challenging and Maintaining the Colonial Legacies

In response to the challenges facing Algerian identity throughout the 130 years of colonialism, and based on the definition of the Algerian identity upheld by the AOMA (1931-1956/7), the newly independent state identified basic features of Islam and Arabic as the "central themes of the definition of the nation" (Hill, 2009, p. 8). The enduring legacy of the French language, on the other hand, was considered as a threat to the national identity which led to the adoption of the Arabisation policy to erase the colonial language from the Algerian linguistic field. In addition, all postcolonial leaders have taken advantage of history as a basic element of the Algerian identity, by emphasising the role played by the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) in the liberation of the country, to maintain the legitimacy of the single-party regime (Stora, 2001; Hume, 2006; Remaoun, 2006; Vince, 2015). Despite all these facts, in 1962 the nation "was established, based on a broad bill of rights, including the rights to equality, human dignity, property, education, social welfare, language and culture as well as freedom of religion and expression" (Maamri, 2016, p. 49).

To rehabilitate the Algerian identity, an Arabization policy was put in place driven by the Arab-Islamic culture. The postcolonial leaders launched this policy to revitalise the 'Arab-ness' of Algerians, which was suppressed for more than a century of colonialism. In 1963, Arabic was declared as the official language of the country and a compulsory subject in all Algerian schools. However, as a result of the shortage in the number of Arabic-speaking teachers¹⁸ and the high rate of illiteracy amongst Algerians,¹⁹ at that time, schools continued to teach most subjects in French. The leaders of the newly independent state had no choice but to depend on French teachers, sent by France, in addition to some Middle Eastern teachers to enhance the schools.²⁰ This decision of Arabisation was, according to the former Algerian minister of education Ali Ben

¹⁸In Ahmad Mansour's *Bila Hudud* talk show on Aljazeera TV, the former Algerian minister of education, Dr. Ali Ben Mohammed stated that, "in the academic year 1963/64 the programmes, curriculums as well as the teachers were not ready, everything had to be created from the beginning because most of the teachers who used to teach in the French education system, if not all, were French. The total number of teachers was 18.000, of which 15.000 were French, and they left Algeria immediately after independence" (Translation mine, Ben Mohammed, 2015).

¹⁹ According to Ali Ben Mohammed, 90% of men and 95-97% of women were illiterate in 1962.

 $^{^{20}}$ Everyone with a basic education, like primary school certificate, was allowed to teach, the main aim was for schools to open and children to learn (Ben Mohammed, 2015).

Mohammed (1990-1992), 'symbolic' because Algeria was not able to implement the Arabic language as the main medium of instruction in the early years of independence (Ben Mohammed, 2015). In fact, until the late 1960s, Algerian schools depended on either French or Middle Eastern teaching materials without having any specific curriculum (Ben Mohammed, 2015). Ben Mohammed explains, "the school textbook (of Arabic language) was either Syrian, Egyptian, or Lebanese, and the textbook of French (language) was French from France. Algeria used to import large amounts of textbooks from which teachers chose the best" (Translation mine, Ben Mohammed, 2015).

There was a lot of pressure placed on schools to restore a sense of national Algerian identity. Education "was seen as being at the heart of rebuilding the nation, training a skilled workforce, creating a shared national consciousness and opening opportunity to all Algerians" (Rose, 2015, p. 3). Schools were supposed to recover Algerian identity through the use of Arabic, thus resisting the French linguistic and cultural legacy. The Arabisation of Algeria was promoted gradually until 1971²¹ (see the Timeline of Events in page V), when president Boumedienne decided to radically Arabise the Algerian school system, administration and all official aspects (Wodak, et al., 2009). Despite these radical reforms, French continues to be the main language of instruction in science subjects in higher education to this day. If the aim of most postcolonial countries was to achieve modernisation by following a European model, Maamri explains that Algeria has chosen a different path: "the modernisation paradigm suggested that, to develop, Algeria and Africa at large would have to espouse the modern principles of a basically Eurocentric framework. However, by the 1970s it has become obvious that Algeria was not developing in the Western sense" (Maamri, 2016, p. 49). In fact, this Arabisation policy led to the suppression of the native language of many if not most Algerians: Tamazight.²²

In addition to the Arabisation policy, a major facet in postcolonial Algeria was the reliance on history to legitimise the postcolonial regime under the 'reign' of the FLN. Most of the streets, hospitals, schools, and universities in Algeria are named after the war's martyrs or veterans in order to remind the people of history as a crucial part of the Algerian identity. Two years after the birth of the Algerian nation in 1964, the Centre de Recherches Anthropologiques, Préhistorique et Ethnographique (CRAPE) was founded. In the year of Arabisation, 1971, the Fonds des Archives Nationales and the Centre

²¹ The 1971 was declared as the 'year of Arabisation'.
²² The Native language of Berbers.

National des Etudes Historiques (CNEH) were established as a necessary construct of the state (Alcaraz, 2017). This importance given to writing Algerian history and creating archives to preserve it is an important method used by the government to prove its legitimacy, as Remaoun states: "en ce qui concerne l'Algérie contemporaine, la question de la légitimation s'est en fait posée dès la période coloniale" (Remaoun, 2006, p. 154). Similarly, Vince argues that "by making a certain version of the past ever present, the historical and contemporary legitimacy of rulers and political systems is reinforced. By creating a set of collectively recognisable symbols, the nation can imagine itself as one" (Vince, 2015, p. 3). Postcolonial leaders in Algeria based their rule on the one-party regime empowered by the army. This dictatorship was considered by many Algerians, amongst them war veterans, as a 'betrayal' of the revolution. The Algerian revolution was claimed "to ensure liberty, social and economic justice and the recovery of a cultural identity based on Islam and the Arabic language". Yet, "the memoirs of a number of veterans disillusioned with the failure of democracy in Algeria after 1962 refer to the revolution 'betrayed' or 'confiscated'" (Vince, 2015, p. 3).

Algerian women were a key group disappointed by the outcomes of the revolution. Natalya Vince describes these women as both 'winners' and 'losers' of independence (Vince, 2015, p. 11). The new-born country, although established with the hope of equality and democracy for all Algerian people, excluded women from social and political space and denied them of all the rights that they had gained during the revolution. The issue of creating a unified national identity became related to questions of ensuring equal treatment for different social groups (Maamri, 2016, p. 48), amongst these is gender equality. Women's rights and roles throughout Algerian history, from 1962 onwards, constituted a 'downward trajectory' (Vince, 2015, p. 7), although the situation has changed significantly in recent years.

Women, who were symbols of resistance and emancipation in the world during the revolution, became, by the 1990s, examples of a 'cautionary tale' (Vince, 2015, p. 7). For the first decades of independence, women were ignored and their voices were silenced as they were not a 'priority' for the patriarchal regime. In this regard, Vince explains,

Alongside alternative nationalist movements to that of the FLN, or indeed FLN intellectuals and politicians pushed into shadows of more powerful army generals, women who participated in the War of Independence- notably

women who [...] survived the conflict- are considered to be a forgotten group by those who challenged the state's self-satisfied narrative. (Vince, 2015, p. 4)

In the 1980s, the situation worsened for women with the rise of the regime of Chadli Benjedid who offered women as a 'bonus card' to placate and motivate the Islamists.²³ According to Valentine M. Moghadam "[w]omen have become the pawns in [...the] political-cultural battleground, and many states have sought to accommodate Islamists and retain their own political power by acquiescing to Islamist demands and passing legislation unfavourable to women" (Moghadam, 1994, p. 6). In fact, in Algeria, "the shift from nationalism to feminism and the rise of militant women's organizations has been a striking feature of the 1980s" (Moghadam, 1994, p. 5). By interpreting Islamic law according to their own desires, the Islamists imposed a family law in 1984, which was the most discriminatory law in the history of the postcolonial country. This law confirmed patriarchy and denied women their basic rights (For further details see Section 5.2), which led women - and especially the female veterans of the war - to demonstrate In fact, "since independence the inclusion of some has been against the government. achieved at the expense of the exclusion of others, which resulted in the intensification of social conflicts and instability and ultimately a civil war" (Maamri, 2016, p. 48). In fact, this exclusion was not specific to Algerian women, but also to linguistic groups whose identity was suppressed by the postcolonial regimes.

The ultimate focus on rehabilitating the ('Arabity') 'Arabness' of Algerians was accompanied by a denial of Berber identity in Algeria. Berbers account for at least one third of all Algerians (BBC News, 2016), if not 75% of the Algerian population according to some unofficial publications (Yezza, 2013). Despite this, until 1973, the government ignored the issue of Berber language and identity. Throughout this period, the Berber population protested against the marginalisation of their culture and identity, although Berber intellectuals were allowed to deliver courses and lectures in the Berber language. However, in September 1973, the government banned the Berber intellectual Mouloud Mammeri from teaching the Berber language, which had been tolerated since independence. This provoked anger against the regime among Berber populations, which reached its peak on March 1980 when Mammeri was again prohibited from delivering a lecture about the use of the Berber language at the University of Tizi-Ouzou (Evans &

²³ Islamists in Algeria were gathered under the umbrella of *Al Qiyam* movement, which appeared in 1964 and called for the incorporation of the Islamic *Shari'a* into Algerian politics. This movement developed during Chadli Bendjedid's presidency to become the party of *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS).

Phillips, 2007, p. 122). Berbers considered this act as an attempt to suppress the Berber identity, which led the Berber population to protest against the regime, asking for the recognition of their language and identity. The government 'simply' repressed the protesters, killing some and arresting many. This violent reaction by the authorities led to a general strike in the Kabyle region, with the prohibition of any sign written in Arabic, marking the start of the 'Berber Spring' in May 1980. It was the first significant event in Algerian postcolonial history (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 122) since the Houari Boumedienne coup against Ahmed Ben Bella in 1965.

The events developed significantly, especially with the oil crisis in 1986. The high rates of unemployment amongst the youth, together with the discrimination against different social groups under the dictatorial reign of the FLN led to social chaos and national revolt. The government showed its muscles again by killing up to 169 Algerians in the youth riots of October 1988 (Rahal, 2017, p. 84). However, these riots led to the dethroning of single-party rule and the granting of freedom of expression and association in the constitution of February 1989 (Rahal, 2017, p. 87). This multipartyism opened the doors to radical Islamism, which had been gaining power gradually since Bournedienne's rule (1965-1978),²⁴ with the formation of their official party: *Front Islamique du Salut* (FIS) in 1989. The Islamists succeeded in gaining the people's confidence with the help of the policies and education, which aimed to rehabilitate and emphasise a Muslim Algerian identity.

1990 started with tensions and anger between different groups in Algeria. The University of Tizi-Ouzou opened the Department of the Amazigh Language and Culture. In March, three women's associations organised a march on the parliament building demanding the restoration of the rights that they possessed during the revolution. In April, 1990, the FIS gathered 100,000 Algerians to demonstrate against the government with two main goals: to put an end to the bilingual system and to create a constitution based on *Shari'a* law. This demonstration led 400,000 Algerians to later respond against total Arabisation, which was scheduled to be approved by the government, while also demanding democratic reform. The government ignored the latter demonstrations and passed the Act No. 91-05 of total Arabisation in January 1991, which led University teachers to strike against this law later in the same year. Before its end, 1991 witnessed,

²⁴ Although it is hard to assume that Boumedienne's regime was the reason behind the appearance of radical Islamists in the 1980s, his rule contributed to a large extent to the political uprisings in the country after his death, through his radical focus on affirming the Algerian Arab Muslim identity (Stone, 1997, p. 152).

also, one of the most important events in Algerian postcolonial history when the FIS won the first round of the legislative elections on 26th December, 1991 (Rahal, 2017, p. 98).

In January of the next year, the Algerian Army refused to recognise the results and denied the FIS's victory in elections. The army forced Bendjedid "to announce his resignation on television on 11 January. [...] A form of bloodless coup had taken place that would put an end to Algeria's experience of democratization" (Rahal, 2017, p. 99). In addition, the army suppressed the FIS and arrested its leaders. This led to the start of the much wider national tragedy known as the 'décennie noire' in the 1990s. This polarised 'civil war' between Islamists and the government over the rule of the Algerian state resulted in a cultural conflict with language playing a significant role (Benrabah, 2013, p. XI). In addition, according to Mohammed Benrabah, the "colonial history is largely responsible for this murderous war" (2013, p. XI). The bitter dispute amongst intellectuals and journalists was 'qui tue qui?' (McDougall, 2017, p. 291) during a decade of a horrifying war that was claimed to "have taken anything between 100,000 and 200,000 lives, the routine imprecision of the estimated death toll expressing both the enormity and the unaccountability of the violence" (McDougall, 2017, p. 291). The FIS "accused the Algerian state of neo-colonial mimicry and dismissed leaders with so much invested in perpetuating the image of a heroic struggle as being hizb fransa, 'the party of France" (Vince, 2015, p. 3). On the other hand, the politico-military administration claimed that terrorists are 'sons of the harkis'25 to hide their fathers' betrayal of Algeria during the colonial period (Benkhaled & Vince, 2017, p. 254).

During this decade, Algerian women shouted with anger in the streets of Algeria after the radical discrimination which was imposed on them by the FIS, as Vince explains:

Algerian feminists marching in 1992 against the Front Islamique du Salut (Islamic Salvation Front, FIS) and the looming spectre of a theocratic state carried placards bearing slogans such as 'Hassiba Ben Bouali²⁶, if you could see our Algeria' and 'Hassiba Ben Bouali, we will not betray you'- an appeal to the 'memory' of Hassiba Ben Bouali, recast as a forerunner of women's rights campaigners. (Vince, 2015, p. 3)

²⁵ Harki (Plural Harka or Harkis in English) are the pro-French Algerians who were serving French military. While some of them intentionally chose to betray their nation and preferred the persistence of French Algeria, some others were enrolled under threat of death at hands of French colonialism. This word continues to be used in Algeria today as a synonym for traitor (Vince, 2015, p. 62).

²⁶Hassiba Ben Bouali is a martyr of the Algerian Revolution. She is one of the heroines of the Battle of Algiers, and was killed by the French military at the age of 19, when they bombed her hideout with other three members of the FLN.

As a response to all these uprisings, Liamine Zeroual's government proceeded towards peace by recognising some women's rights by ratifying the United Nations Convention of the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1997. Zeroual's regime also made a major alteration in the definition of Algerian identity adopted since independence (Arab/Muslim identity), by adding the notion of 'Amazighism'. The Berber identity of Algerians was eventually recognised in the preamble of the constitution in November 1996, which affirms "the fundamental constituent parts of identity [...] are Islam, Arabism and Amazighism" (Benrabah, 2005, p. 430). This recognition was important as it challenged the taboo of any other language or culture being considered a threat to the integrity of a national Algerian identity. This progress led to the recognition heralded a new era in Algeria.

The 2000s began with the end of the violent social and political conflict. President Abdelaziz Bouteflika, who was elected in 1999, came with new policies which tried to avoid any future political turmoil based on language and identity. The president challenged the past and approached modernisation with open arms. He showed interest in constructing a modern Algerian identity that does not exclude any individual or group in the Algerian society through "a number of modernising reforms (of the education and justice systems)" (Roberts, 2001, p. 23). The main feature of this new era is adopting a flexible linguistic policy in order to replace the years of imposed Arabisation, in addition to giving more rights to women.

Accordingly, more priority was given to foreign languages favouring French and English against the hegemonic Arabic. The president surprised his people by stressing the importance of foreign languages to modernise Algerian identity. As he stated:

Let it be known that Algeria is part of the world and must adapt to it and that Arabic is the national and official language. This being said, let it be known that uninhibited opening up to other international languages – at least to those used in the United Nations- does not constitute perjury. In this domain, we are neither more Arab nor more intelligent than our *brothers* in Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, or Palestine or anywhere else. To move forward, one must break taboos. This is the price we have to pay to *modernise our identity*.²⁷ (Emphasis mine)

However, stressing the concept of 'brotherhood' with other Arab populations highlights the permanent emphasis on an Algerian identity based on Arab and Muslim cornerstones. The president also challenged the imposed hegemony of Arabic, showing his multilingual

²⁷ Published in *El-Watan* in 1999 (Cited in Benrabah, 2005).

tolerance by using either Arabic or French in his speeches. In an interview with a French Radio Station, Europe 1, Bouteflika declared that Arabic as a national language would not stop him from using the French language:

Je suis attaqué dans la presse algérienne parce que, de temps en temps, je m'exprime en français ou, dans un forum international, je m'exprime en français. La langue nationale et officielle dans mon pays est l'arabe. N'ayant absolument rien à envier en ce qui concerne la connaissance de la langue arabe à qui que soit, je me sens plus à l'aise pour parler en français quand je veux. Et je continuerai.²

Bouteflika's challenge to the monolingual system imposed by his predecessors, and his reinforcement of foreign language learning was interpreted as a declaration of the failure of linguistic nationalism in Algeria, which ended up causing more problems than it solved (Majumdar, 2000; Benrabah, 2013). In addition, president Bouteflika affirmed that the French language will continue to be the main medium of instruction in higher education for all scientific subjects. Le Matin, quoted Bouteflika's speech, stressing the importance of English, "[i]l est impensable d'étudier des sciences exactes pendant dix ans en arabe alors qu'elles peuvent l'être en un an en anglais" (Cited in Grandguillaume, 2001, p. 285). Therefore, Bouteflika's presidency was launched by prioritising foreign languages in the national education system.

Throughout Algeria's postcolonial history, education has always been of major importance, as the preamble of the Loi d'Orientation sur l'Education shows:

L'Algérie a, d'une manière constante depuis l'indépendance, placé l'éducation de ses enfants au centre de ses préoccupations et a consacré une part importante de ses moyens et de sa richesse nationale au développement du secteur de l'éducation nationale considéré comme prioritaire. (2008, p. 5)

As my overview of education reform since independence shows, education was supposed to rehabilitate a sense of a national Algerian identity. Schools, following Boumedienne's orders, aimed to (re)construct an Algerian identity based on Arab Muslim culture by Algerianising teaching materials in the 1970s.²⁹ In the 1970s, the *pouvoir*'s³⁰ use of

Available at:http://www.algeria-watch.org/farticle/boutef/boutefeurope1.htm [Accessed 10 February 2016].

²⁸ Jean Pierre El Kabache interviewed the president Abdelaziz Bouteflika in the press club "Europe1" Algiers, 07/11/1999. [Online]

²⁹Until then, textbooks from Middle Eastern countries, France, and UK were used to cover the needs of schools. For example, British teaching materials for general learners were used, which aimed to make the learners achieve "a particular proficiency in English as a foreign language but not a particular culture or country" (Hamada, 2011, p. 3). ³⁰ '*Le pouvoir*' is a word used in Algerian dialect to describe the regime or the men in power.

"education as a means to promote its definition of the nation did not stop at Arabisation". According to Article 2 of the Ordinance 76-35 of the 16 April 1976 it was the "education system's responsibility to develop the citizens' characters and reinforce their patriotism" (Maamri, 2016, p. 55). However as a result, as Messekher argues, the education system was accused of converting policies into obscurantist ideologies (Messekher, 2014) that led to the social and political conflicts which lasted for two decades (1980s-1990s).

Consequently, Bouteflika's presidency initiated another language policy in the form of wide-ranging education reforms, which aimed to give more importance to foreign languages, basically French and English, as he states in one of his letters:

La maîtrise des langues étrangères est devenue incontournable. Apprendre aux élèves, dès leur plus jeune âge, une ou deux autres langues de grande diffusion, c'est les doter des atouts indispensables pour réussir dans le monde de demain. Cette action passe, comme chacun peut le comprendre aisément, par l'intégration de l'enseignement des langues étrangères dans les différents cycles du système éducatif pour, d'une part, permettre l'accès direct aux connaissances universelles et favoriser l'ouverture sur d'autres cultures et, d'autre part, assurer les articulations nécessaires entre les différents paliers et filières du secondaire, de la formation professionnelle et du supérieur. C'est à cette condition que notre pays pourra, à travers son système éducatif et ses institutions de formation et de recherche et grâce à ses élites, accéder rapidement aux nouvelles technologies, notamment dans les domaines de l'information, la communication et l'informatique qui sont en train de révolutionner le monde et d'y créer de nouveaux rapports de force.³¹

Accordingly, the situation of French in Algeria shifted. For decades, it had been the language of the coloniser. With this shift, it was reframed as a tool for opening Algeria to the world, which "doit permettre à la fois l'accès à une documentation scientifique d'une part, mais aussi le développement des échanges entre les civilisations et la compréhension mutuelle entre les peuples".³²This language became "une langue scientifique, technique, fonctionnelle ou étrangère " (Morsly, 1988. Cited in Bensekat & Krideche, 2008, p. 115). English, on the other hand, was given more importance than previously because of its increasing power as the world's *lingua franca*. However, English remained the secondary foreign language after French.

Educational reforms were launched in 2003 and their preliminary outcomes were praised in the initial years. However, with renewed debates concerning language and

³¹ On 13 May 2000. Palais des Nations, Algiers. Cited in Algérie, l'enseignement du français à la lumière de la réforme. By Fatiha Fatma Ferhani (2006). [Online]

Available at : <u>https://www.cairn.info/revue-le-francais-aujourd-hui-2006-3-page-11.htm#no12</u> [Accessed 14 June 2017]

³² Ordonnance n° 76-35 du 16 Avril 1976.

identity, we can identify new conflicts coming to the surface in Algerian society which can be traced to these reforms. This thesis is therefore concerned with these debates. It problematizes these reforms through the analysis of the school textbooks of French and English produced since 2003. Having sketched out the historical and social context which led to the 2003 educational reforms, the following section will explain the content of the reforms and the special circumstances within which they were launched. Then, I will provide an overview of the education system in Algeria and explain why the specific corpus of analysis has been selected for this study.

1.3. The Education Reforms and the Aim of Modernisation

The textbooks to be analysed in this research were produced when President Bouteflika declared holistic educational reforms³³ that would improve the 'stricken' educational system in May 2000.³⁴ These reforms, as the first step towards modernisation, aimed to fulfil the overall needs of the country and to facilitate access to science and technology. In addition, after a long period of conflict, schools were meant to bring peace to the nation through a curriculum which emphasises a culture of peace, equality, and interculturality, as Bouteflika underlined:

L'Algérie s'est désormais libérée de la dépendance financière. Elle a aussi très largement rétabli la sécurité à travers le territoire. Mais notre pays souffre encore d'autres maux légués par la crise, dont l'incivisme et de multiples autres dévoiements, qui perturbent l'harmonie sociale et retardent nos efforts de développement. Face à ces difficultés, différentes solutions sont envisagées, mais la plus perspicace reste incontestablement l'éducation, le civisme et l'esprit de citoyenneté, trois missions dans lesquelles, l'école doit s'investir davantage.³⁵

Similarly, the former minister of education, Boubaker Benbouzid stated,

[...] dans sa substance comme dans sa raison d'être, cette réforme dont l'ambition est de mettre l'école algérienne en adéquation avec les changements de tous ordres intervenus au sein de notre société durant ces dernières années, a donné naissance à un vaste chantier dans lequel l'action sur la ressource humaine prime évidemment sur celle portant sur les moyens matériels, même si ces derniers sont loin d'être négligeables. (Benbouzid, 2006, p. 10)

³³ These educational reforms were born from a collaboration with UNESCO.

³⁴ During the installation of the National Advisory Council on the 22nd April 1992, Algerian former president Mohamed Boudiaf declared, that "notre système éducatif est sinistré. Les déclarations d'autosatisfaction ne sauront cacher la réalité dramatique vécue par les élèves et leurs parents. Notre système éducatif produit des rejetés dans la rue, de 'hittistes' [referring to the Arabic 'hit' meaning 'wall', 'hittistes' are the unemployed youth who spend their time leaning against walls] sans qualification et des diplômés chômeurs. C'est une refonte totale de notre système éducatif qu'il faut envisager. L'école doit être un lieu de transmission et de production du savoir. Elle doit se situer en dehors des préoccupations politiques, partisanes ou idéologiques. L'avenir de nos enfants oblige à consacrer à ce dossier le maximum d'attention" *El-Watan*, July 19th, 2014.

³⁵Cited in *Le Midi Libre* newspaper by Farid Abdeladim. Published on 11th September 2008.

Accordingly, a commission "est installée et avait pour mission d'élaborer le projet de réforme. Une fois le document finalisé, le président Bouteflika ordonna vers la fin 2002 au ministre Boubaker Benbouzid le lancement de la réforme" (Amir, 2014). *El-Watan³⁶* newspaper, in this regard, published in one of its articles : "[I]es services de la présidence ne voulaient rien savoir. Bouteflika a donné des orientations pour l'application de la réforme à partir de 2003 et ce, quel que soit le prix à payer" (Amir, 2014).³⁷ In September 2003, the reforms were launched and new textbooks were distributed to all Algerian schools.

Expectations for these reforms were high, especially from women, whose education had suffered from patriarchal discrimination for many decades. It was amongst the many explanations provided by the Algerian military in regards to suppressing the results of the elections of 1992 that "the discourse of FIS seemed provocative, obscurantist and anti-women" (Wodak, et al., 2009, p. 93). Therefore, one major expectation of post-civil war Algeria was the elevation of women out of their marginalised status, a goal echoed in the corridors of the Ministry of Education: "Il faut sortir la femme algérienne de son statut de mineur".³⁸Indeed, in social life women started regaining several rights, which had been eradicated in the previous years (further discussion is provided in chapter 5). Therefore, the reforms were expected to comply with these new promises by bringing gender equality in education to empower women.

In fact, these reforms challenged other older policies by allowing more room for foreign languages in the curriculum, bringing a balance to the dominance of monolingual Arabisation. Though Arabic language learning continued to be the 'bedrock' of the Algerian identity (Maamri, 2016), the reforms gave greater value to foreign language teaching (Baala-Boudebia, 2012). Privileging an education in French and English, as the two main foreign languages, was seen to open Algeria to a global culture and foster modernity. Indeed, the programme of foreign languages aimed to bring modernity to the Algerian identity.

 ³⁶ *El-Watan* is an opposition newspaper which has been targeted by the Algerian government several times.
 ³⁷ This statement was given by someone close to the Minister of Education, Benbouzid Boubaker, published

in *El-Watan* newspaper by Nabila Amir on 19^{th} July, 2014.

³⁸ Stated in president's letter on International Women's Day 8th March, 2015. This letter was read by Mounia Messlem, the Algerian minister of solidarity.

The pivotal component of the educational reforms was the production of new editions of school textbooks. New textbooks were designed, across the curriculum, with the intention of addressing the aims of the reforms. According to an article in *El-Watan*,

[A]ucuns parmi les éducateurs et parents d'élèves que nous avons interrogés sur le contenu de ces nouveaux manuels estiment être satisfaits aussi bien du contenu plus pédagogique et mieux en phase avec la modernité que de la présentation égayée par davantage d'illustrations et de couleurs. (Grim, 2004)

French and English textbooks shared the same goals as other teaching materials for other subjects: they aimed to develop and affirm, above all, a sense of a national Algerian identity. However, being not only vessels for the language but also for the foreign culture, more attention was paid to the affirmation of Algerian distinctiveness in the French and English textbooks. Algerian educationalists were aware that a language is "not merely a medium of communication but also the repository of a cultural tradition, the expression of a nation's spirit and conscience and a way of living which helps to convey a sense of identity" (Maamri, 2016, p. 52). In addition, these textbooks, as a space of encounter for the Self and the Other, were supposed to be used as the major elements in education which could develop cultural tolerance and interculturality between different groups of people. The expectations were therefore very high and stakeholders across many different elements of Algerian society and government were hoping to reap the benefits of these reforms.

However, a decade later, the Algerian Syndicat national autonome des professeurs de l'enseignment secondaire (SNAPEST) declared the failure of the reforms, stating that many "dysfonctionnements sont à corriger" (Cited in Samira, 2013). Many other critical voices argued that ideological clashes constituted a barrier to the modernization of the educational system. While schools still aimed to develop their students' Arab and Muslim identity, the reforms were seen to be developing liberal and secular identities to avoid reproducing a new threat of radical Islamists in the future. In fact, Algerian teachers argued, "lorsqu'on fait dans l'équilibre, personne n'est satisfait. On avait une école semilaïque, on a voulu créer une école libérale. Il fallait faire face aussi aux islamistes. Le pouvoir répond à chaque fois à une logique idéologique et non politique" (Amir, 2014). In addition, pedagogists added, "de tout temps il y a eu une double bataille idéologique au sein du système éducatif; l'une entre les conservateurs et les laïcs, et l'autre entre ceux qui plaident pour sa démocratisation et ceux qui optent pour sa marchandisation"(Amir, 2014). Therefore, the secular aims of the educational reforms seemed to be in conflict with the goal of fostering a national identity based on a shared religion.

Adding to this, the French language, which had regained its cultural power during Bouteflika's presidency, paradoxically, entered into crisis. The former minister of higher education and scientific research, Rachid Harraoubia, declared that the failure of students in universities was mostly due to their incompetence in the French language. This failure in French, as the main medium of instruction in most fields in higher education, is also confirmed by Farid Bouanani through his survey:

According to most of Algerian teachers who took part in a survey conducted from October 1988 to May 2006, the state of the teaching/ learning of the French language in Algeria does not induce any optimistic perspective. While all of them pinpoint what they name "the declining standards", which seem to grow every year, very few are able to single out the real reason behind this failure. (Bouanani, 2008, p. 227)

The position of French language learning was, on the one hand, supported by the President's attitude and public use of French, but, on the other, destabilised by the reforms. In fact, students' attainment in French was getting worse (Bedouani-Kernane, 2013). In addition, 77% of teachers agreed that French language learning in Algeria is in a state of crisis (Bouanani, 2008). This created a contradiction between the social reality of Algeria, as the third biggest francophone country in the world (Amari, 2015), and the outcomes of the reforms. French is, furthermore, the main language of instruction in higher education and, as the president stated, it is needed for Algeria to achieve modernisation. Rather than eliminating them, these reforms therefore strengthened the postcolonial paradoxes of the position of the French language as the language of the coloniser that should be resisted and the language of modernisation that should be welcomed. Once again, this lead to an escalation in conflicts between language and identity.

In particular, it is the link between the French language and the colonial past of the country that has awakened a resistance to French language in Algeria. In the 21st century "despite dramatic changes in the post-colonial demographic, urban and economic structures, the memories of French colonialism have not completely faded away. French remains irredeemably tinted by its colonial history" (Benrabah, 2013, p. 102). The resistance against French among younger Algerians (Aci, 2013) has been met with great hostility from Algeria's Francophones who consider the French language as an

inseparable part of their identity. Therefore, "the notion of a broad united Algerian identity shared by the majority of citizens remains elusive. Rather than a singular national identity, labels of Arabs, Berbers and Islamists continue to define, at least in part, the identity of many" (Maamri, 2016, p. 49). Therefore, despite all attempts, the past continues to shape the events of the postcolonial country. Citing Benjamin Stora, Vince confirmed that "the unhealed wounds of the past are responsible for many of the contemporary social and political fractures in France and Algeria, as well as being a major obstacle to normalising Franco-Algerian relations" (Vince, 2015, p. 6). Despite the promises of the reforms, problem of language and identity continued to fester within Algerian society.

In addition, many researchers claimed that the education reforms contradict the president's promises to women. It is claimed that these reforms promote gender discrimination through the teaching materials, through such things as representing women performing stereotypical feminine roles and the discriminatory division of the represented social spaces in some textbooks (further discussion is provided in the next chapter). This led Malika Maamri to write, 54 years after independence, that "Algerian people are increasingly frustrated with the way their State is attempting to democratise" (2016, p. 64). Just as with the previous Algerian education reforms, the focus was mainly on the (re)construction of national identity, as explained by the interviewees that participated in this research who took part in the production of the textbooks under analysis, ignoring the fact that women constitute a major part of this identity. Accordingly, gender identity is considered in this thesis as one of the main identities that make up postcolonial Algerian identity. This study will explore in more detail the importance of promoting gender egalitarianism as a main component of the postcolonial identity, without which modernization will never be achieved.

Furthermore, the promised objective of building a unified Algerian identity based on peace and harmony between different groups in Algeria has faded away in recent years. Every linguistic group in Algeria claims their definition of 'Algerian identity' based on the language(s) they think are the main feature of this identity. In addition to Berber, which was recognised as a national language earlier by President Bouteflika in March 2002 (Dickovick, 2012, p. 32), French continued to constitute a paradox (Grandguillaume, 2004). This paradoxical place of French language acquisition in Algeria has been emphasised through the rapid uptake of English as a foreign language. To understand this paradox, "il faut réaliser que la langue française en Algérie est l'objet d'une forte ambivalence, qui présente des aspects sociaux, culturels, politiques et identitaires" (Grandguillaume, 2004, p. 75). Yet, English, although a Western language, is not considered as a threat to the integrity of Algerian identity in the same way and is further supported.

Like most of its postcolonial counterparts, Algeria has opted to teach foreign languages as a way to establish a modern national identity. French and English were particularly chosen as the first and second foreign languages of the country. The importance of these two languages has been emphasised by president Bouteflika on several occasions to modernise the country and to create peace and harmony between the different linguistic groups in Algeria. However, rivalry has recently emerged between these two languages in the Algerian linguistic setting (explained further in Section 3.3). This competition over the position of the primary foreign language of postcolonial Algeria has led instead to the escalation of language and identity conflicts in the country. Subsequently, the textbooks for these two languages - French and English - were chosen as the main corpus of analysis in this thesis to investigate the role that these sources might have played in this conflict.

In Algeria, foreign language textbooks are the main source of knowledge for teachers of foreign languages (Messekher, 2014, p. 69), as they represent the official Algerian educational discourses and curriculum. Therefore, this thesis will examine how the main educational discourses of school textbooks contribute to a large extent to identity (re)construction of the individual learner. This will allow the study to explain the role of these textbooks, born from the 2003 reforms, in the persistence of the different paradoxes in Algerian society today. Accordingly, the thesis questions the discourses present in the textbooks of French and English to demonstrate the effects of the colonial past on rethinking Algerian identity today.

1.4. Data and Methodological Approach

In Algeria, compulsory education lasts for 12 years: Five in primary school, four in middle school, and three years of secondary school. The main language of instruction through these years is Arabic. However, learning French is compulsory from the third year of primary school and English from the first year of middle school. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to construct acomparative approach between the French and English

languages. This has led to the exclusion of the French primary school textbooks from the corpus as there are no equivalent English textbooks. Accordingly, the research involves 7 textbooks each for French and English from middle and secondary schools. All the textbooks originate from the 2003 reforms: however, the *Office National des Publications Scolaires* (ONPS) produced many editions of the same programme because of some mistakes in the previous ones, as explained by the textbook designers interviewed for my research. These textbooks are only sold in schools to a precise number of students; this made it hard to find the 2003 edition. Accordingly, different (but equivalent) editions were used in this research.

The following table shows the textbooks' titles and the abbreviations that are used in this thesis for every textbook:

Level		Textbooks of French		Textbooks of English	
		Name	Abbreviation	Name	Abbreviation
Middle School	1 st Year	Française : 1ére Année Moyenne (Laichaoui, et al., 2010).	FrMid1	Spotlight on English: Book One (Merazga, et al., 2003).	EnMid1
	2 nd Year	Manuels de Français 2éme Année Moyenne (Sadouni-Madagh, et al., 2011).	FrMid2	The Second English Course Book: Spotlight on English Book Two (Merazga, et al., 2004).	EnMid2
	3 rd Year	Mon livre de Français 3éme Année Moyenne (Ayad, et al., 2012).	FrMid3	Spotlight on English Book Three (Arab, et al., 2005).	EnMid3
	4 th Year	Livre de Français 4e Année Moyenne (Djilali & Melzi, 2006).	FrMid4	On the Move (Arab, et al., 2006).	EnMid4
Secondary School	1 st Year	Français Première Année Secondaire (Djilali, et al., 2005).	FrSec1	At the Crossroads (Riche, et al., 2005).	EnSec1
	2 nd Year	Français Deuxième Année Secondaire (Zegrar, et al., 2006).	FrSec2	Getting through (Riche, et al., 2006).	EnSec2
	3 rd Year	Français Troisième Année Secondaire (Mahboubi, et al., 2007).	FrSec3	New Prospects (Arab, et al., 2007).	EnSec3

Table 1.1: Textbooks' Titles and Abbreviations³⁹

³⁹ The research adopts different editions of the books because of the scarcity of the earliest edition. The books are not available either in the schools or in the *Office National des Publications Scolaires (ONPS)*. As a result, I collected them from students. However, all the editions up to 2016 are derived from the same

By questioning the content of these textbooks, this thesis aims to shed light on the persistence of the legacies of the colonial period in the process of (re)constructing Algerian identity through foreign language teaching. Accordingly, the thesis aims to answer the following research questions:

- 1. How do the French textbooks, as the language of the former coloniser, and English, as the world's putative *lingua franca*, differ in their representations of national identity?
- 2. To what extent do the cultures conveyed through the teaching of French and English contribute to the ongoing conflicts of language and identity in Algerian society today?
- 3. How does France's colonial past in Algeria affect the ways in which French language and culture are taught in comparison to English?
- 4. Do the textbooks promote women's empowerment and gender equality as a feature of a 'modern' Algerian identity, as promised by President Bouteflika?

To answer these questions, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is employed to analyse the linguistic and pictorial components of the 14 French and English textbooks mentioned above, except for a few situations where content analysis was more appropriate (see Sections 3.3, 3.5, 5.4, 5.5, and 5.6).

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a socially-invested approach to studying texts "emerging from critical linguistics, critical semiotics and in general from a socio-political conscious and oppositional way of investigating language, discourse and communication" (van Dijk, 1995, p. 17). It aims to reveal the hidden and implemented values, perspectives and ideologies in a given discourse. CDA investigates the role of language in exercising power through transmitting specific ideologies. This type of analysis goes beyond description and interpretation, to explore why and how discourse works, with a particular emphasis placed on social, cultural and political issues. It "stems from a critical theory of language which sees the use of language as a form of social practice. All social practices are tied to specific historical contexts and are the means by which existing social relations are reproduced or contested and different interests are served" (Janks, 1997, p. 329).

programmes of reforms. All these textbooks are called '*la première génération*' because in 2016 '*la deuxième génération*' was introduced with different programmes. This later phase was launched by the Minister of Education, Nouria Benghabrit.

In addition, CDA aims to "show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination, and in ideology" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 229). It enables a focus on "the signifiers that make up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxtapositioning, their sequencing, their layout" to say that "texts are instantiations of socially regulated discourses and that the process of production and reception are socially constrained" (Janks, 1997, p. 329). As it is interested "in the way in which language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and in the part this use plays in social maintenance and change" (Bloor, 2007, p. 2), CDA is considered as one of the main approaches that can reveal the hidden meanings in texts. In its initial formulations (e.g. Fairclough, 1989), it has been mainly concerned with the linguistic aspects of language. However, it can (also) be used now to analyse multimodal discourses (e.g. Kress & Van Leeuwen 2006, Machin [2007] 2016). It became "widely used to denote a recognisable approach to language study manifested across a range of different groups" as "an institutionalised discipline with its own paradigm, its own canon and conventionalised assumptions, and even its own power structures" (Breeze, 2011, p. 493). CDA now shares interests and methods with different disciplines such as sociology, anthropology, ethnography and many others (Bloor, 2007, p. 2).

One of the founders of this approach, Norman Fairclough, claims that the critical analysis of a particular discourse is divided into three levels – the Micro, Meso and Macro level. Fairclough describes CDA as "integrating (a) analysis of text, (b) analysis of process of text production, consumption and distribution, and (c) sociocultural analysis of the discursive event as a whole" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 23). The Micro level refers to the various aspects of close textual analysis that identify particular linguistic features, such as rhetorical features, grammatical structures or gendered pronouns, to convey hidden meanings. The Meso Level is closely concerned with the production, distribution, and consumption of a particular text. The last one or the Macro level aims at analysing the whole ideology implemented within the given text and whether this challenges or acts to maintain hegemonic discourses in society.

The different characteristics of CDA identified above and explained in detail by Teun van Dijk (van Dijk, 1995, pp. 17-18) make it a very suitable analytical approach for this research. First, in Critical Discourse Analysis "any theoretical and methodological approach is appropriate as long as it is able to effectively study relevant social problems, such as those of *sexism*, [...] *colonialism* and other forms of social inequality" (Emphasis

mine, p.17). It also mostly deals with "the discursively enacted or legitimated structures and strategic dominance and resistance in social relations of [...] gender, [...] language, [...] nationality" (Emphasis in original, p.18). These previously-mentioned themes sexism, colonialism, gender, language and nationality – are the main concepts analysed in this thesis. Therefore, this can highlight the validity of CDA to question and problematize the effects of colonialism on representations of national, cultural and gendered identity in the textbooks being studied in this thesis. In addition, CDA works effectively in the analysis of multidisciplinary social problems where discourse and society are related. Also, the fact that CDA studies are not limited only to the linguistic and verbal texts but also to other semiotic dimensions such as pictures makes this approach very useful in analysing both the linguistic and visual components of the textbooks. Besides, CDA aims to uncover and reveal hidden and implicit facts with a special focus on the discursive strategies that are used "to influence the minds (and indirectly the actions) of people in the interest of the powerful" (p.18). This influence on minds is investigated in this thesis through questioning the way in which the textbook representations can influence and (re)construct the students' identities. The fact that this research addresses the legacies of colonialism, and that it does so from an interdisciplinary perspective that examines the textual as well as visual components of the textbooks under analysis, makes CDA the most suitable approach to adopt. In brief, CDA uncovers the (educational) discourses introduced by the Algerian government that contribute to the (re)construction of national, cultural, and gendered identities of the learners.

In this thesis, the textbooks of French and English are presented as official discourses, supported by the state, that have the power to impact on social identities which are both collective and individual (Fairclough, 1992, p. 71) (Further explanation about the interconnected relation between discourse, language, and identity is provided in Section 2.3.2). Norman Fairclough argues that:

Discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting the world in meaning. [...] Discursive practice [...] contributes to reproducing society (social identities, social relationships, system of knowledge and belief) as it is, yet also, contributes to transforming society. (Emphasis mine, Fairclough, 1992, pp. 64-65)

In fact, postcolonial regimes usually use foreign language learning to impose certain ideologies or galvanize changes in societies (Yi Lin, 2013, p. 225). It is through the discursive practices implemented in the foreign language textbooks that these regimes are

able to reproduce social identities. These discursive practices, according to Loomba "make it difficult for individuals to think outside them – hence they are also exercises in power and control" (Loomba, 1998, p. 56). In Algeria, the fact that the government produces the textbooks reinforces their authority. Moreover, the fact that schools must use these textbooks gives them a hegemonic power over the education sector and an entire generation of foreign language learners in Algeria.

In addition to the analysis of the textbooks themselves, interviews were also conducted with staff from the Ministry of Education, the Institut National de Recherche en Education (INRE) and the University of Tizi-Ouzou who participated in producing these textbooks. To conduct these interviews in Algeria, I had to go through the ethical report procedure (reference number PVAR 17-039) in November 2017, which was approved by the ethical committee of the University of Leeds in January 2018. Therefore, I conducted two interviews in January 2018, in Algiers, and later a skype interview in March 2018. The first interviewee holds the position of sous recteur de programme pédagogique. He participated in designing the first and second generation French textbooks. As explained in appendix B, the people working in the Ministry are not allowed to participate in any research without prior approval from the secretary general in the Ministry. I have applied twice to get this approval but I received no response. Therefore, I was not allowed to get any data about the textbooks' designers as I was not also allowed to record these interviews. However, Interviewee 1 kindly offered to answer some of my questions in an informal conversation. The main aim behind this interview was to answer some questions related to the content of the French textbooks, compared to the objectives of textbooks in other subjects.

Interviewee 2 was one of the designers of the English textbooks and a lecturer at the University of Tizi-Ouzou. Similar to interviewee 1, interviewee 2 refused to be recorded because his main role in the textbook production process was to proofread the textbooks of English and he had no editorial power over the content of the books. However, he kindly agreed to answer a few questions about the role of designers mentioned in the textbooks and the specific choice of certain texts. He explained that the head of the project is solely responsible for choosing other experts who contribute to the design and content of the textbooks. In fact, most of the English textbooks were designed by the same experts with two project leaders. The first one, as Interviewee 2 explained, is now retired and would not agree to take part in my research. Despite contacting him via his social media accounts, I received no response. The second head of project, however, is still working as a lecturer at the University of Tizi-Ouzou. I emailed him but he did not answer my emails either. Therefore, I visited the University where he works few times but I was not lucky enough to meet him.

I was referred to interviewee 3 by the *directeur d'enseignement fondamental* who has briefly explained the process of textbooks production, which is not publicly available. He said that Interviewee 3 would be able to explain the process in detail as she would also be able to provide me with official non-publishable documents related to textbooks in Algerian schools. Since she was not able to meet me at the INRE in Algiers, where she is *chargée de réalisation et de suivi de projets de recherche en éducation*, we conducted a Skype interview. She offered me some documents and explained the strict process by which the textbooks are produced (see Section 2.4.2 and figure 2.2). Accordingly, this thesis is the first research to explain this process and to make it available for future studies.

Gathering qualitative data from the interviews and the documents offered by interviewee 3 are part of this thesis's methodology of critical discourse analysis. An analysis of the discourse and opinions of the textbooks' producers and detailed analysis of the textbooks themselves will be supported by the works of critical theorists to formulate the argument of this thesis.

Having introduced the thesis's research context and questions in this introduction, the following chapters will present the study's analysis and findings. The next chapter will present the literature review providing the basic theoretical grounding for this thesis. After that, Chapter 3 discusses the representation of national identity, highlighting the difference between the French and English textbooks. This Chapter addresses the concept of national identity by considering Smith's theory of national identity in addition to theorists like Stuart Hall, Benedict Anderson, and many others (see Section 3.4). Based on Smith's models of national identity are identified:

- 1. The National flag
- 2. The Homeland
- 3. Memories of Golden Ages
- 4. Common Culture

These components were critically analysed using CDA to question the difference in teaching the nation through the textbooks of French and English.

Chapter 4 then questions the dichotomous cultures of resistance and peace in the teaching materials under analysis, explaining the link between the colonial past and the content of the French and English textbooks. CDA is also employed in this chapter to analyse the cultural component of the textbooks. The first part of the chapter departs from the argument that resistance is an aspect of the French culture that was mainly transmitted to Algerians during the colonial period. In fact, this legacy has survived into the postcolonial period through conveying a culture of resistance in the textbooks of French (see Section 4.3). I perform a comparative analysis of the content of the textbooks by measuring the number of historical texts that they reproduce. Based on CDA, these historical texts are then critically analysed to uncover the persistence of the legacy of resistance through the cultural component of the French textbooks. The second part of the chapter considers UNESCO's peace values to analyse the cultural component of the French and English textbooks in order to explain the role played by these textbooks in promoting a culture of peace amongst Algerian learners.

Chapter Five investigates gendered identity by questioning gendered representations in the textbooks. It explains the discrimination against women shown in these official educational discourses, which contradicts the stated objectives of the educational reforms. Based on content analysis, the gender of the textbook designers is questioned in this chapter to investigate if women's participation in the design of the textbooks has an impact on the representations of gender in these books (see Section 5.4). The first part of the chapter employs a quantitative method to provide evidence of the gender discrimination adopted by the designers of the textbooks. This part questions gender visibility in the textbooks adopting the notion of 'Male as Default' (see Section 5.5). The second part of the chapter problematizes the division of gender roles in the textbooks under analysis based on CDA (see Section 5.6). By employing content analysis and CDA, this chapter highlights the discriminatory discourses implemented in the official foreign language textbooks.

Finally, the thesis conclusion provides a discussion of the findings of the thesis and the answers of the research questions. Furthermore, it explains the limitations of this thesis as well as the recommendations for future research.

1.5. Conclusion

This introduction has provided the historical context of this research. It explained this thesis's aim to uncover the concealed role of the French and English textbooks, produced following the 2003 educational reforms, in maintaining the persistence of the legacies of the colonial period in postcolonial Algeria. It explained the thesis's aim to question the representations of national, cultural and gendered identity in these textbooks and their effects on the process of (re)constructing the identity of Algerian learners. It also clarified the choice of the textbooks involved in this research. The next chapter will situate this research within the scholarship of language and identity in the postcolonial context. It will explain the need for this research to fill gaps in the existing literature.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

The choice of language and the use to which it is put are central to a people's definition of itself in relation to its natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe. Hence language has always been at the heart of the two contending social forces [colonialism and decolonialism] in Africa of the twentieth century. (Wa Thiong'o, 1997, p. 4)

2.1. Introduction

This chapter provides the theoretical grounding for my argument in this thesis. It discusses the theoretical conception of education as well as language and identity conflicts in the postcolonial context. Furthermore, it demonstrates the interconnected relationship between language, identity and discourse which provides language textbooks, as socializing agents, with the potential ability to (re)-construct learners' identities. The chapter also provides a demonstration of the Algerian textbooks' production process. In addition, it shows the paucity of research in Algerian and international scholarship that addresses the issue of postcolonial identity construction through foreign language teaching. Accordingly, the chapter highlights the need for this research at a national but also an international level.

2.2. Language Teaching and Identity in the Postcolonial Context

Postcolonialism is one of the important theoretical responses to the colonial effects in postcolonial countries, and is therefore central to this thesis being conducted on the Algerian context. The literal meaning of the word 'postcolonial' refers to the period after colonialism, but there is a controversial debate on whether or not this word should be hyphened, i.e. 'post-colonialism'. It is believed that the hyphened term "seems better suited to denote a particular historical period or epoch" (McLeod, 2010, p. 5). 'Postcolonialism' according to the postcolonial theorist Robert Young, was used "in the social sciences with a specific Marxist reference, a usage that continues today in the language of contemporary area studies, economic, political science and international relations, and which can still be found in the discourse of politicians" (Young, 2001, p. 58). But. without a hyphen, the term "does not refer to something which tangibly is, but rather it denotes something which one does" (McLeod, 2010, p. 5). Postcolonialism "names a theoretical and political position which embodies an active concept of intervention within such oppressive circumstances. It combines the epistemological cultural innovations of the postcolonial moment with a political critique of the conditions of postcoloniality"

(Young, 2001, p. 57). Postcolonial theory "attacks the status quo of hegemonic economic imperialism, and the history of colonialism and imperialism, but also signals an activist engagement with positive political positions and new forms of political identity" (Young, 2001, p. 58). The popular attraction of this theory derives from the way it "gives equal weight to outward historical circumstances and the way in which those circumstances are experienced by postcolonial subjects" (Young, 2001, p. 58). Accordingly, this thesis adopts the concept as 'postcolonialism' as it is used to highlight the contestation and domination of the colonial legacies in postcolonial countries (Loomba, 1998), as well as to critically analyse the post-independence regimes of Algeria. Postcolonial thought first appeared after the Second World War with the liberation movements, through the work of thinkers like Frantz Fanon, but the theory appeared a few decades later (Enslin, 2016, p. 2).

'Postcolonial theory' emerged about forty years ago (1970s) to describe "a set of critical concepts, and oppositional political identities and objectives that have been developed out of the continuing reverberations of the political and cultural history of the struggle against colonialism and imperialism" (Young, 2001, p. 69). This theory has developed as "the hybrid product of the violent historical interactions of the West with three continents in historical, political, cultural, and conceptual terms" (Young, 2001, p. 68). Postcolonial theory questions the persistence of the colonial legacy in the postcolonial context and examines the impact of Western culture on postcolonial countries (Van der Westhuizen, 2013). In a language context, postcolonial theory specifically, "draws our theoretical attention to the ways in which language works in the colonial formation of discursive and cultural practices" (Rizvi, et al., 2006, p. 250). This theory aims to explain the issues of "opposition, privilege, domination, struggle, resistance and subversion as well as contradiction and ambiguity" related to the knowledge/ power binary and how discursive representations play an important role in the real world (Hickling-Hudson, et al., 2003, p. 2).

When it first appeared, postcolonial theory aimed to analyse the representation of colonialism in novels and literature (Enslin, 2016, p. 2). Amongst the main theorists in the field was Edward Said whose *Orientalism*, published first in 1978, was a cornerstone of this postcolonial theory. In fact, "there is a considerable argument that Edward Said's pioneering work, in his now celebrated *Orientalism*, inaugurated the field of colonial discourse analysis which ultimately led to the development of post-colonial theory"

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(Ahluwalia, 2001, pp. 1-2). *Orientalism* is "a contrapuntal reading of imperial discourse and the non-Western Other. It indicates that the Western intellectual is in the service of the hegemonic culture" (Shabanirad & Marandi, 2015, p. 22). It is also "a critique of Western texts that have represented the East as an exotic and inferior other and construct the Orient by a set of recurring stereotypical images and clichés" (Shabanirad & Marandi, 2015, p. 22). Said in this book demonstrates how colonial hegemony can be embedded in the different discourses and texts (Shabanirad & Marandi, 2015, p. 22). He examines the way in which imaginative representations in western texts construct the Orient (Shabanirad & Marandi, 2015, p. 23). Although *Orientalism* focused on the British Empire in India, it has influenced different contexts in the East as well as the West.

Apart from Said, Frantz Fanon is one of the main figures of postcolonial theory (Young, 2001, p. 18). Although the theory first formally appeared almost two decades after Fanon's death, his work was a base of postcolonialism (Young, 2001, p. 18). Fanon was one of the main intellectuals supporting the Algerian war of Independence as a member of the FLN. His influential *Peau noire, masques blancs* published in 1952, and *Les damnés de la terre* published in 1961, were written during French colonialism in Algeria, although the first was written when Fanon was living in Paris, and the second when he moved to live in Algeria to work as a psychiatrist. Therefore, his *Les damnés de la terre* takes Algeria as a case that is generalised in most African countries: Fanon encouraged resistance against the oppression and racism of the coloniser. *Les damnés de la terre* is, in fact, one of Fanon's enduring legacies, as it is still used to describe postcolonial situations. His work can be used to reflect today's Algeria. For example, in *Frantz Fanon: A Biography* (published first in 2000), David Macey explains that the oppressed do still exist in Algeria, giving the example of the riots of October 1988 (see the Timeline of Different Political Events in Postcolonial Algeria). He says:

The wretched of the earth are still there, but not in the seminar rooms where the talk is of post-colonial theory. They came out on to the streets of Algiers in 1988, and the Algerian army shot them dead. They have subsequently been killed in the thousands by authoritarian Algerian governments and so-called Islamic fundamentalists. Had he lived, Fanon would still be angry. (Macey, 2012, p. 28)

The continuing validity of Fanon's perception of Algeria in the postcolonial period makes him one of the important theorists in this research. His approach to language and power, and his critique of cultural assimilation, as well as his view of colonialism as the major reason behind escalating patriarchy in Algeria are key to the analyses in the following chapters.

Drawing on Fanon, Ngugi wa Thiong'o has emphasised the importance of the concept of 'neocolonialism'. Wa Thiong'o has developed "a cultural and political analysis which [...] lays emphasis on related continuing cultural effects such as cultural dominance, [...] of the endurance of colonial languages such as English and French as a de facto national language, or of westernized education, legal and political institutions that were originally set up during the period of colonization" (Young, 2001, p. 48). Although language and discourse are one strand of a much wider critical approach in the field of postcolonialism, Ngugi strongly emphasised the role played by these forms of domination. After publishing his Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature in 1981, Ngugi stopped writing in English to resist the dominance of English language, which he considers a form of neo-colonialism. Instead, he started writing in his native language Gikuyu (A Bantu language spoken in Kenya) considering that "writing in an African language automatically transcends Eurocentric structures and restores a lost harmony between speakers and their environment" (Gikandi, 1992, p. 143). However, some critics saw that his shift from writing in English to writing in his native language "might well allow him to mobilize a Gikuyu-speaking peasantry, but it does not in itself give value or identity to a literary work" (Gikandi, 1992, p. 143).

In addition, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak is another figure of postcolonial theory. She challenged the West by her essay *Can the Subaltern Speak*?(Spivak, 1988). Based on her question, a group of intellectuals formed the Subaltern Studies Group (Gandhi, 1998, p. 1). Spivak emphasised the use of 'subalternity' to refer to women's issues, and the term 'subaltern' has become "a synonym for any marginalized or disempowered minority group, particularly on the grounds of gender and ethnicity" (Young, 2001, p. 354). It became one of the important concepts used by different thinkers, theorists, and feminists to refer to the oppressed. This concept is specifically useful in Chapter Five to explain the status of women in Algeria as subalterns who live in a permanent struggle to achieve egalitarianism (see Section 5.7).

Homi Bhabha's *Nation and Narration*(1990) and *The Location of Culture*(1994) are also amongst the influential books in postcolonial theory. Bhabha announced that "memory is the necessary and sometimes hazardous bridge between colonialism and the

question of cultural identity" (Gandhi, 1998, p. 9). For him, remembering is painful as it is "a putting together of the dismembered past to make sense of the trauma of the present" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 63). Bhabha was the first to introduce the concept of 'hybridity' in postcolonial theory, in addition to Salman Rushdie (Young, 2001, p. 349). This concept has become central not only to postcolonialism, but also to cultural theory (Huddart, 2007, p. 21). About 'hybridity', Bhabha says: "hybridity is a problematic of colonial representation and individuation that reverses the effects of the colonialist disavowal, so that other 'denied' knowledges enter upon the dominant discourse and estrange the basis of its authority- its rules of recognition" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 114). According to Bhabha, the third space represents a hybrid space where the culture of the coloniser and colonised are blended together (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2007, p. 175).

These thinkers, in addition to many others, aim to overcome the legacies of colonialism and to suggest "ways of resisting colonial power in order to forge a more socially just world order" (Rizvi, et al., 2006, p. 250). Their main objective is to help the colonized populations to "find a way to position themselves in relation to their erstwhile colonisers and other, equally threatening, forces such as globalization. One of the battlegrounds is the education system" (Migge & Léglise, 2007, p. 299). Subsequently, education, in addition to language and discourse, became one of the important aspects that postcolonial theory addresses, and which will be discussed in the following sections.

Another central concept in postcolonial theory is 'power', as literature in this field addresses "important concerns such as the impact of colonial practices on the production and representation of identities, the relationship between global capital and power, and the relevance of race, gender, and class for understanding domination and resistance" (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 2). 'Power' according to Morgenthau means "man's control over the minds and actions of other men" (Morgenthau, 1948, p. 13). Said's *Orientalism* illuminates "how the concepts of knowledge and power relate to the imperial enterprise in the 'Orient'" (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002, p. 12). These concepts of knowledge and power were in fact inherited by the postcolonial regimes who are still using them to (re)construct the identities of the postcolonial population. Therefore, both concepts are considered vital to this research as it addresses the way in which the Algerian textbooks as sources of knowledge have the power to (re)construct identities in specific ways. This power comes from the fact that these textbooks are the official products of the government and the only permitted textbooks in Algerian schools.

2.2.1. Education and Identity in the Postcolonial Countries

In this thesis, postcolonial theory is used because of the contextual need of this research, as it is central to explaining the contradictory legacies of colonialism in postcolonial Algerian education. During the colonial period, education was mainly used to serve the purposes of imperialism by oppressing local identities and promoting the myth of the superiority of the Western culture and language. It was through education, and Christian missions, that the policies of assimilation were imposed on the colonised populations: however, the imperial power used to discourage "any possible forms of unruliness that might result from providing them with educational opportunities beyond those that served the needs of the colonizer" (Enslin, 2016, p. 2). This imperial project of "educating the natives has influenced the identities of millions of people, all over the world, who realised that they remained subordinate dependants of an authority based somewhere other than in their lives" (Sarup, 1996, p. 148). Colonial power had a great impact over its colonial subjects' minds not only during colonialism but even after independence.

Therefore, many founding postcolonial theorists have devoted considerable time to writing about the effect of colonialism on local identities. In his *Orientalism*, Said (1985) speaks about the "misrepresentations of the Orient and the identity forced on him by these misrepresentations" (Nduati, 2016, p. 71). Fanon ([1961]1991) highlights identity issues in the postcolonial world through his concept of the national culture. For Fanon, the national culture (and therefore national identity) of the colonised is not a pre-existing fact, as it is not a product of the colonial struggle. Rather, it is the product of the anti-colonial struggle (Jefferess, 2008, p. 75). Bhabha, as mentioned above, added to the scholarship the concept of 'hybridity' to describe postcolonial identity (Bhabha, 1994), Wa Thiong'o discussed the impact of language on the natives' identity (Wa Thiong'o, 1997), while Spivak, problematized the representation of the Self by the Other (Spivak, 1988).

The same interest has been devoted to education in the postcolonial context. Fanon paid considerable attention to the issue of colonial and postcolonial education in the sense of looking ahead to the forms that education should take in a post-colonial world. He claims education to be political, as stresses Gibson:

For Fanon education is always political. In practice all education is political and education is political in all its forms of socialization and in its disciplines. In other words education helps us organize our lives, helps us think and act, helps us think and create images of justice [...]. Just for Fanon culture has to become a fighting culture, education has to become about total liberation. Decolonial education has to be a total critique and a transformative experiential process. (Gibson, 2011)

Said's legacy, on the other hand, as a founder of postcolonial theory, does not contain a single paper on colonial or postcolonial education. However, "issues central to the cultural politics of education were never too far from his gaze" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 294). He considers "formal education as a key institution through which colonial modes of thinking were produced and reproduced and where postcolonial aspirations could also be worked towards" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 294). Besides, his famous concept of 'Orientalism' (Said, 1985) has been widely used in the context of education in postcolonial studies. Therefore, the work of all these thinkers on questioning identity in postcolonial countries is very important for this research, as they help explain many issues and contradictions that constitute and affect postcolonial identity today.

For example, in postcolonial countries, education is often still dependent on the Western model of curriculum, pedagogy, and language (Hickling-Hudson, et al., 2003, p. 7). Nevertheless, the Western-style curriculum today, despite the modernisation of education and electronic communication, still ignores a basic reality (Hickling-Hudson, et al., 2003, p. 7) that European imperialism resulted in crimes against humanity all over the world (Young, 2001, p. 6). Accordingly, there is a real need to understand the extent to which this education contributes towards maintaining the paradoxical colonial legacies. For postcolonial countries, education is the basis of their liberation and the pathway to modernisation. Therefore, the persistence of colonial legacy together with the aim of achieving modernity are considered to be the main reason behind the 'identity crisis' of postcolonial populations. In this respect, Eid stressed, "after the departure of colonial powers, the pervasive influence of Western cultural models remained untouched, thus exacerbating an identity crisis that permeated Arab [postcolonial] societies. One of the most important catalysts of this identity crisis was disruptive impact of post-war [WW2] modernization"(Eid, 2002, p. 39). This modernisation can be considered as a 'cultural colonialism' that contradicts many norms and values of the natives' culture(Eid, 2002).

Postcolonial thinkers claim that the ongoing social, cultural, political, psychological, and educational consequences of the colonial period should be exposed and analysed (Enslin, 2016, p. 2). In this respect, John Willingly (1998) argues that colonial legacies are still persistent through postcolonial education in many countries. He

states, "imperialism afforded lessons in how to divide the world. [...] Its themes of conquering, civilizing, converting, collecting, and classifying inspired education metaphors equally concerned with taking possession of the world metaphors that we now have to give an account of beginning with our own education" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 13). As a result of the challenges to such effects during the anti-colonial struggles, the 'Orient' became a new contradictory space, emerging as a site "of transition and displacement where dominant assumptions are unsettled and new hybrid forms of power and identity emerge" (Sherry, 2008. Cited in Van der Westhuizen, 2013, p. 691). Said describes this "the web of racism, cultural stereotypes, political imperialism, new place as dehumanizing ideology" (Said, 1985, p. 27). Hickling-Hudson et al. add, importantly, that it obliterated representations of women (Hickling-Hudson, et al., 2003, p. 2). Above all, Bhabha identified the 'Third Space' as a phenomenon that he observed in many postcolonial situations. It is a 'place of hybridity' where "the construction of a political object that is new, neither the one nor the other, properly alienates our political expectations, and changes, as it must, the very forms of our recognition of the moment of politics" (Emphasis in original, Bhabha, 1994, p. 25). Bhabha further explains, "the Third Space [...] quite properly challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People" (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). Consequently, postcolonial identity became hybrid and sometimes even contradictory.

As a result of the work of these thinkers, a significant amount of research appeared to explore the persistence of the colonial legacies through education and their effects on postcolonial populations. Some of these texts study the impact of globalisation in postcolonial societies (Woolman, 2001; Tickly, 2003). The findings can be summarised in Hickling-Hudson's argument that "the colonial legacy has facilitated unidirectional trade in education from Western nations to former colonies" (Hickling-Hudson, et al., 2003, p. 12). This has resulted in a contradiction between school curriculums and the aim of integrating "traditional culture with the demands of modernisation" (Woolman, 2001, p. 27). Other researchers based their work on postcolonial theory to highlight the impact of the persistence of the colonial legacies through education on the different collective identities such as gender (Bhana, et al., 2009), and cultural and national identity (Francis, 2007; Kuah-Pearce & Fong, 2010). Most of these studies use postcolonial theory to create a basis for their critique.

Nevertheless, despite its importance in analysing and highlighting the legacies of colonialism in the postcolonial context, many critical voices have been raised against postcolonial theory. Some researchers argue that there is a "need for a more liberatory rather than conciliatory postcolonialism [...], as is the need to integrate postcolonialism with an understanding of contemporary globalization" (Rizvi, et al., 2006, p. 249). It has also been argued that postcolonialism led to "a radical rethinking of knowledge and social identities authored and authorized by colonialism and Western domination" (Prakash, 1994, p. 1475). This would be problematic as it emphasises the existence of a neocolonialism that still affects postcolonial identities. Some critiques argue that Orientalism focuses only on the Middle Eastern region while the same case can be applied to some African and South American countries. Others argue that "Orientalism concentrated too much on imperialist discourses and their positioning of colonial peoples, neglecting the way in which these people received, contributed to, modified, or challenged such discourse" (Loomba, 1998, p. 232). Despite this criticism, Said's work continues to be a foundational and valuable study for understanding representations of cultural Others in colonial and postcolonial contexts. Loomba claims "Said's project inspired or coincided with widespread attempts to write 'histories from below' or 'recover' the experiences of those who have been hitherto 'hidden from history'" (Loomba, 1998, p. 232). Giving voice to the voiceless or the oppressed was always a subject matter for different researchers.

Another major criticism of postcolonial theory is that there is "little agreement about its disciplinary boundaries or its political implications. Such debate may signal for some, a crisis in post-colonial theory" (Ahluwalia, 2001, p. 1). Nonetheless, today this interdisciplinary nature of postcolonial theory should arguably be considered as one of its advantages. This is one of the major reasons behind employing postcolonial theory in this thesis, itself being an interdisciplinary study that blends cultural, national, and gender studies within the context of language teaching.

Many postcolonial theorists, themselves, faced different kinds of criticism and sometimes even hostility. Some researchers criticised Said's *Orientalism* as they considered his work as "quintessentially anti-American, overlooking the fact that he was no less critical of many recent developments in Islam and spoke out against injustices wherever they originated" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 294). Said was an anti-essentialist theorist and his "fundamental ethic was always constituted by a desire to understand

contemporary forms of colonial discourse and practices that transcend their effects on marginalized people" (Rizvi & Lingard, 2006, p. 295). Another criticism of postcolonialism is that researchers criticise their own identity through problematizing their history and their sense of belonging (Van der Westhuizen, 2013, p. 702). In addition, Ania Loomba argued that postcolonial critics "grapple with the shades of the colonial past much more than with the difficulties of the postcolonial present" (Loomba, 1998, p. 256). On the contrary, this thesis argues that postcolonial theory plays a vital role as the basis for explaining current issues and conflicts in postcolonial Algeria today, which makes it of paramount importance to this research.

2.2.2. Language Teaching and Identity Conflicts in Postcolonial Countries

Language and identity have always been problematic in postcolonial states. Postcolonial societies have "a legacy of artificially-created complex language relations, and cultural landscapes marked by conflictual identities and cultural identifications" (Rasool, 2007, p. 62). Many theorists have addressed conflicts of identity and language in postcolonial states, like Wa Thiong'o, Fanon, and many others. These thinkers have "written extensively about the colonial agenda of stripping African peoples of their languages, cultures and identities that was characteristic of not just the colonial era, but the present day as well" (Nduati, 2016, p. 27). In fact, language teaching has been a challenge for most postcolonial countries. Each of these countries has applied different language planning approaches and policies, which aimed to re-construct the local identity and cope with the demands of modernisation.⁴⁰ It is worth mentioning here that language "in education systems has long been recognized not only as a very significant indicator of power relations in societies but also as a very important instrument for continuity and/or change" (Bray & Koo, 2004, p. 215). This important role played by language teaching makes it one of the most significant agents contributing to identity (re)construction that should be highlighted in different contexts, including the postcolonial.

Accordingly, considerable research has been devoted to studying language and identity issues in postcolonial education in different contexts (see Vaish, 2005;Bray &

⁴⁰ Language planning is the "field of study whose mission is to find solutions to language problems" (Kamwangamalu, 2016, p. 5). In this thesis, language planning is concerned with government decisions related to which language(s) should be taught in schools or used in media. It is a "deliberate language change, that is, changes in the systems of a language code or speaking or both that are planned by organizations established for such purposes or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes" (Rubin & Jernudd, 1971, p. xvi).

Koo, 2004; Migge & Léglise, 2007). Many of these researchers based their studies on the work of the previously mentioned postcolonial thinkers to uncover the persistence of the colonial legacies in postcolonial states, as Rizvi et al stress:

Postcolonialism makes visible the history and legacy of European colonialism, enabling us to understand how Europe was able to exercise colonial power over 80% of the world's population, and how it continues to shape most of our contemporary discourses and institutions – politically, culturally and economically. (Rizvi, et al., 2006, p. 250)

In most of these states, the languages of the coloniser are still an important legacy, though, in many of them, they have lost the pivotal position that they gained during the colonial period. The English language, for example, is an official language of at least 26 African countries (Plonski, et al., 2013), while French is an official language of 22 countries(International Office University of Burgundy). However, in recent years, some francophone countries, like Rwanda, have either switched to English or they have advocated English as an additional official language, considering it as the world's *lingua franca*.⁴¹ This new trend in postcolonial countries raises many questions about the effect that such changes might have on the postcolonial identity, and about the reasons behind the threat that the French language might be facing in some postcolonial francophone countries.

There are different explanations for the increased demand for English in postcolonial countries. Mark Warschauer, a professor of education in the University of California, claims the power of the English language lies in it being a historical result of the success of the British and the American Empires and continues with the internet as a virtual empire (Cited in Mydans, 2007). Subsequently, "the power of the English language is seen in the political, economic and educational spheres of the global stage" (Plonski, et al., 2013, p. 3). As for the role of the domination of English in many postcolonial countries today, Thomas Ricento summarises the different views as: "either (1) a form of linguistic imperialism, or (2) a vehicle for social and economic mobility, or, (3) a global lingua franca necessary for global demos that could achieve global justice" (Ricento, 2012).

However, despite being an advantage for postcolonial countries to be able to communicate with the world, the domination of English is also a threat to local identities as "every language carries a part of human culture, identity, history and civilization"

⁴¹ Rwanda, Burundi, and Gabon switched to English and South Sudan is adopting it (Plonski, et al., 2013).

(Majidi, 2013, p. 37). In this respect, postcolonial writers from the former British Empire can be divided into two broad groups. The first group considers the colonial language as a practical alternative to native languages (Schwenz, 2017) as in many postcolonial countries there exist many languages, which do not allow people within the same country to communicate with each other. More importantly, in different former British colonies there exist different communities, and these often represent different antagonistic factions in a country, like India. Therefore, the use of English provides a relative neutrality in relation to more local tensions. Accordingly, the colonial language can be used as a unifying agent. On the other hand, the second group considers it to be a threat to local identities as it is a colonial legacy against which they have shown resistance, by turning to write in their indigenous languages, like Ngougi Wa Thiong'o (Schwenz, 2017).

French, on the other hand, is claimed to be disappearing gradually: as Gary Girod puts it, in his article published in *New Geography*, "English may not yet have won the globe, but French had definitely lost it" (Girod, 2011). Although, according to a report by the IOF in 2014, the number of French language speakers had increased significantly by up to 30% since 2010 (OIF, 2014). In 2014, there existed 274 million speakers of French, 54.7% of them were based in Africa (OIF, 2014). Despite this growth in the number of French speakers, some francophone countries decided to switch officially from French to English for different reasons. For example, in the case of Rwanda, Scott Baldauf has noted that France was blamed in part for the 100-day massacre in 1994. In the meanwhile, an English speaking rebel movement appeared that developed later to make Rwanda an Anglophone country (Baldauf, 2007).

In Algeria, the case is different. Although French persisted as an official foreign language in the country since independence, the state tried to replace it by English as the first compulsory foreign language in education, but parents rejected this change. However, Benrabah claims "English lost its battle against French to become the first mandatory foreign language in school. But the war is not over" (Benrabah, 2013, p. 87). Recent changes have appeared in the names of some public institutions like universities and hospitals from French to English but this was problematic amongst Algerians. The spread of English over French was welcomed by some who claim that their identity can be only rehabilitated through the use of their native languages and the total elimination of French which constitutes a threat to the integrity of their postcolonial identity, while others consider French as part of their Algerian identity and their history which cannot be eradicated (Tessa, 2017). Any attempt to make English overcome French was even considered as a form of 'infidélité' (Fattani, 2017) (Further explanation is provided in Chapter 3).

Therefore, Algeria is an ideal case study for examining these contradictions between the French-language, as a colonial legacy, and cultural, national, and gendered identity. Given the debates around language planning in formerly colonised countries, examining foreign language textbooks in Algeria will highlight the kind of colonial legacies that they reproduce or subvert, and help us to understand the possible impact they have on learners' identities. By questioning the content of these English and French textbooks – as text that represents official education discourses – we can explore how the concept of Algerianisation has been developed and rethought since 2003.⁴²

2.3. The (re)Construction of Identity through Language

Given the central importance of three collective forms of identity in this thesis – national, cultural, and gendered – it is essential to provide a theoretical definition of the concept of 'identity' and explain its interwoven relationship with language. The section highlights the strong link between language, identity and discourse to provide the basis for the next section that emphasises the importance of language textbooks as a site of identity (re)construction through educational discourses.

2.3.1. Identity between Essentialism and Constructivism

Identity has become a prominent subject within many disciplines. It is "a concept which embodies our sense of uniqueness as individual beings and as members of groups sharing values and beliefs" (Taylor & Spencer, 2004, p. 1). The concept of identity is not merely connected to an individuals' selfhood, but also to their relationship with other individuals, societies, cultures, and nations. In this regard, Jeffrey Weeks claims, "identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. As its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality. But it is also about your social relationships, your complex involvements with others [...]" (Weeks, 1991, p. 88). The external environment within which the individuals live has a significant influence on their 'identification'. Taylor and Spencer argue, "the social shaping of self-identity operates as a continuous process and

⁴² Here, Algerianisation, which has several possible meanings, is the process of (re)constructing a 'pure' Algerian identity that is not affected by the French legacies.

will depend upon the specific dynamics of social context" (Taylor & Spencer, 2004, p. 4). In fact, identity is a social construct: as Hall & du Gay claim, "not only particular identities, but identity itself is socially constructed" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 93).

Therefore, identifying individuals does not only depend on their internal characteristics, but also on their membership in a particular social group, with which they share particular characteristics. Hence, to construct their own 'self-identity', it is necessary for individuals to define themselves according to the society they belong to. The sense of identifying with and belonging to a specific group is what is known as 'social identity' or 'group identity'. This identity is the common currency among all members of this group that makes them both different from others but also similar to each other. More accurately, social identity is the foundation of the individuals' identity, the basis for the construction of their identification within the community.

The construction of identity is still an open debate between scholars. The question that scholars still have different answers for, is whether, "identities pre-exist and therefore they are maintained by certain 'acts of identity'" or, whether "the performance of 'acts of identity' actually construct[s] identity?" (Douglas, 2009, p. 14). Accordingly, two theoretical models appeared. The first is the essentialist primordialist model, which assumes that "there is some intrinsic and essential content to any identity which is defined by either a common origin or a common structure of experience or both" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 89). According to this view, identity is considered as "fixed, based on ancestry, a common language, history, ethnicity, and the world view" (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 4).

The second model, on the other hand, "denies the existence of authentic and originary identities based in a universally shared origin of experience" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 89). It claims that "dominant groups create, manipulate, and dismantle identities for their specific gains" (Verdugo & Milne, 2016, p. 4). Constructivist theorists thus consider identity construction as a process in progress that is influenced by many factors. Identity for them is "a negotiated space between ourselves and others; constantly being reappraised and very much linked to the circulation of cultural meanings in a society" (Taylor & Spencer, 2004, p. 4). In this regard, Hall stresses that identities "are constantly in the process of change and transformation" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). In this process of construction, the Other plays a prominent role as no identity is able to be constructed in isolation of the Other, as Hall states:

Identity is always [...] a structured representation which only achieves its positive through the narrow eyes of the negative. It has to go through the eye of the needle of the other before it can construct itself. (Hall, 1997, p. 21)

Similarly, Grossberg claims, "identities are always relational and incomplete, in process. Any identity depends upon its difference from, its negation of, some other term, even as the identity of the latter term depends upon its difference from, its negation of, the former" (Grossberg, 1996, p. 89). Nevertheless, the sociologist Anthony Smith (1991), despite being considered as an essentialist theorist (Wilmsen, 1996; Frödin, 2003;Verdugo & Milne, 2016), defends both approaches (Verdugo & Milne, 2016). Smith considers that national identity is never a pure construct, yet explains that nationalism is constructed from tradition (Delanty, 2001, p. 473) (Further discussion is provided in Section 3.4).

If we consider the history of Algerian educational policy and language planning, it becomes clear that a constructivist approach to identity construction is most appropriate for this present study. It considers identity (re)construction as a lifetime process that never ends. In Algeria, as in many similar postcolonial countries, the conception of identity has faced many challenges and has adopted many definitions. The question at hand in this thesis concerns the possible effects of school textbooks of French and English on this process of identity (re)construction which will be the focus of analysis in the following chapters. By analysing the representation of Algerian identity in English and French language textbooks, we will be able to trace the process of identity (re)-construction from a constructivist approach according to three collective categories: National, cultural, and gendered identity.

2.3.2. Language, Discourse, and Identity

Language is amongst the first means to identify an individual. Language learning, accordingly, is a "way to retain one's identity or a threat to one's identity" (Yen, 2000, p. 33). Language is, in fact central to self-identitification, as well as the production of collective identities (Taylor & Spencer, 2004, p. 3). It is even considered by some theorists as a 'dimension of identification', stress Starr and Wilson, "since language codifies a good deal of cultural information. Speaking the language becomes one dimension of identification with the community and a sound basis for discovering important nuances of the natives' conceptual organization of their behaviour" (Cited in Chang, 2004, p. 25). Language can fulfil different functions, and "it can be argued that language has a symbolic function for identity" (Douglas, 2009, p. 15). Hall adds,

"identities are about questions of using the resources of history, *language* and culture in the process of becoming rather than being" (Emphasis mine, Hall, 1996, p. 4). Language is considered by some researchers just as " un paramètre de l'identité, essentiel sans doute, mais insuffisant á la définir dans toute sa complexité " (Albert, 1999, p. 8). However, it can emphasise group identity by identifying the similarities between the different members of a given group, as it can emphasise differences with members of other groups. (Douglas, 2009, p. 15). Accordingly, language learning is not only 'grammar or vocabulary', it is a 'social activity' (Chang, 2004, p. 28), because the function of language "is not restricted to the description of the world but rather to the construction of the reality (identity, social relations...) of its users, reflecting the ideology of its society" (Lahlali, 2003, p. 46).

Numerous studies have addressed identity in foreign language education. Despite this, Philip Riley argues that in foreign language education all the interest is given to the concepts of 'language' and 'education', while the concept 'foreign' has been neglected by scholars (Riley, 2007, p. 162). Damian Rivers and Stephanie Houghton confirm this by identifying the gap in the scholarship on "documenting the dynamics of identity development, negotiating and management in specific relation to the concept of 'Otherness'" (2013, p. 1). The term 'foreign' is emphasised by Rivers and Houghton as an 'integral marker' of the language learning discourse (Rivers & Houghton, 2013, p. 1). Patricia Duff and Yuko Uchida (1997) discuss in their article the mutual relationship between language and culture in EFL classrooms. In this study Duff and Uchida argue, "the cultural underpinnings of language curricula and teaching must be examined further, particularly so in intercultural situations in which participants are negotiating their sociocultural identities as well as curriculum" (Duff & Uchida, 1997, p. 451). Accordingly, my thesis explores foreign language education, and highlights the representations of the Algerian Self, as well as the 'foreign' Other, in the texts under analysis as well as its effects on the learners' identities.

Discourse is one of the important concepts in the process of identity (re)construction. Jane Sunderland identifies two different meanings of discourse (Sunderland, 2004, p. 6). She refers to the first as 'descriptive discourses', which refers to the 'linguistic meanings' of discourse. It is defined as a set of utterances which complement each other in providing a meaningful speech that is used in everyday life. Sunderland provides two senses of discourse in the descriptive meaning. First, discourse

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refers to "the broad *stretch of written or spoken language*" (Emphasis in original, Sunderland, 2004, p. 6). It can also be used to denote "language beyond sentence-level and includes a series of texts" (Dremel & Matić, 2014, p. 156). Second, Sunderland adopts Mary Talbot's definition of discourse as "linguistic, and accompanying paralinguistic, interaction between people in a specific context" (Talbot, [1995]2014, p. 43). The second meaning, as Sunderland explains, refers to 'interpretive discourses'. This meaning of discourse refers to "*broad constitutive systems of meaning* (from poststructuralism)" (Emphasis in original, Sunderland, 2004, p. 6), and to "a collection of knowledge and practices generally associated with a particular institution or group of instituions"(Talbot, 2014, p. 43). Sunderland defines it as well as "*ways of seeing the world*" (Emphasis in original, Sunderland, 2004, p. 6).

Within this last meaning, discourse can be identified as "a whole field or domain within which language is used in particular ways" (Loomba, 1998, p. 38). Michel Foucault defines it as "a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements" (Foucault, 1972, p. 80). Inspired by his definition, Kress adds that discourse "provides a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about" (Kress, 1985, pp. 6-7). Rahimi & Riasati (2011) state that discourses are conceived as "communicative events, which encompass certain beliefs, ideologies, identities, politics, and the like" (p. 107). In this research, the interpretive meaning of discourse is adopted because it is used to refer to the specific way of using languages. The textbooks in this research are considered as sites where language is used in a specific way to authorise certain ideologies and identities.

The relation between language, discourse and identity overlaps closely. It is through language that discourse gains the power to contribute towards identity construction, as explained by Taylor and Spencer, "the meaning of discourse can be narrowed down to two very influential and particularly relevant aspects of language use. First, the centrality of language in the formation of individual identity [...] Second at a more abstract level; social identity is directly related to discourses of power (Taylor & Spencer, 2004, pp. 3-4). This power as mentioned earlier is central in postcolonial approaches. The fact that Algerian officially-recognised textbooks are the only available teaching materials in all public schools underscores the hegemonic power of these textbooks as official representations of what constitutes Algerian culture and society (see Section 1.3). Therefore, these textbooks can be considered as sites of official education

discourse produced by the Algerian government because the language in these textbooks is used in certain ways to fulfil certain objectives set out by government policy. Such sources can therefore be referred to as 'discourses of power' that play a highly significant role in (re)constructing Algerian identity, as Foucault in his *The Archaeology of Knowledge (L'archéologie du savoir)* states:

'[D]iscourses', in the form in which they can be heard or read, are not, as one might expect, a mere intersection of things and words: an obscure web of things, and a manifest, visible, coloured chain of words; [...] analysing discourses themselves, one sees the loosening of the embrace, apparently so tight, of words and things, and the emergence of a group of rules proper to discursive practice. [...] A task that consists of not - of no longer treating discourses as groups of signs (signifying elements referring to contents or representations) but as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. (Cited in Peci, et al., 2009, p. 381)

Accordingly, discourse has the power to construct identities through a group of discursive practices contested within the different models of the text.

Based on Foucault's definition, Fairclough claims discourse analysis to be three dimensional: text, discursive and social practices (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). The terms 'text' and 'discourse' can sometimes be used interchangeably to refer to written and spoken language within the descriptive sense of discourse (Sunderland, 2004, p. 7). Discourse can even be used to cover "other symbolic forms such as visual images, and texts which are combinations of words and images" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 4). Nevertheless, a clear distinction can be made between 'text' and discourse which can be seen clearly in the earlier discussion of the two meanings of discourse. 'Text' is generally used to refer to written or spoken 'output' (Fairclough, 1992; Sunderland, 2004), while discourse can refer to a whole system of meanings (Sunderland, 2004, p. 6). In this research, the interpretive understanding of discourse is used to refer to the construction of the textbooks as a whole (Further details are provided in Section 2.4.1).

Identities, therefore, are constructed within discourses as a result of discursive practices. As Hall stresses, "identities are [...] constituted within, not outside representation. [...] Precisely because identities are constructed within, not outside, discourse, we need to understand them as produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices" (Hall, 1996, p. 4). In this respect, Theo Van Leeuwen identifies the difference between the social practices and the representations of social practices by identifying the difference between 'doing it' and talking about it' (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6). In this distinction, he insists on the plurality

of discourses, to explain that the social practice itself can be represented in various possible ways (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6). Van Leeuwen drew from Foucault's definition of discourse, as "a socially constructed knowledge of some social practice" (Cited in Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6), to build a new understanding of 'discourses' as "social cognitions, socially specific ways of knowing social practices, they can be, and are used as resources for representing social practices in text" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 6).

In this thesis, language textbooks are argued to have the power to influence and transform the learners' identities. Language is "a central feature of human identity and it is inextricably bound with identity and every language, as an integral part of culture, is a rich heritage of that culture which mirrors its speakers' identity" (Majidi, 2013, p. 33). Any school's textbooks are, therefore, discourses that portray and convey a specific view of the world, and within which social identities are constructed and contested, in terms of nation, culture and gender. Algeria constitutes a special case of study as a country where official discourses, hegemony, power, education, language, culture and above all identity have all led to a bloody civil war that lasted for a whole decade. Therefore, in the post-civil war multicultural and multilingual country the stakes are higher. Accordingly, questioning the impact that official educational discourses might have on identity is vital.

2.4. The Importance of Language Textbooks in Identity Construction

After the theoretical explanation of the importance of language and discourse in (re)constructing different social identities, this section will discuss research focusing on the importance of textbooks in this process.

2.4.1. Textbooks as Educational Discourses

Textbooks are sites of educational discourses that use language in specific ways for specific purposes. Schoolbooks are 'ideological vehicles' that contribute towards shaping learners' identities and construct a given version of collective memory (Awayed-Bishara, 2015). Khan and his co-authors claim that "textbooks are not aimed at merely teaching students how to read and write but also to inculcate virtues valued by society" (Khan, et al., 2014, p. 56). These teaching materials are socialising agents (UNESCO, 2009; Memaï & Rouag, 2017) that help the learners to represent their own culture (Khan, et al., 2014, p. 56). In fact, they play a prominent role in constructing social identities through the different discourses they represent.

The didactic nature of the foreign language textbooks under analysis in this thesis makes them deliberately authorise official versions of history and culture. Therefore, beyond simply teaching the grammar and vocabulary of the foreign language, they aim to fulfil specific wider educational purposes within Algerian society. Being official documents produced by the state, and the only teaching materials allowed in Algerian schools, these textbooks can be considered as social spaces used by the government to legitimise a given view of the world and to (re)construct specific identities. This power of textbooks is emphasised by many researchers. Germán Canale, for example, underlines that schoolbooks have a specific function of "crystallising an authorised cosmogony or 'legitimised version' of the social world" (Canale, 2016, p. 226). They can offer "an excellent illustration of institutionalized societal beliefs" (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005, p. 157). Similarly, Monika Popow (2014) draws connections between textbooks and students' socialisation since, "as students' main source of knowledge about cultural traditions in their country, textbooks are considered to be one of the most important tools in transmitting 'official' images of nation" (p. 6). These textbooks can help in developing peace, tolerance, and respect between different individuals and societies which are the major objectives of UNESCO (UNESCO, 2009), just as they can promote violence and hostility (Sugiharto, 2016).

In democratic societies, the schoolbook serves to express the society's "ideology, ethos, values, goals, myths, and beliefs that the society considers to be important requisites for the social functioning of new generations" (Bar-Tal & Teichman, 2005, p. 157). Similarly, Apple and Christian-Smith claim:

Textbooks are really messages to and about the future. As part of a curriculum, they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society. They participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help recreate a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really are. (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 5)

While these scholars recognise the power of school textbooks to influence future generations based on the value of democratic societies, not all societies oversee the production and instruction of school textbooks in the same way. For example, in some countries, like the UK, school textbooks are not officially produced by the government. Instead, the government will produce the national curriculum, and schools and teachers have the right to choose amongst the available published textbooks on the condition that they fall within the remit of the national curriculum. Therefore, these textbooks do not

necessarily reflect official representations of the state and reproduce the hegemonic power of the state to a different degree. They are, therefore, arguably less important in terms of the process of identity (re)construction.

In other countries, like Algeria, the Ministry of Education is not only responsible for producing the national curriculum, but also the textbooks that must be used in schools. In this respect, these textbooks play a crucial role in identity (re)construction as they are the main instructional materials in most of the country's schools and therefore are used by most of the learners across the country. Many of the post-independence states depend on this power of schools and specifically school textbooks to promote an independent national identity. In Algeria, for example, school textbooks were Algerianised in 1970s with the aim of promoting an Algerian identity and challenging the hegemony of the French language and culture in the postcolonial state. Therefore, exploring the impact of these discourses on learners' identities is of paramount importance.

Most foreign languages classrooms across the world depend heavily on textbooks. In fact, these classrooms are "un espace où se rencontrent la culture de l'apprenant et la culture de la langue à enseigner par la médiation du manuel scolaire" (Bensekat & Krideche, 2008, p. 111). Therefore, the different representations in these textbooks provide learners with an opportunity to construct their own identity and situate themselves within the external context of their own society or country. These representations contribute to the social construction of the world (Zarate, cited in Bensekat & Krideche, 2008, p. 113). Therefore, through these representations, the textbooks deliberately or less consciously deliver certain norms, values, and social behaviour (UNESCO, 2009, p. 16). Accordingly, the textbooks are amongst the major elements contributing towards the (re)-construction of the learners' identities. They constitute a national (Popow, 2014, Aljak & Mugaddam, 2013) and a cultural (Won-Pyo, 2009) influence, but also function as a "gender socialization agent" (Kobia, 2009, p. 57). They provide the students with the dominant legitimate version of their nation and its national culture as well as legitimate divisions of gender roles. Therefore, it is essential to analyse the content of these textbooks as more than simply instruction materials and therefore as powerful representations of identity.

It has commonly been agreed that language textbooks are not only considered as tools that illustrate linguistic and grammar rules, but they also serve as a mirror which reflects the learners' understanding of native and foreign cultures (Kumagai, 1994). Schools and other educational institutions function as "agents of child socialization and enculturation, where children assimilate a culture's core values, traditions, and authority structures" (Faiman-Silvia, 2002, p. 189). They are also important historical artefacts. Language textbooks are time capsules that use specific language and culture to provide insights on certain ideologies and values at particular points in time (Weninger & Kiss, 2013). However, the fact that they are historically-situated texts may not be clear from their content. The readers of these textbooks therefore "may be uncritical of the implicit viewpoints and ideologies these artefacts embody, for instance by assuming textbooks represent facts rather than institutionalised opinions" (Canale, 2016, p. 226). Accordingly, it is vital to explore how these textbooks (re)construct postcolonial identity in countries that suffered from an identity crisis for decades. It is also central to understand how these textbooks are produced at particular times and who are the people involved in their production.

2.4.2. The Process by which Algerian Textbooks are Produced

In Algeria, textbooks are the main instructional material in all public schools. These teaching materials "se considèrent comme l'un des principaux instruments pédagogiques mis aux services de la socialisation et de l'éducation des élèves. Leur fonction consiste donc à participer à la transmission des représentations culturelles, sociales et identitaires" (Dridi, 2018). This has been the case ever since the moment of Algerian Independence, and their vital importance has recently been reinforced by Article 2 of the Ministerial Decree No 17-330 on the 15 November 2017, which, according to Interviewee 3, are the same guidelines as those used in the reforms of 2003:

Le manuel scolaire : En tant que moyen de base, est un ouvrage didactique, papier ou numérique, destiné à une utilisation obligatoire dans les établissements d'éducation et d'enseignement des différents cycles, conformément aux programmes officiels. Sa disponibilité est assurée par les pouvoirs publics. (Journal Officiel, 2017, p. 8)

In fact, since the Algerianisation of textbooks in the 1970s, textbooks can only be produced with an order from the Ministry of Education and after getting approval from the Education Minister her/himself. Although many educational programmes have been delivered in the postcolonial period, the process by which textbooks are researched, designed and produced has been largely the same. Indeed, it is because of this importance given to textbooks in the Algerian school that has led the Algerian Ministry of Education to follow a very strict approach called *Le processus d'agrément et d'homologation des moyens pédagogiques (manuels scolaires)*. This is summarised in the following activities listed in a chronological order:⁴³

• Nominating the Members of the *Commission d'Agrément et d'Homologation* (CAH):

The names of these members are proposed by the head of INRE and recruited by the Minister of Education. The members of this CAH must not participate in designing the school textbooks, and they should be either:

- Academic experts for the scientific aspect, or
- Education inspectors for the pedagogical aspect.

In terms of the CAH, Article 8 of the Ministerial Decree No 17-330 of the 15 November 2017 states:

La commission d'agrément est une commission pluridisciplinaire, composée de professeurs, d'inspecteurs et d'experts, spécialistes en langues, en sciences de l'éducation, en sciences humaines et sociales, en sciences exactes et expérimentales et technologie, en arts et en éducation physique et sportive. Elle peut faire appel à toute compétence relevant d'une institution ou établissement spécialisé dans les domaines.

Ne peuvent être membres de la commission d'agrément, les auteurs et les éditeurs des moyens de base et du manuel scolaire. (Journal Officiel, 2017, p. 8)

The main duties of the CAH, according to Article 9 of the same Decree, are to elaborate the technical and pedagogical 'cahier des charges' (specifications), define the specific pedagogical, scientific, artistic characteristics of each basic teaching material, and assess the projects related to the textbooks according to these specifications (Journal Officiel, 2017, p. 8). All the duties of CAH are determined by the Minister of Education (Journal Officiel, 2017, p. 8).

• Development of the Instruments and Evaluation Tools:

The CAH starts its main duties by elaborating the following necessary instruments and documents for the ratification process:

- General 'cahier des charges',
- Cahier des charges specific to each subject
- Grilles d'évaluation, and
- Canevas de rapport d'évaluation (Evaluation report framework).

⁴³ All information provided about this process is adapted from an INRE non-published document (INRE, 2015) and from the conducted interviews, unless otherwise cited.

• Updating the Data Bank :

This phase is related to the selection of the group of evaluators. The INRE asks the directors of education in different Wilayas to provide a list of names of the different inspectors and teachers from different disciplines and study cycles. The names of all members of the evaluators must stay confidential.

• Organising Training/ Workshops for the Evaluators:

The INRE organises several training and workshop sessions for the evaluators to acquaint them with the new evaluation programmes and instruments (cahiers des charges, grilles d'évaluation). These workshops are delivered by members of the CAH.

• Receiving and Analysing the Projects for the Instructional Materials Submitted for Evaluation:

The textbooks projects should be submitted to the INRE, which will transfer them to the evaluators, according to the admission conditions indicated in the general 'cahier des charges', in order to start the evaluation process. Each project is evaluated by a board made up of the following: a specialist teacher and inspector in the discipline, one of the external evaluators formed by the INRE, an academic expert, and a member of CAH. Therefore, three reports will be prepared and submitted to a member of the CAH, a specialist inspector in the field, to yield a synthesis, which will be, subsequently, delivered to the publishing house through the *Office National des Publications Scolaires* (ONPS).

• Organising Meetings of the CAH:

The INRE organises meetings with the CAH members to assess the results of the evaluation and submit the evaluated textbooks for the approval and the final decision of the *Inspection Générale de la Pédagogie* (IGP).

All this process is summarised in the following figure:

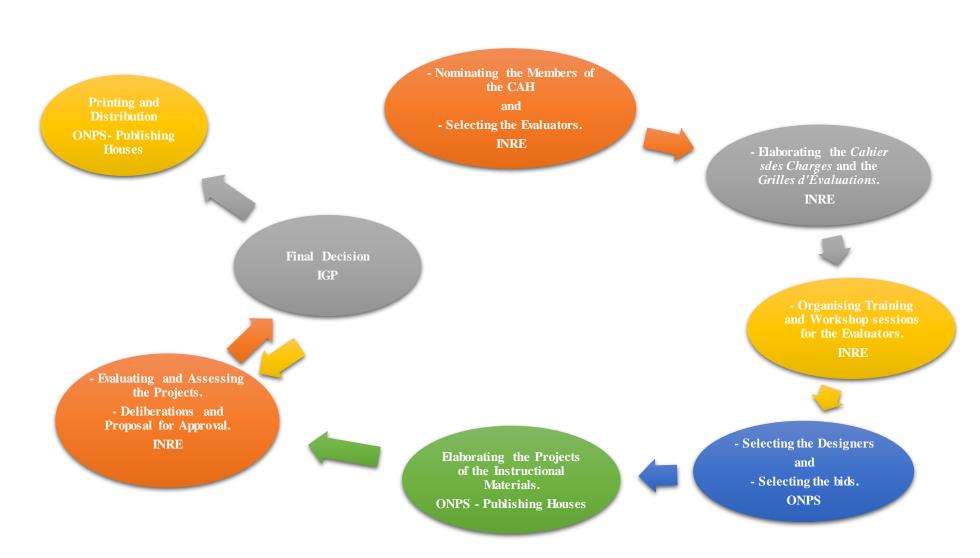


Figure 2.1: Textbook Development Process (Reproduced from INRE, 2015)

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The figure above shows the high importance given to the process through which the textbooks are conceived. These textbooks go through a very detailed process in which the Ministry of Education attributes great attention to every single detail. Even the interviewees involved in this research affirmed that the editors should be very careful in what to include in their textbooks if they want them to be published. They identified that one of the most important elements that the designers especially should be careful about is promoting an independent Algerian identity.

2.4.3. Identity in Language Textbooks

It is clear that, according to theories of discourse and hegemonic power, there is a strong interwoven relationship between language and identity. However, exploring identity through the analysis of foreign language textbooks is a relatively new phenomenon. In 1987, Philip G Albatch claimed that textbooks are "among the most important yet ignored aspects of any educational system. Even in the West, research on textbooks is very limited" (1987, p. 105). Since then, the balance of opinion has begun to change and researchers have shown more interest in the analysis of foreign language textbooks and the question of identity in these materials. Generally, results have affirmed the role played by these textbooks in producing the students' collective identity. However, the focus of each study differs from one to another.

Some researchers preferred not to focus on a specific context, but rather they focused on the representation of a specific collective identity in a large number of textbooks, like Janice Maccabe and her co-authors (2011) who explored the representation of gender identity in 5,618 children books published in the 20th century (McCabe, et al., 2011). Similarly, *The Guardian* newspaper has published an article about a recent gender investigation in textbooks conducted by UNESCO (Flood, 2016). For International Women's Day, Global Education Monitoring (GME) explored gender representation in different textbooks from different countries. The investigation covered a number of postcolonial countries (Tunisia, Nigeria, Jordan, and many others) and highlighted the strong masculine bias in their textbooks.

On the one hand, many studies have been devoted to studying the impact of textbooks for local languages on national (Wang, 2016), ethno-religious (Auleear-Owadally, 2013), cultural (Liu, 2005), and gendered (Foroutan, 2012) identities. Other papers have focused on investigating foreign language textbooks. They questioned

national identity (Khajavi & Abbasian, 2011), cultural identity (Juan, 2010; Shardakova & Pavlenko, 2004;Aliakbari, 2004;Weninger & Kiss, 2013; Yen, 2000), as well as gender identity (Hartman & Judd, 1987;Marefat & Marzban, 2014;Jannati, 2015;Toçi & Aliu, 2013;Yang, 2014;Bahman & Rahimi, 2010;Baghdadi & Rezaei, 2015). Many of these studies highlighted negative, as well as positive, representations in the textbooks, but they neglected to address the reason for, or the impact of, these representations on different societies. In addition, they put most of the emphasis on the linguistic texts of the textbooks, disregarding other potential elements of texts such as images. Analysis of visual material is in fact as important as that of texts, because in this modern world images play a considerable role. Visuals are now considered one of the main tools of conveying ideologies and many "types of texts are becoming multimodal" (Yassine, 2014, p. 335).

In the postcolonial context, several studies have been devoted to investigating language and identity in textbooks. Within the western context, Fedrik Olsson used postcolonial theory to conduct a study about the cultural representations of ethnicity and national identity in English textbooks used within Swedish secondary schools (Olsson, 2008). In a different context, Alexander Wiseman (2014) investigated the representation of the 'Orient' by the 'West'. His study highlights the representation of Islam and Arab societies in western textbooks. He claims that the representation of Arab societies in most topics covered in secondary school textbooks are related to terrorism, war and conflict. He states that 'the majority of content related to contemporary Islam and Arab societies represents Muslims and their communities as: 1) socially, politically, and economically repressed; 2) religiously and ideologically oppressed; and 3) both typically and frequently violent'' (Wiseman, 2014). These studies uncovered the persistence of the stereotypical representations of the Orient by the West analysed by Said.

However, investigating identity in newly independent nations' textbooks has attracted little attention from scholars. John Kobia explored the portrayal of gender in images within English primary school textbooks in Kenya (Kobia, 2009, p. 57). Focusing only on the pictorial component of the textbooks, this study shows the discrimination and gender bias against women in these textbooks. Another study – conducted in postcolonial Morocco by Abdellah Elboubekri (2013) – investigated the link between EFL textbooks and cultural identity. This descriptive analysis of the textbooks shows that the content of the Moroccan EFL course books relies heavily on "Moroccan settings and subjects" (Elboubekri, 2013, p. 1932), while English and Western culture is almost absent because of the fear of jeopardizing national identity and local traditions and values. In another study, Nada Sid Ahmed Aljak and Abdelrahim Hamid Mugaddan studied national identity in one English textbook in Sudan. Amongst their findings is the focus on Arabic and Islam as the main components of the Sudanese identity (Aljak & Mugaddam, 2013). Although all the previously mentioned studies highlight either the colonial legacies of gender discrimination, or resistance through ignoring the Other's culture because of the fear of its effects on the national identity, this fact was not considered by the researchers. The postcolonial aspect of the context of their research is rarely mentioned if not ignored. Therefore, this present study will fill this gap in the scholarship by addressing the postcolonial context in which these textbooks are produced.

2.4.5. Identity in Algerian Foreign Language Textbooks

Several studies have investigated identity in Algerian EFL textbooks, with a major focus on representations of culture (see Boukheddad, 2011; Yassine, 2012; Messekher, 2014; Yassine, 2014) and gender (see Aoumeur, 2014; Abdelhay & Benhaddouche, 2015). Some of these studies focus on studying identity in recent textbooks, while others use a chronological approach in analysing language textbooks (analysing textbooks of different periods of time). On the other hand, there are fewer analyses of representation of identity in French-language textbooks than their English counterparts (see Kadik, 2002; Bensekat & Kridech, 2008;Bensekat & Krideche, 2008; Dridi, 2018). Even studies in French have been devoted to investigate English textbooks (Lakhdar-Barka, 2011). However, all of them pay little attention to the fact that Algeria is a postcolonial country where its past plays an important role in its present.

Interestingly, some of the designers of the foreign language textbooks under study here have produced research papers to investigate their *own* textbooks. Sabrina Zerar and Bouteldja Riche (2014) analysed one of the textbooks which was produced by Riche and his co-authors.⁴⁴ They consider language textbooks as a social space where they investigated the distribution of space between female and male characters. Both quantitative and qualitative approaches are used to analyse gender representation on the basis of conversation and critical discourse analyses. Their findings stress the discriminatory nature of the Algerian English-language textbook, *At the Crossroads*

⁴⁴ Bouteldja Riche is the project leader for most of the English Textbooks.

(EnSec1), through the preponderance of male characters "in terms of access to and occupation of this space, [...] also in terms of the restricted representation of public female figures in various prestigious fields" (Zerar & Riche, 2014, p. 40). In a different context, the same editor, Riche, with Souryana Yassine (2012) questioned the cultural content of three EFL textbooks of the final year of secondary education from the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. This chronological study aimed to show the advantage of the 2003 reform-born textbook (EnSec3) compared to these older editions. Indeed, the findings of the study show that EnSec3 challenges the previous ones by embracing the concept of cultural openness.

On the other hand, despite its dominance in discussions regarding identity in any postcolonial context, national identity has received little attention by national researchers. A French-language study by Dalila Abadi investigated the presentation of national identity in Algerian FFL textbooks (Abadi, 2011). Her findings show that the content of these textbooks "signale la sensibilisation des apprenants aux civilisations étrangères. Ceci est particulièrement illustré par les textes (extraits) des auteurs étrangers, et français en particulier" (Abadi, 2011, p. 139). Nevertheless, through considering the relatively high number of Algerian writers whose texts also feature in the textbooks, she argues "les manuels du secondaire de FLE collectionnent, donc, des interventions appuyant la question de l'identité nationale au regard de contextes culturels et nationaux divers" (Abadi, 2011, p. 140). This study, in addition to the previously mentioned, either in French or English, arguably ignores the postcolonial reality of the Algerian society, which plays an important role in the production of these discourses

None of these studies account for the shifting and ambiguous status of French language acquisition in Algeria since Independence. For example, they do not investigate the fact that, with the exception of Bouteflika, French has consistently been considered by Algerian governments as a threat to local identity. This is despite the fact that French continued to be the first foreign language of the country and the main language of higher education. In addition, the historical content of the French language textbooks is not questioned by these researchers. Instead, it is considered as a way of promoting national identity (Abadi, 2011). Similarly, none of these studies address the absence of French culture from the French-language textbooks. Rather than representing the target-language culture in French-language textbooks, the chosen texts in the French textbooks are largely scientific and devoid of cultural references.

Furthermore, it should be noted that blame for any sort of discrimination or bias in these textbooks is traditionally attributed to the textbook designers. This overlooks the fact that these books reflect the social attitudes that are affected by the colonial past and the long chain of development and ratification that takes place in the production of these textbooks (see Section 2.4.2). These textbooks cannot be used in schools unless the Minister of Education agrees. Therefore any discriminatory representations of gender are, accordingly, authorised by the government. In addition, research into the field of foreign language education has not fully addressed the impact of the colonial history of the country on the way foreign languages are taught and how the latter affects the process of (re)construction in postcolonial countries. Therefore, identity exploring the (re)construction of postcolonial identity in the textbooks which are supposed to bring modernity and peace to the country after a long period of conflicts and violence (see the Introductory Chapter), is indeed of vital importance.

A comparative analysis of English and French language textbooks in Algeria is an ideal case study to remedy the paucity of research on the role of postcolonial identity in foreign language textbooks in national and international contexts. By considering textbooks as important agents of social and cultural transmission from the state to learners, this present study problematizes the representation of Algerian postcolonial identity in the French language textbooks (representing the language of the former colonizer) *as well as* English language textbooks (representing the language of globalisation and modernity). In this way, the role played by these materials in perpetuating the colonial legacy and the extent to which they promote the modernising goals of the 2003 educational reform will be clarified.

2.5. Conclusion

This chapter has situated the present study in its international context. It has identified the theoretical grounding for the research, based in postcolonialism, and explained the role played by foreign language textbooks in the process of identity (re)construction through an explanation of discourse analysis. It highlighted the gap in Algerian scholarship and postcolonial scholarship more broadly, in analysing foreign language textbooks from the perspective of postcolonialism. This is the gap that the following analyses aim to fill. In the next chapters, foreign language textbooks are considered as vehicles of official educational discourses which aim to develop a strong sense of national identity while

building a culture of peace and equality within Algerian society. These chapters will explain this process by focusing on the three categories of identity frequently in conflict in postcolonial Algeria: national, cultural, and gendered.

Chapter 3: National Identity in the Textbooks of French and English

Over half a century after its independence from France, Algeria is still struggling with its identity. The long French colonial occupation left Algerians with many questions regarding their language, their history, and their overall sense of belonging. (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 2005, p. 51)

3.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the presentation of national identity in Algerian textbooks instructing French and English. It argues that French textbooks focus on teaching the nation and strengthening the students' sense of national identity by emphasising the place of colonialism in Algerian history, and marginalizing other aspects related to the French nation or culture. English textbooks, on the other hand, allocate very little space to the history of Algeria, but rather they emphasise cultural representations of the nation. These findings were confirmed to some extent by the people involved in the process of the textbooks' production. The different aims behind the teaching of both languages, I argue, have contributed to the linguistic conflict in Algeria today which will be discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first reviews different theories of national identity. The second provides a summary of the Algerian context and the conflicts between Algeria's different languages and national identity in the postcolonial context. The third section analyses the presentation of national identity in the French and English textbooks using a comparative approach. The last section concludes these findings.

3.2. Language Planning Policies and Algerian National Identity

The linguistic landscape in Algeria is fairly complex and has evolved as a result of the linguistic trauma that occurred throughout this land and its history. Historically, much of North Africa was inhabited by Berbers or Imazighen. However, from a linguistic perspective, instead of writing in their own language, Berbers have written in the languages of their invaders (Benrabah, 1999, p. 28). Phoenicians were the first colonisers of Algerian territory, founding Carthage in 600 BC. Their language, Punic, became the official language in this region, traces of which can still be found in Algerian Arabic. This is one factor that makes Algerian different from the other Arabic dialects in the Arabic

World (Benstead & Reif, 2013). Following the Roman invasion of North Africa, Latin occupied a very important place in the Algerian linguistic system, until the year 702 AD when most Algerian Berbers converted to Islam with the Muslim conquest of Algeria.

Islam brought with it Classical Arabic as the holy language of the Qur'an. Benrabah stresses this connection with the language's success in Algeria since "la propagation de l'islam et de la langue Arabe se fait par le biais des mosquées et des missionnaires récitant le Coran. C'est cette association de l'islam et son véhicule l'arabe classique, qui, très tôt donne à cet idiome son caractère sacré" (Benrabah, 1999, p. 33). The main Algerian Arabic that is spoken today by almost "three quarters of Algerians, has its origins entirely in the seventh century Arab conquest that brought Islam to Algeria" (Benstead & Reif, 2013, p. 83). As a result of the Islamic conquest, Classical Arabic started to replace Latin in Algeria. From the 15th century until the 1830s, Algeria was part of the Ottoman Empire (Ladjal & Bensaid, 2014, p. 567). Despite its "political and geostrategic advantages, Ottoman Algeria failed to achieve a balance between military power and politics in the Mediterranean region, and its own inherent cultural resources" (Ladjal & Bensaid, 2014, p. 267). The Ottomans did not enforce a strong education policy regarding the teaching of a specific language. Instead, traditional education remained as the main source of learning in Algeria (Ladjal & Bensaid, 2014). However, a major feature of Ottoman Algeria was the diplomatic and official representation of European powers. Europeans had "consular representations with seven consulates, as well as courts, hotels, commercial depots and churches" (Ladjal & Bensaid, 2014, p. 579). Therefore, this period saw the integration of many languages into the using Berber⁴⁵ or Algerian Arabic in daily Algerian linguistic map. Despite conversations, other foreign languages gained popularity as a result of other regional conquests: Spanish in western Algeria and Italian in the East, whilst the immigration of Turkish and Jewish populations brought in Turkish and Judeo-Arabic languages (Benrabah, 1999, pp. 42- 43).

Between 1830 and 1962, the dominant language in Algeria was the colonial language of French. French colonialism impacted on the education system in a number of ways including suppressing Arabic schools (which used to not only teach Arabic language but also different scientific subjects), arguing that they were disseminating

⁴⁵ 'Berber' or Tamazight is the native language of the Berber populations of North Africa. It is divided into different dialects, amongst which are the Kabyle, Chaouia, and many others.

religious fanaticism. By doing so, French colonialism gave Algerians no choice but to learn in French. During this period, many local Algerians protested against the French invasion because they saw it as a threat to their cultural and religious identity. However, perhaps ironically, many Algerian writers found in French not only a language of education but also a weapon against the coloniser. Kateb Yacine famously considered French a '*butin de guerre*' and, in 1966, stated that ''la francophonie est une machine politique néocoloniale, qui ne fait que perpétuer notre aliénation, mais l'usage de la langue française ne signifie pas qu'on soit l'agent d'une puissance étrangère, et j'écris en français pour dire aux français que je ne suis pas français'' (Berkani, 2015). Other Algerian writers such as Mouloud Feraoun, Mohammed Dib, and Mouloud Mammeri shared the same opinion. They fought against the French by using their language.

After the proclamation of independence in 1962, Algerians made Arabic their national language as their first option to try and recover their precolonial cultural identity as well as to maintain the national unity created during the war. At this time the first president of the Algerian Republic, Ahmed Ben Bella, who "immediately after his release from French custody in the spring of 1963, proclaimed his adherence to Arab nationalism – 'We are Arabs', and so initiated a policy of linguistic Arabisation in the country" (Vinthagen, 2007, p. 52). He stressed the importance of Arabisation in his first presidential speech, when he stated "l'arabisation est nécessaire, car il n'y a pas de socialisme sans Arabisation..., il n'y a d'avenir pour ce pays que dans l'arabisation' (Chaker & Abrous, 1988, p. 184). For Ben Bella, applying this 'Process of Arabisation' was the only way to follow socialism, which was seen as the future of the country, and to eliminate the French cultural and linguistic legacy from the postcolonial Algerian scene. For most of his followers, French culture posed a threat to the identity and associated religion of Algerians.

The imposition of Arabic as the national language of the country also posed several difficulties; the post-independent government effectively undermined the local Algerians' right to officially learn their own native languages, as explained in the Introductory Chapter (see Section 1.2.2). Majumdar (2000) demonstrates that the "real diversity of language in the country has meant that Arabic language could not be a unifying force" (2000, p. 106). The process of radical Arabisation has created many more problems than it has solved. For example, this imposition led to the Kabyle (a Berberspeaking ethnic group) rebellion against the government in 1980 (see Section 1.2.2).

Their main demand was the recognition of their language and culture (Benrabah, 2014, p. These tensions could already be seen in the late 1940s in an incident knows as the 45). 'Berberist Crisis of 1940' (Fois, 2016). At that time, Berberist activists within the national political party of Messali Hadj, Le Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques (MTLD), opposed the less open definition of the Algerian identity adopted by the party, as Marisa Fois says, "activists did not reject either Arabic or Islam – the dual linguistic-religious core of national identity for Algerian nationalists - but they identified with a broader idea of an 'Algerian Algeria' that could incorporate various components of society" (Fois, 2016, p. 206). The Arabisation policy had led to a revival of these tensions in the postcolonial country. However, this rebellion was not the only consequence of this policy. As explained earlier in the thesis (see Section 1.2.2), identity conflicts emerged not only from the imposition of Arabic monolingualism, but also from the fact that the postcolonial leaders decided "de se 'distinguer' et de créer une 'identité' montée de toutes pieces" (Benrabah, 1999, p. 25). As a result, the French language continued to be used, almost as counter-resistance to the Arabisation policy, proving that the policy achieved little of its aims.

The influence of the French colonisers remains today and French, as a colonial legacy, has become part of the Algerian identity. Being the language that "has been elected to be used in politically independent French-speaking countries [Algeria] as a medium of administration, education, and literature means that the language has become a national heritage for francophone countries [Algeria]" (Salhi, 2013, p. 310). In fact, Alexis Andres⁴⁶ declared in an interview that Algeria "occupe une place particulière: c'est un grand pays francophone, le troisième du monde. Plus de 11 millions d'Algériens ont aujourd'hui le Français en partage"⁴⁷. He goes as far as to put French on a parallel with Arabic since "la langue Française est donc une réalité quotidienne en Algérie, aux côtés de l'arabe et avec l'arabe". In a similar context, president Bouteflika in an interview, mentioned earlier in Section 1.2.2 with a French radio, *Europe 1*, declared clearly that the application of Arabic as a national language cannot stop him from using the French language. In his interview, Bouteflika outlines clearly the continual rivalry that still exists between the Arabic and French languages. However, we can now identify a new

⁴⁶The advisor of cooperation and cultural action and the director of the French institute.

⁴⁷Alexis Andres's interview with K. Smail was published in *El-Watan* newspaper on 22nd March, 2015. [Online]

Available at : https://www.djazairess.com/fr/elwatan/490480

[[]Accessed 18 June 2016]

linguistic rivalry. A new competition has appeared between the acquisition of French and English languages, as a result of the growing demands of globalization (Abid-Houcine, 2007; Chemami, 2011, Benrabah, 2013). If many Algerians consider the powerful position that French continues to hold in the postcolonial country as a persistent threat to their Arab and Muslim identity, they therefore demand to replace it with English. On the other hand, many others consider French as an inseparable part of Algerian identity, which cannot be eradicated or replaced by any other language.

3.3. Linguistic Rivalry in Algerian Education

As we have seen, post-independence Algeria has seen the implementation of several language planning policies as through a "series of attempts to deal with consequences of the colonial past" (Deming, 2006). The hegemony of Arabic, as explained above, was one of the pertinent features of the postcolonial education system. It was introduced just after the declaration of independence in 1962 as the first national language of the new country. This is because the main project of the postcolonial leaders was to eliminate the French language and culture that they feared could jeopardise the Algerian identity, as Kamal Salhi explains:

The implementation of linguistic policy, together with the language selection known as 'language planning' in many countries of North and sub-Saharan Africa, entails using different local languages for primary education while using French for secondary and higher education [...]. This agenda [...] motivates the proposal to replace the 'foreign language' with 'national languages' in the educational system. (Salhi, 2013, p. 13)

Accordingly, it seems that the postcolonial leaders considered identity as a static construct which was erroneously affected by colonialism. By this logic, they thought that they would be able to restore this static identity to some unsullied version of Algerian identity that existed before French colonialism. Their understanding of identity led them to overlook the fact that identity is never fixed but, as stressed by many theorists, not least Stuart Hall, is a process which never ends (Hall, 2009, p. 82).

At the time of colonialism (1830-1962), French was the main language of the official education system. In contrast, classical Arabic was only used in *Zawiyas* (primary school) and some types of *Madrasa* (secondary school). These traditional education systems managed to achieve a relatively high level of Arabic literacy during the first years of colonialism. According to Habiba Deming (2006), Lacheraf (1963) states:

Education was conducted in classical Arabic and was traditional in the sense that it was grounded in religious, legal, and philological studies. Though the curriculum was old-fashioned and in need of modernization, it achieved a literacy rate in Algeria's population as high as in France and other agrarian societies of the time and produced cultured and effective leaders, such as Emir 'Abd el-Kadir. (Deming, 2006, p. 182)

Yet, the French colonial administration suppressed most of these schools. However, as discussed in the Introduction, the *Oulémas* opened many of these schools again after 1930s, allowing many children to learn different subjects in Arabic. On the other hand, formal education, in French language, was only provided to a very limited number of Algerians until the last two decades of colonialism when this number increased significantly due to the French educational reforms of the 1940s (see Section 1.2.1). Arabic started to occupy an official place in education only in the last few 'bitter years of French occupation', and as a foreign language (Wardhaugh, 1987, p. 185). From 1949, schools were "legally required to teach two and a half hours of colloquial Arabic per week", though the number of teachers was never enough "to meet this requirement" (Duclos, et al., 2006, p. 190). By 1962, the French colonial system had "left behind a situation in which the French language was very well entrenched, particularly in the school system, where French was the language of instruction and Arabic was taught as a minor language" (Aitsiselmi, 2002, p. 385). This situation persisted during the first years of independence.

The first president of the Algerian Republic, as mentioned previously, promptly declared the launch of the Arabisation policy as one of the major projects of the postcolonial state, inspired by Pan-Arabism in Middle Eastern countries (see Section 1.2), and the previous linguistic nationalism of the French (1791), where "French was [...] consolidated as the effective national language [...] with the introduction of compulsory schooling in French" (Majumdar, 2000, p. 105). French linguistic nationalism was applied in Algeria during the years of colonialism, being considered as an official 'département' of France. This policy, indeed, succeeded to unify all French territories, including Algeria, under the umbrella of the French language. Consequently, the French language is still a dominant language in many French former colonies. Algerian linguistic nationalism, on the other hand, failed to result in the same unity. The hegemony of monolingual Arabic, rather, led to an unsolved conflict as Maamri explains,

Arabisation was not only presented as a conflict with France but also those Algerians who used French in their working or private lives were denounced as members of the *hizb fransa* or party of France. The result was a controversy that opposed Francophones to Arabophones. The former viewed French as the language of modernity, science and technology. For the latter, however, French was the language of the enemy, hence the negation of Algerian identity while Arabic is the language of the Qur'an and Islam. (Vinthagen, 2007, pp. 52-53)

Despite the imposed Arabic, French effectively remained the main language of instruction in the following ten years of independence. During that period, the hegemony of Arabic "was growing steadily in importance" (Benrabah, 2007, p. 225) until it eventually became, at the beginning of the 1970s, the official and compulsory language across all the domains including education (see Timeline of Political Events).

This monolingual policy and forced Arabisation lasted for three decades, when French and English in Algeria occupied a relatively marginal space in the educational system. This period saw several changes at both the political and social levels. After the 1990s' 'décennie noire', Algeria needed a new solution that would unify the different disputed groups. The Tamazight language was recognised as a second national language, and French gained more space through official approval from the president Bouteflika. These changes shifted the official conception of Algerian identity from the rigid definition based on Arabic and Islam, to a constructivist definition that embraces Amazighism within the definition. In addition, through Bouteflika's use of the French language in different official occasions, French regained its position as part of the Algerian identity. The uneven development of Arabic monolingualism and the persistent presence of French in Algeria, as well as other languages, clearly demonstrate that linguistic identity is never fixed (Hall, 1990; Wodak, 2006; Wodak et al., 2009; Hall, 2009).

The Figure below summarises the linguistic rivalry in colonial and postcolonial Algeria:

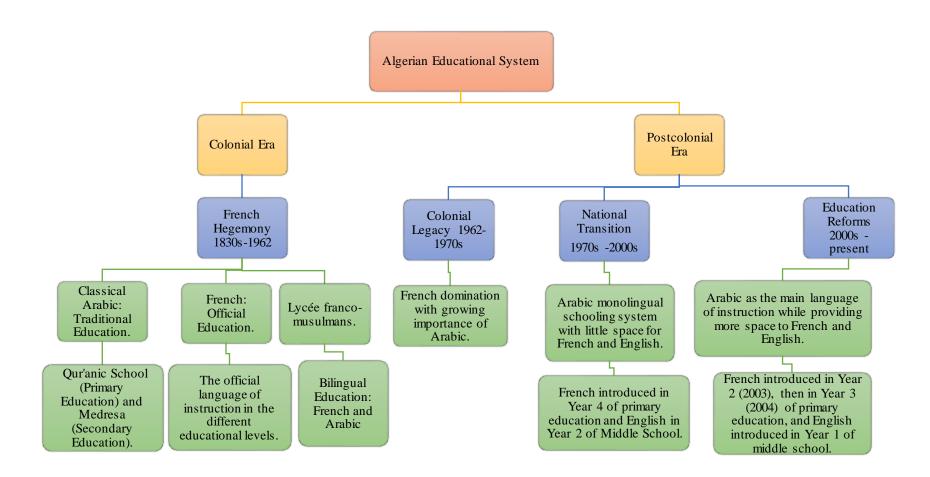


Figure 3.1: Linguistic Rivalry in the Algerian Educational System

In fact, several studies have tried to explain and explore the factors surrounding the conflict between French and Arabic language acquisition in Algeria. Fatima Zohra Mekkaoui (2002) conducted a survey with students at the University of Constantine (aged 18 to 24) about the place that the French language had for them. She found that most of the participants defined French as being somewhere between the language of the colonial oppressor and the language of science, modernity and globalization, whereas Arabic was seen as the sacred language of solemnity and Islam (Mekkaoui, 2002). In another study conducted in 2004, on a sample of 1052 high school students in three different cities in Algeria, Oran, Saída, and Ghazaouet, Benrabah found that 82% of the participants felt that Arabic makes them close to God, whilst 80% defined it as "the language of religious and moral values". On the other hand, 91.5% of the sample thought that French is the key to "openness to the world", whereas 85.7% defined French as the "language of science and technology" (Benrabah, 2007, pp. 238-239). These studies have shown the importance of French for the majority of Algerian learners as well as the persistent link they make between the French language and the colonial past. As they have also shown Algerians' reluctance to use monolingual Arabic – or what is commonly and erroneously called their first language - as the only national language.

Although the previously mentioned studies did not pay attention to Algerians' opinion regarding the use of English, many others do. Affaf Baala-Boudebia (2012) has explored the need for both French and English education through a questionnaire addressed to French teachers in south Algeria. Most of the teachers, 70 out of 73, agreed upon the necessity of having both languages in the education system. Their justifications centred on a feeling that French education was important, as it is the language of higher education in Algeria (30.66%), while 38.55% of the sample felt that the importance of English education lies in its status as an international language. In addition, Fouzia Ounis conducted an investigation amongst Algerian parents concerning their opinions on replacing French with English as the primary foreign language in 2012. 70% of the parents preferred French, while only 30% preferred English (Ounis, 2012, p. 89). Similarly, when parents were asked if their children like the French language, 70% had a positive answer while 30% answered negatively (Ounis, 2012, pp. 89-90). When asked for their opinion regarding the possibility of French ever being replaced by English as the primary foreign language in Algeria, 45% thought that this will happen in the future, while 55% answered that this is far from happening. The first group considered that "la langue anglaise est parlée sur un vaste territoire. Il est hors de doute qu'elle envahit de plus en plus les régions et domaines des autres langues. Elle dispose donc du grand 'potentiel de communication' de toutes les langues". Whereas, the second group insisted that "la langue anglaise ne pourrait pas prendre la place du français dans les prochaines décennies car rien n'indique sa progression dans la société algérienne" (Ounis, 2012, p. 91).

Mohamed-Amine Chemmami (2011) argues that, despite the different opinions regarding the use of French and English in Algeria, the priority given to foreign languages at the expense of the hegemony of monolingual Arabic in the education reforms of the 2000s would have a unifying impact. He says "Algeria puts in place a plurilingual [multilingual] policy beyond the opposition which reserves French and English languages for modernity and literary Arabic for tradition. This new solidarity would have a democratic impact on the redefinition of the Algerian identity" (2011, p. 231). Conversely, the opposite has happened, and the linguistic competition between French and Arabic has increased in scope to include English (Benrabah, 2013).

In 1997, John Battenburg wrote, "as former French colonies and protectorates have distanced themselves politically, economically, and socially from their recent past, many of these countries have also sought to decrease their dependence on the French language. Along with encouraging the use of native languages, these countries are also turning to English as a tool for development" (Battenburg, 1997, p. 281). After almost ten years, the former Algerian prime minister and the leader of the political party (RND), *Rassemblement National Démocratique*, Ahmed Ouyahia addressed people in English in a video published in the official social media of his party.⁴⁸ This was viewed as a leap in Algerian politics under Bouteflika which, until that point has used only Arabic or French. In addition, many national institutions changed their names from French to English in 2016, like the Ministry of Defence, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and many other universities and hospitals as the pictures below show:

⁴⁸ Published on 2nd July, 2016. [Online]

Available at: <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ICuMbNq7w5k&t=1s</u> [Accessed 15 September 2016].



Image 1: University of Batna



Image 2: Main Entrance, Hospital of Sétif's Main Entrance

As the pictures above show, the University of Batna's name which had been in French for decades is now written in Arabic, English and Berber, and the same is for Image 2 from the hospital of Sétif. The new place that English is starting to occupy was officially considered by the Algerian Francophone elite as an attempt to eradicate French from the official linguistic scene of Algeria. For example, early in 2017, Ahmed Fattani, the editor in chief of the Algerian newspaper *L'Expression*, reacted to the increasing influence of English language in Algeria in his article, *L'Algérie de la caricature*:

La langue anglaise ne veut surtout pas emprunter la petite porte de service pour accéder dans la Maison Algérie. Y entrer par effraction? De telles mœurs ne relèvent pas de la culture british non plus. Ça ne fait pas gentleman [...]. Depuis deux ans au moins, les inscriptions en anglais pullulent aux frontons de nos édifices publics. Le siège abritant les Archives nationales, l'université de Dély Brahim et tant d'autres hauts lieux du savoir ont troqué la langue de Molière contre celle de Shakespeare. Sans crier gare, à leur tour, des ministères ont cru bon de suivre cette tendance à la mode. Du ministère de la Défense nationale à celui des Affaires étrangères en passant par bien d'autres, les Algériens découvrent avec stupéfaction que l'anglais a bien envahi leurs espaces de vie. Et cela ressemble bien à un viol... linguistique. Sans coup férir, la dernière démonstration de cette «infidélité» nous vient de la Haute Instance indépendante de surveillance des élections. Les écrans des Télévisions nationales ont relayé à merveille ce tour de passe-passe zoomant sur cette image de l'affiche officielle où seule la langue anglaise figure à côté de l'arabe...(Fattani, 2017)

Fattani went further by describing this domination of the English language in Algeria as a conspiracy against the French as the language of most, if not all, Algerian elite (Fattani, 2017).

Despite this strong defence by Fattani, the reality is that the use of French in Algerian universities and schools is undergoing a crisis. Ouardia Aci, Socio-didactic

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specialist and the ex-head of department of University of Blida, stated in an interview with *Algérie Focus* that:

Il y a une régression de la maîtrise du français. [...] En effet, un nombre croissant d'étudiants qui commencent leur cursus universitaire ne parlent presque pas le français et l'écrivent très mal. Si on se livre à l'exercice de statistiques, on peut estimer que sur une promotion d'élèves, environ 30% disposent des prérequis nécessaires en langue française. Tandis que pour les 70% restants, leur français s'apparente plus à du bricolage. (Aci, 2013)

This lack of proficiency is claimed by Aci to be a result of the resistance and reluctance to use the French language, as she says, "beaucoup de gens utilisent quotidiennement des mots français sans même s'en rendre compte. Ce « butin de guerre » n'est ainsi pas complétement perdu mais il est rejeté" (Aci, 2013). This resistance against the French language will be further discussed in the next chapter.

English, on the other hand, is gaining popularity amongst younger people. According to *Al-Monito* online news, "activists, alongside the National Organization of Students' Parents, launched a campaign demanding that French be dropped from school curricula and replaced with the language of science – English. Within a couple of hours, more than 4000 people had signed a petition in this regard. The petition was sent to Prime Minister Abdel Malek Sallal" (Lonisi, 2015). This was accompanied by many campaigns by social media pioneers beginning in 2016. They claimed French to be the language of the former coloniser, demanding it to be replaced by English as the international language of science and technology. Being the language of the former coloniser, French has always been considered by many Algerians as a threat to their national identity that should be replaced earlier by Arabic, and now by English. Given this historical background, this chapter questions the representation of national identity in French and English textbooks. However, before this analysis, the following section expands on the different theoretical perspectives on national identity.

3.4. Theoretical Perspectives on National Identity

National identity is a multidimensional concept that can be understood according to many definitions. Generally, it is perceived as the sense of belonging to a particular political territory and indigenous group. In this territory, people share the same culture, traditions, place of birth, and, in some situations, the same language. Nadja Koenig identifies national identity as the feeling of attachment to a given national group and the "orientation toward a long-term, important group membership" (Koenig, 2006, p. 3). Ruth

Wodak and her co-authors find it more related to particular elements of the 'collective memory' of a particular country (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 28). However, Rashida Binti Mamat, claims that it can be also considered as the position of the Self in opposition to the Other (Mamat, 2012, p. 38).

In addition to the discussion on the essentialist and the constructivist views of identity in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.3.1), this section will clarify which definition of national identity is adopted in this thesis. In this research, identity construction is considered as a process in progress. There is no such thing as a fixed identity, but rather identity is changeable over time. The sociologist Stuart Hall, as one of the advocates of the constructivist conception of identity, defines national unity as an imagined form of solidarity constituted within cultural representation. He states,

Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a 'production' which *is never complete, always in process*, and always constituted within, not outside, representation. [...] we should not, for a moment, underestimate or neglect the importance of the act of imaginative rediscovery which this conception of a rediscovered, essential identity entails. (Emphasis mine, Hall, 1990, pp. 222-224)

As Hall emphasises, identity is always undergoing a process of construction. Hall's notion of identity as a process supports the main argument of this research, which aims to understand how the learning process of both French and English as foreign languages contributes to (re)constructing Algerian national identity. The (re)construction of identity is related to many factors, amongst them is the Other. In this regard, Hall confirms, "there is no identity that is without the dialogic relationship to the Other. The Other is not outside, but also inside the Self, the identity. So identity is a process, identity is split. Identity is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point. Identity is also the relationship of the Other to oneself' (Hall, 2009, p. 82). Therefore, French and English textbooks are of exceptional importance as they occupy a third hybrid space where the Self and the Other are both represented. Claire Kramsch departed from Bhabha's notion of the Third Space (see Section 2.2.1) to argue that foreign language education constitutes a third space where the native language and culture and foreign language and culture co-exist together (Kramsch, 2009). The conception of the nation is not concerned only with the Self, but theorists have added a dialogic perspective to it. Accordingly, in this chapter, the representation of the self as well as the other in the textbooks will be considered in the analysis.

From a post/structuralist perspective, "the presence of 'otherness' in imaginings of 'selfhood' is fundamental in constituting and strengthening national sameness" (Eleftherios, 2008, p. 14). In fact, national identity is "a meaning structure that is split. As much as imagining the 'self', either implicitly or explicitly, it is also about imagining 'them', the 'others', from whom 'we' are distinct and superior" (Eleftherios, 2008, p. 14). The French philosopher Emmanuel Lévinas emphasises this binary of the 'Self' and the 'Other' by combining the concept 'Altérité' to the process of identity formation in his L'Altérité et transcendance (2000). Aziz explains that "according to Lévinas, alterity is the process of 'othering' or constructing boundary markers to separate the self from the 'other' or non-self' (Aziz, 2015, p. 10). Alterity, also "determines the denominational boundary markers, such as language, that distinguish a particular national identity from another, promoting identity exclusivity" (Aziz, 2015, p. 10). These boundary markers constitute a major construct of identity as it helps the individual to identify him/herself with the ingroup and to differentiate him/herself from the outgroup. About the concept of alterity, Eleftherios states,

Through this focus on 'alterity' and the making of 'strangers', the nation nourishes its own pride, boasts itself superior, exalts its own divinities, conceals its negative actions and projects its own paradoxes and antinomies outside itself. In other words, the world of nations, especially by means of the principle of classification, is constructed in terms of binary oppositions, into 'us' and 'them', and, in these polarities, one term is valued more than the other: the one, the 'self', is the norm and the other, the 'others', is deviant. (Eleftherios, 2008, p. 13)

In fact, it is hard to construct an identity without referring to this binary opposition of the 'Self' and the 'Other'. Therefore, the representation of both the 'Self' and the 'Other' is considered of paramount significance to the discussion of Algerian national identity construction in foreign language textbooks in this chapter.

Another influential theory on national identity was put forward by the political scientist Benedict Anderson in his *Imagined Communities*, in which the nation is defined as "an imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). For Anderson, "each and every nation is necessarily imagined because it stretches beyond immediate experience- it embraces far more people than those with which nationals are personally acquainted and far more places than they have visited" (Eleftherios, 2008, p. 11). The nation is considered by Anderson as 'imagined' because "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the

image of their communion" (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). This nation as a 'political community' is imagined as limited, sovereign and as a community, as explained by Anderson:

The nation is imagined as *limited* because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations [...]. It is imagined as *sovereign* because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm. [...] nations dream of being free, and, if under God, directly so. [...] Finally, it is imagined as a *community*, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. (Emphasis in the original, Anderson, 2006, p. 7)

The definition of the nation as an 'imagined community' is a starting point for many definitions of national identity. Sara Buchanan claims that the 'imagined communities' are "characterized by a horizontal identification in which citizens "imagine" their connectedness to other citizens through the act of reading" (Buchanan, 2003, p. 918). Eleftherios, as well, started from Anderson's theory to provide the following definition of national identity:

It is a mental construct that creates a sense of solidarity among a group of people by promoting a notion of being part of and sharing a common imagery. It is an artefact emphasising the boundedness of this imagery, providing an imaginary unity against other peoples that exist beyond its borders and from whom the group is felt to be autonomous. It is an abstraction that is conceived as unity, concealing actual divisions and heterogeneity within the national boundaries. (Eleftherios, 2008, p. 12)

Despite the importance of the 'Imagined Communities' theory, critics have identified some weaknesses, such as being limited to novels and academic writings. Imre Szemen claims that "Anderson himself deals with different national circumstances and situations, the concept of the nation as an imagined community has circulated in such a way as to have made it into a universal expression of the form of modern nation, limiting work on the specific function of the novel in various national formations" (Szemen, 2004, p. 41).

Another important critique of Anderson's theory is Partha Chatterjee's, political scientist, book, *Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (1993), which starts with a chapter entitled 'Whose Imagined Community?'. In this chapter Chatterjee states, "Anderson's book has been, I think, the most influential in the last few years in generating new theoretical ideas on nationalism, an influence that of course [...]

is confined almost exclusively to academic writings" (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 5). However, he says:

I have one central objection to Anderson's argument. If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose their imagined community from certain "modular" forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anticolonial resistance and postcolonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain forever colonized. (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 5)

In fact, nationalism is "primarily a political principle, which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent. Nationalism as a sentiment, or as a movement, can best be defined in terms of this principle" (Gellner, 1983, p. 1). It is a political ideology that sees the nation as a primordialist entity and seeks to 'mobilise' national identity for political ends. However, this nationalist sentiment can be termed 'national identity' if it relates to "a more subjective sense of belonging or attachment to a particular nation, one which the individual assumes is shared with other co-nationals" (Bond, 2009, p. 95). Therefore, the nation cannot be assumed universally as an imagined community. Yet, "if at all nation is imagined, it is imagined differently by different nations" (Nath & Dutta, 2014).

The historian Eric Hobsbawm (1990), on the other hand, emphasises Hall and Anderson's view that national identity is not innate but rather is constructed through history. He states, "I do not regard the 'nation' as a primary nor as an unchanging social entity. It belongs exclusively to a particular, and historically recent, period" (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 9). He adds "national identification and what it is believed to imply, can change and shift in time, even in the course of quite short periods" (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 11). Gerard Delanty argues that Hobsbawn "sees nationalism as primarily a modern construction, a creation of strategic elites who use nationalism for the mobilization of the masses" (Legris, 2010, p. 473). However, a major difference between Anderson and Hobsbawm lies in the sources they study in the construction of national identity; the former emphasising the importance of literature, novels and newspapers, therefore emphasising the centrality of literacy in the construction of national identity, while the latter believes that national identity "instead grows unevenly through social groupings or classes at different stages" (Nath & Dutta, 2014).

Different from Anderson and Hobsbawm, other theorists claim that national identity is constructed through narrations. In his *Nations and Narrations*, Bhabha considers narration as a kind of representation that contributes towards constructing the image of the nation, he states:

Nations like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realize their horizons in the mind's eye. Such an image of the nation - or narration - might seem impossibly romantic and excessively metaphorical, but it is from those traditions of political thought and literary language that the nation emerges as a powerful historical idea. (Bhabha, 1990, p. 1)

Therefore, identity is constructed within narrations as the "practice of narration involves the 'doing' of identity, and because we can tell different stories we can construct different versions of the self' (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006, p. 138). In similar account to Bhabha, Martin confirms, "identities by themselves do not exist, they are constructed by identity narratives" (Cited in Eleftherios, 2008, p. 14). Similarly, Eleftherios claims that "the quintessence of narrative identity in which the nation is treated as a character in a story, is that the national 'self' draws its identity from the story's plot rather than being described in and through that" (Eleftherios, 2008, p. 14). This definition of national identity as narratively constructed inspired different claims that national identity can be constructed or manipulated discursively.

Ruth Wodak and her co-authors assume that "the various discursive constructs of national identity are given different shapes according to the context and to the public in which they emerge, all of which can be identified with reference to content, strategies and argumentation patterns, as well as according to how they are expressed in language (linguistic realisation)" (Wodak et al., 2009, p. 3). They assume that national identity is "produced and reproduced, as well as transformed and dismantled, *discursively*" (Emphasis in the original, Wodak et al., 2009, p. 3). Therefore, discourse is an element that plays an important role in the process of national identity (re)construction. In this regard, Hall claims, "a national culture is a discourse – a way of constructing meanings which influences both our actions and conception of ourselves" (Hall, 1994, cited in Wodak et al., 2009, p. 23).

In addition to being constructed and not essentially innate in the human being, researchers argue that there is no single national identity, but that different identities can be constructed through different discourses (Wodak, 2006; Wodak et al., 2009). Yet, some postcolonial leaders impose a static definition of national identity which excludes

many groups and minorities from being identified within their nation. The postcolonial Algerian state is a good example of this (see Section 1.2.2). As explained in Chapter 1, the successive leaders of the Algerian state imposed a static definition of the Algerian identity based on the Islamic religion and Arabic language neglecting other languages or religions in the country. This has led to many political and social uprisings, like the Berber Spring in the 1980s, which eventually led to the modification of this rigid definition of national identity in 2000 through the additional reference to the Berber community and language (see Section 1.2.2).

Going back to the theories of national identity, Anthony Smith's seminal book of *National Identity* (1991) cannot be neglected. Adding to Anderson's *Imagined Communities* ([1983], 2006), Smith claims that national identity encompasses a sense of political community. This latter "implies at least some common institutions and a single code of rights and duties for all members of the community. It also suggests a definite social space, a fairly well demarcated and bounded territory, with which the members identify and to which they feel they belong" (Smith, 1991, p. 9). Furthermore, "the realisation of 'national identity' requires the pursuit of the other two ideals of autonomy and unity. These serve the national mission, which is to conserve and cultivate the cultural identity, the distinctive individuality, of the nation" (Smith, 1999, p. 333). However, Smith is different from Anderson and the other theorists, mentioned earlier, in his analysis of the process of identity construction.

Smith can be considered both as an essentialist and constructivist theorist as he "insists on the prior existence of an ethnic and historical core to nationalism, which in his view is never a pure construction" (Legris, 2010, p. 473). Yet, he defends the view that nationalism is a construct that "derives its strength from tradition" (Legris, 2010, p. 473) and therefore defends the fact that identity is constructed. Despite this, certain researchers consider Smith as an essentialist theorist (Motyl, 2002, p. 234). Historically, "nationalists tend to be primordialists, and nonnationlists or antinationalists – whether liberal, marxist, or postmoderist – tend to be constructivist" (Motyl, 2002, p. 242). Following a nationalist discourse is a political obligation in Algeria, otherwise accusations of betraying the nation and the revolution would easily be raised, because the dominant position in the state considers national identity as a primordialist construct that has been developing over time. This construct gained most of its strength during the colonial period from the struggle to achieve independence from the French.

Based on the context of this research, i.e. educational discourses, and the content of the textbooks, the following elements are identified to be considered as the main represented features of Algerian national identity in French and English textbooks.

- 1. The National flag
- 2. The Homeland
- 3. Various Memories of a Common History
- 4. Common Culture

Most of these elements are identified by Anthony Smith in his theory of national identity. Accordingly, this theory is adopted in this chapter to structure the analysis of the representation of Algerian identity in the textbooks since it provides very similar constituents of national identity that are identified above in the textbooks. This chapter also calls upon other thinkers to inform the analysis of the representations of national identity in the textbooks.

In his theory, Smith defines two models of national identity: the 'western' and 'non-western' models, and argues that the western conception of national identity is the most influential. The nation, for him, is "a new kind of policy – the rational state – and a new kind of community – the territorial nation – first emerged in the west" (Smith, 1991, p. 9). This western model is based mainly on a definite territorial space and a community of people living within it. In Smith's words, nations "must possess compact, well-defined territories. People and territory must, as it were, belong to each other" (Smith, 1991, p. 9). The main constituents of this 'western' model of national identity are:

- 1. Historic territory
- 2. Legal-political community
- 3. Legal-political equality of members
- 4. Common civic culture and ideology (Smith, 1991, p. 11).

On the other hand, the concept of 'ethnicity' is one major element in the 'non-western' model of national identity. Smith describes it is as an 'ethnic' conception of national identity because it emphasises the importance of "the community of birth and native culture" and the nation, in this model, is "first and foremost a community of common descent" (Smith, 1991, p. 11). Its main features are:

- 1. Genealogy and presumed ties of descent
- 2. Popular mobilization
- 3. Vernacular languages
- 4. Customs and traditions (Smith, 1991, p. 12).

Even western countries are different in terms of ethnic and non-ethnic models and even sometimes contradictory.

Critiquing the western models of national identity, Max Silverman has used the example of the French model to show that 'Western' and 'Universalistic' models can be implicitly based on particularism. In his influential *Deconstructing the Nation*, Silverman argues:

[U]niversalism, assimilation and individualism are not opposites of particularism, difference and collectivity, the former constituting the French model, the latter constituting the Anglo-Saxon model. Instead, these concepts from part of a more complex whole: that of a tension *within* the fabric of western nations. (Emphasis in original, 1992, p. 5)

On the other hand, other European models of national identity can be explicitly particularistic such as the German one. In this respect, Silverman argues that "conventional wisdom in France (and often Britain as well) on models of the nation presents an opposition between the ethnic or racial model and the political or contractual model, which is often portrayed as the same opposition between the republican universalism of the French Enlightenment and the ethnic or racial particularism of German romanticism" (Silverman, 2007, p. 632). Therefore, a political tradition does not have to be founded on an empirical reality, however this tradition informs the different modes of access to nationality/citizenship like policies, governance, laws, etc.

Returning to the Algerian context, it can be argued that Algerian national identity relates to both models. Most Algerians are of Berber or Arab descent which relates to the non-western model. However, many Algerians are also of different origins such as Europeans, Turks and Sub-Saharan Africans. Amongst these people are icons of Algerian national identity, such as Frantz Fanon who, despite being Martinican, can be mentioned as an example of the Algerian nationality through his participation in the Algerian revolution. Therefore, I suggest that Algerian national identity pertains to both models.

In fact, critics have identified some weaknesses in Smith's theory after he changed his first model of national identity (1991) significantly in *When is the Nation?* (2002). In the latter, Smith defines a nation as "a named community possessing an historical territory, shared myths and memories, a common public culture and common laws and customs" (Smith, 2002, p. 15). He considers these elements as the main constituents of the 'modern western kind of a nation' while the eliminated legal rights and duties and the single territorial economy are additional constituents of the modern civic model. One main criticism of Smith's theory is that his new definition of the nation failed to establish a clear distinction between the state and the nation as he attributes some features of the state to the nation such as legal rights and duties (Ghibernau, 2004, p. 125).

In Algeria, the state has attempted to create the nation through education, as in the French case. In France, the state created the nation through the education system as Eugen Weber explains in his *Peasants into Frenchmen* (1976). By the 1830s, the French state started investing in education to develop a unified national identity across the country. The law of 1833, for example, emphasises the role of instruction in developing a united French nationhood (Weber, 1976, p. 331). It is the school that has been "created with the ultimate acculturation process that made the French people French"(Weber, 1976, p. 303). Inspired by the French, the postcolonial Algerian state is still using schools to build a unified national identity. Therefore, the (strong) links between both concepts, nation and state, forms postcolonial Algeria: Smith's theory therefore remains relevant to the context of this research.

In *When is the nation?*, Smith identifies his last set of constituents of national identity that is considered in this research. These constituents, summarised below, are very similar to the components of national identity identified in the textbooks under analysis as discussed above.

- 1. A collective proper name
- 2. Myths and memories of communal history
- 3. A common public culture
- 4. Common laws and customs
- 5. A historic territory or homeland. (Smith, 2002, p. 17)

Danping Wang (2016) has used these elements to analyse national identity in Chinese, as foreign language, textbooks to claim that "textbooks in foreign-language education are by their nature ideological, representing the dominant culture and values" (Wang, 2016, p. 1). However, this chapter is using Smith's theory in a different way: three out of five elements in Smith's set are adopted adding to them the national flag.

3.5. The Discursive Construction of the Algerian National Identity in the Textbooks 3.5.1. National Flag

Although the national flag is not included in Smith's theory of national identity, it is of paramount importance as a symbol of national identity in the French and English

textbooks used in the Algerian educational system. However, Smith does suggest that flags are amongst the symbolic bonds of national identity between different generations:

Shared values, memories, rituals and traditions have helped to ensure a sense of continuity with past generations of the community – a sentiment greatly enhanced by the widespread acceptance of collective symbols such as the flag, anthem or national holiday whose meanings may change over time but whose forms remain relatively fixed. Such symbols are particularly important in the rites and ceremonies of public culture, which help to create and sustain communal bonds and a sense of national identity. (Smith, 2009, p. 25)

Similarly, Michael Billig argues that 'flagging' is a reminder of nationhood (Billig, 1995, p. 8) although he considers the importance given to flags, in some cases, to be a banal form of nationalism. He says, "the metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building" (Billig, 1995, p. 8). Nevertheless, the flag is amongst the most important symbols of all nations across the world.

Despite the symbolic importance of the flag, researchers "tend to focus on the history of different national flags, devoting less attention to questions of their symbolic significance and the mechanisms of the mythologization or sacralisation of flags" (Jaskulowski, 2016, p. 557). However, some studies have affirmed the significance of the flag as a symbol of national identity. Pal Kolstø follows the constructivist perspective on national identity by arguing that national identity is learnt and not innate, as national symbols are learnt:

National identity is not an innate quality in human beings, neither is it acquired naturally as one grows up. Like any other identity, national identity has to be *learnt*. Important instruments in any learning process are various kinds of audiovisual aids, and so also in the school of national construction. That is why *national symbols*- flags, coats of arms, national anthems - play such a crucial role in nation-building and nation- maintenance. (Emphasis in original, Kolstø, 2006, p. 676)

Krzysztof Jaskulowski argues that "national flags are modern phenomena. The magic of the flag causes some people to behave as if the flag constituted an integral part of the nation" (Jaskulowski, 2016, p. 557). He further claims that "damage of the flag is feared as desacralization, which may have direct consequences for the nation and threatens its existence" (Jaskulowski, 2016, p. 557). Indeed, burning another country's flag is seen as a form of attack on the identity and nationhood of that country.

Accordingly, the iconisation of national flags as symbols of national identity is taught in most schools over the world. In schools, national symbols are "*interactive* aids

through which students can participate themselves" (Emphasis in original, Kolstø, 2006, p. 676). They help to develop the students' feelings towards their nation, and consequently to develop their sense of national identity. In fact, many countries use the flag in addition to the national anthem to develop students' patriotic sentiments and their love of their country. In Algeria, saluting the raising of the flag is a compulsory activity, which takes place every day in schools. This fact is considered as one of the daily practices that is believed to develop Algerian students' patriotism and strengthen their national identity.

In the textbooks under analysis in this thesis, the Algerian flag is represented several times as a constant reminder of the Algerian nation. At the level of visuals, the French language textbooks provide three pictures of the Algerian flag, one of them is on the cover of FrMid3 (see Image 3 below). The English language textbooks, on the other hand, provide 8 pictures that show the Algerian flag, mainly hanging on public buildings (Image 4 below). In contrast to the French flag, which is completely absent in the French teaching materials, the English textbooks show the Union Jack as well as the American flag many times.





Algerian Radio and TV

Image 4: The Algerian Flag in EnSec1 (p.14)

As for the textual content in these textbooks, there is only one description of the Algerian flag across all the textbooks which occurs in FrSec3 in the following historical passage:

Laghrour me confia la lecture en français de deux textes. L'un n'était formé que d'un seul feuillet ronéotypé ; c'était un tract provenant de l'Armée de Libération Nationale. [...] L'autre [...] était une proclamation du Front National. [...] Les deux tracts avaient en en-tête deux petits drapeaux vert et blanc entrecroisés et frappés du croissant et de l'étoile rouges. C'est la

Image 3: The Algerian Flag in the Cover Page of FrMid3 première fois que l'on entendit parler de ce mouvement révolutionnaire. (FrSec3, p.33)

Laghrour asked me to read two texts in French. One [of them] consisted of a single mimeographed sheet; it was a leaflet from the National Liberation Army. [...] The other [...] was a proclamation by the National [Algerian] Front. [...] At the top, both leaflets contained two small green-and-white flags with a red crescent and star superimposed on them. It was the first time that we heard about this revolutionary movement. (Translation mine)

This description of the national flag being used as a letter-head for official declarations of the War of Independence teaches the students about the origin and importance of the flag as a national symbol of Algerian identity since the colonial period.

This Algerian flag was adopted in 1962 just after independence but was also used during the revolution by the Algerian government in exile. Kindersley states that this flag was "adopted by the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale) in 1954, on the basis of an older design, created in 1928, by the nationalist leader Messali Hadj. From 1958-62 it was the flag of the Provisional Government in exile, but it was retained when independence was achieved in 1962 and remained unchanged since after" (Kindersley, 2014, p. 101). The flag's colours and symbols represent facets of an independent Algerian identity. The green colour represents Islam as it is used metaphorically many times in Qur'an to represent paradise. The white colour signifies peace and is believed to represent Emir Abd-el-Kader's white and green flag that still exists in Algiers' Army Museum of Riadh El Feth (Heimer, 1995).⁴⁹ The red colour represents the blood of martyrs during the war of revolution, while the crescent and star in the middle are another symbol of Islam.

During the colonial period, the flag was used with passion as a symbol of the Algerian nation. It was a major feature of many pro-independence demonstrations by Algerians during the colonial era. As a result, French colonial administration recognised the flag as a threat that should be suppressed. Famously, Algerian flags were present at Sétif when the French committed the massacre on 8th May, 1945 (see Section 1.2.1). It was also present on 11th December, 1960, when the French brutally suppressed many Algerians who demonstrated for independence from "thousands of 'bidonvilles' (shanty towns) and segregated quarters [who] converged on colonial cities throughout Algeria" (Rigouste, 2017). Many Algerians were killed by the French Security Forces for

⁴⁹ Emir Abd-el-Kader is an Islamic national leader who started the first resistance movements against the French colonialism in the 19th century.

brandishing the flag, representing an affirmation of Algerian distinctiveness and of an Algerian national identity. This 'sacrality' of the Algerian flag continued to persist in the postcolonial period as one of the main Algerian national symbols. The interviewees in this present study responded to the presentation of the Algerian flag in most of the French and English materials by confirming its importance in teaching 'l'Algérianisation' through textbooks.

On the other hand, the French tricolour was the only national symbol permitted in France and its overseas territories. Algerians had to show respect to this flag for 132 years and were obliged to consider it the national symbol of their own country. Accordingly, one legacy of the bitter years of colonialism is that the French flag continues to symbolise a threat to an independent Algerian identity. As a result, the Ministry of Education considered that including the French flag in official educational materials risks jeopardising Algerian national identity. The interviewees confirmed this, as they said the French textbooks are "sous une haute surveillance" and that the French flag is not allowed to be included in textbooks because of this common history between both countries (interviewee 2). Even for the English language textbooks, an interviewee said "if they want their book to be published, the designers should be cautious" of anything related to France being represented.⁵⁰ Two interviewees (Interviewee 2 and 3) gave an example of an English textbook that was rejected and prohibited from publication by the Minister of Education because it included an image of the French flag. One of them explained that the flag was part of a larger image of Mediterranean countries with their flags, amongst which only the French flag was not accepted. The absence of the French flag can be noticed in one of the activities in FrMid3 that provides an activity about the nationalities of different countries. In this activity, as the image below show, the flags of 12 countries are provided, amongst these is the USA and UK. The French flag is omitted.

⁵⁰ Translated from Algerian Arabic.

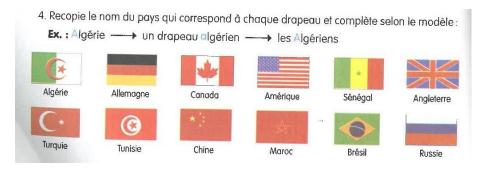


Image 5: (FrMid3, p.88)

Most interviewees supported the view that the American flag and the Union Jack, on the other hand, were important elements in teaching interculturality through English language textbooks. All interviewees considered English, as the world's *lingua franca*, not constituting any threat to Algerian identity.

In the textbooks under analysis in this study, this contrast between the constant reminder of the Algerian national identity, through the representation of the Algerian flag, and the complete absence of the French flag from the French teaching materials, hints at one of the main features of postcolonial Algerian identity: the persistent resistance against the French by identifying any French national symbol as an ongoing threat to Algerian national identity. However, the case is different with English-language textbooks because there are weaker historical ties uniting the Algerian people and British and/or American cultures, who did not directly threaten Algerian sovereignty in the past. Accordingly, tolerance towards the Other is absent from the French textbooks but, on the contrary, promoted in English textbooks. This stresses the perception of the English language as an important space for interculturality and openness to the world.

3.5.2. The Presentation of the Homeland

The homeland is one of the most important components of national identity, without which the concept of a nation would not be possible. 'Territory' and 'land' are the essential elements across different models of national identity. They all have in common the idea of nations as "territorial bounded units of population and that they must have their own homelands" (Smith, 1991, pp. 13-14). The territorial unit with clear borders is "one that is a translocal, but bounded community, with mobility of its population throughout the territory, and a close bond between the 'people' and their 'homeland', which shapes the character and identity of the people" (Smith, 2002, p. 7). The homeland in its simplest meaning is the political territory where citizens may share common history

and memories. It is characterised by the gathering of its inhabitants under a shared umbrella of history, culture, traditions, and, sometimes, ethnicity.

The discursive representation of the Algerian territory in the textbooks under study will be discussed according to Smith's portrayal of the homeland (1991) identified in the following:

The earth in question [the homeland] cannot be just anywhere; it is not any stretch of land. It is, and must be, the 'historic' land, the 'homeland' [...]. A 'historic land' is one where terrain and people have exerted mutual, and beneficial, influence over several generations. The homeland becomes *a repository of historic memories and associations*, the place where 'our' *sages, saints and heroes* lived, worked, prayed and fought. All this makes the homeland unique. *Its rivers, coasts, lakes, mountains and cities* become 'sacred'– places of veneration and exaltation whose inner meanings can be fathomed only by the initiated, that is, the self-aware members of the nation''. (Emphasis mine, Smith, 1991, p. 9)

Therefore, the representations of the historic memories, heroes, geographical characteristics will be considered as the main features of the homeland represented in the French and English textbooks.

The homeland is represented in most of the French textbooks as a "repository of historic memories and associations". It is the focus of different historical narratives⁵¹ of the colonial period and the War of Independence included in the textbooks. Figure 3.2 below, for example, shows the number of historical narratives compared to other topics in FrSec3:

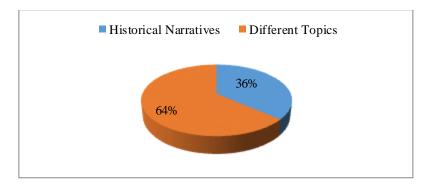


Figure 3. 2: The Number of Historical Narratives in FrSec3

Most of these narratives represent Algeria as the physical space in which the community's history unfolds. They all represent different events that have taken place in Algeria during the colonial period and the War of Independence. These narratives represent Algeria as a sacred land in most of the French language textbooks. Therefore, in

⁵¹ A historical narrative is used in this thesis to mean any extract that mentions the past.

the case of the French textbooks, the representation of the homeland can contribute towards the 'territorialisation of memory' (Smith, 2002, p. 23).⁵²

On the other hand, the English language textbooks represent the homeland as a site of the colonial history in only one text. In EnSec2 (passage below), the Casbah of Algiers is mentioned as the home of Algerians who experienced the bitterness of suffering during the colonial period.⁵³

I was born in the Kasbah of Algiers in 1949. My father is a docker: he works in the docks, loading and unloading ships. He goes to work early in the morning and comes back home late in the evening without getting any wages. At the time, dockers pay French foremen on the docks to get a day's work, but my dad never pays. So he doesn't get work every day. Mum cries but poor old dad never says a word [...]. My sister Zohra and I don't have toys. So we go down the steep and narrow alleys of the Kasbah to spend the day in the French quarters near the harbour. All day long, we look at the toys displayed in shop windows and envy the children of the French colonists playing in the park. (EnSec2, p.19)⁵⁴

The Casbah is one of the integral places of struggle during the colonial period, particularly in the Battle of Algiers (1957). Kahina Amal Djiar considers it as "an icon of people's solidarity, a physical landmark of Algerian Identity, and an emblem of national memory" (Djiar, 2009, p. 185). This text, indeed, clarifies the symbolic status of the Casbah as a witness to the imperial humiliation imposed by the coloniser. Linking such a historical place to painful reminders of Algerians as second-class citizens in their homeland in this passage iconises the homeland as historical repository of memories.

The Casbah is also not absent in the French textbooks, since it is mentioned in an excerpt in FrSec1. This extract is taken from a narrative by Claude Farrère (1974) describing his impressions and admiration of Algiers:

Alger, tout de même, quand on y arrive, sort de la mer comme elle sortait autrefois: d'un seul coup. Elle est une gigantesque cité toute bâtie en gradins, entre le cap Matifou et la pointe Pescade. Et, cependant, les gradins n'arrivent pas jusqu'à la mer. Alger jouit de ce privilège qu'elle fut, de tout temps, posée sur un piédestal. Et ce piédestal, à l'heure qu'il est, repose au-dessus de la mer sur une centaine de formidables piliers, soutenant autant d'arcades, sur lesquelles sont posés les boulevards de la ville. Rien au monde ne donne une plus solide impression de capitale, de ville qui commande. Au-dessus des boulevards, la ville s'étale, par grandes avenues concentriques. Et quant à

 $^{^{52}}$ The 'territorialisation of memory' is a concept Smith uses to signify the "process by which communal memories are located in historic space and come to define the ancestral terrain of an *ethnie* or nation" (2002, p. 23).

⁵³ La Casbah, or Kasbah, refers to the Casbah of Algiers; it is a historical place where most of the events of the Battle of Algiers took place.

⁵⁴ The students are asked to correct the tenses of this paragraph as part of a grammar activity.

l'ancienne Casbah, elle est devenue si petite qu'il vous faudra la chercher. (FrSec1, p.48)

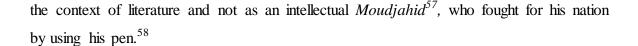
Algiers, all the same, when you arrive, appears out of the sea as it used to: all in one go. It is a gigantic city all built in tiers, between Cape Matifou and Pescade Point. And, yet, the tiers do not reach down into the sea. Algiers enjoys this privilege of having, since time immemorial, stood on a pedestal. And this pedestal, in our time, lies over the sea on a hundred formidable pillars, supporting as many arcades, on which the city boulevards have been established. Nothing in the world gives a stronger impression of a capital, of a city that is in charge. Above the boulevards, the city spreads out, through large concentric avenues. And as for the old Kasbah, it has become so small that you will have to seek it out. (Translation mine)

This paragraph seeks to foster the learners' love of, and pride in, their capital through the writer's emotions towards it and his description of this city. It describes the geographical features of the city with a sense of love and admiration, and hints at the country's historical past by mentioning the Casbah. Therefore, the French and English textbooks iconise the homeland as a repository of memories to develop the students' national identities.

Smith's second aspect of the homeland is the representation of national heroes and their victories. He argues that warfare plays an important role in "throwing up heroes and victories (or defeats)" that provide a significant place to memory in the modern period (Smith, 2002, p. 23). In fact, the representation of heroes calls for patriotic sentiments in the learners. Rachel Hutchins claims that the existence of these "heroes (particularly those who dedicated themselves to or sacrificed their lives for the nation) stands as a monument to the national idea" (Hutchins, 2011, p. 650). Therefore, learning about the memories of national heroes' sacrifices enhances the learners' sense of national identity.

The French language textbooks iconise many heroes of the colonial period. Most of these heroes are famous names in the Algerian struggle against the French colonisers with whom the young reader will already be familiar. Many of them sacrificed themselves for the sake of their country's liberation from French colonialism, amongst them are Emir Abdelkader, Lala Fathma Nsoumer, Ahmad Zabana, and many others.⁵⁵ On the other hand, the English textbooks provide just one name of an Algerian hero in EnSec2, as is shown in the chart in Figure 3.3.56 Even this sole hero, Moufdi Zakariya, is mentioned in

⁵⁵ Lalla Fathma Nsoumer is a famous Algerian female nationalist and a figure of resistance against the French in the early years of colonialism, and Ahmad Zabana is a famous Algerian militant during the early years of the Algerian Revolution (1954-1956) who was executed by the French guillotine in 1956. ⁵⁶ The names of the heroes were counted from the different pages, even repeated names are counted.



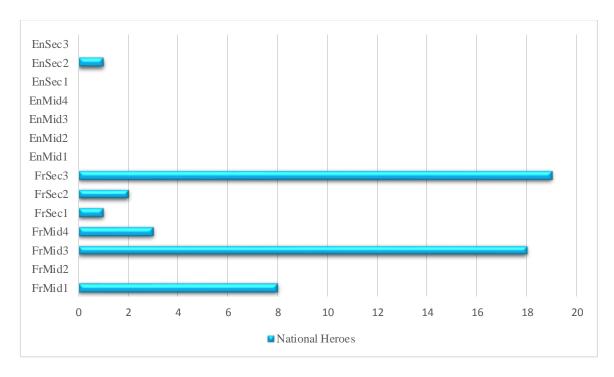


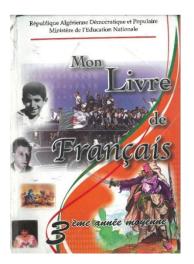
Figure 3. 3: The Number of Algerian Heroes of the Colonial Period in the Linguistic and Pictorial Discourses of the Textbooks

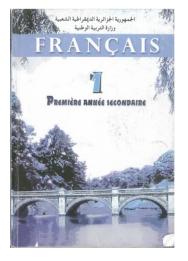
The Figure above demonstrates the emphasis on teaching the homeland through the representation of national heroes and heroines in the French textbooks. It shows the number of national heroes from the colonial period represented in the textbooks across both languages. These heroes are symbols of the Algerian homeland and, consequently, symbols of the nation. The importance of the representation of national heroes in the French textbooks more than the English textbooks hints at the different objectives of the respective languages. French is taught in Algeria as a language of science that should also confirm the Algerian national identity, as confirmed by interviewee 1 (who was involved in drawing up French textbooks). English, on the other hand, is taught as a foreign language that is supposed to bring modernity and to allow Algerians to communicate with the rest of the world, as stated by the President (see Section 1.2.2).

⁵⁷*Moudjahid* is an Arabic word that means combatant, militant, or fighter. It was adopted by the French to describe members of the liberation army in different Muslim countries.

⁵⁸ Moufdi Zakariya is an Algerian Arabophone poet and writer. He was an activist who supported the Algerian Revolution and he is the author of the Algerian national anthem.

The objectives behind teaching French as a language of science and technology and a tool to affirm the Algerian identity can be assumed through the front covers of some textbooks, as the following images show:





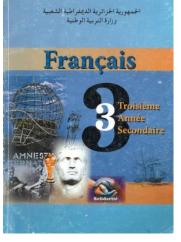


Image 6: Front Cover of FrMid3

Image 7: Front Cover of FrSec1

Image 8: Front Cover of FrSec3

Image 8 shows scientific, as well as historical, images which highlight the objective of teaching a language of science and technology. In addition, image 6 shows the objective of developing the learners' national identity through emphasising the shared colonial history which is represented through pictures of Lala Fathma Nsoumer, le petit Omar, as well as the *Moudjahideen*.⁵⁹ However, many of the French textbooks provide neutral covers as image 7 shows. This highlights the emphasis of (re)constructing the students' national identity through emphasising the representation of the homeland as a main objective of the French language textbooks. Examples of the colonial period's event and heroes are shown to be very important for the representation of the homeland. In other words, the textbooks aim to develop the students' sense of national identity through emphasising their distinctiveness from the French by focusing on representations of the homeland and national heroes during the colonial period.

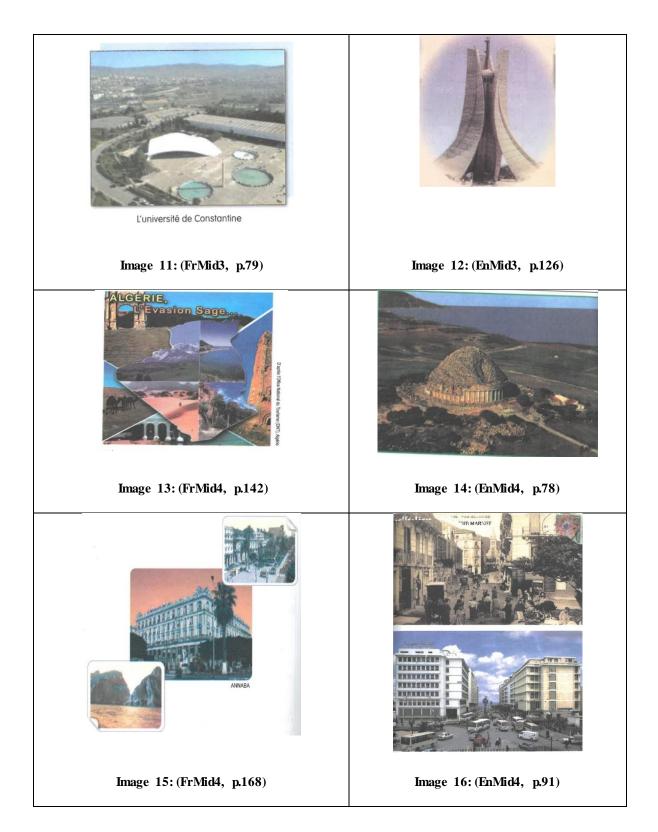
The third and last aspect of the homeland is the national landscape, or what Smith referred to as the 'lakes, mountains, and cities'. Smith claims that nationalism creates "an inner bond between landscape and nation" (Smith, 2002, p. 22). This bond appeared in Western Europe due to the romantic movement which "turned territory into landscape,

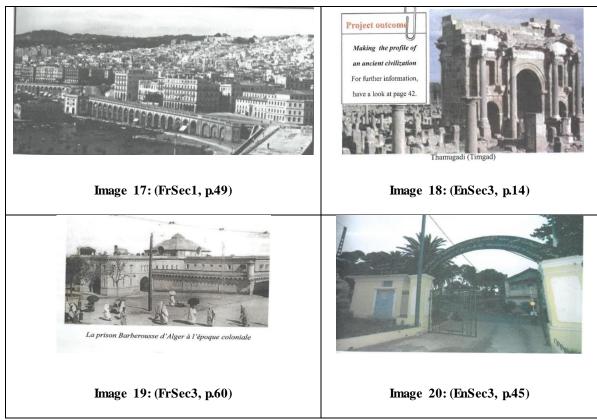
⁵⁹ Le petit Omar was a young Algerian *moudjahid* who undertookliaison activities between the different Algerian combatants during the Battle of Algiers. He was killed in 1957, with other combatants, in the Casbah of Algiers after the French deliberately blew up the house he was hidden in.

terrain into countryside, a subject for music and poetry and an object of individual and collective self-expression" (Smith, 2002, p. 22). The factors that led to this 'symbolic process' or transformation are; first "the naturalisation of the community, in which ethnies became intrinsic components and appeared as 'natural' outgrowths of their historic environment", as well as "the historicisation of territory, through which the community's environment and terrain became part of its history, the sole arena of its heroic exploits and the ever-present witness of the great turning-points of the community's history" (Smith, 2002, p. 22). In fact, as discussed earlier, history is highly significant to the idea of territory as part of national identity. Stephen Daniels confirms that national identities are "co-ordinated, often largely defined, by 'legends and landscapes', by stories of golden ages, enduring traditions, heroic deed and dramatic destinies located in ancient and promised homelands with hallowed sites and scenery" (cited in Hagen, 2006, p. 3). Similarly, in his summary of Edward Said's stance, Al-Mahfedi states that "all events and ideas are historicized and contextualized in time and place, and universal ideas are part of the hegemonic exclusion in which imaginative geography has been a key-factor" (Al-Mahfedi, 2011, p. 2). Therefore, investigating the representations of Algerian landscapes in the textbooks is essential for understanding the represented image of the homeland.

In terms of visuals, Algeria is represented through its famous monuments and cities in the textbooks of both languages as the images below show:

French Textbooks	English Textbooks
Coupole du 5 juillet	
Image 9: (FrMid3, p.79)	Image 10: (EnMid1, p.32)





Overall, the images above show the geographical representations of the homeland. In the French textbooks, these representations emphasise either the historical past of the country (Image 17 and 19), general geographical sites (Image 13 and 15), or scientific institutions (University of Constantine, Image 11). On the other hand, historical representation is absent from visual content in the English textbooks. Instead, they represent the recent cultural heritage of the country like Maqam E'chahid (Image 10 and 12), the Royale Mauritanian Mausoleum (Image 14), or Algeria's classical heritage like the Roman relics of Timgad (Image, 18). Although, Maqam E'chahid is a commemorating monument of the war of independence, it is used in the textbooks of English as one of the cultural sites that could be visited by tourists.⁶⁰

In terms of the textual component of the textbooks, many passages in both French and English describe the beautiful sights and locations in Algeria. However, the English textbooks always include an emphasis on their significance for the national culture, while the French textbooks highlight the historical importance, as the following example from EnMid3 shows:

⁶⁰ Maqam E'chahid is the Martyrs Memorial in Algiers. It was established as an iconic monument for the memory of the martyrs of the Algerian war of Independence.

I'm sitting on the beach in Ziama Mansouriah, Jijel. The sun is shining. I'm drinking a sherbet. I'm here with my Algerian friends, Rayan and Sofiane. They are swimming. The water is crystal clear.

Tomorrow, we are going to take a taxi at 8 a.m. There are many tourist resorts there. We are staying in Bejaia for about a week. So, we'll have plenty of time to visit the main sights: Yemma Gouraya, Boulimat and Aiguades. (EnMid3, p.59)

This text is one of the examples from the English textbooks that describes the beauty of the natural environment in Algeria by mentioning different touristic sights in two different Algerian cities. In addition to this paragraph, many others in the English textbooks teach the learners to admire the Algerian landscape and the cultural heritage of the homeland.

The French textbooks, on the other hand, teach about the beauty of the homeland by using Orientalist texts as the following passage illustrates:

Féerie inespérée et qui ravit l'esprit! Alger a passé mes attentes. Qu'elle est jolie, la ville de neige sous l'éblouissante lumière ! Une immense terrasse longe le port, soutenue par des arcades élégantes. Au-dessus s'élèvent de grands hôtels européens et le quartier français, au-dessus s'échelonne la ville arabe, amoncellement de petites maisons blanches, *bizarres*, enchevêtrées les unes dans les autres, séparées par des rues qui ressemblent à des souterrains clairs. (FrSec1, p.48)

An unexpected fairyland that delights the mind! Algiers has surpassed my expectations. How pretty is the city of snow under the dazzling light! A huge terrace runs along the harbor, held up by elegant arcades. Above that stand big European hotels and the French Quarter, and above that the Arab city spreads out, piles of small *strange* white houses all intermingling with one another, separated by streets that look like lit-up undergrounds. (Translation mine)

The text was written by Guy de Maupassant in 1884 and reflects an Orientalist description of the homeland. In de Maupassant's description of the capital Algiers, the text focuses on his admiration for his favourite features of the city. Amongst these features are the 'hôtels européens' and 'le quartier Français' together with 'la ville arabe'. Therefore, it reflects the colonial juxtaposition between Arab and French architecture in the Algerian capital. The writer's inability to understand the spatial organisation of the 'Arab' city, through his use of the word 'bizarres', reveals 'a space of inequality and difference rather than a space of hybridity and intertwined partnership'' (Al-Mahfedi, 2011, p. 3). For the Orientalist writers, 'the foreign landscape is seen as delightfully picturesque and praised unreservedly, while its inhabitants, their customs and their institutions are shown as strange, bizarre and inferior'' (Goyet, 2014, p. 102). When asked about these representations of Orientalist texts in official Algerian textbooks, Interviewee

1 and 3 were surprised to know that such texts are used, and they emphasised the fact the textbooks were produced in a rush and that the inclusion of such texts was not an intentional act. Unfortunately, instead of developing the students' national identity, Orientalist discourse, perhaps, paradoxically becomes part of the nationalist discourse which creates confusion rather than developing the learners' identity.

To conclude, French and English textbooks represent the homeland differently. In the French teaching materials, the focus is to teach the homeland as the repository of history and anti-colonial memories. These memories are mainly related to the colonial period and the struggle for liberation to highlight this period as fundamental to Algerian identity. On the other hand, the English textbooks prioritise teaching the homeland through its cultural heritage, which is in keeping with trends in other pedagogical approaches to foreign language teaching (Hinkel, 1999; Kramsch, 2009; Kramsch, 2013; Kramsch & Vinall, 2015).

3.5.3. Various Memories of a Common History

According to Smith, myths and memories are major constituents of national identity: "the distinctiveness of nations lies quintessentially in their cultural heritage, above all, in their unique fund of myths, memories and traditions. A nation without a heritage and fund is a contradiction in terms" (Smith, 2002, p. 18). Many other researchers highlight memories, history, and narratives of the past as major parts of national identity. Beger explains that national history "has long played a prominent role in the forging of national identities" (Beger, 2007). Greenwalt and Holohan add that "narratives of the past are one of the primary tools that are used to construct an identity in the present" (2011, p. 60).

Smith suggests that the following elements compose the 'cultural repertoire' of national identity. He argues that the development of these elements "marks one of the key processes in the formation of nation" (Smith, 2002, p. 19):

• Myth of Ethnic Election⁶¹

⁶¹ Ethnic Election is defined by Smith as a religious belief that a group of people are chosen by god to perform a certain task or as being superior over other groups. He says, "the idea of a chosen people is an essentially religious concept. Briefly, it sees a particular people as the vessel chosen by a deity for a special religious task or mission in the world's moral economy. By performing that mission, the elect will be set apart and sanctified, and their redemption, and that of the world, will be assured" (Smith, 1999, p. 335). Although this idea is a myth that used to exist in the past, Smith argues that is has given nationalism "a powerful impetus and model, particularly among peoples in the monotheistic tradition"(Smith, 1999, p. 331).

- Myth of Liberation
- Various Memories.
- The Sacrifices of the Saints and sages.

In this present study, the 'Myth of the Sacred Mission' is added to the Myth of Ethnic Election. Liberating the nation in many postcolonial countries is considered as a sacred mission that provides these populations a sense of superiority despite their lack of power in comparison to the coloniser. It is the mission that helps the recovery of the pre-colonial nation that is believed to exist. In this regard, Smith explains:

Nationalism confers on the members of the nation a sense of their own inward superiority *vis-à-vis* outsiders, in a manner analogous to religious myths of ethnic election. The outsider may be more powerful, wealthier, technologically superior; none the less, 'we' are morally superior, we have richer inner resources, a deeper spiritual understanding, a closer harmony with nature, a better integrated society and so on. This is a syndrome that we find among many non-Western societies and ethnic communities such as the Chinese, Indian and Arab who, faced with Western technological and economic superiority, emphasised their deeper spiritual resources and the moral primacy which they conferred on their communities. (Smith, 1999, p. 337)

In the Algerian context, this mission is adopted in this chapter because associated with the fight against colonialism. For Emmanuel Alcarez, this mission is the corner stone since, "pour exister, la nation algérienne aurait toujours besoin de se référer à son mythe fondateur, le combat mené contre le colonialisme, lutte idéalisée dans la mythologie nationale algérienne" (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 23).

In fact, French textbooks are mostly preoccupied with Algerian memories and history related to the French colonial period and Revolution. As explained above, English textbooks focus on teaching memories of the pre-French colonial period with an emphasis on Algerian culture and traditions. French, British, or American history, on the other hand, is largely absent from the textbooks. The content of the French textbooks glorifies Algerian history, memories, and ancestors and, in the meantime, emphasises the Algerian distinctiveness by teaching about the oppression of French colonialism and the struggle of Algerians.

3.5.3.1. Myth⁶² of Ethnic Election and Sacred Mission

The 'Sacred Mission' is the struggle to achieve autonomy, unity, and identity for the nation. Nationalism "draws much of its passion, conviction and intensity from the belief

⁶² The word 'myth' is used in this thesis to mean the different narratives of the past, stories believed to be true and different stereotypes (Cited in Ali & Holden, 2011, p. 80).

in a national mission and destiny" (Smith, 1999, p. 332). The 'national mission' is to "create and preserve a distinctive, united and autonomous nation", while 'destiny' is to "seek and attain those features of identity (name, shared myths and memories, mass culture), unity (historic territory and economy) and autonomy (common legal rights) that make it [the nation] permanent and keep it unique" (Smith, 1999, p. 333). In the Algerian case, national identity is heavily based on the Sacred Mission of liberating the nation from the French coloniser during the colonial period, while the national destiny must preserve this independence while creating a united identity that overcomes the threat of colonial assimilation.

Recovering national identity was the major feature of the early decades of independence in the 1960s and 1970s. During these years a strong sense of nationalism had to be developed to protect the newly independent nation. Yet, the strong emphasis on the construction of a unified national identity is argued to be one of the main reasons behind the social uprisings of the two following decades (1980s and 1990s). Therefore, the 2000s reforms were meant to (re)construct a modern national identity that would maintain peace and unity in Algerian society. Paradoxically, French-language textbooks continue to use the 'Sacred Mission' model which emphasises national liberation as the main feature of the Algerian identity. The colonial period and the struggle for independence are represented as a basis of the Algerian Law of Education, *Loi* n° 08-04 du 23 Janvier 2008, which states:

L'éducation a pour finalités:

* d'imprégner les générations montantes des valeurs de la Révolution du 1^{er} Novembre 1954 et de ses nobles principes ; de contribuer, à travers les enseignements de l'histoire nationale, à perpétuer l'image de la nation algérienne en affermissant leur attachement aux valeurs représentées par le patrimoine historique, géographique, religieux et culturel de pays. (Loi n° 08-04 du 15 Moharram 1429 correspondant au 23 janvier 2008 portant loi d'orientation sur l'éducation nationale)⁶³

Indeed, French textbooks offer many historical extracts that highlight the sacred national mission of liberating the Algerian nation during the colonial period.

⁶³ From the website of the Journal Officiel of the Algerian government. [Online] available at: <u>https://www.joradp.dz/HAR/Index.htm</u> [Accessed 16 April 2018].

These texts aim at re-constructing a strong sense of national identity, which is aware of the Algerian nation as a distinctive, united, as well as autonomous country. They emphasise patriotism⁶⁴ as a sacred sentiment that is accompanied with the blessings of god. For example, a text entitled *Le 1er Novembre 1954 à Khenchela* written by a key Algerian historian and former nationalist activist, Mahfoud Kaddache (see Appendix C.3), in FrSec3 shows the importance of religious and spiritual experience in the first moments following the launch of the Algerian revolution:

Laghrour, plongé dans de profondes pensées, ne disait rien. Ougad avait les larmes aux yeux. Quant à Benabés, il disait sans cesse: "Allah Ouakbar (Dieu est grand), le grand jour est enfin arrivé". D'un ton solennel, Laghrour nous informa officiellement le jour "J" était fixé pour la nuit du dimanche 31 Octobre 1954. (FrSec3, p. 33)

Laghrour, immersed in deep thoughts, was not talking. Ougad had tears in his eyes. As for Benabes, he kept repeating: "Allah, Akbar (God is great), the big day has finally arrived". In a solemn tone, Laghrour officially informed us that D-day was set for the night of Sunday October 31, 1954. (Translation mine)

The phrase "Allah Ouakbar" or the 'Takbeer', as it is called in Arabic, is commonly used by Muslims in their daily life to mean that 'god is great'. It is used for different reasons, but mainly to remind Muslims that god is always the greatest no matter their physical and moral status, or the situation that they are experiencing. In this extract, Benabés evokes this phrase as a support while he helps to launch a revolution against the French colonial administration and its army. The description of tears in the eyes of Ougad and the solemn moment conveys the difficult situation in which these *Moudjahideen* found themselves but also, at the same time, the self-confidence and spiritual support brought by Benabés through his 'Takbeer'.

The main objective of this mission, as discussed above, is to restore the precolonial national identity. However, some historians claim that the sentiment of nationalism did not exist amongst Algerians before the colonial period and that the natives of this land were savage uncivilised populations. The American historian Alf Andrew Heggoy, for example, claims:

France ruled parts of Algeria for over seventy years before native opposition to the colonial settlements and regime appeared. Institutionalized nationalism of

⁶⁴Patriotism is "the quality of being patriotic; devotion to and vigorous support for one's country" (Oxford dictionary). [Online]

Available at <u>https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/thesaurus/patriotism</u> [Accessed 8 May 2018].

an anti-colonial and Muslim character did not exist for fully one hundred years after the French took Algiers in 1830. (Heggoy, 1968, p. 128)

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These historians are using these pretexts to explain the French 'noble' reasons of colonialism, and to explain that the French are no different from Arabs and Turks who colonised the country before. However, it is vital to explain here that there existed an Algerian nation before colonialism. It is a nation that was politically and economically dependent on the Ottoman Empire (1299-1922) and before Ottomans, Algeria was under the rule of different Islamic Caliphates like the Umayyads (661-750) and Abbasids (750-1258).⁶⁵ In all these Islamic states, Algerians were united with the other populations in the same state under the umbrella of Islam. Religious ties with Arabs and Turks aided Algerians to imagine themselves as part of the wider Muslim community. This is in contrast to the French who, from the first day, showed discrimination against Algerians. Additionally, there were no religious ties between the two populations. As a result, as long as there was French colonialism, there has been different resistance movements led by the likes of Ahmed Bey (1830-1836), Emir Abdelkader (1830s-1843), and Lala Fathma N'soumer (1830-1857) (Boudjedra, 2012).

Among Muslims, liberating the nation could therefore be considered as a holy war and a duty for every member of that nation. Accordingly, Algerian fighters against French colonialism were called *Moudjahideen* from the Arabic word 'Jihad' which, amongst its many meanings, refers the holy war. This belief is represented in the extract above which describes the spirituality of the Moudjahideen as they faced a strong enemy with the confidence that God was with them and will help them. The idea of 'ethnic election', as Smith explained above, represents Algerians as morally superior to the French's powerful army and weapons. Thus, the sense of the Algerian 'inward superiority vis-à-vis French' is implicitly conveyed to learners through this text. This representation of the 'sacred mission' is conveyed in the textbooks to create boundaries between an Algerian identity and a French influence that might be conveyed through French-language instruction. In other words, implementing this representation in the textbooks helps "to draw and reinforce a strict boundary against outsiders who are not part of the ethno-religious community and who therefore have no part in the sacred mission and its duties" (Smith, 1999, p. 337). Furthermore, this representation of the sacred mission emphasises Islam as a main constituent of Algerian identity and Muslims as the ethnically chosen people, the

⁶⁵ States.

fact that excludes non-Muslims, despite the fact that Algeria has been the homeland of Jews and Christians as well.

3.5.3.2. Myth of Liberation

The struggle for liberation is one of the most important stages in Algerian history and a major factor in the development of the modern nation. Smith argues that "two sets of factors have been particularly significant in the development of processes of nationformation. The first is inter-state warfare (which presupposes at least a rudimentary system of polities), the second organised religion with its texts, liturgies and priesthoods" (Smith, 2002, p. 23). This explains the emphasis given to the colonial period in the French-language textbooks. This period is glorified in these textbooks with a constant emphasis on the struggle of Algerians during that period due to the savagery of French colonialism. For example, FrSec3 provides a considerable amount of history related to Franco-Algerian conflict. It features a text entitled 'Delphine pour mémoire' by Didier Daeninckx, which narrates witness accounts of French persecution of Algerians living in Paris during the colonial period (see Appendix C.1). Originally, it is, as stated in FrSec3, an extract from a 1987 issue of the Paris-based périodique, Actualité de l'Emigration. It presents the memory of Delphine Renard; a young girl who was seriously injured when an Organisation Armée Secrète (OAS) bomb attack targeted the house of the French Minister of Culture, André Malraux. Jim House and Neil Macmaster note the widereaching impact of this incident since "the news that a 4-year-old girl had been partially blinded and terribly disfigured, her picture in many papers, provoked a combined feeling of moral outrage and opposition to the OAS" (House & Macmaster, 2006, p. 247). However, the extract in this textbook does not shed light on this story. Instead, it focuses on French oppression of Algerians in metropolitan France, as the following paragraph shows:

Plus loin les deux policiers immobiles scrutent les visages. Ils arrêtent l'homme, fouillent son sac, sans ménagement. L'homme baisse la tête et se laisse bousculer sans réagir. Il lève maintenant les bras au ciel. L'un des policiers le palpe, ouvre la veste, soulève le chandail, puis ses mains descendent, desserrent la ceinture. Le pantalon tombe aux pieds de l'homme pétrifié. Des gens rient, d'autres baissent la tête à leur tour. Je n'ai jamais oublié cet Algérien inconnu, pas plus que l'humiliation, l'impuissance qui nous rendait solidaires. (FrSec3, p. 27)

Further on, the two motionless policemen were scrutinizing faces. They unceremoniously stopped the man, searching his bag. The man lowered his head and let himself be pushed about without reacting. He then raised his arms to the sky. One of the policemen frisked him, opened his jacket, lifted up the sweater, then his hands went down, loosening the belt. The trousers fell down at the feet of the petrified man. Some people laughed, others in turn lowered their heads. I have never forgotten this unknown Algerian, no more than the humiliation and powerlessness that brought us together. (Translation mine)

It seems the main objective of the text is to paint a picture in which the French police and people are represented as persecutors and enemies. Although the author is not Algerian, he sympathised with the Algerian man who was humiliated by the French police for no reason. In addition, the same text, 'Delphine pour mémoire' provides a narrative about the massacres of Algerian protestors in Paris by French police on the 17th October 1961 as another form of bloody oppression (see Appendix C.1). The designers of the textbook overlooked the fact that this text was written to highlight the effects of colonialism on the French *per se*. The tragedy of Delphine Renard "showed how far the crisis of colonialism had now come to affect metropolitan French citizens" (House & Macmaster, 2006, p. 247). The major aim of this text is mainly to represent the French as a 'devilish entity'.

Another massacre committed by the French is described in another extract entitled 'Histoire du 8 Mai 1945' (see Appendix C.2). This text was written by one of the FLN members, Yousfi, which focuses on the brutality of colonial oppression. It aims to show the extent to which colonial France was an engine of oppression and humiliation against Algerians, as the following example shows:

Les troupes françaises quadrillèrent la région. Le ratissage s'opéra sauvagement et sans frein. C'était l'hystérie. Tout se mêla et se confondit. Le sang appela le sang; tout indigène, citadin ou rural, loyaliste ou militant, était considéré comme une victime qu'il fallait abattre sans pitié. (FrSec3, p. 30)

French troops patrolled the area on all sides. The search and sweep operation took place savagely and without restraint. It was hysteria. Everything became a haze. Blood called for blood in revenge; any native, whether town or country-dweller, French loyalist or nationalist militant, was considered a victim who must be shot down without mercy. (Translation mine)

The main aim of these texts is arguably more related to conveying a historical narrative than to teaching the French language itself. This aim was confirmed by one of the interviewees who explained that the French textbooks, FrSec3 specifically, look more like history books. Interviewee 1 explained that the designers have used a large number of such texts with a strong historical focus in the textbooks which, in effect, turned them into history books (see Figure 3.2). When asked why this emphasis on history, he answered saying, "we adopt a system of 'transversalité' between the different subjects in the education programmes [...] and Algerian history is the main topic of history in the third

year of secondary school [...] this is the main reason behind inserting history texts in the French textbook".⁶⁶ Yet, he confirmed that the textbooks are focusing particularly on teaching colonial history as a way to solidify a sense of post-colonial Algerian identity and the Otherness of French identity.

Teaching these painful memories about the past by focusing on the forms of persecution by the Other is conceptualised by Korostelina as a 'chosen trauma'. He further argues that the "reminder about violence committed by the outgroup in the past can provoke strong reactions among ingroup members who did not directly experience victimization" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 44). This trauma can set the learners against the French people and their country, as well as their language and culture. It contributes to the construction of a hostile and cautious national identity. The represented image of the Other as a "homogenous evil entity" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 39) can be perceived as a threat to the learners. The representation of the violent mistreatment of Algerians can even have a negative effect on learners' identity today. Korostelina explains that when the individual's different identities are distracted by conflicts and threats from the outgroup, the individual tends to choose one dominant strong identity that can provide some sort of security and safety using these myths. This salient, contradictory identity "can replace the entire complex of core identities and influence the person's perception of the world" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 39). In fact, I argue, that these controversial representations contribute towards developing a culture which is resistant against French-language learning itself: this will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Most of the historical texts in the French-language textbooks are limited to the colonial period of 1830-1962, with an almost exclusive focus on the period from 1945 to 1962, i.e. in line with the over-concentration on this period within Algerian official representations of recent history. These texts represent the suffering of Algerians and their struggle to liberate their nation during colonialism. In contrast, this representation of Algerian suffering is mentioned just once in the English language textbooks. A text in EnSec2 represents the life of an Algerian family during the colonial period. It describes the poverty of Algerians and the richness of the French in colonised Algeria. The end of the extract provides a clear comparison between French and Algerian children. Indirectly, the text addresses the student-readers by describing their ancestors' misery in their homeland in comparison to the wealth of the European settlers (see the extract in Section

⁶⁶ Translation mine: Interviews were all conducted in Algerian Arabic and French.

3.5.2). This kind of representation is used to iconise the struggle for liberation but, simultaneously, serves as a constant reminder that the French Other as enemies poses a threat to the Algerian Self.

This is the only text in the English textbooks which represents Algerian history in a way that portrays Algerians as victims of French colonialism. It is worth mentioning that despite the fact that interviewees 1 and 3 explained that there should be a "transversalité entre les sujets" in the education programmes of every level, the programmes and textbook designers appear to teach English as a foreign language in a way that separates it from the conflicts of languages and identity. English, as they explained it, is a *lingua franca* and does not constitute a real threat to Algerian identity. Therefore, including any culture in the English textbooks does not, and will not, pose a threat to Algerian identity. As for the absence of colonial history in the English textbooks, Interviewee 3 said "if there is no history, there are other aspects of Algerian culture included". Most of the interviewees refused to give more details.⁶⁷

3.5.3.3. Memories of Golden Ages

As I have established earlier, shared memories of the past are of major importance to the foundation of a nation since they contribute towards identifying the group and creating a link between successive generations. Memories "border on heroic myths, of 'golden age' or golden ages, period of communal greatness, be they political and military, or economic and social, or religious, or artistic and intellectual" (Smith, 2002, p. 19). Park claims that "historical facts and events may be in the past, but shared collective memory interpretation of such collective memories are vividly present, as a reality determining the relationships among different national groups (Park, 2005, p. 10). With his work on 'collective memory', Maurice Halbwachs identified three types of collective memories: autobiographical, historical, and collective memory. He identifies the first as a memory that is "personally experienced in the past"; the second as a memory that can only "be stimulated in indirect ways through reading or listening [...]. In this case, the past is stored and interpreted by social institutions"; and the third and most important memory helps new generations to be "conscious of itself in counterposing its present to its own constructed past" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 24). This collective memory "refers to a past

⁶⁷ The interviewees answered many of the questions by saying that the textbooks were produced quickly and under pressure. They said that they are aware that there are many deficiencies that should be corrected in the next editions of the textbooks.

which plays an integral role in the formation of our identities in the present" (Cheskin, 2012, p. 563). Building on these definitions of collective memory, Smith understands history as a symbolic producer of the idea of homeland. He identifies the historic territory or "the homeland as an extension or even a product of the community's history" (Smith, 2002, p. 22). Therefore, memories and other narratives about the past play an integral part in the (re)construction of the present national identity.

The nation's historical narratives can "be seen as discourses which allow the individual to feel a meaningful connection with 'their' particular nation" (Cheskin, 2012, p. 566). They are important and "essential in the development, establishment, and shaping of social identity and intergroup relations" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 23). This importance given to historical narratives can be one of the main reasons for the use of different historical texts in the foreign language textbooks since language, narration, and education are also major elements in the (re)construction of identity process. Homi Bhabha considers historical narrations as a form of national identity (Buchanan, 2003) and Krostelina argues that they "create a foundation for understanding the meaning and content of social identity, provide a feeling of security through historical continuity, and defend against threats to ingroup identity" (Korostelina, 2013, p. 23). In this present study, it seems that historical narratives provide meaning to, and develop, the students' national identity. Therefore, an analysis of these historical elements in the textbooks is essential.

In addition to the previously mentioned historical extracts, FrSec3 starts with a historical text, written by Dominique Sourdel, entitled 'Histoire des Arabes: Islam et les Conquêtes'. This text deals with the Arab conquest of North Africa and explains how 'les Berbéres' tried to protect their land and fought against Arabs. This is the only text that narrates memories of the pre-colonial period in all of the French and English textbooks. The text mentions the name of a prominent Berber Queen 'Kahina'.⁶⁸ This queen is a prominent figure in one of the important periods in the history of Algeria and stories about her beauty, courage, and resistance against the invading Arabs are still currently an important myth in Algeria.

Les derniers noyaux de résistance appelée Al-Kahina, « la devineresse», dans les montagnes de l'Aurès, l'intérieur du pays fut définitivement soumis à la

⁶⁸Kahina is aqueen of the Aurés Mountains, she was the last Berber queen who ruled over North Africa and fought against the Muslim invasion.

domination arabe vers 709. A cette date, les Berbères avaient cessé de s'opposer aux conquérants et avaient même commencé à participer avec eux à l'administration de la nouvelle province musulmane d'Afrique. (FrSec3, p.12)

In the Aurès mountains, in the country's interior, the last core of resistance, called Al-Kahina, "the soothsayer", was definitively subjected to Arab domination towards 709. At that time, the Berbers had ceased to oppose the conquerors and even began to take part alongside them in the administration of the new Muslim province of Africa. (Translation mine)

Referencing such a legendary figure in a text about the history of Islam and conquest in Algeria, could be seen to be very encouraging to students, reinforcing a sense of national pride towards their ancestors. Although this text is different from the other historical narratives of the colonial period as it focuses on teaching the history of Arabs and Muslims in North Africa as shown in its title above, rather than the role played by Berbers in protecting their land, it emphasises the continuity of Islam as a main component of national identity.

The text provides information about the Arab conquest of Spain in 711 by celebrating the Muslim Tarik Ibn Ziyad as a Berber leader.⁶⁹ It also explains the role Tarik played in the conquest of Spain and that Gibraltar, which takes its own name from the Arabic 'Djabal Tarik' which means the 'mountain of Tarik' as the extract shows, below:

Le gouverneur Arabe Musa ibn Nusayr avait ainsi pris comme lieutenant un chef berbère du nom Tarik Ibn Ziyad. Ce personnage, dès 711, entreprit d'envahir, à la tête d'une troupe de berbères islamisés, le territoire espagnol où le régime visigothique était chancelant. Ayant abordé dans la baie d'Algésiras, près du promontoire rocheux qui allait prendre son nom, Djabal Tarik ... (ou Gibraltar). (FrSec3, p.12-13)

The Arab governor, Musa ibn Nusayr, therefore took a Berber leader as his lieutenant, named Tarik Ibn Ziyad. From 711 onwards, at the head of a troop of Islamized Berbers, Tarik Ibn Ziyad undertook an invasion of the Spanish territory where the Visigoth regime was very weakened. He landed in the bay of Algeciras, near the rocky promontory that would take its name, Djabal Tarik (or Gibraltar)... (Translation mine)

This history helps the learners to identify with their pre-colonial roots; it "provides us [them] with narratives that tell us [them] who we [they] are, where we [they] came from and where we [they] should be going" (Escando, 2004, p. 1). This "unique historic heritage helps differentiate the ingroup from others and contributes to a positive identity"

⁶⁹ There is a dispute between historians over the origins of Tarik. Some argue that he is an Arab from Yemen, others argue that he is a Persian, while the majority affirm that he is a Berber from the Algerian city of Tlemcen. In the textbook FrSec3, as well as in other subjects like history or Islamic education in Algerian schools, Tarik Ibn Ziyad is always presented as a Berber Muslim hero.

(Korostelina, 2013, p. 23). It defines "a trajectory which helps construct the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges" (Escando, 2004, p. 1). These narratives about golden ages can also help learners to consolidate their pride and sense of belonging within the Algerian nation, which in turn helps develop their patriotic sentiments.

However, other important facts about 'Kahina' and 'Tarik Ibn Ziyad' are not mentioned in the text. For example, the text omits the fact that Kahina was killed by Arab men, her body thrown into a well,⁷⁰ and her head sent to the Arab Caliph as a symbol of victory. Similarly, there is no mention of the fact that Tarik was exiled by the Arab Caliph to Damascus four years after his conquest of Spain in 714, where he remained until his death. Although these facts are affirmed historically, the textbooks' designers did not convey them to the learners in order to avoid any kind of hostility between the different ethnic groups in Algeria. Another reason might be consolidating the 'Arab' of Algeria that was declared in 1962 to be the major feature of the Algerian identity. Kahina and Tarik are presented mainly as symbols of resistance who were resisting and leading victories in the golden ages regardless of which group they were resisting. However, in the other historical narratives of the colonial period in the textbooks, the major focus is on the French as the main enemies who must be resisted.

3.5.3.4. The Sacrifices and Sufferings of Heroes

While this chapter has already established that representations of national heroes in the foreign language textbooks contribute to the construction of the homeland (Section 3.5.2), we can add that the representations of these heroes' sacrifices and sufferings are particularly important. Smith stresses the importance of "the sacrifices and sufferings of saints and sages, the great exploits of ancestors and heroes, and the courage, tenacity and fortitude of the common people in the face of alien oppression" as the main points of "ethno-history"⁷¹ (Smith, 2002, p. 19). They "serve as beacons and guides for the present and future of the community" (Smith, 2002, p. 19). In the postcolonial context, the heroes of the nation are symbols of suffering and struggle for the sake of liberating the nation. They are the people who sacrificed themselves to liberate their nations from the oppressor coloniser. Badri Narayan, in the context of postcolonial India, argues that the martyrs who

⁷⁰ This well is in the Aures region which was the capital of the Kahina's reign. It is known today as 'Bir El-Kahina' in Arabic which means the 'well of Kahina'.

 $^{^{71}}$ 'Ethno-History' is a concept used by Smith to describe the historic of the community inherited from generation to generation.

sacrificed themselves for the sake of their country are considered as symbols of identity and "integral constituents in the elevation of the glory and self-esteem of the community" (Narayan, 2006, p. 47). In Algeria, the case is similar as national heroes are the people who sacrificed their lives for the sake of liberating their nation from the French coloniser. About these heroes, Alcarez says, "en faveur de la thèse de l'existence d'une mémoire officielle, le chiffre du million et demi de martyrs est un de ces mythes fondateurs de l'identité nationale algérienne" (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 27).

The Moujahideen and martyrs of the colonial period were, and continue to be, held up by postcolonial leaders as pillars of Algerian national pride, glory, and power. Though these people lived through different types of suppression and oppression from the they strongly resisted colonialism and fought to achieve their nation's French, According to Anderson, it is the idea of the 'nation' itself that "inspires independence. love, and often profoundly self-sacrificing love" (Anderson, 2006, p. 141). The 'selfsacrificing love' that these people have shown and their heroic struggle led them to be rendered as symbols of an independent Algerian identity. Today, most of national institutions, schools, universities and streets in Algeria are named after these national heroes. The representations of these heroes in the public sphere serve as a reminder of the War of Independence and of its symbolic role in bringing independence to the nation. These heroes are symbols of Algerian history, specifically the history of colonialism, which is one of the main factors used by the postcolonial leaders to unify Algerian identity.

This importance given to the history of colonialism and its heroes as the main factors unifying all Algerians started developing since 1970s. After the nationalisation of the fossil-fuel industry in Algeria, President Boumedienne nationalised history "pour ne pas laisser le monopole de l'écriture de la guerre d'indépendance aux français, le pouvoir algérien avait décidé de prendre en charge d'avantage la gestion de la mémoire nationale" (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 29). According to many historians, the importance given to history was also an attempt to legitimise the government and its politics (Remaoun, 2006; Alcaraz, 2017). Hassan Remaoun states "la valorisation de la phase révolutionnaire est par ailleurs, normale. du processus de légitimation de l'Etat somme toute au vu indépendant"(Remaoun, 2006, p. 152). In the 1970s, writing the history of colonialism in Algeria became a priority:

En fait l'interprétation à donner au déroulement de la période révolutionnaire a un impact beaucoup plus direct sur les enjeux de pouvoir qui caractérisent l'Etat indépendant, et cette phase est considérée comme un couronnement, en fait le terme consacré au sens téléologique et hégélien d'une histoire nationale désormais résumée et finalisée par cet événement majeur. (Remaoun, 2006, p. 151)

This segment of history is used not only as a reminder that contributes towards legitimising the Algerian political regime, dominated by FLN members, it also emphasises a feature of Algerian identity that is based on the Algerian history of colonialism (1830-1962).

Aissa Kadri, in his preface to Alcaraz's book, claims that the history of Algerian martyrs and their monuments provides a contextualisation to the Algerian leaders today. He says:

L'histoire des monuments aux martyrs algériens de 1962 à nos jours permet au lecteur d'avoir un panorama des reconstructions de l'histoire *a posteriori* mais aussi des mémoires locales des régions algériennes souvent associées au culte des héros nationaux tout en proposant une contextualisation utile sur l'histoire des cadres politiques, sociaux et culturels de la société algérienne. (Kadri, 2017, p. 11)

Naming Algerian streets after the martyrs of the Revolution, according to Vince, is "an explicit attempt by the post-independence state to inscribe an officially sanctioned collective memory into public space" (Vince, 2015, p. 1). Using a similar argument, Alcaraz states, "la mémoire de ce conflit fait partie du paysage visuel algérien. Depuis 1962, les monuments aux martyrs sont présents dans toutes les villes et les villages algériens" (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 18). Alcarez adds that these practices of 'lieux de mémoire' were inherited from French colonialism. However, he explains, "en France, la nation précède les lieux de mémoire. En Algérie, les lieux de mémoire sont antérieurs à la construction d'un sentiment national et en seraient peut-être des éléments fondateurs" (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 19). Alcarez further argues that "les commémorations organisées dans ces lieux avec leurs rituels sont particulièrement importantes pour le pouvoir qui peut mettre en scène sa légitimité en tant qu'héritier des combattants qui ont mené la lutte pour l'indépendance de l'Algérie" (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 20). Similarly, school textbooks are used as social spaces that aim to construct an Algerian identity through emphasising the symbolism of the war heroes.

A comparison can therefore be drawn between the public commemoration of the war and the use of these memory narratives in French textbooks. The emphasis on canonising the heroes of the Algerian war, who died fighting the French, in foreign language textbooks serves the same role as the martyrs' commemorations in the public space, which aims to develop a united Algerian identity. Alcarez also argues:

La guerre d'indépendance algérienne est une ressource émotionnelle à cause du profond respect de la population pour les *chuhadâ* et les *mujâhidîn*. Face aux difficultés du présent, terrorisme, dégradation de la légitimité de l'Etat à cause de la mauvaise gouvernance, instabilité sociale consécutive aux difficultés de la vie quotidienne d'une partie de la population, le pouvoir réactif de la « guerre des mémoires » contre l'ennemi d'hier pour tenter de reconstruire une unité nationale. (Alcaraz, 2017, p. 33)

Therefore, textual representations complement the imposed political discourse in Algerian public space for the sake of constructing a unified national identity. Throughout the textbooks, the names of Algerian *Moujahideen* are listed, from the early years of colonialism, such as Emir Abdelkader and Lalla Fathma N'soumer, to the martyrs of the revolutionary period, such as Ahmed Zabana, Mustafa Ben Boulaid, le petit Omar, and many others. In addition, different reading exercises in the textbooks are devoted to teaching the sufferings and heroism of these heroes under French oppression.

For example, a text in FrSec3 shows the suffering and courage of imprisoned Algerians during the colonial period (see Appendix C.4). It specifically describes how the French dealt with Algerian women in jails:

Nous supportions la faim, le froid, les poux, les fameuses listes blanches... mais notre grande terreur, c'était « Bouchkara » (l'homme à la cagoule) [...] « l'homme de la cagoule » s'approchait, encadré de deux paras ; le visage et le buste cachés par un sac troué à l'endroit des yeux. Souvent, il se traînait, soutenu par les paras, visiblement amené d'une séance de torture, mains liées derrière le dos. A sa vue, les hommes aussi se retiraient des fenêtres. La peur s'emparait de nous tous. (FrSec3, p.35)

We endured hunger, cold, lice, famous white lists ... but our great terror was "Boushkara" (the hooded man) [...] "the hooded man" approached, flanked by two parachutists; his face and chest were hidden by a bag with holes pierced for the eyes. Often, he could barely walk, and was carried by the paras, clearly brought out from a torture session, hands tied behind his back. When they saw him, the men also moved away from the windows. Fear would take hold of us all. (Translation mine)

These scenes of resistance, despite the fear and repression experienced by the learners' ancestors, are designed to foster a great deal of respect for previous generations and a sense of responsibility to protect the nation and its independence, for which their ancestors suffered. Although this text highlights the harsh life of Algerian national fighters in colonial jails, it also emphasises the central importance of the colonial period

in the construction of Algerian identity after independence. In focusing on this period of brutal decolonisation, the textbook enhances the students' affective connection with previous generations, creating the imagined link between the different members of the Algerian community across time and space.

In addition, the same text explains the important role played by Algerian women in bringing independence to the nation through this depiction of their suffering and courage in the colonial period. In this respect, Vince states that "the War of Independence created the conditions to reshape how women were used to imagine the nation – or rather, a series of nations" (Vince, 2015, p. 74). Through their participation in the War of Independence, Algerian women had to be a significant part of a renewed definition of Algerian identity after independence (see Chapter 5). The women represented in the French text are iconicised as heroes because of their suffering in jails. Furthermore, these women used patriotic songs and legends as a form of resistance, as shown in the following extract:

Elle dansait et chantait et nous battions des mains. T. nous apprit bon nombre de chansons patriotiques, et c'est la vieille H, boiteuse énigmatique, qui avant de nous endormir, nous racontait le plus de légendes, d'une voix grave, un peu pour nous bercer. (FrSec3, p.35-36)

She was dancing and singing and we were clapping hands. T. taught us many patriotic songs. And was old H, enigmatically lame, who used to tell us most legends before we went to sleep, in a deep voice, to lull us a little bit. (Translation mine)

Stories about the past and patriotic songs are represented as the only way that could help female prisoners overcome their terrible imprisonment and strengthen them to challenge the enemy. Anderson argues "nothing connects us all but imagined sound" (Anderson, 2006, p. 145). Sheyholislami confirms that patriotic songs, during the struggle for national emancipation in particular, "are used to reinforce the idea of blood sacrifice in the name of the nation. Patriotic songs are among the most emotionally charged national symbols that contribute to the creation of national identities and nations" (Sheyholislami, 2011, p. 122). To a large extent, this extract in the French textbook can foster the learners' patriotic sentiments. Although, it also explains the sufferings, fear, and solidarity of the prisoners, in addition to the coloniser's oppression.

Contradictorily, the text does not represent these female heroes the same way men are represented. Indeed, it we compare the representation of these women and their male counterparts in jails, we can identify a major difference. Most of the women in the extracts above are represented as weak, scared, and frightened. On the other hand, the men are represented as strong, challenging, and unafraid of dying for the sake of the nation. In a text in FrMid3, for example, a letter written in a colonial prison by the Algerian martyr, Ahmed Zabana, is presented to the students. In his letter, Zabana explains to his parents that he is not afraid of death for the sake of his nation. He goes as far as to ask them not be sad for his death, but to be proud of him (see Appendix C.5). These biased representations, which are discussed further in Chapter Five of this thesis, have since been consolidated by the official discourse of the FLN after independence.

Algerian women were encouraged by the first President of the Algerian republic, Ben Bella, to support the economy of the country by leaving the private sphere and working side by side with men. In one of his speeches in 1963, Ben Bella declared, "the march [towards socialism] cannot take place without [the Algerian woman]. Out of twelve million Algerians, seven million and maybe more are women" (Cited in Vince, 2015, p. 143). In another speech of the same year, he addressed men saying, "liberate your women so they can take up their responsibilities; by leaving women prisoners, it is half of our people, half of our country which is paralysed. Don't think the veil will protect them. The revolution will protect them" (Cited in Vince, 2015, p. 143). Unfortunately, on the contrary, the colonial-era patriarchy maintained its place in post-1962 Algerian society. It cannot be denied that French language textbooks challenge this patriarchy by providing this representation of women as war heroines. It provides women with some of their rights to be recognised as war heroines who played a major role in bringing independence to the nation. Yet, this was not the case in all textbooks (Further discussion is provided in Chapter 5).

The representation of heroes is very important for the process of identity (re)construction. As Smith argues, it can model national identity in the form of the ideal citizen: "it is in the annals of nations, more particularly after nationalism had hallowed them, that the ideal collective self-sacrifice, and the cult of the 'glorious dead', becomes the hallmark of the ideal of the citizen-nation" (Smith, 2002, p. 19). Teaching about the heroes of the revolutionary war leads them to be forever respected by the Algerian population as the icons of Algerian nationalism.

3.5.4. Common Culture

Culture is one of the main features that differentiates one nation from another. It contributes to formation of a solid bond between different generations within the national community. Smith claims that it is because of "a *common public culture* and *education* that the dead, the living and the yet unborn are felt to be bound together into a single community of citizens" (Emphasis mine, Smith, 2002, p. 20). Education, generally, is fundamentally important in transmitting culture as it is "one of the essential foundations of society that ensures transition of systematized knowledge, skills and competencies to future generation" (Régnier & Mikhaleva, 2014, p. 118). Language instruction, specifically, is amongst the main transmitters of culture and designers of identity. Since achieving independence in 1962, Algerians have considered western culture as a threat to national identity and it is believed that it can bring back the hegemony of the former coloniser. Accordingly, it is very important to consider the cultural content in the textbooks under analysis, as it will highlight how these representations contribute to the process of (re)constructing Algerian identity.

As mentioned earlier in Chapter 1, in the first decade of independence the newly formed state was dependant on French, British, and Middle Eastern teaching materials in its schools (see Section 1.2.2). Even the teachers were either French to teach the French language or Middle Easterners to teach Arabic and English.⁷² All these teachers had the right to choose their preferred materials for their lessons. Therefore, many cultures were taught in Algerian schools. Yet, the French language in the 1960s was still the main language of instruction and, therefore, French culture maintained priority over other linguistic cultures. However, following President Bournedienne's Algerianisation of teaching materials in the 1970s, textbooks used in schools became a local product that contributed, alongside the Arabisation, to the (re)construction of a post-Independence Algerian identity.

Many textbooks were produced locally from the 1970s till the 2000s. When the textbooks under analysis were produced, the previous minister of education and the initiator of the education reforms of 2003, Benbouzid Boubakeur, claimed that one of the positive aspects of these reforms was the local production of the teaching materials by Algerian experts that are knowledgeable about Algerian society and its culture (Benbouzid, 2006). All the designers of the French and English textbooks are Algerians.

⁷² Mainly from Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Iraq.

In fact, the Ministry of Education took into account the nationality and origins of both the authors of the educational texts *and* the historical and literary extracts in the French textbooks. These writers, together with the textbooks' editors, are believed by the Ministry to all be involved in (re)constructing the Algerian identity and the Ministry set these parameters for their choice of the text accordingly.

The interviewees who participated in this research have explained that all the editors of the textbooks are Algerians and one of their key tasks was to first check the nationalities of the writers whose texts would be included in the textbooks. The priority was given to Algerians, and then North Africans, and finally writers of any other nationality. However, this criterion was only applied to the French textbooks because "it is a priority to include our culture first... don't you think so? ... If there are texts written by Algerians in the French language that could be used to teach the French language and Algerian culture... why should we use other texts?", explained Interviewee 1. When asked about the inclusion of French culture, he answered "No... you know about our common history with the French...We cannot teach their culture in our schools ... the Ministry won't accept this". According to the interviewees, English textbooks, on the other hand, were not subject to such strict criteria for many reasons. First, the English textbooks do not contain many literary texts because of the attainment level of students is slightly lower in English than French. In addition, it is more difficult to find texts by Algerian writers in English. And most importantly, Algerian identity was not directly threatened by British or American imperialism.

Therefore, investigating the national origins of the writers whose texts are provided in the French and English textbooks will help us to clarify which linguistic culture is most prevalent. Figures 3.4 and 3.5 below illustrate that the majority of authentic textual extracts, in both the French and English textbooks under analysis, are written by French, British, or American writers respectively.⁷³

⁷³ The author of every single text is counted once even if the textbooks provide more than one text written by the same writer.

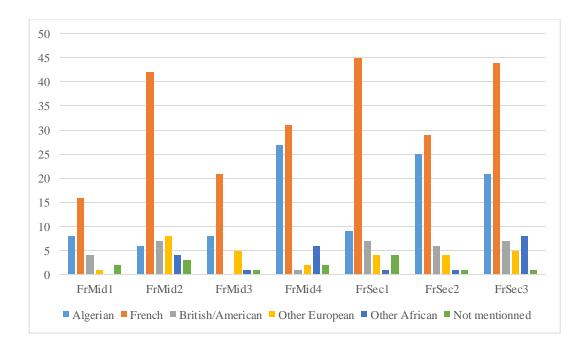
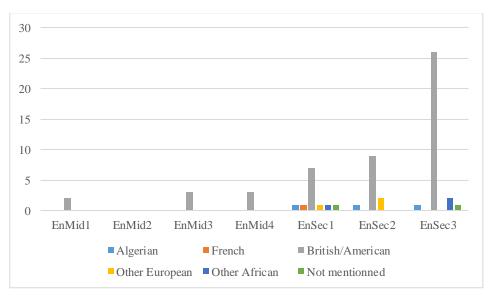
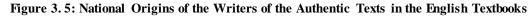


Figure 3.4: National Origins of the Writers of Authentic Texts in the French Textbooks





When Interviewee 1 was asked about this domination of foreign writers in the textbooks, he explained that most of the extracts in the textbooks, specifically French ones, are scientific texts that do not convey any specific culture. His view was that teaching foreign languages, and French specifically, has merely scientific objectives and this is the main reason behind the focus on scientific texts. The interviewee also explained that, after receiving the programmes for the textbook, the designers are required to prioritise an Algerian or Maghrebi writer who has written a text on the target topic. If they do not find one, they can use any text written by an author of any nationality as long

as the text does not include French culture or is considered to be a threat to Algerian identity.

The figures confirm, to a certain extent, what the interviewees said about the small number of literary texts inserted in English language textbooks in comparison to their French counterparts. However, a contradiction appears in the number of texts written by French authors in the French textbooks. Although the Ministry of Education imposes strict criteria on choosing the national origin of the writers whose authentic texts are used in the textbooks, there nonetheless continues to be a French-cultural hegemony in terms of the number of authors. This hegemony is paradoxically believed, by the people involving in the process of textbooks production, to convey the French influence through the textbooks. However, as discussed earlier and as Figure 3.4 shows, there are nonetheless a significant number of texts written by Algerian authors in the Frenchlanguage textbooks. These texts represent Algerian culture through a focus on the bitterness of the colonial past. In fact, many of these texts written by Algerians are historical texts rather than literary ones. Amongst the writers of these texts are M'hamed Yousfi (see Appendix C.2) and Mahfoud Kaddache (see Appendix C.3). A few texts by North African or Middle Eastern writers like, Out El Kouloub and Andrée Chédid are offered in the French textbooks, while Maghrebi writers are completely absent, although, as explained above, Interviewee 1 claimed that their texts have priority after Algerian writers.

As for the texts written by French authors, most of them are scientific texts which do not convey a specific culture. Some of these texts talk about astronomy, robots, geography, or many other scientific texts, which reinforces the idea that French is the language of science. Few of these texts are historical texts that represent the colonial period in Algeria (see Appendix C.1). Another important category of the texts written by French writers are some Orientalist texts which describe the beauty of Algeria and its specific characteristics which reinforce national pride from an outsider's perspective:

Alger n'est pas seulement une "grande ville" européenne au bord d'un golfe africain, c'est une ville moderne, mêlée et fondue avec une vielle ville barbaresque. (FrSec1, p.48)

Algiers is not only a European "large city" at the edge of an African gulf, it is a modern city, that mixes and blends into an old city of the Barbary Coast. (Translation mine) This short passage is written by a French writer, Louis Bertrand, during the colonial period in 1930. Bertrand expresses his impression of the capital, Algiers, in this text. The main pedagogical objective behind this text is to teach "la situation géographique; Le statut de la ville; La description par quartier; L'histoire de la ville" (FrSec1, p.48). In this case, when this text was written is not important in the follow-up activities because the main aim behind teaching this paragraph is to teach the learners about different facts related to the Algerian capital, Algiers. Paradoxically, the authors of the textbooks have used materials by Orientalist writers like Bertrand and Guy de Maupassant (see Section 3.5.2).

It is Bertrand who states that: "The French Africa of today is Roman Africa [...] As Frenchmen, we can only rejoice that it is so. Returning to Africa, we have done nothing more than recuperate a lost province of Latinity" (Cited in Benjamin, 2003, p. 252). In the inserted passage in the textbooks, Bertrand is claiming that the beauty of Algiers lies in the fact that it is a European modern city blended with a 'barbaresque' old city. This expression devaluates the learners' self-affirmative pride in their Algerian identity that is stated to be the major aim of all textbooks. This kind of text reflecting an Orientalist cultural perspective arguably creates confusion more than developing the learners' identity. The main aim behind inserting these extracts in the textbook is to teach the learners about the reasons behind the author's impression of the capital, in the follow-up questions. This controversial representation of the nation as subordinate and the natives as barbaric. This is a kind of devaluation of independent Algerian identity and a revaluation of the French colonial Other through using the words 'barbaresque' and 'moderne'.

The word *barbaresque* for example is defined in the Larousse dictionary as, "De l'ancienne Barbarie (Afrique du Nord)".⁷⁴ Overall, the dictionary provides the following three definitions of the word *Barbarie*:

1. Caractère de quelqu'un ou de quelque chose qui est barbare, cruel. Féroce. 2. État d'une société qui manque de civilisation. 3. Action barbare, cruelle.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ [Online]

Available at: <u>https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/barbaresque/7927?q=barbaresque#7886</u> [Accessed 11 June 2018].

This confirms the colonialist pretexts of the 'mission civilisatrice'. Therefore, these textbooks confirm this false pretext of the French. In the meantime, they contradictorily aim at developing the learners' identity by representing the French as the cruel oppressor and the resistance fighters as heroes of the nation. This representation of the Self through the lenses of the Other in one of the texts can affect the (re)construction of national identity that is, ostensibly, intended to be constructed through other pictorial and linguistic discourses of the textbooks. The content of this extract maintains a sense of colonial dominance and hegemony over the natives by adopting these representations.

Many theorists problematize the representation of the Self through the Other and its effect on identity. Edward Said opens his 1978 book Orientalism with the famous quote from Karl Marx: "they cannot represent themselves; they must be represented" to critique the Marxist conception of the Orient. Such representations permeate Western cultures. Said claims that the concept of the Orient is created by the West as one of the "deepest and most recurring imagines of the Other" (Said, 1985, p. 1). He further argues that "European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient as a sort of surrogate and even underground self' (Said, 1985, p. 3). This clearly describes the western need for the Orient to construct and strengthen a sense of western identity. Noel Salazar confirms that "the linear and uninterrupted construction of the Orient as Other over many centuries became the basis and rationale for colonial oppression and served to strengthen the identity of Western culture" (Salazar, 2008). In other words, there exists a Western need for dominance and hegemony in order to gain power over the Orient. As Said explains: "the relationship between Occident and Orient is a relationship of power, of dominance, of varying degrees of a complex hegemony" (Said, 1985, p. 5). This hegemony is clearly expressed in the textbooks by choosing mostly foreign texts in local textbooks that aim to teach the learners how to express and situate themselves in relation to the Other. An Other that is mainly, although not exclusively, French.

In addition, Homi Bhabha helps to explain Said's emphasis on domination, describing the colonial subjectivities as a process that is "never fully perfectly achieved" (Loomba, 1998, p. 232). In this context, Loomba explains:

Available at: <u>https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/barbarie/7928?q=barbarie#7888</u> [Accessed 11 June 2018].

Drawing upon both psychoanalytical and post-structuralist notions of subjectivity and language, Homi Bhabha suggests that colonial discourses cannot smoothly 'work', as *Orientalism* might seem to suggest. In the very process of their delivery, they are diluted and hybridised so that the fixed identities that colonialism seeks to impose upon both the masters and the slaves are in fact rendered unstable. In discursive terms, there is no neat binary opposition between the colonial subjects can negotiate the cracks of dominant discourses in a variety of ways. (Loomba, 1998, p. 232)

For post-structuralist researchers "human subjects are not fixed essences, but are discursively constituted. Human identities and subjectivities are shifting and fragmentary" (Loomba, 1998, p. 233). This discursively constituted identity, reiterated on a daily basis, is an important tool in the process of (re)constructing national identity at an individual level. Furthermore, this provides the producers of discourse with the power of shaping people's collective identities. If there is a shared colonial history, the content of the textbooks of the former coloniser's language in the postcolonial country should be taken cautiously.

In Algeria, for example, although the French language textbooks are local products, the conception of national identity seems to be still caught up in the maelstrom of the postcolonial paradoxes. French cultural supremacy was imposed during 130 years of colonialism, with a partial goal to assimilate Algerian identity into a broader francophone one. This is a significant reason for an identity crisis from which the Algerian people suffered and continue to suffer in a country where "pitching Arabophones against Francophones, Berberophones against Arabophones, Islamists against secularists, and social and cultural conservatives ('tradition') against progressives ('modernity), in a zero-sum struggle to define the language and culture of Algeria" (Benkhaled & Vince, 2017, p. 243). This identity crisis is pushed further through the content of the French textbooks that aim at teaching the French language without its culture considering this latter as a persistent threat to the Algerian identity. In the meantime, the same textbooks provide Orientalist discourses that maintain the threat by representing Algeria as part of Europe inhabited by uncivilised natives.

English textbooks, on the other hand, in addition to teaching national culture in a few pages of the textbooks, devote a considerable amount of space to teaching the Other's culture. As Figure 3.5 above shows, texts written by Algerian authors are almost absent from the textbooks, while the main focus is instructing the English-language through

British and American cultures. EnSec1 alone contains up to 11 texts and up to 20 visuals describing British and American cultures and their famous people. National culture, on the other hand, is represented only in one passage and 4 visuals.⁷⁶ This domination of the foreign culture at the expense of the national one can be considered as one of the main weaknesses in the English textbooks which are, ostensibly, a 'third space' where learners can express themselves and communicate with others in a foreign language, beyond the colonial bind of French vs. Arabic.

3.6. Conclusion

Teaching the nation, working to (re)construct national identity, is one of the important aims of education. Foreign language education, as many of the interviewees involved in the process of producing Algerian textbooks confirmed, aims to develop an Algerian national identity as confirmed by the 23 January 2008 Law on the goals of national education (see Section 3.5.3.1). Even literature on national identity confirms the importance of patriotic sentiments in the process of identity development. This sentiment is defined as "an ideology- or a set of attitudes and beliefs - that refers to individuals' attachment and loyalty to their nation and country" (Kelman, 1997, p. 166). Referencing Zamir and Horowitz (2013), Bar Tal and Ben Amos (2004) claim that "people seek to create a group identity to attain the psychological safety necessary to their emotional stability and psychological wellbeing, just as individuals are preoccupied with their personal identity; people wish to reinforce their identity as a single psychological identity by way of national symbols" (Zamir & Horowitz, 2013, p. 203). This attitude explains the importance of patriotism which is closely linked to nation (Zamir & Horowitz, 2013, p. 203). Accordingly, patriotism is of major significance when analysing national identity. It is considered to be part of national identity whether it is through the expression of material objects associated with historical facts (Kaplan, 1994) through or acknowledgement of historical events as shown through textbooks. The lack of this patriotic sense can lead to different social problems (Nathanson, 1993, p. 21).

The analysis of the textbooks and the interviews with the textbook producers show that teaching French in Algeria is devoted to (re)constructing national identity to avoid the threat of the re-domination of the French culture in the postcolonial period. This 'haute surveillance' over the production of the teaching materials in French, as it is

⁷⁶These numbers are different from one textbook to another.

described by one of the interviewees, can arguably lead to creating more negative than positive effects on the students' identity. Therefore, I suggest, that the content of the textbooks can lead to identity confusion and create resistance against French language and culture. This resistance will be the result of considering everything French as a threat to the Algerian identity as Karina V. Korostelina explains:

The ingroup tends to perceive the outgroup as a threat in several contexts of intergroup relations such as the following: (a) *unequal economic, cultural, or political positions of ethnic groups*; (b) *minority status of ethnic groups*; (c) *memories of the former domination of the outgroup* and attribution of the desire for revival. (Emphasis mine, Korostelina, 2013, p. 37)

In fact, all aspects highlighted by Korostelina are highly emphasised in the textbooks. These possible effects resulting from this emphasis on the negative representation of the Other in the French textbooks will be discussed further in the next chapter.

English textbooks, on the other hand, show more interest in the British and American nations and their cultures. They support the notion that English is the international *lingua franca* and a non-threat to a local Algerian identity because of the absence of any shared colonial history. Nevertheless, teaching only about the Other can confuse the learners and affect their perception of the Self. Therefore, the textbooks of both foreign languages, although aiming to (re)construct the Algerian national identity, arguably, contribute towards creating identity confusion and resistance to the foreign language itself.

Chapter 4: Promoting Cultures of Resistance and of Peace in Foreign-Language Textbooks

I am thinking about how schools are ill prepared to address the history of identities that imperialism has bestowed upon us, I think we need to begin with the intersection between imperialism's legacy and education within our own lives. (Willinsky, 1998, p. 13)

4.1. Introduction.

This chapter explores the cultural component of Algerian textbooks of French and English. It analyses the effects of the colonial past on teaching culture in foreign language classrooms. This chapter argues that, on the one hand, the French-language textbooks emphasise teaching Algerian culture through the narrative of anti-colonial resistance, which I refer to as a 'culture of resistance'. On the other hand, English-language textbooks emphasise to a greater extent a cultural content that reflects the values of peace and the virtues of globalisation that I refer to as a 'culture of peace'. In the French texts the 'culture of resistance' is, I argue, a colonial legacy that is embedded within the historical representations in the textbooks. In this chapter, the 'culture of resistance' is used to define the cultural component in the foreign language textbooks that emphasises the legacy of anti-colonial resistance. Most of these representations emphasise oppressive colonial-era policy and the suffering and misery of the Algerians as a way to make the learners resist any sort of French linguistic or cultural (re)-domination that might come through learning French as a foreign language. Furthermore, the culture of resistance in these textbooks reconstructs a sense of Algerian identity which is in opposition to French culture. This latter is presented mainly through representations of the history of French colonialism in Algeria. As a result, the textbooks focus on affirming a sense of Algerian distinctiveness rather than developing the students' linguistic and cultural competences in the foreign language. This disregard for the target culture in foreign language classrooms is argued by many researchers to be problematic (Brooks, 1968; Thanasoulas, 2001; Kramsch, 2009; Kramsch, 2013). English textbooks, on the other hand, focus to a greater extent on a values-based education, which helps to develop the students' intercultural skills. It can be suggested that the promotion of resistance against the cultural hegemony of the former coloniser in French instructional materials contributed to the crisis that the French language is witnessing in Algeria today. Accordingly, this chapter shows how,

instead of constructing linguistic peace, the teaching of foreign languages might have actually contributed to the escalation of a linguistic conflict among Algerians.

4.2. The Objectives of Teaching French and English in Algeria

In addition to the previously discussed linguistic rivalry in Algerian education (see Section 3.3), this section explains the stated objectives of teaching French and English and their impact on developing 'antagonistic identities'. If a comparison is to be made between the stated objectives in the textbooks of both English and French, it can be easily noticed that English language textbooks aim to embrace a hybrid intercultural space that affirms the Self and promotes tolerance of the Other, as the following extract (originally in Arabic) states,

In conclusion, the cultural content (of the textbooks) will enable you to learn about other cultures in order to be conscious about the differences between them. This does not mean that some cultures are better than others. If you compare them you will find some simillarities and differences with your own culture which you would like to consolidate. You are also looking for the openness to others and learning their culture which enables you to know them and to know yourself. (Translation mine, EnMid1, p.5)

French, on the other hand, is taught mainly as a medium of education. The textbooks of French aim at teaching the language with an emphasis on "Paffirmation de soi" (Ministère de l'Education Nationale, 2005), as the French curriculum of FrSec1 confirms. This is also confirmed by the interviewees who emphasised the fact that French is only taught as a scientific language, while English is taught as a means of fostering interculturality (interviewee 1 and 2). In addition, all interviewees denied that the government intends to replace French as a second language with English and, in contrast, affirmed that Algeria needs both languages to achieve modernity.

However, in recent years, the rivalry between the two languages has played another role in the conflict of language and identity in Algeria. English language is now considered as a threat to the position of French in postcolonial Algeria (Fattani, 2017). After independence, Algerian elites expected a total hegemony of Arabic as the first language of the country, with English replacing French as the second language (Benrabah, 2007, pp. 193-194). In effect, as discussed in the previous chapter, the government introduced the possibility of replacing French by English as the first mandatory foreign language in primary schools in 1993 (Benrabah, 2007). At that time, Algerians had the chance to choose either French or English as the mandatory first foreign language. The result was that most Algerians refused to choose English for their children because they believed French to still be an integral part of Algerian identity. English, on the other hand, was not – and is still not – considered to be a component of Algerian cultural identity (Slimani, 2016, p. 34) as Britain has weaker historical ties with Algeria.

Today's Algeria witnesses a different status. Younger people have started to show interest in learning English as their second language, and many Algerian universities and governmental institutions changed their official name from French to English in 2016 (see Section 3.3).⁷⁷ This interest in English is arguably due to the 'culture of peace' promoted in the English language classrooms, in addition to many other factors. Amongst these factors are the economic powers of the United States and Great Britain, as well as the expansion of English language as the world's *lingua franca*. In addition, English textbooks, as the analysis below shows, teach the different cultures of English-speaking countries and many others in addition to the UK's or the USA's. The French language textbooks, on the other hand, teach a 'culture of resistance' against French cultural hegemony through an emphasis on colonial history which, I argue, has led to the development of a culture of resistance against the learning of French. In addition, by representing the French purely as the former coloniser and by failing to address the cultures of other French-speaking countries, the French-language textbooks have arguably led to the creation of 'French' as a highly negative entity in learners' minds.

4.3. Representations of Culture in the French Textbooks

Resistance is one of the colonial legacies that still exist in many postcolonial countries. The concept of resistance is defined as "the kind of actions which dissolve, undermine, question or challenge [...] subordination- and ultimately, produce non-subordinate relations"(Vinthagen, 2007). This section will explore the persistent effects of the colonial legacy on Algerian pedagogical policy. It will explain how resistance, as a colonial legacy, was transmitted to Algerians through French colonial education. Then, an analysis of the French textbooks within the Algerian school system will be offered to unveil the discursive 'culture of resistance', and its role in escalating the Algerian 'resistant' attitude against learning French. This will help to explain a reason for the crisis that the French language is facing in today's Algeria (see Section 3.3).

⁷⁷ The University of Batna, University of Biskra, Algiers University Ben youcef ben Khadda, Algerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of National Defence.

4.3.1. French Culture as Resistance-Inspiring

The concept of resistance in a French-language context is usually linked to the French resistance movements against the German Nazis in the Second World War. A simple visit to France today can reveal how much the French resistance is a source of pride for people. Dozens of resistance museums can be found in different cities across the country to teach new generations and foreign visitors about the courage of the French in saving the honour of France. Since "culture is a product of history" (Wa Thiong'o, 1997, p. 17), resistance is now one of the main values of the French culture. Although the concept of 'French resistance' appeared in the period from 1940 to 1944, the French spirit of resistance can be traced to many different events years before WW2. For example, resistance can be embedded into every word of the French motto 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité', which appeared first during the French revolution (1789-1799), since it was employed to install the values for which French citizens struggled against violence and repression during the years of their revolution. At that time, French people showed resistance to harsh social circumstances, heavy taxation, and injustice imposed by the nobles and aristocrats for years. Their major aim was to establish equality and emancipation with a French Republic. Famous events of resistance in the French revolution are, for example, the Storming of the Bastille (14th July 1789) and the Women's March on Versailles (5th October 1789). This resistance aimed not only at establishing equality and emancipation for the French people, but also constituted an early precursor for human rights with the Déclaration des droits de l'Homme (1789). With this transnational perspective, the French revolution can be considered to be one of the most important historical events in the world.

The French resistance can also be seen through the persistence of the revolution after the establishment of the first French Republic in 1792. Although the revolution ended the monarchy, the young Republic was characterised by a high rate of violence that led to the establishment of the Reign of Terror, or *La Terreur* from 1792 until 1794, during which many innocent people were executed or tortured. This violence led French people to carry on their revolution and resistance until the coup of Napoleon Bonaparte, who established the French Consulate in 1799. Bonaparte later ended the first republic by establishing the First French Empire in 1804. In 1814, Napoleon's empire fell and Louis XVIII restored the monarchy and regained the throne. This Bourbon Restoration remained until the French people engaged in another form of resistance in July 1830

known as *Les trois journées de Juillet*. The French *résistants* fought for the rights of liberty and equality in France. 1848 witnessed another act of resistance which is known as the second French revolution against the monarchy. This revolution led to the end of the French monarchy and the establishment of the Second French Republic that lasted for less than three years (1848-1851).⁷⁸

However, in the context of the present day, the most famous acts of French resistance came during the Nazi occupation of France, covering the north of France or *zone occupée*. At that time, the south, or *zone libre*, and North African colonies were transformed into a Vichy regime. The Vichy government lasted in France until 1945 when the Nazis were defeated, with General Charles de Gaulle being recognised as the leader and icon of the French Resistance.⁷⁹ During that time, the *résistants* fought not only against Hitler's Nazis but also against their own government because of its collaboration with the Nazis and its reluctance to fight for liberty. The French resistance took several forms such as "direct action against the Nazis and their Vichy allies, people wore red, white and blue (the colours of the French flag), listened to the BBC (which was illegal), or offered aid to the persecuted Jewish population" (Cobb, 2009, p. 4). This resistance is one of the major features of WW2, which is taught in many history lessons all over the workd.

For the European Settlers of Algeria, the tradition of resistance has historically been more complicated because of their ambivalent relationship with the French metropole. On the one hand, a small group of *pieds-noirs* resisted Vichy which led to the end of its control of Algeria in November 1942. On the other hand, in the post-war period, when the metropole was looking to appease growing Algerian nationalism with policies of political reform, the *pieds-noirs* resisted any law being enacted that would improve the wretched life of Algerians in order to maintain their white supremacy and they feared being politically equal to the Muslim majority (Belmekki, 2013, p. 117). Patricia Lorcin says, in this regard, that French settlers "resented many of the colonial policies originating in France, which they felt were being foisted upon them, and if they did not actually block them they often ignored them" (Lorcin, 1995, p. 10). In one famous

⁷⁸ For further details about French history during that period see (Haine, 2000).

⁷⁹ The Vichy regime ended in Algeria when the French resistance supported Allied soldiers in November 1942.

incident during the war of independence itself, the French prime minister in 1956, Guy Mollet, named General Catroux to implement government policies in Algeria as a Minister Resident (Evans, 1997, p. 28). The *pied-noirs* resisted even this initiative. When Mollet visited Algeria in February 1956, "he got a rough reception. Pelted with tomatoes and rotten eggs, Mollet gave way to the settlers' anger by rescinding the appointment of Catroux" (1997, p. 28). The French people still remember 6th February 1956 as *la journée des tomates*.

A few French people, living in France or settled in Algeria, resisted French colonialism or called for an independent Algeria. They sided with the colonised subjects against their own country (Evans, 1997, p. 3). The resistance of these French people is examined in Martin Evans' book, The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War (1954-1962). Through his interviews with some of the resisters, Evans explains that amongst the main reasons for this opposition to the Algerian War are the memories of the struggle against the Nazis in the Second World War and the values that the French people gained from this war. These people joined the Algerian War of Independence to defend the French values of Liberté, fraternité, equalité. The 'key component' of their motivation was, in Evans's words, "what they thought French values really were and should be, and the manner in which these values were being perverted by events in Algeria" (Evans, 1997, p. 31). These resisters, such as Francis Jeanson, Jean Guéricolas, Janine Cahen, Denise Barrat, and many others, played an important role in the Algerian revolution, which led them to question their national identities. They questioned the meaning of being French and the true patriotic feeling to the extent that some of them felt more Algerian than French (Evans, 1997, p. 232). This spirit of resistance had been transmitted to Algerians during the colonial period.

4.3.2. Transmitting the Culture of Resistance through French Education

Formal education in France was always meant to teach and train its future citizens to resist for the sake of liberty and equality. During the French revolution, François de Neufchâteau, a French deputy, addressed teachers saying:

The nation rests its hopes in you: it has charged you with the preparation of our children for the vocation of liberty, the perpetuation of our taste for knowledge and useful work, the preparation of the coming generation for public life, through passing on the heritage of enlightenment and virtue that we owe to posterity. You must make the human species aware of the capacity for self-improvement that it has been granted by nature. (Cited in Livesey, 2001, p. 167)

These words show the emphasis that France put on education to transform the ideas of liberty and enlightenment to the coming generations. Formal "education was understood to have a central role in the integration of political liberty into modern life" (Livesey, 2001, p. 167). It was education that taught French tradition to resist against any form of inequality in the country after the French revolution.

French formal education today emphasises the importance of resistance as a key part of French identity throughout French history. In French schools, the resistance movement in WW2 is taught in different levels of the education systems and its heroes are taught as national icons (Éduscol, n.d.). Teaching the history of the French Resistance during the occupation is an important part of fostering national pride. To take one example, on 8th March 2006 the *Séminaire académique des professeurs d'Histoire-Géographie* was held in Grenoble. In their workshop, the curator of the *Musée de la Résistance et de la Deportation de l'Isère*, Jean-Clause Duclos, alongside two teachers of history and geography, Philipe Barrière and Gil Emprin emphasised the importance of visiting WW2 museums for French students. They explained that the importance of visiting these museums for students lies in three reasons:

Par l'incarnation de la guerre qu'un musée représente, parce qu'elle permet de sortir de l'espace de la classe pour aller dans la société, les musées étant des lieux sociaux, enfin par la confrontation à une logique muséographique. (Duclos, et al., 2006)

This highlights the importance of the history of resistance for the French people. Educators encourage visiting museums as part of the formal education to make the war feel more palpable and to provide students with an immersive learning experience. This experience engraves resistance within the students' identity as one of the French values that they learn through history.

Teaching history, according to Benoit Falaize, "vise à promouvoir un modèle de socialisation. S'intégrer à la nation passe par l'apprentissage de l'histoire, tant il est investi d'une mission identitaire" (Benoit, 2014, p. 195). The instruction of French history is a major component in the construction of a national identity, as Marcel Detienne says, "en France, il revient à l'histoire de prendre en charge la mémoire sacrée de la nation. Seule l'histoire est qualifiée pour atteindre l'essentiel de l'identité de la France" (Detienne, 2014). Other researchers consider that the history of France is seen as a heritage, and an element of the European culture, enabling the location of a common

identity (Garcia & Leduc, 2003). Successive French governments throughout time have valued teaching French history in schools as an important component of French identity. This educational policy which emphasises history was in fact intensified after the Second World War (Legris, 2010).

However, similar to other countries, teaching history in France is always mediated through the political and ideological beliefs of the time. As Suzanne Citron says:

L'histoire est toujours une mise en ordre particulière d'événements choisis dans le passé. Ce que nous appelons « histoire de France » est un décryptage du passé autour d'une entité, d'un Sujet supposé, la France, l'Etat-nation France. [...] L'histoire (républicaine) est donc un montage qui occulte délibérément certains aspects du passé n'entrant pas dans la logique de ce montage. Or si l'on parle aujourd'hui beaucoup d'identité française, si l'on s'interroge sur cette identité, il importe de discerner le lien qui s'était établi [...] entre l'identité collective et l'enseignement de l'histoire à l'école. (Citron, 1988, pp. 17-18)

In the colonial context, French history was taught in a selective way, and was an important method for assimilation. For the few indigenous Algerians, who were educated only about French history after being separated from a sense of Algerian culture, history, and language, it was a way of assimilating them and erasing their indigenous, Algerian, Arab or Berber identity. In this regard, Gordon states, "[i]n school, if the colonized is among the minority to enter, he is taught from another's memory and so he becomes unhistorical and a stranger in his own country" (Gordon, 1962, p. 55). In colonial Algeria, the French revolution was taught in French schools for a long period (Gordon, 1962, p. 42). This led Algerian intellectuals to be different from their neighbours the Moroccans or Tunisians. As explained in the first Chapter, education in French was allowed only for a minority of the Algerian elite throughout the years of colonialism until the reforms of 1940s, when larger numbers of Algerians were allowed to access schools (see Section 1.2.1). In contrast, in both of Algeria's neighbouring countries, there was the option of learning in Arabic.⁸⁰ Therefore, Algerian identity was subject to greater degrees of assimilation than that of Tunisia or Morocco. This has led some évolués to defend the idea of assimilation and to call for a full assimilation in Algeria, like Ferhat Abbas in 1936. Some others learned the values of resistance and liberty from the French school, and used these values against the existence of the French identity in Algeria.

⁸⁰ French colonialism allowed Qarawiyyin University in Fez and Zaytuna University in Tunis to deliver education to Moroccans, Tunisians, and other Arabs in Arabic.

It is worth mentioning that most Algerian leaders of resistance and revolution were French-educated, as Gordon states:

In 1957 the leadership of the FLN included, besides Abbas, who is completely French educated, Mohamed Lamine-Dabbaghine, a French-trained doctor, Mahmoud Cherif, a graduate of a French officers school, Belkacem Krim, who had nine years of French primary education and was a corporal in the French army, Amar Ouamrane, who had six years of French primary education, and Ramdane Abbane who completed his baccalauréat in a French lycée in Algeria. (Gordon, 1962, p. 40)

All these leaders were educated in French schools, learning about the French revolution and French values. It is "through education that the French have introduced abroad their values and something of their style, that mixture of Gallic wit, irritability, and concern for what is correct, measured, and reasonable (the sense of *droit*)" (Gordon, 1962, p. 8). Although this education helped Algerians to claim their right to liberty and equality, it had a great impact on their identities. Malek Haddad⁸¹ says about the French schools: "L'école coloniale colonise l'âme [...] c'est insidieux, c'est profond [...] chez nous, c'est vrai, chaque fois qu'on a fait un bachelier, on a fait un Français". The effects of the French educational system was so deeply felt for Haddad that he claimed, "il y a toujours eu une école entre mon passé et moi" (Cited in Girard, 2010).

Although Malek Haddad was very critical of French schools, he admitted that school created some links between Algerians and the French. Many Algerians loved the French culture, language, and history – sometimes even more than their own (Gordon, 1962). French schools created a source of emotional empathy between Algerians and France. This empathy led the Algerian intellectual to experience an identity confusion or crisis. For example, Ferhat Abbas, the Algerian president of the provisional Algerian government, wrote a series of articleswhile studying at the University of Algiers and collected them later in *Le jeune algérien*, describing his love of France and of the French culture. However, he also described the "bitterness at the failure of France, and especially the *colons*, to allow the Algerian equality and dignity as fully-fledged French-men" (Gordon, 1962, p. 43). In 1936, Abbas published a text called 'La France, c'est moi', in which he declared:

Si j'avais découvert la nation algérienne, je serais nationaliste et je n'en rougirais pas comme d'un crime. Mais je ne mourrai pas pour la patrie algérienne parce que cette patrie n'existe pas. J'ai interrogé l'histoire, j'ai interrogé les vivants et les morts, j'ai visité les cimetières, personne ne m'en a

⁸¹ Haddad is an Algerian Francophone writer and poet.

parlé. Sans doute, ai-je trouvé l'Empire arabe, l'Empire musulman qui honorent l'islam et notre race, mais les Empires se sont éteints. On ne bâtit pas sur du vent. Nous avons donc écarté une fois pour toutes les nuées et les chimères pour lier définitivement notre avenir à celui de l'œuvre française dans ce pays. (Cited in El Qassentini, 2015)⁸²

This state of identity confusion was the result of the emphasis on the French history in French schools in Algeria. In other words, "many évolués were seduced by their education to believe in the superiority of French culture and, as a result, in the relative inferiority of their own" (Gordon, 1962, p. 55). In this respect, Fanon states:

Cet intellectuel qui, par le truchement de la culture, s'était infiltré dans la civilisation occidentale, qui était arrivé à faire corps, c'est- à-dire à changer de corps, avec la civilisation européenne va s'apercevoir que la matrice culturelle, qu'il voudrait assumer par souci d'originalité, ne lui offre guère les figures de proue capables de supporter la comparaison avec celles, nombreuses et prestigieuses, de la civilisation de l'occupant. (Fanon, 1991, p. 265)

A sense of identity crisis among Algerian intellectuals was mainly due to them being educated in the coloniser's schools. Regarding this, Albert Memmi says, "the most serious blow suffered by the colonized is being removed from history and from the community. Colonization usurps any free role in either war or peace, every decision contributing to his destiny and that of the world, and all cultural and social responsibility" (Memmi, 2013, p. 135). Wa Thiong'o described this cultural annihilation as a 'cultural bomb' (Wa Thiong'o, 1997). He says:

The effects of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves; for instance, with other peoples' languages rather than their own. (Wa Thiong'o, 1997, p. 3)

This cultural bomb was the main reason that led Abbas and many other Algerian intellectuals to identify themselves with an 'imagined community'⁸³ that they thought was

⁸² It is worth mentioning that the *Oulémas* responded in the same year to Ferhat Abbas with the following statement by Abdel Hamid Ben Badis, "Nous aussi nous avons cherché dans l'histoire et dans le présent, nous avons constaté que la nation algérienne musulmane s'est formée et existe comme se sont formées les nations de la terre encore existantes. Cette nation a son histoire illustrée des plus hauts faits : elle a son unité religieuse et linguistique, elle a sa culture, ses traditions et ses caractéristiques bonnes ou mauvaises, comme c'est le cas de toute nation sur terre. Nous disons ensuite que cette nation algérienne musulmane n'est pas la France, ne peut être la France. Il est impossible qu'elle soit la France même si elle veut l'assimilation ; elle a un territoire bien déterminé qui est l'Algérie avec ses limites actuelles [...] ce peuple musulman algérien n'est pas la France, il ne peut pas être la France il ne veut pas l'être et, même s'il voulait, il ne le pourrait pas, car c'est un peuple très éloigné de la France, par sa langue, ses mœurs, s on origine et sa religion. Il ne veut pas s'assimiler" (Cited in Girard, 2007).

⁸³ A famous concept of Benedict Anderson ([1991]2006). See the Section 3.4 for further details.

superior. They identified themselves with a nation whose main aim was suppressing their identity.

By the end of the First World War, most Algerian intellectuals started calling for the French values of liberty and equality after being inspired by the French revolution and the French resistance. By the mid-1940s, most had turned against the idea of assimilation and confirmed their Algerian identity by calling for independence. Abbas, for example, after denying the Algerian identity in 1936 (as it is mentioned above), regretted his statement and declared, in the French National Assembly on 23rd August 1946, "the Algerian personality, the Algerian fatherland, which I was unable to discover among the Muslim masses in 1936, I have discovered today" (Cited in Benrabah, 2013, p. 131). In 1960, Abbas admitted the French destruction of the Algerian national culture resulted from the suppression of his native language (Gordon, 1962, p. 46).⁸⁴ This French policy of destruction was described by the Tunisian-born French sociologist and historian, Paul Sebag, as "oppression culturelle".⁸⁵ Therefore, the values of resistance transmitted to Algerians through schools or through their participation in the First and Second World War are amongst the many reasons that explain the rise in anti-colonial resistance and a assimilation in the last decades of colonialism. These values were even rejection of inherited by the postcolonial governments, who resisted the hegemony of the French language by imposing the policy of Arabisation. Although this policy was challenged by Bouteflika's regime, the resistance spirit has continued to persist, as we will see in the content of the French language textbooks.

4.3.3. The Culture of Resistance in Foreign-language Education

The concept of resistance is relatively new in the context of foreign language education. Resistance generally means the action of challenging and undermining the imposed power (Vinthagen, 2007). In the context of Japanese education, Brian McVeigh (2002) uses the term *resistance* to describe the students' reluctance to learn and ignorance of foreign language, considering the language itself as a 'linguistic Other'. McVeigh (2002) claims that Japanese EFL students resist learning English language because they consider it as a threat to their japaneseness. Based on this, Arturo Escando (2004) adopts the concept resistance, in the same context of Japanese education, to designate "actions and attitudes that do not directly challenge but scorn the system" (Escando, 2004, p. 4).

⁸⁴ In the fourth congress of the Moslem Algerian Students' Union.
⁸⁵ A concept used by Paul Sebag in his *La Tunisie : Essai de monographie* in 1951.

Focusing on English textbooks for Japanese secondary schools, Thomas Hardy claims that the "resistance to English education, explicit or not, can be seen in the inability of the Japanese educational system, despite a tremendous expenditure of time, energy, and money, to create a widespread class of people able to use English" (Hardy, 2015, p. 47). All these researchers came to the conclusion that the foreign language can be resisted by students in an implicit or explicit way if they consider it as a threat to the Self.

Based on this, the representations of the French language in the textbooks as a threat to the Algerian Self can arguably affect the learning of the French language itself which might be perceived as liable to jeopardise *l'Algérianisation*. Accordingly, this research challenges the binary of Self/Other as coloniser/colonised in the postcolonial theory, as it does not follow Said's distinction between the binary Self and Other. From Said's perspective, the 'Otherness' as portrayed in the postcolonial theory (Said 1985, 1994) describes the non-western people who are according to the west, uncivilised and primitive. My thesis, on the contrary, adopts the concepts of the Self and the Other from the perspective of foreign languages education. In other words, in the context of postcolonialism the meaning of both concepts is reversed, however; this research will adopt the concept of 'Self' for Algerians and 'Other' for foreign language speakers.

The theorisation of resistance in postcolonial and anticolonial educational discourses is still limited (Shahjahan, 2011, p. 273). However, resistance is inherent in postcolonial literature, from which extracts are used in the textbooks under study in this research. Postcolonial writers use the language of the oppressor to resist through 'writing back to the empire', as Yang explains:

Resistance literature uses the language of empire to rebut its dominant ideologies. In other words, the colonized nation is "writing back", speaking either of the oppression and racism of the colonisers or the inherent cultural "better-ness" of the indigenous people. (Yang, 1999)

Resistance through literature is a way to affirm the identity of the colonised, and to challenge the coloniser's cultural and linguistic hegemony. Therefore, the fact that the textbooks studied in this thesis contain many literary extracts from this anticolonial literature, and the scarcity of research on the impact of these texts on learner's identity in the postcolonial context, supports the thesis which analyses the way resistance literature in textbooks impacts on identity.

Although scholars have explored the concept of 'resistance' in the foreign language classroom, the 'culture of resistance' is still absent in the field. Stephan Duncombe defines it as "a culture that is used, consciously or unconsciously, effectively or not, to resist and/or change the dominant political, economic and/or social structure" (Duncombe, 2002, p. 5). However, the culture of resistance in the postcolonial context aims to affirm the Self and decolonize the mind. It is the culture that helps the construction of an identity resistant to any sort of hegemony by the Other. Fanon emphasised the idea of decolonizing the mind as a process complementary to political decolonization (Fanon, 1991). Indeed, during a period of decolonization, the subaltern culture is transformed into a fighting culture (Gibson, 2003). This latter "with its subjectivity, is reinvigorated as it becomes a *fighting culture* where the struggle for the new way of life and the native's daily 'ways of life' become one and the same" (Emphasis in the original, Gibson, 2003, p. 129). The fighting culture in some cases leads the indigenous people(s) to reject all that is related to the coloniser. For example, Fanon explains that in colonised Algeria, people rejected even going to a French doctor or taking French medicine because they thought that, since "colonialism is a total system it must be totally rejected" (Gibson, 2003, p. 131). This fighting culture is also symbolised in the Algerian stance to resist French schooling before the First World War (see Section 1.2.1). Based on this, it is argued in this chapter that this culture of resistance against the French continues to persist through education in postcolonial Algeria.

After independence, education played an important role in the (re)construction of Algerian identity, which was believed to exist from the precolonial period. As explained in earlier chapters, the postcolonial leaders were aware that French colonialism had created an Algerian identity crisis. However, they believed that they would be able to recover the identity of the precolonial period by creating an identity based on Arabic language and Islamic religion. The school, as a "powerful state institution guiding the construction of identity" (Hardy, 2015, p. 36), was a central focus for the postcolonial leaders. The role of schools, as "agents of child socialization and enculturation, where children assimilate a culture's core values, traditions, and authority structures" (Faiman-Silvia, 2002, p. 189), led the Algerian government to depend on education to rehabilitate the native culture. The Algerian men in power believed in Wa Thiong'o's claim that language is culture and culture carries language (Wa Thiong'o, 1997, p. 16). Therefore, they imposed total Arabisation in order to resist the French language and subsequently the

French culture in the postcolonial nation. As a result, Arabic language is still the first and main language in the country today, and French has been downgraded to become the primary foreign language.

Teaching the language of the former coloniser has been always a subject of debate in Algeria as some people reject using it entirely while some others regard it like Kateb Yacine, as a 'butin de guerre'. This led to the adoption of different language planning policies in the postcolonial country (Benrabah, 2005; 2013). Teaching French became a matter of culture and identity, rather than linguistic utility. Algerian Arabophones consider it as a threat to cultural and national identity as it implies the persistence of the former coloniser's hegemony. Therefore, there appeared to be resistance against this language. Algerians, after achieving independence, used the culture of resistance that they inherited from the French to resist the hegemony of French language and culture. On the one hand, the need for the French language, as discussed in the previous chapters, made it impossible to abandon it entirely. On the other hand, French, as the language of the coloniser, was considered to be a threat to Algerian culture and identity because it was a potential vehicle for the transmission of French culture and values.⁸⁶ Therefore, the state continued to be cautious on how to teach French as a foreign language and what to implement in the French textbooks. These textbooks, instead of teaching the French language and culture, focus on affirming a distinctive Algerian identity and avoiding the perceived threat of French cultural hegemony, by prohibiting any sort of French culture to be delivered through the textbooks. In the process of (re)constructing the Algerian identity, culture is "an integral part of this process of national reconstruction for those who are trying, as a tool of resistance, to develop a national culture distinct from the colonial" (Maamri, 2016, p. 45). Both the focus on teaching the Algerian history of colonialism (specifically the 1954-1962 period) and the absence of French culture in these French textbooks reflect a culture of resistance.

4.3.4. Culture of Resistance in the Algerian Textbooks of French

Many French textbooks depict the suffering of Algerians during the colonial period. These texts represent the wretchedness of life under colonial oppression. Scenes of poverty, hopelessness, and pessimism are everywhere in the textbooks. For example, a small extract from Dib's *L'incendie*, in FrSec1 (p. 105) underlines the hardship of life and

⁸⁶ Many scholars have argued that language and culture cannot be separated (e.g. Brown, 2000; Kramsch, 2009;Kramsch, 2013).

poverty through its portrayal of an Algerian town and its inhabitants in the 1940s/1950s. It represents the house of Said's family as 'la case de torchis' (a traditional poor house) and the mother who struggles to prepare food, made up only of barley, wheat, and dried chillies. Thus, it describes the severe poverty of Algerians at that time, as the following extract shows:

Dans le groupe, Omar avait un ami, Saïd, du même âge que lui. Un noiraud qui était le génie grimpeur même des arbres ! Le sang d'Omar et Saïd courait à l'unisson; ensemble, ils faisaient de bruyantes apparitions dans la torpeur endormie du village. Au détour de celui-ci se trouvait la case en torchis des parents de Saïd. Devant la porte Khadra, la mère, tournait une meule posée entre ses jambes écartées [...] elle écrasait de l'orge, du froment, des piments rouges séchés. Cet après-midi, lorsqu'ils arrivèrent elle leva la tête et s'interrompit brusquement. (FrSec1, p. 157)

In the group, Omar had a friend, Said, the same age as him. A black [boy] who was a genius climber, even of trees! The blood of Omar and Saïd was as one; together they made noisy appearances in the village's sleepy torpor. At the end of the village was the mud square [house] of Saïd's parents. In front of the door, Khadra, his mother, was turning a wheel placed between her legs that were spread apart [...] she was crushing barley, wheat, [and] dried red peppers. That afternoon, when they [Omar and Said] arrived, she looked up and stopped abruptly. (Translation mine)

The paragraph depicts Algerians as poor subalterns who are deprived of the basic human rights of proper food or a proper shelter.⁸⁷ The village in torpor portrays a life without hope for its inhabitants.

Colonial-era poverty is also represented in different situations in the textbooks. For example a passage in FrSec2 entitled 'Le départ pour l'exil', from Mouloud Feraoun's Les chemins qui montent,⁸⁸ describes the hard moment of leaving the homeland with a hope for a better life away from the oppressive colonial administration. It shows many scenes of the hardship and miserable life in Algeria.

Sur la joue près de l'oreille, je sens une zone toute fraiche encore, mouillée sans doute par les larmes de ma mère [...]. L'autobus s'arrêta brusquement pour enlever quelques mâles. Il y avait là, parmi ces mâles, des femmes, beaucoup de femmes en larmes [...]. Elles restèrent là, toutes les femmes. Ils restèrent là, les gosses, et les vieux, à nous regarder démarrer. Le tableau était triste. [...] Je ne sais pas pourquoi, chaque fois que j'ai eu à plaindre les gens de chez nous, ou à leur pardonner, ce tableau s'est présenté devant mes yeux : au fond de Djurdjura, énorme, impassible, dont les sommets enneigés,

⁸⁷ Food and Shelter were recognised as human rights on December, 10th 1948 by the United Nations General Assembly in Paris (General Assembly resolution 217A). Article 25 states: "Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services" (United-Nations, 1948). ⁸⁸ Published in 1975.

confondus avec la brume, se perdent tout haut, infiniment. *Ce sont les remparts de plomb qui nous séparent du monde*. (Emphasis mine, FrSec2, p.103-104)

On my cheek near my ear, I can feel an area that is still freshly wet, *undoubtedly, from my mother's tears* [...]. The bus stopped abruptly to pick up some of the men. *There were women among these men, many women in tears* [...]. They stayed there, all the women. They stood there, the children, and the elderly, watching us set off. *The picture was sad*. [...] I do not know why, every time when I have had to pity our people or to forgive them, this picture has appeared before my eyes: in the depths of the huge, impassive Djurdjura, whose snow-capped peaks, blurred with the mist, are lost aloft, infinitely. *They are the leaden ramparts that separate us from the world*. (Translation mine)

This extract also depicts Algerian suffering during the colonial era. It shows the struggle between the hope for a better life by traveling to France and the regret of leaving the wretched home because of the misery imposed by the colonial power. Expressions like 'les larmes de ma mère', 'femmes en larmes', and 'le tableau triste', reflect the emotional struggle of people at that time.

Furthermore, the description of the homeland as a land of famine and the foreign land (Metropolitan France) as a paradise reflects the poor living conditions that Algeria suffered from in comparison to France.

[...] et toutes les femmes de cette terre, les petits garçons, les petites filles, les vieux et les vielles qui viennent vous attendre sur la route pour dire :

-Nous savons. Nous sommes bêtes mais nous savons quand même. *Tu quittes le pays de la faim, tu vas au paradis des hommes*. Mais tu y seras étranger et tu reviendras dans ton enfer. Au début tu penseras à nous, là-bas. Va, nous ne t'envions pas. *Tu auras à lutter et à souffrir, et s'il t'arrive d'être heureux, à coup sûr tu nous oublieras*. *Nous te réservons notre mépris des damnés* pour ceux qui le seront un jour et qui *cherchent vainement à fuir*. (Emphasis mine, FrSec2, p.103-104)

[...] and all women of this land, the little boys and girls, the old men and women who come to wait for you on the road to say:

-We know. We are stupid but we still know. You are leaving the land of hunger, you are going to the paradise of men. But you will be a stranger there and you will return to your hell. At first you will think of us, when you are there. Go, we do not envy you. You will have to struggle and suffer, and if you happen to be happy, you will certainly forget us. For you, we reserve our contempt of the wretched, for those who will be wretched one day and who vainly seek to flee. (Translation mine)

These representations appeal to the students' identities, and help them to differentiate between the Self and the Other: as Hall explains, representations "define what is 'normal, who belongs – and therefore, who is excluded" (Hall, 1997, p. 10). These representations of history help the learners to identify themselves, since "making history is a way of producing identity insofar as it produces a relation between that which supposedly occurred in the past and the present state affairs" (Friedman, 1992). Therefore, the French

textbooks adopt these historical representations of hardship and poverty as a two-fold articulation of past/present and Self/Other to (re)produce and (re)construct a postcolonial Algerian identity.

In addition to these historical representations, extracts from francophone literature also contribute to the construction of the learners' identity by affirming Algerian otherness from the French. Through the French textbooks, Algerian students learn that they are not French, but rather Algerians, as a passage from FrMid4 explains. This extract from Mohamed Dib's *La grande maison*⁸⁹ emphasises Algerian identity through the description of different Algerian characters in a French school in 1939. It narrates a story of a child, Omar, and the notion of the '*Patrie*' in his school. The story starts with Omar's Muslim teacher, Mr Hassan, asking his students about the meaning of the word '*Patrie*'. Surprisingly, one of the Algerian students, Brahim, answered by saying "La France est notre mère Patrie" (FrMid4, p.51). This answer brought many questions to Omar's mind as the extract below shows:

La France est notre mère, capitale Paris. Il savait ça. Les Français qu'on aperçoit en ville viennent de ce pays. La France, un dessin en plusieurs couleurs. Comment ce pays si lointain est-il sa mère ? Sa mère est à la maison, c'est Aini ; il n'en a pas deux. Aini n'est pas la France. Rien de commun. Omar venait de surprendre un mensonge. Patrie ou pas. La France n'est pas sa mère. (FrMid4, p.51)

France is our mother, its capital Paris. He knew that. The French people we see in the town come from this country. France is a drawing in several colors. How come this country so far away is his mother? His mother is at home, it's Aini; he does not have two mothers. Aini is not France. Nothing in common. Omar had just caught a lie [being told]. Homeland or not. France is not his mother. (Translation mine)

The teacher Hassan, then, explained:

La patrie est la terre des pères. Le pays où l'on est fixé depuis plusieurs générations [...] quand de l'extérieur viennent des étrangers qui prétendent être maîtres, la patrie est en danger. Ces étrangers sont des ennemis contre lesquels toute la population doit défendre la patrie menacée. Il est alors question de guerre. Les habitants doivent défendre la patrie au prix de leur existence. (FrMid4, p.51)

The homeland is the land of fathers. The country where we have been settled for several generations [...] when foreigners who claim to be masters come from abroad, the country is in danger. These foreigners are enemies against whom the whole population must defend their threatened homeland. It is then a question of war. The inhabitants must defend the homeland at the cost of their existence. (Translation mine)

⁸⁹ Published in 1952.

Mr. Hassan being an Algerian, although a teacher in a French school, rejects the policy of assimilation. He is an example of the influence of French education on Algerians through his use of the famous French expression of "la patrie est en danger" that goes back to the first French revolution to express his opposition to colonialism. This expression was first used in a declaration by the French Legislative Assembly in 1792, to call the French people to participate in the war as a response to a military crisis (Horan, 2006, p. 9). This famous incident in French history inspired this Muslim teacher to hint to his students that their real *Patrie* is threatened by the French. He even affirmed in Arabic that France is not the children's *'Patrie'*, without him being able to explain more:

Omar, surpris, entendit le maître parler en arabe [...] d'une voix basse, où perçait une violence qui intriguait :

-ce n'est pas vrai, fit-il, si on vous dit que la France est votre patrie.

M. Hassan se ressaisit. Mais pendant quelques minutes il parut agité. Il semblait être sur le point de dire quelque chose encore. Mais quoi? une force plus grande que lui l'en empêchait-elle ? (FrMid4, p.51)

Omar, surprised, heard the teacher speak in Arabic [...] in a low voice, intrigued by a violence that broke through:

-It is not true, he said, if you are told that France is your homeland.

Mr. Hassan took control of himself (again). But for a few minutes he seemed agitated. He seemed to be about to say something again. But what? Was a force greater than himself preventing him from doing so? (Translation mine)

Reading this passage allows Algerian students to affirm their Algerian identity and distinctiveness as well as the threat imposed by the French. This distinctiveness lies in affirming that the Algerian identity is entirely separate from the French, which constitutes a resistant move against French colonial hegemony. The passage also teaches the learners about the importance of defending the homeland. This representation of the French as enemies, whom Algerians should fight to defend their homeland and their identity, can arguably inspire students to resist everything French in the postcolonial present.

Algerian distinctiveness and the spirit of resistance are also emphasised in another passage in FrSec3. In this extract, from Slimane Bénaissa's *Les fils de l'amertume*,⁹⁰ the

 $^{^{90}}$ Although this novel is written in the postcolonial period, published in 1995, to address the failure in achieving democracy in the independent Algerian Republic, the extract inserted in the textbooks represents the colonial period. It is entitled 'La langue française : une part ou une tarte de notre histoire'. This extract was provided in a newspaper article of *Le Quotidien d'Oran*, as cited in the textbook. The following explanation is provided on the top of the article:

[&]quot;Cet article donne une idée des conflits linguistiques et culturels dans lesquels j'ai grandi à l'époque de la présence française en Algérie" (FrSec3, p.160).

Cheikh,⁹¹ teacher of the Arabic *Médersa*, urges children to learn both French and Arabic languages. He says:

Apprenez l'arabe, il vous fera toujours honneur. Apprenez le français, vous en aurez toujours besoin. Apprenez l'arabe, vous saurez qui vous êtes. Apprenez le français, vous saurez qui ils sont. Apprenez l'arabe pour aller de l'avant. Apprenez le français pour les obliger à aller de l'arrière. Apprenez l'arabe malgré eux. Apprenez le français malgré eux aussi. (FrSec3, p.160)

Learn Arabic, it will always honour you. Learn French, you will always need it. Learn Arabic, you will know who you are. Learn French, you will know who they are. Learn Arabic to move forward. Learn French to force them to go back. Learn Arabic despite them. Learn French despite them too. (Translation mine)

These expressions used by the teacher in the colonial period show the importance of Arabic for Algerians to distinguish themselves from the French. The *Cheikh*, in the passage, talks about the French as enemies, who should be resisted by the learners through their learning both languages: Arabic and French. The memory of colonialism and resistance in this passage, and many others in the French textbooks, contributes to the construction of Algerian students' culture and identity. It emphasises representations of the French as enemies who must be resisted. Therefore, this memory may contribute towards developing a cultural identity resistant to the French enemy.

In fact, teaching culture in its 'sociological sense' – as an integral part of foreign language education (Adaskou, et al., 1990) – is marginalised in the French textbooks. Rather, the focus on historical narratives in these textbooks functions as "cultural tools for

 $^{^{91}}Cheikh$ is an Arabic word that describes an aged man. It is used also as an honorific word to describe someone of high education in Islamic religion or the ruler of a tribe. In colonised Algeria, mostly aged men used to teach Qur'an. Therefore, this word was used to describe the teacher of Qur'an. Yet, this title continues to be used today to address all male teachers, regardless of the subject that they teach.

memory and identity" that helps the learners to "identify with their nation" (Brescó, 2017). As the passages above show, the colonial legacy of resistance is shown through the historical representations of colonial Algeria. They all aim to (re)construct the students' identity which is a "dynamic product of the social, historical and political contexts of an individual's lived experiences" (Hall, 2002, p. 31). The supposed objectives when teaching foreign language in Algeria– of interculturality and openness to the world – are unfortunately missing in the French language textbooks except from one textbook (FrMid2), whose content will be discussed in the second part of this chapter.

Through representations of poverty and suffering, postcolonial literature resisted imperialism (Yang, 1999). Algerian francophone writers of the pre-1962 period were also inspired by a French culture of resistance, which helped Algerians to discover their Otherness and affirm their distinct Algerian identity. In this regard, Gordon points out, "helped by these artists who were French educated and who wrote in French, they [Algerian francophone writers] had discovered their 'otherness', they were in search now of their own proper identity" (Gordon, 1962, p. 52). Their francophone literature focused mainly on representations of the harshness of life under French colonialism, as the extracts above show. The setting of most of the works refers to "the city or village life, Arab or Berber, of north Africa. The themes are mostly pessimistic and reflect the tensions and violence of contemporary Algerian life" (Gordon, 1962, p. 47). These French-educated Algerian writers used their literature as a strong weapon of revolt against France and French colonialism. They used representations of 'suffering' and 'misery' as means of resistance. Francophone novels adopted these representations to subversively attack the oppression of colonialism (Sparks, 2015). In this light, Gordon states, "[n]orth African literature of protest and revolt, though inspired with the spirit of the French literary tradition and although written in French, is deeply opposed to French political and cultural colonialism" (Gordon, 1962, p. 47). Many examples of this literature (such as the examples discussed above) are used in the French textbooks examined in this study.

These extracts from francophone novels serve as historical narratives to constantly remind the learners of their distinctiveness through the representation of the wretched life under French colonial power. Benjamin Jack Sparks (2015) argues that novels can help gain a better understanding of history than historical books. He states, "it is through the novel that the chaos and trauma of the colonial experience and Algerian war come to make sense, rather than through the history book" (Sparks, 2015, p. 15). Novels can be

more engaging because they narrate history within a setting with characters that bring the events alive in the imagination of the reader, while history books provide narratives based on facts that students can find opaque and hard to grasp. The power of an Algerian francophone novel to convey history to people increases through an educational framework, as Loomba argues: "the dominant meanings given to literary texts often emerge from and are perpetuated within educational systems" (Loomba, 1998, p. 94). Today, only negative themes of this literature are represented in school textbooks addressed to Algerian learners of French. Stef Craps argues that these representations of traumatic suffering invite or necessitate resistance (Craps, 2013, p. 5). The same aim of resisting the French culture that was a constant threat for the Algerian identity is adopted in the textbooks. Therefore, these representations of misery and suffering are used in the textbooks as agents of resistance against the French Other in everyday life. The main aim behind this resistance is to educate the nation and avoid the threat of the (re)-domination of the colonial culture.

The centre of Algerian identity according to Austin lies in 'mythologizing the struggle' for independence (Austin, 2007), which is emphasised in the textbooks through not only novels but also poems. The textbooks' poems aim to develop the students' sense of patriotism through praising the Algerian resistance and iconising its heroes. For example, more than fifteen national poetry pieces related to the Algerian-French struggle are used in FrSec2 alone. One of these poems is Alger la rouge written by Henri Kréa (a nationalist who joined the FLN) on the 13/14 December 1960. This poem replaces the famous nickname of 'Alger la blanche' by 'Alger la rouge' as a reference to the bloodshed in the capital in December 1960 after the French violently repressed demonstrationsby many thousands of Algerians demanding independence. In this poem, expressions like : "Froidement ils ont fusillé le peuple bon", "homicide", "l'étranger a incité au meurtre", "ils croient tous que tu es blanche ma capitale... Comme un cadavre qu'ils ont saigné.... Ils ne savent pas que ton idée est immortelle" (FrSec2, p.201) play an important role in promoting a culture of resistance with a strong sense of nationalism. These expressions describe the savage policies of French colonialism to reflect the dichotomies of the oppressor/oppressed and the coloniser/colonised as a way to emphasise the Algerian distinctiveness. This distinctiveness constitutes a major element in the affirmation of the Algerian identity that was marginalised for more than a century because of the colonial policy of assimilation.

Edward Said elaborates on the role that national poems and poets play in resistance in order to affirm identity, giving an example of the Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish as a figure of resistance. This resistance, according to Said, lies in his "affirmation of Palestinian identity" and his nationalist themes (Said & Barsamian, 2003, p. 161). Equally, in the Algerian context, poets played an important role in the revolution by affirming the Algerian identity and creating a national consciousness. On the roleplayed by Algerian poetry as a revolutionary by making the voice of Algerians heard, Kaddour M'hamsadji says:

la poésie, par exemple, a accompli distinctement et tout naturellement son devoir de présence et de puissance, et surtout, elle n'a pas cessé de multiplier ses formes de résonnances humaines, esthétiques et politiques, indispensables pour faire entendre, à toutes les nations libres, la Voix incorruptible, souveraine, juste du peuple algérien combattant contre le colonialisme absolu. (M'Hamsadji, 2012)

Accordingly, poems are adopted in the French textbooks to develop the sense that there is a culture of resisting the French Other, as well as affirming the Algerian Self. The example given above of the poem by Kréa affirms the Self through the emphasis of an Algeria as an existing free entity.

Tu es Vie et Liberté Tu es l'Algérie Et le sang qui coule dans tes artères Palpite comme cette flamme Que rien ne pourra souffler. (FrSec2, p.201)

You are Life and Freedom You are Algeria And the blood flowing in your arteries Throbs like this flame That nothing can blow out. (Translation mine)

In the meantime, this poem underlines the idea of the French as agents of 'oppression' who undermined Algerian national culture, therefore, they must be resisted. These themes of oppression and suffering emphasise the idea of the Other as a threat. The memories of the former hegemony and oppression of France creates the belief of the 'ingroup as purified, perceived as moral and virtuous and projects responsibility for evil deeds to a stigmatized group'' (Korostelina, 2013, p. 39). Therefore, in addition to affirming the process of Algerianisation, these representations encourage the learners to develop an identity based on their resistance and hostility to France as a 'devilish entity'.

In addition to poems, many historical narratives about the Algerian revolution are adopted in the French textbooks. Most of the content of FrSec3, for example, is devoted to texts written by different historians about the struggle of Algerians and their courage in challenging the oppressive colonial regime, as well as the racist policies adopted by the French during that time. Amongst these passages are some narratives from war veterans about their struggle for independence. In FrMid3, for example, an excerpt from *Du PPA au FLN, Mémoires d'un combattant* (2007) by Omar Boudaoud, a member of the FLN, is provided.⁹² In this passage, Boudaoud narrates his reaction when he first heard about the PPA and the objective of demanding Algerian independence in 1942 from a student from his village in Tizi-Ouzou. This student had a document that calls Algerians to support the PPA and after reading it, Boudaoud says:

A la lecture du document, je fus surpris d'apprendre que des gens s'organisaient en vue de rejeter le colonialisme français. Le tract appelait à l'indépendance de l'Algérie pour revenir à notre passé de pays libre. (FrMid3, p.157)

When I read the document, I was surprised to learn that people were organising in order to throw out French colonialism. The leaflet called for the independence of Algeria to return to our past as a free country. (Translation mine)

He continues saying :

Je partageais leur opinion car l'humiliation que je ressentais à chaque pas, au marché, dans la rue face à l'arrogance des colons me révoltait. (FrMid3, p.157) I shared their opinion because the humiliation I felt with every step at the market or in the street in the face of the colonisers' arrogance, revolted me. (Translation mine)

Boudaoud, here, explains the main reason that made him support the PPA and believe in Algerian independence, which is the humiliation and discrimination he received from the settlers. This representation, although it aims at developing the learners' patriotism, contributes towards creating an image of the French as the ultimate enemy of Algerians. This image is stated clearly in the same page of the textbook that describes one of the battles between the Emir Abd El Kader, a central figure of resistance against the colonial power, and the French (FrMid3, p.154). The follow-up activity uses the expression 'l'ennemi français' to test the students' comprehension of the text.

Having similar aims, the textbooks contain many historical narratives written by well-known novelists, lesser-known poets, and by authors of the textbooks per se all

⁹²Omar Boudaoud is one of the important figures of the Algerian revolution. He was a member of the FLN and of the Conseil National de la Révolution (CNRA).

representing the colonial period. Scenes of colonial oppression are further illustrated in various narrative extracts in the textbooks. A passage from a text written by a well-known Algerian historian, Mahfoud Kaddache, narrates the suffering of Algerians and the courage of those imprisoned in the French jails. *Femmes algériennes dans les camps* (FrSec3, p.35) portrays the torture that Algerian women suffered from in French prisons. In this passage, Kaddache narrates how women in jails suffered from hunger, cold, lice, in addition to the extreme violence of torture and executions. This detailed description of life in jails under French rule reflects the brutality of colonialism and the oppression of the French. Ironically, it does so in a book that is supposed to teach the language of the French themselves.

The issue does not stop here; another example from the same textbook, FrSec3, depicts the events of 8th May 1945 by emphasising the pitiless savagery of French colonialism.⁹³ The text narrates how the French opened fire on all protesting Algerians regardless of who they are or what they do (see Section 3.5.3.2). Similar to the previously mentioned examples, the description of the violent repressive colonial power creates an image of the French as evil or the enemy who killed innocent people. Many other examples⁹⁴ of the oppressive colonial deeds are used in the textbooks to emphasise the belief that the French are the devil 'Other'. Krostelina (2013) confirms that this belief can be "formed through historical experiences, including chosen traumas and glories [...] as well as a result of favourable comparison, prejudice, and attribution error, as outgroups are perceived as cunning, artful, cruel, mean, and aggressive" (p. 39). These representations of the Other remind the students of the importance of resisting the Other as a way to defend the Self.

Other passages address the racist policy of the colonial power against Algerians. For example, in 'La société européenne d'Algérie' in FrSec3, Kaddache says, "[1]a naturalisation, accordée automatiquement aux fils d'étrangers, renforça la faible majorité française et cimenta un bloc qui se définit par la supériorité de la civilisation française sur la civilisation musulmane et l'infériorité des « indigènes » par rapport aux citoyens français" (FrSec3, p.15), "naturalization, granted automatically to the sons of foreigners,

⁹³ The 8th May 1945 witnessed the massacres that the French colonialism committed in Setif, Batna, and Kherrata that ended the lives of thousands of Algerians (For further details see Section 1.2.1).

⁹⁴Delphine de mémoire (p.27); Femmes algériennes dans les camps (p.35-36); Une guerre sans merci (p.45); Le bras de fer avec l'ordre impérial (p.47-48); L'espoir des peuples colonisés (p.50); Les Algériens et la guerre (p.52-53) ; L'évasion (p.59) ; Les français face à la guère d'Algérie (p.72).

reinforced the weak French majority and brought together a group which was defined by the superiority of French civilization over the Muslim civilization and the inferiority of the "natives" compared to French citizens" (Translation mine). This text is a passage from Kaddache's *La Conquête Coloniale et la Résistance* (1988). It highlights the racism imposed on Algerians in their homeland by the French. This feature of French colonialism is highlighted by Belmekki who claims it can be characterised by "racism and marginalization of the indigenous population" (Belmekki, 2013, p. 115). Belmekki further says:

The fact of not being familiar with the French system was always interpreted by the settlers as indicative of the inferiority and backwardness of the Muslim population. In fact, the settlers always sought to give a negative picture of the Muslim majority depicting them as lazy, treacherous, unreliable, and so on, as reflected in the writings of some prominent French officials and intellectuals who were posted in Algeria. (Belmekki, 2013, p. 115)

The harsh racist policy of French colonialism has led to different forms of resistance against the French in postcolonial Algeria.

One such form is well reflected in Algeria's resistance to join the International Organisation of the Francophonie (IOF), despite being one of the world's largest French speaking countries (Belmekki, 2013, p. 118). Alternatively, it is worth mentioning that in 2007, Algeria applied to join the Commonwealth of Nations Organisation that encompasses mainly former British colonies. On this matter, Majumdar wrote:

Algeria has been the exception amongst the former colonies, this time in its attitude to La Francophonie. Algeria refused to join because of fundamental ideological disagreements with its founding rationale, i.e. the primacy of the French language, as well as because of the political choice to keep its distance from the former colonial power and a body whose reason d'être has appeared to be based on the ties and relations established by colonialism. (Majumdar, 2007, p. 171)

This refusal to join the OIF can be seen as an official resistance against any form of relationship between Algeria and its former coloniser, France. Rather, Algerian leaders chose to join the commonwealth countries, which is a group of English speaking countries that were colonised by Great Britain. This is an attempt from Algeria to cut ties with its former coloniser and to find solidarity with other countries with which she has weaker historical ties. It is a kind of political official resistance against the former coloniser that can be also seen through the different representations in the Algerian textbooks of French as a foreign language.

Although there is an emphasis on representing the Other as a 'devilish entity' through the different resistance narratives in the French textbooks, there is also an emphasis on glorifying the Self and the national struggle. As mentioned in the previous chapter (Section 3.5), national heroes are iconised in most of the textbooks as symbols of the Algerian identity as a way to glorify the Self and strengthen the student's sense of national identity. Regarding this, Said argues that national heroes have a particular importance as symbols of national identity. He gives the example of the *Khalili Sakakini* cultural centre.⁹⁵ Israel considered this centre a threat that must be destroyed as it is named after a "symbol of Palestinian national, intellectual, and cultural life" (Said & Barsamian, 2003, p. 160). Naming the centre after this man is a type of Palestinian cultural resistance against the colonial hegemony. This iconisation of national and cultural heroes is a frequently employed strategy for any nation. Discovering the heroic past of the country is a "sign of national honour and a way of legitimising the community's existence as a nation" (Fernández, 2013, p. 20).

In a similar vein, the Algerian state iconises and canonises war heroes as pillars of cultural identity in society as well as education. Most of the streets, schools, universities, and even hospitals in Algeria are named after the martyrs or *Moudjahidin* of the Algerian war as symbols of the Algerian resistance. Canonizing these heroes in the textbooks plays an integral role in the affirmation of the learners' identity through rediscovering their history. This history allows us to discover "(or 'rediscover') who we are, whence we come, when we emerged, who our ancestors were, when we were great and glorious, who our heroes are" (Smith, 1986. Cited in Fernández, 2013, pp. 20-21). In the French textbooks, Algerian intellectuals and war heroes are canonised as symbols of resistance and pillars of cultural and national identity.

In addition to the text mentioned above about the battle between Emir Abdelkader and the French, many pages in the French textbooks are devoted to emphasising his symbolic role as a resistance leader. The following extract is an activity (p.54) given to the pupils in FrMid3, which portrays the courage of the Emir and describes the French as enemies, as explained above:

⁹⁵ Khalil Sakakini Cultural Centre is a Palestinian centre established in 1996 in Ramallah. The centre is now used by the Palestinian Ministry of Culture to promote the Palestinian culture.

3 - Mets les verbes entre parenthèses au passé simple.

L'Emir Abd El Kader (se mettre) une certaine nuit en campagne avec une centaine de cavaliers, et (tendre) une embuscade dans un bois que l'ennemi avait l'habitude d'emprunter. A l'heure prévue, un escadron (faire) son apparition. Abd El Kader les (surprendre) et les (chasser). Dans la mêlée une balle (abattre) son cousin.

J'écris



 Réécris l'extrait de récit suivant en mettant les verbes conjugués au passé simple ou à l'imparfait :

Image 21: (FrMid3, p.154)

In another activity, in the same textbooks, the following extract is adopted. It portrays the French surrender to the Emir.

Parvenue aux abords du fort, l'infanterie de l'Emir Abd El Kader faiblit. Sans perdre un instant, Abd El Kader sauta de son cheval et marcha en tête et tenta l'assaut. Repoussé par deux fois pour pénétrer dans le fort, il se remit en selle, rallia ses hommes et sa cavalerie. [...] Là, les français se montrèrent incapables de résister à l'assaut qui leur était donné par Abd El Kader. Leurs lignes furent balayées. L'engagement se prolongea tard dans la nuit jusqu'au moment où Desmichel sonna l'ordre de se retirer. Cette retraite fut suivie d'une trêve qui dura quelques jours. (FrMid3, p.157)

Having arrived near the fort, Emir Abd El Kader's infantry weakened. Without losing a moment, Abd El Kader jumped from his horse and walked ahead and tried to attack. Thrown back twice from entering the fort, he got back onto his horse, rallying his men and his cavalry. [...] At that point, the French were unable to resist Abd El Kader's assault. Their defensive lines were swept away. The engagement continued late into the night until Desmichel gave the order to withdraw. This withdrawal was followed by a truce that lasted for a few days. (Translation mine)

The Emir Abdelkader appears in many other situations in the textbooks, either his image, his poem, or (as in the above passage) a description of his courage, and an admiration of his resistance.

An important poem, originally written in Arabic, by Emir Abdelkader is provided in FrSec2. This is the only translated poem from Arabic in the French textbooks.⁹⁶ It was a response by El-Emir when he was asked, in exile, whether he prefers the Bedouin or the city life by describing the beauty of nature and benefits of the Bedouin life (p.60). For the learners, this patriotic poem creates a sense of attachment to their past, especially because

⁹⁶ However, some texts in the textbooks are translated from Arabic, like *Kalila wa Dimna* of Ibn El Mouquafaa, and some Berber and Algerian traditional tales. All these tales are taught through FrMid2, as explained before, the main aim behind including these texts is to teach 'le conte', 'la légende', and 'la fable'.

it is written by a hero of Algerian history. Abdelkaderstates "J'avais juré de défendre mon pays et ma religion jusqu' à ce qu'aucune force n'y put suffire, et il me semblait toujours que je n'avais pas encore fait assez" (Cited in Bouchama, 2000, p. 300). Abdelkader is considered not only as a symbol of resistance against the colonial power through his combat, but also a pillar of Algerian history and a symbol of peaceful Muslim culture, being himself a Sufi, and by his writings, which challenged the colonial assimilation and defended his land and religion. About him, Abada says:

Il y a cependant un Abdelkader méconnu jusqu'en son propre pays. Un Abdelkader poète, penseur, écrivain. Un Abdelkader philosophe, vivant pleinement sa passion intellectuelle même aux pires moments de la résistance. Un Abdelkader incontestable. C'est Abdelkader, esprit illustre du 19ème siècle. (Abada, 2017)

Therefore, adopting a translated version of one of Abdelkader'spoems in a French language textbook reinforces the importance of this hero as a reminder of Arabic as Algeria's first language and Islam as Algeria's main religion in the French language textbooks.

According to Lydia Ait Saadi's analysis of Algerian history textbooks, there is an emphasis in the 2000s textbooks on the Arabo-Muslim culture and Algerian resistance against the coloniser that is represented through famous national figures like Emir Abdelkader. Ait Saadi states :

La résistance étant principalement illustrée par les figures de l'émir Abd el-Kader, et des chefs religieux et tribaux qui se soulevèrent après lui contre la colonisation française. L'autre constante nationale reste, encore aujourd'hui, l'attachement du peuple algérien à sa religion musulmane. (Ait Saadi, 2013, p. 247)

This contradicts one of the claims made by some Algerian teachers discussed in the first Chapter (see Section 1.3) that the textbooks aim to develop liberal and secular identities. Representations of Emir Abdelkader as well as narratives about Muslim conquests in FrSec3 (see Section 3.5.3) emphasise the Muslim identity of the learners rather than jeopardising it, as it is claimed. Therefore, in addition to the previously mentioned representations of the French as oppressor colonisers, the textbooks still emphasise an Algerian identity that is based on Islam and Arabic by canonising national symbols like the Emir Abdelkader. The interviewees, in this research, explained that there is a 'transversalité entre les sujets' that can be seen through the representation of the resistance against the French in the history textbooks, as well as the French textbooks.

This culture of resistance, though, is absent from the English textbooks. As the previous Chapter explains, there is a single text describing the colonial period in the English textbooks in EnSec2 (see Section 3.5.2). It is not a reading comprehension text, but a grammar activity designed by the textbook's editors. The English textbooks are even different from their French counterparts in the number of literary texts provided. Most of the reading comprehension texts and activities are written and designed by the designers of the textbooks themselves except for a few adopted passages in the secondary school textbooks. Interviewees 1 and 3 explained that this is mostly due to students' higher competency in French, since the students learn French through the three cycles of education, primary, middle, and secondary. In contrast, English is only taught in middle and secondary education (see Section 1.4 for more details about the educational system in Algeria). This explains the different objectives of the two languages. While themain aim of French-language instruction is to affirm Algerianisation by developing a culture of resistance against the French, English textbooks have a different aim, discussed below.

4.3.5. Resistance to French in Today's Algeria

The cultural content of the French textbooks may be one of the main reasons behind the crisis that the French language faces today in Algeria. The culture of resistance adopted in the main instructional materials arguably encourages the learners to develop a reluctant attitude towards learning the French language, considering it as the language of the enemy according to the textbooks' representation. This resistance demonstrates the persistence of the colonial legacy in French-language textbooks. In fact, "le passé ne cesse de jouer un rôle important dans l'Algérie indépendante" (Kessous, et al., 2009, p. 5). The conflict between language and identity is escalating in Algeria. On the one hand, Algeria is one of the largest francophone countries in the world. On the other hand, there has been a decrease in younger generations learning or speaking French, as it is associated with the language of the oppressive coloniser. They even consider speaking French as a betrayal of Algerian nationality and Arabo-Muslim identity. In fact, Algerians ran a strong campaign on social media to show the social resistance against the language.⁹⁷ This resistance coincided with strong public criticism of the Minister of Education, Nouria Benghabrit, and her incompetence in Arabic, accusing her of

⁹⁷ A campaign started on the 26th May 2016 by thousands of Algerians who tweeted: #FrenchIsNotASymbolOfModernity (in Arabic: <u>الفرنسية ليست رمز التقدم</u>)

dismantling national unity and fighting the Islamic religion because of her being a francophone (Alilat, 2016).

This current study proposes that the textbooks' culture promotes this resistance against the French by emphasising representations of the coloniser's oppression and the colonised's suffering under French colonialism. Furthermore, it is worth highlighting that the cultures of other French-speaking countries are completely absent from the textbooks. Consequently, the textbooks imply that the French language is solely associated with the coloniser's language and culture. In Algeria, French is taught only as a scientific tool extracted from its source culture, that of metropolitan France, or, in the historical context, as the language of the former coloniser. In addition, the mythologization of the Algerian struggle is also emphasised to affirm Algerian identity through resistance narratives about the brave people who fought against the colonial power and the iconisation and canonisation of heroes of the war. The textbooks under study present a highly reductive image of French culture in different linguistic and pictorial discourses, beyond colonialism.

The absence of the cultural component in foreign language classrooms is believed by many researchers to affect the learning agency as it plays an integral role in the language learning process (Brooks, 1968; Thanasoulas, 2001; Kramsch, 2009; Kramsch, 2013). As the previous Chapter discusses, the historical narratives - together with the presentation of national heroes and other historical elements, sites, and events all help the learners to identify themselves as members of the group (Frusetta, 2006, p. 110). This makes the main aim of the textbooks is focusing on educating the nation about its history, rather than developing the necessary linguistic and cultural competences of the students in the target language, French, which is still needed after several decades of sociolinguistic conflicts. However, many researchers claim that foreign language textbooks should provide information about different aspects of culture that would help the learners to express themselves in different life situations which results in more effective learning. Kramsch confirms that the foreign-language classrooms should provide the learners with a 'third space of symbolic competence' where the learners can see themselves from the inside and the outside, by learning about the Self and the Other (Kramsch. 2013). Based on Ned Seelye (1988), Tomalin & Stempleski (1993) identify seven goals, summarised in the figure below, that cultural instruction would help the students to achieve. Algerian learners of the French language, unfortunately, are not enabled to achieve these benefits

or cultural goals because of the overemphasis on teaching the nation through the stress on the representations of the colonial period in the textbooks.



Figure 4. 1: The Seven Goals of Cultural Instruction

(Tomalin & Stempleski, 1993, pp. 7-8)

These learners, rather, practise a 'culture of resistance' against the French in everyday lessons of the French language. This practice can be referred to as Bourdieu's habitus. The notion of habitus denotes the 'unconscious memory', as Bourdieu says:

A system of dispositions to be and to do is a potentiality, a desire to be which, in a certain way, seeks to create the conditions of its fulfilment, and therefore to create the conditions most favourable to what it is. In the absence of any major upheaval (a change of position, for example), the conditions of its formation are also the conditions of its realization. (Bourdieu, 2000, p. 150)

In Hall's words, the "habitus is a set of bodily dispositions acquired through extended engagement in our everyday activities that dispose us to act in a certain ways [...]. It is through our lived experiences as individual actors that our habitus is continually being reconstructed" (Hall, 2002, p. 36). This habitus is limited by "the historically and socially situated conditions" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 95). In the context of this research, through the culture of resistance adopted in the French textbooks, the students would unconsciously develop a habitus of considering French as a threat to their identity. This habitus is arguably an influential contributing fact to young Algerians' rejection of the French language today.

It was through education during the colonial period that most Algerian intellectuals developed the habitus of admiring the French language (see Section 3.2). Controversially, during the years of revolution, the number of Algerians seeking education in French increased significantly. Gordon affirms, "during the revolutionary war, the number of Moslems being educated in the French language increased rather than decreased. In 1954 the number of Moslems students at the University of Algiers was 589 and in 1960 was 814 and 1,250 Moslems were pursuing higher studies in metropolitan France" (Gordon, 1962, pp. 39-40). Although this was due to deliberate and ambitious French policy to extend educational provision from the 1940s-1962 (see Section 1.2.1), educated Algerians embraced, rather than rejected, this language and many of them considered it, like Kateb Yacine, as a 'butin de guerre'.

However, through the favouring of Algerianisation in textbooks, Algerian schools are witnessing a crisis in acquisition of the French language (Bouanani, 2008). One of the reasons behind this may be the culture of resistance in the French textbooks. The aim of this resistance as a barrier against the French hegemony in the postcolonial state is supposed to be the decolonisation of the Algerian mind. Nevertheless, instead, it has arguably led to a crisis in teaching French as a foreign language in Algeria. This contradicts the president's speeches and the declared aim of teaching the French language to modernise Algerian identity. The resistant attitude against the Algerian 'butin de guerre', as an Other (McVeigh, 2002), has contributed to creating an identity conflict in the postcolonial country. Therefore, the excessive ideology of resistance causes more problems than it solves.

Algeria depends on the French language, mainly, to cope with globalisation and the economic market. Thus, the cultural content of the French textbooks, as the main means of instruction, should provide more tolerance in relation to the Other. Certainly, it is important to think about "developing in our students an intercultural competence steeped in a deep understanding of their historicity and subjectivity as language learners" (Kramsch, 2013, p. 60). However, educationalists and policy makers must consider that the "curriculum should be made according to the needs of the country" (Babaci-Wilhite, 2013, p. 1994), and the needs of Algeria are certainly not in opposition to the acquisition of the French language.

4.4. Representations of Culture of Peace in the Textbooks

Teaching a 'culture of resistance' in French textbooks and, in contrast, its absence in the textbooks of English raise many questions about the supposed aim of foreign-language textbooks to develop the learners' intercultural competences and openness to the world. Therefore, the concept of 'culture of peace' is adopted in the following section to address the values-based-education adopted in the textbooks.

4.4.1. The Values of Peace

In order to explore the 'culture of peace' in the textbooks, this section will adopt the values of peace identified by UNESCO (2001) as the main values teaching a culture of peace in the textbooks. In fact, the Algerian 2000s reforms were supported by UNESCO (Toualbi-Thaâlibi & Tawil, 2006) as the Representative of UNESCO in the Maghreb, Philippe Quéau, states:

Je me réjouis tout particulièrement de l'action menée par l'UNESCO en partenariat avec les autorités algériennes dans le chantier crucial de la réforme de la pédagogie. Cette action, rendue possible par l'ambition affichée du Chef de l'Etat algérien à travers la mise en place d'une commission de réforme, et facilitée par le soutien du Directeur général de l'UNESCO, M. Koïchiro Matsuura, a bénéficié de l'apport intellectuel et organisationnel de personnalités clé. [...] Un débat stratégique sur la nature même des réformes à entreprendre dans le domaine de l'éducation au Maghreb, au moment où le monde «mondialisé» nous rappelle l'urgence de créer un art de vivre ensemble à l'échelle planétaire. (Quéau, 2006, p. 16)

When Interviewee 3 was asked about this collaboration between the Algerian government and UNESCO in the production of these textbooks and the exact way in which UNESCO supported the reforms, she answered: "Oui, l'Unesco a appuyé l'Algérie pour la conception de nouveaux programmes et manuels scolaires. Plein de cadres algériens ont été formés dans ce cadre, par des canadiens notamment et des experts français (je sais par exemple, que certains inspecteurs sont partis pour une durée de 4 mois au Canada)". However, she affirmed that this collaboration did not take place when the second generation of textbooks was produced as she says, "par contre, dans le cadre de la coopération, il y a eu de l'expertise étrangère pour la conception des grilles d'évaluation, mais je peux t'assurer que ce sont nos cadres nationaux qui travaillent et n'ont nullement besoin de l'appui de la coopération étrangère". Therefore the French as well as the British textbooks are supposed to promote UNESCO's values that would instruct peace and harmony. Drawing on the basic sources of peace (Balasooriya, 2001), and on the UNESCO's core values to live together in peace and harmony (UNESCO, 1998), the following diagram explains the different values identified in the Algerian textbooks under analysis.

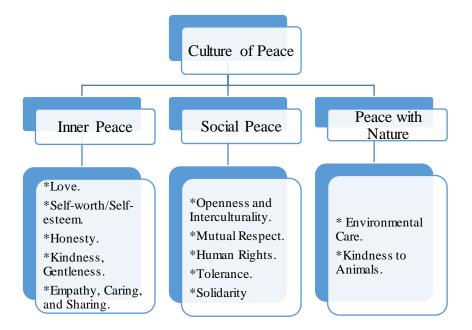


Figure 4.2: Sources and Subcomponents of the Culture of Peace in the Textbooks

The figure above identifies the different sources of 'culture of peace' and their subcomponents analysed in the textbooks. Each of these is explained in detail in the following analysis. All these values have been explored in the French and English textbooks, and the results indicate that the English-language textbooks reinforce general educational principles that deliver to the students a value-based education and a culture of peace. French textbooks, on the other hand, pay little attention to teaching this culture. The only exception to this is FrMid2. The designers of this textbook have dedicated it to teaching three genres of literary texts in French: le conte, la fable, and la légende. As a result, different literary genres from different contexts are provided, including Algerian, Berber, Arab, French, and many other tales, which will be discussed further below. However, at the end of the textbook, five patriotic poems, all under the title of Mon Pays, Mon Patrie, written by an Algerian war veteran Mohamed Labjaoui, are provided to the learners as a way to remind them of their distinctiveness. One of these poems is written in the memory of an Algerian martyr, Ahmed Ghermoul, who was killed by the French under torture as the textbook states "à la mémoire de Ahmed Ghermoul, mort sans avoir parlé". This poem entitled 'La torture' describes the tortured prisoner's suffering in the French jails. In addition to the previously mentioned historical narratives that encourage resistance through the emphasis on French violence, despite the overall aim of the textbook to provide knowledge of certain literary genres, the aim of these patriotic poems is to teach the nation and develop the students' sense of national identity. This fact makes the teaching the nation one of the ultimate aim in all French textbooks without exception.

4.4.2. The Promotion of the Culture of Peace in the Textbooks

4.4.2.1. Inner Peace

Inner peace is the basic step towards constructing a culture of peace. The process of learning to live together in peace and harmony, UNESCO states, "begins with the development of inner peace in the minds and hearts of individuals engaged in the search for truth, knowledge and understanding of each other's cultures, and the appreciation of shared common values to achieve a better future" (UNESCO, 1998, p. 4). Inner Peace "arises out of inner richnesses such as compassion, spiritual joy and wisdom" (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 104). Some examples of inner peace identified by UNESCO are, "harmony and peace with oneself, good health, and absence of inner conflicts, joy, sense of freedom, insight, spiritual peace, feelings of kindness, compassion, and appreciation of art" (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 10). In fact, the English textbooks develop the students' inner peace through the promotion of different moral values. The French textbooks, on the other hand, provide one text in FrMid2, that promotes only the value of honesty as discussed below.

4.4.2.1.1. Love and compassion

Love and compassion are fundamental values in building an inner peace. It is of paramount importance for people to learn to be humans by loving themselves and others. UNESCO explains the importance of love in the following statement:

Love is a human energy that emanates from within, nurturing one's human dignity and extending to nurture that of others. Love is committed to the good of the whole human person. It includes love for one's self as well as for others. It is enhancing the good of others for their own sake without expecting anything in return. (UNESCO, 2002, p. 31)

The role of education in the promotion of love started attracting educationalists after a letter written by a Holocaust survivor highlighted this matter. This survivor explained the role played by educated people in the violence that he witnessed. He says,

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no person should witness: gas chambers built by learned engineers. Children poisoned by educated physicians. Infants killed by trained nurses. Women and babies shot by high school and college graduates. So I am suspicious of education. [...] Help your children become human.⁹⁸

Therefore, the promotion of love in classrooms became one of the major contemporary "nothing is more Vinciane Rycroft argues, important than teaching concerns. compassion" (Rycroft, 2012). Therefore, the promotion of such a value in a country that has suffered from different political uprisings that ended with a bloody civil war is, in fact, very important.

The teaching of love and compassion is promoted in the English textbooks by privileging the importance of loving the Self and the Other. EnSec5, for example, encourages spreading love and compassion in its different pages. It is stated in one of its reading texts that "[I]ove and knowledge, as far as they were possible, led upward towards the heavens" (EnSec5, p.186). This expression helps the learners understand the benefits of love through describing the fact that it leads to heaven. Another page in the same textbook (EnSec5, p.195) emphasises the importance of love through a song entitled Love is all (see image 22, Appendix D). This song encourages the value of loving people through the process of teaching English as a foreign language. It helps students to develop

⁹⁸ This excerpt from the letter of the Holocaust survivor published in Haim Ginott's Teacher and Child. [Online]

Available Online at: http://www.holocaustandhumanity.org/about-us/educational-philosophy/ [Accessed 26 October 2017].

a sense of inner peace through filling their hearts with love. Another way to teach love is by offering different texts that show praise of Algeria by foreigners. For example, EnMid4 provides a letter written by a foreign girl called Becky to her friend Ann (p.96). In this letter, Becky describes the beautiful sights in the Algerian Sahara by talking about her journey to the Hoggar Mountains. This kind of text encourages the learners to love their country, which "inspires, enlarges one's sympathies, and gives one a sense of support and solidarity" (Levine, 2006).

4.4.2.1.2. Self-worth/ Self-esteem

In addition to teaching lessons about the concept of love *per se*, the English textbooks teach love by boosting the students' self-esteem. In this respect, UNESCO explains, "love and compassion begin with the appreciation of one's self-worth and self-confidence" (2002, p. 31). In fact, language learning is "an anxiety-provoking experience" (Rubio, 2007, p. 7). This anxiety resulting from low self-esteem can have many negative effects on the language learning process, such as making students avoid "taking necessary risks to acquire communicative competence in the target language; they may feel deeply insecure and even drop out of the class" (Rubio, 2007, p. 7). To avoid this risk of undermining the students' sense of self-worth, the textbooks promote a positive self representation through offering different examples of successful people (Gebregeorgis, 2017). These examples are taught as inspirational models for students to help them believe in their own capacities. Throughout the pages of the textbooks, many famous Algerian actors, writers, and footballers are provided to boost the students' positive selfimage. 99 In addition, prominent foreign figures are also given an important place in the textbooks.¹⁰⁰ One of EnMid4's activities, for example, offers pictures of different famous figures with an explanation of their employment before becoming stars (EnMid4, p. 92). This way of presenting successful role-models helps learners to believe in their own capacities, and motivates them to work hard towards achieving their own dreams.

In addition, different scientists are also presented as inspirational models for success.¹⁰¹ EnSec1, for example, provides different examples of "[m]en and women of

⁹⁹ EnMid1 (p.52, 66), EnMid2 (p.14, 15, 17, 19, 21, 106), EnMid4 (p.7, 92,136), EnSec2 (p.112), and EnSec3 (p.126, 166, 176).

¹⁰⁰ EnMid2 (p.9,13,14,15, 17, 19,21,106), EnMid3 (p.37,51), EnMid4 (p.7,64,89,92,102, 107, 110,136,146), EnSec1 (p.52,56, 65, 70,72), EnSec2 (p.122,123), and EnSec3 (p. 25,23,73,105,123,164, 176, 179, 240,241,253).

¹⁰¹ EnMid1 (p.128, 129,130,131), EnMid2 (p.74). EnMid4 (p.152, 161), EnSec1 (p.113, 117, 126-127,), EnSec2 (p.37, 48, 51, 53,112,151), and EnSec3 (p.93, 141,151).

different races, walks of life, temperament, religious and professions [who] have become famous scientists" (EnSec1, p126), like Marie Curie, Edison, Einstein, Kepler, Avicenna, and many others. In addition, it offers a short biography of George Washington Carver,¹⁰² who is considered in the textbook to serve as a good example that "illustrates the important fact that anybody with the necessary ability and necessary ambitions can become a famous scientist" (EnMid1, p.126). This story is an inspiring and encouraging model for the students to develop their motivation to achieve their dreams. In fact, "trust in one's talent, in one's achievements no matter how small, in one's potentials or in what one can offer, in what one can do better for him/herself, and even in one's dreams, is a strong foundation for self-confidence" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 32). Teaching the stories of successful people encourages the learners to "develop a positive self-concept that helps them to envision being successful and famous in whatever walk of life they undertake" (Gebregeorgis, 2017, p. 60).

Furthermore, the textbooks offer different texts that develop a positive self-image such as the lyrics of a song, *Hero*, by Mariah Carey. This song encourages the learners to develop a strong personality by believing that there is a hero inside every one of them. It says, "so when you feel hope is gone, look inside you and be strong, that a hero lies in you" (EnSec2, p53). Such examples of positive texts help to improve and develop a student's self-confidence and belief in their own abilities. They also help the students to believe in their own capacities and to challenge their weaknesses and the difficulties that they face in life to become better individuals. In this regard, UNESCO states:

Each one has his/her strengths as well as weaknesses different from those of others. Celebrating one's strengths, accepting one' limitations and facing the truth one cannot have everything in life, and doing better to improve oneself are basic skills that bring about an appreciation of one's self-worth. (UNESCO, 2002, pp. 31-32)

The textbooks also teach the students some tips regarding happiness as an important step in the development of self-worth. One of the reading texts from EnSec3, for example, explains that the main key to being happy and productive individuals lies in setting big goals, living in the pleasure of the moment, being positive, and many others (EnSec3, p.168).

¹⁰² The textbook narrates the story of George Washington Carver who was a slave and managed to become a famous and successful scientist.

In addition to psychological health, the importance of maintaining physical health is also promoted in the English textbooks. In fact, "physical self-worth has been found to have a strong influence on global self-esteem, and may have mental wellbeing properties in its own right" (Edmunds, 2015, p. 2).¹⁰³ Accordingly, the textbooks' representations of the different tips to maintain healthy habits (EnMid2, p.57) help the learners to boost their physical self-esteem. In another example, EnMid2 (p.61-62) provides significant information about the benefits of different vegetables and drinks. In addition, EnSec3's Unit Four, *Safety First*, offers a text, 'How is your Energy Balance?', about healthy habits and the dangers of fast food. This text emphasises the importance of avoiding junk food in order to protect the human body from different diseases. It also provides recommendations to reduce the amount of junk food consumed (EnSec1, p115). The fact that 'good health' is one of the main Inner Peace subcomponents (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 10), identified by UNESCO, makes these examples from the textbooks contribute towards developing the students' self-esteem and overall cultural sense of peace.

Describing the great past of the learners' ancestors is another aspect emphasised in the textbooks. For learners who self-define as 'Arab', expressions like, "thanks to the translation of the Arabs' archives, the West renewed its interest in astronomy" (EnSec1, p.133), help the learners to develop a sense of pride in their heritage. In fact, "recognizing one's uniqueness and self-identity is important in appreciating one's worth as a person" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 31). The achievements of Arab history are also described in a text entitled *Arab Science* (EnSec2, p.96), which praises the Muslim contribution to the different sciences during the golden age. The text states, "the world owes a great debt of gratitude to the Muslim caliphs for their support for learning during this period (the golden age of Arabs – 900 A.D to 1100 A.D)". In addition, many Arab scientists and their inventions are mentioned in this text – like the mathematician Al-Kawarizmi, who created Algebraand the Arabic numerals used across the world; the astronomer Al-Battani, who revised many mistakes in Ptolemy's book great composition, and other chemists and physicians. Accordingly, these different ways to boost the students' self-esteem arguably contribute to a large extent in the development of a sense of inner peace.

¹⁰³ Global self-esteem is the individual's 'overall self-concept', which comprises of "beliefs made by the individual with regard to different areas of their life" (Edmunds, 2015, p. 2).

4.4.2.1.3. Honesty

Teaching moral values in foreign language classrooms has become of paramount importance. One of these important values is honesty which is promoted in the French textbooks, as mentioned earlier through an Algerian tale about the lying shepherd (FrMid2, p.24). The main moral from this story is to teach the learners the importance of As for the English textbooks, honesty is amongst the main moral values honesty. promoted. It is worth mentioning that "moral and cultural norms [have] become the locus of ELT materials" (Widodo, et al., 2017, p. 13) across the world. EnSec3, for example, emphasises the importance of honesty and fighting corruption in a whole Unit entitled Ill-Gotten Gains Never Prosper. In this unit, the students learn the importance of honesty in business by discussing the harms of corruption and counterfeiting. The textbook, also, helps students to be aware of different kinds of illegal practices like bribery, counterfeiting, fraud, and many others (p.46-60). It offers recommendations on how to reduce these illegal practices (p.199), as it also encourages learners to develop a sense of responsibility to act against these immoral practices through expressions like, "we will eradicate corruption providing (that) we act now" (p.47).

4.4.2.1.4. Kindness, Gentleness

In addition to the value of love, kindness is "an intrinsic positive human quality that enriches living" (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 20). According to UNESCO, kindness is one of the 'noble ideals' (Balasooriya, 2001, p. vii) as well as one of the main subcomponents of Inner Peace (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 10). This importance of kindness is explained in different pages of the English textbooks, but it is absent in the French textbooks. For example, a reading text in EnSec1 (p.88), entitled 'Love and Kindness', provides a scientific explanation of the benefits of the feeling of kindness, as the following extract shows:

^{&#}x27;When you do something nice and kind for someone, you'll notice a beautiful feeling of ease and peace' says Richard Calson, one of the best-selling American writers. 'Acts of loving kindness release the emotional equivalent of endorphins, the feeling-good chemicals which flood your senses after exercise', he adds.

^{&#}x27;As a doctor, I can tell you that kindness heals the heart', says cardiologist and psychotherapist Stephen Sinatra, author of *Heart and Disease*. Sinatra says that rage and anger, which are the reverse side of kindness, increase surges in adrenaline and cortisol, two of the main hormones which contribute to heart disease. 'On the contrary, kindness along with feelings of love and tenderness, stimulate the parasympathetic nervous system and increase calmness and decrease the levels of cortisol in the body, explains Sinatra. (EnSec1, p.88)

This scientific explanation for the importance and benefit of kindness for the human body helps students to understand the importance of this moral value. In addition to teaching the foreign language, this passage teaches the students to be kind to others, and encourages them to engage with kindness by explaining its benefits on physical health. For example, the same text states:

Kindness does not cost anything. It can be either a caring word or a small gesture. Why should we be nice and kind? 'because it's good for you!' doctors will answer you. 'It adds to you health and happiness'. But personally, I think that kindness is above all a personal choice. Simple kindness, like helping a handicapped person cross the street, is given without any expectation of reward and recognition. This is what makes people very special. (EnSec1, p.88)

This kind of texts develops in the students the positive values of love and peace through teaching how kindness would help the self and others.

In addition, EnSec1 offers quotes from famous people about kindness like, "kindness is not an inherited trait. It is learned behaviour. (Katie Courie)",¹⁰⁴ "I feel good when I help people. (Peter Carlson)",¹⁰⁵ "small gestures can make people happy. (Lynda Johnson)"¹⁰⁶ (EnSec1, p.89). The fact that EnSec1 is the textbook for the first year of secondary school students, aged between 14 to 15 years old, stresses the influence of these celebrities on students. In this respect, a survey of teenagers discussed by *The Telegraph* reported that, "one in four teenagers admit they are more influenced by celebrities than people they know".¹⁰⁷ Hayat Messekher considers 'celebrity culture' in Algeria an important element in school textbooks because celebrities "raise learners' interest and make the books appear current" (Messekher, 2014, p. 73). Therefore, the use of these citations can indeed be motivating for the students to participate in the sharing of kindness.

The feeling of kindness is stressed further in different texts and activities by encouraging help between people. One of the activities in EnSec1 (p.66), for example, offers a dialogue between two people, where the first helps the other in finding his way to

¹⁰⁴ Katie Courie, American author and journalist.

¹⁰⁵ Peter Carlson, America minister.

¹⁰⁶ Lynda Johnson, American magazine editor and chairwoman.

¹⁰⁷ A study published by *The Telegraph* newspaper on the 12th August 2009. [Online]

Available at: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/6012322/Teenagers-most-influenced-bycelebrities.html [Accessed 27October 2017].

Victoria Coach Station using a street map. Moreover, kindness is promoted by encouraging co-operation between Algerians and foreigners. EnMid3 presents an email written by an Algerian character, called Mohamed, to a western character, called John. In this email, Mohamed explains to John the different flight and train schedules in Algeria (EnMid3, p.66). The opposite is offered in EnSec1 (p.40) in an email where a western girl, Cheyenne, teaches an Algerian girl, Sihem, how to make an Indian pudding. These kinds of intercultural activities encourage the sense of help and kindness between different people from different cultures and ethnicities.

4.4.2.1.5. Empathy, Caring, and Sharing

Concern for others and sensitivity to their needs is one of the definitions of compassion. This latter "deeply empathizes with people's sufferings and indignities. A natural energy that moves from within, it seeks out to show pity, mercy and kindness to people who are the last, the least, and the lost" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 31). The English textbooks help the students to develop feelings of responsibility towards others and concerns for their needs. For example, EnMid4 offers different activities (4, p. 125, and 1, 5, 8, p.134-135) about an Algerian girl called Nacera who is the main carer for her widowed, sick mother.¹⁰⁸ All these activities include extracts from a letter written by Nacera and published in a newspaper, on the advice page. In this letter, Nacera explains that she has won a scholarship granted by UNESCO but she cannot accept it because of her concerns for her mother. She says:

If I went abroad, my mother would remain all by herself. There would be no one to take care of her, to love her. Her health would deteriorate. Indeed, solitude may break her heart. She might even die, with no one sitting at her bedside. [...] I would feel guilty for the rest of my life. (EnMid4, p.135)

The expressions that Nacera uses in this passage, by imagining what would happen to her mother if she leaves her on her own, help to stimulate the sense of empathy in the students. This kind of text encourages students to empathise with others not only through having the ability to understand their problems, but also through "being able to put oneself in the self of the other" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 32). This sense of empathy "facilitates caring and sharing" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 32). Caring is "shown by one's deep concern for others. It involves sensitivity to their needs, what one can do in order to make

¹⁰⁸The story of Nacera is taught also through different activities 1, 5 and 8 (EnMid4, p.134-135).

the other person's life more pleasant or better" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 32). Therefore, the representation of caring helps students to understand its importance in their life.

In fact, the importance of caring about others is also promoted in a reading text in EnSec3 (p.186).¹⁰⁹ In this text, the author states:

Three passions, simple but very strong, have governed my life: the longing for love, the search for knowledge, and an unbearable pity for the suffering of mankind [...]. Echoes of cries of pain reverberate in my heart. Children in famine, victims tortured by oppressors, helpless old people who are hated by their children, and the whole world of loneliness, poverty, and pain make a mockery of what life should be. I wish I could cure evil, but I cannot, and I too suffer. (EnSec3, p.186).

All these expressions emphasise the feeling of empathy with people's problems and pain. The sense of compassion, here, takes the students out of "their egoistic interests and opens their eyes to the realities of the suffering of others around them" (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 88). Therefore, English textbooks arguably help develop the students' inner peace through stimulating their compassion and empathy towards others.

Additionally, some of the English textbooks teach these values by presenting different texts about natural disasters. For example, a text in EnSec2 (p.101), entitled 'Tsunami in the News', explains the tragedy of natural disaster, as in the following extract:

It [the tsunami] spared neither the poor nor the rich, and it killed both the elderly and the young. This time the tsunami had not chosen its victims "beforehand". The dead, the injured, and the homeless had no nationality in this tragedy. (EnSec2, p101)

Although the main aim of the text is to teach the importance of media, it arguably develops the students' empathy through using words like 'disaster' and 'tragedy', and through the description of the damages caused by a/the tsunami. Similarly, EnSec2 offers a number of pictures showing several natural disasters in Algeria, like earthquakes (image 23 and 55, appendix D) or floods (image 24, appendix D). These images help the students to empathise with people by remembering natural catastrophes that have happened in their own country, which might even have been witnessed by some of them. This kind of pictures aims to stimulate the feeling of empathy with others who live the same sufferings.

Furthermore, the textbook, EnSec2, offers other pictures showing Algerian solidarity in such situations. For example, one of the textbook's images (Image 26, appendix D) presents some veiled women taking food to earthquake victims with one of

¹⁰⁹ The source of the text is not provided in the textbook.

them having the sign of the Red Crescent on her arm (EnSec2, p.129).¹¹⁰ This image represents inner-peace by emphasising charity and help as an essential core of the Algerian culture. The aid and charity represented are altruistic forms of behaviour, which come from human compassion. In fact, "one often comes across acts of helping, self-sacrifice, charity, bravery which are engaged in spontaneously. Such acts of altruistic behaviour are determined by psychological dynamics of intense compassionate feelings for another person or for humanity at large" (UNESCO, 2002, p. 68).

Moreover, a reading comprehension text in the same textbook (EnSec2, p.120), entitled 'How Charitable are our Youth?' is offered to emphasise the importance of help and charity among young people. This text explains the results of a survey conducted by a magazine called Youth 2010. The survey aims to explore empathy and willingness among today's Algerian youth to assist in cases of natural or man-made disasters. Interestingly, most of the secondary school children who were the group that formed the basis of the survey said that "they had felt deeply moved by the disasters covered in the media", and many of them helped either by donating money and blood or by volunteering with the Algerian Red Crescent to collect food for the victims. Another text, in the same textbook (EnSec2, p.129), discusses the same values of help, charity, and empathy in Algerian society. It describes how "great calamities can show the best in men" (EnSec2, p.129). The text discusses how different women were providing food to the victims of the earthquake of Boumerdes in 2003. It shows the positive values of Algerians by explaining the youths' 'heroic role' in the disaster. The author of the text states, "I understood that the disasters could certainly kill people, but in some way they are like hammers that weld the brotherly spirit of humanity" (EnSec2, p.129). These texts, arguably, promote a culture of peace by stimulating and developing in the students the values of compassion, empathy, as well as caring and sharing. The French textbooks, on the other hand, do not promote these values because of their focus on teaching French as a language of science.

¹¹⁰ The veil, as the next chapter discusses, was a sign of Algerian identity throughout the years of colonialism. However, that veil, called *Hayek*, is not the same that Algerian women wear today. Today's veil appeared in Algeria during 1980-1990 and was introduced by the FIS, who encouraged wearing a head-scarf with a long top instead of the Hayek that existed during the years of colonialism (Further discussion is provided in Section 5.2). This modern-style veil was imposed by the now-extinct party, and paradoxically continued to exist after the party was abolished. The number of girls wearing it has increased to this day (Moali, 2006) because of the influence of the Arab-Middle Eastern culture and the conservative nature of Algerian society. Although that image in the textbooks represents one unveiled girl to create a balance between veiled and unveiled Algerian women, I believe that the veil in the image is used as an indication of the women represented as being Algerians.

Most of the texts in French are, if not historical as stated earlier in this chapter, scientific teachings about special scientific texts or texts that are used to teach a specific genre in French, like *le fait divers*.

4.4.2.2. Social Peace

Social peace is defined as "the way of sustaining social life distant from internal conflict" (Kaynak, 2014, p. 363). It is of paramount importance to adopt a socially peaceful culture in foreign language teaching materials. This culture promotes tolerance between the native and the target culture, which helps to develop not only the students' communicative skills, but also their intercultural ones. UNESCO states, "[i]ntercultural competences empower the participating groups and individuals and enable them to interact with cultural others with a view to bridging differences, diffusing conflicts and setting the foundations of peaceful coexistence" (UNESCO, n.d.). UNESCO, also, identifies the following examples of the social peace:

Peace between man and man, (men and women, as well!) harmony arising from human relationships at all levels, conflict reconciliation and resolution, love, friendship, unity, mutual understanding, acceptance, co-operation, brotherhood, tolerance of differences, democracy, community-building, human rights, morality. (Balasooriya, 2001, p. 10)

Some of these examples are represented in the textbooks to help develop the students' social peace. Amongst them, I identified the following elements.

4.4.2.2.1. Openness and Interculturality

Interestingly, the French, as well as the English, textbooks help to develop the students' openness and interculturality as intrinsic to language learning (Atay, et al., 2009), however, they teach interculturality in different ways. Cultural icons of various countries are represented within different pages of the English textbooks like the UK's Big Ben, France's Eiffel Tower, Egypt's pyramids, and so on.¹¹¹ In the French textbooks, the Egyptian Pyramids (FrMid2, p.111, 145) and the French Eiffel Tower (FrMid3, p.90) are the only presented icons. Some of the English textbooks, such as EnMid3, focus on providing geographical, political, and historical information about the main English speaking countries' target culture, like the UK (p.133), USA (p.140, 141, 162, 163), Canada (p.134), Australia (p.134), New Zealand (p.134), Jamaica (p.134), Ireland (p.134), Malawi (p.160), as well as Arab countries like Egypt (p.147). Similarly, EnMid4 offers different geographical information about the political states in the USA (p.76), as

¹¹¹ EnMis3 (p.100, 126, 142, 145, 147), EnSec1 (p.33, 66).

well as some activities about India (p.101). The Algerian culture, on the other hand, is represented in the textbooks through various historical and cultural symbols in many Algerian cities, like the Martyr's Monument, Tipasa Roman Ruins, Tipasa Tourist Resort, Royal Mauretanian Mausoleum, and the Kasbah (EnSec2, p.28). The French textbooks, on the other hand do not provide space for French speaking countries' culture, rather they represent information about some Algerian cities, like Algiers (FrSec1, p.48), Djelfa and Laghouat (FrSec2, p.92-95). Unlike the English textbooks, information about France's or French speaking countries' historical and cultural symbols or geography is missing from the textbooks.

Another way of promoting interculturality in the textbooks is through providing a culturally hybrid space which allows learners to express and learn more about their own culture, the target culture, as well as international cultures. This hybrid space has been emphasised by many scholars as an integral part of foreign language classrooms (Kramsch, 2009, 2013). Unfortunately, this space is not provided in the French language textbooks but is highly emphasised in the English textbooks. For example, the first Unit, Exploring the Past, in EnSec3 is devoted to teaching the students about ancient local, Arab, and western civilisations. Algerian civilisation and heritage sites are discussed in this textbook through representations of the past (Images 27 and 28, Appendix D). In addition to the images, some texts in EnSec3 present the Algerian culture through describing different cultural symbols and habits, as well as history of the civilisations that took place in the country (EnSec3, p.21-23). For example, a text, entitled Algeria at the Crossroads of Civilizations, provides significant information about the different civilisations that existed in the Algerian territory in the past. It mentions different Algerian cultural sites and considers them as important sites of world heritage like Tipaza, Djemila, Tassili n'Ajjer, Timgad, the M'zab Valley, the Qalaa, the Casbah, and many others. The text, also, praises the country's cultural heritage by stating, "today few countries in the region can boast of as many World Heritage Sites as our country. [...] the Algerian Sahara was one of the cradles of civilization" (EnSec3, p.22). This kind of patriotic expression can arguably help in boosting the students' self-esteem together with developing their sense of interculturality by familiarising them with both their own and international cultural heritage through the English language textbooks.

In addition, EnSec3 aims to familiarise the learners with ancient Arab and Islamic civilisations, such as the Egyptian civilisation (p.36-39), Mesopotamian civilisation

(p.36), Andalusian civilisation (p.25), and Phoenician civilisation (p.198). Different pictures of the textbook offer representations of these civilisations (see images 29 and 30, Appendix D). These representations praise the role played by the Arab and Islamic civilisations in the development of modern science, such as the activity below:

When the roman civilization fell to ruins, it was the turn of the Arabs to take the ____(9)of carrying on the torch of civilization. Arab caliphs like al'Mamun and Harun al-Rashid were ___(10) patrons of the arts and sciences. They welcomed the most ___(11) scientists and artists in their courts. These scientists did not only save the Greek__(12) heritage from loss, but they further___(13) it before transmitting it to the West. (EnSec3, p.26)

This activity helps the learners to develop knowledge about their Arabo-Islamic identity. It helps the learning environment to also foster the students' self-esteem and intercultural skills through showing positive images of and respect for Arab history and civilisation.

The English textbooks also show respect and admiration for western and other civilisations through different pictorial (Image 31 and 32, Appendix D) and textual presentations. A text in EnSec3, for example, is devoted to defining the Maya Civilisation. It talks about its "highly developed system of government and agriculture, as well as an incredibly accurate system for measuring time" (EnSec3, p.19). The use of these expressions of admiration implies the respect and the appreciation of the Other's history and civilisation. Besides, significant information about the Greek, Roman, Olmec, Chavin, and Maya civilisations is also offered in EnSec3 (p.196). EnSec2, as well, provides different information about ancient peoples in Rome and Japan (p.34).

Unlike the English textbooks, interculturality is taught in the French textbooks through the different literary genres in FrMid2. The fact that the objective of this textbook is to teach about le conte, la fable, and la légende necessitates the implementation of tales from different cultures. In this textbook, there are texts representing German (p.9, 12, 28), African (p.19), Egyptian (p.12), Hawaiian (p.22), Russian (p.26), Malian (p.31), and Chinese cultures (p.33, 48, 50). In addition, 'les fables' used in the textbook are mainly the French *Fables de la Fontaine* (p. 64, 66, 69, 67, 74, 83, 90, 95) and the Arab *Kalila wa Dimna* (p. 63, 66, 67, 79, 142). In fact, the *Fables de Fontaine* are even adopted in two other French secondary education textbooks: FrSec1 (p.77) and FrSec2 (p.185). These fables are the only French cultural element identified in the textbooks because, arguably, they do not reflect specific elements of the French culture. Therefore, these fables were not considered by the Ministry as a threat to *Algerianisation*. However, all these tales

from other cultures are the only opportunity for the Algerian learners of French to develop their intercultural competence.

In addition, FrMid2 provides the learners with a space to engage with their own culture, away from the historical texts. Algerian (p.24, 39) and Berber (p. 25, 41) tales are also provided in this textbook. In addition, some passages from the *One Thousand and One Nights* are provided in the same textbook (p.21, 139, 140). English textbooks, on the other hand, provide representations of different Algerian and Western food and the way of life in and outside Algeria. EnMid4, for example, offers activities about Algerian traditional food, such as, *Kouskous, Shorba frik, Dolma Batata* (p.29), *Tcharek*, and *Tamina* (p.21), as well as different kinds of western food, like pancakes, doughnuts (p.21), Yorkshire pudding, fish and chips, chicken tandoori, and hamburgers (p.18). In doing so, these English textbooks help the learners to identify similarities between their own and the Other's culture, which is not possible in the French textbooks. In EnMid4, for example, Activity 1 (p.75) teaches the learners different superstitions in English, while activity 2 (p.75) encourages them to find out the superstitions' equivalents in the Algerian culture, while in the French textbooks, the students are only able to learn some tales that will not help them to communicate with the French speaking Other.

Moreover, unlike the French textbooks, the English textbooks raise intercultural awareness through teaching different facts about the Other's culture, British and American, in comparison to the Algerian counterpart. EnSec3, for example, offers different facts about the British educational system and national curriculum (EnSec3, p.83). It explains the different stages that the British learners go through from primary education to college. Another reading text and a diagram, in the same textbook, are devoted to explaining the USA educational system. The textbook does not only aim to familiarise students with different educational systems in English-speaking countries, it also offers them an opportunity to compare them with the Algerian education system in a research project (EnSec3, p.103). Additionally, EnSec3 provides a space to compare different examples of western cultures. For example, it offers a comparative text about the expression of feelings by British and American people (EnSec3, p.174-175), as well as an activity that encourages the learners to make comparisons between Algerian and British/American attitudes (p.174). This kind of lesson helps to foster a hybrid space that allows the learners to develop their intercultural skills, while in French the learners are excluded from this space.

4.4.2.2.2. Mutual Respect

Mutual respect is one of the values that help to develop an intercultural dialogue. It is amongst the main values identified by the Council of European Ministers of Foreign Affairs at their 118th Ministerial session in Strasbourg in 2008. A document entitled *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue: "Living together as Equals in Dignity*", produced in that session, states that "[i]ntercultural dialogue is understood as an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals, groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage on the basis of mutual understanding and respect" (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 10). The *White Paper* also states that "equality and mutual respect are important building blocks of intercultural dialogue and essential to remove the barriers to its realisation" (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 21). Therefore, respect is amongst the main values that help develop social peace.

Respect is another value taught in the English textbooks. These textbooks encourage the students to respect and appreciate the Self as well as the Other, a fact that is absent in the French textbooks. The values of respect and politeness, in general, are addressed in the textbooks by criticising the perceived impoliteness of younger people. A text in EnSec2, for example, raises the issue of politeness by drawing comparisons between life in the past and the present. In this text, Sandra Fellici, an Italian woman, emphasises the importance of politeness and respect to others, by saying:

Unfortunately, in our society today, what we call good manners, or good etiquette are changing. New generations are becoming more and more impolite. [...] when I was a child, I used to go out with my parents. I used to stay close to them and behave in an educated way; but some kids nowadays make a lot of noise, go everywhere, and are less respectful towards adults. (EnSec2, p.32)

Such examples can raise students' awareness of the good manners that some consider are diminishing in contemporary societies. This can help develop and maintain these behaviours and, therefore, create a dialogue between different generations.

Self-respect is also conveyed through the inclusion of patriotic texts that praise the nation and the people working for it. For example, a poem written by an American writer, Ralph Waldo Emerson, is offered, in EnSec2, with an image that contains the Algerian flag, as a symbol of national identity (see Section 3.5.1 for further details) to emphasise the sense of patriotism and respect for the nation (see Image 33, Appendix D). This value, as the first part of this chapter as well as chapter Three discuss, is highly emphasised in

the French-language textbooks through representations of the flag, war veterans, national heroes, as well as other narratives about the past. All these representations in French textbooks develop a sense of nationalist self-respect by developing respect towards the nation, its past, and its heroes. However, the Algerian culture in the textbooks of English is taught differently. EnSec2, for example, offers a space to describe and appreciate different local traditions to help the learners develop a sense of appreciation for their own culture, as in the following example:

The Friday breakfast is 'a shared' meal, with all the members of the family more likely to be sitting together than during weekday meals. The Friday lunch is the most ritualised meal of the week. A *Mesfouf* with peas or a *Kouskous* with meat and vegetables is generally served and the whole household meets again around the coffee table or *El-Maida* as if in celebration of a family reunion. In the afternoon, most people take their tea or white coffee together with *Khfef* or *Tamina*. In doing so, they want to keep their traditions alive, maintain family unity, and resist the constraints of modern life. (EnSec2, p.25)

This paragraph teaches the learners many values. It develops a sense of pride in their culture and traditions through the emphasis on the importance of the 'Friday lunch'. It explains, as well, the importance of maintaining family unity through these traditions.

Respect for the Other is completely absent from the French-language textbooks. The French-Other, as the previous chapter discusses, is only allowed to be presented as an existential threat that would jeopardise Algerian national unity. However, this value is highly promoted in the English textbooks. The representation of, and praise for, the Other's culture and civilisations, discussed above, help develop students' sense of respect and appreciation towards the Other's and the world's cultures. The English textbooks devote a significant space to the British royal family as an integral icon of the British culture. EnSec3 (p.179-180), for example, offers a reading comprehension text with an image about Lady Diana (see image 34, Appendix D). The text promotes feelings of respect and honour to Princess Diana, as the following passage shows:

British people admired her. They have never missed her appearance in official parades or on TV. [...] Diana resigned as the patron of many British and Commonwealth charities and reduced her workload to just six charities of her choice. Diana became deeply committed to the anti-landmine campaign. She succeeded in rallying public opinion against landmines worldwide. (EnSec7, p179)

All these expressions transmit a positive feeling of appreciation and admiration towards the Princess of Wales, which in turn develop the students' respect of the Other.

Respect of the Self and the Other is also embedded in different texts that praise the beauty of key Algerian and British sights in the English language textbooks. For example, many letters and emails in EnMid3 are attributed to foreigners describing their trips in Algeria and their admiration for the country and its beautiful nature sites. For example, there is a letter written by Tom, a western character, to his parents describing his holidays in Jijel and his admiration for the beautiful sites in this Algerian city (EnMid3, p.59).¹¹² In the same textbook, a conversation between two girls is offered as a language skill task that praises famous British landmarks. In this conversation, one of the participants explains to her friend her plans to travel to London and to visit its main sights, like London Eye, Big Ben, Trafalgar Square, in addition to doing some shopping in Harrods.¹¹³ This kind of text, which is completely absent from the French language textbooks, develops in the students a sense of respect towards both the Self and the Other.

4.4.2.2.3. Human Rights

Respecting human rights is amongst the most important values, which are needed in this era that is witnessing a real violation of these rights. This respect for human rights is promoted in the English textbooks by emphasising the importance of peace. This importance is symbolised by allocating a whole Unit (chapter) entitled, Make Peace, in EnSec2 with the aim of teaching peace. This Unit teaches the students about international organisations of peace like the League of Nations (p.38), the United Nations (p.38), and International Atomic Agency (p.42). In addition, many textbooks iconise famous peace figures in the world and highlight their impact on humanity. Martin Luther King, for example, is presented as a symbol of peace and justice in different activities in EnMid4 (p.107, 108, 109), and his I Have a Dream speech is, also, taught in the same textbook (p.64). This speech helps students to learn about solidarity and equality between different races and different people. In other words, it helps the learners to appreciate and value the concept of living in harmony and peace. One of the activities (EnMid4, p.110) encourages the learners to write a letter of opinion about Abdelhamid Ben Badis, the leader of the Oulémas, as a man of peace, as well as writing about their favourite hero using the example of Martin Luther King. However, despite the emphasis on representing the colonial period in the French language textbooks, Ben Badis is absent from these textbooks.

¹¹² Algerian touristic sights also are mentioned in many other pages of EnMid3, like (p.150, 151).

¹¹³ A map of famous sights in London is included in EnMid3 (p.64).

In addition to Luther King, Mahatma Gandhi is also emblematised as a man of peace in different English textbooks. EnMid4, for example, teaches information about Gandhi through a number of activities that provide different facts about his life (109-110). EnSec1 also provides a descriptive paragraph of the book *Chadha*, which is an autobiography of Gandhi (p.70). This paragraph describes Gandhi's non-violence policy as the "worldwide model of political protest", and describes his life as "a story of heroism and integrity" (EnSec1, p.70). This kind of lesson can arguably help developing the learners' culture of peace. It is worth mentioning here that both King and Gandhi were anti-capitalist and anti-colonial leaders, with the first against American white supremacy and the latter against the British Empire. Therefore, like the French language textbooks, the English language textbooks are focusing on historical narratives of resistance. Unlike the French textbooks though, the English textbooks represent a non-violent resistance that does not focus on the Algerian context solely. Therefore, the 'culture of peace' can also include aspects of resistance.

The French textbooks offer a different form of texts to teach peace. It provides a famous anti-war song in a form of a letter written by a man who refused to join the French Army, addressed to the French president. This letter, entitled, 'Le Déserteur', was written by Boris Vian in 1954 during the famous battle of Dien Bien Phu. In this letter Vian explains the outcomes of the war as he states:

Depuis que je suis né, J'ai vu mourir mon père, J'ai vu partir mes frères, Et pleurer mes enfants.

> Quand j'étais prisonnier, On m'a volé ma femme, On m'a volé mon âme,

Et tout mon cher passé. (FrSec3, p.93)

Since I was born,

I've seen my father die,

I've seen my brothers leave,

And my children cry.

When I was a prisoner,

My wife was stolen,

My soul was stolen,

And all my past. (Translation mine)

In addition to these sad representations, Vian encourages people in his letter to challenge the orders and to not participate in the war, as he says:

Refuser d'obéir ! Refuser de la faire ! N'allez pas à la guerre ! Refuser de partir ! (FrSec3, p.93)

Refuse to obey! Refuse to do it! Do not go to war! Refuse to leave! (Translation mine)

Although this text is provided in the French textbooks to serve the same aim as the other historical narratives by emphasising the image of the French as the 'devilish entity', it also encourages social peace. It calls for the humanity of people and encourages them to avoid war and its tragic outcomes. Therefore, it encourages the learners' respect for human life and dignity.

The French textbooks also offer explicit references to UNESCO, showing a desire to promote their values. A text entitled, 'Appel du Directeur de l'Unesco', in FrSec3 encourages people to join UNESCO in order to promote its values of peace. It states, "[o]ffrez-lui un abonnement et contribuer ainsi à l'effort que l'Unesco entreprend pour la paix et l'amitié entre les hommes" (FrSec3, p137). Similarly, the English textbooks refer to the UN, and its related agencies. They provide learners with different international conventions related to human rights, such as the *Convention of the Rights of Children* (EnSec2, p.56) that emphasises the prohibition of discrimination in terms of race, sex, and religion. In addition, EnSec2 provides the learners with the contact details for UNICEF in Algeria as a way to motivate them to know more about their rights (see Image 35, Appendix D). This lesson helps students to know about the rights of Algerians and of others in order to develop a reciprocal respect that leads to living in harmony and peace. The violation of these rights is also addressed in EnSec3 (p.65) through a discussion of an image (see Image 36, Appendix D) representing child labour. Through this image, the

textbook provides an opportunity to think about the moral issues of child labour in order to develop students' awareness of the rights of children. In the following statement from a reading comprehension text in EnSec3, the immorality of child labour is emphasised by one of the executives in a company: "we also ensure that workers are above the legal age to work. Our suppliers must not use child labour" (EnSec3, p. 67). This emphasis on raising the learners' awareness of human rights is one of the major steps towards building a culture of peace through foreign languages in Algeria.

4.4.2.2.4. Tolerance

Tolerance is an important value for constructing a culture of peace. Although this value is absent in the French textbooks, it is embedded in many lessons in the English textbooks, among them is teaching the principles of the Red Cross and Crescent. This lesson emphasises the prohibition of any sort of discrimination between different groups and individuals (EnSec2, p.135). In addition, religious tolerance is inculcated in the textbooks through teaching different Christian and Islamic occasions, such as Eid, Christmas, and Halloween (EnMid1, p.56) (see Image 37, Appendix D). The textbooks praise the role played by these festivals, like Christmas and Thanksgiving, in raising funds for the elderly and the poor in America through food drive collections organised by schools (EnSec2, p.136). Another example of religious tolerance is promoted through the description of the right of belief in American schools in EnSec3, as the following extract displays:

The great area of disagreement is the place of religious and moral education. Commonly debated topics include whether teachers should ask students to say prayers [...]. Sometimes the debate ends up in court of justice, and courts usually say that students shouldn't be forced to do something that is against their beliefs. (EnSec7, p.99)

This text provides students with a model of religious tolerance. It helps to develop the learners' awareness of the need to tolerate other groups despite their differences.

In fact, peace is related to the relationships between different groups (Galtung, 1967, p. 14). These relationships are encouraged in most of the English textbooks through describing friendships between Algerians and foreigners. The friendship relationships are represented through the exchange of letters and emails between different characters. For example, EnMid3 (p. 46) offers a letter sent by Fred, a Western character, to Farid, an Algerian character. In this letter, both characters talk about their life plans and their hopes. In another example, EnMid4 teaches students about the American pre-university

education system through an email from an American girl, called Becky, to her Algerian pen-friend, Hamida (p.77). EnSec1, as well, encourages tolerance by presenting an extended email correspondence between a Finnish girl, named Kirsi, and an Algeria girl, Amel (p. 21, 32); the main purpose of these emails is for the girls to discover more about each other's country and culture. These kinds of activities develop in the learners a sense of tolerance and interculturality, which open the door to communication and tolerance between different cultures.

4.4.2.2.5. Solidarity

Solidarity is another value embedded in the English textbooks. EnSec2, for example, provides students with a text entitled 'Solidarity in Natural Disasters'(p.134).¹¹⁴ It explains the role played by human beings in the increased levels of natural disasters, as well as the role that solidarity between different peoples can play in promoting a culture of disaster prevention. The same textbook offers another text about the role played by British and American charities, like Oxfam and Amnesty International, in helping those in need (EnSec2, p.136). This text helps in raising awareness about the importance of the value of solidarity through charity. This value is also promoted through teaching the fundamental principles of the Red Cross and the Red Crescent. Amongst these principles is the fact that ''all societies have equal status and share equal responsibilities and duties in helping each other'' (EnSec2, p.135). EnSec3, as well, encourages students to show solidarity against corruption. All these examples highlight the role played by English textbooks in promoting a culture of charity and solidarity in Algerian society. The French textbooks, on the other hand, do not pay attention to this value, which does not feature in its texts or exercises.

4.4.2.3. Peace with Nature

Peace with nature is the third basis of peace identified by UNESCO (Balasooriya, 2001) (see Figure 4.2 above). Consequently, building a culture of peace cannot be achieved without having an ecological peace to sustain it. In this respect, UNESCO affirms, "learning to live together in peace and harmony requires that quality of relationships at all levels is committed to peace, human rights, democracy and social justice in an ecologically sustainable environment" (UNESCO, 1998, p. 4). As a result, the 'environmental concern' is identified as one of the core values of peace (UNESCO,

¹¹⁴This text is adapted from the statement of Salvano Briceno, director, secretariat for the UNISDR at the 12th Civil World Conference, June 25, 2001.

1998). Raising students' awareness of the importance of achieving this ecological peace is addressed in many of textbooks.

4.4.2.3.1. Care for the Environment

In addition to promoting a culture that consolidates the students' inner and social peace, the English textbooks encourage students to develop a deep sense of responsibility towards mother nature. Saving the environment is one of the main themes sustained in these textbooks. EnMid4, for example, encourages the learners to take care of the environment through different activities and visuals. Amongst these is a dialogue (p.86) between two Algerian girls explaining the importance of recycling to save trees. Another activity, in the same textbook, (p.87) requires the students to write a paragraph about saving the environment, planting trees, building recycling factories, and cleaning polluted rivers. EnMid4 also provides an image of children cleaning the city, to explain the necessity of saving the environment as a social responsibility (see Image 38, Appendix D).

Furthermore, English textbooks help students to understand the risks of pollution and its negative effects on the environment as well as on human health, as the following extract shows in EnSec1:

The urban pollution spoils the air we breathe. It is the major cause of diseases such as lung and skin cancers. If nothing is done to reduce carbon dioxide emissions, most of us will die of these diseases. (EnSec1, p.145)

They also encourage the students to find different ways that would help to protect nature and to reduce pollution levels. One of the examples given in EnSec1 (p.150) invites students to deal with companies that use recyclable bottles and organic products (see Image 39, Appendix D). Another text (Image 40, Appendix D), entitled *Don't be a Litter Lout*, gives the learners tips on how to reduce the pollution caused by rubbish (EnSec1, p.158). It explains the benefits of re-using and recycling different items to protect the environment. This kind of lesson "may reinforce learners" understanding and responsible use of resources at their disposal, aiming at peaceful and sustainable mutual benefits of all beings"(Gebregeorgis, 2016, p. 65). Therefore, ecological peace that is taught through the English textbooks, although absent in the French textbooks, is an important value that contributes towards developing students' culture of peace.

4.4.2.3.2. Kindness to Animals

The textbooks do not only promote empathy with human beings, but also with different creatures. Most of the English textbooks encourage kindness to animals. For example, EnMid3 offers a reading text (p.96) that explains how the future of whales' existence is facing a major threat. The text explains and stresses the need for banning whale hunting all over the world. It also helps developing the students' empathy with whales by explaining the rights of these creatures to live in peace. A similar text is provided in French-language textbooks (FrMid3, p.27) through a text narrating an incident that happened in San Francisco, where a baby sea lion was found on the highway. This animal was saved by the police, who took it to a marine mammal centre. This text is another example of an exercise that encourages empathy with animals.

In addition, the English textbooks, as mentioned above, encourage the learners to fight against pollution, which does not only affect human beings, but also animals and sea life, as the following extract shows:

In the countryside, fertilisers which contain phosphorus and sulphur spill over into rivers. As a result, fish is dying in increasing numbers and aquatic life is suffocating from lack of oxygen. (EnSec1, p.145).

Along with this reading comprehension text, the English textbooks invite students to understand the dangers of pollution through finding out the different possible ways to protect nature and animals. Amongst these ways, EnSec1 offers a small passage showing how different activists protest for animal rights (p.155), for example it states, "there are about 80 animal activists in front of the embassy. 40 of them are women and the other 40 are men. 60 of them wear ghoulish masks and shout 'stop killing the whales'" (EnSec1, p.155). Another way to protect animals is offered in EnMid3, which, in addition to offering an intercultural text (p.39) about the Royal Life Guards who protect royal buildings in Britain, discusses the initiative of Pamela Anderson's letter to Queen Elizabeth that explains the cruelty of killing bears for the sake of making fur hats for the Guards. These different texts and pictures that promote an ecological peace in the textbooks "are necessary inputs to reassess our ecological relationship with other biotic and abiotic things in the living environment" (Gebregeorgis, 2017, p. 65). This emphasis on developing students' sense of peace with nature is an integral part in constructing a culture of peace through the values identified above.

The English textbooks, as the analysis above shows, emphasise values-based education that, in addition to teaching the foreign language, help develop the students' morality to a great extent. Examples of texts promoting such values can be found in all textbooks. Contrary to their emphasis on teaching historical narratives, the French textbooks afford little space to teaching a culture of peace through values-based education. Few texts, mostly from one textbook (FrMid2), are devoted to developing the learners' culture of peace and understanding of interculturality. In addition, the French-Other is completely absent in the textbooks of French, which arguably might have had a negative effect on teaching French as a foreign language and thus to the current French language crisis in Algeria. English, on the other hand, is gaining power amongst Algerian youth perhaps in part through being taught as a tool that helps students to communicate with the world and respect its different cultures.

4.5. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to question the cultural content in the textbooks under study, and its possible effects on teaching foreign languages in Algeria today. The analysis showed that the French textbooks promote a culture of resistance by focusing on teaching the nation through the presentations of the Algerian/French history of colonialism, while disregarding the need to develop the learners' cultural competences in the French language. Although teaching French is meant to modernise Algerian identity through the development of the students' intercultural skills, the French textbooks pay more attention to affirming the Algerian Self through representations of the French textbooks may have contributed to escalating the hostility and resistance of young Algerians towards learning the French language.

This culture of resistance promoted in the French textbooks represents the persistence of one of the French colonial legacies. The legacy of French colonialism in postcolonial Algeria is, in fact, "well reflected in the post-independence era" (Belmekki, 2013, p. 108) through the persistence of deliberate resistance against the French culture, by the Ministry of Education, in the French language textbooks. This resistance is a consequence of the 'decolonisation of the mind' policy approached by the textbooks' designers, who aimed to avoid the threat of French (re)-hegemony. This was affirmed by the interviews conducted for this study. For example, one of the interviewees said that "the French language is taught as a scientific language that should not constitute a threat

to our identity" (Interviewee 1). Accordingly, Algerians today show reluctance to learn French itself. This represents a shift in their attitudes from considering it as a 'butin de guerre', to viewing it as the language of the imperial coloniser.

On the other hand, the focus on the 'culture of peace' in the English textbooks seems to have a strong influence on the Algerian linguistic landscape today. These educational discourses reinforce the competition between French and English for the position of 'first foreign language' in the country. Although French is still an integral part of daily conversations in Algeria, English is gaining a significant place amongst Algerians (Belmihoub, 2018, p. 207). They consider English as an "instrument for their own careers and success" (Miliani, 2017), and French as the language of the oppressor (coloniser). Despite the fact that "the main aim of the Algerian education reform has been to make pupils participate more in their learning, so that students leave school with not just a good command of reading, writing and numeracy but also the attitudes, values and skills needed by 21st citizens" (Miliani, 2017), values-based education can mostly only be found in the English language textbooks. This helps to foster Englishlanguage classrooms that develop a 'culture of peace' among the learners. Consequently, the learners may be more motivated in their acquisition of the target-language, and may enjoy more the process. French classrooms, on the other hand, may contribute towards developing a 'culture of resistance' towards French metropolitan culture through an emphasis on the inseparable relation between the language and the bitter memories of the colonial past, in an attempt to affirm the Algerian Self.

Research has recently shown that French is in a precarious position in Algeria. The designers of the French textbooks have neglected the fact that "education has to go beyond the mechanics of memorising facts and knowledge production. It should not merely be offered for the sake of academic achievement. Education has to be a vital tool for not only the intellectual, but also the social and emotional transformation of learners." (Gebregeorgis, 2017, p. 54). Researchers affirm that teaching foreign languages has to go beyond teaching the linguistic and grammatical structures (Kramsch, 2013; Kramsch, 2009; Kramsch & Vinall, 2015). In Algeria, as the analysis above shows, this can give more priority to English, which helps to develop the learners' cultural identity through teaching different peace values. Therefore, the 2003 reforms might unconsciously have escalated the linguistic rivalry between these two foreign languages. However, most of the interviewees denied the existence of this rivalry, and explained the resistance among

young people to French as a question of perceived difficulty: English being perceived as easier than French. However, as this chapter has demonstrated, the difference in the cultural content of the textbooks of two languages may have an important effect on this resistance.

However, Interviewee 3 confirmed that the state has no intention of replacing French with English, affirming that, "la plupart des coopérations sont avec les Français... A mon institut chaque semaine il y a des experts français qui viennent. Et les responsables du ministère sont confinés avec eux aux bureaux. On ne sait pas ce qu'ils font. On a des messages par-ci par-là mais il y a que des Français". In addition, the government emphasises the importance of both languages in Algeria. Article 4 (Loi n 08-04 du 15 Moharram 1429 correspondant au 23 Janvier 2008) states that Algerian schools should "permettre la maîtrise d'au moins deux langues étrangères en tant qu'ouverture sur le monde et moyen d'accès à la documentation et aux échanges avec les cultures et les civilisations étrangères" (Bouteflika, 2008). Consequently, both French and English languages are considered as necessary foreign languages to facilitate Algerian communication with the rest of the world. However, instead of aiming to achieve linguistic harmony in the postcolonial country after a long period of political and social uprisings, language-planning policies, unintentionally, have antagonised an already fraught conflict of language and identity in Algeria.

Chapter 5: The Exclusion of Women from the National Project of Identity

If a democratic state is one in which citizens have the right to participate in society and the way it is governed, women must automatically be included in the equation. (Smail Salhi, 2003, p. 27)

5.1. Introduction

In addition to the challenge of (re)constructing national and cultural identity, gender discrimination is one of the major challenges that lie ahead for postcolonial countries. Many of these societies are still living in a permanent struggle with multi-contradictory legacies. The androcentric postcolonial period brought with it various features of gender inequalities that emphasised the domination of men and the subordination of women. Although different laws have been enacted to protect women's rights in postcolonial Algeria, the patriarchy that existed under colonialism persists well after independence. It is the main argument of this research that the importance of the foreign language textbooks does not lie only in teaching the nation and its culture, but also in the messages it transmits to students about gender roles in that nation. After covering the essential social and political background, this chapter will problematize the patriarchal representation of gender in educational discourses by questioning the division of social spaces in the textbooks. It argues that the contradiction between the Algerian will to promote gender equality and gender representation in textbooks is a threat to the national project of identity. The rigid focus on constructing a singular national identity in foreignlanguage textbooks has led to an ignorance of the diverse facets of identity, which are as important as national identity. If the legacy of the patriarchy during the colonial period persists in the teaching of French and English, then the postcolonial nation has failed to include women in the equation of the national project of identity. Accordingly, this chapter will first provide a historical overview of gender relations in Algeria since colonialism. Then, it will investigate the gender of the textbooks' designers as well as the authors of the chosen texts. Finally, it will employ content analysis and critical discourse analysis to investigate gender visibility and the distribution of gender roles in the textbooks under analysis.

5.2. Algerian Women under the 'Double Oppression'

Algerian women today enjoy some rights and have penetrated many domains that were previously exclusive to men. However, they still cannot enjoy many of their legal rights because of the society's patriarchal traditions that are inherited from the colonial period. Postcolonial Algeria witnessed a new form of discrimination against women known as, in Neil McMaster's term, Neo-patriarchy (MacMaster, 2009, p. 369). As explained in the first Chapter, French colonialism led women to be imprisoned by their men in their houses to protect them from the French soldiers (see Section 1.2.1). Therefore, the house became known as the private jail and women's main place. Even when men used to talk to each other in the public sphere about their family women, they used expression like 'lemra hachak'¹¹⁵ as "a mark of respect for the private sphere, in the sense, 'My wife, although I shouldn't speak her name publicly'' (Vince, 2015, p. 141). This was a way to affirm the denial of women's place in the public sphere (Vince, 2015, p. 141). However, this patriarchy was challenged during the revolution when Algerian women started to participate as heavily as men in the War (see Section 1.2.1).

From this private prison during colonialism and public freedom during the revolution, the postcolonial period brought with it what, I shall call, a 'Third World' where women are subject to a 'double oppression'. The concept of the 'Third World' has been used in different disciplines. The term 'third world' gained visibility during the cold war to describe the countries that used neither to support capitalism and the United States, the first world, nor communism and the Soviet Union, i.e. the second world. Despite the fact that the Soviet Union no longer exists, the term continues to be used to describe developing countries mostly in Africa and Asia. In postcolonial theory for example, the 'Third Space' was used by Bhabha (1994) to identify a hybrid place where the coloniser's and colonised's identities are melted together (see Section 2.2.1), while in foreign language education, the same concept is used by Kramsch (2009) to identify the foreign language classroom where the source and the target culture coexist together (see Section 3.4). However, in this Chapter, the notion of the 'Third World' is used from a gender perspective to address the contradictory space where women could achieve a certain amount of freedom but within the limits of the private jail or the private sphere. Women are, in fact, "identified less in tradition as such than with Algeria's 'betweenness', its

¹¹⁵ 'Lemra' is woman in the Algerian Arabic dialect, while 'hachak' is defined by Vince as "a colloquial expression, an apology for mentioning something that is not usually considered polite to refer to in public" (Vince, 2015, p. 140).

traversal by irreconcilable modern and traditional currents" (Woodhull, 1993, p. 10). This makes Algerian women stuck in a 'Third World' between traditional and modern worlds,¹¹⁶ or in other words, caught between the achievement of a theoretical progress and the recognition that patriarchy, in reality, the fact that has slowed down their emancipation.¹¹⁷ Women have considered this as a world between two jailers as Fadila Ahmed says,

We, the women of Algeria, have two jailers: colonialism [...] and the apathetic creatures who cling on to customs and traditions inherited not from Islam but their ignorant fathers. The second jailer is worse than the first. (Cited in Leonhardt, 2013, p. 43)

This quote summarises the 'double oppression' that Algerian women are living today. It explains the contradictory space that was created by French colonialism and Algerian patriarchy.

Therefore, to provide a better understanding of the complex implications of this paradoxical social status of women, it is necessary to go back to history – the history that cannot deny the deeds of French colonialism in Algeria. Women were not excluded from the oppression of colonialism. They were, as the first Chapter explains, amongst the main stated interests of the coloniser (see Section 1.2.1). The French, in the 19th century, came with the belief that "superior' French men and women would educate 'inferior' peoples in Africa and Asia to their Eurocentric definition of universal 'civilization', or indeed decide that they were beyond the pale of assimilation" (Vince, 2010, pp. 448-449). The fact that Algerian society was highly conservative as it was based on the teachings of Qur'an, inspired the French to claim women's emancipation as one of the oppressed" (Cooke, 1989, p. 2), who need help to gain emancipation. Ironically, "French policies toward Algerian women's rights were ambiguous and never significantly improved under colonialism" (Leonhardt, 2013, p. 8), and women's position became worse throughout the years of colonialism. The French obsession with the idea of their 'superiority' led them to

¹¹⁶ 'Algeria between two worlds' is a metaphor used by David Gordon (1968) in his *Women of Algeria: An Essay on Change.*

¹¹⁷ The word 'emancipation' is used here to mean receiving equal treatment and opportunities to both women and men regardless of their gender. This term was frequently used during the colonial period in Algeria to address "a reformist agenda that sought to extend citizenship and equality and rights to Algerian Muslim women so that they could 'catch up' with their European sisters in metropolitan France and Algeria with regard to voting rights, education, professional training, employment opportunities, health care and welfare" (MacMaster, 2009, p. 3).

perceive the "Algerian culture as backward and undeveloped, especially in regards to their treatment of and behaviour towards women" (Leonhardt, 2013, p. 8).

Paradoxically, from the first years of colonialism the French exploited and victimised Algerian women. I will never forget stories that my grandmother used to tell about French colonialism: about her mother covering her and her sisters with animals' waste or mud so that French soldiers did not rape them due to their disgust because of their bad odour (see Branche, 2001), about pregnant women who were killed and their bellies cut open by French men just to find out the gender of the baby, about women whose ears and hands were cut off because the French wanted to steal their earrings and Many of these acts were confirmed by the French bracelets (see Lazreg, 2018). themselves, as two French soldiers affirmed to Raphaëlle Branche (2001). One of them was a French officer parachutist who served in the French military in Algeria. He said "le problème des algériennes, c'est qu'elles était sales et voilées. [...] donc elles n'était pas attirantes" (Branche, 2001, p. 290). Another confirmed "ça se disait aussi... des gens de retour d'opérations. Des trucs du genre: les femmes qui se salissaient pour éviter d'être violées, qui se salissaient, avec de la boue, qui se rendaient repoussantes pour éviter ce genre de choses. Les gars qui en parlaient, c'est forcément qu'ils avaient essayé. Il y avait des viols, c'est clair" (Branche, 2001, p. 291).

Algerian women were raped in front of their fathers, brothers or husbands, and in some cases, men and women were stripped naked and tortured in the same room (Vince, 2010, p. 459) just to humiliate them. In fact, humiliation was not the only reason; many times rape was allowed just to pleasure the soldiers (Branche, 2001, p. 292). Despite this evidence, these facts and the French colonial administration said that they colonised Algeria for the sake of civilising the natives and emancipating women. All these brutal acts were the main reason for women's imprisonment in their houses by their fathers, brothers or husband, to protect them and their honour. All these savage acts were the main reason behind the dramatic expansion of wearing the veil by Algerian women, who found it one of the means of protection as the French officer above said.¹¹⁸ This veil provided "a readily identifiable symbol, a public and visible marker, of support or

¹¹⁸ The veil or '*Hayik*' is a white long dress which covers the entire woman's body except her eyes, and its black equivalent is called '*mlaya*' which is famous in eastern Algerian cities. It is defined by Vince as "a long piece of cloth draped around the head and body with a triangle of cloth covering the face below the eyes" (Vince, 2010). A traditional dress appeared during French colonialism as a ways to protect women's honour and men's '*h'uruma*'. It is a sign of the Muslim identity that was a challenge for the French coloniser.

opposition to Islamic values, gender segregation, familial honour and the socio-political domination of the male lineage" (MacMaster, 2009, p. 6). Veiling was a kind of resistance to the colonial assimilation, as well as colonial oppression (Boariu, 2002).

The only way for the Algerian man to protect his '*Nif*' was to put his women in the cage of darkness.¹¹⁹ This cage for Pierre Bourdieu is the interior of the house that is the 'dark space' reserved for women. The public space, on the other hand, was reserved for men. In this regard, Bourdieu describes this division of the social space, in Lane's words, as: "The interior of the house was a dark, humid space signifying feminine values of nurture, domesticity and reserved respectability, or '*h'urma*'. Outside was the domain of men. Men went out into the fields to work, to meet and talk with other men'' (Lane, 2000, p. 97). As a result, women during these dark years of colonialism had no choice but to stay in their private space. Even when a woman appeared outside of this space, she had to protect herself by wearing the veil.

This veil was the curtain that separates and protects women's honour from the French soldiers. Algerian woman, in Frantz Fanon's words, "in the eyes of the observer, is unmistakably, 'she who hides behind the veil" (Fanon, 1965, p. 36). Ironically, this veil was considered by western societies as a sign of patriarchy and a pretext for colonialism, as explained below by Chris McMichael:

The veil appeared to stir a profound and visceral orientalism on the part of the French occupier. The veil maintained an ambiguous status in the mind of the coloniser. It was read as a convenient confirmation of all the most pernicious stereotypes about Algerians in particular and Arabs in general. It stood as confirmation of Algeria's backwards patriarchy, of its primitive insularity and of the passivity of Algerian women. In turn, these features were used to justify the occupation: such people were begging to be colonised. (McMichael, 2001)

Consequently, African as well as Middle Eastern countries were a target of colonial antiveil missions. Colonial powers claimed the veil to be a sign of gender inequality that must be oppressed. They asserted that colonialism was a mission to liberate 'Muslim women' from the patriarchal nature of their societies and their religion. Lord Cromer, the British Proconsul-general for the British occupation of Egypt between 1877 and 1907, argued:

Whereas Christianity teaches respect for women, and European men "elevated" women because of the teaching of their religion, Islam degraded them [...] and it was this degradation, most evident in the practices of veiling

¹¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu used the notion of '*Nif*' for the man's honour when describing the Kabyle society (Bourdieu, 1979).

and segregation, that the inferiority of Muslim men could be traced. (Cromer cited in Ahmed, 1992, pp. 152-153)

Nevertheless, many scholars consider the veil not only as a form of Islamic dress but also as a way of defending a woman's honour in an oppressive colonial period (Fanon, 1965; Cooke, 1989; Cherifati-Merabtine, 1994; McMichael, 2001;Mancini, 2012). Colonial Algeria was embodied in the veiled woman who struggled to preserve her honour and liberate her country, as Fanon argues.¹²⁰ Similarly, Miriam Cooke says, "in their steadfastness and patriotism, the women represent the land, authentic values, and traditions" (Cooke, 1989, p. 8). Even in political discourses, women are usually portrayed as representing these values. Fanon defended the veil by asserting that it was not only a way to protect the family's '*h'urma*', but a mysterious weapon to use against colonisers and "the bone of contention in a grandiose battle" (1965, p. 36). Similarly, McMichael confirms, the veil "stirred darker and less comfortable assertions on the part of the settlers. In its very hiddenness the veil strikes at the less confident aspects of the colonial society" (McMichael, 2001).

In the 1930s, the Islamic reformist movement started gaining attention in most Middle Eastern countries. This movement led to the emergence of many political parties in the MENA region influenced by Islamic thinking like the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, which has had an impact on most Arab countries.¹²¹ In the meantime, most mosques in many Arab countries strongly emphasised the idea that the *Hijab* is compulsory and men should require their women to be veiled. At the time, the issue of women and veils was raised across not only Middle Eastern and North African countries, but also in the West. Influenced by the French, the Egyptian feminist Hudaa Sharaawy protested by taking off her veil in public in 1922 (Eid, 2002, p. 41). This "act is considered by many to have heralded the women's liberation movement in the Arab world" (Eid, 2002, p. 41). Accordingly, "the veil became a central issue in the 1930s" (Mckay, 1994, p. 47). The focus was on the position of women in Muslim societies, neglecting the fact that western colonisers played an important role in endorsing this position.

¹²⁰ The Fanonian metaphor in Algeria Unveiled (Fanon, 1965).

¹²¹ Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood or the Society of Muslim Brother was founded in 1928 by Hassan El-Banna.

Inspired by this act, French colonialism's targeting of the veil in the 1930s, either by forcing women to be unveiled or to spread postcards showing unveiled Muslim women (Boariu, 2002), was the beginning of the Algerian 'decisive battle' against colonialism (Fanon, 1965). During this period, French colonisers decided to destroy Algerian identity by considering women's veil as a "symbol of the status of the Algerian women" (Fanon, 1965, p. 37). The mission of 'cultural destruction'¹²² was initiated by the French administration to control women as the 'pivot' of the colonised society and as "the guarantors of national identity" (Woodhull, 1993, p. 11). One of the ideological beliefs of the French administration regarding Algerian nationalism was "the view that [for Algerian nationalists] women and the family constituted the last remaining bastion of religious, cultural and social identity" (MacMaster, 2009, p. 4). It was the woman "who was given the historic mission of shaking up the Algerian man" (Fanon, 1965, p. 39). Despite various attempts, few women were unveiled, and by the end, the coloniser faced nothing but frustration. As Fanon declared, "this woman who sees without being seen frustrates the colonizer. There is no reciprocity. She does not yield herself, does not give herself, does not offer herself' (Fanon, 1965, p. 44). This woman used to be an active agent in the war against the coloniser. She challenged her imprisonment in order to fight for her emancipation. Even if they remained in the domestic space, women were playing an important role by nurturing the patriotic and cultural traits in their children with an assertion that Algeria will be free one day.

When the revolution started on 1st November 1954, the veil was one of the weapons used in the war of revolution. It enabled men to move around in public space without raising suspicion, as well as allowing women to conceal and transport the weapons and medicines of the *Moujahidine* behind the veil (Vince, 2010, p. 454). This was a clever act by the FLN, who exploited the French stereotype of "a passive and submissive woman who should under no circumstances be touched" (Vince, 2010, p. 454). Women performed different public roles by taking more paid employment due to the absence of males (who were either in the *maquis*, imprisoned, or dead) and looking for missing relatives or visiting them in prison. Meanwhile, the missions of unveiling continued and the French "launched an elaborated campaign to 'liberate' Algerian Muslim women" (Perego, 2015, p. 349) as it was the only way for the French to affirm

¹²² A 'cultural destruction' is used by Frantz Fanon in his Algeria Unveiled to describe the Algerian woman.

the objectives of their '*Mission Civilisatrice*' to civilise Muslim women. On different occasions, the French used to take a group of veiled women alongside the *harka* to different locations to repeat the same scenario of unveiling as described by MacMaster:¹²³

On arrival young female delegates, dressed either in a modern European style or with *haiks*, shared the rostrum or balconies with the generals and dignitaries and present them with bouquets, before making speeches in favour of emancipation and casting their veils to the crowds. (MacMaster, 2009, p. 133)

The truth behind the scene is that the French soldiers used their power to force these women to unveil themselves rather than emancipating them (MacMaster, 2009).

It is worth mentioning here one of the infamous occasions of unveiling that happened in Constantine. Monique Améziane was one of the many victims of French hypocrisy and brutality, who was forced to rip off her veil on the 26th May 1958 and address the crowd to convince Muslim women to become emancipated by unveiling themselves. In fact, Monique's story started when her wealthy pro-French father fled to Paris fearing assassination by the FLN (MacMaster, 2009, p. 134). His farm was used by his son as an FLN base before he was arrested and tortured by the French in that same place, which then became one of the main sites of torture used by the French military (MacMaster, 2009, p. 134). For the French, Monique, who was a student at a French lycée, was the best victim to perform the unveiling show as she could be bribed by threatening her brother's life and promising her his freedom if she accepted their offer (MacMaster, 2009; Perego, 2015). Although Monique was never veiled, she accepted to perform the role of the emancipated woman in public, and as a reward, the French released her brother and renamed her father's farm after her name. Ironically, one of the emancipation policy's contradictions is that in that farm many Algerian women were tortured and sexually violated (MacMaster, 2009, p. 135). In fact, this story is only a drop in the ocean of the French crimes against women in Algeria.

Soon after the declaration of revolution, women started to participate heavily in the war. They broke the rules and legitimated the illicit in order to liberate their country and break down the gates of their jails. They were very effective *Moujahidate* and played a crucial role in the war of liberation.¹²⁴ During the seven years of the FLN's armed struggle, Algerian women were fighting shoulder to shoulder with men in the *maquis* as

¹²³ The *harka* (singular *harki*). See footnote 25 for full definition.

 $^{^{124}}Moujahidate$ is the Arabic feminine of *Moujahidine*, and is used here to describe Algerian female combatants.

"active agents in the revolution" (Smail Salhi, 2003, p. 27). Heroes like Hassiba ben Bouali, Djamila Bouhired, Djamila Bouazza, Djamila Boupacha and many other women are still symbols of the glorious anti-colonialist revolution as they are depicted in Gillo Pontecorvo's The Battle of Algiers (La Bataille d'Alger 1966). They were planting bombs, carrying weapons, carrying out plans, nursing wounded fighters, and tortured like men if not more. These combatants are "routinely held up as role models of Algerian heroism" (Gray, 2009, p. 02). Even the women who did not join the maquis suffered torture and oppression, sometimes more than the Moujahidate themselves. These women from the *douar* (village) were obliged to cook for FLN members, and if caught by the French, they were either brutally tortured or killed (Vince, 2015, pp. 61-62). As explained in the first Chapter (see Section 1.2.1), Algerian women lived through extreme oppression and violence from the French during the years of revolution. This violence against women contributed to "wider recognition of women's involvement in the anti-colonial struggle" (Moussa, 2016). It made the Moujahidate a symbol of heroism not only at the national level but also at the international level. Djamila Bouhired and Zohra Drif, for example, went on a tour in the Arab World after the revolution and were honoured by many Arab leaders and populations.

Some of the *Moujahidate* "transformed their appearance for the purpose of the struggle by increasingly adopting Western women's appearance" (Cherifati-Merabtine, 1994, p. 48). Doria Cherifati Merabtine claims that taking off the veil and appearing like Europeans was a necessity of war, not a desire to appear like "a woman liberated by the soldiers of pacification" (Cherifati-Merabtine, 1994, p. 48). She explains:

This woman became an individual thanks to the perilous mission she had chosen, which led her to suffer imprisonment and repression. For the group of militants, this double reality diminished the significance of the veil when it became an element of differentiation, opposition, and struggle for the great majority of women. The veil became a symbol. Its ritualization divested the militants of anonymity. They became subjects of history. (Cherifati-Merabtine, 1994, p. 48)

Nevertheless, many already looked and dressed like Europeans and were amongst the minority that received a French education (Vince, 2010, p. 451). These girls were called the *évoluées* as they 'had seized on the benefits of the French civilization and turned their backs on supposedly oppressive traditions, superstition, cloistering, and the veil' (Vince, 2010, p. 452). This was of major help to the FLN as these women were considered less suspicious by the French. These women were "particularly dangerous for the French

authorities, army, and settler society because their behaviour seemed unpredictable- they did not conform to type" (Vince, 2010, p. 453). By challenging the stereotypical gender roles of Algerian women, the FLN "found itself taking a leap into the unknown in terms of the impact such new gender roles might have on a future independent Algeria" (Vince, 2010, p. 458).

After all the repression and suffering that women experienced during colonialism and the Revolution, some of them were still expecting to face more discrimination in a patriarchal independent Algeria. In one of the nationalist meetings in Casablanca (1958), some Algerian *Moujahidate* addressed their male-counterparts saying, "you make a revolution, you fight colonialist oppression but you maintain the oppression of women; beware, another revolution will certainly occur after Algeria's independence: A women's revolution!" (Cited in Moussa, 2016). Many others, on the other hand, had the hope of living in an independent egalitarian Algeria. Women had already fought to gain both Algeria's independence and their emancipation. The expectations of a modern egalitarian country were high, as Cherafati-Merabtine explains:

There emerged an image of modern woman, appraised and legitimated historically. This representation of the new woman was created (or developed) in non-conflictual terms vis-à-vis the representation of the traditional woman. This representation was based on real facts, characterizing the heroines' courage. The transformation concerning woman's representation did not entail any dissonance. It claimed to be purified of any contradiction and conflict. This new image built itself in opposition to the colonizer. This hostility established, in its turn, its own identity. (Cherifati-Merabtine, 1994, p. 51)

For Zahia Smail Salhi, the revolutionary women were not only fighting against colonialism but they were also struggling against the restrictions imposed by the traditional society (Smail Salhi, 2003, p. 27). They were fighting against a double oppression, through which they lived during the black years of colonialism. Their hope was that the new independent nation would keep the promise of overcoming patriarchy and promoting social equality.

The formation of the Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes (UNFA) on September 10, 1962 created a great hope for the egalitarian dreamland that Algerian women had fought for. Articles 12, 13, and 18 of the first Algerian constitution contributed to this hope as they state, "tous les citoyens des deux sexes ont les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs" (Article 12), "tout citoyen ayant 19 ans révolus possède le droit de vote" (Article 13), "l'instruction est obligatoire, la culture est offerte à tous, sans autres discriminations que celles qui résultent des aptitudes de chacun et des besoins de la collectivité" (Article 18). However, unfortunately, the "optimistic atmosphere in which the UNFA was formed was a little clouded" (Knauss, 1987, p. 98). The UNFA was "the newest, the least organised, the least influential and the least autonomous branch of the FLN's mass organisation apparatus" (Vince, 2015, p. 160). The authoritarian government of Ben Bella banned all political parties and cut "the strong ties that they had forged with their female compatriots, and denied them their basic rights" (Smail Salhi, 2003, p. 28). Women's emancipation was of secondary importance in comparison to other issues faced by post-independence Algeria (Smail Salhi, 2003). The focus was on (re)constructing the Algerian national identity through affirming Islam as "la religion de l'Etat" (Article 4), "La langue arabe est langue officielle de l'Etat" (Article 5), and on "la famille, cellule fondamentale de la société, est placée sous la protection de l'Etat" (Article 17). This "dual focus of religion and family signalled a change in identity for women [...]. In order to be accepted into the new national and Algerian framework women were expected to shift to pre-war patriarchal patterns and roles" (de Abes, 2011, p. 202). The aspiration of women for change after the pre-war masculine hegemony is one of "the major casualties of this post-revolutionary period" (Knauss, 1987, p. 95).

The promise of social equality between both genders faded quickly after 1962, "this failure on the part of the nation that had played an exemplary role in anticolonial struggles provoked bitter disappointment" (Woodhull, 2010, p. 568). Women were "quickly relegated to their domestic roles by successive post-independence governments" (Gray, 2009, p. 2). They were forced by men to go back to the domestic sphere. This "realignment of women with tradition, and their consequent exclusion from public life, was considered by feminists to be a betrayal of both of the women who had fought for the nation's freedom and of the revolution itself." (Woodhull, 2010, p. 568). The patriarchal legacy of the colonial period returned in the postcolonial nation in the form of neopatriarchy (MacMaster, 2009, p. 369) to claim that women used to live in the cage of a sequestered private sphere and must now go back to it. Referencing Winifred Woodhull, Gordon (1968) argues:

With the dawn of independence, confused and economically ominous as the atmosphere was, the expectations of and for women were high. But, the force of the legacy of centuries was soon to make itself felt. The gap between promise and reality, law and fact, was to widen [...]. While one does, of course, see women unveiled in the streets, working in the ministries, serving as

deputies, working by the side of men in welfare centers and such, the role of even these 'evolved' women is peripheral. (Woodhull, 2010, p. 568)

The patriarchal hegemony of the colonial period imposed itself again throughout Algerian society and women had no choice over it.

This colonial legacy reinforced the post-independence Algerian society as "rigidly patriarchal" (Knauss, 1987, p. 95). This sense of betrayal and disappointment for Algerian women was a major feature of postcolonial Algeria. In 1968, three years after Boumedienne's coup, Gordon described the position of women in the Algerian society, as the following:

[A]s far as many women are concerned, Algeria lives between two worlds, the modern and the traditional. The dichotomy between these two is sharper and more dramatic than in many other Arab countries because the promise of the revolution was so great while today's reality is so disappointing [...]. Women are the victims of this tension, and their present condition might be seen as its symbol. (Gordon, 1968, p. 83)

Although article 42 of the 1976 constitution states that "tous les droits politiques, économique, sociaux et culturels de la femme algérienne sont garantis par la constitution" and Article 39 confirms that "tous les citoyens sont égaux en droits et en devoirs", the masculine hegemonic status quo has been promoted further in Boumedienne's presidential era. Women's movements and unions became "the women auxiliary of the FLN" (Knauss, 1987, p. 95). The major project of the state was "socialism and growth of the Algerian population as a traditional and family-centred society as outlined in the constitution" (de Abes, 2011, p. 202). However, Boumedienne's Algeria has seen major developments in all domains. The number of both girls and boys in schools increased significantly, "the spinoffs of this crash programme to educate the citizenry hastened women's entry into the work force and revived feelings of relative deprivation among educated Algerian women" (Knauss, 1987, p. 96). The number of women having attended schools increased drastically from 9.5% in 1954 to 71.56% in 1987 (MacMaster, 2009, p. 370). However, this radical change was not seen in the number of public employed women, whoonly increased from 2% in 1954 to 2.6% in 1977 (MacMaster, 2009, p. 370). Another negative aspect of Boumedienne's regime was allowing support for the Islamists (Mezhous, 1993), which later had a great effect on the position of women in Algeria.

In the 1970s, radical Islam made inroads into most Arab countries, Algeria being amongst them. Most postcolonial countries in the Arab World, 'have enacted Personal Status Codes- or Family law- drawn from the Sharia (Islamic law). These Family laws have legalized some practices deemed discriminatory against women by a majority of Arab feminists" (Eid, 2002, p. 42). In Algeria, "a small group of women mobilized around the issue of women's rights. The trigger for this militancy was a ministerial decree at the beginning of the 1980 prohibiting women from leaving Algeria without a male chaperon" (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 137). Large demonstrations were organised by female students to protest against the decree, as a result it was withdrawn in 1980 (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 137). Nevertheless, a discriminatory family code was prepared and was debated in the National Assembly in November of the same year (Evans & Phillips, 2007). Thirteen war veterans like Djamila Bouhired, Meriem Benmihoub, and Zohra Bitat joined Algerian women in the streets demanding their rights of social equality (Smail Salhi, 2003; Evans & Phillips, 2007). They were "brandishing banners which said 'No to the Family Code' and 'No to the Betrayal of the Ideals of 1 November 1954'" (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 138).

Despite the fact that Boumedienne's successor gave more liberty to political groups in the nation, Chadli Bendjedid's presidential period witnessed the most controversial family law in the history of Algeria – the *Code de la Famille*. This code was a turning point in Algerian postcolonial history, the history that is described by Teresa Camacho de Abes as:

An arduous journey from a *Shari'ah* based society (pre-colonization) to the secular French legal code (which defined Algerians as inferior) and then to a constitution and legal code which had an identity crisis as mostly secular with Islam as the state religion and later through the patriarchally defined aspects of the *Code de la Famille*. (de Abes, 2011, p. 202)

The *Family Law* was first adopted in 1984 by Chadli's government. It is, as described by Peter Knauss (1987), a form of 'reaffirmed patriarchy'. It was a watershed for the Algerian woman as it "legalized patriarchy for future generations" (Knauss, 1987, p. 135). In this context, Smail Salhi writes,

[T]he family code is a piece of legislation that decrees men's superiority and codifies women's subordination. The code makes women minors under the law, treats them as non-citizens and defines their role primarily as daughters, mothers or wives. (Smail Salhi, 2010, p. 119)

The Islamists claimed to be following the Islamic law of *Shari'a*, but in fact "it is clear from its text that its roots emanate from a tradition of patriarchy and misogyny in Algeria, which was taken up in a particular way in the post-colonial era" (Smail Salhi, 2003, p. 30). In this *Code*, "women did not exist as individuals in their own right but only as

'daughters of', 'mothers of', 'sisters of' or 'wives of'. The Code made them dependent on their father, brother or closest male relative for work, marriage, education, divorce, and inheritance'' (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 127). It was the license that the state has given to men 'to treat women as minors whose actions were now subjected to constant surveillance'' (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 127).

The Hijab, or the veil, which, as mentioned above, was used during the colonial period to protect Algerian women, shifted its role. In the postcolonial period, veiling no longer protects women against violations of the French, rather it became a way "to protect men and the whole society against the 'perversity' of women's whole sexual power, [which] from this perspective, ought to be, if not suppressed, at least confiscated" (Geadah, 1996, translated in Eid, 2002, p. 42). Encouraged by those in power, the Islamists in the 1970s and the 1980s, "convinced a large part of the population that veil wearing is, if not a compulsory Islamic obligation, at least the expression of an identity assertion necessary to check harmful Westernization" (Geadah, 1996, translated in Eid, 2002, p. 42). The foundation of the FIS strengthened the Islamists' position in the state and society, "the visual index of which was the increase in the numbers of veiled women on the street, [underlining] the extent to which the FIS was not really a political party in the traditional sense" (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 150). For example, "one young woman, a university student in Paris who was going to vote against the Islamists, told a Western reporter that her mother, an education officer, was one of only two women among thirteen in her office not to wear a veil" (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 168). This stress on the importance of the Hijab by the FIS only worsened the consequences for women.

The emphasis on the *Hijab* by the Islamists led to increasing the rate of violence against unveiled women. In 1982, "attacks by Islamists on 'immodestly' dressed young women multiplied in Algiers, Constantine and elsewhere" (McDougall, 2017, p. 277). Consequently, some westernised women in the 1990s "chose to wear the veil as a form of protection against attacks on the street" (Evans & Phillips, 2007, p. 202). In a famous incident in 1991, an Algerian 17-year-old girl was assassinated just because of her refusal to wear the *Hijab* (Slyomovics, 1995, p. 12). Therefore, social pressure forced women either to be veiled or to be victims of violent acts. This led to women being amongst the main victims of the Civil War of the 1990s.

Despite this reaffirmation of patriarchy, the Algerian *Family Code* provided two modest rights to women. The first of these is that the age of marriage was increased from 16 to 18 and the second is the right to schooling for girls as well as boys "as a requirement of child rearing" (Knauss, 1987, p. 137). This was considered as one of the contradictions of the Algerian postcolonial state as Mounira Charrad¹²⁵ explains, in MacMaster's words:

[T]he newly formed state showed deep contradictions in its drive to assert national integration over and against localized or regionalist interests, while paralyzed moves to legislate on family law and to assert control over the private domestic sphere. (MacMaster, 2007, p. 94)

However, the Algerian government has ratified many conventions that reinforce the importance of promoting gender egalitarianism and prohibit any sort of gender discrimination in the postcolonial nation. Amongst these is the UN's Beijing Declaration in 1995 (UN, 1999), which states:

La promotion de la femme et l'égalité Homme et Femme, sont un aspect des droits de l'homme ; c'est une condition de la justice sociale ; c'est un objectif qui ne doit pas être considérée comme intéressant exclusivement les femmes. C'est le seul moyen de bâtir une société viable, juste et développée. (UN, 1995, p. 18)

In 1996, another positive step was made in Algeria by ratifying the CEDAW (see Section 1.2.2). This step was not free of some reservations about some articles in the Algerian Family Law. Most of these reservations were "based on the Algerian family code and are supported by arguments based on Islam and the status of woman in the family" (Sakina, 2005).

In 1999, President Bouteflika was elected. This president brought with him many hopes for an egalitarian nation (see Section 1.3). His first presidential term witnessed many positive changes concerning the status of Algerian women, yet their impact was very limited as explained by Sakina:

Algeria has undertaken some efforts to comply with CEDAW, including creating a Ministry of Women's Affairs in 2003, known today as the Ministry of Solidarity, family, and Women's Affairs, and proposing amendments to the family code. However, the impact of these initiatives is limited by a lack of political will to change societal attitudes that enforce the continuation of gender discrimination in both the public and private spheres. Algeria has also failed to ratify the Optional Protocol to CEDAW. (Sakina, 2005)

¹²⁵ Charrad discussed this in her book States and Women's Rights: The Making of Postcolonial Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco (2001).

Despite that failure to achieve social egalitarianism, president Bouteflika was honoured, on the 8th March 2016, in the fifth General Assembly of Kigali International Declaration Conference (KIDC), for his efforts in promoting women's rights. The Rwandan General Inspector of Police Emmanuel Gasana hailed the role played by the president in promoting women's empowerment in Algeria. Bouteflika was applauded, in Gasan's words, for the "adoption of the national reconciliation policy and the law on women empowerment, which allowed women to hold positions of responsibility", and the "efforts of the Algerian government in this regard and its commitment to implementing the mechanism of fight and prevention of violence against women".¹²⁶ Bouteflika went as far as to promise to elevate Algerian women out of their secondary status (see Section 1.3).

Although his era has witnessed the emergence of many laws that hint at the image of a hopeful modern egalitarian society, the traditional patriarchal structure still dominates the legal framework. Paradoxically, a recent classification published by the Inter-Parliamentary Union on the 1st February 2016 shows that the quota of Algerian women in parliament is classified as the highest among the MENA region and even higher than France, United Kingdom, and United States. It is ranked 37th in the world's classification with a proportion of 31.6%.¹²⁷ However, the International Labour Organization (ILO) states that "despite the considerable advances seen in the Algerian political sphere [...] [women's] economic participation remains very low" (ILO, 2014). Similarly, in an interview with an American online newspaper, International Business *Time*, Dilshod Achilov¹²⁸ argues that this 'impressive' proportion is just a 'symbolic' evidence of the liberated and advanced situation of Algerian women, only if it is compared with the global or the Arab average of women in national parliaments.¹²⁹ However, he considers that "it would be premature to conclude that having a high ratio of women MPs would be sufficient to make claims about liberties that women enjoy in

¹²⁶ This article is available in the website of the Algerian Embassy of the USA. [Online]

https://www.algerianembassy.org/conterterrorism/gasana-hails-president-bouteflika-Available at: commitment-protection-promotion-womens-rights.html

[[]Accessed 23 February 2018]. ¹²⁷ Available at: <u>http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm</u>

[[]Accessed 20 February 2016].

An assistant professor of political science at East Tennessee State University.

¹²⁹ The average of women in national parliaments in the world is 20% and 14 % in the Arab World. Stated by Dilshod Achilov. [Online]

Available at: http://www.ibtimes.com/women-algeria-progress-paradox-853988 [Accessed 16 October 2017].

Algeria. Having more seats in parliament does not necessarily translate into more liberties in absolute terms" (Ghosh, 2012). This is true to a great extent in Algeria, the official political discourses of the president and of the official efforts to promote gender equality is paradoxically not reflected in official educational discourses: the foreign language textbooks under analysis here.

5.3. Perspectives on Gender Identity

After having sketched out a brief historical review about the Algerian context, this section will review the relevant theoretical perception of gender identity. Gender had been essentially used as an interchangeable concept for sex until 1949 when the French feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir published her book, *Le deuxième sexe*. She was amongst the first feminists to distinguish between the concepts 'sex' and 'gender', and to define this latter as a social construct; as she says: "one is not born a woman, one becomes a woman" (de Beauvoir, 1997, p. 300). Based on this, the concept of 'gender' started being used increasingly in public and academic domains in the 1950s to refer to gender identity (Xue, 2008, p. 54). In 1972, Ann Oakley provided a distinction between the concepts of 'sex' and 'gender' by using the first to describe the biological differences between men and women, while using the latter to describe the social roles assigned to each gender (Kostas, 2013, p. 35).

Therefore, many academics and feminists moved from the rigid definition of sex as an essentialist biological construct, to gender as a cultural and a social construct. In the 1990s, the definition of gender as "the culturally shaped group of attributes given to the female or to the male" (Humm, 1989, p. 84) was useful for many researchers (Sunderland, 2000, p. 149). However, later this definition was a matter of debate as it sounded "crude, deterministic and misleading" (Sunderland, 2000, pp. 149-150), because the idea of "attributes and behaviours being 'given' raises questions of 'by what or whom?', 'given once and for all?' and of how 'the female' and 'the male' recipients accepted these attributes and behaviours: passively? Even graciously?'" (Sunderland, 2000, p. 150). Consequently, many approaches to defining the concept and nature of gender identity have appeared. The social-cognitive approach considers gender identity as an inner process, which develops through a lifetime as "a relatively stable, pre-discursive trait, which resides in individuals and which is more or less salient, depending on its relevance to a particular social context" (Weatherall & Gallois, 2003, p. 488). This approach emphasises the idea that "gender role development and functioning are not confined to childhood but are negotiated throughout the life course" (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 677). Adding to this, Tajfel's Social Identity Theory claims, "people's sense of who they are comprises aspects deriving both from them as individuals and from their membership of social groups" (Weatherall & Gallois, 2003, p. 491). Different from the socio-cognitive research, the discursive psychology considers "gender to be the accomplishment and product of social interaction" (Weatherall & Gallois, 2003, p. 488).

Accordingly, the definition of 'gender' as a discursive construct was added to its definition as a socio-cognitive construct. Therefore, gender identity construction became recognised as a process shaped by different social and discursive practices, as Linda Alcoff, a feminist and a political theorist, states: gender "is not a point to start in the sense of being a given thing but is, instead, a posit or construct, formalizable in a nonarbitrary way through a matrix of habits, practices and discourses" (1988, p. 431). This lifelong process is never complete as Lia Litosseliti and Jane Sunderland claim, gender identity, like any social identity, "can be seen as multiple and fluid and never complete (2002, p. 7). Accordingly, in this present study, 'gendered identity' is used instead of 'gender identity' to emphasise the fact that it is a construct like other identities addressed in this research.

In fact, discourse in gender studies is defined as "a whole range of different symbolic activities, including styles of dress, patterns of consumption, ways of moving, as well as talking" (Edley, 2001). Adding to this definition, Xue states, "gender identity is constructed and reproduced through these symbolic activities in a very broad sense" (Xue, 2008, p. 55). Judith Butler claims, in Judith Baxter's words, that gender as a performative aspect of identity has to be "constantly reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts in accordance with cultural norms, which themselves are historically and socially constructed and in perpetual flux" (Baxter, 2016, p. 40). Therefore, discourse plays a major role in the construction of gender identity. This fact gives validity to this research, which questions the discursive representations of the textbooks under analysis and their possible effects on the construction of gendered identity in Algeria.

In many societies today, the relationship between men and women is characterised by social, political, and economic inequalities, in which "men have acquired a hegemonic position in social systems, and women have been subordinated and marginalised in all aspects of social life (family, labour market and politics)" (Kostas, 2013, p. 13). These gender inequalities are transmitted through the different social systems. Among these social systems is, certainly, the school (Kostas, 2013, p. 14). In this context, Vygotsky stresses, in Castelnuovo's words, "intellectual development and knowledge acquisition are to be found in the requirements of schooling which plays a central role in mediating further understanding" (Castelnuovo, 2011, p. 17). He further claims that "school is focused on the construction of higher mental functions as a result of peer interaction and teachers' mediation" (Castelnuovo, 2011, p. 17). Therefore, the education system is arguably one of the most influential social institutions to have an important impact on gendered identity construction. It "plays an especially strong role in the reproduction of the education system reproduce and legitimise traditional gender stereotypes" (Kostas, 2013, p. 14). Schools are the institution where ideal future lives are modelled for pupils so particular gendered identity (re)construction.

School textbooks, as part of schooling, are crucial to the process of constructing gendered identity (Jannati, 2015, p. 211). They are also amongst the main agents that reinforce gender discrimination and hegemonic social structures (Ullah & Skelton, 2013, p. 184). Language textbooks play a pivotal role in this process as language is considered as "one of the most powerful means through which sexism and gender discrimination are perpetrated and reproduced" (Menegatti & Rubini, 2017, p. 1). This discrimination is defined as "the prejudicial treatment of an individual or group due to gender" (Kolb, 2008, p. 977). Litosseliti and Sunderland argue, "gender identities are represented, constructed and contested through language" (2002, p. 1). Therefore, gender representation in textbooks is arguably amongst the fundamental agents that contribute to the construction of the students' identity. These representations "can highly affect the images that learners develop of male and female in the society" (Tajjeddin & Enayat, 2010, p. 53). Accordingly, this chapter problematizes gendered representations in Algerian foreign language textbooks in order to uncover the persistence of the patriarchal, colonial legacy in the postcolonial Algerian state.

5.4. The Gender of the Textbook Designers

The first element to be explored in the analysis is the gender of the discourse producers, i.e. the textbook editors, of my corpus. The designers of the school textbooks were recruited by the Ministry of Education and were chosen according to their expertise in the educational and social aspects of Algerian society. The former Algerian minister of education, Aboubakr Benbouzid, declared that one of the positive points of the education reforms of the 2000s is the pedagogical discourse producers (For further explanation about the reforms see Section 1.3). They are Algerian experts who, according to the minister, have considerable experience regarding Algerian schools and society, as he explains:

C'est sans doute cette conjonction de l'expertise nationale, forte d'une large connaissance des réalités de l'école algérienne, et du savoir accumulé par les spécialistes internationaux qui vaut d'être signalée comme l'un des points forts du programme [...] de l'éducation. (Benbouzid, 2006, p. 10)

These teaching materials are either collaboratively produced by both genders or merely by one of them (see Figure 5.1 below). However, one difference between the French and English textbooks lies in the number of the textbooks that are produced by either women or men solely. Women were involved in the production of all the French textbooks, however, only two of them, FrMid3 and FrMid4, are solely female-produced. In contrast, many English textbooks are solely male-designed, EnMid4, EnSec2, and EnSec3.

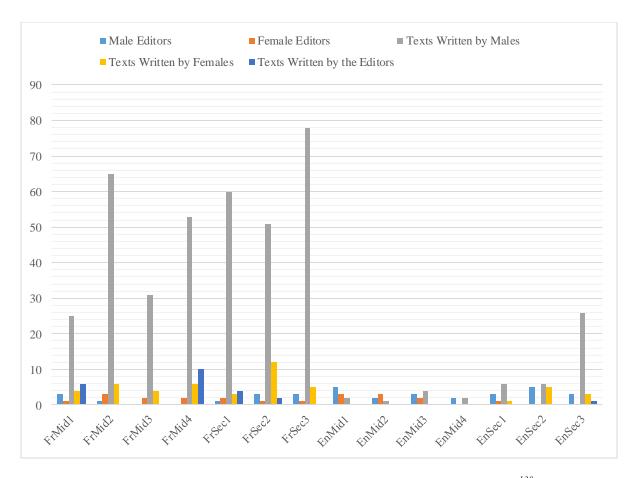


Figure 5.1: Gender of Textbook Designers and Authors of the Chosen Texts¹³⁰

The 'Third World' (as previously defined) that Algerian women are living in will be problematized in the educational discourses by considering Norman Fairclough's (1995) notion of texts as social spaces (see Section 2.4.1). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)¹³¹ emphasised the importance of the text producers as the ideological agents of a given discourse (Engelbert, 2012). In the textbooks under analysis, there is a clear difference in the number of men and women designers. The higher number of women involved in the design of the French, as opposed to English, textbooks can hint at the gender equality within the pages of the texts inside the French textbooks. Nevertheless, Figure 5.1 above reveals that texts written by men clearly dominate the corpus. It shows that up to 78 male-written texts can be provided in just one of the textbooks; FrMid3, while the maximum number of female-written texts is only 12 in FrSec2. English language textbooks, on the other hand, do not provide many texts, and most of the texts

¹³⁰ The clear difference between the number of the authors in the French and English textbooks is due to the lack of referencing in the latter. The sources of most of texts are not provided in the English textbooks.

¹³¹ Norman Fairclough was a pioneer of CDA and is still a key figure.

provided do not cite a named author. Only a few names of writers of the chosen texts are mentioned: up to five men and only one woman in EnSec2 (see Figure 5.1 above).

As Figure 5.1 also shows, even textbook designers have a place within these pedagogical pages by providing their own texts. Thus, knowing the identity of these authors might help to explain the gender representation in their textbooks. A point that might be worth mentioning in this chapter is the result of a study conducted by the project leader of many English textbooks, as is discussed in Chapter 2 (see Section 2.4.5): Bouteldia Riche.¹³² In an investigation of gender representation in an Algerian Englishlanguage textbook that he was responsible for designing, Riche with Sabrina Zerar (2014) used the notion of texts as social spaces, based on critical discourse analysis and conversation analysis. Their findings show that the 'social spaces' in secondary school Algerian English textbook, EnSec1, are not distributed equally between men and women. Riche and Zerar explain that gender discrimination is a hidden way to maintain the family law's patriarchy that signifies "the absence of a commitment to a really modernist societal model" (Zerar & Riche, 2014, p. 33). The question that arises here is whether Riche has deliberately meant to promote discrimination against women in his textbook or whether he was not aware of this discrimination until he conducted this investigation of his own textbook.

Two people involved in the textbooks' production (interviewee 1 and 2) answered this question by explaining that, when designing the textbooks, the designers were looking for literary texts that follow the programme regardless of the gender of the texts' author. Therefore, for them, the discrimination in the number of men and women authors in the textbooks was not a deliberate decision. Interviewee 1, involved in the production of the Frenchlanguage textbooks, laughed when he was asked about the representation of women in the textbooks and answered by saying that they did not mean to promote gender discrimination and they did not even consider gender representation at all when producing their textbooks. However, he added, "we are now paying attention to such things when designing [the textbooks of] the second generation". Accordingly, there was no opportunity for further discussion about the analysed aspects in this chapter.

¹³²Bouteldja Riche is a professor in English literature and civilization, a designer of the English textbooks, president of the scientific council and the faculty of Lettres et Science Humaines at the University of Tiziouzou. I have tried several times to contact him to conduct an interview, but unfortunately he did not respond to my emails and when I travelled to Tizi-ouzou, and visited the University where he works, I did not find him there.

The fact that this gender discrimination was not deliberate, and that the Ministry has to take special action in order to ensure an equal distribution of texts, affirms that there is already an imbalance of gender representation in society. It reveals the prevailing impression that masculine perspectives represent the default and the invisibility of feminine perspectives within discursive representations of Algerian identity. Therefore, the following analysis will be based on the critical analysis of gender representation in the linguistic and pictorial discourses of the textbooks to highlight the discriminatory discourses in the textbooks under analysis and their possible effects on the students' gendered identity.

5.5. Gender Visibility: Masculine as Default

This section will provide a content analysis of the textbooks' different lexical components as well as visuals. It will problematize the different modes of discourse presented in the textbooks to provide concrete evidence of the discrimination embedded within the pages of the textbooks under study.

5.5.1. Gender Visibility in Texts and Activities

This section will question gender visibility in the lexical components of the different texts in all the textbooks. Fairclough explains that "a range of properties of texts is regarded as potentially ideological, including features of vocabulary and metaphors, grammar, presuppositions and implicatures, politeness conventions, speech-exchange (turn taking) systems, generic structures, and style" (1995, p. 2). He also illustrates the role played by different textual components in mapping the ideological profile of a given text. He claims:

My view is that 'discourse' is use of language seen as a form of social practice, and discourse analysis is analysis of how texts work within sociocultural practice. Such analysis requires attention to textual form, structure and organization at all levels; phonological, grammatical, lexical (vocabulary) and higher levels of textual organization in terms of exchange systems (the distribution of speaking turns), structures of argumentation, and generic (activity type structures. A working assumption is that any level of organization may be relevant to critical and ideological analysis. (1995, p. 7)

In fact, gender stereotypes can be reflected in the lexical choice of everyday communication (Menegatti & Rubini, 2017, p. 1). Accordingly, different grammatical components of the texts were categorised as masculine and feminine oriented. This categorization will provide a clear idea about the gendered division of the social spaces in linguistic discourses of the textbooks. Named and unnamed men and women as well as

the pronouns and adjectives relating to both genders are considered. The results are summarised in Figure 5.2 below (see Appendix E.1 for more details about the analysis procedure):

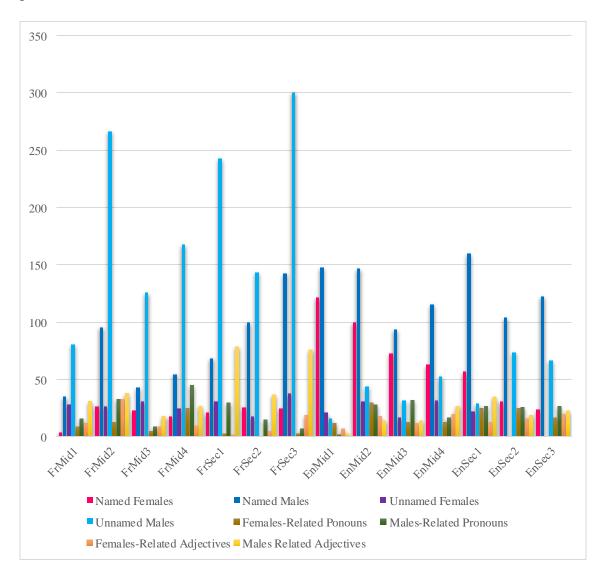


Figure 5.2: Frequency of Appearance According to Gender

As a continuation of what the aforementioned study of Riche and Zerar (2014) which argues about the discriminatory nature of the textbooks of English, the content analysis of 14 textbooks of French and English shows that more social spaces are reserved to men than women. The considerable difference between the lexical components attributed to men and women is summarised in Figure 5.2 above. As this Figure shows, the highest number of named characters, unnamed characters, pronouns, and adjectives is, in almost all the textbooks, assigned to men. Masculine figures are the main axis in all the French and English textbooks.

To begin with, in the French-language textbooks men appear as named characters up to 143 times in FrSec3, while women are present only 27 times in FrMid2. As unnamed characters, the highest rate appears in the French textbooks: FrMid3 includes 301 unnamed men, compared to 38 unnamed women in the same textbook. While, in the English textbooks, named-men appear up to 160 times in EnSec1, in comparison to up to 122 named women in EnMid1. Whereas, the frequencies of appearance of unnamed women reach their highest number (38 unnamed women), in EnSec2 in comparison to the highest rate of unnamed men (74) in the same textbook. In the textbooks of the two languages, the number of men is always higher than women except in EnMid2, which challenges all the textbooks and shows unnamed women in 21 situations in comparison to 16 appearances of unnamed men (see Figure 5.2 above).

Similar results are found for the pronouns and adjectives allocated to women and men in these textbooks. Although there is a reduction in the rate of different pronouns attributed to masculine or feminine characters, men still have the priority in almost all textbooks except EnMid2. In this textbook, feminine-related pronouns are higher than the masculine: 30 in comparison to 28 pronouns attributed to both genders respectively. Yet, it is clear that men are more visible in all the lexical components of the textbooks. The analysis of adjectives shows the same result as the pronouns. The analysis of the adjectives attributed to women and men is particularly important for the French textbooks. Unlike the comparatively more gender-neutral grammar of English, in French where both genders appear together, the masculine form should be used. Therefore, the number of adjectives devoted to both genders can be different from the numbers of the gendered nouns mentioned above. Adjectives allocated to women are always used less often than those for men except in EnMid2. This textbook stands out from all the other French and English textbooks by giving priority to women in almost all its gendered lexis.

The authors of this textbook, EnMid2, are the same as those of the other middleschool English-language textbook. It might be assumed that these designers might have chosen to be more egalitarian than their French counterparts by designing a textbook that favours women. Nevertheless, the question is, if they wanted to promote equal representations of gender in their textbook why they have chosen this specific English textbook for the second-year middle school and why this textbook is different from the other six English textbooks for middle and secondary schools. When asked about this, Interviewee 2 said that this might have not been deliberate, and that he thinks the designers were not aware about the difference in gender representation between EnMid2 and other textbooks. Therefore, no possible explanation can be provided in this thesis.

To sum up, the microanalysis of the different linguistic components all French and English textbooks, except from EnMid2, favour the visibility of masculine characters and attributes (see Figure 5.2 above) and show that the feminine lexical components have a minor proportion of the space. In fact, one of the reasons behind this lexical patriarchy can be the nature of the language itself as the section below shows.

5.5.1.1. Masculine Generics and Male-Firstness

Language is a principal means of transferring patriarchal ideologies and cultures. In everyday conversations, everyone reflects an ideology through her/his choice of lexis. Language is the "social entry into patriarchal culture" (Kaplan, 1998, p. 56). There are some languages that force their users to adopt gender patriarchy, like the French language. The gendered nature of this language makes it depend heavily on the masculine form being universal (Beatley, 2017). The plural of both genders in French should be masculine if both genders appear together, for example the plural pronoun that should be used for a group of women and men is the masculine 'ils', similar is the plural of nouns where the plural of female and male students, for example, should be the masculine 'étudiants', unlike English, which is less overtly gendered and does not impose such a rule. However, in English formal writing, traditionally generic 'he' has been dominant, and only in recent years has a move been started against this. For example, 'they' is used now as a gender neutral pronoun when the referential gender is unknown. In addition, English language and many other languages force women to choose a specific form of address that can indicate societal expectations and gender roles like the use of Miss and Mrs that reflects the marital status of the woman, while for the man Mr is used in all situations (Romaine, 2009, p. 174). In fact, "when readers see stories about scientists in the newspapers, many still have mental images of men, despite the fact that many women are now scientists" (Romaine, 2009, p. 174). In this respect, the French and English language share "the hidden yet consensual norm according to which the prototypical human being is male" embedded in their structure (Menegatti & Rubini, 2017, p. 1). Accordingly, the following analysis will show the extent to which these patriarchal norms are adopted in the textbooks under study.

The monopoly of the masculine generics in the majority of the textbooks' linguistic components is a major facet of their patriarchal nature.¹³³ These generics are defined by Heiko Motschenbacher as, "all linguistic forms that may be used to refer to people in non-specific contexts in which referential gender is (presumably) mixed, unknown or irrelevant" (Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 90). These masculine generics are, also, "an expression of 'male=people bias'" (Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 90). This sort of bias is explicitly present in the French as well as English textbooks, as shown in Figure 5.3 below (see Appendix E.1 for further details about the analysis).

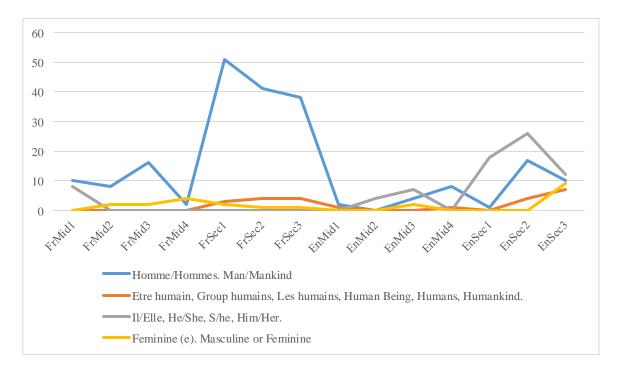


Figure 5.3: Gendered Terms in the Algerian Textbooks

Many examples exist in the English and French textbooks: in English, such as 'Man' (for human being), 'Chairman', 'Businessman', 'Foreman', and 'Grandfathers' (for both grandmother and grandfather); and in French, 'homme' (as a synonym of l'être humain), 'bonhomme', and 'ils'. These generic terms describe both women and men but they are all originally masculine terms. In this respect, Wendy Martyna claims:

The pronoun 'he' has traditionally been asked to do double semantic duty, serving both as a specifically male and a generically human term. Increasing numbers of people are urging that 'he' be retired from its generic function. This use of 'he' to refer to both sexes is faulted on three counts: (1) ambiguity– the difficulty of determining whether a particular 'he' is meant to include or exclude 'she'; (2) exclusiveness– the injustice of those instances in

¹³³ Masculine generics is the terms used to refer to both genders like 'man', 'mankind', 'he' in English, and 'homme', 'hommes', 'il', and 'ils' in French.

which a supposedly generic 'he' clearly excludes a female interpretation (as in "Man's vital needs include food, water, and access to females"); (3) inequity—the nonparallelism between the male and the female pronoun. This third objection would remain even if 'he' created no confusion in its generic usage. It is the assumed equivalence of maleness with humanness that is at issue. (1978, pp. 131-132)

Neither the generic 'he' in English, and 'il/ils' in French, are included in the figure above because they are used so frequently across all the textbooks in French and English, and would have skewed the other scores. One example from the English textbooks is an activity where students are required to predict what interlocutors would say on the phone such as:

The person at the receiving end answers that the person wanted is not there:

- a. Well, you can't talk to him. He isn't here.
- b. I'm afraid, he isn't here at the moment.
- c. Call later. (EnSec1, p.24)

However, in many situations where the generic 'he' could be used, the designers used instead a different sentence structure to avoid sexism as in the following example from EnSec2 (p.113):

Using 'His/Her' six times during this small activity, in addition to the repetition of the word 'author', explains the emphasis on avoiding the use of masculine generics. In the French textbooks, on the other hand, the generic 'il/ils' in French is used many times on almost every page of the textbooks, as in the following question for a reading comprehension text whose author is unknown: "I'auteur se manifeste-t-il dans ce texte?" (FrSec3, p.26).Yet, in very few situations, il/elle is used in FrMid1 and the feminine '(e)' is used at the end of the word as in the word 'marié(e)' from an activity about one of the textbook's tales (FrMid2, p.32). Despite these few situations where gender equality is

adopted, the prevalence of masculine generics across French and English textbooks is an evidence of their discriminatory nature.

Academics are now trying to be less discriminatory in their language: for example, the word 'mankind' has been replaced gradually by 'humankind'. Brian Earp (2012) has provided evidence that the use of these masculine generics, at least in the English language, has fallen dramatically. The last decade witnessed the emergence of non-sexist terms as a step by scholars towards gender egalitarianism in their use of language (see Figure 5.4 below).

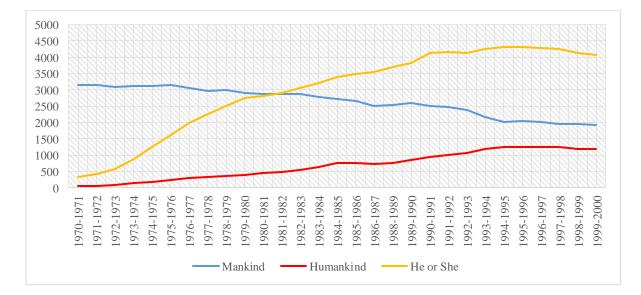


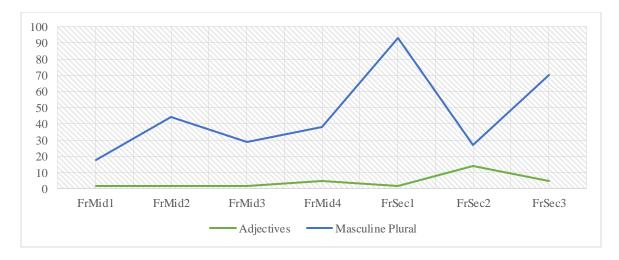
Figure 5.4: Gendered Terms and JSTOR 1970-2000

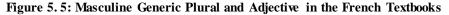
(Reproduced from Earp, 2012, p. 9)

Similarly, 'écriture inclusive' has appeared in France to call for a neutral language that would help to improve the visibility of feminine perspectives in French language and, therefore, tackle sexism in French-language societies. Feminists have developed linguistic strategies to tackle the neutral gendering of masculine pronouns and nouns in the French language. These strategies gather all these gendered forms under the umbrella of 'inclusive writing'. For example, they have suggested finding a gender neutral pronoun as equivalent of 'they' in English. Another strategy has suggested that there should be feminine forms for all occupations and professions. Another form of 'inclusive writing' adds the feminine form to the end of all masculine nouns in the plural, like in 'étudiant.e.s', which refers to the plural of women *and* men together. However, the French minister Edouard Philippe has banned the use of inclusive writing in all official documents, claiming that the French language should not be changed. This form of writing was also considered by the Académie Française, according to *The Telegraph*, as 'mortal danger' to the purity of the French language (Mulholland, 2017). Yet, many progressive publications continue to use inclusive writing.

Despite these efforts by feminists and academics, masculine generics still play a major role in the French instructional materials. The textbooks' designers have not followed the recommendation of international scholarship to avoid the potentially sexist nature of the French grammar. As Figure 5.3 shows, the use of 'homme' or 'hommes' for 'human being' is still very common in the textbooks in comparison to the gender-neutral terms of 'l'être humain', 'les humains' and 'le groupe humain'. 'Il/elle' or 'ils/elles' do not have a place in any of the French textbooks except FrMid1, while the feminine '(e)' is used once or twice in most of the textbooks. In contrast, the English textbooks provide fewer masculine generic terms in comparison with French. Although the masculine generics of 'man', 'mankind' as equivalents for human being are still used, the high number of 's/he', 'his/her' are potentially positive signs of equality. However, the variation in frequency across the textbooks (Figure 5.3) shows the inconsistency in the use of male generics or gender egalitarian terms. This is evidence of ongoing ideological discrimination (consciously or otherwise) on the part of the textbooks' designers whereby precedence is given to masculine perspectives as the default for humanity.

In addition to the common French and English generic terms, masculine domination is also promoted through the French masculine generic plural. This feature is absent in English because of the non-gendered grammatical nature of the language. As Figure 5.5 below shows, masculine nouns in the plural appear frequently in French textbooks to represent both masculine and feminine subjects. These words are professions, nationalities, descriptions, or gender roles. This also applies to the masculine adjectives in the textbooks, which are employed for both genders when they are present together in a given sentence or a text (see Figure 5.5 below).





These masculine hegemonic forms have been criticised by many feminists as "instances of false generics, i.e. lexically male or grammatically masculine forms used to refer to women" (Motschenbacher, 2010, p. 67). Critics consider this masculine generic nature of French as a sign of feminine inferiority. Edwige Khaznadar schematised this fact in the binary 'oppositions' system where "le premier élément, prototype, est positif ou supérieur, le second est posé comme contraire, inférieur ou négatif" (Khaznadar, 2007, p. 27). For Khaznadar the world is organised into sky/earth, above/below, day/night, white/dark and masculine/feminine as she claims:

Cette cosmologie, c'est-à-dire cette « science du monde » est complétée par l'opposition *homme/femme*, « femme » étant alors en position ou inférieure, ou contraire, ou négative relativement à « homme ». Il est troublant de trouver dans la *Grammaire structurale* de Jean Dubois (1969), pour les noms, la catégorisation sémantique binaire suivante : *animé/inanimé – humain/non-humain – mâle/non-mâle*, ce qui pose encore une fois le féminin comme un élément négatif. De même le *Petit Robert électronique* de 2001, à la fin de l'article « Homme », indique pour son « Contraire » : « Femme ». On trouve en sociologie le même type d'observations de la catégorisation mentale binaire archaïque. (2007, p. 28)

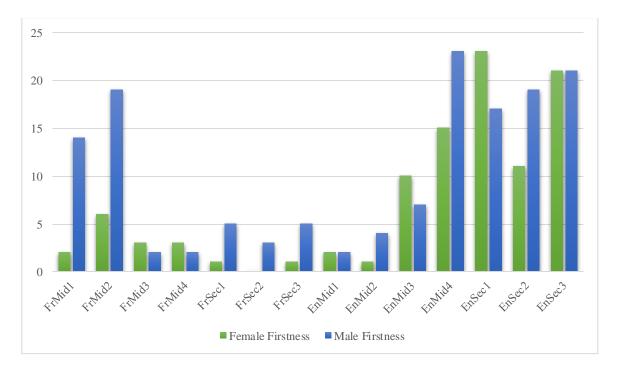
The model of a gender binary, that puts women always in the second class after men, is unfortunately one of the major features of the textbooks' content.

In addition to the masculine generics, this binary is also represented when a gender-pairing appears in a text, and the masculine appears before the feminine, for example, 'His/Her'. Karen Porreca (1984) conceptualized this feature as 'male firstness'. Pat Hartman and Elliot Judd (1987) were amongst the first to pay attention to the sexist order of male-firstness when both genders appear together in a text. Hartman and Judd

argue that male-favouring order reinforces the status of women as being secondary to men, as they claim:

A subtler convention of language is the ordering of sex pairs like male and female, Mr. and Mrs., brother and sister, husband and wife, which are usually ordered with the male first, with the single exception of ladies and gentlemen. While this may be a minor point, such automatic ordering reinforces the second-place status of women and could, with only a little effort, be avoided by mixing the order. (Hartman & Judd, 1987, p. 390)

In the textbooks, women and men appear in many situations together as named/unnamed characters or as pronouns used by the authors as an egalitarian way to avoid a masculine generic structure, but with the masculine subject, in most cases, appearing first (see Figure 5.6 below).





In the textbooks, male-firstness is preferred to a considerable extent (Figure 5.6). English textbooks tend to promote less discriminatory linguistic discourses in terms of using the discriminatory male-firstness. Male-firstness is dominant in only three English textbooks, EnMid2, EnMid4, and EnSec2, while, female-firstness takes priority over EnMid3 and EnSec1. Equality between the occurrences of female- and male-firstness takes place in the first and last textbooks of English i.e. EnMid1 and EnSec3. French

textbooks, on the other hand, have more discriminatory effects as male-firstness is dominant in most textbooks with different degrees. FrMid3 and FrMid4 are the only exception where the designers used female-firstness instead. These two textbooks areauthored, as previously discussed, by women. This seems to pose a challenge to the patriarchy of educational discourse and move towards emancipation. Nevertheless, the analysis of all the previous lexical components demonstrates that the authors of FrMid3 and FrMid4 have adopted 'discriminatory discourses' in their textbooks, regardless of their gender.

Therefore, this content analysis of the lexical components of the textbooks shows the discrimination adopted against women. This discrimination contradicts the laws and the conventions of egalitarianism approved by the Algerian government (discussed earlier in Section 5.2). This patriarchal nature of the textbooks under analysis can arguably contribute to maintaining the *status quo* for women in Algeria, as it can reinforce, intentionally or not, the image of women as inferior to men. The ideology of the masculine-as-default adopted by the authors of the textbooks transformed these texts into a site of discursive conflict between the preservation of patriarchy and the struggle for modernity.

5.5.2. Gender Visibility in Visual Imagery

Generally speaking, discourse has shifted from its abstract linguistic nature to different modes participate in conveying meanings, multimodality where which consequently reflects the importance of images. The image "is not the result of a singular, isolated, creative activity, but is itself a social process. As such, its meaning is a negotiation between the producer and the viewer, reflecting their individual and attitudes" (Harrison, 2003, p. 46). In social/cultural/political beliefs, values, education, most textbooks are now multimodal, and linguistic texts are no longer more important than the illustrative materials. Learners "absorb and process all the visual images they see within a text to create meanings for themselves" (Chiponda & Wassermann, 2015, p. 209). Therefore, having analysed the linguistic/textual elements, it is equally important to analyse representations of gender in the illustrative materials used in these textbooks.

Figure 5.7 below summarises the number of women and men who appear in the textbooks' illustrative materials. Similar to the analysis of the textbooks' lexis, gender discrimination is also found at the level of the pictorial elements of the textbooks.

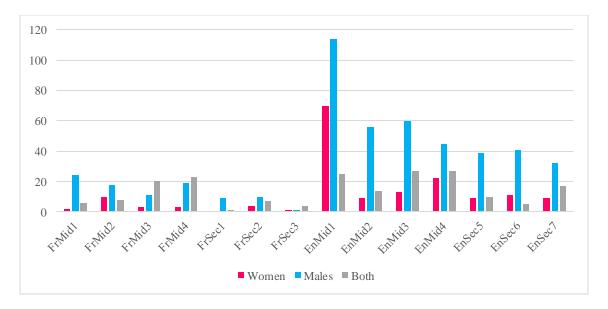




Figure 5.7 stresses the dominance of men in the illustrative materials in the textbooks, suggesting a patriarchal discourse. It confirms the findings of the content analysis of the textbooks' lexis, i.e. that women, as independent actors, are almost absent in comparison to men in the textbooks. However, across the textbooks, this discrimination against representations of women varies according to the language (see Figure 5.8 and 5.9 below).

 $^{^{134}}$ The French textbooks provide a very limited number of illustrative materials in comparison to the English textbooks.

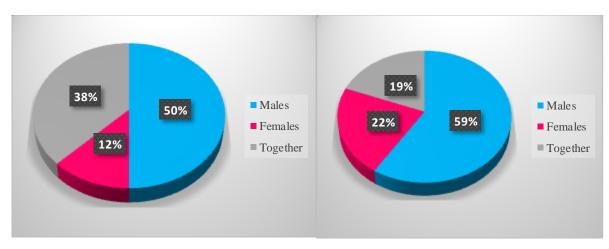
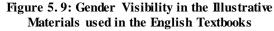


Figure 5.8: Gender Visibility in the Illustrative Materials used in the French Textbooks



The figures above show that English textbooks appear to be more discriminatory in comparison to the French textbooks: men appear more frequently in the illustrative material than women. On the other hand, the Englishlanguage textbooks feature twice as many images of women only, in comparison to the French textbooks. In addition, the English textbooks have far fewer images that show both men and women. Men appear in 78% of the overall number of pictures in the English textbooks and 88% in French textbooks. Women, on the other hand, appear in 41% of the English and 50% of the French textbooks' images. The themes of the pictures, presenting Algerian or Western culture, do not influence the representations of women and men.

Nevertheless, the linguistic (Figure 5.2) and pictorial (Figure 5.7) discriminatory gender division confirms the social status of Algerian women as second-class citizens in a society that pursues modernity through its language policy. This kind of unequal representation is argued by many researchers to pose a threat to positive gender roles for women, as Karen Porreca (1984) states:

When females do not appear as often as males in the text (as well as in the illustrations, which serve to reinforce the text), the implicit message is that women's accomplishments, or that they themselves as human beings, are not important enough to be included. (p. 706)

Algerian feminist, Hayat Aoumeur, also stresses that "not showing a particular group or showing them less frequently than their proportion in the population conveys that the group is not socially valued" (2014, p. 17). The discursive patriarchy of gender representation in the textbooks does not only undermine women as human beings but, as Chafiaa Boukheddad (2011) contends, can negatively affect the identity development of female learners. The striking gap between women and men's visibility, according to

Christopher Renner (1997), can affect the classroom practices as it limits the abilities of the female learners.

Accordingly, this analysis of the linguistic and visual components of the textbooks shows that the colonial legacy of patriarchy and discrimination is still persistent in the textbooks that have been used since 2003. It confirms the view stated by Interviewee 1, that the issue of gender representation was not considered to be important during textbook production, which reinforces the idea of masculinity-as-default. Instead, the textbooks' designers prioritised the promotion of a strong sense of national identity, as the discussion in Chapters 3 and 4 makes clear. As stated above, the rights of women were amongst the lowest priorities for most postcolonial leaders, who focused more on the project of (re)constructing the national identity of Algerians. Apparently, this legacy is still persistent despite the government's steps towards promoting gender equality.

5.6. The Division of Gender Roles in the Contradictory 'Third World'

In theory, various legislative reforms that reinforce women's rights have seen the light of day in postcolonial Algeria. Women in this society have been, in Fayçal Megherbi's words, "souvent victime [s] de sexisme et misogynie dans une société culturellement patriarcale qui favorise principalement l'homme" (Megherbi, 2015).¹³⁵These reforms, according to President Bouteflika, aimed to improve women's status in Algerian society (see Section 5.2). Nevertheless, in reality, the relatively egalitarian constitution could not bring about women's emancipation. The patriarchal legacy retains its currency in the postcolonial state.

An investigation of gender roles in Algeria conducted by le Centre de Documentation sur les Droits des Femmes et des Enfants (CIDEF) argued that the paradoxical status of the postcolonial society contributes towards slowing down women's emancipation (Malki-Bensoltane, 2010).¹³⁶The results, stresses Fatima-Zohra Malki-Bensoltane, "ont suscité à la fois de l'inquiétude et de l'optimisme, démontrant ainsi les paradoxes qui caractérisent la société Algérienne et qui appellent à des réflexions profondes pour leur prise en charge" (Malki-Bensoltane, 2010, p. 33). This investigation looked at 2,036 adults over 18 years old, and 799 adolescents, between 14 and 17 years old, from 10 various regions in Algeria. The findings show that 30% of adolescents

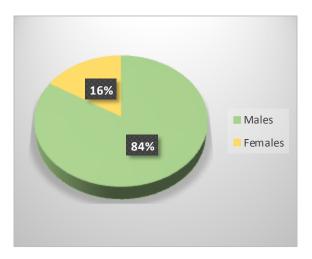
¹³⁵Fayçal Megherbi, a militant and a lawyer in Bureau de Paris.

¹³⁶ This investigation was conducted with the support of a Spanish Technical Cooperation Agency led by 'Bureau d'étude ecotechnics'.

thought that paid employment for women was acceptable. However, 16% and 25% of female and male adolescents, respectively, were against women's participation in public space. Therefore, this study reveals in one way or another Algerians' attitude towards women's roles. 74% of women questioned favoured participating in the public sphere before and after marriage, but 45% of unmarried men declared their disapproval of their future wives working (Malki-Bensoltane, 2010, p. 33). These findings highlight the patriarchal attitudes of Algerian men and demonstrate the paradox between law and society.

Texts as social practices (Zerar & Riche, 2014) reflect and promote this reality. The paradoxical binary law/society is symbolised in language textbooks through the supposed objectives and the analysed content. In addition to the content analysis, above, that shows how women are marginalised in the textbooks, it is important to investigate how women are represented and which roles they perform in the pages of the textbooks (Namatende-Sakwa, 2018). The textbooks should "provide diverse gendered realities through images and narratives, which construct fluidity and multiplicity in performing gender. This would be useful in disrupting the gendered status quo as well as increasing the possibilities of enacting gender diversity" (Namatende-Sakwa, 2018, p. 17).

However, paying no attention to gender representations in the textbooks led to a discriminatory division of gender roles. The domestic space is always reserved for women with some, however, challenging exceptions of modern gender roles, as illustrated in the figures below:



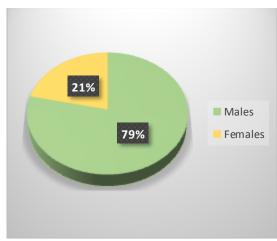


Figure 5. 10: The Linguistic Division of Gender Roles in the French Textbooks

Figure 5. 11: The Linguistic Division of Gender Roles in the English Textbooks

Therefore, content analysis of gender roles in the textbooks illustrates that the number of social roles devoted to women is very limited in comparison to the diverse roles occupied by men. Such a big gap in the roles occupied by men and women adds evidence to the persistence of patriarchy in postcolonial Algeria. The textbooks of both languages allocate a lower number of roles to women. French textbooks devote only 16% of the roles to women in comparison to 21% in the English textbooks.

Despite this gender discrimination in the main teaching materials for foreign languages, Algerian women have moved into many domains that were previously exclusively reserved to men. Women, in Algeria, constitute "65% of college graduates, over one third of judges and half of the teaching, health and public administration" (Ghorbani, 2015). However, at the level of lexis in the textbooks, as Table 5.3 (Appendix E.2) shows, few roles are devoted to women. Many of the roles occupied by women are either menial roles, like 'hôtesse de l'air', 'secrétaire', 'air hostess', and a 'secretary of the committee' or domestic roles, like 'couturière', 'cuisinière, lavandière', and a 'servant'. A limited number of challenging roles are allocated to women in the textbooks, such as 'agricultrice', 'athlètes', 'docteur en biologie', 'director of studies', 'inspector of English', and 'lawyer' (the list of all roles allocated to both genders is provided in Table 5.2, Appendix E.2). The roles occupied by men are mostly in the public sphere, although men are occasionally presented as performing domestic roles: in French, 'cuisinier', 'major-homme', and 'valet', in English, 'chief' and 'chief servant'. Generally, the textbooks' division of social roles reflects a discriminatory approach to gender divisions. Men in the French textbooks perform 222 different roles in comparison to 40 roles devoted to women. Whereas, English textbooks are less discriminatory, with 129 roles for men and 34 for women (see piecharts in figure 5.10 and 5.11 above). This division of gender roles is questioned further, below, through a critical investigation of women and men's representation in the private and the public spheres.

5.6.1. Discriminatory Gender Role in the Private Sphere

In addition to the discriminatory lexical division of gender roles, women are represented performing stereotypical roles in different contexts in both French and English textbooks. All textbooks, without exception, reserve a space for women to perform their traditional stereotypical roles either through linguistic or pictorial elements. Women in the textbooks cook, clean, knit, and take care of their children all within the 'dark' domestic space as the examples below show (Table 5.1).

		French textbooks	English textbooks
Middle school	1 st year	 -[M]aman la fait bouillir pour tuer les Microbes. (FrMid1, p.69) -My mother boils it to kill the germs. (Translation mine) [L]e mari prenait des poissons dans 	-What dishes does your mother cook for eid el fitr, Mawlid Ennabawi? (EnMid1, p.117)
	2 nd	son filet pendant que son épouse filait de la laine. (FrMid2, p.14)	-[A]servant: Indira. (EnMid2, p.98)
	year	-The husband was taking fish out of his net while his wife was spinning wool (Translation mine).	
	3 rd year	 -[A] l'intérieur des maisons, les femmes marquaient de l'humeur. Elles s'impatientaient : le couscous était prêt depuis longtemps et l'homme ne rentrait toujours pas. (FrMid3, p.147) -Inside the houses, the women were getting moody. They were impatient: The couscous had been ready for a long time and the man had still not 	-Chahira has a lot of oriental cookbooks. (EnMid3, p.48)
	4 th	returned. (Translation mine) -[M]algré son âge avancé, ma grand-	-[M]um I'll do the dishes if you want.
	year	mère refuse qu'on l'aide pour les travaux ménagers. (FrMid4, p.51) -Despite her old age, my grandmother refuses our help with the housework. (Translation mine)	(EnMid4, p.73)
	1 st	-[L]es lavandières étendaient leur	-I am writing to apologise for the absence
Secondary School	year	linge sur les prés, draps, serviettes et chemises se mettaient à blanchir sous l'effet de l'oxygène dégagé par l'herbe. (FrSec1, p.42) -The washerwomen used to spread out their laundry on the meadows, sheets, towels and shirts would begin to bleach under the effect of the oxygen released by the grass. (Translation mine)	of my daughter Melinda from school yesterday. She had to take care of her little sister because of her mother's unexpected absence. (EnSec1, p.27)
	-	-[E]lle a fait du repas du matin une cérémonie familiale incontournable.	-My mother (cook) food for every meal because she could not eat leftovers and
	year	(FrSec2, p.128) -She made the morning meal an unmissable family ceremony. (Translation mine)	processed food. Now, she often sends me to buy pizzas whenever she is too tired to prepare dinner. (EnSec2, p.18)
	3rd	-[E]t elle lança un pain sur la table.	-[T]he smell of the fabric softener reminds
	year	(FrSec3, p.180) -And she threw bread on the table. (Translation mine)	me of my mother's laundry day. (EnSec3, p.258).
Table 5. 1: Women's Roles in the Domestic Sphere			Domostic Subaus

 Table 5.1: Women's Roles in the Domestic Sphere

The table shows only one indicative example from each textbook: there are many more. As all these examples show, women are still presented performing the traditional domestic roles of cooking and cleaning. In the textual content of all the textbooks, the domestic roles are still mainly women's duty. Similar representations are provided in the pictorial content. Women are mainly allocated stereotypical domestic roles, as in the following images:



Image 41 : (FrMid4, p.66)



Image 42: (EnMid4, p.22)

The images above are from FrMid4 and EnMid4, as given examples, in addition to many other images (Table 5.3, Appendix B) that show women performing domestic roles. None of the French and English textbooks omit representing women in the domestic sphere through either their linguistic/pictorial content, or even both. The connotation of such content appears to be that teaching students that the appropriate roles for women are the domestic ones within the private sphere.

On the other hand, there is not even one picture in the French textbooks representing men playing a domestic role. As for the linguistic component of the textbooks, men are only depicted in the following example performing domestic roles:

-Mon père m'avait acheté un dictionnaire pour enfants. (FrMid4, p.157)

-My father had bought me a children's dictionary. (Translation mine)

This example shows a man playing a typically stereotypical role as the money spender/provider. This is considered as a domestic role, here, because it reflects man's involvement in the process of child-rearing. French authors, through this example, emphasise the stereotypical fatherhood role as the financial supporter and the breadwinner. In Algeria, this was the role occupied by men during the colonial years.

Women were required to remain in the domestic sphere to take care of their children and wait for their men to feed them. This feature was very pertinent until the revolution of the 1st November 1954, which challenged this situation, when women started to participate in the fight for independence. In addition, as discussed previously, the absence of men led many women to seek paid employment. In the aftermath of independence, women were quickly required to return to the private sphere and perform domestic roles. However, recent years have witnessed a gradual increase of women in the workforce (ILO, 2014). The Algerian National Office of Statistics (ONS) states that the number of women participating in the labour force increased from 17.6% in September 2012 (2013, p. 2) to 19.7% in April 2018 (2018, p. 1). Unfortunately, the French language textbooksreproduce "the societal asymmetries of status and power in favour of men, which are attached to the corresponding social roles" (Menegatti & Rubini, 2017, p. 1). Through these representations, the French textbooks support the persistent legacy of patriarchy. They are still reproducing the same discriminatory gender roles that were prevalent during the colonial period and in the aftermath of independence. This is despite the occasional challenge to this division of gender roles in a few pages of the textbooks.

Designers of the English textbooks, on the other hand, seem to be more cautious regarding gender issues. In terms of quantity, there is a higher rate of men in the domestic sphere than in the French textbooks. Yet, contrary to the women who are represented playing most of the roles in the domestic sphere, men, in most of these representations, are shown either resting or enjoying their hobbies: as shown in the example below:

1. My brothers (go) to bed early. These days, they (stay up) late with the other members of the family watching films on TV. They also (play) video games. (EnSec2, p.18)

Although example 1 represents men in the domestic sphere, they are still inactive agents enjoying their time by watching TV or playing video games. In another English textbook, an adapted story of Marie Curie is provided. It presents Curie's father performing different stereotypical gender roles which highlight the domestic-public dichotomy (see examples 2 and 3). These examples might be used to add an egalitarian flavour to the textbooks. However, they are still very few in comparison to the number of times women are represented performing domestic roles.

2. Her mother died when Manya was very young and Dr Sklodovsky tried to be both father and mother to his four girls and a boy. (EnSec3, p.202).

3. They spent many of their evenings before the fire, as their father told them stories or helped them with their lessons. (EnSec3, p.202).

As for the illustrative materials, contrary to the textbooks of French, the Englishlanguage textbooks provide the two images below of men doing some stereotypical 'feminine' roles, although failing at them.



Image 43: (EnMid3, p.23)

Image 44: (EnMid4, p40)

Although the barbecue is often considered to be a masculine practice in cultures from around the world, image 44, above, represents the character's failure as if it is a woman's role. In addition, image 43 confirms this by representing a man hurting his finger while trying to cook and burning his hand while trying to iron clothes. This appears to emphasise the fact that men cannot perform some roles since they belong to the realm of women.

Similar presentations can be found when both genders are depicted in the private sphere, as in the following examples:

Papa, enfoncé dans un fauteuil, lit son journal et maman fait de la broderie. (FrMid4, p.57)
 -My father, sunk into the sofa, reads his newspaper, and my mother does her embroidery.

(Translation mine)2. Se soulevant à demi sur son lit, il vit que son épouse, une dame assez respectable et qui

- Se soulevant a demi sur son in, il vit que son epouse, une dame assez respectable et qui appréciait beaucoup le café, retirait des pains au four. (FrSec3, p.180)
 -Getting halfway up from his bed, he saw that his wife, a rather respectable lady who liked coffee very much, was removing the bread from the oven. (Translation mine)
- 3. Jeremy's wife is not a good cook but she enjoys cooking and making cakes. One day, she made one for her husband. But when Jeremy came back home, he found her crying.
 - What's the matter, darling? He asked.
 - Well, I made a very good cake for you this morning, and the cat ate it all!
 - Don't worry, darling. I'll buy you another cat tomorrow, Jeremy said. (EnMid3, p.104)

In these representations of a man and a woman depicted together in the domestic sphere, the woman must always be the active agent while the man is either having a rest or enjoying his time. They represent men as either reading newspapers (example 1), taking a rest (example 2), or making fun of his wife (example 3). The last example even reinforces the discriminatory division of the social space by representing the woman in the private sphere preparing food, although failing at this stereotypical task, and the man coming back home from the public sphere.

These representations are also reinforced by the images of both genders together:



Image 45 : (FrMid1, p.52)



Image 47 : (FrMid2, p.128)

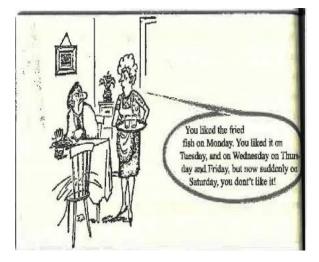


Image 46: (EnMid4, p.26)



Image 48: (EnSec1, p.16)

The four images above, in addition to many others (see Table 5.3, Appendix E.3), show similar representations to the textual examples mentioned above. The woman is either waiting with her children at home for the husband to come back from the public sphere (Image 45), serving him (Image 46 and 47), or performing various domestic roles (Image 48).

Undeniably, all these representations largely reflect patriarchal attitudes in Algerian society. The domestic space is a "woman's world" (Namatende-Sakwa, 2018, p. 11), and the domestic duties are a woman's even if she has another professional occupation. In this regard, the ONS has conducted a survey within the Al-Insaf program i.e. promoting gender equality and women's empowerment. The objective was to illuminate the time both genders spend in domestic as well as public spheres. The results indicate that men work in the public sphere for a longer time than women, 7 and 4 hours per day, respectively, while domestic activities are largely undertaken by women. 92.7% of women and 39.7% of men interviewed declared their participation in daily housework (ONS, 2013). Therefore, the content of the textbooks mirrors and perpetuates this reality in Algerian society rather than challenging it. It also reflects the masculine hegemony in the public space, as shown in the following section.

5.6.2. Masculine Hegemony and Feminine Passivity in the Public Sphere

After discussing the discriminatory representation in the domestic sphere, this section questions the representations of both genders in the public sphere. Contrary to the passive roles devoted to women in the first section, women in the public sphere are allocated some modern roles. However, even these public occupations are most of the time stereotypical professional roles that are in one way or another a continuation of domestic ones. The following examples are selected from the different textbooks that show some secondary public roles allocated to women:

- Cette enseignante est aimée de ses élèves. (FrMid3, p. 147)
 This [female] teacher is loved by her pupils (Translation mine).
- 2. [M]adame Simone, envoyée par la mairie pour nous faciliter les démarches administratives. (FrMid4, p151)
 -Mrs Simone, sent by the town hall to facilitate the administrative procedures. (Translation mine)
- 3. She exhibited her first paintings in Paris in 1947. In 1953, she got married and had six children. She stopped painting for some years. (EnMid2, p. 19)
- 4. I propose that Miss Ford be appointed secretary of the committee. (EnSec 3, p.225)

As for the textbooks' illustrative materials, table 5.4 (Appendix E.4) provides different examples and images showing women occupying mostly stereotypical feminine professions such as a teacher (see images 61, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70), a nurse (see images 59, 60, 69), a receptionist (see Image 68), a secretary (see Image 72) or an air hostess (see

images 64, 67). Most of the women's professions are secondary gender roles.¹³⁷ Mani Amruthraj argues that the textual division of labour in the public sphere "takes the form of horizontal and vertical occupational segregation, with women confined to particular types of work and at lower levels" (Amruthraj, 1995, p. 6). Amruthraj also explains this horizontal and vertical division by using the teacher/head teacher binary that is applied to women/men in different discourses. Men are represented as the head teacher, leader, president, manager, and political activist and militant (Amruthraj, 1995). Women, on the other hand, occupy the role of teacher, nurse, secretary, and air hostess.

Indeed, contrary to the secondary roles devoted to women in the textbooks, men occupy important leadership roles as the following examples show:

1. Grâce à mon combat et à celui des militants noirs, les peuples d'Afrique du Sud vivent aujourd'hui libres de l'apartheid. (FrMid1, p.12)

- Thanks to my fight and that of the black militants, the people of South Africa live today free from apartheid. (Translation mine)

- 2. Mon ami est un jeune comandant du Squale. (FrMid3, p.11)- My friend is a young commander of the 'Squale'. (Translation mine)
- 3. Saïd, un ingénieur algérien se trouve à Aix-en-Provence pendant la guerre de libération. (FrMid4, p.106)
 Saïd, an Algerian engineer was in Aix-en-Provence during the war of liberation. (Translation mine)
- 4. Il est le directeur d'une grande usine. (FrSec1, p.171)- He is the manager of a large factory. (Translation mine)
- 5. Notre cornée a besoin d'oxygène, affirme David Maurice, un chercheur de l'université de Columbia aux U.S.A. (FrSec2, p.73)
 - Our cornea needs oxygen, affirms David Maurice, a researcher at Columbia University in the U.S.A. (Translation mine)
- 6. Mon fils est un médecin. (FrSec3, p.63)
- My son is a (medical) doctor. (Translation mine)
- 7. Bruce Willis starred in the film. (EnMid1, p.132)
- 8. He was a famous black trumpet player and jazz singer. (EnMid2, p.20)
- 9. I helped my father paint the garden fence, and I hated painting. (EnMid3, p.121)
- 10. Haroun al-Rachid, who ruled 786 to 809A.D, was the greatest caliph of the Abbasids dynasty. (EnMid4, p.103)
- 11. [...] says Richard Carlson, one of the best-selling American writers. (EnSec1, p.88)
- 12. You are about to listen to a conversation between a secondary school headmaster and a pupil's father. (EnSec3, p.76)

¹³⁷Further examples are provided in EnMid3 (p.117), EnSec1 (p.99), EnSec2 (p.198), and FrSec1 (p.89, p.111, p.114).

All these examples in addition to many others, can be found in Table 5.2 (Appendix E.2), afford men with a wide range of roles. Even at the level of the textbooks' pictures, men are always offered a wide range of roles as shown in Table 5.5(Appendix E.5). The man is a doctor (Image 82, 83, 84, 89, 92, 103), a police officer (Image 73, 102, 107), a head teacher (Image 91, 98), an astronaut (Image 96, 111), a tourist guide (Image 94, 99), a businessman (Image 108), a seller (Image 88), a taxi driver (Image 97), a musician (Image 101), a theatre actor (Image 81), a scientist (Image 80) and many other professions (see Appendix E.5).

Even in the few situations where both genders appear together in the public sphere, the woman must be the man's assistant or involved in another secondary role or even depicted as a housewife (Example 1 and 2 below). Examples 1 and 2 below are provided by the designers of the textbooks in the format of an email correspondence between an Algerian and Finnish girl. The editors depict the girls' mothers as housewives, both in Algerian and Finnish society. If not a housewife, women serve as assistants or occupy lower positions to men and cannot have a superior status, as shown in examples 3-8 below:

- 1. My mother is a housewife and my father is an electrician. (EnSec1, p.21)
- 2. My father is _engineer and my mother is housewife.¹³⁸ (EnSec2, p.32)
- 3. Le dentiste et son assistante (accueillir) le patient. (FrMid2, p. 106)
- The dentist and his [female] assistant (to welcome) the patient. (Translation mine)
- 4. My father is an electrician and my mother is a nurse. (EnMid1, p.52)
- a. The girls took Cookery and Needlework lessons.
 b. they knitted jumpers and made cakes (who).

a. the boys used to take Woodwork lessons.

- b. they made wooden toys like trains and dolls. (who). (EnMid4, p.114)
- 6. My father had a business, and my mother used to help him. (EnSec2, p.32)
- 7. I: has your wife helped you? G: yes, she did. (EnSec2, p.122)
- 8. **Personnel Manager:** Hello Jane, I'm Chris Lee. **Personal Assistant:** yes, Mr Lee. Is the anything you'd like me to do? (EnSec2, p.186).

All these examples represent passive secondary roles that are attributed to women. Similar representations are emphasised in the textbooks' illustrative materials (see Table 5.4, Appendix E.4). When a woman and a man are represented together in the same image, the woman is helping him as a nurse (Image 59, 60), serving him as an airhostess

¹³⁸ A sentence from an exercise to fill in the gaps with the articles 'a, an, the'.

(Image 64, 67), or working as his secretary (Image 72). All these representations show women as a second-class citizens whose main job is to perform stereotypical roles, if not domestic tasks.

In fact, these findings are typical and representative of what other research shows about the representation of gender roles in Algerian school textbooks involving other subjects. Samira Boubakour (2017) conducted a descriptive analysis of gender representation in 74 Algerian textbooks for a range of subjects: Arabic, Tamazight (Berber), French, English, Spanish, History, Islamic Studies and Civic Education. Her analysis focused both on the texts and illustrations in these textbooks and found that "aucune remise en cause de la notion du genre n'est apparue [...]. Ce qui nous pousse à dire que les manuels scolaire algériens, à l'heure actuelle, n'adoptent pas une conception égalitaire entre les sexes, la femme y est cotonnée dans des rôles assez traditionnels" (Boubakour, 2017, p. 8). Therefore, Algerian schools reinforce the 'tradition-bound female sphere' (Woodhull, 2010, p. 567). Gender biases and stereotypes in textbooks "may have an adverse affect on both girls and boys; the implications for girls are that by restricting their reading to existing "female roles" and their part in patriarchal structures they are not being provided with opportunities to look beyond these" (Ullah & Skelton, 2013, p. 191). The textbooks, moreover, reinforce feminine 'passivity' (de Beauvoir, 1997) as a major feature of the roles played by women outside of the private sphere. This division of gender roles in the main instructional materials creates an image of the woman as a marginalised subject. Furthermore, it reinforces the binary of men/women as superior/inferior.

The roles undertaken by males and females are the result of the culture, norms and values of a given society. Therefore, although men and women are in some ways heterogeneous, their asymmetries are only taken to signify superiority or inferiority within the framework of culturally defined value system. These norms are reinforced by cultural institutions such as schools and family, and this institutionalisation of prejudicial norms has allowed the subordination of women to be established. (Kostas, 2013, pp. 35-36)

Accordingly, the content of these textbooks contributes to the persistence of patriarchal values of the colonial period. Through foreign language textbooks, Algerian schools reproduce the discriminatory practices against women on a daily basis. These practices can have major effects on the identity of female students by limiting their wishes, capacities and interests (Ullah & Skelton, 2013, p. 191).

5.7. Contradictory Representations: Women in a Third World

However, there are some occasions when women are presented in more primary roles outside the domestic sphere. This includes three texts in FrSec3, which are devoted to roles played by women during the war of revolution. Some of these texts instruct students by representing the suffering and misery, as well as heroism, that these women experienced in the colonial period (see Section 3.5.3.4). In spite of the fact that these texts are used mainly to teach the nation, as Chapter 3 shows, they are significant since they contribute to a greater awareness of the crucial role that women played, and are still playing, in the Algerian nation (Text 1 and 2, Appendix E.7). Pictures of Algerian women participating in the war, either as nurses (Images 59, 60. Appendix E.7), or as fighters (The image of Lala Fathma N'soumer, Image 112. Appendix E.6) are also provided in the textbooks.

In addition, in some situations, women are represented in a modern world performing various roles, which depict them as successful and professional workers like the following examples show:

- Parfois je pense à toi Anissa, à ce que tu m'écris concernant tes recherches, tes innovations [...] et j'ai peur d'être jaloux de toi car tu as su trouver un métier qui correspond à ta personnalité. (FrSec1, p.87).
 Sometimes I think of you, Anissa, of what you write to me about your research, your discoveries [...] and I am afraid of being jealous of you because you knew how to find a job that suits to your personality. (Translation mine)
- 2. Je suis un ingénieur électronicien issue de l'université algérienne depuis 1995[...] et puis mon mari m'a beaucoup encouragée, étant lui-même du secteur [...] A partir du moment où l'on m'a vue perchée sur un poteau électrique, tous mes employés ont compris que je ne rigolais pas dans le travail, ceci en plus du fait qu'il n'y a pas trop de concurrence dans ce secteur où la rigueur est de la mise. En plus je trouve que les gens sont très respectueux envers moi, et la plupart du temps, ce sont les habitants des villages eux-mêmes qui viennent nous aider lorsqu'ils voient qu'il y a une femme qui transporte les câbles [...] à l'école ils [mes enfants] disent que leur maman est une gérante d'une entreprise et mon fils de cinq ans dit déjà, à qui veut l'entendre, que plus tard, il sera électricien. (FrSec1, p.76)

- I am an electronics engineer having graduated from an Algerian university in 1995 [...] and my husband has encouraged me a lot, being himself from the same sector [...] From the moment that I was seen perched on an electric pole, all my employees understood that I do not take my work lightly. This, in addition to the fact that there is not much competition in this sector which requires a lot of hardwork. In addition, I find that people are very respectful towards me, and most of the time, it is the villagers themselves who come to help us when they see that it is a woman who is carrying the cables [...] at school they [my children] say that their mother is a company manager, and my five-year-old son already says, to whoever wants to hear it, that later, he will be an electrician. (Translation mine)

- 3. Dans les entreprises, les femmes sont de meilleures gestionnaires que les hommes. (FrSec3, p.63)
 In companies, women are better managers than men. (Translation mine)
- 4. The purpose of the report is to evaluate the performance of Leila Derradj, Production Manager of Autocar, during the year 2007. (EnSec2, p.173)

These examples challenge the discourse that promotes patriarchy in these textbooks. Example 2, for example, is an interview with an anonymous, successful Algerian woman, who explains her challenge to the stereotype of the 'electrician' as a man's job by being 'une gérante d'une entreprise'. Her husband, children, and the whole society have accepted and respected her success. This extract encourages modernity, challenges the legacy of discriminatory and stereotypical division of gender roles, and takes women out of their traditional world. In fact, this example, with others, challenges all the discriminatory effects that have been discussed in the previous sections of this chapter. However, the fact that this 'model of modernity' is an anonymous woman may undermine the modernising intention of this text. In this regard, Kabira and Masinjila argue "naming or not naming is instrumental in shaping attitudes and perceptions towards characters in a text" (Cited in Kobia, 2009, p. 64). Naming characters helps giving credibility to the character and gives an impression of authenticity (Windt-Val, 2012). Yet, it is still a positive attempt to encourage female learners to challenge social constraints. In addition to these textual examples, a few illustrations represent women performing different modern roles (Table 5.6, Appendix E.6). Women are represented as scientists (Image 115, 121), TV reporters (Image 114, 118), police officers (Image 117), militants (Image 120), and veterinaries (Image 119). Despite the limited number of these modern representations in comparison to the stereotypical roles, by practising such modern discourses through the foreign language classes, Algerian learners are provided with a chance to live in a modern world, which allows women to experience equality with men by performing a wide variety of roles.

Nevertheless, in many of the pages, women are represented as incapable human beings who rely on men. These representations reinforce the previously mentioned domestic and stereotypical roles of women, as the examples below elucidate:

5. Quand mon père est mort, ma mère, elle s'est trouvée seule [...] elle n'a pas voulu quitter sa maison [...] ma sœur ca l'intéressait de reprendre la ferme, elle avait le culot pour ça mais [...] toute seule, c'est quand même difficile. (FrMid4, p.69)

- When my father died, my mother found herself alone [...] she did not want to leave her house [...] my sister took an interest in taking over the farm, she had fully up for it but [...] all alone, it is actually quite difficult. (Translation mine)

6. One day, his mother told him,

-Willy, we don't have any food left. You must go to our neighbour's farm to work. At the end of the day, ask him to give you some money. Don't forget Willy! (EnMid2, p.107)

- 7. He was lazy and improvident and was incapable of bringing food to his wife and children who were always hungry. (EnSec1, p.53)
- 8. So he doesn't [didn't] get work every day. Mum cries [cried] but poor old dad never [said] says a word. (EnSec2, p.19)
- 9. Farida is jobless. (EnSec3, p.77)

These examples contradict the aforementioned ones. Contrary to the previously discussed representations of women and their role as fighters in the war of independence, these examples reinforce stereotypes of women reliant on men. All of them depict women as subordinate subjects depending on men to get their daily food. These discriminatory discourses are not the only representations that neglect the right of women to be equally represented with men in the textbooks: the textbooks also reinforce the idea of men in charge and as having greater agency and access to their rights compared to women.

The textbooks that represent men in a higher position to women, as having the right to silence women, enhance the prevailing patriarchal ideology. This discourse reinforces the binary of the superior/inferior discussed above, but also illustrated in the example below:

Wilcox was now pale with anger. "Doctor Penrose," he said, "I think you've got the wrong idea about your position here. *You're shadow*, not an inspector. You're not an inspector. You're here to learn, not to interfere. I must ask you *to keep quiet, or leave the meeting* [...]", "very well, I'll leave," said Robyn. She gathered up her belongings in *a strained silence*, and left the room. (Emphasis mine. EnSec3, p.248)

This example reinforces the ostensibly natural position of men at the apex of the social hierarchy. In addition to other discourses, this example reflects and emphasises the social reality in Algeria where this 'natural' position of men can even be dangerous as it gives them the right to bully and harass women. According to a study conducted byLa Fondation Algérienne pour la Promotion de la Santé et de la Recherche (Forem), half of Algerian women are victims of sexual harassment at work or at university, and more than 45% of female students are victims of harassment (Harit, 2014). Accordingly, the

Algerian government enacted a law in December 2015 criminalising any act of violence against women. Nevertheless, women prefer to keep silent because of social constraints. One of the icons of the opposition movement in Algeria, Amira Bouraoui, states, "je suis triste de vivre dans le pays où c'est à la victime d'avoir honte, et non pas au bourreau" (Cited in Moulai, 2015). Therefore, such a presentation of the man/woman relationship in the official instructional materials of teaching English can be dangerous as it might contribute towards promoting violence against women in Algerian society.

Unquestionably, these representations of women as subalterns force women to stay in the traditional world of the colonial period. This world reinforces the persistence of the colonial legacy of patriarchy, which evolved and developed after independence. Gender "conceptions and role behavior are the products of a broad network of social influences operating both familially and in the many societal systems encountered in everyday life" (Bussey & Bandura, 1999, p. 676). In fact, the paradoxes between the representations of women performing modern roles (Examples 1-4 above) and their representations as subordinate to men (examples 5-9 above) symbolise the textual reflection of the traditional and modern cosmos forcing Algerian women to live in a 'Third World'. Therefore, these textbooks that are supposed to bring modernity to the country, ironically, encourage the *status quo* of patriarchal traditions against women.

This 'Third World' is perpetuated and reflected in one of the main transmission agents of social and cultural knowledge: school textbooks. Researchers, like Seyran Jannati (2015) and Arta Toçi & Melek Aliu(2013), have emphasised the role of school textbooks as pertinent elements in the construction of the learner's gender identity. Textbooks, as Auleear Owadally (2013) states, are a 'representational space' that maintain and reinforce the learner's identity. Therefore, upholding masculine hegemony and feminine subordination in the Algerian textbooks is a fundamental factor which can lead learners to confusion and identity conflicts. Consequently, Catherine Delcroix stresses that "it is certain that, in view of the Algerian woman's higher level of education today, her underrepresentation can only foster frustration and obstruct the evolution of her personal status, and thus, of her emancipation" (Cited in Woodhull, 2010, p. 568).

Amongst the different factors contributing to the persistence of patriarchy is the discriminatory representations adopted in the textbooks. Many postcolonial countries are still suffering from the persistence of contradictory legacies that obstruct women's

emancipation. In Algeria, neither the Ministry of Education, nor the textbooks designers paid attention to the influence that their textbooks can have on the students' gendered identity. Nevertheless, the Algerian government is making an effort to promote gender equality by ratifying many conventions that emphasise the promotion of women's empowerment like the CEDAW, as mentioned earlier in this chapter and in Chapter 1 (Section 1.2.2).¹³⁹ As this convention stresses "the elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education [...] by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods" (Article 10 of CEDAW). This article seems to have been neglected by the Ministry of Education and textbook producers. As the analysis above demonstrates, the editors of the textbooks were inattentive to the ideological role played by their materials.

Therefore, 'masculine-as-default' is a notion which is actively promoted in the textbooks that represent women as occupying a contradictory space that is conceptualised, as discussed earlier, by Woodhull as 'Algeria's betweenness' (Woodhull, 1993, p. 10). These paradoxical ideologies promote the patriarchal legacy of the colonial period that has led to subsequent gender identity problems. Woodhull adds, through her analyses of Gordon and Tillion, "women symbolize, and are called upon to stabilize, Algeria's irreducibly contradictory identity in and through their 'present condition' of subordination" (Woodhull, 1993, p. 10). Indeed, the Algerian revolution remains "a key metaphor of unity, equality and solidarity, a benchmark against which all subsequent events are measured, and thus a powerful political toll' (Vince, 2015, p. 254). However, this revolution failed to bring about any real change in the status of Algerian women after independence.

5.8.Conclusion

The analysis above confirms that Algerian women are living in a 'Third World', where they enjoy few rights and suffer from much discrimination. Schools in Algeria, being amongst the main institutions working towards developing the nation, paradoxically stress the persistence of the patriarchal *status quo*. Algerian education has contradicted the country's need for modernisation by promoting discrimination against women. Therefore, gender identity is still facing the turmoil of the postcolonial paradoxes.

¹³⁹ The convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (p.4). Available at <u>http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/ProfessionalInterest/cedaw.pdf</u>.

The textbooks under study show high levels of gender discrimination. This analysis of gender visibility and gender roles has revealed that the discriminatory nature of the textbooks can be one of the important factors behind the persistence of patriarchy in the postcolonial period. This discrimination is a practice that Algerian students are learning in their everyday lessons of French and English. Women are still presented as the subaltern guardians of tradition, despite their major role in liberating the nation, as Woodhull stresses:

As the embodiment of conflicting forces that simultaneously compose and disrupt the nation, women are both the guarantors of national identity– no longer simply guardians of traditional values, but as symbols that successfully contain the conflicts of the new historical situation- and the supreme threat to that identity, insofar its endemic instability can be assigned to them. (Woodhull, 2010, p. 569)

The important role that women played, and are still playing, in Algeria today as guarantors of national identity is not given importance in the official textbooks. In the 1960s-1970s, "the Algerian state [...] tried to reimagine the boundaries of the nation through the image, rights and roles of women" (Vince, 2015, p. 253). However, women faced bitter disappointment in the 1980s and 1990s with the imposition of patriarchal legislation through the *Family Code* of 1984. Today, although women have gained some rights, the same patriarchy is still promoted in school textbooks. The representation of women seems to be the last thing the Ministry of Education or the designers were concerned with. The fundamental prioritisation given to national identity (Chapter 3), as well as the culture of resistance against what is considered to be a French threat (Chapter 4), has denied women their right to be equally represented as Algerian citizens in the official textbooks.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to explore the representations of national, cultural and gendered identities in 14 textbooks of French and English used in Algerian middle and secondary schools since 2003. It has argued that, as far as the teaching of foreign languages is concerned, the colonial past still influences the process of identity (re)construction through postcolonial education, even after more than a half century of independence. Comparative analysis of the French and English textbooks as well as the data collected from interviews has shown that the representation of national identity in the textbooks is mainly dependant on the historical significance of the foreign language; whether or not it is the language of the former coloniser. Similar are the representations of cultural identity in the textbooks, which may have contributed to and escalated the language and identity conflicts in the postcolonial state. This is in contrast to the stated aims of creating peace and harmony amongst Algerians promised by President Bouteflika. In addition, the findings of this research have indicated that these French and English textbooks still promote the patriarchal legacy of the colonial period through their biased representations of gender. Therefore, instead of achieving the needed modernisation through education after several years of turmoil during the 1990s, the foreign language textbooks, arguably, appear to have created more problems than they have solved.

The textbooks studied in this thesis were produced after a bloody decade of political and social uprisings in the 1990s. The 2003 root-and-branch educational reforms were largely a response to this decade of social and political turmoil. Chapter One has shown that these reforms were meant to bring peace to Algerian society, since their main aim was the (re)construction of a modern Algerian identity that is tolerant towards different languages. Despite the enormous efforts that have been made to educate Algerians after the Civil War of the 1990s, the country is still facing profound contradictions (Maamri, 2016). Identity and language continue to be at the heart of conflicts in the postcolonial state. Therefore, the analysis of these textbooks highlights some of the possible reasons behind the escalation of these conflicts.

6.1. The Originality of this Thesis

This thesis is the first in-depth comparative analysis between French and English foreign language textbooks from both middle and secondary education. It is the first to question the possible impact of the representations of the French and English textbooks on perceptions of national identity, gender and attitudes towards different cultures. It also questions and highlights the impact of the historical, political and social reality on education and specifically on textbook presentations of identity as well as on teaching foreign languages. Instead of the traditional focus on the representation of one specific identity, this thesis presents Algeria as a case study to demonstrate that identity can be constructed discursively to question representations of three controversial identities simultaneously in a postcolonial context: national, cultural, and gendered identities. This interdisciplinary research has sought to foster a reflexive practice in textbook design by considering all textual and pictorial components of the textbooks. Many elements of the textbooks have been considered in my analysis, like activities and illustrative materials, which are often absent in most papers analysing textbooks, as shown in Chapter Two. Furthermore, this is, to the best of my knowledge, the first study anywhere to address the effects of the colonial past on (re)constructions of postcolonial identities through foreign language textbooks.

This thesis has identified the major role played by school textbooks in the process of identity (re)construction as official sites of educational discourse in Algeria. As Chapter Two has explained, language textbooks have a particular significance in constructing identities. These textbooks provide the learners with the opportunity to encounter other cultures, not only to learn other languages. This allows learners to express their own identity in the foreign language while developing their intercultural competences. Different researchers have examined representations of different collective identities in school textbooks of native, as well as foreign, languages in different contexts, as shown in Chapter Two. Despite this, however, little interest has been paid to studying the impact of colonial history on the representations of foreign languages in postcolonial countries' teaching materials. Although many postcolonial thinkers have questioned the impact of colonialism on representations of identity, the textbooks, despite their importance, are still overlooked by researchers. Therefore, this thesis addresses this gap in international literature by considering the effects of the recent history of postcolonial countries on the instruction of foreign languages and, therefore, on the process of (re)constructing identities. It stresses the significant role played by textbooks in promoting, as well as challenging, hegemonic views within Algerian society as they are

the official and *only* textbooks used in Algerian schools produced by the Ministry of Education.

6.2. Discussion of the Findings

This thesis is based on critical discourse analysis and content analysis of French and English textbooks to question the representations of three identities: national, cultural and gendered identities by demonstrating the pivotal role that the colonial past can play in rethinking postcolonial identities. It has identified and emphasised the powerful role that textbooks, as official 'products', can play in redefining, reshaping, and reconstructing identities. The textbooks, which are supposed to bring modernity to Algerian identity, paradoxically contradict this aim. A discussion of the findings of this thesis based on the research questions identified in the first chapter is provided below.

Research Question 1: How do the French textbooks, as the language of the former coloniser, and English, as the world's putative *lingua franca*, differ in their representations of national identity?

National identity is a controversial category for many postcolonial countries. In the textbooks under study, this identity was analysed by comparing how French, as the language of the former coloniser, and English, as the world's lingua franca, differ in their representations of Algerian identity. This thesis has shown that French language textbooks, being the language of the former coloniser, put more emphasis on teaching the Algerian nation and on developing the students' national identity, than their English equivalents. Based on the model of national identity identified by Smith (2002) and on views of other theorists, Chapter Three investigated the representations of the different constituents of national identity in the textbooks. This analysis has found that French textbooks aim to develop a national Algerian identity by focusing on teaching the history of colonialism in Algeria and highlighting, specifically, the final decades of colonialism, during the Second World War up to Independence.

In the French textbooks, also, the strong emphasis on teaching the nation is measured by the importance given to the representations of the Algerian flag, which is prevalent throughout, even appearing on the cover page of FrMid3. Additionally, the importance of representing the homeland as *a historical repository of memories* where different heroes have sacrificed their life for the sake of liberating the homeland is stressed in the French textbooks in order to develop the students' national identity. In

contrast, the textbooks also unwittingly reproduce Orientalist representations by writers such as Guy de Maupassant and Louis Bertrand which, to a certain extent, reiterate the French colonial pretext of a *mission civilisatrice*. This is stressed in chapter Three as one of the paradoxes of the textbooks under analysis.

English language textbooks, however, provide less space to teaching the nation and national culture by also including references to the British and American Other. English textbooks devote little space to teaching history, focusing instead on teaching the nation through cultural representations of Algerian traditions, food, values, and so on. Although the Algerian flag is presented a few times in the English textbooks, (other) memories of colonialism and/or the Algerian War of Independence are almost absent from all the textbooks. The Union Jack and the American flag appear many times in the English textbooks, in addition to many English speaking countries, despite the absence of American and British histories. In contrast, any national symbols of France, or French speaking countries, are absent from the French as well as the English textbooks. National and cultural symbols of America and Great Britain and many English-speaking countries occupy an integral part of the English textbooks. Therefore, since a major principle of the foreign-language learning is to develop the students' intercultural competences in a space that allows the students to communicate with the world, the relative absence of the French Other can be considered problematic.

One major finding of this thesis claims that these differences in the design and content of French and English foreign language textbooks are linked to the fact that French is the language of the former coloniser that had constituted a threat to Algerian identity during 132 years of French colonialism. This, according to the interviewees, put the teaching of French in Algeria under 'une haute surveillance', since using French cultural or national symbols is believed by the Ministry of Education to be a threat to national unity. Therefore, the textbooks of French, more than the English ones are meant to develop the students' sense of national identity and distinctiveness and to affirm l'Algérianisation to combat French cultural hegemony in postcolonial Algeria. English language textbooks, on the other hand, have less interest in teaching national identity or Algerian distinctiveness. and aim instead to develop the students' intercultural competences and to teach them, not only about their own culture, but also about cultures associated with the target language. This lingua franca, as argued by the interviewees, cannot threaten Algerian unity mainly due to Algeria's weaker historical ties with Britain.

Research Question 2: To what extent do the cultures conveyed through the teaching of French and English contribute to the ongoing conflicts of language and identity in Algerian society today?

Appraising the way in which the colonial past has affected teaching culture through foreign language textbooks was tackled in Chapter Four. The analysis' findings demonstrated that the French textbooks promote a culture of resistance against everything French. This, I argue, has affected the students' achievements in the French language which led it to be in crisis and therefore has escalated the recent conflicts of language and identity in Algerian society. This culture of resistance in the French textbooks, I suggest, is a legacy that was inherited from the French themselves. It was transmitted to Algerians through the colonial period and was used to resist French colonialism per se. However, this resistance is still perpetuated in postcolonial Algeria through the French textbooks' representations of colonial history. These representations mostly emphasise the image of the French as the oppressive coloniser who made Algerians 'the wretched of the earth' (Fanon, 1991). In addition, despite the presence of a good number of French writers in the textbooks (as shown in Chapter Three), French culture is almost entirely absent from these textbooks. This was confirmed by the interviewees who explained that French culture is not allowed in the Algerian textbooks because it is still considered to pose a threat to Algerian identity. It is feared that representing French culture will bring back the former hegemony of the French in the postcolonial country. This has shown just how clearly the textbooks are seen by the Algerian *pouvoir* as being a powerful tool that can play an important role in the process of (re)constructing the Algerian identity.

English textbooks, on the other hand, are found to promote a culture of peace by focusing on values-based education, as Chapter Four shows. The values implemented in the English textbooks are supposed to help the students develop their intercultural competences. In comparison, these values can be found only in a few situations in the French textbooks. Therefore, I suggest that, unlike the French textbooks, the content of the English textbooks encourages tolerance between different cultures and religions through representations of different Arabic and English-speaking countries, beyond British and American societies. However, similar to the French textbooks, the French culture or cultural symbols are not reproduced in the English textbooks. Therefore, on the one hand, the image of the French as a 'devilish entity' in the French language textbooks has, arguably, contributed to fostering a 'culture of resistance' vis-à-vis French language.

On the other hand, the English language textbooks have fostered a 'culture of peace'. In both cases, this has possibly contributed to an escalation in the conflicts of language and identity in postcolonial Algeria and, therefore, contradicts the objectives of achieving modernisation through the teaching of foreign languages in Algeria.

Research Question 3: How does France's colonial past in Algeria affect the ways in which French language and culture are taught in comparison to English?

When I started this research, I was expecting that it would reveal the government's hidden intentions to replace French by English as the primary foreign language of the country. This might constitute a possible reason for the current crisis that the French language is witnessing in Algeria. As the Timeline of Political Events in Algeria (see pageV) shows, the Algerian government had already tried to replace French with English as the first foreign language of the country as early as 1993, considering it as threat, since it is the language of the former coloniser. However, this was not successful. Therefore it was expected that the government would attempt to repeat this experiment, but this time implicitly through the content of the textbooks, rather than explicit language policy. Yet, this thesis has shown that this is not the case, and that there is no intention to entirely eradicate the French language from the Algerian linguistic scene. Rather, the main aim was to avoid the re-establishment of a French hegemony in the postcolonial period. Nevertheless, in doing so, the analysis of the textbooks has shown that the government's approach to teaching French might have indeed led to the crisis of French language, whether intended or not.

Therefore, in Chapter Three, I argued that the French and English textbooks actually might have resulted in creating more problems between Algerian Francophones and Arabophones, where the former consider the French language as part of their identity which cannot be eradicated, while the latter consider it, as shown in the textbooks, to be the language of the coloniser. The French textbooks place great importance on national identity rather than the intercultural tolerance needed after decades of social and political uprisings. The strong emphasis on colonial representations in the textbooks of French might have led, as discussed before, to a persisting link between this language and the bitter memories of the colonial past. English textbooks, on the other hand, teach the nation by developing the students' intercultural tolerance towards other cultures and languages. This, along with other political, economic cultural and social factors, has led young people in Algeria today to favour learning English as the first foreign language in the country rather than the French language. Therefore, a major finding of this thesis is that the colonial past is indeed affecting the content of the textbooks and, accordingly, affecting teaching the foreign language in postcolonial Algeria, a fact that contradicts the stated objectives of the textbooks and the promises of the president.

Research Question 4: Do the textbooks promote women's empowerment and gender equality as a feature of a 'modern' Algerian identity, as promised by President Bouteflika?

Another contradiction of the textbooks under study is the representation of gendered identity. Across the textbooks in both English and French, this study has identified a high rate of discrimination against women, endorsing the patriarchal legacy of the colonial period and, therefore, obstructing the emancipation of women in postcolonial Algeria. All these facts constitute paradoxes between President Bouteflika's intention to modernise Algerian identity and what the textbooks, in fact, teach.

The analysis of representations of women in the textbooks has shown that they promote patriarchal perspectives and discrimination through their textual as well as pictorial content. This contradicts President Bouteflika's stated aims to promote women's empowerment and gender equality through these kinds of educational reforms. These findings suggest that the patriarchal legacy of the colonial period persists in Algeria through the textbooks that were supposed to bring modernity to the country. Despite the laws that were enacted in Algeria to emancipate women, the textbooks' content affirms the position of Algerian women in what I call a 'Third World', where they enjoy some of their rights but continue to suffer from many forms of discriminations. The analysis of gender visibility and gender roles in the textbooks has demonstrated that, on a daily basis in Algeria, French and English classes use materials that suggest that women are the subaltern guardians of traditions in mostly domestic roles. Even if women are represented outside the private sphere in these textbooks, they are shown to be performing stereotypical feminine professional roles, like a teacher or air hostess. On the other hand, men perform dozens of roles in the public sphere, and in their few representations in the private sphere, they are depicted as inactive agents who are either resting or waiting for women to serve them.

However, the textbooks provide very few examples of women performing modern roles. In the meantime, representations of women are dominated by depictions of subalterns who cannot survive without the help and support of men. These controversial and contradictory examples show that the way in which these two foreign languages are taught further perpetuates the patriarchal legacies of the colonial period. It seems that, for the producers of the textbooks, promoting gender equality in these textbooks is of secondary importance in the same indifferent tradition as previous Algerian postcolonial regimes. This, I have argued, leads women to be excluded from the Algerian project of identity.

6.3. Research Impact and Limitations

Thanks to the collaborative nature of this research project, involving liaison and interviews within the Ministry of Education in Algeria, this doctoral research has already started to impact education in Algeria. By explaining the findings of this study to the interviewees, who play an important role in the production of school textbooks, they have promised to attribute attention to the different issues highlighted in this thesis when producing the 'second generation' textbooks.¹⁴⁰ Another high-ranking official in the Ministry (who was not interviewed for this thesis), has asked for a copy of the thesis in order to help them identify the weaknesses in the textbooks of my corpus and, therefore, avoid them for future productions. Moreover, this research aims to be a good foundation for many postcolonial governments when producing their textbooks, as it emphasises the fact, ignored by research in the field, that the colonial past of the country plays an important role in its present. Attributing attention to such representations of identity in official school textbooks helps to shed light on the many paradoxical legacies that persist in postcolonial societies such as the cultures of 'resistance', 'peace', and gender discrimination identified by this study. In addition, this research has shown that gender identity is a fundamental component of national identity, although this is still not explicitly addressed by many postcolonial states. Therefore, this thesis directs scholars' and political leaders' attention to the fact that postcolonial identity cannot achieve modernity if discrimination against women continues in the present.

However, like any other research, there exist some limitations of this thesis that would be interesting to address in future research. The limited time of doctoral research has restricted the scope of this thesis to an examination of three different collective

¹⁴⁰ The textbooks under analysis, as explained in the Chapter One, are called the first generation of the 2003 reforms. The second generation of the first and second years of middle school was produced in 2016, and the rest is expected to be produced in the next few years.

identities in French and English textbooks, without being able to fully account for other identities like ethnic and religious identities. Likewise, other textbooks for foreign languages taught in Algeria, like Spanish and German, in addition to textbooks of national languages, like Arabic and Berber, have had to be excluded from the scope of this thesis in order to maintain the comparative focus between French and English. The French and English textbooks were chosen for this comparative study because of the new rivalry, as discussed in Chapter Three, that has appeared between these two languages in Algeria recently over the position of the 'first foreign language'. This rivalry has led to an escalation in the conflicts of language and identity in Algerian society. Therefore, the question concerning the discursive effects of the content of foreign-language textbooks is of paramount importance. Overall, this thesis can be the starting point for future research addressing language and identity conflicts in broader contexts.

This research has also not been able to include data on the opinions of the students and teachers who come into contact with these textbooks. However, students' attitudes to French and English and their perception of their own identities, as well as teachers' delivery of the material should be recognised as important variables in the impact of the teaching materials. Therefore, this thesis can be a base for future studies investigating these variables. This thesis, with its emphasis on the effects of history on educational discourse, has focused on the analysis of the fourteen textbooks and the interviews conducted with the people who participated in the production of these same textbooks. Consequently, the study has been able to identify the textbooks as powerful sites of official discourse that are meant to construct certain versions of identity. This research is the first to reveal the detailed process of textbook production, and the importance of the content for the Ministry of Education. Building on this, future empirical research would help to clarify the actual impact of the representations of these textbooks on students' identities.

Furthermore, in the course of liaising with the Ministry of Education, this study was limited by a lack of communication with senior members in the Ministry. Without publicly available contact details, it was very difficult to arrange interviews or meetings. As the first Chapter explains, interviews were limited to the people who worked on the French and English textbooks from the Ministry of Education, University of Tizi-Ouzou, and the INRE since attempts at contact via email or in person proved unfruitful. In the end, this study has been able to take into account interviews involving three participants. These interviews have revealed previously unknown information about the production of the textbooks, as this thesis is the first research in Algeria to investigate the process of textbooks' production. Therefore, this doctoral research serves as a vital foundation for further research in the field where future interviews with more people who were involved in producing the textbooks would help build a new understanding on the impact of the colonial past on the shape of learner identity today.

6.4. Suggestions for Future Research

The limitations mentioned above have highlighted some suggestions for future research which would enrich the academic debate on the important role that school textbooks can play in the process of identity (re)construction. This thesis can be a foundation for future research questioning other collective identities that are influenced by colonial history in postcolonial contexts. It explained the crucial role that the past of the country can play in reshaping and reconstructing postcolonial identities through education. Therefore, future research would benefit from this study by highlighting the different issues and ideologies hidden in foreign language classrooms that would affect, not only the language-learning process, but the identities of the learners and, therefore, of future generations and whole populations.

Ultimately, this thesis has made the case that foreign-language textbooks not only (re)construct the collective identity of a nation but promote the colonial legacies of that nation, to different extents and with varying outcomes. It has stressed the fact that these legacies should be treated cautiously as they may contradict the aim behind teaching foreign languages in many contexts. In sum, it has been the aim of this research to contribute to the growing scholarship on identity in educational discourse by demonstrating the crucial role school textbooks can play in (re)constructing different identities and challenging different colonial legacies.

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Appendices

Appendix A:Textbooks' Titles and Abbreviations

Level		Textbooks of French		Textbooks of English	
		Name	Abbreviations	Name	Abbreviations
	1 st Year	Français: 1 Année Moyenne (Laichaoui, et al., 2010).	FrMid1	Spotlight on English: Book One (Merazga, et al., 2003).	EnMid1
Middle School	2 nd Year	Manuels de Français 2éme Année Moyenne (Sadouni- Madagh, et al., 2011).	FrMid2	The Second English Course Book: Spotlight on English Book Two (Merazga, et al., 2004).	EnMid2
	3 rd Year	Mon livre de Français 3éme Année Moyenne (Ayad, et al., 2012).	FrMid3	Spotlight on English Book Three (Arab, et al., 2005).	EnMid3
	4 th Year	Livre de Français 4e Année Moyenne (Djilali & Melzi, 2006).	FrMid4	On the Move (Arab, et al., 2006).	EnMid4
Secondary School	1 st Year	Français Première Année Secondaire (Djilali, et al., 2005).	FrSec1	At the Crossroads (Riche, et al., 2005).	EnSec1
	2 nd Year	Français Deuxième Année Secondaire (Zegrar, et al., 2006).	FrSec2	Getting through (Riche, et al., 2006).	EnSec2
	3 rd Year	Français Troisième Année Secondaire (Mahboubi, et al., 2007).	FrSec3	New Prospects (Arab, et al., 2007).	EnSec3

Appendix B: Defining the Interviewees

Interviews with members of the Ministry of Education were conducted in the final months before the completion of this research. Due to time constraints, there was some difficulty in acquiring ministerial approval to conduct the interviews with anyone involved in work within the Ministry or in the textbooks' production. In January 2018, I applied to the Ministry of Education for approval to conduct interviews but I did not receive an answer before I returned to the UK at the end of the month. While I was assured that I would receive a response to my request by email, and a number of individuals involved in the production of the textbooks showed their willingness to participate in skype interviews, unfortunately I never received approval nor a response to my emails.

Interviewee 1

It was not possible to make audio recordings for the interviewees who work at the Ministry of Education; only one of them accepted to have an informal discussion with me on the condition that it was not formally recorded. I refer to this interviewee as interviewee 1. He holds the position of *sous recteur de programme pédagogique*. We had our discussion on 14th January 2018 at the Ministry of Education in French and Algerian Arabic. I took notes which I have translated into English. This interviewee did not explain his exact role in the production of the French textbooks, and he is among the people in charge of the production of the 2nd generation of the French textbook.

Interviewee 2

Interviewee 2 was one of the designers of the English textbooks and a lecturer at the University of Tizi-Ouzou. As in the case of Interviewee 1, Interviewee 2 refused to be recorded but allowed me to have a very short discussion with him. Although his name appears in many of the English textbooks, he explained that he was not responsible for the content of the textbooks, and that his main duty was to proofread them before publication. The discussion took place in L'Université de Tizi-Ouzou on 15th January 2018.

Interviewee 3

Interviewee 3 is *chargée de réalisation et de suivi de projets de recherche en éducation* at the INRE. Sheplayed an important role in the production of the 2^{nd} generation of the textbooks, she was responsible for choosing the evaluators of the 2^{nd} generation

textbooks. However, she did not work at the INRE when the first generation of the textbooks was produced. Interviewee 1 advised me to contact her because of her position at the INRE, which allows her to participate in the research without ministerial approval. While she was unavailable the two occasions I went to interview her in Algiers, fortunately I was able to conduct a Skype interview with her on 16th March 2018.

Appendix C : Narratives of the Colonial Period Appendix C.1 : Delphine pour mémoire (FrSec3, p.27-28)

Delphine pour mémoire

J'ai dix ans. Devant moi un homme marche sur le trottoir, au milieu d'autres hommes, avenue de la République à Aubervilliers¹. Il porte un sac sur l'épaule, un de ces sacs bon marché, imitation cuir dans lesquels on rangeait sa gamelle. Plus loin, deux policiers immobiles scrutent les visages. Is arrêtent l'homme, fouillent son sac, sans ménagement. L'homme baisse la tête et se laisse bousculer sans réagir. Il lève maintenant les bras au ciel. L'un des policiers le palpe, ouvre la veste, soulève le chandail, puis ses mains descendent, desserrent la ceinture. Le pantalon tombe aux pieds de l'homme pétrifié. Des gens rient, d'autres baissent la tête à leur tour.

Je n'ai jamais oublié cet Algérien inconnu, pas plus que l'humiliation, l'impuissance qui nous rendaient solidaires.

J'ai onze ans. Sous nos fenêtres, un soir, un barrage de police. Deux jeunes gens en Vespa tentent d'échapper au contrôle. Une rafale arrose la façade. Les deux jeunes ne se relèveront pas. Trop mats de peau... On apprendra plus tard qu'il s'agissait d'enfants d'immigrés italiens.

J'ai douze ans. Un visage sur les murs, celui de l'innocence assassinée. Le visage d'une gosse de cinq ans, Delphine Renard, défigurée par la bombe que l'O.A.S destinait à André Malreaux2. Puis Charonne³, deux jours plus tard, Charonne où Suzanne Martorelle, une voisine, amie de ma mère, perdra la vie. J'étais dans la rue, le 12 février 1962, un point minuscule dans la foule venue lui rendre hommage.

Vingt années plus tard, j'ai voulu revenir sur ces émotions vives d'enfant de banlieue, me souvenir de cette peur, le soir quand ma mère nous quittait, mes sœurs et moi, pour retrouver d'énigmatiques personnages qui participaient au comité anti-OAS du quartier. Le bouquin devait s'appeler « Delphine pour mémoire ». J'ai commencé par lire tout ce qui s'était publié sur Charonne, puis, consultant les archives des journaux à la Bibliothèque Nationale, je suis tombé sur le 17 octobre 1961, le plus important massacre d'ouvriers à Paris depuis la Commune. Il m'a fallu du temps pour prendre la mesure de l'événement, l'ampleur du refoulement. « Charonne » a laissé la place à « Bonne Nouvelle »³, une correspondance qu'il m'aura fallu vingt années pour découvrir.

J'ai suivi dans les journaux du temps passé la litanie des morts anonymes : chaque jour de ces terribles mois d'octobre et novembre 1961, à la page des

faits-divers, quelques lignes non signées : « les cadavres de trois Algéria ont été repêchés au pont de Bezons. La police a ouvert une enquête. promeneur a découvert le corps d'un Algérien dans un taillis du bois Vincennes »...

On leur avait ôté la vie, on effaçait leurs noms.

Et c'est en réalité à cause de cette arnnésie volontaire que les premi chapitres de « meurtres pour mémoire » se sont appelés Saïd Milache, Ka Guélaline, Lounès Tougourd.

A Charonne, le 8 février 1962, la police du préfet Papon n'a pas a 9 manifestants anonymes, elle a tué Daniel Féry, Anne Godeau, Jean Pie Bernard, Susanne Martorell, Edouard Lemarchand, Raymond Wintge Hippolyte Pina Fanny, Dewerpe, Maurice Pochard.

Le 17 octobre 1961, la police du préfet Papon n'a pas assassiné 10 200 Algériens anonymes, elle a assassiné:

Bélaid Archal, pour mémoire

5

Achour Boussouf, pour mémoire

Fatima Bédard pour mémoire

des dizaines d'autres lignes à remplir pour rendre leur identité à c cune des victimes afin que l'oubli ne soit plus possible.

Didier Daeninckx dans Actualité de l'Emigration, Paris, 198

Appendix C.2 : Histoire du 8 mai 1945

(FrSec3, p. 30-31)

Histoire du 8 mai1945

Répression sanglante dans le Nord-Constantinois

Ce jour du 8 mai, de grandes manifestations furent organisées par le P.P.A.¹ à travers tout le pays, l'Algérie revendicatrice défila en scandant dignement : «A bas le colonialisme !» «Vive l'Algérie indépendante !» «Libérez Messali !» «Libérez les détenus politiques».

A l'exemple du 1er mai, les manifestations eurent un caractère pacifique, et partout où les forces de police ne s'interposaient pas, tout se déroula dans l'ordre et le calme absolu.

Puis, ce fut la provocation, l'éclatement : «C'est à la suite de l'intervention des policiers et des soldats dans les villes de garnisons que les bagarres commencèrent.» avoua Henri Benzet. Le colonat, animé par la haine et la violence, donna libre cours à ses instincts les plus bas. Les massacres atteignirent le paroxysme de la tragédie dans le Constantinois.

F.Abbas témoigna de Sétif, sa ville : « Le 8 mai 1945 est un mardi, c'est le marché hebdomadaire. La ville de Sétif abrite ce jour là, entre cinq et quinze mille fellahs et commerçants venus des régions les plus éloignées...».

Dans cette cité, le cortège parfaitement organisé et autorisé par les autorités à son départ de la mosquée, parvint sans incident jusqu'au niveau du café de France. Là, aux alentours, des cars chargés de policiers étaient postés et prêts à intervenir. L'inspecteur Laffont (habillé en civil), assis à la terrasse de l'établissement, se leva, bondit et tenta d'arracher la pancarte portant l'inscription : «A bas l'impérialisme ! Vive la victoire des Alliés !». Le porteur de la pancarte résista, mais l'inspecteur lui tira trois balles de pistolet dans le ventre. Les policiers qui encadraient le cortège se regroupèrent rapidement face aux manifestants. Alors le scénario se déroula furieusement, et la fusillade commença. L'émeute gagna Sétif. La loi martiale fut proclamée; nul ne put circuler, s'il n'était porteur d'un brassard délivré par les autorités. Tout autre Algérien était abattu, impitoyablement. La répression s'étendit à la périphérie : d'abord

le petit centre de Périgot-Ville, puis Chevreuil. Les troupes françaises quadrillèrent la région. Le ratissage s'opéra sauvagement et sans frein. C'était l'hystérie. Tout se mêla et se confondit. Le sang appela le sang ; tout indigène, citadin ou rural, loyaliste ou militant, était considéré comme une victime qu'il fallait abattre sans pitié.

A Chevreuil, les légionnaires du colonel Bourdillat se conduisirent comme en pays conquis. C'était le droit au pillage, aux viols, aux exécutions sommaires, sous le vocable éloquent d'opération de nettoyage. Des expéditions « punitives » furent organisées. On tirait sur tout, partout : fellahs, femmes, enfants, vieillards, tous tombèrent innocemment. Les morts s'ajoutèrent aux morts. Sur les routes, dans les champs, au fond des vallées, ce ne furent qu'incendies et charniers sous le ciel clair de mai.

M.YOUSFI, L'Algérie en marche, ENAL Ed. 1983.

Appendix C.3 : Le 1^{er} Novembre à Khenchela (FrSec3, p.33)

Le 1er Novembre 1954 à Khenchela

Le 29 octobre 1954, Laghrour Abbès rentra de Batna où il venait d'assister à une réunion présidée par Benboulaid et Chihani. Nous nous sommes réunis chez-moi à 21 heures. Après l'ouverture de la séance, Laghrour me confia la lecture en français de deux textes. L'un n'était formé que d'un seul feuillet ronéotypé ; c'était un tract provenant de l'Armée de Libération Nationale, court, simple et devant être largement diffusé au sein de la population. L'autre, composé de deux feuillets, était une proclamation du Front de Libération Nationale définissant clairement la plate-forme politique du FL.N. Les deux tracts avaient en en-tête deux petits drapeaux vert et blanc entrecroisés et frappés du croissant et de l'étoile rouges. C'est la première fois que l'on entendit parler de ce mouvement révolutionnaire.

Nous étions tous très émus à la suite de la lecture de ces tracts. Laghrour, plongé dans de profondes pensées, ne disait rien. Ougad avait les larmes aux yeux. Quand à Benabès, il disait sans cesse : « Allah Ouakbar (Dieu est grand), le grand jour est enfin arrivé ». D'un ton solennel, Laghrour nous informa officiellement que le jour «J» était fixé pour la nuit du dimanche 31 octobre 1954 au lundi 1er novembre 1954. L'heure « H » : 1 heure du matin.

Les attaques auront lieu simultanément dans toute l'Algérie à la même heure - les mots de passe pour les opérations de cette nuit étaient «Khaled» et «Okba» - Laghrour nous recommanda de garder pour nous la date et l'heure et de ne les communiquer à nos combattants que le dimanche.

Ensuite, on procéda à la répartition des tâches.

Salem Boubakeur, Le 1er novembre à Khenchela, dans Récits de feu, présentés par Mahfoud Kaddache, Ed. SNED, 1976.

Appendix C.4 : Femmes algériennes dans les camps (FrSec3, p.35-36)

Femmes algériennes dans les camps

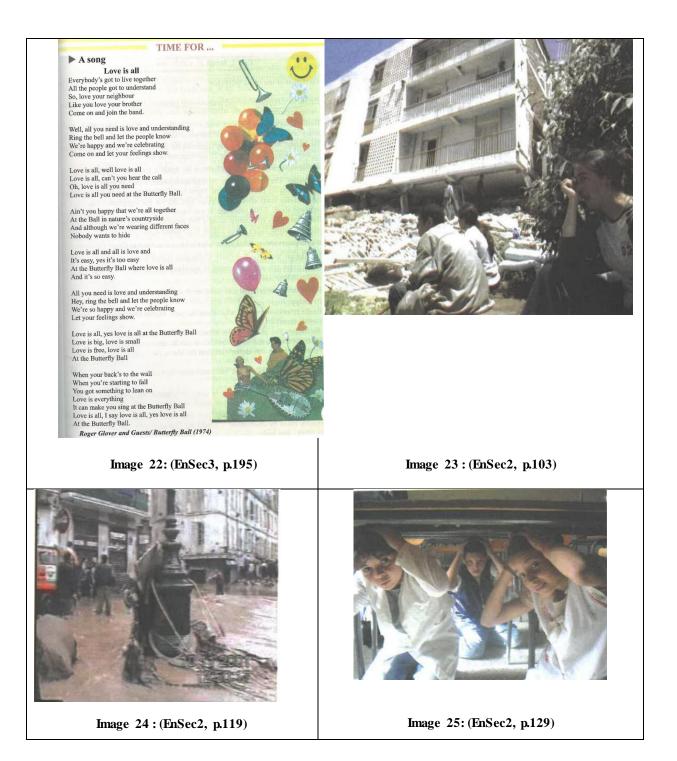
(Récit d'une ancienne détenue qui, dans un rapport adressé au F.L.N., a relaté les souffrances et le courage des femmes algériennes dans les camps. Ce document nous a été transmis par Meradi Mehadji. (Note de l'auteur)

Comme dans toutes les prisons du monde, nous passions par des états extrêmes. Nous avions aussi nos bons moments... Avec L., belle nomade, nous voyagions... Elle dansait et chantait et nous battions des mains. T. nous apprit bon nombre de chansons patriotiques, et c'est la vieille H., boiteuse énigmatique, qui avant de nous endormir, nous racontait le plus de légendes, d'une voix grave, un peu pour nous bercer.

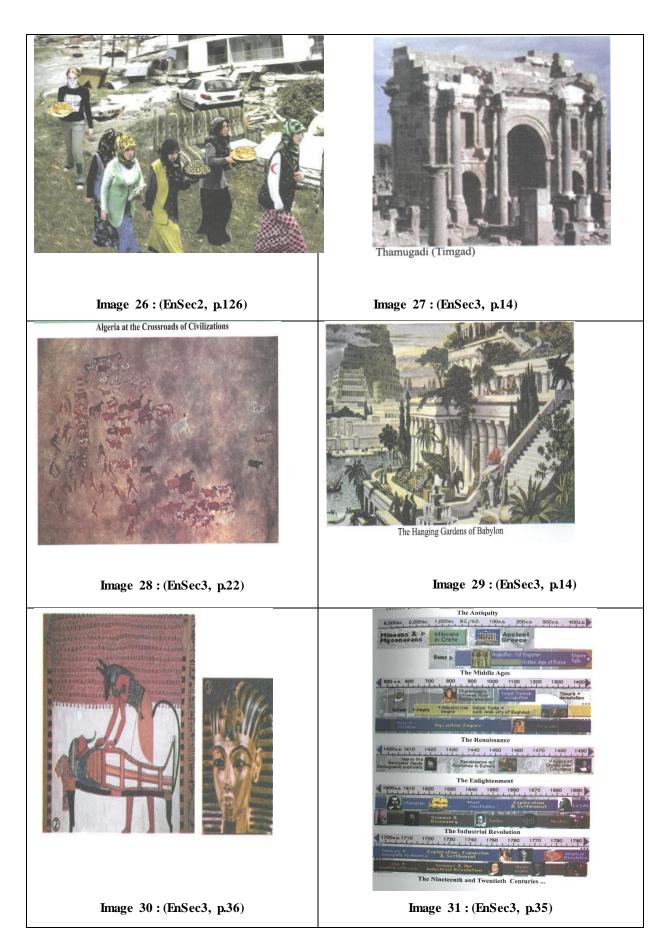
Nous supportions la faim, le froid, les poux, les fameuses listes blanches... Mais notre grande terreur, c'était «Bouchkara» (l'homme à la cagoule). Lorsque l'une d'entre nous l'apercevait au loin descendant d'une jeep, elle rentrait, l'œil dilaté, pour l'annoncer. Aussitôt, chacune saisissant un châle, un linge, un haïk, s'en couvrait la tête et les épaules ne laissant entrevoir qu'une partie du visage. « L'homme à la cagoule » s'approchait, encadré de deux paras ; le visage et le buste cachés par un sac troué à l'endroit des yeux. Souvent, il se traînait, soutenu par les paras, visiblement amené d'une séance de torture, mains liées derrière le dos. A sa vue, les hommes aussi se retiraient des fenêtres. La peur s'emparait de nous tous. Cet homme venait dénoncer un complice: il cachait son visage pour qu'on ne le reconnaisse pas. On le faisait entrer dans chacune des chambrées où les détenues, debout, attendaient dans l'anxiété d'être « passées en revue ». Impressionnées par sa cagoule, plusieurs d'entre nous s'évanouissaient. Notre état physique et cette peur quotidienne ne nous permettaient plus de supporter de tels spectacles. Nous savions qu'il arrivait à « l'homme au sac » de dénoncer n'importe qui pour gagner du temps ou pour abréger ses souffrances ; ou bien il indiquait une personne de sa connaissance par animosité ou jalousie. Nous avions ainsi toutes les raisons de le craindre. L'homme dénoncé redescendait avec lui en jeep. Parfois «Bouchkara» s'en retournait seul, n'ayant reconnu personne. Nous n'osions penser à ce qui l'attendait au retour.

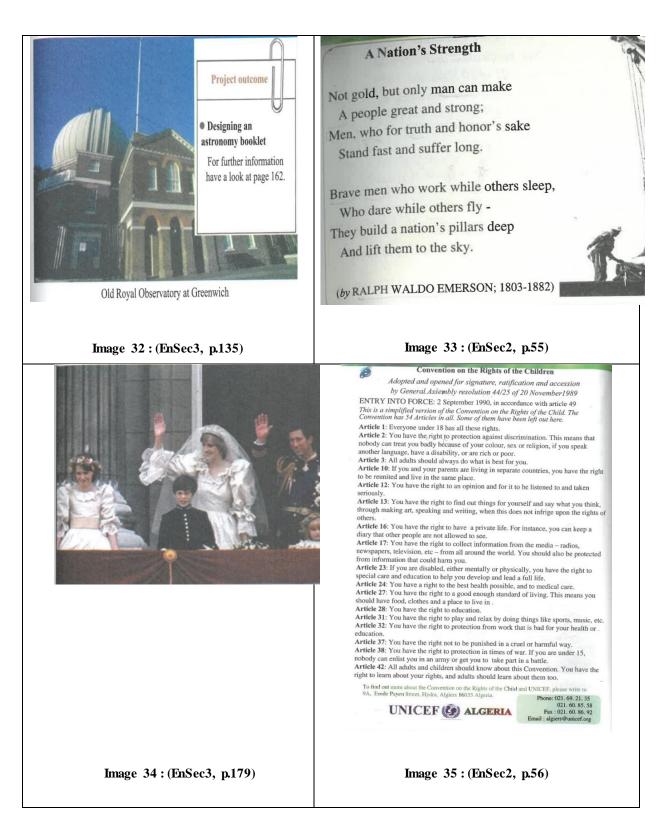
Appendix C.5 : A Lettre from Ahmed Zabana (FrMid3, p.164)

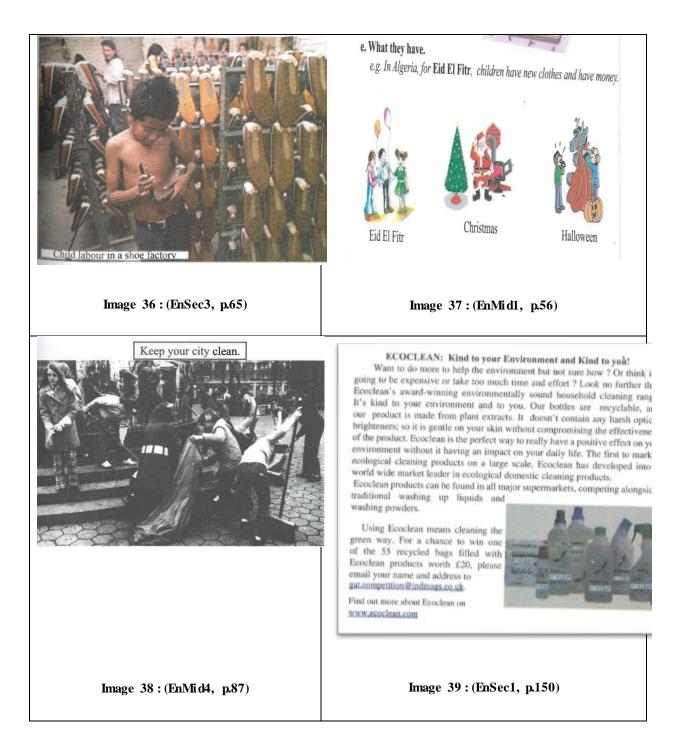
Prison civile d'Alger - 19 juin 1956 Très chers parents, chère mère, Je vous écris cette lettre, je ne sais si c'est la dernière, Dieu seul le sait. Toutefois, s'il m'arrive quoi que ce soit, il ne faut pas croire que c'est fini, parce que mourir pour la cause de Dieu, c'est la vie éternelle. Et mourir pour sa patrie, ce n'est qu'un devoir. Et votre devoir à vous, c'est celui d'avoir sacrifié l'être qui vous est le plus cher. In faut pas me pleurer, mais, au contraire, il faut fis et frère qui vous a toujours chéris et que vous avez toujours chéri. Le bonjour à toi chère mère, à papa, à Noura Lahouari, Halima Habib, Fatima Kheira, à Si Salah, à Denia, à mon frère Lahouari, à toi cher frère Abdelkader ainsi qu'à tous ceux qui partageront votre peine. Dieu est grand et seul juste. Khrned ZABANA	
	Document authentique : cahier d'un condamné à mort, compagnon de cellule de ZABANA

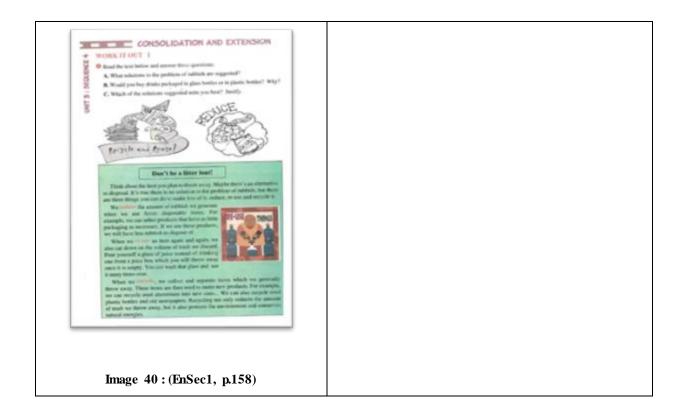


Appendix D: Different Images Representing the Values of Peace









Appendix E: Representations of Gender in the Textbooks

Appendix E.1: The Content Analysis in Chapter Five

The content analysis was all conducted manually considering the following:

- The frequency of a man or a woman, counted once in the text even if it is repeated as a named or unnamed person or pronoun.
- The frequency of a plural of masculine or feminine noun, counted once. For example, if the text is talking about 'teachers' and then the pronoun 'they' is employed to refer to these same people, then a single frequency of male-related plural is counted.
- The frequency of appearance, counted once in the whole passage and just once in the follow-up exercises.
- If the characters are identified at the beginning of the text by a pronoun or unnamed terms and have a name in the following lines, then they are considered as a named character.
- Masculine generics are counted semantically according to frequencies. For example, 'l'homme' is not counted as a male-related frequency, while 'le voyageur' is considered as a male-related frequency.
- Adjectives related to masculine hegemonic plurals are all counted as masculine-related adjectives.
- Some terms are counted as a gender role and are counted as well as masculine generics and as masculine-hegemonic plurals.
- When providing different examples in one activity all the masculine and feminine frequencies are counted as being a named character, unnamed, or a pronoun.
- The adjective is counted just once per textbook.
- In one exercise the noun is counted just once
- If it isunclear whether the word in English is feminine or masculine then this is determined by the image.
- The pronoun 'je' in French, or any other pronoun that does not show the gender of the character, is not considered except in case of supplementary semantic or pictorial identification that shows the gender of that pronoun.
- The word 'homme' or 'man' is counted whenever it appears in order to determine an exact statistic about the use of masculine generics in the textbook's vocabulary. However, this is determined according to its semantic meaning in the text: whether it is used as a masculine generic or only used to address men (this rule is applied even for the male generic 'ils' in French).

- In the exercise examples or any individual sentences, all pronouns 'he' or 'she', 'il' or 'elle' are counted while the nouns are counted once if they are repeated in the same exercise, even if they are later replaced by other pronouns.
- If the character is mentioned in the title of the text, then he or she is counted twice in the title and in the text.
- If, semantically, it is difficult to determine the difference between a masculine generic terms and male-related terms then the word is counted as masculine generic and male-related in the same time.

Appendix E.2: Gender Roles in the Lexical Component of the Textbooks

Table 5.2: Gender Roles in French and English Textbooks

The table below lists alphabetically the different roles allocated to males and females in all the French and English textbooks with removing the duplicates.

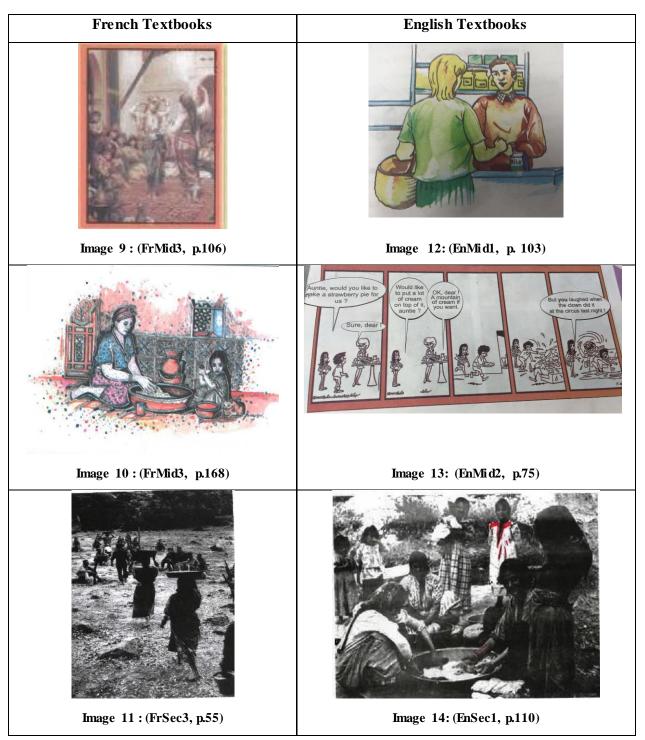
French Textbooks		English Textbooks	
Males	Females	Males	Females
Acheteur.	Actrice.	Actor.	Actress.
Acteur.	Agricultrice.	Adviser.	Air hostess.
Agent commercial.	Athlètes.	Aircraft.	Classical guitarist.
Agents.	Auteur.	Airman.	Comedian.
Agriculteur.	Chanteuse.	Alchemist.	Cordial receptionist.
Artisan.	Couturière.	Ambulance men.	Director of studies.
Artiste.	Cuisinière.	Architect.	Drama teacher.
Assesseur.	Destinataire.	Artist.	Inspector of
Athlètes.	Djounouds.	Assistant.	English.
Auteur.	Docteur en biologie.	Astrologer.	Interviewer.
Automobiliste.	Ecolière.	Astronaut.	Journalist.
Avocat.	Ecologistes.	Astronomer.	Lawyer.
Banquier.	Gestionnaires.	Author.	Manager.
Barbier.	Gérante d'une entreprise.	Band leader.	Manager of auto
Basketteur.	Hôtesse de l'air.	Barbers.	car.
Bijoutiers.	Infirmière.	Bookbinder.	Member of the
Bombardier.	Ingénieur.	Boss.	photography and
Boulanger.	Ingénieur agronome.	Brewer.	Music club.
Brocanteur.	Ingénieur électronicien.	Bus conductor.	Nurse.
Brodeurs.	Institutrice.	Bus driver.	Painter.
Bucherons.	Journaliste.	Businessman.	Paleoanthropologist.
Calife.	Lavandière.	Caliph.	Patron.
Cambrioleur.	Magicienne.	Captain.	Personal assistant.
Candidats.	Maitresse.	Cardiologist.	Princess.
Capitaine.	Maitresse navigatrice.	Carpenter.	Professor.
Cardiologue.	Marraine.	Cashier.	Queen.
Catcheur.	Médecin.	Chairman.	Reporter.
Chahid.	Narrateur/Narratrice.	Chauffeur.	Secretary of the
Chamelier.	Paysannes.	Chief.	committee.
Chanteur.	Princesse.	Clergyman.	Servant.
Chasseur.	Professeur de littérature.	Clerk.	Singer.
Chauffeur.	Reine.	Commercial agent.	Student.
Chef.	Responsable de	Commercial artist.	Teacher.
Chef d'orchestre.	magasins.	Conquistador.	Teacher of English.
Chef de chantier.	Scripteur.	Cowboy.	Theatre producer.
Chef de wilaya.	Secrétaire.	Craftsmen.	University teacher.
Chef touareg.	Sorcière.	Criminal.	Volunteer in
Chefs de cabine.	Spécialiste de	Customer.	infanthospital.
Cheikh.	l'environnement.	Czars.	
Chimiste.	Spectatrices.	Dentist.	
Chercheur.	Stagiaires.	Director.	
Chirurgien.	Sténodactylographe.	Director of BHF.	
Citadins.	Sultane.	Docker.	
Citoyen.	Zoologiste.	Doctor.	

Doctor of physic. Earthquake expert.
Economists.
Electrician.
Emir.
Engineer.
Estate agents.
Explorer.
Factory manager.
Fan.
Farmer.
Farrier.
Film director.
Film producer.
Firefighter.
Fisherman.
Flight leader.
Footballer.
Geographer.
Geography teacher.
Glove-maker.
Stocker.
Gourmet.
Guards.
Guide.
Gunner.
Hairdresser.
Head of association.
Head of international
atomic energy.
Head teacher.
Headmaster.
Historian.
Historian of Africa.
Housebreaker.
Humourist.
Inspector.
Inventor.
Jazz singer.
King.
King's horseman.
Knight.
Laboratory assistant.
Landscape painter.
Lawyer.
Leader.
Lifeguard.
Lorry driver.
Manager of team.
Market supervisor.
Marketers.
Mathematician.
Mayor.
Merchant.
Merchant sailor.

Fellahs.	Minister.
Fiscaliste.	Motorist.
Footballeur.	Music hall.
Forgerons.	Performers.
Gardien.	Navigators.
Généticien.	News presenter.
Gérant de la librairie.	Newsagent.
Gestionnaire.	Officials.
Graisseurs.	Painter.
Grimpeur.	Passenger.
Guérisseur.	Patent-office.
Guide touristique.	Clerk.
Habile artisans.	Patrons.
Héritiers.	Personal manager.
Historien.	Philosopher.
Homme de théâtre.	Physician/ physist.
Immigré.	Play basketball.
Industriels.	Plumber.
Ingénieur.	Poet.
-	Police officer.
Inspecteur. Instituteurs.	Police officer. Policeman.
Intellectuels.	Postman.
Interlocuteur.	President.
Interprète.	Prime minister.
Inventeur.	Prince.
Joueur.	Professor.
joueur la comédie.	Shop assistant.
Journaliste.	Singer.
Juge.	Slave.
Leader.	Space tourist.
Lecteur.	Specialist in home
Locuteur.	Technology.
Maçon.	Spokesman.
Magistrat.	Worker.
Magistrat instructeur.	
Maire.	
Maitre.	
Maître d'étude.	
Major-homme.	
Manifestants.	
Maquisards.	
Marathonien.	
Marchand.	
Marin.	
Mariniers.	
Martyrs.	
Massacreur.	
Matelots.	
Médecin.	
Militants.	
Membre du congrès.	
Mendiant.	
Militants.	
Ministre.	
Munistre. Moudjahidines.	
wouujamumes.	

Musicien.
Narrateur.
Naturalistes.
Navigateurs.
Négociants.
Officiers.
Ouvriers.
Patron.
Patron de l'hôtel.
Patron des
laboratoires.
Paysan.
Pécheur.
Peintre.
Philosophe.
Physicien.
Pilote.
Pirates.
Poète.
Policier.
Politiciens.
Pompiers.
porte-parole de police.
porte-parole du zoo.
Précepteur.
Président.
Président d'un parti.
Président de
conférence.
Président de l'office.
Parlementaire.
Président de la
fédération.
(d'un sport particulier)
Président de la
république.
Prince.
Procureur.
Producteurs.
Professeur.
Professeur de
Mathématiques.
Professeur de sport.
Promeneur.
Propriétaire.
Prospecteurs.
Protecteur.
Proviseur d'un lycée.
Psychologue.
Rais.
Rapporteur.
Récipient.
Représentent de la
FNSEA.
Responsable du

~~~~~		
groupe.		
Roi.		
Satrape.		
Savants.		
Scripteur.		
Second capitaine.		
Sociologue.		
Soldat.		
Spécialisés dans		
l'import-export.		
Spectateur.		
Superman.		
Surveillant général.		
Tacherons.		
Techniciens.		
Témoin.		
Théologien.		
Touriste.		
Tour-opérateurs.		
Valet.		
Vendeur.		
Vendeurs ambulants.		
Voleur.		
Voyageur.		
Wali.		



### Appendix E.3: Visual Representations of Women Performing Domestic Roles

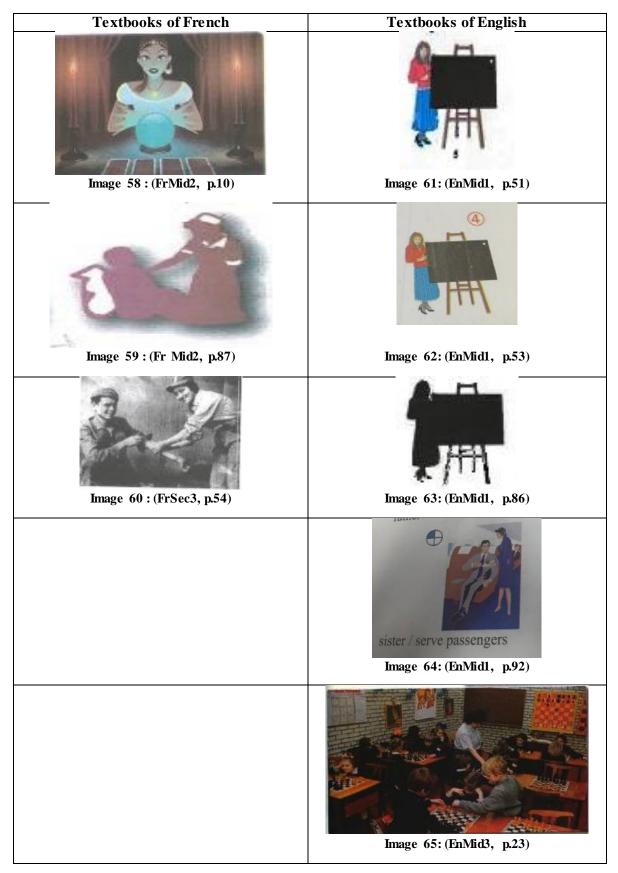
 Table 5.3: Representation of Women Performing Domestic Roles

 $^{^{141}}$  Some images can be repeated in other appendices, if they show different representations.



# Appendix E.4: Visual Representations of Females' Roles in the Public Space

Table 5.4: Representations of Females' Roles in the Public Space

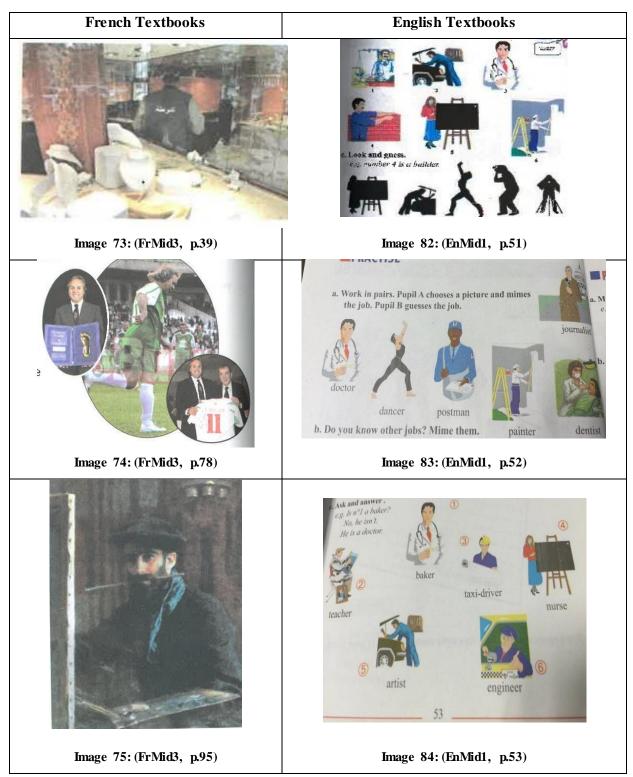


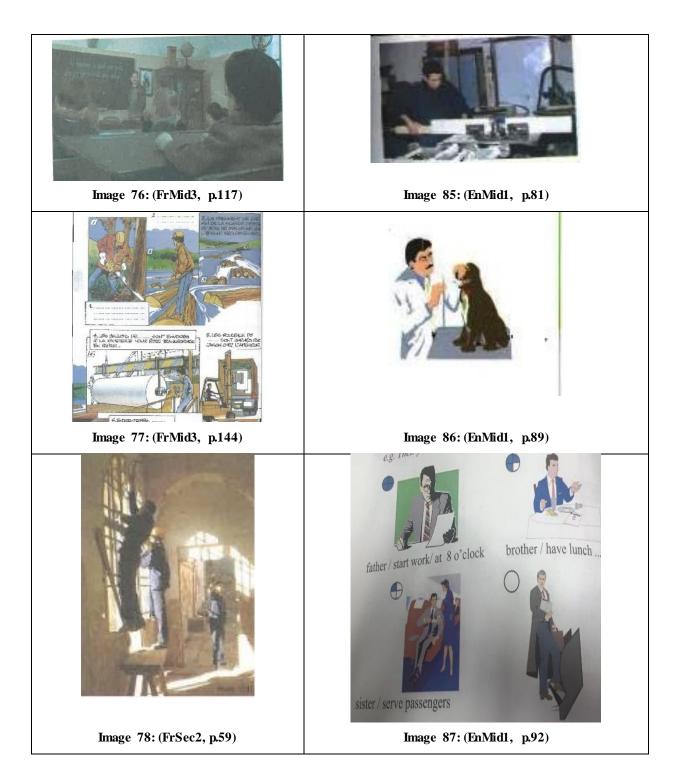


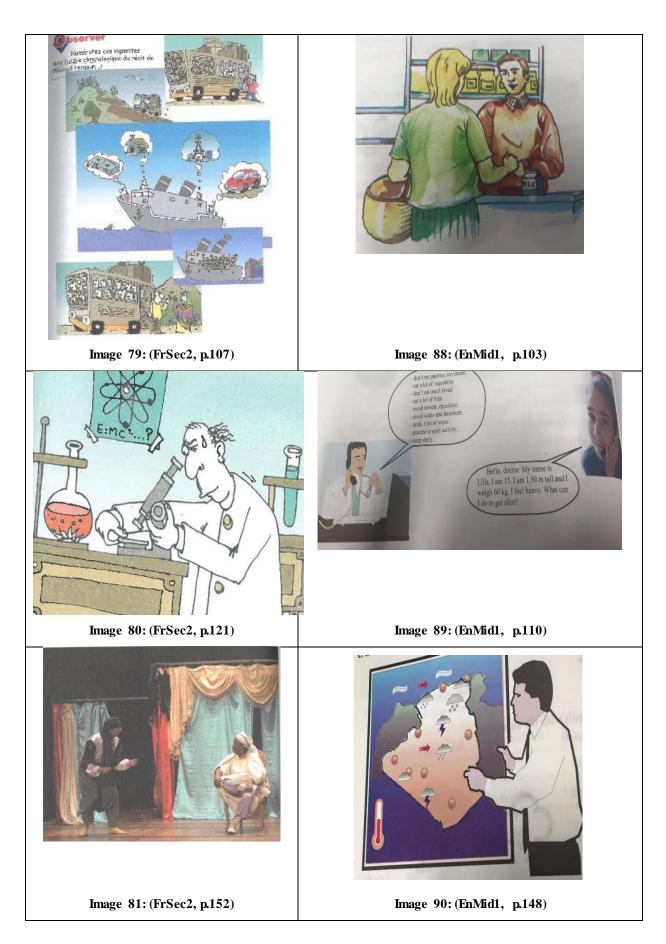
ARE THE EXAMINATION QUEATIONS GIVING VOU ANY TROUBLE THE ANEMETICAL ARE CLEAR. IT'S THE ANSWER WE TROUBLE THE ANEMETICAL TROUBLE TROUBLE THE ANEMETICAL TROUBLE TROUBLE THE ANEMETICAL TROUBLE TROUBLE THE ANEMETICAL
Image 72: (EnSec1, p.76)

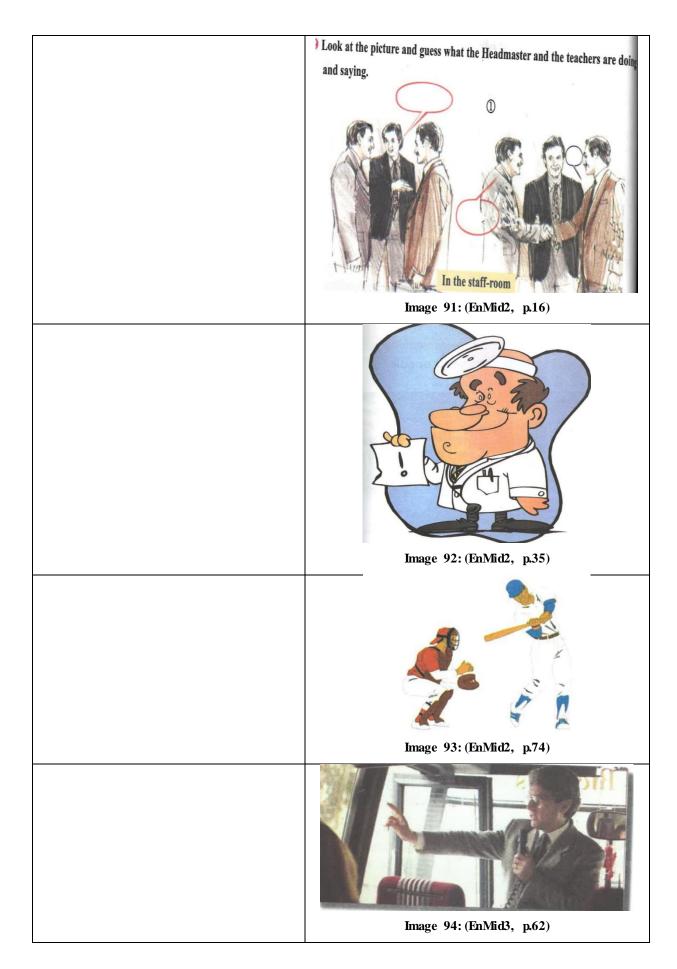
Appendix E.5 : Visual Representations of Males' Roles in the Public Sphere

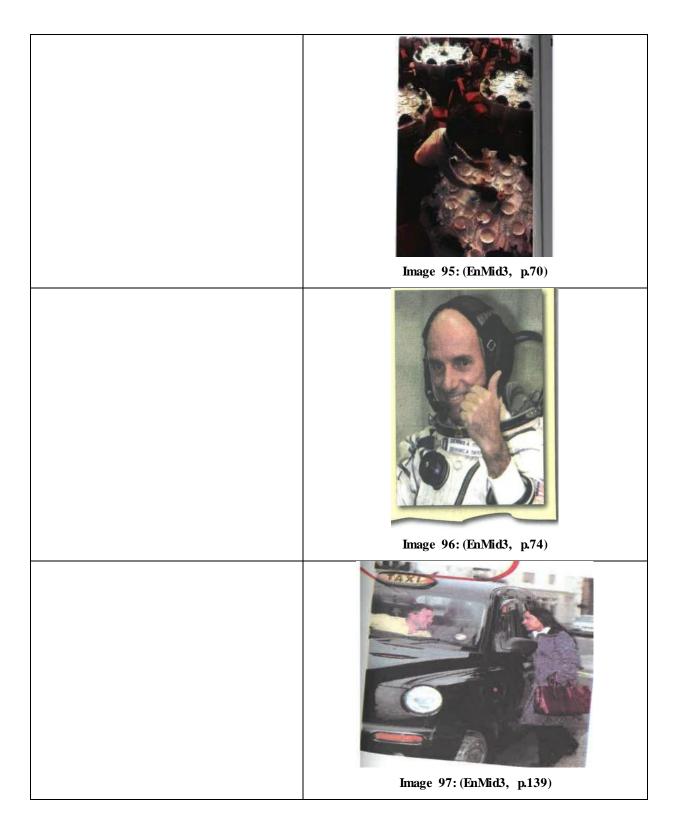
 Table 5.5: Representations of Males' Roles in the Public Sphere

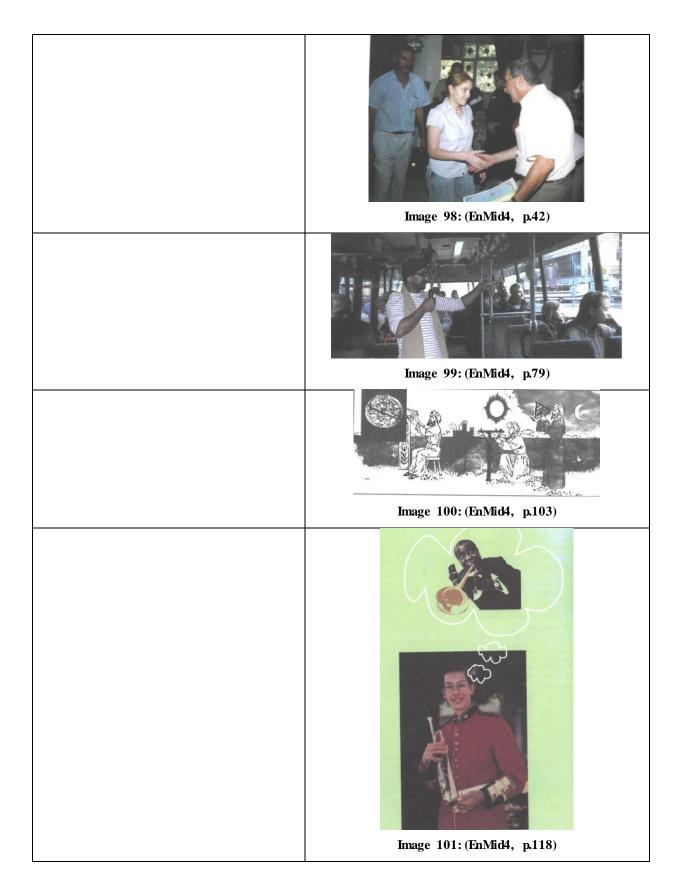


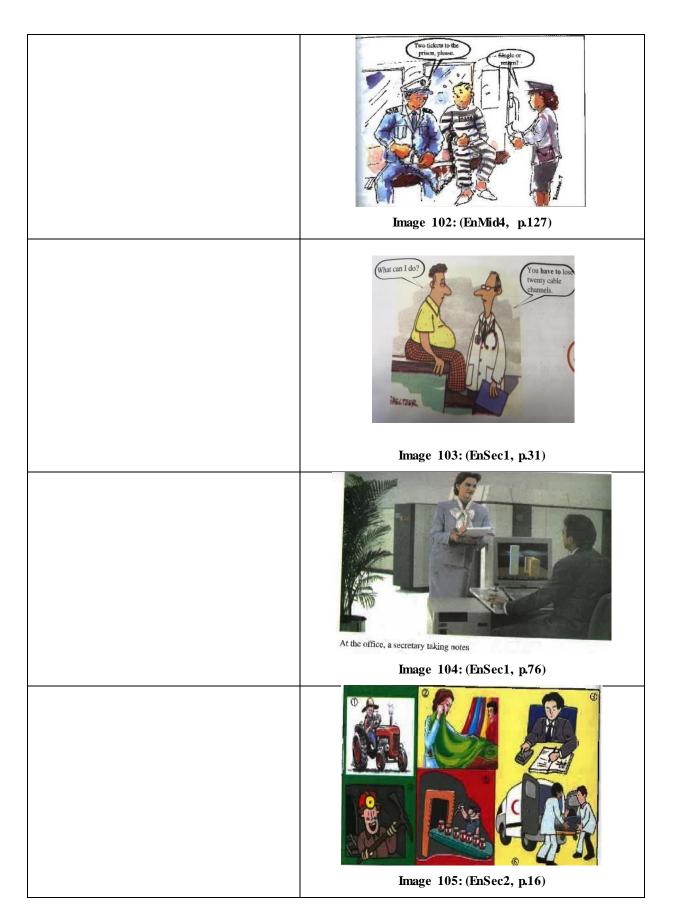


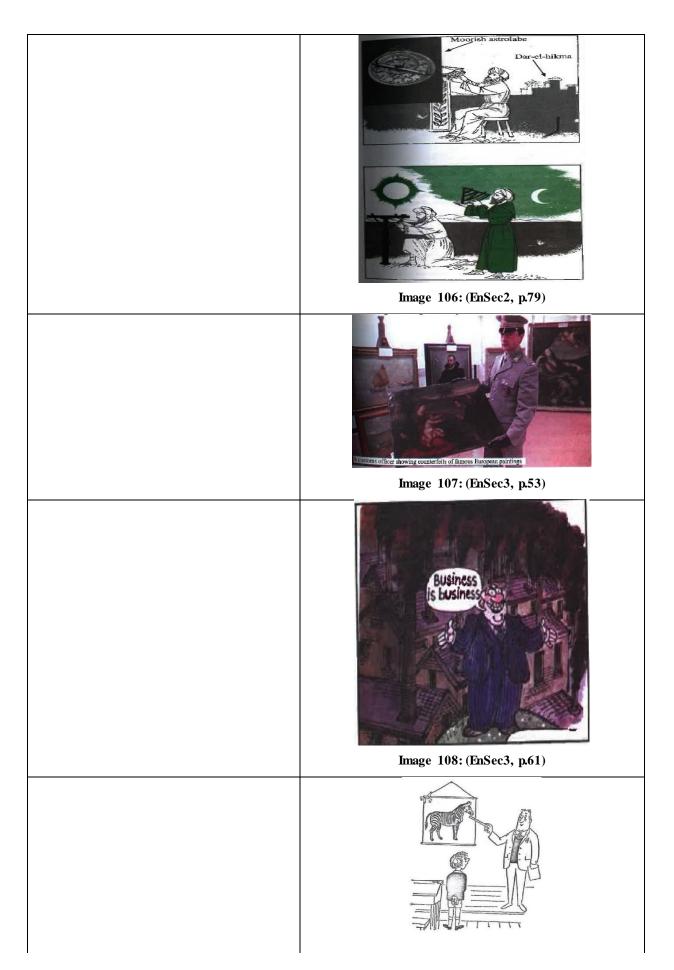


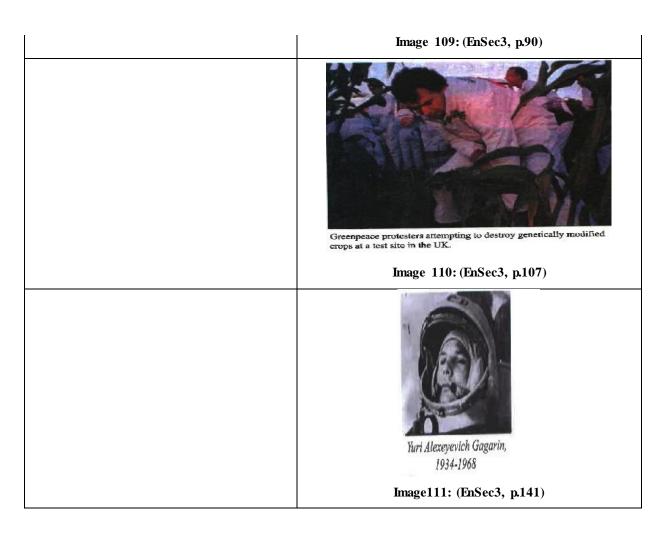








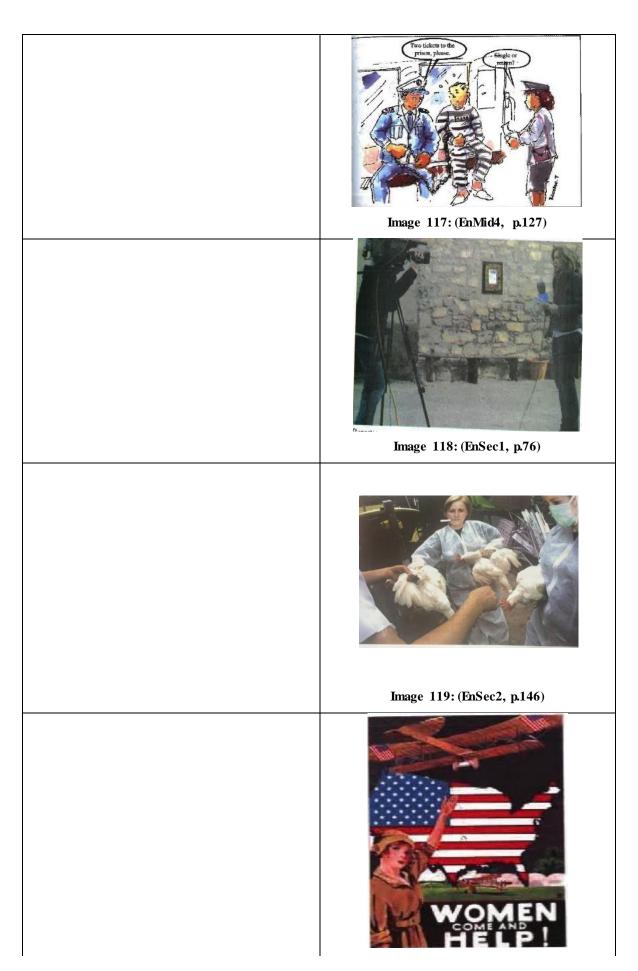






# Appendix E.6: Visual Representations of Females' Modern Roles

Table 5.6: Representations of Females' Challenging Roles





Appendix E.7 : Narratives about Women's Roles during the Colonial Period Text 1: (FrSec3, p.35-36)

#### Femmes algériennes dans les camps

(Récit d'une ancienne détenue qui, dans un rapport adressé au F.L.N., a relaté les souffrances et le courage des femmes algériennes dans les camps. Ce document nous a été transmis par Meradi Mehadji. (Note de l'auteur)

Comme dans toutes les prisons du monde, nous passions par des états extrêmes. Nous avions aussi nos bons moments... Avec L., belle nomade, nous voyagions... Elle dansait et chantait et nous battions des mains. T. nous apprit bon nombre de chansons patriotiques, et c'est la vieille H., boiteuse énigmatique, qui avant de nous endormir, nous racontait le plus de légendes, d'une voix grave, un peu pour nous bercer.

Nous supportions la faim, le froid, les poux, les fameuses listes blanches... Mais notre grande terreur, c'était «Bouchkara» (l'homme à la cagoule). Lorsque l'une d'entre nous l'apercevait au loin descendant d'une jeep, elle rentrait, l'œil dilaté, pour l'annoncer. Aussitôt, chacune saisissant un châle, un linge, un haïk, s'en couvrait la tête et les épaules ne laissant entrevoir qu'une partie du visage. « L'homme à la cagoule » s'approchait, encadré de deux paras ; le visage et le buste cachés par un sac troué à l'endroit des yeux. Souvent, il se traînait, soutenu par les paras, visiblement amené d'une séance de torture, mains liées derrière le dos. A sa vue, les hommes aussi se retiraient des fenêtres. La peur s'emparait de nous tous. Cet homme venait dénoncer un complice: il cachait son visage pour qu'on ne le reconnaisse pas. On le faisait entrer dans chacune des chambrées où les détenues, debout, attendaient dans l'anxiété d'être « passées en revue ». Impressionnées par sa cagoule, plusieurs d'entre nous s'évanouissaient. Notre état physique et cette peur quotidienne ne nous permettaient plus de supporter de tels spectacles. Nous savions qu'il arrivait à « l'homme au sac » de dénoncer n'importe qui pour gagner du temps ou pour abréger ses souffrances ; ou bien il indiquait une personne de sa connaissance par animosité ou jalousie. Nous avions ainsi toutes les raisons de le craindre. L'homme dénoncé redescendait avec lui en jeep. Parfois «Bouchkara» s'en retournait seul, n'ayant reconnu personne. Nous n'osions penser à ce qui l'attendait au retour.

#### Text 2: (FrSec3, p.52-53).

# Les Algériennes et la guerre

Nous voudrions rendre justice à toutes ces femmes qui, souvent, dans l'anonymat le plus total, ont contribué, grâce à des méthodes diverses et variées et dans une multiplicité de lieux, à soutenir l'effort de guerre, à maintenir la mobilisation du peuple afin de le faire basculer, dans sa majorité, après les manifestations du mois de décembre 1960, résolument du côté du F.L.N.

[...] Héberger des hommes inconnus chez soi, perturber l'agencement ancestral des maisons traditionnelles, organiser des réunions, installer des caches pour les militants et les armes, des ateliers pour confectionner les bombes, imaginer des mises en scène pour berner l'ennemi, sortir de chez soi, voilée ou dévoilée, prendre les armes à la ville comme dans les maquis, se déguiser en homme, aider les hommes à se déguiser en femme, marcher auprès d'un inconnu, jouer la comédie des amoureux sur un banc public, faire des fêtes familiales, des meetings, etc. ... ; ce sont là des actions qui ont perturbé un ordre que beaucoup croyaient immuable, elles ont crée « une zone limite où se différencient et se superposent (dans le même temps) sphère publique et sphère privée, une zone intrinsèquement mouvante, que la guerre fait bouger jusqu'à les faire sortir de ses points d'ancrage conventionnels. Les femmes manipulent systématiquement ces frontières. Elles écrivent et impriment à l'intérieur des maisons qui deviennent à la fois lieu d'habitation et centre de résistance. Elles entraînent parents et voisines, nouent des relations personnelles dans des lieux publics et utilisent des lieux privés pour établir des contacts politiquement utiles. Elles transforment les rencontres amicales en réunion, les paliers en petits espaces de propagande, un inconnu en fils, en mari, en amoureux, un livre en cache de revolver, leur propre corps en cache de documents ou d'explosifs. Si le jeu réussit, c'est parce que l'association femmes-sphère privée règne encore (toujours chez nous !) su le plan symbolique, se trouvant même renforcée par la guerre. Autrement dit les femmes font un usage savant de ce stéréotype, introduisant dans l'univer des armes, les armes de la sphère privée, personnelle : séduction, appel au sentiments, démonstrations de fragilité, impudence calculée, parfois tactiqu du petit cadeau offert à l'ennemi en signe de paix, exhibition fréquente d rôle maternel....

Ces femmes ne sont pas seulement sorties de chez elles, ce qui, en soi, e déjà transgression de la règle, mais elles ont su aussi utiliser, dans ce dehor

### Appendix F: A Participant Consent Form

I agree to take part in this research.



Please Initial

### Title: Representations of Algerian Identity in School Textbooks for the Teaching of French and English in Algeria Since 2003

### **Consent Form**

Thank you for reading the information sheet about the interview sub-study. If you are happy to participate then please complete and sign the form below. Please initial the boxes below to confirm that you agree with each statement:

	box:
I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet and have had	
the opportunity to ask questions.	

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

I understand that my responses will be kept strictly confidential. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

I agree for this interview to be recorded. I understand that the audio recording made of this interview will be used only for analysis and that extracts from the interview may be used in any conference presentation, report or journal article developed as a result of the research. I understand that no other use will be made of the recording without my written permission, and that no one outside the research team will be allowed access to the original recording.

Date	Signature	

Amira Zouaoui

Name of participant

Principal Investigator

Date

Signature