

**(Re-) construction of Gender in Postcolonial Foreign Language
Textbooks in Algeria**

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Abstract

While gender in textbooks has attracted the attention of scholarly investigations in recent decades approaching the matter from a socio-linguistic and semiotics point of view, gender in textbooks seen through the lens of postcolonial theory has hitherto not been the topic of major academic research. This thesis, therefore, explores constructions of gender in French and English textbooks used in the middle school level in Algeria, during the 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. The study focuses on how the discourse of nationalism together with the colonial legacies in Algeria shape the visual and verbal content of the textbooks *Andy in Algeria: 3.A.M* (1982-1983), *Majid in England: 4.A.M* (1985-1986), *Spring: An English Course for Beginners 8AF* (2001-2002), *Spring: An English Course for Beginners 9 AF* (2004-2005), *Spotlight on English: Book Three* (2002), *On the Move* (2006), *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (1982-1983), and *Textes choisis : 4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985), *Lecture française : 8eme année fondamentale* (2003-2004), *Lecture française : 9eme année fondamentale* (2004-2005), *Mon livre de français : 3eme année moyenne* (2014-2015), *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (2005-2006), *Français :4eme année moyenne* (2007-2008), representing English and French, respectively. Postcolonial theory and theories of nationalism inform this thesis to precisely provide an understanding of the manner in which gender is (re-) constructed in Algerian textbooks. The first chapter is a critical introduction, contextually situating gender in postcolonial Algeria together with state adopted policies of education. Chapter one highlights the need for the examination of gender from a postcolonial perspective as it positions the thesis within previous research in the field. Chapter two investigates the ‘transfer’ of colonial visual legacy into the post-independence textbooks *Textes choisis: 3ème année moyenne* (1982-1983), *Textes choisis: 4ème année moyenne* (1984-1985) and *Majid in England* (1985-1986), illustrating the participation of Algeria in orientalisating gender. Emasculating visuality of Algerian men developed in chapter two is further studied in chapter three in the context of the nationalist ideology of the state that defined men as ‘protectors of the nation’. Reconstruction of masculine identity, however, led to a hyper-assertion of masculinity resulting in a symbolic masculine domination. Chapter four argues that in an attempt to reconstruct an exoticising visuality of Algerian women as discussed in chapter two, the content of the textbooks reflects the discourse of nationalism. In the latter, feminine identity bears an exclusive definition of ‘motherhood’ and return to Algeria’s colonial past, thus restoring the gender order under colonial domination that confines women to domesticity, set against the coloniser. Chapter five looks at the ‘selective’ return to Algeria’s past and changing roles for women. This chapter illustrates the modern face of nationalism albeit providing a national model of modernising change from ‘within’ as opposed to from ‘without’. As the thesis provides a fresh methodological approach, analysing the ahistorical and the apolitical limitations of previous research in the field, future avenues of research can take further this notion of modernising change from within and explore it in relation to second generation textbooks of French, English, Berber and Arabic published in 2017.

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Chapter One

A Critical and Contextual Introduction

Algeria achieved independence from French dominion after 132 long years of colonial oppression. During the years of occupation, France was able to suppress the Algerian culture and identity and get Algerians to assimilate the essence of French culture. The French attempt to control Algeria through assimilation was best illustrated in the field of education. To illustrate, French educational norms were imposed on Algerians and the latter's cultural identity was denied through controlling the curriculum, methods of instruction and language (Heggoy, 1973, p. 180). Algerian resistance emerged as a natural reaction to French attempts of assimilation by secluding women, veiling them and assigning them the role of bearers of cultural values and tradition. Women's role remained as such until the emergence of national consciousness, which eventually resulted in an organised armed struggle in November 1954 that necessitated their participation in the national liberation movement. The Algerian Revolution was defined in the proclamation made on November 01 1954 as 'la guerre du peuple', which means that the struggle for independence is the duty of every social category without any exception. Women, men, children, and old people participated in and shared the aspirations and aims in this revolutionary struggle. They worked hand in hand to restore national sovereignty and achieve independence. The participation of Algerian women within the armed struggle helped them gain fame and set a precedent for other African women involved in the liberation movements, thanks to Frantz Fanon, who has immortalised their revolutionary struggle and participation in deadly missions (Turshen, 2002, pp. 889-890). In this context Gillo Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers* (Pontecorvo, 1966) is illustrative of their role as well as of their adoption of the French dress code as a 'camouflage' technique in their planting bombs operations in the European part of the city (Fanon, 2004). The film also underpins the role of the *haik*¹ as an Algerian dress code, which played an equally significant role in protecting the woman body from the gaze of colonial men and enabled them to carry and pass arms/bombs through French checkpoints without being searched. At a later stage in this war, the Algerian *haik* was replaced by the European style to facilitate women's movement through the French guarded barriers.

¹ The *haik* is a traditional Algerian veil, a one-piece long square clothing that covers the head and the body of a woman. It played a dual role during the French occupation of Algeria. Firstly, it was used as a shield to protect the woman body against the colonial male gaze. Secondly, it played an important role in the revolution because it was under this traditional garb that weapons were carried from one part to another in a clandestine manner. The Algerian woman "crossed the street carrying from one place to another these weapons that were used against the French" (Presse, 2013)

Algerian women made a significant contribution to the struggle for independence by joining the maquis²: holding arms, nursing the wounded, planting bombs, fundraising and cooking for freedom fighters, and explaining the plans and aims of the Revolution to village people. In addition, they worked as informers and many of them became active in the organisation of the Revolutionary movement (Rohloff, 2012, p. 8). Daniele Djamila Amrane-Minne relates the experience of the Moudjahidates³, both of Algerian and French origin, in their war-time Revolutionary struggle and observes how these revolutionaries “ont été oubliées, tant au niveau du pouvoir politique que de l’organisation social et de la mémoire” (Amrane-Minne, 1991, p. 7). As a combatant in the Revolution, Amrane-Minne was one of the few European women who worked for the Algerian Revolution and who played the role of ‘porte-parole’ for the forgotten heroines of the Algerian Revolution after restoring national sovereignty in her *Des femmes dans la guerre d’Algérie* (1991). Baya Laribi was one of the women who joined the maquis and nursed the wounded freedom fighters: “Au maquis je soignais les maquisards blessés et la population civile...J’étais responsable de l’infirmerie de la zone I” (Amrane Minne, 1991, p. 76). Laribi goes on to explain the lamentable state in which she found village people after returning from Switzerland where she continued her studies to become a mid-wife: “L’indépendance...je voyais partout un mieux-être pour les gens des douars. Je suis retournée dans les douars, j’ai revu les familles et les femmes de maquisards qui sont dans le même état, un état lamentable.” (Amrane Minne, 1991, p. 80). Laribi expresses her disillusionment about the post-independence state after seeing the miserable condition of the wives of modjahidines (male freedom fighters) in the villages. Halima Ghormi, another woman who liaised between the freedom fighters and the people of her village Ouchba near the city of Telemcen, conveys the story of her father who joined the maquis in 1955. After the demise of her father, their family house became a catering centre for freedom fighters. Ghormi also expresses her disappointment about the post-independence era and the deplorable state of women,

L’indépendance...j’espérais que nous serions tranquilles, heureux. Mais rien de ce que j’espérais n’est arrivé. J’espérais que mes enfants étudieraient, travailleraient. Nous n’y sommes pas arrivés. Nous étions des travailleurs toujours nécessaires, travaillant la terre. Tout ça est resté pareil. La seule chose, c’est que nous nous

² The maquis are the rural guerrilla bands of Algerian fighters (maquisards) who joined the revolutionary struggle to fight against the French.

³ Moudjahidates are the women freedom fighters who participated in the Revolutionary struggle. They joined the maquis, and fought equally besides their Muslim brothers, carried weapons, nursed the wounded, and planted bombs (*See The Battle of Algiers* (Pontecorvo, 1966)).

sommes libérés, la guerre est finie, nous travaillons sans la peur, mais à part ça rien n'a changé. (Amrane Minne, 1991, p. 103)

Ghormi hoped for a better future and for a positive change. However, the aftermath of independence showed an unchanged reality for the people - particularly for women who continued to work on the land just like how they toiled hard for the French occupation of Algeria. She observes that the only thing that has changed is that people no longer work under colonial fear.

Likewise, Fatma Baichi narrates her experience of militancy during the revolution and the role she played as a liaison agent during the battle of Algiers in 1957. She expresses the betrayal of the promise of revolution, which she illustrates through her personal experience. Her husband prevented her from working in the public space and from carrying on militating for her own rights. Her story is also about sacrificing her personal ambitions for the sake of her children that maintained her in a state of obedience and subordination to her husband:

Après l'indépendance, je n'ai pas travaillé et je n'ai pas pu militer. Mon mari m'a empêchée de sortir, même les sœurs de combat je ne pouvais aller les voir. Pendant la révolution, ma mère ne voulait pas que je milite, j'ai milité quand même, mais mon mari...il y'avait les enfants. Et puis même mes frères, même le plus jeune avec lequel j'ai milité pendant la guerre, encourageaient mon mari à ne pas me laisser sortir: "c'est fini maintenant, il ne faut plus la laisser sortir, ce n'est plus comme avant" (Amrane Minne, 1991, p. 123)

The role played by Algerian women in the Revolution was thought to secure for them their emancipation and equal political opportunities after independence. Nevertheless, the aftermath of independence unfolded a contradicting reality. Soon after the declaration of independence in 1962, Algerian women were forced to return home in order to be mothers of the nation as well as to exercise their biological roles of reproduction and bring up a generation for independent Algeria based on the same colonial gender boundaries where the public and private spaces used to belong to men and women, respectively. Zhor Zerari was a member of the Algiers bomb network who fought alongside men and had been tortured and imprisoned. Yet, after Algeria gained independence, she was threatened to be shot and was asked "to go back with the women" (Zerari, 2005) and leave the meeting, organized by men on the eve of the official declaration of independence, since the meeting was defined as a man domain (Rebai-Maamri, 2016, p. 120). Zerari confirms Rebai-Maamri's statement that the promise for women's integration in all domains of social life in the new nation remains unfulfilled (Rebai-Maamri, 2016) and that women moved from one culture of colonial violence to another, this time Algerian. The only professions which some women still participated in after independence were teaching and nursing.

To that end, Meredith Turshen states it emerged as the most socially accepted work roles for women (Turshen, 2002, p. 892) because they involved care which is often associated with women.

The post-independence period in Algeria has remained problematic for women regarding their integration in the public sphere due to the state's adoption of nationalism. The latter is known in all nationalist movements worldwide to bear a mark for gender (McClintock, 1995). Known as a modern movement and ideology whose genesis was from revolutionary movements unfolding in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Western Europe and America, Western theoreticians Ernest Gellner (Gellner, 1964), Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) and Benedict Anderson (Anderson, 2006) defined it as an invention of tradition which establishes a sense of continuity with the past to construct a modern nation. Continuity in the Algerian context means a reproduction of the colonial past that involves separate spheres for men and women. The French Revolution is the precursor of modern nationalism and the initiator of the movement towards the foundation of the modern nation-state. In fact, the French Revolution was instrumental in the growth and emergence of modern nationalism in Western Europe, and subsequent nationalist movements throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in colonised countries. Nationalism is seen by the leading male theorists Hobsbawm and Ranger as the 'invention of tradition.' This translates into a set of practices "which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past." (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 1). The concept of Hobsbawm and Ranger traces the roots of the modern nation-state and establishes a link with the past to reconstruct the present. In the same dimension of nation, Anderson, another leading male theorist, conceptualises the latter as an 'imagined community' (Anderson, 2006). Anderson explains the imagined nature of nations highlighting the fact that members of even the smallest nation will not know, meet, or hear of their fellow-members and yet ensconce the imagery of their communion in their minds (Anderson, 2006, p. 6). The limitations arising from Hobsbawm's and Anderson's definitions of nationalism, however, involve their emphasis on hegemonic Western nationalisms by discarding other types of nationalisms emerging in a Postcolonial world, and their failure to take gendered realities into consideration in a male-dominated modern nation (Frederick, 1997). Put simply, women have been completely ignored in most masculine theorisations of nations and nationalisms.

The feminist critics Eleke Boehmer, Cynthia Enloe and Anne McClintock concur that the theories of nationalism produced by men marginalise women and consider

the nation-state as an exclusive male terrain (Boehmer, 2005; Enloe, 2014; McClintock, 1995). Boehmer criticises such nationalist male discourse for its failure to address and consider women as part of the new nation-state (Boehmer, 2005, p. 22) although women were an integral part of the nationalist movements either in the decolonising process of countries under colonial domination or in the project of nation-building and identity reconstruction in post-colonial contexts. The discourse of nationalism is gendered, Boehmer explains, given that the new nation is historically constructed and narrated by male leaders and activists, and in which women become symbolic bearers of tradition and nation (Boehmer, 2005, p. 22). Boehmer notes that the new nation is constructed and narrated by male leaders who have defined gender roles and separate spaces, and attributed the responsibility of preserving tradition and cultural values to women. Enloe echoes Boehmer's viewpoint that nationalism and nations have emerged from a 'masculinized memory' (Enloe, 2014, p. 93) and that the male leaders of the new nation view women as the primary vehicles for the transmission of the nation's tradition and cultural values from one generation to another, and that women cannot hold higher positions because they are both vulnerable to oppressive foreign rulers and susceptible to assimilation by the outsiders (Enloe, 2014, p. 108). In turn, McClintock discusses the gendered discourse of nationalism saying that all nationalisms are gendered without exception (McClintock, 1993, p. 61). McClintock notes that despite the idea of popular unity that characterises the ideological investments of nations, the latter ended up with the institutionalisation of gender difference (McClintock, 1993, p. 61). In other words, the institutionalisation of difference between men and women indicates an unequal access to rights and resources of the nation-state (McClintock, 1995, p. 353). The predicament with McClintock's conceptualisation of gender within new nations is that her opinion stems from a Eurocentric viewpoint that attributes the gender difference issue of the postcolonial nation to its pre-colonial period. She contends that gender difference has always been an issue in pre-colonial countries and that imperial presence has only institutionalised pre-existing gender difference which resulted in gender difference between colonised men and colonised women (McClintock, 1995, p. 6). As a Western feminist critic, her view justifies imperial ideology in the sense that it attributes the colonial nation's gender difference to its pre-colonial period. In other words, the institutionalisation of that colonial difference provides a justification for the postcolonial gender order in independent nations. McClintock fails to acknowledge the fact that gender difference was a colonial imperative and that the coloniser's presence has affected Algeria's social structure and gender relations. This idea of gender difference as a colonial

imperative is further elucidated at a later stage in this chapter through the Charter of Algiers (FLN, 1964) and Zahia Smail-Salhi (2010), both of which confirm that gender difference has been a colonial imperative and that it still manifests itself in the postcolonial nation as a legacy of colonialism.

The feminist critics Boehmer, Enloe and McClintock contribute to the gap in male theorisations of nationalism and nation by highlighting gender as a fundamental aspect in the establishment of nations. All of them share the argument of the gendered discourse of the nation, both Western and Postcolonial, which they argue is due to the fact that it has always been narrated and constructed by male leaders. This in turn led to an inevitable exclusion of women from nationalist discourses. However, they fail to consider the absence of women from postcolonial nationalist discourses as a result of the colonial influence. More explicitly, although McClintock agrees with Hobsbawm and Gellner about the invented nature of nationalism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, Gellner, 1964), she fails to dig deep into the concept of invention. Her statement that the modern nation is both gendered and invented (McClintock, 1993, p. 61) is vague and raises the question as to whether a nation's gender is attributed to its invention. Furthermore, her argument that gender difference in the postcolonial nation is an import from the pre-colonial period contradicts her other opinion that nationalism is invented because invention itself imbues the meaning of an established connection with a recent past (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 1). This seems to suggest that her argument contradicts her understanding of Hobsbawm theorisation of nationalism that premises on the idea of recency. On this point, both Hobsbawm and Ranger argue that nationalism invents nations and that modern nations, or in Hobsbawm's terms 'traditions', which claim to be old, are often quite recent in origin and are of recent invention (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 1). The French Orientalist Ernest Renan also argues that nations "are something fairly new in history." (Renan, 1990, p. 9). In this respect, gender difference in the postcolonial nation finds its roots in the invention of a post-colonial tradition, which implies that the exclusion of women from the postcolonial nationalist discourse is a result of a return to a recent past and which indicates a French colonial past in the context of Algerian as a postcolonial nation.

The limitation to the reviewed feminist critics is not only restricted to ignoring the colonial factor but also to exemplifying the hybrid nature of postcolonial nationalism from the postcolonial world. McClintock and Boehmer acknowledge Tom Nairn's

definition of nationalism and nation as a ‘Modern Janus’⁴ (Nairn, 1977). Nairn highlights the dual-faceted aspect of nationalism as being traditional and modern at once. He opines that the nation is characterised by one face gazing back to the past and another looking forward to an infinite future. Although Nairn’s theory of nationalism deals with Western nationalism, his concept “modern Janus” is universally applicable. Nairn’s concept is an extension of Hobsbawm’s theorisation of the modern nation. While Hobsbawm believes that the modern nation stems from the invention of tradition involving a return to the past for the reconstruction of the present through repetition, Nairn adds the idea of modernity to prove his theory of modern nation and to say that nationalism is not only a return to the past, but also involves a forward-looking initiative embarking on an infinite future: “National statehood is depicted as a doorway, like the gate over which the Roman god Janus gazed into both past and future.” (Nairn, 1977, p. 85). Women and men within what McClintock terms, as the ‘temporal anomaly within nationalism’ (McClintock, 1993, p. 66), are represented as the embodiment of the conservative principle of continuity and the progressive, revolutionary principle of discontinuity, respectively. Within the conservative paradigm, women are considered as the authentic and atavistic repository of national tradition, while men are viewed as progressive agents of national modernity (McClintock, 1993, p. 66). Nationalism’s temporal anomaly is, therefore, managed as a natural relation to gender division. In the content of gender discourse, the Janus metaphor is used to suggest that the backward face represents women because they are assigned the role of bearers of tradition, while the forward-looking face embodies men because they are accorded the privilege of progress and nation-building.

The limitation of Nairn’s theorisation of the modern Janus is that it ignores the issue of women and other nationalism movements that emerged in the postcolonial world. Although his theory is based in Britain and the West, it is also applicable to other socio-historical contexts. Algerian nationalism, for instance, is proof that Nairn’s theorisation of the Modern Janus is not limited to the West because it is characterised by its hybrid nature. Algerian nationalism is both a return to the past and an adoption of modernity (progressivism). Importantly, the return to the past in relation to Algeria is concerned with the colonial tradition. While the first current is the restoration of a culture and

⁴ Janus is the god of beginnings, passages, doorways and endings in ancient Roman myth. This god is represented by a double-faced head. Nairn appropriates the ancient term Janus and uses it metaphorically to describe the dual face of a modern nation, combining the past and future (Alchin, 2017).

tradition contaminated by the French presence, the second stems from the enlightenment philosophy⁵ produced by men and which serves masculinity.

The enlightenment philosophy is known for its misogynistic and gendered nature just like nationalism, because they both involve the masculine as the ‘agent of narration’ and discourse construction. Homi K. Bhabha, a leading theoretician in postcolonial theory, takes Nairn’s concept of ‘Janus-faced’ in his definition of nation and applies it to the discourse of nation, which he describes as a ‘Janus-faced discourse’ (Bhabha, 1990, p. 3). Bhabha points to the hybrid nature of the discourse of nationalism that at once combines two conflicting ideologies. Bhabha defines the nation as “an agency of *ambivalent* narration that holds culture at its most productive position, as a force of subordination, fracturing, diffusing, reproducing, as much as producing, creating, forcing, guiding.” (Bhabha, 1990, pp. 4, *Italics his*). Culture, which constitutes an integral part of nationalism and its ambivalent narration, plays the role of reproducing past values which subjugates women in a social category in the context of Algeria. Although Bhabha’s concept of ‘Janus-faced’ discourse of nationalism is valid in the postcolonial world, it fails to take into consideration, the issue of gender in the postcolonial nation-state.

David C. Gordon discusses the hybrid nature of nationalism in relation to the Algerian postcolonial context. In dealing with the hybridity of nationalism in Algeria, he distinguishes the two worlds within which Algerian women are caught:

As 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...On the one hand, the revolution sought to bring into being a modern nation along socialist lines; on the other hand, the revolution sought to resurrect and restore a culture which the French were accused of having

⁵ It is an intellectual movement that emerged in Britain, France and Germany. The movement is founded on the principles of democracy, freedom and reason and which it advocated. Enlightenment paved the way for the emergence of modernity. In other words, the origin of modernity is traced back to enlightenment and its philosophy. The latter, is founded by the philosophers, Thomas Hobbes, Immanuel Kant, John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau, just to mention a few, who are accused of having misogynistic beliefs and whose theories are believed to be founded on sexism and patriarchal assumptions (Sreedhar, 2012, p. 772). The social contract theorists Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau and Kant have been indicted for defining women as irrational and weak based on their biological differences. Rousseau, for instance, distinguishes between men and women based on their biological difference and provides a justification for denying women public roles, which he accords to their sexual difference. His philosophy is premised on the belief that endorses the patriarchal family and the exclusive male prerogative for citizenship. In a similar vein, Zola has been indicted for his philosophy that positions men as strong and active, endowed with power and will and women as passive and weak. His philosophy and others representing enlightenment reduce the role of women as pleasers, attractors and consolers of male which echoes Orientalists’ projections of their enlightenment beliefs and desires into representations of Oriental women, as illustrated in chapter two through critics of Orientalism, Edward Said and Malek Alloula.

disparaged and disrupted _ a culture that was essentially Arabic and Islamic. (Gordon, 1968, p. 83)

Gordon clarifies the state of 'betweenness' in which Algerian women are caught due to the 'hybrid' nature of Algerian postcolonial nationalism. Gordon's definition of Algerian nationalism as hybrid highlights, once again, the universal applicability of Nairn's theorisation of the two-facedness of nationalism which originated in the West. The Algerian new nation, being both a resurrection of a past affected by the colonial presence and a revolutionary promise to establish a new socialist nation, had affected the status of women and their integration within the public space of the post-independence society. Gordon refers to the condition of Algerian women as being more dramatic and sharper than in other Arab countries. This is because while the revolution held the promise for their emancipation, the new nation's resurrected culture was contaminated by French colonialism. In the same vein, Margaret Majumdar concurs with Gordon's argument that nationalism in postcolonial Algeria is characterised by its hybrid nature and that the state discourse concerning the position and status of women is both dual and contradictory (Majumdar, 2005). Majumdar highlights the state's adoption of a dual discourse concerning women which promoted the education and employment of women in the constitution as part of the modernising project of the state on the one hand, and on the other endorsed women's archaic position in the patriarchal family on the other, which culminated with the institution of 1984 Family Code that reduced women to the position of minors. (Majumdar, 2005, pp. 126-127). The ambivalence in the state's discourse has widened the gap between law and reality which Rachel D. Hutchins terms as 'national myths of equality' and 'reality of exclusion' (Hutchins, 2016, p. 91). Although many women secured a position within the public space "working in ministries, serving as deputies and working by the side of men in welfare centers and such, the role of even these "evolved" women is peripheral." (Gordon, 1968, p. 64). Gordon refers to the minority of women who managed to secure a role within the public space, but whose role remained peripheral, which implies that their positions did not benefit women on a practical level. Majumdar also concludes that the 'New Woman' (Majumdar, 2005, p. 125), which showed a lot of promise during the last decade of the revolution and the first decade of independence, the fact remains that she has been marginalised in the Algerian new nation (Majumdar, 2005, p. 127). Both Majumdar and Gordon reached the same conclusion that although the new socialist nation was full of promise for women's participation in the development of the modern nation, the reality was disappointing. Hybrid nationalism in post-independence Algeria, which involves conflicting ideologies

(traditional and modern), is seen through the different constitutions, president speeches as well as the founding official documents of the Algerian modern nation that continued to make promises for integrating women in the construction of the new nation. However, the legacy of colonialism continued to widen the gap between promise and reality (Gordon, 1968, p. 61).

A continued promise of equality for women and their integration in the construction of the new nation was the primary objective of the different founding documents of Algeria: This includes the proclamation of November 1st, 1954, Declaration of the Soummam Congress (1956), Declaration of Tripoli Congress (1962), Charter of Algiers (1964), and the constitutions of independent Algeria in 1963, 1976, 1989, and 1996. The proclamation of November 1st, 1954 defined the Revolution as ‘la guerre du peuple’, meaning that the Revolution is not only a male duty, but also the duty of every social category (FLN, 1954). This means that men and women would have the same rights and duties after the restoration of national sovereignty. Two years later, the Declaration of the Soummam Congress in August 20, 1956, which was the turning point in the Algerian Revolution, acknowledges the active role the ‘Moudjahidates’ played during the Revolutionary struggle and their bravery in taking up arms for the liberation of ‘la Patrie’: “Nous saluons avec émotion, avec admiration, l’exaltant courage révolutionnaire des jeunes filles et des jeunes femmes, des épouses et des mères ; de toutes nos sœurs “moudjahidates” qui participent activement, et parfois les armes à la main, à la lutte sacrée pour la libération de la Patrie.”(1956). However, the exclusion of women from important government and political roles in post-independence Algeria finds its roots in 1960, two years before independence despite the acknowledgement of their roles in the Declaration of the Soummam Congress in 1956. This was staged by the film director Ahmed Rachedi through the absence of women in the National Council of the Algerian Revolution (CNRA) that was brought to the attention of the members of the council by the main actor Ben Ali Dghine, also known as Colonel Lotfi. During the third session of the (CNRA) held in January 1960 in Tripoli for the purpose of appointing the members of the second Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic (GPRA) and discussing the progress as well as principle rules governing the process of Revolution, Rachedi’s main actor elicits the attention of the members of the council to the absence of women in the meeting:

There is one issue I want to bring to your attention. Did you not notice in this distinguished council that women are completely absent while they should be part of this meeting. The woman, like the man, contributed a lot and I affirm that because women were

with me in the maquis: Moudjahidates, fidaiyates⁶, and moussabilates⁷. Although they nursed, took up arms against the coloniser, today they have no place among us! I think that the Algerian woman should take leadership positions within the wilayas⁸ as well as in the whole country. The woman should be present with us here but unfortunately nobody has thought about her! (Rachedi, 2015 translation mine).

Colonel Lotfi was known for his feminist stance, which accorded him the title of a “féministe avant l’heure” (Mechiche, 2018). Mrs Fatima Mechiche, Colonel Lotfi’s wife, expresses the stance of her deceased husband in an interview saying: “Lotfi a toujours encouragé et soutenu les femmes pour étudier, se perfectionner, exceller...C’était un visionnaire! Il avait compris l’importance du rôle de la femme pour notre pays, de son apport indispensable à toute société qui se veut évoluée et respectée.” (Mechiche, 2018). Mechiche explains the respect her husband holds for women for their role during the Revolution. Despite his advocacy for women’s integration in leadership positions, most of the leaders in the meeting did not agree with his perspective and did not recognise the need for women’s presence in the council. Colonel Lotfi’s speech made it obvious that the GPRA, which represents the provisional government of Algeria during the Revolution, has already planned the fate of Algerian women after independence. Lotfi’s stance about the exclusion of women from the council of the Algerian Revolution explains the division in opinion within the Council concerning the role and status of women as well as the roots of hybrid nationalism that appeared immediately after independence. This division has fuelled the controversy that emerged during the post-independence years between progressives⁹ who work for emancipating and integrating women in the political spectrum and decision-making, and reactionaries¹⁰ who work for the restoration of a past where the woman was seen as a repository of cultural values and traditions (Benkhaled & Vince, 2017). Walid Benkhaled and Natalya Vince address this duality of tradition and modernity within the context of the 1980s and 1990s when Islamic fundamentalism institutionalised patriarchy through the ‘code de la famille’ in 1984,

⁶ Fidaiyates refer to women fighters who fought in urban centres. The three women in Gillo Pontecorvo’s *The Battle of Algiers* are distinguished fidaiyates.

⁷ Moussabilates are those women who provided food for the freedom fighters, washed their clothes, sheltered them and collected money for them. They played the role of liaison agents (Sifaoui, 2013).

⁸It is an administrative division which is often translated as a province. The word comes from Arabic w-i-l-a-y-a and that which is governed.

⁹ They represent the liberals who have an open-minded point of view of the postcolonial society. They are for the emancipation of women and for the modernising of Algeria.

¹⁰ They are the cultural conservatives representing tradition. They view women as bearers of culture and tradition.

which led to the 1990s traumatic experience in the Algerian postcolonial history, also known as the ‘décennie noire’¹¹.

A month before the declaration of independence, in June 1962, the Declaration of Tripoli Congress acknowledged the role of women during the struggle for independence which it considers as creating favourable conditions for their insertion in the management of public affairs and within the development of the nation (C.N.R.A., 1962). The declaration of Tripoli Congress presses for the integration of women in the public sphere by socially inserting them in the management of public affairs as well as in the development of the country:

La participation de la femme algérienne à la lutte de libération a créé des conditions favorables pour briser le joug séculaire qui pesait sur elle et l’associer d’une manière pleine et entière à la gestion des affaires publiques et au développement du pays. Le Parti doit supprimer tous les freins à l’évolution de la femme et à son épanouissement et appuyer l’action des organisations féminines. Il existe dans notre société une mentalité négative quant au rôle de la femme. Sous des formes diverses tout contribue; à répandre l’idée de son infériorité. (C.N.R.A., 1962).

The integration of women in the public space was the aim of the nationalist state of the post-independence society. The declaration of Tripoli Congress stresses the need to remove all obstacles that slow down the pace of the evolution of women and their participation in women organisations due to societal constraints regarding their emancipation. Two years later, the charter of Algiers (April 1964), another fundamental document in the foundation of the modern Algerian nation, addressed the question of gender equality and the liberation of women and opined that these issues must be the country’s top priority. In addition to acknowledging the revolutionary role played by Algerian women, the Charter affirmed: “Il ne s’agit pas pour nous de mettre seulement la femme sur un pied d’égalité avec l’homme sur le plan du droit, il faut aussi et surtout la faire participer pleinement dans tous les aspects de la vie.” (FLN, 1964). Malika Rebai-Maamri criticises the rhetoric of this statement in that she feels that it is a rather abstract one, adding that the Charter does not mention how a state is going to guarantee the rights of women (Rebai-Maamri, 2016, p. 123). Like all other documents, the rhetoric of various statements and articles in other official documents are characterised by their superficiality.

¹¹ Known in English as the Black decade that represents the 1990s violence, resulting from the clash between progressives and reactionaries over the definition and reconstruction of national identity in postcolonial Algeria.

The Charter also acknowledges the status of inferiority imposed on the Algerian woman due to erroneous interpretations of Islam as well as to the colonial presence, which it considers as having exacerbated the situation, thus causing the colonised reaction known as ‘self-introversion’: “Le colonialisme a aggravé cette situation de notre société en provoquant un repli sur soi qui était une réaction normale d’autodéfense. La guerre de libération a permis à la femme algérienne de s’affirmer et de prendre aux côtés de l’homme des responsabilités et une part active à la lutte.” (FLN, 1964). The self-introversion that the Charter highlights, and which it refers to as a natural reaction of self-defence against the coloniser, implies that the latter has affected the condition of women. Smail-Salhi’s argument upholds the statement of the Charter that the imperial presence led to the seclusion and veiling of women as a means of protecting the woman body from the colonial male gaze and other French ideological influences that aimed at destroying the people’s originality (Fanon, 2004, p. 43). Understanding that the veiled woman constitutes the nucleus of Algerian resistance, which is evidenced in French ideology: “If we want to destroy the structure of Algerian society, its capacity of resistance, we must first of all conquer the women; we must go and find them behind the veil where they hide themselves and in the houses where the men keep them out of sight.” (Fanon, 2004, p. 44). Fanon alludes to the fact that as the French colonial rulers adopted techniques of infiltration into the Algerian society to unveil Algeria, the latter responded tacitly by veiling and secluding women. It is indeed true that this clothing tradition was compiled with because “tradition demanded a rigid separation of the sexes, but also because the occupier was bent on unveiling Algeria.” (Fanon, 2004, p. 55). The veiled woman who sees without being seen (Fanon, 2004, p. 48) constituted a sense of enigma and mystery for the French male observer. In *L’an V de la révolution algérienne*, Fanon further discusses the role of bearers of cultural values and traditions assigned to women as a response to the French attempts of assimilation:

Après avoir posé que la femme constitue le pivot de la société algérienne, tous les efforts sont faits pour en avoir le contrôle. L’Algérien, est-il assuré, ne bougera pas, résistera à l’entreprise de destruction culturelle menée par l’occupant, s’opposera à l’assimilation, tant que sa femme n’aura pas renversé la vapeur. Dans le programme colonialiste, c’est à la femme que revient la mission historique de bousculer l’homme algérien. Convertir la femme, la gagner aux valeurs étrangères, l’arracher à son statut, c’est à la fois conquérir un pouvoir réel sur l’homme et posséder les moyens pratiques, efficaces, de déstructurer la culture algérienne. (Fanon, 1959, p. 20).

Most Algerian nationalists viewed French attempts of assimilating Algerian women to French culture as a technique of 'divide and conquer'. The Algerian woman, therefore, was construed as a bearer of national culture and traditions and this notion continues to exist even to this day. The return to the past to reconstruct the Algerian identity involves a restoration of a gender order that was a reaction to colonial rule based on the exclusion of women from and the domination of men within the public space.

While the seclusion of women during the colonial presence is considered to be a strategy of resisting the occupier, it also indicates the revival of the colonial gender order that nationalism involves in its established continuity with the past that involves a restoration of Algerian women's status of the colonial period. The postcolonial gender order puts women in a position of inferiority in relation to men and widens the gap between men and women spaces. The Charter explains the post-colonial situation as being a result of the weight of the past which still influences the evolution of the status of women, "...mais aujourd'hui encore le poids du passé risque de freiner l'évolution dans ce sens." (FLN, 1964). This statement yet again confirms Hobsbawm's theory on nationalism (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983), which involves the argument that the construction of new nations is premised on a return to the past as well as a restoration of past values. Although Hobsbawm's theory is based on nationalism in Europe, its results and principles are universal since all nationalisms are known to involve the idea of return to the past.

Although the emancipation of women is fundamental to Algeria's post-independence constitutions, women's civil rights were curtailed gradually until the institution of the 1984 family law. The first constitution in 1963 stressed on the need to accelerate the process of emancipating women in order to associate them with the management of public roles to contribute to the cause of developing the country (Constitution of Algeria, 1963). A reactionary stance soon emerged, however, simultaneously, which specified that women must be confined within their homes. Forcing women to go back to domesticity and perform roles within this space was the motto of FLN reactionaries who were in power. Mohammed Khider, a leader in the FLN announced that "the Algerian woman could return to her couscous" after independence (Lippert, 1987, p. 211). The statement implies that women are no longer needed in the public space because their revolutionary mission is over and that they can go back to their roles in the domestic space. Khider's statement can be seen to stem from the nationalist current that aimed to restore colonial tradition to reconstruct the Algerian identity following a more conservative path that he believes should reflect the Islamic morality to

which Algeria belongs. Mohammed Khider, a leading figure as a secretary-general in the FLN, reiterates the discourse of the Algerian nationalist Messali Hadj during the 1920s and 1930s as he fought against French assimilation. Khider's statement "Le mode de vie des femmes européennes est incompatible avec nos traditions et notre culture... Nous ne pouvons pas vivre qu'avec la morale islamique." (Al-chaab, 1963) confirms his refusal of the emancipation of Algerian women in the Western sense because that would translate into subordination to France. Instead, he insists on their emancipation within the framework of Algerian Islamic morality. Khider's statement echoes the slogans of independence that involved restoring the country's past greatness and rebuilding the Algerian family along Arabo-Islamic lines (Knauss, 1992, p. 153). Khider and other conservative nationalists believe that women constitute the proper custodians of Islamic 'morality' and the backbone of the Algerian family and that reviving this morality would reconstruct the identity of the new nation-state. However, this Islamic morality tendency to which conservative nationalists belong is not possible since colonialism worked for its distortion.

Ahmed Ben Bella, the first president of Algeria, who had an international and progressive ideology concerning the emancipation of women, stressed on the need to have a revolutionary type of Islam and not the one left by the coloniser:

Nous voulons un Islam révolutionnaire et non l'Islam que nous avait laissé la domination coloniale. On a essayé de mettre la femme algérienne derrière un paravent pour l'empêcher de participer à la vie de l'Algérie ... Ce n'est pas le port du voile qui fera respecter la femme, mais les sentiments purs que nous avons dans nos cœurs. (Quoted in Boualam, 1964, p. 301)

Ben Bella's speech springs from his modernist and progressive stance. His ideology contradicts the reactionary ideology that evolved as a result of restoring the colonial tradition. Ben Bella's speech is consistent with Smail-Salhi's and Gordon's arguments that Algerian culture has been affected by colonial presence, thus implying that restoring this tradition would only lead to a restoration of a false type of Islam and a conservative view on women.

Ben Bella's progressive thought was soon replaced by his successor President Houari Boumédiène whose ideology was based on Algerian nationalism as opposed to Ben Bella's ideology of internationalism. In the International Women's day in March 8th, 1966, Gordon translated the content of the president's speech which pointed out that "women already had their rights they had fought for, which is why they must not continue to "demand" them. Socialism already assumed that they were equal in rights and duties

to men.” (1966, pp. quoted in Gordon, 1968,p.77). The statement clarifies the Algerian president’s reactionary stance based on a return to tradition and Islamic culture of the country. During his administration from 1965, he worked to Algerianise¹² the school and nationalise important economic sectors. Algerianising the content of instructional materials was launched gradually so as to reflect an Algerian way of life, culture and traditions, as well as to gradually escape the influence of the colonial school based on the misconception of the Algerian as a means of justifying and sustaining colonial domination. Boumédiène’s policy of Algerianisation that consists of adapting the content of school materials to an Algerian context is inscribed within the nationalist ideology of the state, characterised by its hybrid nature in which gender is caught. Boumédiène’s primary focus on education underpins the connectedness between nationalism and education. Rachel D. Hutchins opines that nationalism is deeply connected to education (Hutchins, 2016, p. 5) because the latter contributes to the development of nation-states and to identity (re)-construction. The educational sector constitutes the best route through which the ideology of the state is perpetuated and maintained in the society. In ‘*The Reproduction of Ideology and Ideological state Apparatuses*’ (Althusser, 2014), Althusser points out that ideology is founded and instituted through the educational apparatus. To that end, schooling and textbooks are ideological means for socialising citizens that reproduce social power relations to maintain the state control over its citizens as well as to construct their identities (Shabaneh, 2012, p. 493). Boumédiène worked to convey the nationalist ideology of the state within the content of school curriculum which often reflected the contradicting duality of nationalism that looks to modernise the content of textbooks together while retaining the traditional element of the society through a restoration of a colonial gender order which will be examined and illustrated later in chapters two, three, four and five. As mentioned before in this chapter, the study of gender and nationalism has been the focus of research both in the Western and North African contexts. However, in the educational context, the topic is still in the nascent stages and has not received much attention.

Notably, the concept of both nationalism and education has received little scholarly attention. Studies from Schleider (1993) and Hutchins (2016) denote the few academic researchers that focused on the exploration of nationalism within the

¹² It concerns adapting school textbooks to reflect an Algerian content as a way to escape from colonial education that worked to distort Algerian national culture. Algerianising the content of school materials coincided with the Arabisation policy launched officially by President Houari Boumédiène in 1971 to reflect the belonging of Algeria to the Arab world and to distinguish its identity from the West and the rest of the world.

educational setting. Schleider's study is devoted to the multinational discussion of nationalism in education, which points out that the expansion of compulsory education around the world is strongly linked to the development of nation-states and that the strong bond between educational and national politics is typical in the early nation-building process. In turn, Hutchins discusses nationalism in education in the modern nation contexts of both France and the United States (U.S.), extending the discussion to include gender issues. While Schleider focused on education in general, Hutchins provides a more detailed study by analysing the content of textbooks in France and the U.S. through a comparative examination of both nations' history textbooks and curricula. Hutchins specifically mentions the major recent shift that French curricula and textbooks have undergone concerning the change in political and academic trends about women, while U.S. textbooks chose to adopt a different path. Hutchins informs us that French textbooks began to include more women in their content, which reflects the adoption of a critical approach to women's absence from traditional historical narratives and to enduring sexism (Hutchins, 2016, p. 93). The comparative study demonstrates that while French textbooks have adopted a critical approach to women's absence from national narratives in the textbooks' content, the U.S. textbooks maintain an opposite viewpoint by rejecting feminist aims. Hutchins considers the latter to be attributed to the Christian Right and its promotion of its vision of the national identity of the U.S. In other words, Hutchins considers French textbooks as being endowed with the tendency to critically view the national past which has long subordinated women, as well as to construct national identity that would represent a forward-looking quest for gender equality and social justice (Hutchins, 2016, p. 119). However, Hutchins observes that this forward-looking quest is weakened by a conservative vision of national identity (Hutchins, 2016, p. 119). One of the limitations arising from this study is its centrality on the Western context and the limited applicability of its approach. Put differently, the findings of her study would not necessarily be the same in other contexts only because different socio-historical contexts around the world play an important role in shaping the politics of nationalism in education.

From Schleider's and Hutchins' studies, it is evident that the interest concerning nationalism in education with relation to gender is relatively new and that studies in the field of education have largely focused on the representation of gender in textbooks without taking nationalism into account as a factor that can possibly affect the way gender is seen and represented. Several studies have adopted semiotic and discourse analysis approaches in order to investigate gender representation in school textbooks. While

interest in nationalism in education (in relation to gender) is a relatively new concept, the topic of gender representation in textbooks has been the subject of extensive research in sociolinguistics since the 1970s. In fact, scholars have devoted their attention on the issue due to the palpable gender inequality conveyed within the content of instructional materials. As one of the main ideological apparatuses of a state (Althusser, 2014), schools have the power to reproduce ideologically fraught social inequalities through textbooks content and shape learners' attitudes towards themselves, others and societies. A number of researchers¹³ have been investigating gender stereotyping, gender discrimination, areas of sexism in the language used in teaching materials along with other issues related to the unequal representation of gender within the educational setting. Their research aims at raising awareness of educationalists and textbook designers on the potential impact of these representations on the construction of pupils' gender identities as well as on future gender relations/gender power relations in the society.

Karen L. Porreca (1984) explores sexism and gender discrimination in English as foreign language (EFL) textbooks. Her study is focused on the analysis of 15 widely used EFL textbooks in the USA. Her adoption of a content analysis method not only reveals the presence of sexism, but also the exclusion/neglect of the female gender (Porreca, 1984, p. 718). In this respect, she claims that "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" (Porreca, 1984, p. 706). Notably, her analysis is premised on the issue of firstness, which elucidates the female gender and the generic terms. This is "a very frequent example of how gender bias might be represented in textbooks or written texts" (Vogiatzi, 2013, p. 4).

Anthea Fraser Gupta and Ameline Lee Su Yin (1990) conducted their research on two series of EFL textbooks used in Singapore primary schools. The study shows that men were portrayed in a wider range of roles than women and that gender bias concerning gender roles of the female gender is strikingly biased. Another study concerning gender roles attributed to both genders in Japan's EFL textbooks was conducted by Tokomo I. Sakita (1995). The study reveals that while women are portrayed in subordinate jobs, men are represented as having managerial and more independent roles. Thus, these findings demonstrate that EFL textbooks are highly stereotypical and gender-biased in the Japanese context. However, this was contradicted by Michio Mineshima's study (2008)

¹³ See Hartman & Judd, 1978; Hellinger, 1980; Porreca, 1984; Sadker & Sadker (1980), Sadker & Sadker (1994); Sadker & Zittleman (2010)

which scrutinised gender representation in an EFL textbook used in Japan-based upper secondary English classes. This study pointed out that gender is equally represented in both illustrations and textual content, and that the textbook “exhibits fairly egalitarian representations of the two genders” (Mineshima, 2008, p. 121). The study relies on quantitative and qualitative methods for the investigation of gender stereotyping, female invisibility and language sexism. In this context, it is noteworthy that Diane Hawley Nagatomo (2010) shares Mineshima’s conclusion in his study of Japanese textbooks. His critical analysis of gender representation in an EFL textbook reveals the absence of gender imbalance or social dominance of one gender over another and the fact that sexism no longer exists in textbooks, something that is evidenced through the following statement: “It is hard to imagine language-teaching materials today containing sentences stereotyping the sexes” (Nagatomo, 2010, p. 53). Nagatomo’s remark that gender stereotyping is hard to be imagined in school textbooks nowadays reflects the evolution of gender representation and gender relations in Japan. His conclusion, however, cannot be applied to other contexts from the third world characterised by viscerally complex socio-historical conditions.

A significant amount of research has been conducted with regard to Iranian teaching materials. To illustrate, Hasan Ansary and Esmat Babaii (2003) were among the first researchers in the country to survey sexism in two secondary school EFL textbooks in Iran. They found that males are portrayed in various social roles and occupations, whereas women are relegated to traditional roles, which makes this representation stereotypical. The findings regarding the representation of women in the Iranian textbooks, is a reflection of the social inequalities that Iran, as a conservative country, has and continues to experience. This research, therefore, fails to engage with the critical historical, conservative conditions in which the teaching materials were formed.

In the same context of Iran, Laya Ghorbani (2009) piloted an investigation of the manifestation of sexism in three EFL/ ESL textbooks (*American Headway*, *Interchange* (3rd Ed), and *Person to Person*) used in language institutes. A critical content analysis was conducted so as to analyse texts and illustrations in terms of gender portrayal in occupational, social and domestic roles, as well as the use of adjectives referring to men and women. The findings demonstrate that the textbooks still contain elements of bias and long-held stereotypes of masculinity and femininity. A more recent study by Masoumeh Bahman and Ali Rahimi (2010) suggests that gender bias is conveyed through the different linguistic components of teaching materials. Their study is an exploration of different areas of gender bias in the representation of women and men in three volumes

of English language textbooks taught in high schools. Aspects such as nouns, frequency of names, first-place occurrences, pronouns and adjectives are the main focus of the analysis, using the chi-square¹⁴ method. The focus of the study is on exercises, instructions and sentences; the conclusions make it evident that gender bias and unfair gender representations are very dominant.

Fatemeh Parham (2013) investigates gender representation in Children's EFL textbooks in Iran. Her analysis focuses on gender in conversations, illustrations and graphic design of the cover in nine packages. She concludes that there are no substantial differences in the representation of both genders in all of the nine packages. Subsequently, Fahimeh Marefat and Sheida Marzban (2014) conducted a study and adopted a multimodal analysis to investigate the interaction of verbal and visual discourses so as to represent gender identity in textbooks' dialogues. Their study embraces Michael Halliday's (2004) framework and the reading images model of Gunther Kress and Theo Van Leeuwen's (1996, p. 90). It reveals a complementary relationship between visual and verbal discourses in the representation of gender in dialogues. However, limiting the research to the study of dialogues lacks credibility for the convincing reason that dialogues are not the only 'educational space' through which gender inequalities appear in textbooks. In this context, recent research by Hall (2014), in examining the issue of gender representation in the Iranian textbooks (*Right Path to English I and II*), shows that gender representation imbalances characterise the content of the textbooks because, according to Hall, "the state-run education programs are indigenised to meet the country's cultural and religious ideologies" (Hall, 2014, p. 260). This conclusion implies that Iran's cultural and religious ideologies are responsible for the presence of gender imbalances.

In the Arab world, however, the issue has attracted little attention. In the Jordanian context, Samir Mohamad Hamdan (2010) and Mohammed Nofal and Hanadi Qawar (2015) studied textbooks used in grade 1 to 9 and *Action Pack 10*, respectively. Their findings reveal gender imbalances in favour of the male gender. Through the visual and textual analyses in *Action Pack 10*, Nofal and Qawar (2015) claimed males' over-representation textually, visually and socially. It was eventually concluded that *Action Pack 10* fail to mirror the modern Jordanian society where women enjoy as many public rights as men.

¹⁴ It is a test that counts the frequencies of data statistically. It is used in the context of Bahman's and Rahimi's study to investigate frequency of names, first-place occurrences, pronouns, and adjectives in text.

Correspondingly, Mustapha Abolaji's (2014) investigation of gender roles in English language textbooks in Nigeria's junior secondary schools involves the adoption of a content analysis method. His investigation reveals the overrepresentation of women and men with traditional and professional gender roles, respectively. The study concludes that neither sex stereotypes nor traditional gender roles are a consequence of lived experiences or planned gender policy towards the achievement of social equality in education in the Nigerian society. Abolaji's conclusion that textbooks content in Nigeria does not reflect social reality is not linked to the postcolonial history of the country, which if analysed from this perspective, would uncover the reasons behind the gap between the content of textbooks and on-ground societal realities.

From the reviewed works, we conclude that the textbooks' main concern is the study of technical aspects of language used to define the status of men and women. Some of the mentioned studies have hardly utilised mixed approach analyses to cover all the components of the textbooks. A few of them have combined the analysis of text and illustration using the content analysis method, whereas others have focused on the analysis of verbal discourses using feminist and critical discourse analyses approaches. The used approach by the reviewed works is commonly repeated and the findings are almost identical. In other words, the analysis of gender as a social category does not involve taking the social context into consideration. Furthermore, there is paucity of research in the field on other foreign language textbooks, which raises the question of whether sexism is only restricted to English language when it is taught as a foreign language.

The issue of gender in the Postcolonial Algerian context, however, has not elicited much scholarly attention. Apart from very few research articles written by Souryana Yassine (2010), Férida Lakhdar-Barka (2011), Hayat Aoumeur (2014), Sabrina Zerar and Riche Bouteldja (2014), Amel Blidi (2014), Kheira Maini (2011), Bakhta Abdelhay and Wassila Benhadouche (2015) little attention has been accorded to gender in Algerian textbooks, regardless of whether they are written in Berber, Arabic, French, or English. Yassine goes beyond the linguistic dimension of textbooks and analyses the visual representations of gender in *New Prospects* (2007) used in secondary schools in Algeria designed for the educational reform that was initiated in 2001. The study draws the attention to the reinforcement of the invisibility of women through the visual content of the textbook *New Prospects*. Yassine provides a visual positioning of gender which practically renders the feminine character invisible with regard to the types of roles women are allocated in comparison to men (Yassine, 2010, p. 305).

Meanwhile Lakhdar-Barka extended her study to represent the feminine character in English textbooks aimed at third year learners in secondary schools over a period of two decades from 1987 to 2007. She noticed a significant decrease in the representation of the feminine characters in this period. In her opinion, this neither reflects the Algerian social reality nor the objectives of school reforms. This study, similar to the other reviewed studies earlier on in this chapter, remains superficial since the reasons behind the gap between reality and textbooks content are side-lined. Aoumeur investigates, for the first time, gender in three Arabic textbooks used in Algerian primary schools. According to the study, despite the measures taken by the government to reduce gender stereotyping and discrimination in the new reform-based textbooks, the latter still demonstrate instances of gender bias and “male and female representations are still problematic” (Aoumeur, 2014, p. 13). Notably, her analysis constitutes a foundation for future research in Arabic textbooks and provides a credible answer to the previous question that gender stereotyping is not confined to English language textbooks only. A similar investigation was undertaken by Zerar and Riche to investigate the representation of women in Algerian secondary-school reform-based textbooks of English. Their analysis focused on the occupation of both discursive and illustration spaces from a gender perspective. The analyses of the representation of the feminine character take its bearings from discourse and conversation analyses theories. Their findings reveal the unequal distribution of spaces to males and females and thus, discuss the failure of the Algerian educational systems to focus on personal enrichment, development and growth through the educational setting. These findings also demonstrated that the gender issue continued to be an impediment in Algeria’s road to cultural and social development because “a statement of the educational goals weighs less than institutional documents like the Family Code and other gender cultural specificities” (Zerar & Riche, 2014, p. 41). Zerar and Riche conclude that the unequal distribution of spaces between feminine and masculine characters in English textbooks is due to the Family Code that they consider weighs more than statements of educational goals in Algeria. This conclusion denotes the first attempt towards establishing a connection between what has been represented and real ground reasons affecting that kind of representation.

The question whether the Algerian new reform textbooks are different from the old pre-reform teaching materials in portraying female characters is raised by Blidi in the Algerian newspaper *El-Watan* in 2014 questioning: “Qu’apprennent nos enfants à l’école? Si les contenus ont été remodelés lors de la réforme scolaire menée tapageusement par l’ancien ministre de l’Education, Aboubakr Benbouzid, l’école est

encore enfermée dans une vision idéologique, au sens étroit du terme” (Blidi, 2014). Blidi confirms that the content of new textbooks that represent the 2003 school reform is still ensconced within an ideological vision of the state. Her questioning of the new textbooks’ content lends further credence to Zerar’s and Riche’s argument that the content of textbooks in Algeria is affected by the state’s ideological stance and an ambivalent religious discourse that leads to recurring statements in the textbooks that “Papa est au travail, maman à la cuisine” (Blidi, 2014). This statement reflects the gender order that the society is trying to maintain through socialising learners to perform and reproduce the same roles based on their gender within separate spheres.

Meanwhile Maïni (2011) pointed out an ‘obsolete image’ of the Algerian woman is conveyed through Arabic and French teaching materials used in primary schools in Algeria which perpetuates stereotypes and reinforces sexism in the long-term. Through text and illustration, these textbooks reflect the image of a woman devoted in a privileged way to the family and domestic chores. Through her examination of instructional materials, she concludes that the textbooks do not follow the evolution of the Algerian society and continue to project an image faithful to traditional models. More recently, Abdelhay (2015) conducted a study on gender stereotyping through textbook illustrations in an Algerian middle school textbook *Spotlight on English 1*. Her study was designed to determine whether gender is portrayed in a neutral and impartial way. She put forward a set of variables for analysis in order to find out how women and men are depicted in the textbook through analysing productive and reproductive occupations, sport activities, and frequency of appearances. The findings demonstrate that there are unequal role opportunities and stereotypical oriented roles for women. Though this study is beneficial in the field by reviewing gender stereotyping in the recent textbook of English of the middle school grade, her conclusions are superficial in that her research makes no attempt at exploring the underlying reasons behind such representation and persistence of gender stereotyping. The reviewed works share the same conclusions that gender inequality conveyed in textbooks are a consequence of traditional models of the society. These studies, however, fail to consider the Algerian socio-historical context that has a direct influence on the perpetuation of traditional models of gender despite state constitutions which allow more space and emancipation for women. In other words, it is important to study the roots of these traditional models by reflecting on the postcolonial history of Algeria that carries an ambivalent discourse regarding women and their integration in the public sphere of the postcolonial society. Another important point concerning the focus of the reviewed Algerian works exclusively on a detailed examination of gender in Arabic

and English language textbooks and the failure to consider French textbooks, which, in the history of postcolonial nationalism in Algeria, constituted the focal point for the government to be nationalised and decolonised from their colonial content. This thesis constitutes a further investigation of previous research limitations, building on the research gap of previous cross-cultural and Algerian gender and textbook studies.

In terms of corpus, this project questions the (re-) construction of gender identity in French and English textbooks of (the middle-school level) from the years of independence all the way till the 2003 school reform. As noticed from the previous scholarship on textbooks of the more recent decades in Algeria, the problem reached in their conclusions concerns the presence of traditional models of the society which in turn affect the way gender is represented. They fail to trace this problem through foreign language textbooks produced prior to the 2003 reform. The thesis aims to go back to the post-independence years and primarily to the first Algerianised textbooks (both French and English) and trace the socio-historical factor emerging from the movement of postcolonial nationalism that constitutes a huge influence on gender both on social and educational grounds. The corpus, which constitutes 12 textbooks of French and English in total representing the late 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s and 2000s, allows for the assessment of the colonial legacy that affected and still affects gender representations alongside the socio-historical shifts characterising the postcolonial period in Algeria. The textbooks representing the stated periods have been ideological investments for the state to convey nationalism and to construct citizens who would fit in the postcolonial society. This is because, as Martin Rose tells us, education was at the heart of rebuilding the Algerian nation and creating a shared national consciousness (Rose, 2015, p. 3). However, this project of nationalism, as explained earlier through theories of nationalism, is ridden with a dual ambivalent discourse subordinating to women and excluding them from public space.

Perpetuating Algerian postcolonial nationalism in education through textbooks means guaranteeing a reproduction of social and gender power relations based on the domination of men in the public space and the relegation of women to domestic life. This gender order of public male and domestic female is inherited from a return to the colonial past of the country. The Algerian school which was for more than 130 years a French school, gradually started to reflect nationalist content with Boumédiène's policy of Algerianisation and cultural revivalism. Prior to Boumédiène's administration, Algeria continued to use the French education system due to the paucity of expertise in the field. It took Algerians almost a decade to nationalise the system of education by Arabising and

Algerianising it. The educational system inherited from the coloniser was French in its content, orientation, language and tradition (Bennoune, 1988, p. 220). During this period, the constitution continued to provide equal rights for men and women and states that all political, economic, social and cultural rights of women are guaranteed by the constitution (Constitution of 1976, 1976). However, the president Boumédiène made it clear that the evolution of the Algerian woman and the enjoyment of her rights should be within the Islamic morality of Algerian society (Gordon, 1968, p. 78). The evolution of Algerian women with the rebirth of national patrimony and tradition would not emancipate the Algerian woman because as Albert Memmi argues, the colonised's culture and society are seriously affected by the colonial power and that a return to the past does not necessarily signify a return to an authentic culture (Memmi, 2003, p. 158). Smail-Salhi joined Memmi and extended her argument to include the condition of women in the postcolonial Algerian nation. She believed that the colonial condition of the country resulted in a dramatic deterioration of women in both its rural and urban centres. In other words, the imperial presence exacerbated the unequal treatment of women, their veiling and seclusion, something that Smail-Salhi explains is often a reaction against colonial rule (Smail-Salhi, 2010, p. 115). Within the domestic space, women became guardians of tradition and bearers of cultural values, which helps maintain their resistant identity to colonialism (Smail-Salhi, 2010, p. 115). Smail-Salhi's argument implies that the seclusion of women in the postcolonial nation is a consequence of the restored colonial past for the reconstruction of identity and nation-building. This return, fundamental to Hobsbawm's theory of nationalism and formation of a modern nation is a poignant example of the repercussions of the colonial legacy on the postcolonial present.

Boumédiène's policy of cultural revivalism constitutes an attempt for decolonising the Algerian school from its colonial French content that worked towards the acculturation of the Algerian and reducing his culture to a status of inferiority. Boumédiène's philosophy of cultural revivalism echoes Fanon's celebration of cultural revival by a return to what its past stands for: "The claim to a national culture in the past does not only rehabilitate that nation and serve as a justification for the hope of a future national culture." (Fanon, 1963, p. 210). In fact, Boumédiène's educational policy stems from his belief that the past denotes a ray of hope for the Algerian present and future and that the only way to reconstruct the *Self* is by trying to decolonise education and society. Schooling was aimed to be decolonised by introducing the Arabisation policy,¹⁵ which

¹⁵ It is the linguistic policy initiated by Ben Bella who proclaimed his adherence to Arab nationalism. However, it was officially implemented by president Houari Boumédiène in 1971 and it involved giving a

Boumédiène explains assumes importance for recovering national identity and character (cited in Bouhania 1998:26).

Even as an attempt was made to replace the French educational system with an Arabised schooling system, the content of instructional materials was aimed to be adapted so as to reflect the national culture and reality. This was the case with foreign language textbooks (French and English) that started to reflect an Algerian content since the beginning of the 1970s for the French textbooks and the late 1970s for the English instructional materials. The Algerianisation of these instructional materials concerns the introduction of Algerian geographical places, national historical monuments, Algerian names for characters, and literature produced by Algerian Francophone writers, which is also the case in French textbooks.

Postcolonial textbooks in Algeria went through a number of revolutionary reforms that characterised the growth and development of nationalism (Hamada, 2011, p. 13). As mentioned earlier in this chapter, under French domination education in Algeria was affected by French culture and France's assimilationist policy (Le Roux, 2017, p. 113). Berber and Arabic, the indigenous languages of Algeria, were ousted and French language dominated official contexts and education. During this colonial period, education was targeted by the French people through their programme of acculturation to produce men free from culture and, therefore, easy to manipulate (Rebai-Maamri, 2009, p. 79). The Algerian school was under a deep re-structuration and it became French in its system and curriculum. The Koranic schools that used to be the source of learning for Algerians before the French conquest were replaced by French schools whose essence is secularism. Under Napoleon Bonaparte III, Arabic and French co-existed as a first step in France's assimilationist policy. However, soon the French government passed a law in the 1930s that classified Arabic as a foreign language and ousted it from use in schools and official documents (Rebai-Maamri, 2009, p. 80). After 132 years of colonial domination, however, Arabic was restored through the linguistic policy of Arabisation that was initiated by the first Algerian president Ben Bella in 1962 aiming to decolonise the Algerian society and school from French influence. Since independence, Algeria

national and official status for Arabic as the sole language of the country. Classical Arabic replaced French in literary and philosophical subjects to create national unity and a common national identity (Cole & Kandiyoti, 2002, p. 190). The emphasis was put on Arabic as the pillar of Algerian identity without which, attempts to reconstruct national identity would be in vain. Having received Arabic and religious studies in both the Zitouna (Tunisia) and Al Azhar (Egypt), Boumédiène became well-equipped with an Islamic and Arabic culture and a strong political determination to establish decrees and orders for the uprooting of the French cultural prints was cultivated in Algeria during its colonial occupation (Sahel, 2017, p. 41)

introduced policies to reform its educational structure in order to eliminate gradually the legacy of French assimilationist culture.

Mohamed Benrabah distinguishes three phases in the postcolonial history of the country which had an impact on language education policies. The first phase is characterised by the colonial legacies that affected the educational system. The latter was dominated by French language with Arabic introduced and developing gradually (Benrabah, 2007, p. 225). The second phase, from the late 1960s to the late 1990s, is known as the nationalist transition. This phase is characterised by the imposition of Arabic in the educational sector. During this phase, school subjects were taught in Arabic and French and English were taught as first and second foreign languages respectively. In order to implement the Arabisation policy, one thousand Egyptians were hired, even some of them had little or no experience, as a way to compensate the shortage of teachers in Algeria after independence (Benrabah, 2004, p. 66). With the implementation of this policy, Arabic became the first language of history and literary subjects from primary school with French and English still holding the status of foreign languages. French was taught in the fourth grade of the primary cycle, known as 'quatrième année fondamentale, and English in the eighth grade in middle school, known as 'huitième année fondamentale'.

The educational structure inherited from the colonial period continued until the 1970s. This educational structure which consisted of three cycles: the primary school lasting 6 years, four years for the middle school and 3 years for the secondary school has been replaced by the fundamental school as an experimental schooling system. The fundamental system consisted of the fusion of the primary with the middle school grades (9 years). During this 9-year schooling period, all the teaching was done in Arabic language and French and English remaining foreign languages (Benrabah, 2007, p. 231). Opposition to teaching French language was illustrated by the government's introduction of English language in 1993 in grade four to school children as an option. In other words, learners had to choose between French and English as their first foreign language or study English as a second language from the eighth grade in middle school for those who chose French language in the primary cycle.

The third phase began in the early 2000s, known as the transition to the free economic market, which is characterised by less assertive Arabisation policies (Benrabah, 2007, p. 226). During this third phase, the issue of languages in the educational system has been subject to considerable debate. The question was whether schools should continue to favour monolingualism in Arabic or adopt Arabic-French bilingualism.

Following the black decade, a period of political unrest in the 1990s, a process of reconciliation was introduced in the 2000s to bring back peace and stability to the country through a number of reforms that touched on education because the latter was seen by the government as a crucial element in implementing this process of reconciliation (Bellalem, 2014, p. 102). Reform in the educational sector was also seen by the government as an important element towards development and progress. A series of meetings between UNESCO and Algerian officials resulted in UNESCO's acceptance for funding educational reforms in Algeria (Bellalem, 2014, p. 102). A National Commission for the Reform of Education (CNRE) was created in 2000 to evaluate the system of education and provide recommendations for UNESCO officials of what needs to be reformed in line with the country's new philosophy of development and reconciliation. The CNRE highlighted recommendations for the implementation of the new reform which involved different platforms. The first platform involved reforming the school structure by introducing the pre-school level for 5 year-old children and restructuring the primary cycle from six to five years and from three to four years for the middle school level. (Bellalem, 2014, p. 103). The second platform involved reforming teacher training by improving the knowledge of primary and middle-school teachers and inspectors. The third platform involved reforming teaching textbooks and syllabuses by introducing new teaching programmes for all school levels and introducing new methodologies that go in line with the new programmes' objectives (Bellalem, 2014, p. 103). This school reform was aimed to be implemented officially in September 2001 but was suspended as debate reached its climax between 'Arabo-Islamists' who supported the Arabisation policy since the late 1960s and the 'modernists' (mainly francophone élite and francophone members of the population) who called for Arabic-French bilingualism (Benrabah, 2007, p. 227). The newly elected head of state, Abdelaziz Bouteflika set up the CNRE in May 2000 which recommended French to be taught from the second grade of the primary cycle instead of the fourth grade that was in place from the late 1970s (Benrabah, 2007, p. 227). The same commission (CNRE) suggested that scientific subjects be taught in French in secondary schools instead of Arabic to improve learners' achievements. The school reform of Algerian textbooks was officially implemented in 2003 with the publication of new textbooks for all subjects, including French and English languages.

The development of the English and French textbooks since independence followed the different phases the educational system has underwent. While the teaching of English as a foreign language during the post-independence years is characterised by the general use of English course books imported from England till the late 1970s and

beginning of 1980s (Hamada, 2011, p. 2) when books such as *Andy in Algeria* (Menasseri, Heniche, Belkaid, & Watson, 1982-1983) and *Majid in England* (Belkaid, Cherief, & Watson, 1985) were published for the third and fourth grades in middle school, teaching French as a foreign language involved the use of adapted instructional materials since the late 1960s when the first *Textes Choisis* Series was published for the middle and secondary school levels. The difference in policy concerning French and English language textbooks lies in the fact that French used to be the language of the coloniser with a potential of distorting Algerian cultural values and traditions while English had no colonial connotations in the Algerian context. The rebirth of the nation and the growth of national culture which has characterized French textbooks in the early 1970, has only touched on English textbooks in the late 1970s and early 1980s with the publication of *Andy in Algeria* and *Majid in England*. These textbooks reflected the growth of national culture in introducing Algerian names for characters and places. The content of these English textbooks focused also on describing mail and pen friendships, invitations and exchanging visits (Hamada, 2011, p. 4).

The reform of French textbooks aimed at gradually introducing content from the Algerian Francophone, literary canon which reflected Algerian lifestyle, cultural values and tradition. Inserting Algerian literary content, taken from novels written by Algerian Francophone writers, often reflected a history of struggle, resistance, and endured misery due to colonial domination. However, the problem arising from this literary insertion concerns the ways of seeing and conceiving gender which follows the order of what Peter Knauss terms as ‘separate spheres’ (Knauss P. R., 1987). This is because it denotes a return to the gender order in Algeria’s colonial past. In addition, French literature continued to appear in French textbooks despite attempts towards nationalising schooling and the content of instructional materials since, as Hacene Hamada explains: “A language is not simply a chain of words and sounds. It cannot be separated from its cultural aspect.” (Hamada, 2011, p. 5). In fact, the teaching of any foreign language involves borrowing literary content that represent the culture of a particular language. *Textes Choisis: 3eme A.M.* (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, & Fasla, 1982-1983), and *Textes Choisis: 4eme A.M.* (Abdelouhab A., Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1984-1985), both of which denote the first adapted version of textbooks, is illustrative of this borrowing. Quite poignantly, the literary excerpts used in these instructional materials exhibit both French and Algerian cultures through the writings of Eugène Fromentin, Georges Duhamel, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Marc Bernard, Jules Verne, Emile Zola, and Mohamed Dib, Mouloud Mammeri, Mouloud Feraoun, Kateb Yacine, Taous Amrouche, Assia Djebar, Malek

Bennabi, and Zhor Zerrari, just to mention a few, representing both French and Algerian writers. The analysis of the state's nationalist ideology concerning gender in French textbooks *Textes Choisis: 3^{ème} année moyenne* and *Textes Choisis: 4^{ème} année moyenne* in chapter two exemplifies the way in which gender is affected both by the state ideology of nationalism and the persistence of French colonial conceptions of Algerians through visual elements as illustrated in the different figures analysed in chapter two. Boumédiène emphasised the return to Algerian culture and revive "ce qui est algérien, ce qui conduit ou reconduit au fait algérien, ce qui __dans nos traditions__ a survécu par notre résistance." (Nyssen, 1970, p. 75). The question arising from this statement is, however, related to the authenticity of this culture that Boumédiène is referring to in the statement and whether or not it is affected by French (colonial) presence. The answer to this has been discussed earlier in this chapter by referring to researchers like Smail-Salhi, Gordon, Fanon and Memmi, who confirm that there is indeed an absence of authentic postcolonial Algerian culture.

Lecture et exercices de langue française: 8^{ème} année fondamentale (Amhis, Hadj-Amar, El-Raies, & Meziani, 1999- 2000) , *Lecture et exercices de langue française: 9^{ème} année fondamentale* (Amhis B. M., Hadj-Amar, El-Raies, Medani, & Meziani, 1999-2000) and *Spring: Book 1* and *Spring: Book 2*, respectively signify the French and English textbooks of a reformed educational system referred to as 'l'école fondamentale' which was implemented in the late 1970s and the early 1980s. Prior to this reform, the period from 1962 to 1976 constituted a preparatory phase marking the commencement of Algerian schools (Gustin, 2007-2008, p. 24). The cultural input in the stated English textbooks is associated to national cultural features together with British cultural knowledge (Hamada, 2011, p. 5). More language functions of requesting, instructing, comparing and contrasting were introduced in *Spring: Book 1* and *Spring: Book 2* (Hamada, 2011, p. 5). The cultural content of the textbooks emphasised geographical maps of towns and cities, clothing styles and cooking recipes, reflecting the national and British cultural features. Language transfer from the target language to Arabic language also characterises the textbooks' content where the examples 'Mr Nedjar' and 'Mr Djezzar' were used to mean a 'carpenter' and a 'butcher' respectively (Hamada, 2011, p. 5). These examples are also witnesses to the Arabisation policy that dominated the period during which the textbooks appeared.

Meanwhile the French textbooks *Lecture française: 8^{ème} année fondamentale* (2003-2004) and *Lecture française: 9^{ème} année fondamentale* (2004-2005) also reflect Algerian and French cultures, albeit with a greater emphasis on the Algerian way of life

and cultural values. These textbooks reflect less focus on literature as an individual competency and more emphasis on short literary excerpts in order for learners to acquire grammatical knowledge (Twohig, 2019, p. 42). Most of the Algerian Francophone excerpts used in the previous textbooks *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* carry on to appear in the new *Lecture française* textbooks. The content of the latter textbooks remained saturated with local colonial-era narratives to serve as a site of memory in the postcolonial school (Twohig, 2019, p. 41). Narratives from the authors Feraoun, Yacine, Dib, and Mammeri were used to emphasise memories of resistance, revolution, childhood and school (Twohig, 2019, p. 43). These textbooks of French offer a variety of literary texts sourced from Algerian Francophone literary works that aimed at reconstructing gender identity in general and masculinity in particular, as chapter three discusses. Chapter three provides a generous analysis of the reconstruction of masculine identity through both French and English textbooks that result in the hyper-assertion of masculine identity. The domination of the masculine character in these textbooks explains the rise of Islamic fundamentalists to power during the 1980s and 1990s respectively, representing the institution of gender difference through the 1984 Family Code and the decade of violence which resulted in the victimisation of a large number of women. At the constitutional level, both the constitutions of 1989 and 1996 have contributed to the masculinised content of these textbooks in the sense that their articles were not specifically about women, as the 1976 constitution, where the rights of women are more explicitly stated. Women are placed within the generic term ‘L’Homme’ in both article 31 and 32 of the 1989 and 1996 constitutions: “Les libertés fondamentales et les Droits de l’Homme et du citoyen sont garantis.” (1989). It is important to underscore the context in which both constitutions were amended. Both constitutions were amended under the administration of Chadli Bendjdid during a period of civil unrest and ideological conflicts between Islamic fundamentalists and progressives, which ended with the violent ideological confrontations of the black decade in which more than 200 000 Algerians were killed. During this period, there were high rates of unemployment among the youth. Therefore, the FIS (*Front Islamic du Salut*) stressed that “women return to their homes to produce good Muslims” (Smail-Salhi, 2010, p. 113) and leave the jobs for the unemployed male population. The domination of men in the public space which is reflected in French and English textbooks in chapter three is elucidated by the FIS’s ideology that men and women’s spheres are the public and private spheres, respectively. Although Algeria signed on the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against

Women (CEDAW) on the May 22, 1996, the textbooks covering this period often reflect a discriminatory discourse against women and relegated them to domesticity. Chapter three explores how nationalism and a return to the past for the rehabilitation of masculine identity and reconstructing the image of an Algerian man (by freeing him from colonial subjugation) has resulted in a hyper-assertion of masculinity and a symbolic masculine domination in the public space.

The French and English textbooks *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Djilali & Melzi, 2005-2006), *Français: 4eme année moyenne* (Djilali K. M., 2007-2008), *Spotlight on English* (Arab, Bouhadiba, & Riche, 2002) and *On the Move* (Arab & Riche, 2006), respectively cover the school reform implemented in 2003. After President Bouteflika came to power in 1999, he replaced 'l'école fondamentale' with 'l'école moyenne' and placed an emphasis on the importance of learning foreign languages in an era of globalisation. During a meeting held for the appointment of the national committee related to the reform of the educational system, Bouteflika stressed the importance of learning foreign languages in schools:

...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. (Palais des nations, 2000)

Bouteflika considers foreign languages as a means for accessing universal knowledge and hence, demonstrates openness towards other cultures. As mentioned previously in this chapter, Bouteflika's policy of 'internationalism' is in direct opposition to the nationalist policies of previous presidents that aimed at cultural revivalism and a reconstruction of Algerian identity. Notably, his project has also focused on the emancipation of women and an improvement of their civil status by granting them more rights. However, although the state worked since the 2000s to encourage the promotion of women to important positions in public institutions and to attain equality between men and women in the job market (2018, p. 3), French and English textbooks representing the 2003 reform still show less than the claims of the state, as chapters three and four discuss, through the overt masculinisation of Algerian men in these textbooks and their ambivalent content relating to the representation of women.

The content of the textbooks of the 2003 reform reflected the globalisation policy adopted by the state to foster multicultural education. Narrating and reporting tales and stories, sports achievements, modern technology and internet, climate change and science fiction dominate the content of the French and English textbooks representing this period. The aim of the textbooks is not only restricted to developing in learners a strong sense of identity through a return to the past literary canon of the country, as in previous generations of textbooks since independence, but also prepare them for an international integration in a globalisation era. *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Djilali & Melzi, 2005-2006), *Français: 4eme année moyenne* (Djilali K. M., 2007- 2008), *Spotlight on English* (Arab, Bouhadiba, & Riche, 2002) and *On the Move* (Arab & Riche, 2006), selected for analysis in this thesis, illustrate Bouteflika's policy of internationalism as literary excerpts from colonial-era narratives were reduced and other texts about sports achievements, global warming, internet and modern technology were introduced. In order to analyse the (re-) construction of gender identity through the corpus of this thesis, the latter adopts an eclectic methodological approach that borrows from theories of nationalism, postcolonial theory and visual theories. Although substantial research has been devoted to the issue of gender equality in Algerian textbooks reviewed earlier in this chapter, it would not be an exaggeration to claim that very little or no interest has been shown to the investigation of the socio-historical reasons, which has resulted in the persistence of traditional models of representation, and which this thesis is developing in relation to the discourse of nationalism in the postcolonial nation. More specifically, it aims at studying the (re-) construction of gender identity in postcolonial foreign language textbooks in Algeria since independence, which remains an unexplored topic in the field of academic research. As postcolonial educational products, these textbooks are analysed from a postcolonial gender perspective with specific emphasis on the state's nationalistic palpably unproductive discourse. Against this backdrop, the thesis borrows concepts from the works of postcolonial theorists such as Edward Said, Frantz Fanon, Homi K. Bhabha, Albert Memmi, Pierre Bourdieu, Bill Ashcroft, just to mention a few, as well as theorists of nationalism like Tom Nairn, Eric Hobsbawm and Terrence Ranger, and David C. Gordon. Additionally, it adopts visual concepts from Gillian Rose's and John Berger's visual methodologies and theories. Using these concepts, the gender content of the textbooks is problematized and considered to be a legacy of colonialism by alluding to the state's perpetual adoption of the discourse of nationalism.

As indicated above, the thesis investigates the (re-) construction of gender in the visual and linguistic content of the French and English textbooks that constitute the

corpus of this study. Although the thesis is not a comparative study per se between French and English textbooks, it provides instances of comparison between both language textbooks in the four analytical chapters. As French language has colonial connotations in the Algerian context and played a significant role during colonialism in spreading France's assimilationist policy and subverting the colonised identity, more data from the French textbooks is used because the latter have more data in line with the argument of this thesis. Furthermore, the main focus on French textbooks is due to the levels which these textbooks represent. While the French textbooks are aimed at an advanced level because French was introduced at the primary school level during the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s and 2000s, English textbooks are aimed at a beginner level because English language was only introduced at the middle-school level since independence with the exception of the early 1990s which saw the introduction of English as an option for learners in the primary school level and whose implementation in primary schools was rejected. The content of the French textbooks reflects an advanced level through the literary texts that are used to teach French language. However, the content of the English textbooks reflects a beginner level as the focus is highly paid to introducing the basic knowledge of the language related to basic conversations, exchanging letters, describing and naming objects and places. To achieve the research purpose, i.e. to investigate whether gender is reconstructed from colonial misrepresentations and the way it is constructed in French and English textbooks, more data is analysed in the French textbooks because French textbooks develop a more advanced ideological discourse. The four analytical chapters, chapter two, three, four and five, address and aim to answer four research questions. The analysis of gender in the French and English textbooks involves both visual and verbal contents. The figures analysed in the chapters and displayed in the appendices section represent the visual content of the textbooks whose original source is unknown and captions not included in the textbooks. Therefore, I personally captioned the figures following the argument of the thesis and reflecting the ideas developed throughout the chapters except for figures 26, 27 and 29. Figures 26, 27 and 29 are taken from their direct sources and their captions are provided in the original sources they are taken from.

The first chapter is an introductory chapter that outlines the contextual overview of postcolonial Algeria framing the content of the textbooks, providing more context on education, language policy and the development of the textbooks that this thesis investigates in addition to the theoretical and methodological approaches this research adopts whilst analysing gender in postcolonial foreign language textbooks. This chapter

provides also a literature review on the issue of gender in textbooks both from the Algerian and international contexts and pinpoints limitations of previous research studies. Meanwhile Chapter two addresses the question of whether colonial visual misrepresentations of gender carry on to manifest in the visual content of the French and English textbooks of the post-independence years. This chapter highlights the continuing Manichean representation of the Algerian (man and woman) in relation to the coloniser, which goes a long way in proving that the colonial exoticising visuality continues to affect the visual representation of gender, although *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, *Textes choisis* (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, & Fasla, 1982-1983): *4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985) and *Majid in England* (Menasseri, Belkaid, Cherief, Watson, & Tadjer, 1985-1986) do represent the first national attempt to decolonise the content of French and English textbooks in Algeria. The chapter concludes that Algerian gender remains in a state of subalternity and an exotic visuality is inherited from colonial times. With reference to postcolonial theories that highlight a transfer of colonial thought rather than a transformation, the chapter highlights the permanence of colonial thought within the postcolonial context and the persistence of colonial visuality in Algeria's postcolonial textbooks. This chapter also highlights a continuity of colonial emasculating discourse regarding Algerian men and an exotic representation of Algerian women.

The third chapter investigates the question of whether the verbal content of the French and English textbooks provide a rehabilitated image of the Algerian man by reconstructing his masculinity that chapter two finds emasculated in the visual content of post-independence textbooks of French and English. It takes further the findings in chapter two and explores the issue of gender representation in the linguistic element of both language textbooks that belong to the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. It investigates instances of masculine identity rehabilitation achieved through an exclusive focus on the masculine figure in the verbal content of these textbooks, which, in turn, results in an over-assertion of masculinity and a symbolic masculine domination. The first section of this chapter considers the rehabilitation of masculine identity through a return to the past of Algerian leaders and its male heroes, who went on to become iconic symbols of the Algerian nation in the discourse of nationalism in Algerian textbooks. The second section focuses on the symbolic masculine domination in the public space that is attributed to the attempt to reclaim space and identity, catalysing a systematic exclusion of women from the public space. This chapter clarifies that the textbooks follow the discourse of nationalism that presents men in new nations as 'protectors' and women as 'mothers' of

the nation which theories of nationalism, reviewed previously in this chapter, consider as main outcomes of nationalism in postcolonial countries.

The research question in chapter four is whether feminine identity is (re-) constructed from the colonial exotic visuality in which it was confined in the textbooks analysed in chapter two and whether return to the past has freed this identity from confinement to domesticity. The chapter discusses how feminine identity is retrieved from the colonial exotic visuality. This is closely related to chapter two of this thesis which represented the Algerian woman in Orientalist terms as an odalisque and entertainer. The analysis of the chapter finds that a return to the colonial past of the country led to a restoration of the colonial order when the Algerian woman played the role of mother and wife and when her role was exclusively confined to domesticity. This chapter also illustrates the traditional face of nationalism in which the identity of a woman is defined as the mother of the nation. The chapter refers to postcolonial theory and Hobsbawm's theorisation of nationalism to explain the weight of the past on the representations of women in the textbooks. Meanwhile chapter four also looks into the modern face of nationalism and examines how it is reflected in the French and English textbooks through the various changes that have occurred in women's roles. Finally, chapter five addresses the question whether the new reform textbooks present change for women and whether return to the past that characterises nationalism in new nations often involves confinement for women. The chapter exemplifies change in the way women are seen and their identity constructed in the textbooks of French and English belonging to the new reform. The chapter concludes that the textbooks offer an alternative way to modernise change in Algeria by suggesting a selective return to the past of the country and exemplifying a strong sense of female leadership through exemplary female national symbols such as Fadhma N'Soumer and other women of the revolutionary period. The chapter concludes that the emancipated type of Algerian woman signifies an initiative towards illustrating change from within instead of myopically following western modernity that is accused of being viscerally masculine and patriarchal.

In the following chapters, the limitations of previous research studies highlighted earlier in this chapter are investigated by taking the postcolonial socio-historical context of Algeria into account as well as by considering the colonial factor which resurfaces while representing gender issues and extrapolating on the manner in which both men and women are confined within the stated definitions of 'protectors' and 'mothers' of the nation, respectively.

Chapter Two

Colonial Visual Legacy and Postcolonial Gender Visuality in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (1982-1983), *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985) and *Majid in England* (1985-1986)

This chapter analyses gender perceptions and constructions in the following Algerianised French and English textbooks of the post-independence period, *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (1982- 1983), *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985), and *Majid in England* (1985-1986). In addition to addressing the problematical visuality of gender in these teaching materials, this chapter revisits past orientalist visuality for the exoticisation and misconceptions of what might be called Algerian gender. The repetition of colonial themes, motifs and images, deviates from the revolutionary heritage that Algeria claims to have represented during the postcolonial period, and provides further evidence of the assertion that the modern Orient “participates in its own Orientalizing” (Said, 1978, p. 325). The persistence of colonialist discourse¹⁶ in postcolonial textbooks further exemplifies how various dichotomies juxtapose the Orient with the West, as well as the man and the woman in positions of “Self” vs. “Other”.

The persistence of colonial thought in postcolonial theory and the relevance of the colonial past to the understanding of the present (postcolonial) condition have been extrapolated upon by a number of scholars in postcolonial theory. For Ania Loomba, the prefix ‘post’ in the term ‘postcolonial’, meaning ‘aftermath’, often implies an inextricable connection with the colonial period involving both temporal and ideological connotations (Loomba, 1998; Gandhi, 1998). Loomba underlines the second connotation because she contends that proclaiming the demise of colonialism is premature, since the inequities produced by the vicissitudes of colonialism continue to exist (Loomba, 1998, p. 12). Put succinctly, Loomba opines that colonialism has never really ended since colonial inequities still persist in the postcolonial scene and that these inequities have not severed their ties with the colonial past. Correspondingly, Chadwick Allen, in his review of Leela Gandhi’s *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (Gandhi, 1998), questions the “Post” in ‘Postcolonial’ and evaluates the concept of an “ideological continuity” (Allen, 1998, p. 144) between the colonial past and the postcolonial present. In this context, questioning the aftermath of colonialism as an ideological continuity with the postcolonial present is central to Gandhi’s critical research. More specifically, Gandhi’s research interrogates the aftermath of colonialism and lends credence to her argument with the responses of Said and Albert Memmi who argue that “the colonial aftermath

¹⁶ It is the Western representation of the colonised culture specifically in the scholarly discipline identified as *Orientalism* (Loomba, 1998, p. 42). The term colonialist discourse used in this chapter has to do with the representations of the ‘orient’ in European literary texts, travelogues and cinema that created a Manichean conception of coloniser and colonised. The colonialist discourse that this chapter refers to is a set of representations of coloniser and colonised that often positions the French in the centre and the Algerians in the periphery.

does not yield the end of colonialism.” (Gandhi, 1998, p. 7). Meanwhile, Bill Ashcroft argues that the postcolonial does not always connote a rupture with the past, thereby suggesting that it would be premature to establish all forms of post-colonial practice as ‘transformative’ (Ashcroft, 2001, p. 8). Palpably, Ashcroft’s thought implies that the aftermath of colonialism is characterised with the transfer of colonial thought into a postcolonial context, which is bereft of any transformation. The other implication is that the postcolonial world continues to struggle with legacies of colonialism and that the postcolonial world has not witnessed transformation and rupture. In a similar vein of continuity with the colonial past, Said qualifies the postcolonial world with ‘modern Orient’, implying that the world continues to wrestle against long-held clichés because it tacitly participates in its own Orientalising (Said, 1978, p. 325) in a postcolonial context.

In consonance with the trend in postcolonial criticism that underpins continuity between the colonial past of domination and the postcolonial period of identity reconstruction, this chapter critically examines Frantz Fanon’s praise of the Algerian Revolution (Fanon, 1959), and his faith in its ability to bring about the renaissance of the formerly colonised men and women. The Algerian Revolution was evidently a source of inspiration for Fanon, who opined that its radical action was ideal for overcoming the visceral inferiority complex of the subjected people (Fanon, 1961). It is noteworthy that Fanon uses the term ‘oxygen’ to qualify the Algerian Revolution metaphorically (Fanon, 1959, p. 174) because the latter regenerates life, “Cet oxygène qui invente et dispose une nouvelle humanité, c’est cela aussi la Révolution Algérienne” (Fanon, 1959, p. 174). Fanon sees such qualities of renewal in culture and society in the Algerian Revolution. While it cannot be denied that revolutions are aimed at bringing about a radical transformation, change was truncated when national sovereignty was restored in the context of Algeria. Though the post-independence government did pledge to bring revolution into every possible domain of social life, including that of education, the latter does not reflect a true change; rather, it reinforces the permanence of colonial fallacious myths and contradictory perceptions. Hence, even after many decades of its independence, Algeria, like several other postcolonial states, continues to struggle with the scars of colonialism. Put differently, the postcolonial native intellectual, a textbook designer in this context, in an attempt to invent a national textbook that reflects the country’s authenticity in an accurate manner, fails to realise that he is merely appropriating techniques that are borrowed from the coloniser. Despite stamping these techniques as normal, the fact remains that they are ridden with colonial clichés and exoticism (Fanon, 1961, p. 212). In order to prove the ‘transfer’ of orientalist ways of

seeing into the postcolonial context, this chapter aims to analyse *Textes Choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983), *Textes Choisis: 4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985) and *Majid in England* (Menasseri, Belkaid, Cherief, Watson, & Tadjer, 1985-1986), all of which are emblematic of the first national textbooks. Notably, these textbooks, which have been supposedly adapted to reflect an Algerian reality, are still blighted by the legacy of colonial visual legacy concerning issues of gender. Against this backdrop, the current chapter questions the incompatibility of the forewords of the textbooks *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Andy in Algeria*, given that their content appears to reproduce a colonial visuality as opposed to reflecting an Algerian postcolonial reality.

Although visual representation of gender in foreign language textbooks has been the focus of research in different social contexts in the recent past, visual analyses are conducted only through the lens of content analysis¹⁷ and semiotic approaches, such as the ones developed by Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen in their *Reading images: The grammar of Visual Design* (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 1996), and Theo Van Leeuwen and Carey Jewitt in their *Handbook of Visual Analysis* (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001). The visual analysis in textbooks pertaining how gender is represented is confined to the frequency of occurrence of male and female characters, their respective roles and involvement in different domestic and public life activities, and the characters' size, height, clothing and hair length. While analysing representations of gender, neither social nor historical contexts in which the textbooks have been designed and consumed are taken into consideration. In this regard, it is important to underscore the role of the past in shaping representations of the present. In other words, studies in this field tend to overlook examining the underlying reasons behind gendered representations in teaching materials. Consequently, their results are often descriptive and shallow. In Hong Kong, Chi Cheung Ruby Yang (2014) investigates gender in visual representations in two recently published series of English textbooks used in the country's primary schools. The images are examined following a critical visual analysis and content analysis, focusing on the visibility of males and females in images, the frequency of their occurrence in illustrations, the visualised occupations of male and female characters, as well as their involvement in social activities, size, height, hair length and clothing. The research concludes that although males are represented more frequently in the visuals than their

¹⁷ It is a quantitative and qualitative method of analysis concerned with counting the frequencies of gender occurrence in visual and verbal text and meanings of content within texts (visual or verbal).

female counterparts, gender stereotyping of the activities/ roles of male and female characters in the illustrations in both series of textbooks is not particularly conspicuous.

In Malaysia, Mohamad Subakir Mohd Yasin, Bahiyah Abdul Hamid, Zarina Othman, Kesumawati Abu Bakar, Fuzirah Hashim, and Azmah Moht (2012) analyse visuals in a four series Malaysian textbook of English. The area of their focus encompasses gender biasness and stereotyping that combines content analysis, social semiotic approach and ethno-methodology. According to this study, a gender imbalance with regard to representations of male and female characters exemplifies the pictorial discourse of the textbooks. Quite strikingly, stereotypical gender roles of women as wives, nurturers and caring mothers in these illustrations are allotted to female characters. At the same time, the presence of female characters is confined to indoor spaces. Contrary to female characters that are relegated to passive roles within domestic spaces, men are portrayed as assertive decision makers. Meanwhile in Iran, Zia Tajeddin and Mostafa Janebi Enayat (2010) have used Goffman's *Gender Advertisement* (1976) dimensions and Kress' and Van Leeuwen's *Reading Images* (1996) to investigate representations of gender throughout the visuals of *New Headway*, *Top Notch* and *Iran Language Institute (ILI) English Textbook*. The images therein are analysed to determine the positioning of gender, gender bias and gender inequalities in the visual component of these textbooks. Content analysis illuminates the fact that men are depicted as more competent, breadwinners and socially important, whereas women are shown to be reactive rather than active, socially less important, and objects of desire. The issue of gender and visual representations have also elicited the attention of other Iranian scholars, such as Fahimeh Marefat and Sheida Marzban (2014). The research adopts a multimodal analysis based on the interaction between the visual and verbal discourses while representing gender identity in the national textbook dialogues. Studying contacts, social distance, attitudes, and narrative representations in these visuals underpins the visibility of men and their active role whilst revealing the evident invisibility of women and their underrepresentation.

In Algeria, the issue of gender inequality in foreign language instructional materials has received an increasing amount of attention over the past few years. However, the study of visual representations (of gender) in textbooks has not witnessed much progress. Among the few researches that have been conducted in this domain, Souryana Yassine addresses the issue of reinforcing female invisibility in visuals in *New Prospects* (2007), an English textbook used at the secondary education level. Social semiotics and critical image analysis have been the methodologies adopted in this

research, which concludes that female invisibility permeates beyond the linguistic dimensions of textbooks. Therefore, the fact that female subject is undermined is evidenced by unequal job distribution between male and female characters in visuals.

Another work¹⁸ has examined the space held by both female and male characters in the visual and verbal elements of three secondary education textbooks of English, namely, *At the Crossroads* (2009), *New Prospects* (2007), and *Getting Through* (2009). It is observed that the space reserved for the characters in these illustrations is unequally distributed between the genders. These findings are not different from those of previous research conducted by Yassine in that both reflect unequal distribution of space and roles between male and female characters and that the images contained in these texts reinforce unequal gender-based representations. Meanwhile the research conducted by Bakhta Abdelhay and Wassila Benhadouche (2015) on visual representation of gender considers gender stereotyping through the study of illustrations in *Spotlight on English* (Bouhadiba, Guedoudj, Mekaoui, Riche, & Tamrabt, 2003), a first year middle school textbook designed to teach English. The work adopts a content analysis of the visuals in order to determine how gender roles are portrayed in the illustrations. This work confirms the notion that women and girls are less visible than men in the illustrations of the textbook, and that the visual activities of textbooks construct women as “objects to be observed” (Abdelhay & Benhaddouche, 2015, p. 439).

The reviewed research so far has been restricted to the study of English textbooks, which highlights a lack that has not yet been addressed by scholars on the representation of gender in the visual component of French textbooks. In her PhD thesis (2009) devoted to the investigation of the representations of men and women in 12 French and Arabic textbooks used in Algeria’s private schools, Kheira Maini finds that women are mainly depicted in two social roles: either as a wife or as a mother within the domestic realm. Girls are often portrayed with their mothers as a way of anticipating the social roles they are expected to perform upon growing up. The research concludes that although some timid changes have been made concerning the introduction of female characters into the public sphere, most of the illustrations in the textbooks relegate women to domestic life. In this regard, Maini’s research provides an important foundation in researching French textbooks from the perspective of visual representation. Further research conducted by Laila Chamek (2011-2012) has been devoted to the analysis of women’s representation in the first-year French textbook (I.A.M) used in Algeria’s middle schools with an

¹⁸ See (Zerar & Riche, 2014)

extended focus on the interplay of verbal and visual texts. More specifically, the research explores the illustrations of gender social roles, the characters' clothing, and the frequency of appearance of women in images. According to the findings, women are mostly represented within the domestic confines of the house, with their roles being limited to the home space; moreover, women appear less in professional outdoor activities as compared to men.

One major limitation in the above reviewed research on gender representation in the visual element of foreign language textbooks is that the selected methods and approaches used to investigate this issue belong to the field of semiotics. Using these approaches to analyse the visual content provide descriptive results that tend to ignore the cultural content and the reasons that impact the eventual results. Their research, which adopts content analysis to count the number of male and female characters as well as visual analysis approaches as part of the analysis of social distance, colour saturation and social space where the characters are portrayed in the visual component of textbooks, conclude that women and men do not appear in same spaces and that the frequency of appearances is often skewed in favour of men. A striking limitation arising from the above reviewed research in both international and Algerian contexts is that they do not go beyond the descriptive level (Rose, 2001, p. 6) in the images based on their visual analysis. Even as cultural productions are replete with ideologies and cultural values (Zeiny, 2016, p. 125), images play a significant role in constructing ways of seeing. The latter implies what is distinguished in visual culture and theories of vision as 'visuality' (Foster, 1988; Rose, 2001). It depicts the ways in which 'what is seen' and 'how it is seen' are culturally constructed (Rose, 2001, p. 6). In other words, visuality suggests precise ways of seeing the world loaded with ideological and cultural meanings and entails an impact on "how we see, how we are able, allowed and made to see" (Foster 1988 (Foster, 1988, p. ix)). It is particularly evident in colonial contexts where the image (both painting and photograph) played a significant role in constructing conceptions and viewpoints about the East. The success of colonial enterprises was predicated on the Orientalist visuality that constructed the West and East in positions of superiority and inferiority, respectively. Through the mediums of painting and photograph, the coloniser could construct and invent the Orient in a visuality based on the themes of exoticism, eroticism, concupiscence, idleness and decadence (Said, 1978, p. 1). Such themes denote a visuality that constructs the Orientals ideologically in a state of 'otherness' and dependence on the West. The analysis of the textbooks' visual discourse are strongly linked to the postcolonial approach, which is amply demonstrated in the various

contributions of scholars and thinkers, such as Fanon, Said, and Malek Alloula, among several others. Addressing the textbooks from a postcolonial standpoint provides a novel approach of visual analysis in pedagogical materials and makes a significant contribution to the existing scholarship that has generally been ignorant of cultural construction side of images. To that end, this chapter critically analyses the ‘visuality’ of gender in the first Algerianised French and English textbooks, postulating that they reproduce representations of Orientalist art. It also relies on Judith Butler’s observations on gender as being inseparable from political and cultural aspects, considering the fact that “it becomes impossible to separate out ‘gender’ from the political and cultural intersections in which it is invariably produced and maintained.” (Butler, 1999, p. 6). Butler’s argument addresses a shortcoming of the above-reviewed research that insulates gender from its historical and cultural context and lends credence to the argument made in this chapter that the issue of gender in images is culturally/ideologically ensconced in colonial thought. In relying on this critical apparatus as well as on the idea of ‘continuity’ characterising the essence of theories of nationalism discussed in chapter one, this chapter takes into consideration the colonial context of Algeria and examines the visuality of gender in French and English textbooks that represent the aftermath of Algeria’s colonial history of domination. The chapter also investigates the forewords of *Textes Choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983) and *Andy in Algeria* (Menasseri, Heniche, Belkaid, Watson, & Tadjer, 1982-1983), which signifies an adapted content concerning Algerian postcolonial reality. Finally, the chapter contends that the visual content of these textbooks suggests a pervasive imprint of colonial visuality based on ‘Othering’ the colonised subject.

As mentioned before, Fanon seems to have faith in the ability of the Algerian Revolution to bring about change and rupture from colonial thought by asserting that indigenous cultural traditions are retrieving their repressed histories; however, Fanon is also aware of the perils of fixity of identities within the calcification of colonial cultures that restoration generally involves (Bhabha, 1994, p. 9). Notably, Fanon’s belief in the potential of the Algerian Revolution to bring about change does not concretise as the textbooks’ visual content in Figures 1 to 8 and 10, 12 and 13 illustrate the overlapping theme of colonial visuality wherein the Orient and the Occident are constructed in dichotomous contrastive ways. While Algeria is portrayed as primitive, decadent, concupiscent, and exotic, France is represented as modern, civilised, metropolitan and a source of knowledge, as evidenced by Figures 1, 2 and 13 discussed later on in this chapter. These visual representations confirm a sense of continuity with colonial thought

and visibility that Ashcroft refers to as ‘transferred’ without being ‘transformed’ (Ashcroft, 2001, p. 116). Indeed, Orientalist visualisations of gender, as they appear in exoticised material from the colony, such as the painting by Eugene Delacroix, Adolf Sandoz, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, among others, as illustrated in Alloula’s compilation of colonial postcards, are mostly photographed by Jean Geiser. Another pertinent example is the colonial romance film *The Sheikh* (Melford, 1921) and its sequel *The son of the Sheikh* (Fitzmaurice, 1926) that myopically represents Algeria’s desert as the site of sexual imagery. The emergence of Orientalist cinema during this period signalled an attempt to affirm the French national identity against a constructed non-Western Otherness. (O'Brien, 1997, p. 207). The visibility that French visual culture constructed through its artistic production inexorably portrays the Orient as an exotic/mysterious concoction of fantasy, imagination and desire.

Gender in these visual materials, depicted in Figures 1 to 13, is configured in contrasting terms as the colonial ideology, is reflected as ‘original’, ‘civilised’, and ‘rational’ West, whereas the East is highlighted as ‘exotic’, ‘primitive’, and ‘sensual.’ With regard to the English textbook, *Majid in England*, the image of gender follows the one put forward in the textbooks of French. As the first national products, both French and English textbooks reflect a visibility which is indicative of the fact that the Algerian mind continues to be colonised. The colonised mind that characterises many postcolonial contexts, as Rianna Oelofsen explains, is attributed to the internalisation of the coloniser’s values positioning the colonised in a state of perpetual inferiority and backwardness (Oelofsen, 2015, p. 132). Due to the belief of the colonised in his inferiority, the coloniser’s beliefs continue to be the norm in post-independence visualisations. This inferiority of Algerians is reproduced in the visualisations of *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* and *Majid in England* by depicting them in a space of decadence, idleness, and primitiveness. Within this context, the colonial visibility of women as odalisques and dancers is also attributed to the women characters representing the Algerian culture.

Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983), *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985), and *Majid in England* (Menasseri, Belkaid, Cherief, Watson, & Tadjer, 1985-1986) present an inherited Orientalist way of seeing of the Algerian, as evidenced in Figures 3, 4, 6, 8, 10, 11, and 12. Although these instructional materials have supposedly been edited by the Institut Pédagogique National (I.P.N) and are intended to reflect an Algerian reality (as mentioned in the foreword of *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Andy in Algeria*),

the fact remains that colonial messages based on misconceptions of native men and women continue to persist in the variegated visual representations. The statement in the foreword of *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* that the French textbook involves “un contenu adapté à la réalité algérienne et conforme à nos options.” (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 4) is not in consonance with the visual content of these textbooks by conveying the (colonial) French ways of ‘seeing’ that reiterates the colonial Manichean worldview, according to which the coloniser is the ‘original’ and the colonised is the ‘exotic’ counterpart, as discussed in Figures 1 to 8 and 10, 12, and 13. This Algerian reality mentioned in the foreword is reflected in the written content of the textbooks by including literary excerpts sourced from the Francophone literature of Algerian production. Similarly, the inspector of English, Hocine Menasseri, states in the foreword of *Andy in Algeria* (Menasseri, Heniche, Belkaid, Watson, & Tadjer, 1982-1983) that “our goal has always been – just as in other fields- to produce our own material. We consider that this book marks the first step towards this goal... in spite of any blemishes, we are firmly convinced that this book is much more adapted to our situation than previously used material.” (1982-1983). Although these pedagogical statements made in the opening portions of the textbooks denote the initial reflection of Algeria’s post-independence state, they continue to be indicators of colonial fixities and the binary thought whereby both the Orient and the Occident are labelled as ‘primitive’ and ‘civilised’, respectively.

As discussed earlier on in this chapter, *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* construct gender in their visual content following a binary representation that is analogous to the colonial visibility which constructs dichotomous representations of the western superiority and the eastern inferiority. Figure 1 illustrates the western part of the dichotomy projecting Polish scientist Marie Curie and her husband Pierre Curie as famous scholars in la conquête du savoir. This visual representation extols the scientific development of the West, situated as a sphere of knowledge and technology, and relegates the non-West (Algeria, in this context) into a position of scientific inferiority (see Figure 3 analysed later in the chapter). With Polish origins, Marie is used as an allegory of French national identity as she pursued her higher education in Sorbonne, Paris. Being a distinguished French physicist and chemist, Marie becomes a French symbol of national identity, because, as Rachel D. Hutchins explains in her investigation of national symbols in the textbooks used throughout France and the United States, national symbols play an important role in promoting a sense of belonging

and an affective attachment in perpetuating sentiments of nationalism (Hutchins, 2016, p. 153).

Despite the importance of the aforementioned national symbols in perpetuating nationalism, it is apparent that the presence of Marie Curie as a French national symbol obviously does not perpetuate Algerian nationalism. Her presence in the French textbook with such visual weight explains that *Textes choisis: 3eme annee moyenne* does not reflect an adapted content to Algerian reality, as claimed in the foreword of the textbook; instead, it is indicative of the overbearing persistence of French content. The association of Marie with French national identity and nationalism is amply illustrated by President François Mitterrand's action in paying a tribute to her as "the first to be accorded, on the basis of her own accomplishments." (Pasachoff, 1996, p. 103) , and who, after her demise, became the first French woman to be enshrined in the memorial of distinguished French figures in Paris back in 1995. Being one of the "cardinal points of the glory of Paris" that exemplify French monumental memories and nationalism (Ben-Amos, 1993, p. 50), the Pantheon suggests that the enshrinement of Marie in this memorial monument is emblematic of the French pride in such distinguished figures that constitute French nationalism. It is pertinent to remember that *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, which claims to be one of the first Algerian teaching materials, is supposed to reflect Algerian nationalism through reference to Algerian national symbols and figures as opposed to those of France. In this regard, Marie's appearance in this textbook as a symbol of the French nation implies a sense of continuity with the French education system that regards historical figures as allegories of nation and nationalism. According to Hutchins, the education system in France and the United States retains this nationalist purpose in schools which are "charged with shaping citizens capable of participating in the polity and with perpetuating the national community via affective attachment to national culture and a sense of belonging" (Hutchins, 2016, p. 153).

The image of Marie and her husband Pierre Curie standing next to her in Figure 1 suggests another constructed meaning in the visuality where Western gender is constructed to emphasise the second element in the order of the French national motto 'Egalité' upon which the French Republic is founded, a legacy of the age of enlightenment which had initially appeared during the French Revolution in 1789. The visuality in Figure 1 also implies the discourse of colonialism that articulates the East as primitive and the West as scientifically advanced. This discourse implied in such visuality is, in Bhabha's view, 'fixity', which is an important feature of colonial discourse in the ideological construction of otherness (Bhabha, 1994, p. 66). In the aforementioned

Figure, Marie represents the educated and emancipated model of a French woman whose presence in the French textbook indicates the contrastive state of imprisonment and confinement of Algerian women in the harem by men who view them as mere possessions for their own desires as their constructed visibility. This stereotype, which forms the major discursive strategy of fixity, involves repeating the otherness that colonial discourse created in the context of the postmodern world. The statement of Said makes this otherness apparent: “there has been a reinforcement of the stereotypes by which the Orient is viewed” (Said, 1978, p. 26). Such reinforcement of colonial stereotypes highlighted by Said regarding electronic postmodern world is demonstrated in the context of this chapter through the repetition of colonial visualisations, by which Algeria was constructed in French and English textbooks, as illustrated in Figures 3 to 6, 8, and 10 to 12 (which represent the post-independence attempt to decolonise education). It is notable that reproducing colonial stereotypes in postcolonial representations ensures continuity with the colonial period and creates a barrier to positive change.



Figure 1: The *West* as an advanced world and a source of Knowledge production (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 61).

The image of the West as a repository of knowledge is also apparent in Figure 2 in *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* through the representation of a group of doctors performing a surgery. The visual message in Figure 2 once again highlights the French pride in its distinguished scientific figures through the surgeons representing the country's advancement in the field of surgery and medicine. McCloy argues that in the eighteenth century, the French "did not sit idle. Their physicians and in particular, their surgeons, left a record of achievement of which they can well be proud..." (McCloy, 1952, p. 169). In this context, Figures 1 and 2 represent French national symbols and professions whose techniques were even introduced to French learners at a very early stage (McCloy, 1952, p. 169) in order to construct the learners' national identity. McCloy's statement that the French did not sit idle implies, in the context of French textbooks as well as in relation to the visualisations of the East, Oriental idleness, an idea perpetuated during colonial discourse. The implication here is not apparent, but is contrasted with the visual allegory of Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6 which portray the native culture of Algeria being associated with idleness, decadence and laziness. In exploring the representation of the Algerian in colonial school textbooks, Ali Kouadria criticises the colonial education system along with its civilising discourse that emphasises the natives' laziness and the need to teach them about the love of work: 'Des hommes amis du travail, on suggère que l'indigène est fainéant et ennemi du travail' (Kouadria, 2009, p. 5). In Figure 5, Oriental idleness is portrayed through what was considered during the heyday of Western imperialism to be 'the decadent orient' (Said, 1978, p. 333). The dichotomous colonial visuality reinforces the postcolonial criticism reviewed earlier on in this chapter as well as the theories of nationalism explored in chapter one, as per which postcolonial nationalism is a restoration of a recent colonial past, and not a rupture.



Figure 2: The western as a man of science (1984-1985, p. 37)

As illustrated in Figures 3 and 4 in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne*, the East reinforces the colonial visualisation of the native man as a bédouin roaming in the vast desert with his camel in a blank background that characterises nothingness (through sand). This visualisation is in contrast to the one depicted in Figures 2 and 3, and underpins the Algerian man's difference and otherness. The persistence of such colonial stereotype suggests that both the postcolonial textbook and the Algerian native's mind continue to reflect a state of colonisation. This visuality of the Algerian man as a bédouin was invented in Orientalist discourse and art to show the native as primitive and uncivilised thereby imparting legitimacy to the seemingly necessary presence of the European for the native's economic development. In this regard, Said refers to the ways in which the West has reduced the East to a caricature that depicts the native man as a "camel-riding nomad" (Said, 1978, p. 285), and critically illustrates the traditional roles assigned to Arabs in Western cinema: "In the films and television, the Arab is associated either with lechery or bloodthirsty dishonesty...He appears as an oversexed degenerate... slave trader, camel driver" (Said, 1978, pp. 286-287). This erroneous representation of the Arab by Western Media as a camel rider is also applicable to the representation of the Algerian man in *Textes choisis 4eme année moyenne* shown in Figure 3. As part of the dichotomy of the native, this visuality not only ensures continuity with the past, but also a long-term effect on the present as well as the

future. Zahia Smail-Salhi engages critically with Orientalist misconceptions about the ways in which colonised countries (Orient) were visualised. The Orient is generically associated with “prayer” (Smail-Salhi, 2008, p. 83), as seen in Figure 6 and the “scenes of the desert” (Smail-Salhi, 2008, p. 83) depicted in Figures 3, 4 and 6.



Figure 3: The Algerian as a bédouin (1984-1985, p. 55)

The message conveyed by the visual text in Figure 4 does not merely reproduce the bédouin stereotype (central to Orientalists’ art) that underpins the pervasive need for the presence of the coloniser as a representative of civilisation; it also belittles the role of the native and reduces him to a state of idleness. The visual message conveyed in Figure 4 contradicts the written text (that it serves to supplement) taken from *Hachette*¹⁹ (See appendix 1 in the appendices section). While the literary passage “Eloge de la vie bédouine” is essentially about eulogising bédouin life and the beauty of the Algerian desert, the image of the bédouin roaming on his camel in the vast desert reflects an Orientalist ‘way of seeing’ wherein the native is fixed as bédouin (Hawker, 2006, p. 1), although the Algerian desert and bédouin life are praised in the literary passage, “Il n’est pas de défaut dans cette vie bédouine qui exalte les qualités viriles et la générosité”

¹⁹ Hachette in France covers all the editorial genres and education books. In the field of education, the name Hachette immediately associates with schoolbooks.

(Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 17). The visuality in Figure 4 is consistent with Said's argument that the modern Oriental, who is the Algerian textbook designer in this context, participates in his own Orientalising (Said, 1978, p. 325). The visual text in Figure 4 taken from *Anthologie maghrébine* and published by a French publishing house called Hachette depicts colonial French ways of seeing that *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* appropriates without posing any question.

Freezing the native in a bédouin visuality justifies the superiority and authority of the coloniser. In this respect, while paraphrasing Bhabha's thought, Ilan Kapoor states that the colonial production of stereotypes enables "the colonial power to fix the colonized subject and justify the colonizer's superiority and authority" (Kapoor, 2010, p. 563). Through the visual images conveyed in Figures 1 to 13, this fixity functions as a sign of cultural and racial differences between the native and the coloniser in the discourse of colonialism. The term fixity theorised by Bhabha connotes a 'daemonic repetition' (Bhabha, 1994, p. 66) which imbues a recurrence of negative stereotypes fostered by repetition. Colonial stereotypes tend to be characterised with rigidity and connote an unchanging order. The colonial stereotypes of Bédouin life, bédouin Algerian, decadence and idleness are associated with Orient visuality, which constitutes a "leitmotif of Orientalism." (Gregory, 2013, p. 152). In other words, visuality, a dominant attribute in the field of Orientalism, positions the native in negative representations and stereotypes in a postcolonial context.



Figure 4: An Orientalist representation of l'Emir Abdelkader roaming in Algerian desert (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 17)

The embodiment of Orient as a space of decadence and idleness is further reinforced in Figures 5 and 10 (Said, 1978; Loomba, 1998). In particular, Figure 5 depicts a Turkish scene in a closed interior that bears similarity with the seraglio representing a number of male characters sitting around the Sultan and playing music for his own amusement. Figures 5 and 10 reproduce the theme of decadence, an Orientalist stereotypical visuality which has been addressed by plenty of extant literature (Said, 1978; Loomba, 1998; Hübinette, 2003; Al-Tae, 2010). In Figure 5, the theme of decadence is conveyed through the space of the Turkish harem that has been argued to be a space of desire in the discourse of Orientalism (Al-Tae, 2010). In that context, Nasser Al-Tae discusses how the harem in the Turkish context is constructed as a space of sensuality which actually “became the central theme for Oriental sensuality and decadence” (Al-Tae, 2010, p. xii). Visualising the harem in *Textes choisis: 3eme annee moyenne* recalls the legacy of Ottoman presence in Algeria and the construction of Algerian closed spaces as agencies of desire. The harem-like space, cogently encapsulated in Figures 5 and 10, communicates themes of sensuality, decadence and emasculation for men because the latter are depicted in scenes of laziness as well as in closed feminine spaces. The notion of emasculation, which is a conspicuous concept in colonial discourse that associates native masculinity with femininity, has been addressed rather superficially by Fanon. This is attributed to the fact that while Fanon sees a crucial need for the creation of a ‘New Man’, he does not provide means for this end: “we must turn over a new leaf, we must work out new concepts, and try to set afoot a new man.” (Fanon, 1963, p. 316). Fanon’s theory of liberation by creating a ‘New Man’ does not outline ways in which the colonial status of emasculation could be surmounted. Anthony Peters Spanakos poignantly observes this superficiality in Fanon’s theory of liberation which necessitates the creation of the ‘New Man’, signifying a recapturing of masculinity in addition to an overcoming of femininity that colonial discourse conveniently associates the native man with (Spanakos, 1998, p. 151). Françoise Vergès, in turn, highlights the emasculation status in Fanon’s thought, based on which the native man is reduced: “...colonialism configured native masculinity as feminised and emasculated, and [he] concluded that men in the colony had to reconfigure their manhood and their freedom through the rejection of colonial images” (Vergès, 1996, pp. 60-61). Vergès rejects colonial images for the reconstruction and recapturing of masculinity, an approach that is found missing in the visual components of post-independence French and English textbooks. The visuality in the discussed figures earlier on in this chapter is suggestive of

continuity as opposed to the rejection of colonial images and stereotypes. Importantly, recapturing masculinity appears in the written discourse of French and English textbooks (analysed in chapter three), which serves as a starting point for the rejection of colonial emasculation along with the reconstruction of masculine identity.

The appearance of men in the harem-like space in Figures 5 and 10 not only conveys the idea of sensuality and ‘ineluctable’ decadence (Hübinette, 2003, p. 75) but also reinforces the notion of emasculation that suggests restoration of the colonial stereotype of feminised masculinity. Visuality of the Orient as a space of decadence in Figures 5 and 10 is staged through what has been identified in Orientalism as sensuality and music. Research has addressed factors behind the decline of the Islamic civilisation. It is these factors which are believed to have a link with moral decadence and the widespread interest in indulgence and pleasure-seeking (Ahmed Ashimi, 2016, p. 183). In fact, the Islamic ambience created by the distinct background of the images in Figures 5 and 10 signifies the Islamic civilisation where Western art has heavily invested to justify the westerner’s imperative presence with his so-called ‘mission civilisatrice’ in an attempt to help the colonised recover from their precipitous decline. The Orient is fixed within an inescapable decadence through a repetition in the visual content of Orientalist art and also in Algeria’s post-independence textbooks through their visual content.

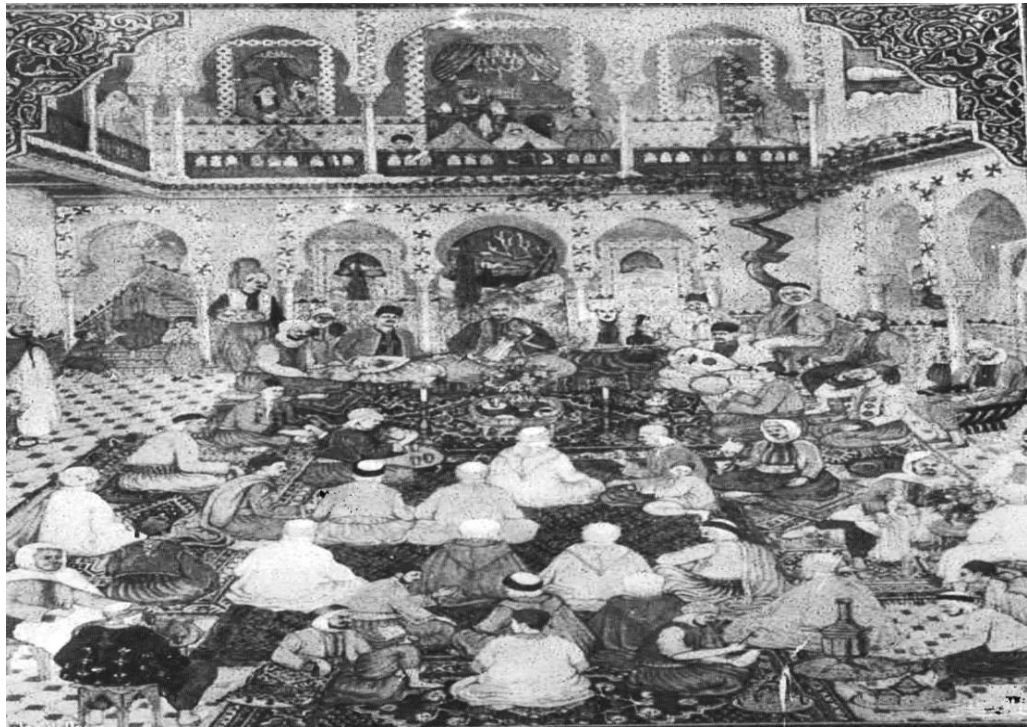


Figure 5: The orient as a space of decadence (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Oussaada, 1982-1983, p. 2)

Figure 5 illustrates how Algeria participates its own Orientalising. This is also visualised in Figure 6 through the image of the native man praying in the desert. Notably, prayer is one of the key themes that orientalists associate the native with (Smail-Salhi, 2008, p. 83). The fact that the backdrop of Figure 6 is a desert serves to reinforce Orientalist representation of the native as *bédouin*.



Figure 6: Oriental man performing prayer (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 117)

The native is also further visualised in a continued state of primitiveness in Figure 8 which conflicts with the representation of the West in Figures 1, 2 and 7. The West appears in a visuality that reflects its technological and social advancements, while the Algerian man is portrayed as traditional and primitive. This visuality has been constructed by the coloniser through colonial schools, as elucidated by Kouadria: “Elle [l’*école*] leur collait toutes sortes de stigmates et de comportements de primitif, pour mieux asseoir la conquête morale du colonisé.” (Kouadria, 2009, p. 3). Kouadria mentions the key role played by colonial schools in creating stereotypical perceptions of the native Algerian in relation to western man so as to morally conquer the former and associate him with inferiority, an idea that has been perpetuated even after decolonisation. Figures 7 and 8 constitute a proof for this erroneous yet ubiquitous perpetuation of the colonial constructed way of seeing the native as being rooted in primitiveness. Figures 7 and 8 reflect this oppositional order in that the West is shown to use machines in their labour (Figure 7) whereas the native resorts to traditional ways for ploughing the soil (Figure 8). Figure 7 captures the notion of industrialised West by establishing its advancement, knowledgeability and

authority over the rest of the world. In contrast, the native is positioned as an archaic labourer who is oblivious to the potentiality of modern-day agricultural technologies. Meanwhile Figure 8 depicts two men in a big field using animals for ploughing the soil, which represents a traditional way of ploughing the ground. This image was documented by Camile Lacoste-Dujardin in relation to the Kabyle society and the Kabyle labourer, who “*travaille avec une araire (lma aun), en bois, attelée d'une paire de boeufs (tayuga)*” (Lacoste-Dujardin, 2005, p. 25). Kabyle people are known to utilise this traditional technique for working their land; however, the fact that this image is put in contrast with the industrial West in Figure 7 suggests the superiority and advancement of the West over the primitiveness of the native people. Although Figure 8 depicts the native man’s proclivity to hard work, which is in contrast to the way he has been described in colonial discourse (i.e., lazy), the visuality still implies a degree of inferiority and dependence of the native on the West.

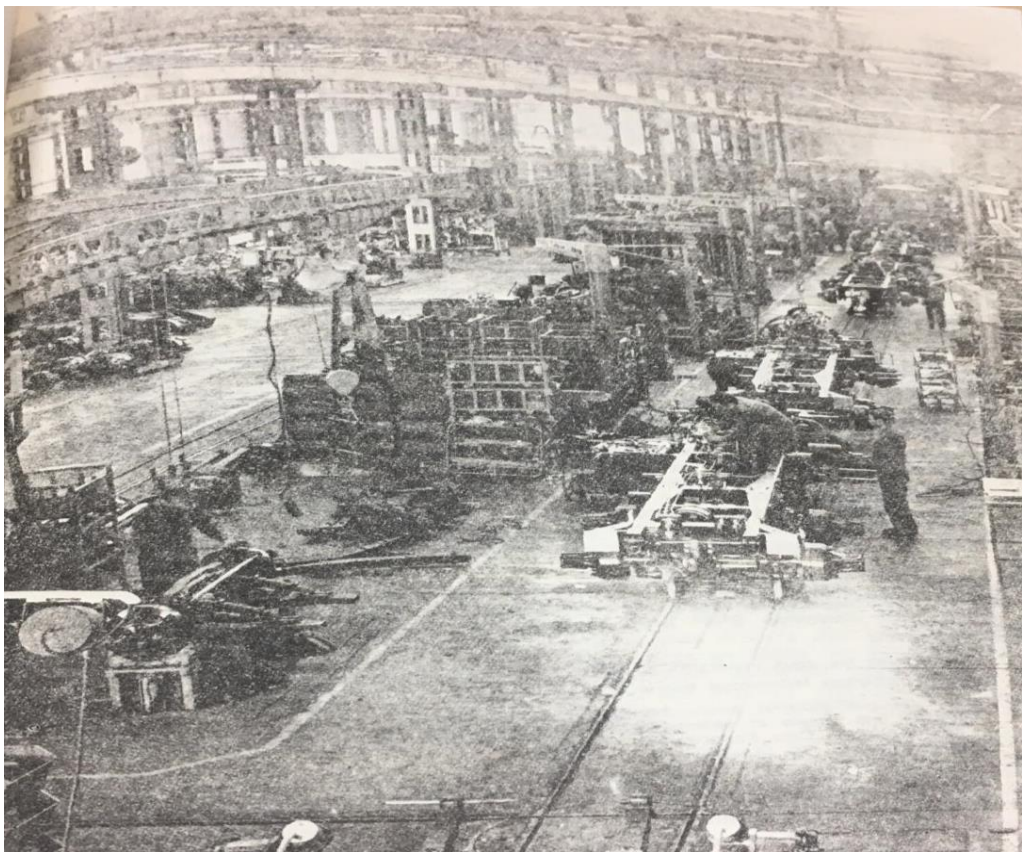


Figure 7: The industrial West (1984-1985, p. 75)



Figure 8: Representing the Algerian man with primitive methods of work (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983)

Like their male counterparts, native women have historically been subject to colonial stereotypes. The Orient has always been constructed in painting, photography and even cinema as a sublimated and exotic location. Different stereotypes and prejudices were canonised towards what is referred to as Europe's others (Agliz, 2015, p. 30). Put succinctly, the Orient, as Said explains, is a European invention (Said, 1978, p. 1) controlled and documented by the West (Agliz, 2015, p. 30). Considering the fact that the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were periods of high rigidity of bourgeois moral values in Europe, the Orient considered to be a concupiscent space for Europeans' repressed sexual desires (Agliz, 2015, p. 31). Therefore, European travellers were inexorably led by sexuality towards this imagined and exotic space. It is this constructed visuality of women in Orientalist art, photography and painting that has caused women to be perceived as entertainers and odalisques. This Orientalist visuality of women is illustrated in Figure 10 in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* that is no less evocative than the representation of the native man depicted in Figures 3 to 8 in terms of otherness. The visuality of women in *Textes Choisis: 3eme année moyenne* as a post-independence textbook echoes Orientalist representations of women as odalisques and entertainers in

closed interiors, commonly referred to as harems in Orientalist discourse. In her compilation of short stories entitled *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* (Djebar, 1980), Assia Djebar critically examines the visuality wherein Algerian women were configured by Eugène Delacroix²⁰, in his *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*²¹ in particular, and the European painting in general, “Le tableau de Delacroix se perçoit comme une approche d'un Orient au féminin- la première sans doute dans la peinture européenne, habituée à traiter littérairement le thème de l'odalisque ou à évoquer seulement cruauté et nudité du sérail.” (Djebar, 1980, pp. 242-243). Themes of nudity in the oriental harem and women as the odalisque are created by Orientalists to exoticise and orientalise the Orient stemming from Europe's desires. In these representations, Oriental women become what John Berger aptly refers to as “objects of vision” (Berger, 1972, p. 47). In Western travel writings and subsequently in Orientalist painting and photography, Oriental women have always been reduced to exotic/erotic objects whose bodies were central to male gaze.

A number of postcolonial research studies have addressed the misrepresentation of Oriental women in Orientalist art (Said, 1978; Boudjedra, 1996; Alloula, 2001; Djebar, 1980). Said critically presents the first encounter of Flaubert with Kuchuk Hanem, an Egyptian courtesan, whom Flaubert took as an influential model of the Oriental woman (Said, 1978, p. 6). On her part, Djebar writes back to Delacroix concerning the way in which women of Algiers were represented in Delacroix's painting and questions the authenticity of his visualisation of the country and its women. Djebar considers Delacroix's tableau ‘un regard volé’ and which “plus de quinze ans après [Delacroix] s'est rappelé surtout ce “couloir obscure” au bout duquel, dans un espace sans issue, tiennent, hiératiques, les prisonnières du secret” (Djebar, 1980, p. 243). Djebar questions the veracity of the visuality in Delacroix's painting in reference to the time lapse between Delacroix's voyage to North Africa and the appearance of his famous painting in 1833 of *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*. By doing so, Djebar implies a falsity in Delacroix's visuality of Algerian women and in effect, emphasises the quick glimpse which she considers a “regard interdit” and a symbolic transgression of the sacred space

²⁰ Ferdinand Victor Eugène Delacroix, 1798-1863, is a French painter and a French romanticist artist who visited North Africa in the beginning of the 19th century as a result of the exotic interest raised by travel writers in Europe about the Orient and who contributed to the production of false knowledge about the ‘Orient’ through his orientalist art.

²¹ It is a painting by Eugène Delacroix. The first version of the painting was completed in 1833 and placed in the Louvre museum in Paris in 1834. The second version of this painting was achieved between 1847-1848, which means 15 years after Delacroix's trip to Algeria, it is located in the Fabre museum in Montpellier, France.

of the city of Algiers (Djebar, 1980, p. 246). Smail-Salhi also questions the validity of Delacroix's depiction of the women by asking: "was it a real castle or was it a castle in the sky?" (Smail-Salhi, 2008, p. 84). Smail-Salhi implies an imagined reality in Delacroix's painting set originally by Delacroix to represent the life of women of Algiers inside their quarters. Interestingly, Briana Belciug postulates Djebar's compilation of short stories as a befitting response to Delacroix's painting through Djebar's reference to women of Algeria representing the past as well as the present. The title of Delacroix's painting projects the image of women of Algiers in specific and Algerian women in general being imprisoned, submissive and besieged by the walls of the harem (Belciug, 2010, p. 173). Djebar, however, provides an emancipated view of the women of Algiers and presents them as women "qui sont sorties du harem avec dignité et grâce à leur intelligence et à leur sagesse." (Belciug, 2010, p. 174). Djebar presents a model of strong women possessing strength, dignity and wisdom, thereby implying a falsity in Delacroix's painting and asserting that Algerian women were never imprisoned behind the walls of the harem and were never really submissive.

The women in Delacroix's painting are painted in a motionless and immobile posture, as illustrated in Figure 9. The painting is about three well-dressed women seated on cushions as well as a servant whose body language exudes devotion and diligence (Smail-Salhi, 2008, p. 84). The image of these women adorned in such luxurious clothes and jewellery gives the impression that they are waiting for something to happen, with the narguilah in the hands of one of the depicted women. This, in turn, symbolises an association of Algeria to the culture of the Middle East from where this narguilah originates. Delacroix's *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* is a point of reference and serves as an inspiration for the French painters Pierre-Auguste Renoir and Henri Matisse given that he was the first painter to have travelled to Algeria during the first years of the French conquest in Algeria. Henri Matisse's painting, the *Odalisque*, is evidently inspired from Delacroix's painting and depicts the theme of Algerian women and the femme orientale in general as an odalisque and entertainer for the male gaze.



Figure 9: Eugène Delacroix. *Femmes d'Alger dans leur Appartement* (oil on canvas, 229 x 180 cm) 1834. Le Louvre, Paris.

The image of the oriental woman as constructed in Orientalism is ‘transferred’ into the post-independence textbook *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne*. The women depicted in Figure 10 are visualised as such within a space of sensuality aimed at satiating the desire signified by the male gaze. The woman figure in Figure 10 is either a spectator from behind the walls of the balcony at the back of the scene, a servant on the right hand side, a player on tambourines on the bottom left hand side, or a dancer at the centre of the visual, all of which collectively signify roles that typify women as sexual objects available for male service. The representation of women in Figure 10 reiterates an orientalist objectification of the oriental woman’s body. Having been exposed to the male gaze surrounding them, these women are subject to sexual objectification and their bodies become a source of lure and pleasure for the male eye. As a result, these women shown in Figure 10 are subject to the ‘combined gaze’ (Mulvey, 1999, p. 840) of the coloniser during the era in which this visuality was created, and of the post-independence textbook designer and consumer during the post-independence years.



Figure 10: The Algerian woman as the odalisque (1984-1985, p. 131)

In contrast to Delacroix's depiction of women of Algiers in Figure 9 in an immobile posture, it can be seen that the dancing women positioned in the centre of Figure 10 are moving their bodies to entertain male viewers. Though Samuel Teets does see agency in the movement of Pablo Picasso's represented women in his famous cubist painting *Les Femmes d'Alger* (1955) (Teets, 2014, p. 15), the motion of these dancers in Figure 10 cannot be considered to be an affirmation of their agency because they are not moving under their will; instead, their movement is subject to the control and desire of the male viewer. The lure in the image echoes the erotic content of the colonial postcard in Algeria which exoticises women and projects "a world that never truly existed" (Shloss, 1987). Malek Alloula is critical of the ways in which the Algerian woman was photographed in the French colonial postcard and views it as phantasm, which reflects the repressed sexual desires of the coloniser. Through a postcard compilation of photographed veiled and non-veiled women in colonial Algeria, Alloula criticizes the colonial erotic photographing. The postcards portray Mauresque women as semi-naked, dancing, gazing out through barred windows, and smoking the narguilah (Yee, 2004, pp. 6-7). In fact, it would not be farfetched to surmise that through these depictions in the

colonial postcard, the Algerian woman is exhibited as a “body to-be-possessed” (Sharpe, 2014, p. 45). Figure 10 depicts women looking from behind the balcony of a closed interior, thereby reiterating the theme emerging from the above-mentioned colonial postcards. While the women in Figure 10 are looking out from behind the balcony, the rest are dancing in order to please the male gaze around them and the viewer to whom the painting is exposed.

Alloula concurs with Said’s idea of Western invention of the orient and argues that colonial photography is merely a reflection of an imaginary reality invented by the West (Alloula, 1986). Alloula’s objective through his compilation of colonial postcards is “de renvoyer à l’expéditeur cette immense carte” (Alloula, 2001, p. 11). Returning the postcard to its sender is symbolic of Alloula’s postcolonial engagement with colonial discourse as a way of writing back to the empire which is keen to clarify that the colonial postcard is a mere reflection of what the West desires to see. The space in which the women were photographed was an imaginary harem created to sustain the imaginary reality created earlier on through painting.

The underlying theme of dance in Figure 10 echoes the notion of dance in colonial Algeria that has often been associated with eroticism. Laghouat and Bou-Saada were transformed by the French into urban centres during the colonial occupation of Algeria and female dance from these regions was considered to be highly erotic. The dance of the Ouled-Nails²² is believed to have a provocative effect and “an erotic imagination of spectators without being vulgar...” (Çelik & Kinney, 1990, p. 40). The Ouled-Nail woman has always been regarded as “danseuse-prostituée” in Orientalist literary or iconographic representations. Ferhati Barkahoum is unconvinced about the authenticity of this colonial categorisation of Ouled Nail women as prostitute dancers (Barkahoum, 2005). As a matter of fact, she asserts that the colonial erotic representation of the Ouled Nail woman is caught in the chasm between myth and reality. She is particularly critical of the ways in which these women have been stigmatised by the coloniser as ‘fille du café’, a prostitute (Barkahoum, 2010). Correspondingly, Patrick Arousseau is also critical of how Ouled Nail women are perceived as objects of the male gaze by the French, something that he considers to be an occidental model of domination. In his consideration of works produced by Guy de Maupassant, Eugène Fromentin and André Gide about the dance of native women, Arousseau argues that Maupassant “propose une description de la danse de “ces courtisanes du désert” qui correspond parfaitement aux canons de

²² Refers to a Berber tribe inhabiting the Atlas Mountains in the south of Algeria, mainly in Bou Saada, M’Sila and Djelfa.

l'orientalisme, c'est-à-dire d'un Orient synthétique et artificiel créé pour les Européens” (Aurousseau, 2018). Aurousseau suggests that the image created by Mauppassant about Ouled Nail women corresponds to the artificial orientalist canon that is replete with imaginary properties created by, and for the Western audience. What makes the women dancers in Figure 10 echo the idea of Ouled Nail women dancers is their type of dress and their dance moves that resemble the Orientalist visualisation of Ouled Nail women in the painting in Figure 11. The type of dance in Figure 10 is called *saâdaoui*, a naïli type of dance performed by a couple of women. The dancers display physical synchronicity by moving their bodies and arms simultaneously and with precision (Shiloah, 1995, p. 151). Eroticism becomes apparent in these movements of the dancers’ arms and hands that research considers as a form of dialogue taking place between the dancer and the male voyeur (Shiloah, 1995, p. 151). The association of Ouled Nail dancers with eroticism and prostitution was made by French officials (Deagon, 2009). In other words, the myth of ‘prostitute dancers’ associated with Ouled Nail woman was perpetuated by the French colonialism. The women dancers illustrated in Figure 10 indicate a ‘transfer’ of the widely prevalent fixed French misconceptions of the Algerian woman to a postcolonial context intended to rectify colonial imaginary realities.

Orientalising the orient is not confined to French textbooks of the post-independence period. Although the English textbook *Majid in England* is specifically aimed at beginner learners of English, it does reflect an orientalised image of the Algerian woman through her classification and objectification as a dancer. Figure 12 meanwhile portrays the Algerian woman as a belly dancer, which echoes the notion of dance in Ouled Nail tribe and is once again linked to eroticism. The visuality of the woman in Figure 12 is demonstrated in the synchronic movement of her hips and her arms, as well as the piece of cloth held in the hand of the dancer. French colonial cinema focused on women dancers from this region depicted by the Citroën films as “performing *la danse du ventre* (belly dance) in the fourth episode of *le Continent mystérieux*, also known as “Scènes indigènes à Ouargla”” (Bloom, 2008, p. 80). While a typical Ouled Nail woman performs her dance fully clothed, the French Syndicat d’initiative, or tourist bureau, “influenced the character of their performances and insisted that they perform nude before their European visitors, transforming them into tourist spectacles by the 1880s” during colonialism (Bloom, 2008, p. 80). This inevitably leads to the conclusion that their nude dance is a French invention and is suggestive of the fact that they were impelled to dance without wearing any clothes. This act of transforming these women into nude performers made it easier for the French to classify them as prostitutes through the issuance of women identity cards categorising

them as such (Bloom, 2008, p. 81). Figures 12 and 10 in *Majid in England* and *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne*, respectively are visual evidence of the reiteration of colonial myths and an established continuity with colonial iconographic memory.



Figure11: Orientalist painting of Algerian dancers: *Danseuses Ouled Nail*, 1935 painted by Yvonne Kleiss Herzig available at: http://www.artnet.de/k%C3%BCnstler/yvonne-kleiss-herzig/danseuses-ouled-nail-Adc3sCV9m_cJptuFOY-iKQ2

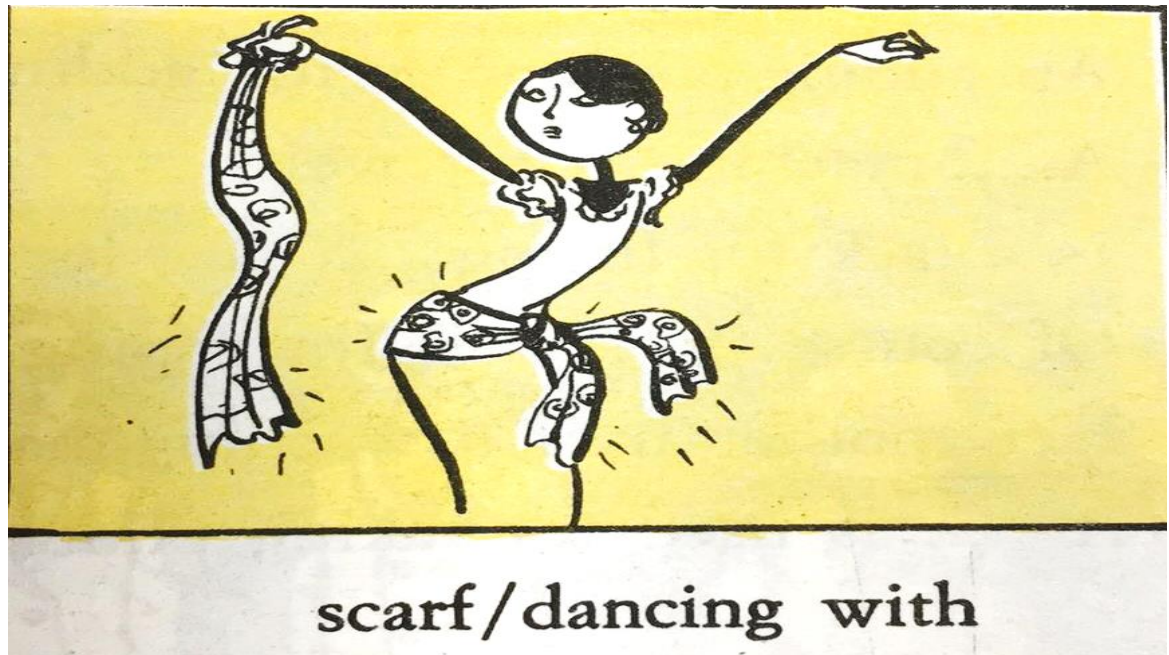


Figure 12: The Algerian woman as dancer (Menasseri, Belkaid, Cherief, Watson, & Tadjer, 1985-1986, p. 109)

Majid in England is as much about orientalising the Algerian woman as about reflecting the superiority of the West and the emancipated model of the western woman. Figure 13, which positions the Western woman in the field of science and development, is a relevant example of this emancipated model of the western woman. Similar to Figure 2 in *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* that portrayed the Western man in the field of science and medicine, Figure 13 depicts women in the field of dentistry and contributes to the reinforcement of the superiority of the West. While the western woman enjoys her rights and is respected for her role in the public space as a nurse and dentist as shown in Figure 13, the Algerian woman remains trapped in the confines of colonial visibility that reduces her to an object of sight in Figure 12. The constructed visibility in Figures 12 and 13 suggests the repetition of the colonial dichotomy of European ‘self’ and Algerian ‘other’. This Manichean dichotomy created during colonialism, which has been examined by this chapter in the textbooks representing the post-independence educational and cultural product of Algeria, suggests that Algeria abandoned the idea of revolution proposed by Fanon and Mostefa Lacheraf²³ in their respective ideological works. As a previous presidential advisor for educational and cultural problems during the 1970s,

²³ A bilingual Algerian historian, essayist and author of a number of books on the Algerian culture and Arabic literature. A militant in Algerian nationalist organisations from a young age, he joined the Parti du Peuple Algérien (PPA) and then the Front de Libération Nationale (FLN). He participated in the writing of “la charte nationale” in 1976 and became a minister of national education (1977-1979) during the presidency of President Houari Boumédiène

Lacheraf, in his *l'Algérie: nation et société* (1965), underpins the necessity for a deep-rooted understanding of the Algerian society to liberate its culture from colonial legacies. He suggests a questioning of “beaucoup de clichés, de concepts erronés, de lieux communs, de vérités décriées, de mythes...le contenu révolutionnaire exact des notions de peuple” (Lacheraf, 1965, p. 307).



Figure 13: Representation of Western women as dentists (Menasseri, Belkaid, Cherief, Watson, & Tadjer, 1985-1986, p. 103)

Lacheraf designed an ideological orientation for a post-independence transformation by suggesting a refusal of acquiescing to colonial clichés and misconceptions created by the coloniser, which also involved the othering of Algerians. Lacheraf’s proposition for a new Algeria does not seem to find support in foreign language education; apparently, it also does not have an impact on the ministers²⁴ of education during the first two decades of independence. Importantly, the visibility of gender in the figures analysed from the French and English textbooks does not find any attempt in problematising the colonial visibility of gender. Lacheraf acknowledges the failure of his post-independence ideology that entails pressing for change and rupture with Algeria’s colonial past, “une faille s’est

²⁴ Benhamida Abderrahmane (September 27, 1962- September 18, 1963), Cherif Belkacem (December 2 1964- July 10, 1965), Ahmed Taleb Ibrahimi (July 10, 1965- July 21, 1970), Abdelkrim Benmahmoud (July 21, 1970- April 23, 1977), Mostefa Lacheraf (April 23, 1977- March 8, 1979).

produite subitement dans l'édifice de la Révolution au moment de l'indépendance" (Lacheraf, 1965, p. 309). In opposition to Fanon's hope in the Algerian revolution before the attainment of independence, Lacheraf concedes the failure of Revolution because his testimony to the politics and orientation of the post-independence state proves that the latter did not adopt the path he had envisioned in his thought.

The post-independence French and English textbooks, *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, *Textes choisis: 4ème année moyenne* and *Majid in England*, respectively failed to teach the idea of women liberated from Orientalist representations because the system of education during the post-independence years still suffered from legacies of colonialism. In order to sever ties with such stifling legacies, Rianna Oelofsen suggests an alternative framework for knowledge that would move what is assumed to be the centre (Europe) of knowledge (Oelofsen, 2015, p. 137). Through the process of decolonising the mind, Oelofsen propounds the creation of new concepts and meanings that meaningfully engage with the present and past of Africa. Oelofsen's idea that associated engagement with the past is problematic because going back to the past incurs an establishment of continuity with colonial representations. The alternative way for creating new concepts and meanings, however, is to engage with the present and postcolonial theory that is known for its counter-discursivity. In the case of gender representation in the post-independence French textbooks in Algeria, their designers could have considered the possibility of creating new meanings based on contemporary experiences of the country as opposed to digging in a past defined by the coloniser and dominated by Orientalist representations. Another alternative option would be to draw new meanings from postcolonial theory which is centred on the widely prevalent notion of resistance and subversion. In this regard, the works of Said, Djebbar, and Alloula, could contribute to the 'transformation' of colonial fixities in French and English textbooks as analysed in this chapter. Although it was not the intention of this chapter to draw all inferences from the colonial discourse and Orientalism in the context of the studied French and English textbooks, Fanon's ideas on Revolution have been considered, something that he viewed as the only hope to concretise transformation in the postcolonial society and to achieve change.

Gender visibility in French and English textbooks analysed in this chapter still reflects what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak refers to as the 'subaltern' (Chakravorty Spivak, 2013) concerning the Algerian gender and 'superiority' in relation to the coloniser. This colonial visibility fixes Algerian gender in a state of subalternity and subordination whilst perpetuating deliberate colonial stereotypes. Fanon, who presses for

cultural revival in post-independence countries, paradoxically sees a mistake in the return of postcolonial states to their past and pre-colonial culture that prevents the achievement of transformation in the post-independence state. Fanon states that “La culture, qui est arrachée du passé pour être déployée dans toute sa splendeur, n'est pas celle de son pays” (Fanon, 1961, p. 202). In the context of the textbooks analysed in this chapter, the visuality they reflect validates Fanon’s idea that the return to the past is not necessarily authentic Algerian culture; instead, it is created by the coloniser during colonial domination. Despite the recognition of its revolutionary heritage, Algeria fails to emancipate Algerian gender from systematic colonial misconceptions advanced in colonial iconography in foreign language education during the post-independence years. Although Algeria did achieve its political independence, the fact remains that foreign language education is not impervious to the legacy of its gender-based colonial visuality.

In summation, this chapter aimed at analysing the various ways in which gender is constructed in the visual constituent of French and English textbooks. More specifically, it demonstrates through Figures 1 to 13 as to how these textbooks reiterate colonial visualisations of gender premised on the East/West dichotomy. It concluded that despite achieving independence, Algeria’s education system still contains residues of colonial visual legacies that impose a colonial ‘way of seeing’ and defining the native Algerian in relation to the French. While the native man is emasculated through his visualisation in idleness, decadence and primitiveness, the Western counterpart is visualised in activity, advancement, and civilisation. *Majid in England, Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* reflect a visual material that remains deeply colonised. The written literature used in these same textbooks as well as the ones published in the subsequent years, however, does constitute an attempt towards liberating the content of the textbooks from colonial myths through a calibrated reconstruction of Algerian masculine identity. Chapter three investigates the myriad ways in which Algerian masculinity is reconstructed as a revision of colonial emasculation that had reduced native men to the status of femininity. Therefore, the next chapter serves as a corrective measure to colonial myths surrounding Algerian masculinity based on the domination of men within the written discourse of French and English textbooks.

Chapter Three

**From Colonial Emasculating Visuality to Postcolonial Verbal Reconstruction of
Masculine Identity in Textbooks of French and English of the 1980s, 1990s and
2000s: A Symbolic Masculine Domination**

Following the issue of colonial emasculating visuality addressed in chapter two in relation to Algerian masculinity, and which highlights a sense of continuity with country's colonial visuality, this chapter dismantles the notion of colonial effeminacy associated with the Algerian man through the conduit of reconstructing Algerian masculine identity in the verbal element of the French and English textbooks representing the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. In particular, this chapter sets the verbal discourse of these textbooks as a corrective measure to perceived colonial emasculation of Algerian masculinity, discussed in chapter two, only to reconstruct masculine identity, thereby resulting in an over-assertion of the masculine figure and gravitates towards what I refer to as symbolic masculine domination. As a potentially fecund postcolonial nationalist attempt to retrieve Algerian masculine identity dissipated in the long-term feminisation under colonial rule, the textbooks' verbal discourse becomes masculinised through a canonisation of Francophone anti-colonial fiction authored by Algerian male writers. Put differently, through their literary content, the textbooks of French develop a discourse that counters the colonial denial of Algerian masculine identity and foregrounds a sense of identity that imbues the nationalist agenda and partially reflects Pierre Bourdieu's concept of masculine domination based on the hyper-assertion²⁵ of masculine identity. The prefix hyper is used here advisedly to indicate two interrelated meanings underpinned in the argument presented by this chapter: the over-assertion of masculine identity at the expense of the feminine identity, and the pervasive presence of literary texts in the textbooks excerpted from male authored fiction highlighting the role of externally-linking to anti-colonial Francophone novels.

Although the theme of gender identity construction in textbooks has elicited scholarly attention in recent years (Foulds, 2013; Khan et al., 2014; Musty, 2015; Hutchins, 2016; Agbadao et al., 2018), the theme of masculinity has received limited focus (Lesko, 2000; Wannamaker, 2008; Kobia, 2009; Jackie et al., 2010; Kushwaha, 2014, Kostas 2019). Besides the research of Kobia and Kushwaha that explores the construction of masculinity from a postcolonial perspective in Kenya and India, the remainder of the research studies (Lesko 2000; Wannamaker, 2008; Jackie et al., 2010; Kostas, 2019) palpably narrow their focus on the study of gender identity construction in the western and Asian contexts. In this regard, the role of textbooks in the (re-)construction of masculinity in the postcolonial world in general and in Algeria in particular remains a neglected area. Although Foulds does refer to the persistence of

²⁵ This implies that the male figure is dominant and over-asserted in the verbal representation of the textbooks of French and English under study.

colonial-constructed identities in Kenyan postcolonial curricula, his analysis remains descriptive and does not engage with either the colonial history of Kenya as a way to exemplify the persistence of colonial representations, or with the manner in which postcolonial masculinity tends to be reconstructed in the divergent representations of these textbooks. Despite reaching tangible results, the reviewed research on gender identity reconstruction do not put the textbooks of the postcolonial period in perspective with the colonial discourse, against which national education is generally deployed after independence.

Taking into consideration further previous research limitations on the issue, this chapter examines them from a postcolonial standpoint with a conspicuous focus on the verbal discourse of the French and English textbooks and the way in which masculine identity is reconstructed, also considering the socio-historical context in which these textbooks are conceived as cultural products which are inexorably affected by the ideology of nationalism and by colonial legacies. The chapter explores how masculine identity is reconstructed from the orientalist emasculating visuality of laziness, primitiveness and decadence in which the Algerian man was locked only to be reconstructed by returning to a past gender order that restores the one imposed by colonial presence. The chapter looks at the way in which this identity reconstruction results in an exclusive focus on the masculine figure leading to an over-assertion of masculinity and to a symbolic masculine domination. Similar to the Indian context where the man is considered as ‘protector of the nation’, this chapter exemplifies this notion of Algerian man as protector of the nation through a celebration of pre-colonial and colonial national heroes. It is important to remember that identity reconstruction is central to nationalism in new nation-states and textbooks are considered one of the best sites for carrying the nation’s nationalist agenda (Kushwaha, 2014, p. 71). Consequently, the reconstruction of masculine identity in the postcolonial French and English textbooks would reflect Algeria’s nationalist agenda dominated by a masculine ideology. For the reconstruction purpose of Algerian masculinity, the literary excerpts inserted in the textbooks of French mostly belong to the type of literature labelled by postcolonial critics as resistance fiction. These excerpts authored by male writers feature male main characters demonstrating virtues mainly defined as masculine: courage, commitment and resistance as a reconsideration of the long-term colonial stereotypes of decadence and laziness in which the Algerian man has been constructed and fixed. In the French textbooks selected for analysis in this chapter, the literary excerpts sourced from Francophone Algerian novels work in tandem with other literary texts which glorify the Algerian epic hero throughout

the past history such as *Tacfrainas* (1982-1983, p. 160), *Masinissa* (1982-1983, p. 162), *Yougourtha, fils du Maghreb* (1982-1983, p. 163) and *Juba* (1982-1983, p. 168). These pre-colonial leaders' resistance to foreign invaders during their times align them with the freedom fighter of the Revolution period depicted in excerpts taken from Kaddour M'Hamsadji's *Le silence des Cendres* (1963), Tewfik Farès's poem *Sécheresse des hommes* (1969), and Mohammed Dib's *La Grande Maison* (1952) and which feature the virtues of virility, bravery and agency of the male figure. Some excerpts taken from Algerian Francophone novels in the context of French textbooks feature a main character explicitly committed in the armed struggle at the war front, such as Si Fodil in M'Hamsadji's novel, *Le silence des Cendres* (1963). Freedom fighters like Si Fodil are described in *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* as 'sauveteurs' (2014-2015, p. 143), 'résistants' (2014-2015, p. 143), 'héros' (2014-2015, p. 146), 'patriotes' (2014-2015, p. 148), "les combattants de l'ALN (Armée de Libération Nationale)" (2014-2015, p. 146), "un combattant courageux et téméraire" (2014-2015, p. 152), 'les pionniers d'un peuple' (2014-2015, p. 160), and other attributes of virility and manliness, depicting them as active in contrast to the colonial fixed stereotype of the quintessential lazy Algerian man. The mentioned virtues depict them as true heroes of the country, the dominant symbols and carriers of a strong sense of (masculine) identity. All these excerpts are further discussed later on in the chapter to demonstrate the manner in which masculine identity is retrieved from the colonial emasculating visuality in which the colonised Algerian man was imprisoned.

The state's choice of exclusively male-authored texts in the context of French the textbooks of 1980s, 1990s and 2000s works in tandem with nationalism and has implications on the construction of learners' gendered identities. Further to being important elements in learning and developing cognitive abilities in learners, textbooks constitute a good site for learning gender identities (Kushwaha, 2014, p. 71) and role expectations in the society. Learners get acquainted with masculinities and femininities through instructional materials. These selected literary texts would constitute the learners' "cultural capital", a socio-educational concept developed by Bourdieu to denote the learner's asset of life skills, knowledge and values, which, in turn, define and frame both their sense of self and their action (Bourdieu, 1986). Given that education has been of interest to modern nation-states in the identity reconstruction process, educational content cannot be insulated from state ideologies (Kushwaha, 2014, p. 71). The ideology of the new nation-state as defined by critics of nationalism (Boehmer, 2005; Enloe, 2014; McClintock, 1995; Nagel, 1998; Kushwaha, 2014) constructs women as mothers of the

nation and men as their protectors. This means that if education has been central to nation-states for the reconstruction of gender identity, teaching materials reflect the ideology of the state that constructs gendered public space wherein men are dominant and dominating. Through a canonisation of the anti-colonial Francophone fiction authored by Algerian male writers²⁶, the instructional materials of French display a hyper-assertion of masculinity, which leads to a symbolic masculine domination. Literature of female production²⁷ is absent and has been displaced by the masculine literary canon. The canon here is a concept borrowed from Harold Bloom's work, *The Western canon* (1994), where it is defined as "the choice of books" to teach at school (Bloom, 1994, p. 15). In the Algerian textbooks mainly of the post-independence period, the presence of the Algerian Francophone novel authored by men, Kamel Igoudjil explains, constitutes a challenge to the French literary canon (Igoudjil, 2014, p. 168) which not only resists colonial discourse, but also canonises the Algerian male writer and his literature that is aimed at redefining Algerian masculinity and perpetuating it for generations of learners in postcolonial Algeria.

Similar to the content of French textbooks, the content of English textbooks representing the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s emphasises the masculine connotations and over-assertiveness associated with men. Based on Althusser's view of schools as ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 2014), this chapter clarifies how the nationalist ideology, which feminist theories of nationalism define as having sprung from masculinised memory in postcolonial countries (as discussed in chapter one), is reflected through the discourse of French and English textbooks. In studying these textbooks as ideological spaces where masculinity is over-emphasized via a selection of anti-colonial masculine content, poignant references to Frantz Fanon and his conceptualisations of both the functionality of colonial domination as well as the contours of the anti-colonial struggle as a means of reclaiming identity remain unavoidable. Indeed in his *The Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Fanon opines that the idea of decolonisation is a necessary struggle to restore one's identity and takes up ideological, epistemological and ethical justifications. Fanon argues that due to the struggle for independence, "la "chose" colonisée devient homme dans le processus même par lequel elle se libère." (Fanon, 1961, p. 40). Conspicuously, Fanon reposes faith in the Algerian Revolution, and in its ability to transform the subordinated colonised man into an agent and attain the status of the New

²⁶ Such as Mouloud Feraoun's *Le fils du pauvre* (1950) and *La terre et le sang* (1953), and Mohammed Dib's *La grande maison* (1952) and *L'Incendie* (1954), and Kateb Yacine's *L'œuvre en fragments* (1986).

²⁷ such as those of Assia Djebar, Fadhma Ath Mansour Amrouche, Taos Amrouche, Yamina Mechakra among many others.

Man, “elle [décolonisation] transforme des spectateurs écrasés d’essentialité en acteurs privilégiés” (Fanon, 1961, p. 40). The objectification of the colonised man that Fanon refers to as ‘la chose’ in the above quote implies the denial of the manhood of the Algerian man and the status of feminisation, to which he was subjugated under colonial domination. Fanon clarifies that the colonised man’s identity can only be retrieved by returning to the colonial past and extolling the (masculine) virtues of the anti-colonial (violent) struggle, as this chapter extrapolates in relation to anti-colonial Algerian novels written, not insignificantly, by male writers. In the same vein, Marnia Lazreg argues that colonial intervention “meant a loss of status for men, now perceiving themselves as reduced to the social status of women, and an equally important loss of status for women, from decent (that is, Muslim) to immoral (used as prostitutes for Frenchmen’s gain)” (Lazreg, 1994, p. 53). Lazreg underpins the fact that colonialism has resulted in the loss of status for Algerian gender (men and women), as clarified by chapter two through the colonial Manichean order that is reiterated in the visuality of French post-independence textbooks, *Textes choisis: 3eme annee moyenne* and *Textes choisis: 4eme annee moyenne*. Against this backdrop, chapter three explores the reconstruction of the loss of status for men in the verbal element of French and English textbooks.

a- From Colonial Emasculating Visuality to a Hyper-assertion of Masculinity

A large portion of the literary texts selected for teaching French to middle school learners²⁸ goes to Algerian Francophone writings, through a large selection of excerpts taken from a variety of genres, such as fiction, poetry and history books, produced mostly, but not exclusively, by Algerian male writers. The choice of excerpts seems to have been highly selective, palpably intended to strengthen the learners’ nationalist sentiment and to foster pride in their country’s long history through a variety of cultural, social, political and history themes, such as survival, resistance and freedom, that tends to elude gender issues and the deserving place of women in society. However, the study of the various themes developed in each excerpt and, in conjunction with one another, reveals an ideological orientation that escapes the colonial feminising discourse, also affirming a national identity that is inherently and symbolically masculine, since the gender-sensitive

²⁸ The textbooks of French selected for study in this chapter are the following: *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983), *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985), *Lecture française: 8eme année fondamentale* (Belkhir, et al., 2003-2004), *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale* (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005), *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006), *Livre de français: 4eme année moyenne* (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008) and *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015) (second revised edition)

issues that have emerged in the country's writings by female authors, such as gender equality, women's rights and political participation, are flagrant undermined²⁹. The masculinised discourse of these textbooks is also evidenced in the celebration of the values of heroism and resistance, and in the almost epochal association of these values with male national leaders and freedom fighters as the founders of the Algerian nation-state.

Rachel D Hutchins, in her investigation of nationalism and history education through textbooks and curricula in France and the United States, take cognizance of the importance of national heroes, whom she considers as key elements of national identity and whose stories provide a strong sense of cohesion to national community (Hutchins, 2016, p. 185). She defines national heroes as symbols of national values and greatness, a source of pride and belonging, and who serve the role of worthy models for the citizenry to emulate (Hutchins, 2016, p. 185). Hutchins' investigation of national heroes in history textbooks proves the role of these textbooks in constructing strong national identities for French and American learners. However, in the context of the French textbooks in postcolonial Algeria, reference to national heroes does not merely play the role of instilling a strong national identity for the learners. The inclusion of national heroes also corrects the colonial emasculating discourse and reconstructs Algerian masculinity. Several literary excerpts used in the French textbooks refer to Algerian history, going back as far as the first Berber kingdom of Massinissa³⁰ and the other kings who succeeded him. Those excerpts revisit history through a number of texts which celebrate the Berber pre-colonial past through references to Massinissa, Jugurtha³¹, Tacfarinas³² and Juba,³³

²⁹ Algerian Francophone literature by women was available before independence, in the works of Assia Djebar and Taos Amrouche. After independence, a number of female voices quickly emerged, and included: Fadhma Ait Mansour Amrouche, Djamilia Debèche and Yamina Mechakra.

³⁰ Masinissa, or Masensen means their master in Berber, is the Amazigh ruler of the North African kingdom of Numidia for 54 years (202 BC–148 BC) and the ally of Rome during the last years of the second Punic war. He is the founder of the Kingdom of Numidia by uniting the eastern and western Numidian tribes. Ahmed Akkache and Mohamed Cherif Sahli, in their history essays, *Les guerres paysannes de Numidie* (1973), *La révolte des Saints* (2006) and *Le Message de Yougourtha* (1992), develop the history of the Berber civilisation through Masinissa and the other Amazigh figures which have been analysed in this chapter.

³¹ Jugurtha is king of Numidia (118- 105 BC), the grandson of Masinissa and the nephew of Micipsa, who was Masinissa's successor.

³² Tacfarinas is an Amazigh leader who revolted against the Romans under the reign of the emperor Tiber. He deserted the Roman army and became the chief of his native Musulamii tribe. He taught and armed his soldiers in a Roman manner (Hughes, 2017).

³³ Juba II, the son and only heir of Juba I king of Numidia, is an Amazigh king of Mauretania (29 BC – 27 BC). He was brought up by Jules Cesar's niece Octavie and received education in the Roman court. He becomes the king of present-day Cherchell in north-central Algeria, which he named Caesarea as a tribute to Octave Auguste.

and many others, who were male rulers and/or leaders noted for mounting a resistance to foreign invaders. References to those figures borrowed from pages of history are intended to revise colonial historiography, whose project of cultural assimilation involved the glorification of the French past and its national heroes as a means to ensure the proliferation of the modern French Empire within the colonies. During the colonial dominion, the French used to teach their colonised subjects an infamous history lesson claiming Gaulle ancestry to African natives, which was legendarily captured in the proverbial expression “nos ancêtres les gaulois”. Eugénie Bastié elucidates that this phrase was taught to French learners up to the 1960s as well as in the colonies to native people (Bastié, 2016) in order to amplify the sense of patriotism in learners, although it had a detrimental effect on the sense of belonging for Algerians. After gaining independence, Algerian history became a site of contention and the country’s nationalist discourse returned to the past in order to rectify colonial misconceptions. However, the decolonisation of history has not proved beneficial for women by erasing their achievements from the timelines of history, the realm of which seems to have tended to devolve exclusively to men. This section of this chapter intends to illustrate the exclusion of women or their achievement from the long history of Algeria in the verbal element of the textbooks. It analyses the pedagogic texts excerpted from the works of Algerian male and female authors. The endeavour is to show how the anti-colonial orientation of the postcolonial textbooks has systematically brought up a gendered history discourse that empowers men in leadership position, and relegates women to the status of invisible subjects and ahistorical agents.

The eldest of the rulers introduced in the textbooks is Massinissa, presented in heroic terms, in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* through a passage taken from *Le message de Yougourtha* (Sahli, 1947) by Mohand Cherif Sahli³⁴, a leading nationalist author and intellectual who fought during the war for independence. In the passage, Sahli underpins the vast stretch of Massinissa’s kingdom and describes it in epic terms: “Masinissa avait à pétrir et à façonner un vaste royaume englobant toute l’Algérie actuelle et une partie de la Tunisie.” (1982-1983, p. 162). Massinissa represents the founding father of the nation whom the author depicts as such, “le premier, lui seul, qui montra qu’elle [Numidie] peut les donner tous, autant que n’importe quelle autre contrée, car il

³⁴ He is one of the first engaged intellectuals in the national movement. He edited *El Hayat*, a resistant paper against colonialism before resuming his resistance for Algerian liberation in 1945. In 1947, he published *Le message de Yugurtha* where he glorified the Berber king by highlighting his love of freedom as well as his strong spirit of resistance.

mit en valeur de très grands espaces...Il fixa au sol les nomades qui formaient alors la majorité de notre population. Les ayant pourvus de terres et transformés en cultivateurs, il les groupa dans des bourgs fortifiés et dotes d'institutions municipales.” (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, Textes Choisis: 3e année moyenne, 1982-1983, p. 162). Sahli illustrates the greatness of Massinissa in the latter's ability to bring different people together and transform them into benevolent cultivators who love their land: “Son culte se perpétua à travers les siècles...Masinissa n'était pas moins sensible à l'exemple des autres civilisations” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 162). It is for this reason that he is celebrated in epic terms and described as “Le grand Masinissa” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 162) and “le chef Massinissa” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 162).

An equally heroic figure is Jugurtha, Massinissa's young nephew, who was known to be a fearless warrior who resisted the Roman domination of North Africa. ‘L'art militaire de Jugurtha’, by Mahfoud Kaddache³⁵, excerpted from his *L'Algérie dans l'antiquité* (1972) in *Lecture française: 9eme année moyenne*, relates the character of Jugurtha, presented in ethnic terms as being “le Numide” (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 19), as well as his story of resistance against the Roman domination of the North African Berber land. *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, too, eulogises this figure through a passage entitled ‘*Yougurtha, fils du Maghreb*’ taken from Mohammed Cherif Sahli's *Le message de Yougurtha* (1947). In this excerpt, the Berber king is again commended virtues of bravery, sacrifice and beauty, and he is said to be “remarquable par sa force, ne se laissa point corrompre par le luxe et la mollesse... A la chasse, qui occupait une grande partie de son temps, toujours des premiers à frapper le lion et d'autres bêtes féroces, il en faisait plus que tout autre, et c'était de lui qu'il parlait le moins” (1982-1983, p. 163). It is notable that Jugurtha is an allegoric figure of the Algerian antiquity, glorified for the continuous victories he achieved over the adversaries of his nation as well as his immense popularity among his people: “on faisait appel à Yougurtha qui, volant de victoire en

³⁵ He was an Algerian historian of the nationalist movement. He had different responsibilities in the Algerian Muslim scouts, a school teaching nationalism. In his history books produced on the different invasions Algeria witnessed throughout its history, he discusses the national identity shaped by its invaders forming Algeria's identity in contemporary times. As an important figure during the nationalist movement, he authored a number of history books dealing with the notion of identity, resistance and nationalism in Algeria and the Maghreb, *Histoire du nationalisme algérien: question nationale et politique algérienne, 1919-1951* (Kaddache, 1980), *L'Algérie dans l'antiquité* (Kaddache, 1972), *La vie politique à Alger de 1919 à 1939* (Kaddache, 1970), *L'Algérie médiévale* (Kaddache, 1982), *L'Algérie des Algériens: de la préhistoire à 1954* (Kaddache, 2003), *Et l'Algérie se libéra* (Kaddache, 2000), *L'Algérie durant la période ottomane* (Kaddache, 1998), *Algérien* (Kaddache, 1970), and *L'Algérie dans l'histoire* (Kaddache & Sari, 1989).

victoire, devint la terreur des Numantins et l'idole des Romains" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 163).

In "La liberté, la terre!" in *Textes choisis : 4eme année moyenne* authored by Ahmed Akkache, an Algerian writer and militant during the war of independence, glorifies the eponymous leader for being the precursor of the Algerian nation, "un précurseur de la nation algérienne" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 102) in his essay "Tacfarinas" (1982-1983). Here, Akkache constructs an imaginary dialogue in verse, signifying the address of Tacfarinas to his Berber people, when he called them to take up arms against the army of the Roman invaders, which is allegoric of the Algerian man as resistant and active set as a corrective measure to colonial constructed laziness. The leader's address, as envisioned by the author, has anti-colonial resonance, especially as it echoes the French colonisation of Algeria:

Peuple de Numidie, tes enfants te parlent.
 Debout pour défendre ton territoire, lève-toi !
 Les romains nous pillent et nous exploitent.
 Debout pour reprendre les terres de nos aïeux.
 Vous tous qui préférez la liberté à l'esclavage
 Debout !... (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 102)

In his speech, Tacfarinas calls on his people to resist the Romans and to take again possession of their lands. His speech echoes many anti-colonial tracts, such as the FLN's November declaration of War, because it establishes a clear linkage between the defence of the country's territory and the people's freedom, evidently evoking the independence struggle against France. The anti-colonial sentiment and the willingness to defend the land at all costs and against all odds acquire epic proportions in Akkache's text, as Tacfarinas's call for resistance is handed down from one generation of Berbers to another, akin to a religious book: "Gravé sur les planchettes, recopié sur des papyrus, appris par cœur et répété d'un village à l'autre, il allait se répandre rapidement dans toute l'Afrique du nord, discuté, commenté, enrichi d'informations et embelli de récits, d'exploits et de faits d'armes. La liberté, la terre !" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, pp. 102-103);

The idea of Tacfarinas as a precursor of the Algerian nation is emphasised in the task following the reading text, 'La liberté, la terre!' It stimulates the learners' understanding and reflection upon the characteristics that place this Berber king a precursor of the Algerian nation, "En quoi Tacfarinas fut-il le "précurseur" de la nation algérienne? Quelles sont les idées nouvelles qu'il a préconisées pour sa propagande" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 103). The activity focuses on the learners'

understanding of the text and invites them to reflect on what is it about Tacfarinas that accords him the peerless reputation as the founder of the Algerian nation. Through this specific example, the textbook configures the nation under the nationalist discourse of masculinity.

Akkache presents the Berber king as a major player in Berber antiquity against the Roman emperor Tiber, and draws an unmistakable parallel between the King's revolt and Algeria's war for independence, both of which lasted for eight years. In *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, this insurrectionnel tone is reflected in a manner that seemingly extols combative resilience: "Chef de la révolte des africains contre la domination romaine, sous le règne de l'empereur Tibère, Tacfarinas a lutté durant huit années pour l'indépendance de son pays" (1982-1983, p. 160). During these years of resistance, when Tacfarinas was wanted by the Roman armies, the Roman Emperor Tiber offered a big reward for everyone who would aid in the killing or capturing of Tacfarinas "J'offre un million de sesterces à qui me ramènera sa tête!" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 161); the example underpins the importance of Tacfarinas as a national hero and his resistance which place him as an active colonised agent and a role model to instil in children, values of belonging to the nation.

Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne emphasises masculinity by elevating the status of Tacfarinas. Akkache situates the movement of resistance within a larger revolt by the country's men, not women: "Tacfarinas et ses hommes tenaient la montagne, résistant à tous les assauts, rendant coup pour coup à l'adversaire...le peuple les accueillait en libérateurs...Certes, les romains et leurs amis les traitent d'aventuriers, de bandits, de coupeurs de routes...Mais le peuple, lui, considérait comme des héros." (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 161). Unlike French textbooks in France in 1985 that glorify Joan of Arc as a national symbol and portray her as a hero (Hutchins, 2016, p. 200), French textbooks of Algeria in the same period in undermine the role of female heroines representing Algerian antiquity and the colonial period, who played an equal role in combatting foreign invaders. Kahina and Lalla Fadhma n'Soumer are Algerian women whose bravery and resistance represent patriotism, martyrdom, sacrifice, strong womanhood and sense of leadership. However their exclusion from the verbal content of the textbooks of French once again proves the gendered nature of nationalism as critically viewed by feminist critics of nationalism that was discussed in chapter one. As Tacfarinas becomes, in the passage excerpted from

Akkache's text, a symbol of heroic resistance for learners, resistance is placed uniquely within the sphere of men who can, in turn, be chiefs, freedom fighters and rebels, whilst conforming to the ideals of national pride. The reading comprehension task following the text about Tacfarinas, in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* invites learners to reflect upon what makes the strength of this Berber king, "Qu'est ce qui fait la force de Tacfarinas?" (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 161). The teaching material invests a symbolic capital in learners that limits the strength and power of men.

Masculine heroism of the Amazigh people is present in Assia Djébar's poem, "Juba" (1964), used in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*. "Juba" was published in 1964, two years after the achievement of Algerian national sovereignty. Djébar, a feminist writer, was born and raised in present-day Cherchell, in the centre North of Algeria, the old capital of Juba II's kingdom then known as Caesarea. Her fiction and non-fiction works mostly deal with women's experiences in modern Algeria. However, this interest in women's engagement does not seem to be reflected in the textbooks, with designers having selected a poem for the French language class in which Djébar celebrates her belonging to the old city. The poem pays tribute to king Juba II, who ruled over a vast and prosperous kingdom, renowned for the flourishing of arts and sciences. The strategic way in which the poem is inserted in the textbook reads as a eulogy of the king that participates in the same rhetoric of the nationalist discourse of gendering the nation:

C'était au temps du roi Juba
Voici un présent en hommage
Je te l'ai ramené de Carthage
De ton Sort il présente l'image
Et cette cage est l'empire romain
Mais Juba s'écria en latin
D'Athènes je suis l'héritier
Et de Rome impérial l'allié
Insolent étranger numide
Regarde mes statues splendides
admire cette colossale crypte
Bâtie pour ma femme d'Egypte
Qui regrettait les pyramides
Devant la colère de Juba (1982-1983, p. 168)

Djébar celebrates Juba's grandeur through this character's speech, whose eloquent words, contribute to emphasising his manliness. Humiliated and enraged by the poet's elucidation, the king responds acerbically in a fiery tone, claiming the legacies of both the Greeks and the Romans, as well as the kinship of Jugurtha, the famous Berber chief

and army General: “je suis du sang de Jugurtha” (1982-1983, p. 168). In doing so, he asserts his royal power, and inscribes it within an old line of male leaders who have made the country’s history.

Correspondingly, Malika Mokeddem³⁶, through her literary excerpt, ‘*Les caravanes de sel*’, taken from her novel *Les hommes qui marchent* (1990) in *Français: 4eme année moyenne* (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008), postulates the history of the Algerian people through the memoirs of her grandmother which she emphasises through the male generic ‘hommes’, “Nos ancêtres trouvèrent un autre désert pareil au leur. Ils s’y établirent. Nous descendons de ceux-là, des “hommes qui marchent” (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008, p. 118). In the excerpt, the writer glorifies her Nomadic ancestors because she comes from a Nomad family during the French occupation in Algeria. She grew up listening to the stories told by her illiterate grandmother who was the inspiration behind her first novel *Les hommes qui marchent*. Although ‘les hommes’ in the title of her novel may refer both to men and women alike, the use of the generic ‘homme’ is classified as gendered. (Lei, 2006, p. 88).

Emir Abd El Kader, one of the first leaders to resist the French colonial conquest, is considered as the founder of resistance in modern Algeria. He is represented in *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale* as a leader of an expedition in Oran: “L’Emir Abd El Kader réunit une armée de cavaliers de 8000 cavaliers et de 1000 fantassins pour mener une expédition sur Oran” (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 24). His image as a leader corrects colonial visual representations stemming out of French ways of seeing that represent him “in a position of submission and defeat” (Chauveau, 2013, p. 42) denoting the French perspective and way of seeing. The text as it appears in *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale* in the above quote implicitly refers to the initiation of national resistance against the coloniser through Emir Abd el Kader, who was one of the initiators³⁷ of

³⁶ An Algerian Francophone woman writer in the southern Berber region of Algeria called Tuareg whose writings reflect her feminist trend. She belonged to a nomad illiterate family who ended up being sedentary. She was the only one in her family to access higher education and continue her higher education in Algiers and France. She became a nephrologist in 1977 in Montpellier. Her first novel *Les hommes qui marchent* published in 1990 gave her widespread fame and the Prix Littré, the collective prize at Chambéry. After that she decided to stop working as a doctor and dedicate her time to literary writing. Her later novels are: *Le Siècle des Sauterelles* (1992), *L’Interdite* (1993), *Des rêves et des assassins* (1995), *N’zid* (2001), *La transe des insoumis* (2003), *Mes hommes* (2005), and *Je dois tout à ton oubli* (2008).

³⁷ Sheikh El Mokrani (1815-1871), Sheikh El Haddad (1790-1873), Lalla Fadhma n’Soumer (1830-1863), and Sheikh Bouamama (1833-1908) represent l’Emir Abd El Kader’s successors of insurrection against the French during the second half of the 19th century. El Mokrani, the hereditary Bach Agha of Medjana, located in the highlands of Kabylia, was also a sheikh of the Rahmaniya religious order. He led his insurrection in 1871 against the French project of land confiscation. He died in 1871 and his brother Boumezreg continued the insurrection until 1872 with Al Haddad. Lalla Fadhma n’Soumer, led her resistance movement in

resistance against the French during the first half of the 19th century. He received an international interest and his resistance the title of ‘heroic epic’ (Bouyerdene, 2012). The latter is further emphasised in *Livre de français: 4eme année moyenne* in an excerpt taken from Charles Henry Churchill’s *La vie de Abd el-Kader* through a vivid description of Emir Abd el Kader’s army’s chivalry, “Ce sont des aigles montés par des lions féroces. L’éclair lui-même se fatiguerait sans pouvoir les atteindre. Tous, ils captivent les regards et font l’admiration” (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008, p. 111). The image constructed through the example serves as a metaphor for the bravery of the cavaliers and the speed of the horses. Abd el Kader poetically captures the determination of his army to resist the coloniser: “Et nos chevaux blancs? C’est la monture des princes. Quand l’aurore se montre, ils font pâlir la lune d’effroi” (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008, p. 111). The quote stresses knightly prestige which it confines to masculinity. The text is chosen to reflect and promote the nationalist discourse of the textbooks.

Repeatedly, in carefully selected excerpts, the nationalist discourse of the textbooks implements a vision of the Algerian past represented solely by male leaders, chiefs and warriors, who stood against foreign invasions and embodied the spirit of the country, excluding every mention of the roles of women in ancient times. In other words, in the discourse of English and French textbooks, carved by the male ideology of nationalism and its overbearing keenness to counter the emasculating discourse of colonialism, women are rendered doubly invisible: firstly, by being simply erased from the verbal element of the textbooks of French, given their allegiance to only male figures; secondly, by deciphering the past through the exclusive lens of male heroism and achievements, the great founding fathers of a nation, which seems not to have known, during all its long history, any mother, wife, nor indeed any woman of importance. Although reference to Fadhma n’Soumer is made in the visual content of the textbook of French of the more recent period, as chapter four demonstrates, no verbal text is inserted to introduce her to learner.

Algeria’s pride in its (male) leaders of the past is, surprisingly and remarkably captured in an interesting passage from Feraoun’s *Le Fils du pauvre* that is inserted in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*. Feraoun writes, “Nous avons encore de nombreux

Kabylia during the first half of the 19th century (1854-1857). The last leader of insurrection in the southwest of Algeria against the French is Bouamama whose resistance stretches from 1881 to 1883. His rebellion marks the end of native insurrection before the war of liberation of 1954. Large literary and cinematic productions were produced respectively to commemorate these leaders and their resistance struggles against the French coloniser.

poèmes que chantent des héros communs. Des héros aussi rusés qu’Ulysse, aussi fiers que Tartarin³⁸, aussi maigres que Don Quichotte³⁹” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 15). In this quote, Feraoun voices his pride in the country’s culture, by pointing out a number of European mythical, legendary and/or literary figures, and claiming that the heroes in his culture compare well with the formers’ heroic actions, achievements. Implicit and insidious in this claim is the association of heroism with masculinity, since all the mentioned heroes are male figures, supposedly exhibiting attributes of masculinity which set them heroically apart from their community in wake of their great deeds.

Describing the country’s past as a long record of male historic rulers and heroic leaders, where women were practically absent, is not the only devious strategy adopted by the nationalist discourse in its perverse attempt to ‘decolonise’ the country’s past through education by Algerianising the content of the aforementioned textbooks. Nationalism in education in Algeria entails reference to the male freedom fighters of the Algerian revolution. The more recent history of the independence struggle also furnishes pedagogic materials for promulgating the ideal of resistance, albeit, and once again, ensconced by a myopic viewpoint that is viscerally prejudicial to women and their efforts and sacrifices throughout the struggle. Two striking images related to this period emerge as the excerpts inserted in the language textbooks: that of the brave male freedom fighter, passionate about the war of independence, and the bold everyday male character that withstands travails for the benefit of the community. These two contrasting images are found in a number of texts belonging mostly to the 1950s, the period when the Algerian anti-colonial novel in French came to age. Their insertion in these textbooks helps create a perspective that is impervious to the accomplishments of women, who are reduced to mere shadows in the domestic space, providing justifications for men to reinforce their powerful masculinity and revolutionary worth either in the outside world at large or in the battlefield.

The most conspicuous of all social roles valuing masculinity is that which strictly binds the Algerian man with the war of independence, through the illuminating image of the freedom fighter in a number of French textbooks of different periods⁴⁰; for example,

³⁸ Tartarin is Alphonse Daudet’s character in his book, *Les aventures prodigieuses de Tartarin de Tarascon* (1872)

³⁹ Do Quichotte or Don Quixote is Miguel de Cervantes Saveedra’s internationally known male character in his book, *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605)

⁴⁰ Such as *Lecture française: 9eme année moyenne*, *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* and *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne*.

Tewfik Farès's poem "Sècheresse des hommes" is excerpted in *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* to praise the 'men' who led the war and the necessity of the latter to achieve independence: "Ce ne sont pas des spectres maigres mais des hommes" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 71). The focus of the poem on fecund masculinity makes it a gendered text that contributes to the nationalist discourse of the textbooks. *Le silence des cendres (1963)* written by Kaddour M'Hamsadji extols the freedom fighter as an exclusively male hero in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*. The excerpt stages the story of Si Fodil, "un combattant, au cours de la lutte de libération nationale" (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 170). Si Fodil is noted for his fighting skills and bold spirit: "Si Fodil semblait dormir. Mais il était pareil à un fidèle chien de garde: l'oreille à demi dressée, la paupière légère, les narines gonflées d'air frais, l'élan facile...il était un gardien pouvant aimer ce monde ou le trahir... Si Fodil éprouvait la joie du héros" (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 170). In the selected passage, the main character, an ordinary man in everyday life, is elevated to the status of a hero, thanks to his sincere commitment to the independence of the country as well as his awareness of the inevitability of the armed struggle to usurp the oppressing colonial system. Si Fodil is thus presented to the reader as a strong (male) symbol of bravery, heroic conduct, and determination, with whom learners of both genders are supposed to identify. His portrait is similar to that of the strategically selected Ali, the war combatant in Mouloud Mammeri's *L'Opium et le Baton*, excerpted in *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale*. Importantly, Ali is not the main character of Mammeri's war novel; yet, he figures prominently in the selected passage as being "le plus jeune de ses enfants qui avait rejoint depuis deux ans les combattants du maquis." (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 89). Ali, Si Fodil and other literary figures linked to the war are asserted as the nation's modern heroes; they are "héros" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 146), "patriotes" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 148) and "courageux et téméraire" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 152). No wonder, therefore, that they become the true founders of the nation: "Ces hommes de novembre 54... étaient les pionniers d'un peuple" (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 22).

M'hamsadji's and Mammeri's respective works, such as the post-independence films, *Le Vent des Aurès (1966)*, *Les Hors-la-loi (1969)* and *L'Opium et le bâton (1969)*, reflects the discourse of post-independence nationalism which mythologises Algerian male freedom fighters and depicts them as fearless individuals who are dedicated to sacrificing their blood to the Revolution (Sharpe, 2014, p. 17). *Lecture Française: 9eme*

année fondamentale edifies the male freedom fighter by emphasizing on his sacrifice, achievement and resistance. Similar to the war combatant, the ordinary main characters presented in the French textbooks are equally male, demonstrating resistance, determination and courage, and proving themselves to be the everyday heroes of the nation. These male protagonists are taken from various literary texts belonging to the country's authors, and represent a number of social roles, such as students from Kateb Yacine's novel *L'oeuvre en fragments* (1989) in (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008, p. 11), an engineer, from Malek Haddad's *La dernière impression* (1958), in (Djilali & Melzi, 2007-2008, p. 106), or simply a 'returned exile', from Mouloud Feraoun's *La terre et le sang* (1953) in (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 241) and Mouloud Mammeri's *La Colline oubliée* in (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 110). These social roles mostly belong to the colonial period, whose hardship the male protagonists are often called to face. They bear a high symbolic capital in terms of gender values, skills and attitudes, because they are intended to witness the country's resistance to domination and to illustrate its long struggle for independence and self-determination. However, as can be noticed, the women are allowed, to bend the title of Virginia Wolf's novel to my purpose, no room of their own, in the national narrative of anti-colonial struggle, and are unjustifiably excoriated from the national canon.

Celebrating national heroes in the Western context is limited to being a key element of national identity as Hutchins explains (Hutchins R. D., 2016, p. 185). However, in the postcolonial context, this celebration helps equally in reconstructing masculine identity. In *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne*, native ancestors are once again emphasised through Malek Ouary's male character Brirouche whose name is inspired from Kabyle folklore. Ouary celebrates native ancestry in 'Le boutiquier philosophe' through the character Brirouche, whom he describes "un maitre à la façon des anciens. Une colonie de disciples gravite autour de lui." (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 29). Brirouche represents an epochal legacy of wisdom, doctrine, philosophy, and influence. The latter qualities help him gain recognition as the leader of the people in his village Thighilt, and whose opinion is central to any decision, "Boutiquier de son état, Brirouche est philosophe par vocation, non certes de haut vol. Il a limité ses prétentions à une sagesse au ras de la terre qu'il a codifiée en formules concises, de celles qui passent à la postérité sous forme de dictons. Toutes proportions gardées... Sa réussite personnelle est un sûr garant de la valeur de sa doctrine" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 29). Despite being a simple citizen, the character is likened to the figure of the Greek

philosopher of the antiquity. Reading comprehension questions following the literary text in the same textbook emphasise masculinity through the character Brirouche as well as the qualities that make him a wise philosopher and a talented trader. The endeavour then is about finding expressions in the text that define the wisdom of the character Brirouche, “Relevez les expressions qui définissent la sagesse de Brirouche, En quoi Brirouche rappelle-t-il les sages de l’antiquité?” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 31). The question stimulates the learners for a better mastery of the story by memorising the various aspects that helps Brirouche become the wise man that he is known to be. The intertextuality between the character of Ouary with the same character in the Kabyle folklore is used in the textbook to remind the learner of the ancestral oral tradition perpetuated from one generation to another through narration and whose aim is to preserve history, patrimony and identity. Calling to folklore in the textbook serves also the project of nationalism of the 70s as an establishment of separation from everything that is colonial.

The inclusion of Ouary’s text and his character Brirouche, who is also a famous character in Kabyle folklore, in the first locally-designed textbook of French, serves as a celebration and assertion of masculine identity in the process of nationalism and identity reconstruction. It is, in fact, argued that folklore is an agent of nationalism in African countries (Fernandez, 1962, p. 3). Fernandez suggests that Folklore must be seen as an aspect of African culture that “will enjoy and suffer the greatest exploitation for the sake of the African future” (Fernandez, 1962, p. 4). Folklore indeed constitutes a landmark for identity which was, is and will “be a dynamic aspect of African culture” (Fernandez, 1962, p. 4). The combination, however, between folklore as an agent of nationalism together with the nationalist discourse produces a ‘hegemonic masculinity’. The concept is underpinned by patriarchy and presents men as the holders of power and women as powerless entities. The concept forms part of Raewyn Connell’s theory of gender order that legitimises the dominant position of men in society (Connell, 1987). However, for the sake of this chapter, hegemonic masculinity is selected to mean the dominant position of men in the verbal content of the textbooks and their over-assertion, which is an echo of the ideology of nationalism that positions men as the holders of power and the protectors of the nation and women as the subordinated and mothers of the nation. The concept is also used in this chapter to explain the domination of the masculine in the public space in literary passages which are used in the textbooks of French and other non-literary material in the English textbooks.

b- From a Hyper-assertion of Masculinity to a Symbolic Masculine Domination in the Textbooks of French and English

The previous section of this chapter has shown how the postcolonial reinscription of the Algerian man has led to a form close to Connell's "hegemonic masculinity" (1987) in the country's nationalist historiography. The first word of the concept is borrowed from Antonio Gramsci's theory of hegemony and coupled with masculinity to define ideologies which legitimise men's dominant positions in society. Hegemonic masculinity applies appropriately to the context of this study because, as section one demonstrates, the various inscriptions of the native man within the textbooks, in history and in politics, in the selected (folk) culture as and in the selected (literary) fiction, in the public space as well as in the battlefield, contribute to the revision of traditional culture exclusively via masculine eyes. However, even though "hegemonic masculinity" is a handy concept, it does not account for the complex gender politics created by the postcolonial nationalist discourse in the field of education. Indeed, the nationalist discourse based on hyper-asserting masculinity has helped in the implementation of another form of masculine domination, which is different from the one elucidated by Bourdieu in the traditional Kabyle society under colonial domination. This form is rather symbolic; it works via the manipulation of the cultural capital enshrined in the country's cultural texts, such as the anti-colonial fiction, the folklore, and comic strip, in order to enforce a masculinised worldview that reflects the masculine energies of nationalism.

In order to illustrate how the symbolic masculine domination serves the intended purpose in the Algerian textbooks of French, Figure 01 from *Livre de Français: 3ème année moyenne* taken from *Walou à l'horizon* (Slim, 2003) is highly representative of the well-known comic strip during the 1970s and 1980s, by the popular Algerian cartoon author, Slim⁴¹. Comic strips are a form of literary expression,

⁴¹ Slim (one of Algerian postcolonial bédéistes), his real name is Menouar Merabtène, creates the characters of Zina and Bouzid in 1964. The meeting between Bouzid, the fellah (peasant), and Zina, "beautiful, intelligent and modernist", takes place near Oued Tchicha. The couple, who share the tumultuous daily life of the Algerians, become the darling of a whole generation. However, since the album *Walou on the horizon*, published in 2003 and reissued in 2009, Bouzid and Zina remain very silent ... The website of Slim attracted a huge number of followers, waiting for new adventures of the mythical couple. A group has even created on Facebook that militates "for the return of Bouzid and Zina".

The comic strip is a 2000s production that reflects the politics of the 1990s, the fundamentalist violence exercised on women. This strip is found in the new reform textbook but reflects the 90s decade which was symbolised by violence, oppression and male domination. This lag between the actual context of the BD with the new context in which this BD is put is due to the fact that *Merabtène* was forced to quit the country under the condition of terror (Fatmi, 2011). In fact, at the beginning of the 1990s, Slim, like many

similar to fiction writing (Babic, 2014, p. 4). Comic strips bear a symbolic capital which allows for the socialisation of people, more particularly that of young learners. In the French textbook, Slim's picture is inserted to signify much more than a language lesson, because it represents most of the symbols of virility that are attributed to manhood in traditional Algerian culture. Indeed, Slim's comic seems to be an encrypted message that reflects the gender issues of the postcolonial society, such as male domination, post-independence nationalist discourse, and the place of the woman in society.

Figure 1 depicts Zina and Bouzid, two characters representing a couple who never gets married. It is imagined in such a way as to reflect the prevalence of male domination in the Algerian postcolonial society. Both characters are shown in several other scenes outside the textbook context, representing social reality coded, satirical and ironic for the politics of the state, gender power relations, and other social-related issues. The comic used in *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* highlights the docility and subservience of the Algerian woman as compared to her counterpart through the characters Zina and Bouzid, reflecting the principle of Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity. The BD is as much on the Algerian type of dress and culture as about the characters' gender relations. Hasmig Chahinian creates a dialogue between Slim, the Algerian postcolonial bédéist, with these two characters, Bouzid and Zina (Chahinian, 2011). The strip is critical both of the sexy nature of the veil worn in the capital city of Algeria and gender relations based on the subordination of women. The latter is evidenced through Bouzid who steps on Zina's foot in Figure 01. This act is symbolic of his domination over Zina and the latter's subordination. Furthermore, masculine domination is further painted in the comic strip through other motifs, which are as many symbols of domination, namely the stick, the moustaches, and the gaze.

intellectuals in Algeria, escaped the fundamentalists' intimidations because the liberty of expression was threatened. Intellectuals "ont été pourchassés et souvent assassinés" (Bonn, 1996, p. 7).



Figure 01: Male domination, *Walou à L'horizon* (Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006, p. 82)

Bouzid is represented with a gandoura⁴², a pair of moustaches, holding a stick while looking angrily at Zina. His large moustache is not only a bodily sign of masculinity that distinguishes men from women, as argued by Scott (Scott, 2010, p. 104), but also allegoric of virile domination which was a common feature of the neo-patriarchal context of the Algerian society. As such, it connotes the power of masculinity and the respect that should be accorded to men by the opposite sex. If Smythe (2013) is to be believed, the moustache represents the personality of the man wearing it, and has been a characteristic of manhood since the beginning of time (Smythe, 2013).

Some commentators opine that the moustache is a physical trait that constructs the image of manliness (Flood, et al., 2007, p. 111). Representing Bouzid with this symbolic physical trait is a way to emphasise his virility, strong personality and manhood, in such a way so as to recover the native masculine identity reduced by the colonial discourse to femininity, as discussed earlier in this chapter and also in chapter two. During colonialism, native men were denied their virility and masculinity; against this backdrop, the image of Bouzid represents a postcolonial revision to such colonial stereotypes.

Bouzid's dominant gender position is also reflected by the direction of his gaze as he looks down dominantly over Zina. In extant literature, not much has been theorised about direction of gaze and its relation to dominance and submissiveness. Strongman and

⁴²It is a traditional garb for men and a symbol of their religious affiliation.

Champness refer to researchers who studied gaze, dominance, submissiveness and hierarchies so as to theorise on the gaze direction as a sign of dominance and submissiveness. They contend that if dominance and submission are the same in other situations of dominance and submission, then “it is possible that hierarchies of eye gaze dominance exist” (Strongman & Champness, 1968, p. 377). Based on these researchers’ conclusions, Bouzid’s gaze’s top-down direction might be said to symbolise his dominant social status and, therefore, his domination over Zina. In a similar vein, the latter’s bottom-up gaze symbolises the opposite meaning.

This domination not only translates through Bouzid’s top-down gaze; it is also reflected through the cane in his hand. The cane is another cultural symbol associated with authority, power and masculinity (Freeman, 2013) and, in ancient Egypt, is argued to be an instrument in the hands of those who have power over their subordinates (Bastard, 2017). Norman Shub also sees the cane as an empowering object (Shub, 2001, p. 65). In the context of the BD, the cane represents the authority and power men hold over women in Algerian postcolonial society. It denoted an object of domination and an emphasis on hegemonic masculinity. Representing Bouzid with a cane in his hand suggests a revalorisation and restoration of male virility as well as a reflection of the domination of men in the Algerian postcolonial society.

Hegemonic masculinity also stages through the exclusive representation of public space as a male space. The masculine character appears exclusively in the public space, or what is called ‘Tajmaât’⁴³ excerpted from the literary works of Algerian Francophone writers. In reclaiming this space which was once taken by the coloniser, the notion of ‘symbolic masculine domination’ floats through tajmaât and public space as hegemonic male agora, as in ancient Greek city-states, which was inspired from Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity and Bourdieu’s theory of masculine domination. This masculine domination sustains the postcolonial national discourse aimed at maintaining masculinity in public space and men as pre-ordained protectors of the nation.

Literary excerpts used in the textbooks of French *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* depict a male space, Tajmaât which

⁴³ Also called djemâ or tajmaet is part of the public space in the Kabyle society. In every village, “les hommes, à l’exclusion des femmes, se réunissaient périodiquement en *jemaâ* (assemblée) dans leur *tajmaât* (salle de réunion ou maison des hommes), situé parfois près d’une place, mais plus souvent à l’entrée du village.” (Lacoste Dujardin, 2005). This notion is dominant in Algerian Francophone novels like the ones produced by Feraoun and Mammeri, reflecting the domination of men in this space.

is also used in Feraoun's literature. In an excerpt taken from his novel, *Le fils du pauvre*, inserted in *Livre de français : 3eme année moyenne*, the protagonist represents his family in that public space: "Mon oncle, qui savait la valeur d'un homme à la djemâ et pour lequel je représentais l'avenir des Menrad, m'aimait comme son fils parce que j'étais l'unique garçon de la maisonnée. J'étais donc destiné à représenter la force et le courage de la famille." (Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006, p. 98). This textbook of French presents tajmaât as a 'hegemonic male agora' dominated by, and solely reserved for men through the male character Fouroulou. Feraoun, whose literature is often found to echo anti-colonial discourse, depicts his male characters exclusively in the public scene. The main character Fouroulou constitutes the ultimate hope of the Menrads because in the colonial society, a male heir is important not only for the preservation of the family lineage or for matters pertaining to inheritance, but also for the representation of the family in the public space, specifically in the village assembly. Representing the family in the public space is only limited to men under the colonial rule. During this period, many rules were devised to protect women from the foreigner and unwelcome public male gaze. Judith Scheele elaborates on the notion of honour⁴⁴ referring to law codes in the Kabyle region as being nefarious colonial inventions (Scheele, 2008, p. 896). Although Scheele's statement is general, it is applicable in this context in that the separate sphere structure of the society under colonial dominion is one of the colonial imperatives and inventions resulting from the native resistance against the potentially indecorous foreign male gaze. Scheele's argument counters Bourdieu's attribution of separate sphere structure to the nature of the Kabyle society. Indeed, Bourdieu did receive much criticism for his 'essentialised' orientalisating of Algeria (Mead, 2017, p. 5), juxtaposing Algeria as a traditional society against modern France.

Bourdieu's view meanwhile is no less than the one of orientalists whose exotic discourse places the people as backward, with the gender divisions in space being specific to Algeria. Considering the context of Feraoun's novel, the notion of honour is fundamental in the organisation of the Kabyle society and was construed to be the shield against the French male gaze during colonial domination. Baya Boukhalfa Belmessaoud expounds the notion of honour in the Kabyle society that she considers to be the main reason behind confining women into domesticity in the following statement: a "woman

⁴⁴ Known as 'niff' (means nose) or 'lherma' in the Kabyle society. The Kabyles are very susceptible to the question of honour. Niff, the active part of honour is more related to men. In this society, women are expected to preserve their 'lherma', the passive part of honour which concerns the preservation of the forbidden related to the family, the village and the tribe. See, Camille Lacoste-Dujardin, *Dictionnaire de la culture berbère en Kabylie*, 2005 (Lacoste Dujardin, 2005, pp. 176-177).

is invested of purity inside domestic space, by going out in mixed places she can be subject to impurity and hurt of the honour.” (Boukhalfa Belmessaoud, 2011, p. 516). The fear of impurity was largely related to the coloniser rather than to native male gaze; this explains how tajmaât is essentially a hegemonic male space. Boys in this society are therefore socialised at an early age to have the male privilege of access to tajmaât (Hayes, 2000, p. 269). This is also noticeable in the aforementioned example from Feraoun’s novel that Fouroulou “J’étais donc destiné à représenter la force et le courage de la famille.” (Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006, p. 98).

Tajmaât is further emphasised as a hegemonic male space in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*. In ‘Tizi’, taken from *Le fils du pauvre*, the notion of tajmaât and male presence in this space is again dominant, “vous êtes sur la grand-place du village, “la place aux musiciens”, notre djemâa” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 14). Tajmaât here denotes a space reserved to men characterised by its large surface. Here again, the textbook emphasises tajmaât as a male space through Feraoun’s literary work. This space is mentioned three times in the literary excerpt ‘Tizi’ to remind of its gendered nature, which means that this space is classified to solely belong to men. Feraoun describes the spatial construction of tajmaât and the belonging of men to it, “De Larges dalles de schiste sur cinquante centimètres de maçonnerie indécise, contre les pignons des maisons, forment les bancs de la “Tadjemait” sur lesquelles viennent s’asseoir les hommes et les enfants” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 14). Tajmaât represents a male-specific meeting point for conflict resolution, discussion of village matters and issuing and reinforcing communal rules (Scheele, 2008, p. 899). The illustration from Feraoun’s novel accentuates males’ legitimate belonging to this space depicted through “hommes et enfants” (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 14).

Public space as a hegemonic masculine space is also presented through the fellah’s⁴⁵ presence in the farm. It is noteworthy that a fellah is always a male character in the Francophone Algerian literary excerpts presented in the French textbooks, *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne*, and *Lecture Française: 9eme Année Fondamentale*. In ‘Le maître jardinier’ in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* taken from Marguerite Taos Amrouche’s *Rue des Tambourins* (1960), the text portrays the presence of the fellah/ peasant in the public space through the author’s grandfather. Labour work as part of public life is a space invested by the textbook of French in order to reclaim masculinity through the author’s grandfather’s labour.

⁴⁵ Is the Arabic appellation to the agricultural man. This latter is presented in the francophone Algerian novel as such to assert identity.

Amrouche's novel, which is set against the backdrop of colonial domination, presents the farm as a male domain and his hard work counters colonial representations of the native Algerian man as intrinsically lazy. The grandfather appears, through a detailed description, a hardworking person. This hard work counters the laziness notion that is attributed to the colonised through the rhetoric of colonialism as a justification of this latter's presence (Lahouari, 1996, p. 100). Facing the need to justify repression and oppression, the coloniser "devalued the Muslim and the Arab, who was projected as a liar, a thief, as lazy and fatalistic" (Lahouari, 1996, p. 100). Amrouche counters this colonial 'laziness' by showing her intransigent admiration of her main character's outcome,

J'étais éperdue d'admiration devant les raisins roses et violacés, les poires, les pêches de septembre et les grenades fendues, révélant la splendeur de leurs grains. Quant aux tomates, poivrons, courges et courgettes, qui rutilaient au pied des arbres... La joie du grand père était vive comme une flambée. Il nous devançait en boitant pour nous initier à ses secrets et nous éblouir par sa science de maître jardinier... Les figues commençaient à devenir rares : elles séchaient sur les branches. Une à une, le grand-père les détachait pour les étendre sur un linge propre dans un coin de la cabane où elles achevaient de sécher (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Oussaada, 1982-1983, p. 56)

Amrouche provides an elaborate elucidation of this man's work as well as his precision-laden process of picking up and drying figs. This labour dispels the colonial notion of laziness attributed to the native and reclaims public space as a space of masculinity.

In *'Bni-Boublen'* excerpted from *L'Incendie* in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, however, Dib combats the coloniser for the appropriation of the native man's work as an attempt toward restoring masculinity, "Le colon considère le travail du fellah comme totalement sien...le fellah est pourtant le maître de la terre fertile. Bétail et récoltes, partout la vie est sa génération" (1982-1983, p. 124). The French man considers the work of the fellah as being completely his own. However, in reality, the coloniser is not the master of the land if it is not laboured by the colonised man. Dib gives legitimacy to the concept of being called a master of land to the colonised because the hard work belongs to the cultivator. *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale* also criticises the coloniser's exploitation of the native man's labour, which the former considers as his, "ce sont les fellahs qui travaillent pour eux." (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 205). The quote affirms the fellah's hard work and condemns the coloniser's exploitation of the native man's labour. Dib's work *La Grande maison*, as a colonial novel, projects the plagues of colonialism and denounces the coloniser's exploitation of the native man's energy, "les

ouvriers agricoles sont les premières victimes visées par l'exploitation qui sévit dans notre pays." (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 204). Dib emphasises the hard work of the fellah by describing his sweat, which symbolises his hard work, "...des fellahs, qui ont apporté leur odeur âcre, une odeur puissante de terre retournée, de champs." (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 204). Notably, the mention of the fellah in the farm is a way of reclaiming his space.

'*L'homme et la terre*' authored by Malek Ouary also engages with the Fellah's hard work which also disproves the colonial notion of laziness attributed to the colonised man. Ouary depicts the native man as a hard worker,

le montagnard a déchiffré, greffé, planté à l'envi jusque dans les escarpements qui donneraient le vertige même aux chèvres. Avec une patience de fourmi, il a monté des murettes de pierres sèches pour retenir la terre ou il fait venir ses arbres : poiriers, pruniers, pommiers, figuiers surtout. Il a cependant toléré l'azerolier, ce sauvage griffu dont il apprécie les pommettes acidulées et qui constitue un support idéal pour la greffe des fruits à pépins. (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 88)

Ouary describes the fellah as having "une patience de fourmi" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1984-1985, p. 88) because his labour requires a lot of patience and hard work. In his evaluation of postcolonial Algerian cinema, Rachid Boudjedra confirms this idea of peasantry patience, which he deduces from his investigation of Mohammed Lakhdar-Hamina's *Le Vent des Aurès* (Lakhdar-Hamina, 1966), "the sufferings of the poor and the peasant who have borne everything with their characteristic patience" (Boudjedra & El Kaliouby, 1995, p. 260). The fellah cultivates the most difficult part of his land, including the cliffs that pose a challenge even for animals. His determination stems from the love he has for his land. This idea of hard work associated with the mountaineer refutes the laziness attributed to the Algrian man. By reclaiming space and the hard work of the fellah, the textbooks depict the farm as a hegemonic male space and the male peasant a representative of this domination.

Importantly, symbolic masculine domination is also reflected through male hegemony over public roles. In fact, the English textbooks of the three periods (*Andy in Algeria*, *Majid in England*, *Spring: Book one*, *Spring: Book two*, *Spotlight on English* and *On the Move*) reflect the hegemony of males in public space with their different public roles. Men in these textbooks appear as cosmonauts, football players, stewards, hunters, car drivers, postmen and even policemen as male generic names, all of which are exclusive male professions from which women are excluded. The image of men as football players is also conspicuous in *Majid in England*, "hundreds of young men and

boys play football” (1985, p. 97). The example specifies that this kind of activity is the sole prerogative of the masculine gender, thereby excluding their female counterparts due to skewed perceptions of their inherent physical weakness and fragility (Clark & Paechter, 2007, p. 262). These characteristics of women as weak and fragile are also developed by Connell, who investigates the reason behind women’s emphasised femininity and subservience to men. Football, as a physical and sports activity, constitutes a dominant site for the performance of hegemonic masculinity (Clark & Paechter, 2007, p. 264). Women’s exclusion from football has always been justified by the characteristics of these kinds of sports that require aggression, competitiveness and determination defined as dominant notions of masculinity that ostensibly contradict dominant notions of femininity. Equally, *Spring: Book one* presents stewardship as a male domain, “Rachid, is a steward. He works for the Algerian Airline Company” (2001-2002, p. 97). Similar examples from the remaining textbooks of English reflect a symbolic domination of men with other public roles as shown in *Andy in Algeria*, *Spring: Book two*, *Spotlight on English* and *On the Move*. The masculine character is a “postman” (1982-1983, p. 14) in *Andy in Algeria*, a policeman in *On the Move*, and denoted as: “two policemen were investigating the accident” (Arab & Riche, 2012-2013, p. 147), hunter in *Spotlight on English*, “Men have always hunted gazelles” (2013-2014, p. 97), and business man in *Spring: Book two*, “Mark Thatcher is a business man and a sports car-driver” (2004-2005, p. 147). These instances poignantly and accurately reflect a male hegemony of public roles. The English textbooks contribute to the distorted discourse of masculinity reconstruction, which results in the unquestioned establishment of symbolic hegemonic masculinity and subordinated femininity. At the same time, French textbooks construct a hegemonic type of masculinity through the domination of men in the public space with public roles. In *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale*, football is again configured as a male domain, “Pélé a été un célèbre foot-balleur” (2004-2005, p. 34). The same textbook also classifies literary writing as a male domain, “Malek Haddad écrivain algérien de langue française” (2004-2005, p. 33). Furthermore, the man is a “géologue et volcanologue” (2003-2004, p. 19) in *Lecture française: 8eme année fondamentale*, “compositeur de l’opéra” (1982-1983, p. 30) in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, and essayist and novelist in *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* “Georges Duhamel [...] essayiste et romancier” (1984-1985, p. 5). The domination of masculine traits in the French textbooks places further emphasis on the argument that this masculine hyper-assertion leads to not only a hegemonic masculinity, but also a symbolic masculine

domination, which also results in the marginalisation of the female character, a point that is underpinned in chapter four.

The theme of childhood initiation to public space and to masculine domination figures prominently in the Francophone literary excerpts used in the French textbooks; this not only reclaims public space to the masculine, but also enters into a corrective discourse with the colonial constructed image of the native man as a child. This colonial constructed image also has an emasculating effect on the colonised man. Returning to the theme of emasculation perpetuated in colonial discourse and illustrated in chapter two pertaining to the themes of decadence and laziness visuality, part one of this chapter dismantles these stereotypes through the hard work, agency and virility in which the Algerian man's masculinity is reconstructed in the verbal element of French and English textbooks. This chapter goes on to include and correct the colonial perception of the Algerian man as a child through the reference made to Algerian childhood as well as the heroic actions that classify the boys Omar in *La grande maison* and Fourulou in *Le fils du pauvre* as adult and virile. Ali Kouadria tells us that under colonial domination, Algerian men were perceived in colonial French textbooks as “des enfants à qui manquent des tuteurs.” (Kouadria, 2009, p. 3). The French textbooks of the postcolonial period in Algeria correct this flawed perception through reference to childhood initiation to adulthood as a way of affirming masculine identity and proving (to the coloniser) that even children in colonised Algeria were active agents, mature and virile. Critically, the male characters Omar in Mohammed Dib's *La grande maison* (Dib, 1952) and Fouroulou in Mouloud Feraoun's *Le fils du pauvre* (Feraoun, 1950) excerpted from the novels and used in the French textbooks *Textes choisis: 3eme annee moyenne, Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale* (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005) signify the idea that Algerians are manly, mature and conscious even during their childhood. These literary works are inscribed within resistance literature and mark the genesis of the Algerian anti-colonial fiction in the 1950s. This period saw the emergence of childhood initiation, when local writers, such as Feraoun and Dib, produced autobiographical fiction revisiting their childhood and documenting their evolution, either as mature artists or politically conscious and anti-colonial committed militants. The type of childhood initiation fiction bears both ethnographic and political elements. It is often intended to function as a counter-discourse to colonial discourse which subversively debased Algerian culture and claimed colonisation as a natural progression of civilisation. *Le fils du pauvre* and *La grande maison* are two notable examples of novels of childhood initiation which are often

cited during the discussion of Algerian Francophone literature. Since their publication, these illustrations have achieved wide popular acclaim among the country's readership, culminating in the cinematic adaptation of Dib's work during the nationalist years of the 1970s. The popularity of the two novels has also resulted in their inscription in Algerian textbooks of French as Algerian literary canon. A close reading of literary excerpts taken from these novels used in the French textbooks reveals that they are permeated by masculine energies exploited by the nationalist discourse of the textbooks in order to advocate a symbolic masculine domination.

Feraoun's *Le fils du pauvre* is an autobiographical novel that deals with the author's childhood in a Kabyle village in Algeria. Despite being a child Fouroulou attends village meetings in the public space because children have to be initiated to adulthood and represent their families in the public space under colonial domination. As he attends village meetings in the public space, he is endowed with the role of protecting the women inside the domestic space of the house. The only male child of his father, Fouroulou constitutes the ultimate hope of his family, including his grandparents and uncles. The hope of his family is a burden which rests upon his shoulders to advance the family name and represent them in *tajmaât*. Feraoun's novel revolves around this male character Fouroulou, but serves as an example of all Algerian children under colonial domination. Although he is not the only child in his family, he is indeed the only male whose initiation to public space is an expected role imposed by the society under colonial presence. It is pertinent to remind that his sisters are expected to stay at home during this time of colonialism to preserve the family name and safeguard their culture and traditions from colonial influence. Thus, the postcolonial idea of women as 'mothers of the nation' and men 'as protectors of the nation' find its legitimacy in the colonial period with the demarcation of space and roles for men and women exemplified through Feraoun's characters and through their role expectations in the society. The French textbooks take the Algerian anti-colonial novel to serve the ideology of nationalism in postcolonial Algeria that entails establishing a link with the past as a means of reconstructing the present and the gender identity of the learners in the postcolonial nation.

As mentioned previously in this chapter Fouroulou holds a central place in the household and among the other family members. His position in the household reflects his centrality in the Algerian society under colonial domination and the process of his coming to age dramatises the masculine energies of the genre of the novel. In the

narrative, the process of Fouroulou's education and socialisation is exemplified due to the main public social role, to which he is destined, and which is strongly associated to his being a male. Despite being a young boy, he seems to have integrated the habitus of his male dominated society. Under colonial rule in Algeria, boys are socialised and brought up to be men performing public duties, just as girls are brought up to be housewives and mothers. Furthermore, the former are respected inside the household more than the latter. In the case of Fouroulou, the entire family holds a strong sense of respect and care for him, not only because he is the only male heir of the Menrads, but also because he would represent them in the village assembly.

In the French textbooks, the passage that mentions Fouroulou's centrality to the family as well as his representation in the assembly is excerpted twice in both *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, pp. 66-67): "Mon oncle, qui savait la valeur d'un homme à la djemâ et pour lequel je représentais l'avenir des Menrad⁴⁶." (Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006, p. 98). This example denotes that a child in the Algerian society under colonial rule is initiated from a young age to adulthood and the responsibility of being a man it entails. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, under colonial rule, only men in this society were allowed to represent their families in the village assembly; women were excluded from this space as so that they could be shielded from the colonial male gaze. Based on Fanonian thought on Algerian women during colonial domination, the veil and domesticity became strategies for the protection of Algerian women from the coloniser's male gaze (Fanon, 1965). This comes against the backdrop of Bourdieu's theorising of 'masculine domination' and 'the separate spheres' which he considers central to the structure of the traditional Kabyle society.

The privileged position of Fouroulou within the household is followed by another privilege, a social one, devolving to very few boys in the village; this is the chance to pursue his education in a colonial school. 'La bourse' in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* describes the hopes of the main character and those of his family to pursue his studies, as well as the gloomy atmosphere in the household when they fail to collect the money for that purpose: "Ce fut un deuil dans la maison des Menrad. Il n'était plus question de trouver encore de l'argent, pour continuer à le maintenir à l'école" (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 66). In fact, the issue of

⁴⁶ The lineage of Fouroulou and name of his family.

education at the colonial school is inherently complex, which means a lot to Fouroulou and his parents. On the one hand, following a traditional outlook, his father wishes him to stay at home in order to help him in their struggle against the hardship of the village life, and to become a source of subsistence for the family. On the other hand, he is convinced that education is the only way through which he can attain a better status in society. Fouroulou is aware of his father's dilemma, which, in turn, plays a key role in shaping his personality as a mature adult who works for the benefit of the family, and the village community at large.

However, implicit in Fouroulou's coming to age is the idea that the responsibility over the family business is always entrusted upon the male members, who must not only represent the family in the village assembly and speak in their name, but also engage the larger public space, acquire education and then take responsibility for the entire tribe. Indeed, that the novel tells us from the very beginning that Fouroulou's sisters can never represent the family in the village assembly; in fact, they cannot even dream of attending the colonial school. They are reduced marginal characters, whose duties are confined within the household, and whose duty is to obey/serve the father and the brother. It can also be argued that the women in *Le fils du pauvre* are only intended to test the manliness of the main character and achieve his initiation into a patriarchal order. Masculine domination in Kabyle society is thus endorsed again in the postcolonial textbooks to serve the nationalist ideology which positions the masculine as the protector of the nation and to construct a distinct kind of citizenry through learning that is compatible with the nationalist ideology.

Taking place in a different region in Algeria, namely the north-western region of Tlemcen, Dib's trilogy, *La Grande maison* (1952), *L'Incendie* (1954) and *Le métier à tisser* (1957), belongs to the same genre as *Le Fils du pauvre*. It narrates the journey of Omar, his growing awareness of what it actually means to live under colonial oppression and the necessity to have a free country that one might call mother country. Like Foroulou, Omar is the son of a very poor family in the countryside called Beni Boublen. His school fees require a huge sacrifice that his mother is not always able to make: "un jeune très pauvre qui fréquente l'école. L'Algérie est alors un pays colonisé." (Djilali & Melzi, 2007- 2008, p. 45)

This school helps Omar achieve his initiation into manhood and public space, as does the wider social world dominated by the imposing figure of the freedom militant

Hamid Seradj. However, the house also contributes to Omar's initiation. In fact, like Fouroulou, Omar only has sisters, and one of his cherished tasks is to stand for the honour of his family in order to replace his drunkard, ever-absent father. In other words, even if Omar's mother, Aini, works hard to cater to the subsistence of the household, the dignity and social respectability of the family are incumbent upon him and his behaviour. Such heavy symbolic duties act in the trilogy as powerful shaping factors which contribute to his experience while growing up.

Dib's novels are referenced in the French textbooks in the three periods, and seem to offer a reading that supports and sustains the patriarchal order based on masculine domination inherited from the colonial period. In the literary excerpt "Journée d'été à la campagne" in *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne*, taken from *L'Incendie*, the precocious social maturity of Omar is asserted by reference to the virility of adults: "Omar parlait comme un homme" (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 51). In another excerpt from *Le métier à tisser*, he is described as a child hero, "Omar, le petit héros de la "Grande Maison", a grandi. Il doit travailler." (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 116). In the novel, Omar acts as a witness of the social misery perpetuated by colonial oppression, and quickly achieves the maturity of adulthood, with the responsibility of family provider, "Très tôt, il partagea avec sa mère les responsabilités familiales" (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 179). Staging Omar in adult, virile terms and as an economic provider is a way to assert his masculinity and symbolically empower the male gender over the feminine counterpart, because these two elements are constitutive of what is known as hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987; Decouvelaere, 2009).

The assertion of Omar as a male character is repeated many times through various means. One of those means is the respect shown by the female characters, represented by the women of his household, including his mother and sisters, to him. As a case in point, in one example, we are told that Zhor, Mama and other women are waiting for his arrival to start eating, "Vers le milieu du jour, la chaleur se fit corrosive. Les femmes, Mama at Zhor, disposaient la maida pour le déjeuner lorsque Omar rentra: elles n'attendaient plus que lui" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983, p. 50). Waiting for Omar's arrival conveys a sense of respect that the society accords to the masculine, which is also illustrated in the presents that are accrued to Omar: "[Yamina] priait souvent Omar de lui faire de petites commissions. Il lui achetait du charbon, remplissait son seau d'eau à la fontaine publique, lui portait le pain au four... Yamina le récompensait à son tour en lui donnant une tranche

de pain avec un fruit ou un piment grille- de temps en temps, un morceau de viande ou une sardine frite” (Belkhir, et al., 2004-2005, p. 182). That Omar, unlike his sisters, benefits from both respect and gifts, reinforces the idea that it is the boys, not the girls, who are more central to society. Accordingly, the women are relegated to a subordinate position that is more marginal than the one in which colonial discourse cornered them. Put succinctly, the counter-discourse inherent in the anti-colonial fiction does not necessarily function as such in the post-colonial era. This is because Omar’s struggle for survival, which was deciphered as a valiant act of resistance during the anti-colonial struggle of the 1950s, achieves different significance when replaced in the context of gender equality of the postcolonial politics.

The close association between ‘childhood heroism’ and masculine domination inherent in the anti-colonial fiction of childhood initiation demonstrates how the discourse of nationalism recuperates this literary genre to enforce a masculine discourse in the realm of education. This idea is best illustrated in Souhila Amirat’s ‘P’tit Omar’, excerpted from *La révolution dans le cartable*, which pertains to the true life story of a child named Omar Yacef, who joined the armed struggle. Omar, or petit Omar, as he was nicknamed, is another instance of child maturity that is inexorably linked to national consciousness during the national struggle for liberation. The 10-year-old child is hailed as the hero of both the Casbah and the Battle of Algiers during the war of independence. Thus, it can be surmised that the revised edition of the textbook of French, *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* does glorify Omar’s contribution to the armed struggle in terms of an adult hero: “le héros et martyr de la révolution algérienne, était un agent de liaison durant la guerre de libération. Il transportait documents et messages top-secrets dans son cartable et a fait preuve d’un militantisme et d’un courage exemplaires... Dès l’âge de 9 ans, Omar Yacef accompagne son père aux réunions clandestines. Sa conscience patriotique et sa maturité précoce forcent l’admiration de ses aînés” (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 165). Underneath the patriotic rhetoric, this passage fosters a gender-biased discourse by once again associating war heroism solely with masculinity. The female counterparts are deliberately excluded from this heroic, patriotic discourse, yet again demonstrating that a nationalist discourse has always been insouciantly conflated with masculine discourse, thereby resulting in what Françoise Decouvlaere aptly refers to as “hegemonic masculinity”. (Decouvlaere, 2009, p. 166).

In summation, this chapter explored the revision of Algerian masculine identity in the verbal content of the French and English textbooks, discussed in this chapter. This

research sets the verbal representation of these textbooks as a corrective measure to colonial emasculating visuality that was discussed in chapter two. More specifically, it contends that the Algerian postcolonial French and English textbooks re-write masculine identity both to fit and advance the nationalist ideology of the nation-state. With reference to a gamut of Francophone literary texts in the French textbooks and non-literary fiction in the English textbooks, the instructional materials affirm the masculine character in the Algerian Francophone literary excerpts through the male protagonist, the celebration of the anti-colonial struggle by distinctly emphasising the role of the male freedom fighter, the celebration of male leadership and heroism through the Epic hero as well as child initiation to manhood as a preparation for masculine domination in public space. The masculine character in the analysed French textbooks in the first section of the chapter de-emasculates and reclaims the virility of colonial men. Meanwhile the French textbooks replace the orientalist images of emasculated native men poignantly conveyed in Orientalist literary and artistic productions with active, brave and heroic Algerian masculinity. In an attempt to reclaim this masculinity, however, the aforementioned textbooks, discussed in the second section of the chapter, depict a hyper-assertion of masculinity manifesting through male hegemony in the public space with male public roles. The latter, in turn, becomes a hegemonic male space, catalysing a systematic suppression of women from the public space. This chapter, which looks at the manner in which masculine identity is revised, concludes that the revision of masculinity stems from the nationalist discourse that unjustifiably positions the man as the protector of the nation, thus leading to the exclusion of women from public life/roles because their identity fits the nationalist discourse as ‘mothers of the nation’. Within this context, Chapter four looks at the reconstruction of feminine identity from the eroticising colonial visuality only to reconstruct their identity in the aftermath of the nationalist ideology where they are positioned as ‘mothers of the nation’ and where their femininity is emphasised. Their expected postcolonial role to be mothers of the nation necessitates their presence and representation within the private space of the house and which reiterates the colonial gender order of Algeria.

Chapter Four

Reconstruction of Women's Identity in French and English Textbooks: A Return to a Past Invented Tradition

As discussed in chapter three, in the verbal discourse of French and English textbooks, the rehabilitation of masculine identity led to a hyper-assertion of masculinity as well as the dominance of the masculine figure in public space. Hyper assertion of masculinity also implied a gender imbalance against the cause of women. In chapter three, founding and protecting the nation has been confined to manhood although Algerian history has known a number of exemplary women who played a significant role prior to French colonialism and even amidst colonial domination, which will be elaborated upon in chapter five. Following the discourse of nationalism, women are, by contrast, represented as ‘mothers of the nation’ whose responsibility is similar to the one where they were subjugated under colonial domination as perpetual guardians of national values and traditions. In addition to what has been discussed in chapter two and three, chapter four is another illustration of the traditional face of nationalism, which underpins the fact that women’s role was confined to that of motherhood. This chapter looks at the reconstruction of Algerian woman identity in French and English textbooks from colonial eroticising/exoticising visuality, which was analysed in chapter two. This chapter contends that the construction of this identity supports the discourse of nationalism that casts women into domestic roles and fits the myopic definition of their gendered identity as ‘mothers of the nation’. In the process of retrieving the Algerian woman’s identity from colonial clichés and misconceptions, the textbooks establish a connection with the country’s past, which is not necessarily an accurate description of the country’s authentic culture (Gordon, 1968; Memmi, 2003; Fanon, 1963; Smail-Salhi, 2010). The argument of this chapter takes its bearings from Hobsbawm’s and Ranger’s theorisation of the modern invention of tradition, which is defined as a return to the past and which, in their view, does not necessarily warrant the authenticity of the retrieved tradition in the post-colonial world (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983) because this past suffers from colonial contamination. This claim is backed by Ranger’s argument that, African ‘tradition’ was always manipulated during the colonial time (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 255) by the colonials in order to “command and control” the native peoples, whose elders would, eventually, take up those ruling models. In addition to causing the “distortion of the [pre-colonial] past” of the continent, the colonial command and control strategies increasingly led to the implementation of a “tradition of governance” based on “the feudal patriarchal ethic”, which was mistakenly perceived by Africans as one of the European “agencies of modernization” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 220). The invention of the tradition of governance in Africa formed part of the “traditions of subordination” fostered by the colonial rule, which aimed at creating a hierarchical society wherein power fell in the

hands of (male) ‘progressive chiefs’. During the nationalist phase in Africa, Ranger still argues, that the colonial traditions of subordination gave rise to “conservative conceptualizations” and “resistance” to “modernizing change” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 228), of which women were the main victims. This conservative process was made possible by the manipulation of “unconsciously evolving customs” upon which the “rigidity of tradition” was imposed to address the need for traditionalism of the uprooted Africans. In ascribing to custom the rigidity of tradition, colonial rulers caused Africans to stick into a patriarchal model of social behaviour as well as to misunderstand the contours of pre-colonial culture: “what were called customary law, customary land-rights and customary political structure, among others, were in fact all invented colonial codification” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 250). As a result, educated Africans and progressive chiefs developed a “programme of ‘progressive traditionalism’” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 253), wherein women, more than men, suffered from colonial invented traditions, since it was the latter which often enforced customs upon women (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 258), thus increasingly subordinating them during this postcolonial period.

The implications of European invented traditions upon postcolonial African politics and society were tremendous. During the postcolonial period, African nationalism reinterpreted the decolonisation struggle into a male narrative of resistance in relation to the Algerian context, claiming an ideology that confined women into domesticity in the name of tradition. Within the Algerian context, Smail-Salhi informs us, that the French colonial presence “increased veiling, seclusion, and unequal treatment for women often as a reaction against colonial rule and Western ways (Smail-Salhi, 2010). Smail-Salhi’s argument that colonial presence resulted in the reinforcement of the Algerian women’s seclusion goes in line with Ranger’s and Hobsbawm’s theorisation about the African context in which they highlight the unchallenged imposition of colonial rule on the colonised people. The seclusion of women within their homes during the colonial period was supposedly intended to protect the people’s cultural identity. However, in effect, it resulted in fixing women within a model of womanhood and motherhood. This, in turn, classified them as guardians of culture and tradition, destined to perform activities within the confines of their homes. Within the domestic realm under colonial domination, women were relegated to being the guardians of traditions and cultural values of the country (Smail-Salhi, 2011, p. 151). In his *A Dying Colonialism* (Fanon, 1965), Fanon explores the manner in which colonial presence resulted in the resistance of Algerian society, which imposed the seclusion of Algerian women either by

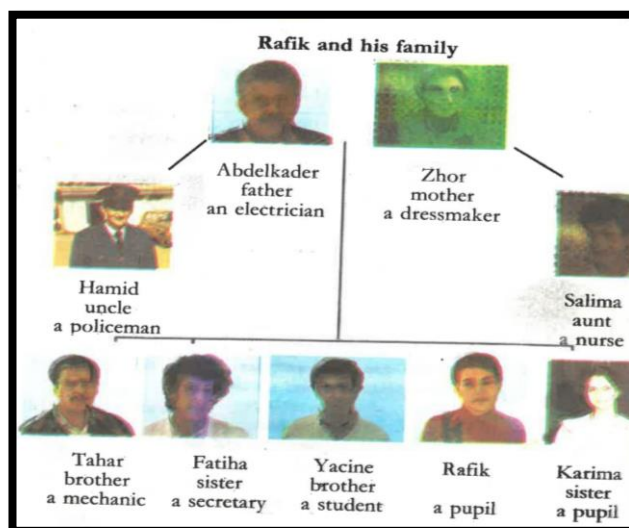
confining them in domesticity or by allowing them to appear only veiled in public. The veil constructed a boundary for the French, who described the Algerian woman as ‘she who hides behind the veil’ (Fanon, 1965, p. 36). The more the coloniser tried to unveil Algerian women and submit them to French culture and habits, the more Algerian society reinforced the practice of veiling and seclusion. The French tried every possible way to get to the Algerian woman and one of their strategies was to invite men’s family to French celebrations and ceremonies. If the Algerian man accepts this invitation, it would facilitate a way of exhibiting the woman and abandoning a mode of resistance (Fanon, 1965, p. 45).

Although Algerian women participated in the war of independence by helping men in the public space, post-independence Algeria has narrowed the definition of women’s identity to their biological role as well as to the role they played prior to the war of independence as bearers of national and cultural values. The nationalist ideology of the post-independence nation adopted an invented tradition that establishes a sense of continuity with Algeria’s colonial past where women are necessarily locked within motherhood. Extant research has also investigated women representation in textbooks and their portrayal as mothers in the domestic space (Porecca, 1984; Jones et al., 1997; Rifkin, 1998; Lee and Collins, 2010; Mineshima, 2008; Barton and Namatende Sakwa, 2012), but reasons behind such representations remain unexplored. In other words, research has largely described the manner in which women are portrayed in textbooks and how they affect the construction of learners’ gender identity. In the postcolonial world, in particular, historical and political factors have shaped the content of textbooks and affected the way gender is constructed through instructional materials because education has been of considerable interest to modern nation-states as a way of controlling the discourses of nationality and citizenship (Kushwaha, 2014, p. 71), and textbooks are considered as the primary medium to control these discourses. However, research on femininity and feminine identity reconstruction in the postcolonial world (Ee Moi, 2013; Banda, 1992; Gandhi, 1991; Kobia, 2009) is still in the nascent stage and remains ahistorical. Put differently, colonial legacies and its relation to invented traditions in postcolonial states remain unexplored. This chapter, therefore, explores the limitations of previous research on femininity and focuses on the manner in which women’s identity conception in the textbooks of French and English in Algeria is reconstructed from the colonial tendency to eroticize women, which was explored in chapter two. This chapter examines the relationship between nationalism which defines women as mothers of the

nation and the colonial legacy which has defined the identity of Algerian women as bearers of traditions.

As cultural productions are designed along the lines of the state ideology, Algerian textbooks of French and English reflect the distinct images of the ‘feminine inside and masculine outside’ in their selected literary and non-literary content. Within the textbooks, conceptions of women as mothers ‘Avant-tout’ and men as ‘providers’ of the household demonstrate the separate sphere (duality) of public masculinity and domestic femininity. In both French and English textbooks, as in the colonial Algerian social order, space is divided into feminine and masculine, private and public : “bien distincts et opposés : dedans un espace clos, secret et représentée par l’intérieur de la maison pour les femmes, dehors, l’autre espace ouvert, représente par l’extérieur pour les hommes. Ces espaces sont deux mondes très différents” (Benali, 2009, p. 91). As mentioned previously in this chapter, the textbooks reflect this gender order where the man and woman are represented according to the ideology of nationalism that considers men as protectors of nation, therefore, their role and presence is within the public space, whereas women are considered to be mothers of the nation and hence, are assigned a nurturing role that confines them to domestic requirements.

Furthermore, return to the past that is part of nationalism, is represented in light of the ‘traditional’ (understand colonial) family, premised on the extended type and the kind of social solidarities that defined Algerian families during the long period of colonial domination: “l’attachement à l’origine patrilignagère, la division des rôles entre les deux



sexes, la ségrégation de l’espace, l’indivision du patrimoine et l’entraide familiale” (Benali, 2005, p. 22). Within the extended family type, the father has been regarded as the provider of the family with a public role, whereas the wife is the family carer with an exclusive domestic presence.

The *Spring book* series implemented during the second period of Algerian postcolonial history (1990s), project the pattern of extended family, and features a family comprising of parents, children, aunts, uncles and, sometimes, even grandparents. This is the case with *Spring book one*

(Belgaid N. , et al., 2001-2002) used in the nineties. This picture shows a family comprising of father (Abdelkader) and mother (Zhor), their children (Rafik, the son, and Karima, the daughter), the uncle (Hamid), as well as the aunt (Salima). Rafik's family is an embodiment of a traditional type of family based on a clear-cut division of social roles and the segregation of space. Abdelkader represents the head and main provider of the family, whereas Zhor is a dressmaker acting within the confines of the domestic realm, with both mirroring the separate sphere structure of society. This example reproduces Jeremy Lane's understanding of Bourdieu's sociological investigation of the Kabyle social organisation during the colonial period wherein, "the interior of the house [is] a dark, humid space signifying feminine values of nurture, domesticity and reserved respectability" and "outside is the domain of men" (Lane, 2000, p. 97). The manner in which this segregated pattern is represented in the textbooks posits itself in the postcolonial state ideology as being the country's authentic culture endorsed by new (progressive) rulers, when, the fact remains that it is a legacy of the colonial past.

In the extended family model and social organisation, Zhor, the wife, and other female characters, denote the domestic and the private realm. In the image, women are either depicted as undertaking domestic roles, as is the case of Zhor who has a double role of mother and dressmaker, or endorsing minor public roles, for example, Fatiha and Salima who are a secretary and a nurse, respectively. Zhor, Salima and Karima are represented with dark background colours echoing Bourdieu's description that feminine space is characterised with darkness, humidity and embedding domesticity in order to seemingly claim a sense of continuity with the colonial past.

Though *Spring One* represents the decade (eighties) when the nuclear family started to emerge as a result of the rural exodus⁴⁷ of a large number of families to urban centres, it still depicts an extended type of family, as if to restore the concept of colonial extended family during the postcolonial period. Notably, during the colonial period, Algerian population centred in rural areas and had a strong sense of togetherness/community life as a way to distinguish themselves from the community of settlers, thus resisting the French policy of assimilation. The Algerian Francophone novel produced during that time is expressive of this type of family as a part of a larger ethnographic interest, cultural resistance, and sometimes celebration, meant to counter

⁴⁸Kamel Kateb elaborates on this point, stating, "La forte croissance démographique qui a marqué les deux premières décennies de l'Algérie indépendante s'est accompagnée d'un exode rural et de flux migratoires importants; ils ont entraîné un accroissement considérable de la population urbaine et une densification du système urbain algérien" (Kateb, 2003-2004, p. 312).

colonial discourse, which confined non-European cultures within the realm of the primitive and the exotic. The French textbooks of the three postcolonial periods (1970s and 80s, 1990s, and 2000s) feature prominently through literary excerpts, taken exclusively from the Francophone colonial novel, the extended family which characterised the colonial years when “often three to four generations live together and often in the same house (described fictionally by the Algerian novelist _ Mohamed Dib_ in his book *La Grande maison*)” (Gordon, 1972, p. 14). Thus, Dib’s *La Grande Maison* (1952), which constantly appears in the textbooks of the three periods, advances the extended family type as well as the domestic space as a gendered and confining space for women. In this novel set in a big house, which embodies the social situation created by colonial domination, many native families with no kinship ties live together in small separate apartments around a patio, forming an ever more extended type of family within a semi-urban setting. Dar Sbitar, a big house sheltering a large number of families, is always portrayed as a beehive for the large number of people living on top of each other in the novel and in the excerpts used in the French textbooks (Dib, *La Grande Maison*, 1952, pp. 67-68). In a short introduction to Dib’s literary work in *Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale*, Dar Sbitar is depicted as the prototype of the Algerian house: “Une maison énorme, Dar-Sbitar: “la Grande Maison”, une maison qui ressemble à toutes les autres, dans toutes les villes algériennes” (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 179).

In addition to staging the notion of togetherness and community life as a way of anti-colonial resistance, *La grande maison* features a gendered construction of space which reflects the same division that characterised during the colonial period. During the colonial presence, space followed a gendered division that opposed the mixed organisation of the French assimilationist school, which was seen by the natives as a threat to their culture and identity. The gendered construction of space cornered women in the domestic realm and assigned them the responsibility of protecting Algerian traditions and culture from French influence. In doing so, it was also intended to ‘protect’ them from the influence of French culture, shun every possibility of cross-cultural contact and freeze the identity of the nation as a whole within an oppositional model that rests on the ‘us vs. them’ dichotomy.

Due to her central presence in the narrative thanks to heavy family duties, Aini, the main woman character, encapsulates all the native cultural values associated with resistance to colonial domination. After the demise of her husband, she endorses a dual role, that of mother and father, and performs tasks of family carer and provider simultaneously. In addition to taking care of children, she also nurses her paralysed

mother, the symbol of the eroding pre-colonial tradition annihilated by the brutality of colonialism. However, even if Aini performs multiple tasks related both to women and men, her movements within space are solely defined within the domestic setting of Dar Sbitar, in which she is solidly embedded and with which she is identified : “Sa [Omar’s] mère est à la maison, c’est Aini” (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 184). Thus, Aini, who functions as a woman, a mother, a daughter and a widow, all at once, represents the social spirit of Dar-Sbitar as well as its feminine, domestic space. Her ubiquitous presence in the narrative and the strong sympathy that her plight elicits from readers might sway the young Algerian school children into perpetuating the social relationships inherited from the colonial period in the name of a supposedly authentic tradition and faithfulness to the people’s resistance in the past.

And yet, the orientation of the didactic material might be opposed to the design of the novel since, through his narrative, Dib intends to represent a patriarchal society which is resultantly dislocated by colonial domination falling in a debased form of matriarchy. In this society, Aini plays the role of the father as well. This role is underlined by the following passage, in which she laments her unbearable duties:

Voilà tout ce que nous a laissé ton père, ce propre à rien: la misère! Explosa-t-elle. Il a caché son visage dans la lettre et tous les malheurs sont retombés sur moi. Mon lot a été le malheur. Toute ma vie! Il est tranquille, dans sa tombe. Il n’a jamais pensé à mettre un sou de côté. Et vous êtes fixés sur moi comme des sangsues. J’ai été stupide. J’aurais dû vous lâcher dans la rue et fuir sur une montagne déserte (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 187).

In other parts of the narrative, Aini is seen to be smuggling fabrics from the far off town of Oujda, in Morocco, to sew sandals at home and sell them outside, in order to earn a (miserable) income that would eventually cater to the basic needs of her family. However, despite her huge sacrifice, she barely succeeds in earning their daily bread, and spends most of her time venting her anger against the memory of her dead husband, her ill mother and her poor children. The tremendous social and family pressures imposed upon Aini and the resulting imbalance in her state of mind does not make her a good example to follow for the country’s children during the ongoing period of the nation’s history. Put differently, in including Dib’s *La grande maison* in the present-day teaching materials of French, the textbook designers are committing a double blunder: one, they are promoting a set of cultural values of resistance inherited from the colonial past and which have no relevance to the present needs of the country, in terms of cross-cultural skill, cultural dialogue and tolerance etc. Two, they are forcing an anachronistic interpretation of Dib’s

fiction. Indeed, when he wrote his fiction, Dib did not intend it to celebrate native culture, as much as he decided to focus on the task of denouncing colonial domination by writing in the mode of social realism. The latter is not synonymous with realistic description; rather, it is a mode which underscores class conflict within society and sides with the unprivileged classes. In the case of *La grande maison*, it is evident that Aini dramatizes the natives' struggle for survival in a colonial society during a specific period of Algerian history, when settlers enjoyed full privilege in terms of education, employment, property, and political representation.

The paradox in Amhis's textbook of French issued in the second period of Algerian postcolonial education finds its origins in the progressive policy of the 1970s, headed by President Boumédiène. In fact, it was in this period that *La grande maison* was adapted into a TV series by Mustapha Badie under the title *El Harik (The Fire, 1974)*. The series was broadcast to a large Algerian audience who could not but identify with the characters' plight under colonial domination. Ever since (the 1970s), the series, whose popular success cannot be overstated, has shaped the country's imaginary about the colonial period and the supposedly authentic culture of the people when, in fact, it shows signs of contamination by the colonial ideology. A case in point is the scene featuring Omar and his neighbour, Zhor, who talks about the former's education at school. Zhor asks Omar about whether his classroom comprises of girls and he replies that there are separate schools for boys and girls. The conversation between Omar and Zhor emphasises the gendered division of colonial schools. Zhor affirms that the presence of girls in the school environment is not advisable and that good girls stay at home in order to learn religious morals and obedience (El Harik: Episode one, 1974) because Zhor's socialisation and habitus are endowed with such moral underpinnings under colonial domination. Zhor, who represents indigenous (women) resistance to French assimilationist attempts, sees in the house the power of protection from what she considers bad values when she refers to girls who receive French education.. She also considers the interior of Dar-Sbitar, a shelter for women and the right place to learn and safeguard their religious knowledge. In other words, Mustapha Badie's artistic touch to Mohammed Dib's novel emphasises the idea that women's seclusion from the public sphere protects the national, cultural and religious identity of the people. Considering the progressive years of the 1970s when the series was broadcast, the TV programme accentuates the highlighted paradox in the Algerian postcolonial policy of education and

anticipates the more conservative orientation that would eventually characterise the next period, i.e. the 1980s and 1990s.

Moreover, the fact that Omar's sisters Aouicha and Meriem and other girls in Dar-Sbitar are uneducated is indicative of the fact that women during this period of colonial presence were confined within the household to preserve the Algerian cultural identity. Aouicha, Meriem and all the other girls in Dar-Sbitar are represented as assistants to their mothers at home, thereby suggesting the idea that girls are socialised for the role of the mother and housewife. Aouicha, Aini's elder daughter, despite her young age, takes care of the household and cooks for her family, while her mother makes sandals to earn their living. Aini's daughters not only assist their mothers within the household, but also become providers for the family when Aini's income becomes insufficient to even buy half a loaf of bread: "Les deux filles travaillaient depuis deux mois dans une manufacture de tapis. Aouicha apportait son gain de la semaine, la cadette aussi, le sien, mais moins important parce qu'elle était plus jeune" (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 212). Aini's daughters' work in the public sphere is a necessity rather than a choice. Misery, lack of food and being fatherless impelled them to join the factory and provide for the family. The interior of the house and the seclusion of women constituted a shield against everything French. However, in the case of Aini's family, which is an exception, the girls also start working to extend financial help to their mother in order to challenge the family's harsh living conditions. This also is the case with Omar, who is initiated into the harshness of life at a precocious age, because he finds himself responsible to cover and support the needs of his family at the tender age of thirteen. In the novel, Dib tells us: "le petit héros du roman [i.e. Omar], fait la dure expérience de la vie. Comme un grand, il comprend ce qui se passe: son esprit s'éveille. Très tôt, il partagera avec sa mère les responsabilités familiales" (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 179). Despite Omar's young age, he displays awareness of his immediate surroundings and shares his mother's family duties. Although Omar is no longer a little boy in the eyes of his mother, he appears to be seeking protection from his mother as any child does, thereby reflecting his real young age: "Les agents de police! Les agents de police! Les voilà! Les voilà! Il pensa: Ma je t'en supplie, je ne te referai plus de peine; protégé-moi, protégé-moi, seulement" (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 190). This also emphasises the motherly nurturing and caring role of Aini.

Since Dib projects Dar Sbitar as an exclusive feminine space, it is apparent that men are rarely present in its physical construction and seem to acquiesce to the rules of what Bourdieu considers to be a conservative culture governed by a 'mythico-ritual

system' (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 8): "Les hommes sortaient tôt, aussi les apercevait-on rarement. Ne demeuraient là que les femmes: la cour, sous les branches enchevêtrées de la vigne, en regorgeait. Elles l'emplissaient de leurs allées et venues" (Dib, *La Grande Maison*, 1952, p. 77). In this clearly divided space, men avoid meeting women in the same place out of respect⁴⁸. Moreover, if they did show up within the patio of the big house, they would clear their throat as a sign that it was time for women to hide in their apartment. This implies that segregation in space was not only against the coloniser, but also was an indicator of the dynamics of gender relations between Algerian men and women. Dib's novel shows gender division within the native society during the colonial period in the outside, where he identifies with the domain of men and clearly contrasts with the feminine world of the big house. Thus, he assigns men a variety of public professions, such as farmers and workers, militants and teachers. The people belonging to the first category are numerous, but have no access to education, whereas the second category belongs to educated people with strong political maturity and commitment. Overall, the two categories represent the native public space where the males are dominant, and Omar achieves his second initiation, thanks to his political mentor, Hamid Seradj, as well as his teacher, Mr Hassan.

Lecture française: 9eme année fondamentale, issued in the 1980s and used in the 1990s as well as early years of the new century, illustrates the male-dominated public space through the literary extract taken from Dib's novel, with Omar playing the role of the child-mediator between the inside and outside of Dar-Sbitar. Khedrane informs us that Omar "relie les deux mondes ; d'une part, il assiste aux querelles des femmes et à leurs discussions, d'autre part, il se mêle aux hommes, écoute les paroles sur la déclaration de guerre et la revendication de la liberté captive" (Khedrane, 2011, p. 64). What allows Omar's entrance into, and presence in, the feminine space of Dar-Sbitar is his young age, since the feminine rules of the area are not applicable to a boy. Owing to his gender, he is integrated within the masculine outside world. As such, he achieves political awareness as a child (as discussed in chapter three) in relation to childhood initiation to masculine domination, living under the (false) social hierarchies imposed by colonial domination.

⁴⁸ Is a social system based on the notion of honour that Pierre Bourdieu noticed in his sociological investigation of the Kabyle society. This system was not only limited to the Kabyle society of the colonial period but extends to include the whole Algerian society.

The other Algerian literary text belonging to the colonial period and inserted in the French textbook, *Textes Choisis: Langue française 3ème année* (Abdelouhab, et al., 1982-1983), celebrates Algeria's resistance to the French colonisation and solidifies the learner's sense of identity, which is subsequently evidenced from Mouloud Feraoun's *Le Fils du pauvre* (1950). Feraoun worked as a teacher in the Kabylie region, and about which he wrote all his novels, beginning with *Le Fils du pauvre* until his last fiction titled *La Cité des Roses* (2007). Feraoun's fiction mostly belongs to the ethnographic type, describing and celebrating aspects of the Kabyle society in which he grew up and his ancestors lived, back in the early 1920s. The latter was a period of hardship for the Algerians in general, and the mountainous Kabylie in particular, even as the country was recovering from World War I, which drained off the harvests of the natives to support the resistance of the French troops. Feraoun, in his fiction, elicits a high degree of ethnographic sensibility, presenting every aspect of his native village: "à travers la seule description de son village, de ses ruelles et de ses maisons, a réussi à dresser un tableau assez complet du milieu social et familial (les femmes à la maison, les hommes à la djemaâ)" (Gleyze, 1990, p. 36). Through vivid descriptions of his village, its streets and houses, Feraoun projects the social life and family mores of the Kabylie, delineating the Kabyle domestic and public spaces while featuring role expectations of both men and women.

The evocation of the (colonial) past of Algeria in *Le Fils du pauvre* might have appealed excessively to the textbook designers of French to resist inserting selected extracts therefrom into their didactic material, thus, establishing a linkage with the (colonial) past in the name of a supposedly authentic tradition. In doing so, colonial-based representations are perpetuated as being the true tradition of Algerian society, especially concerning the representations of gender, which are still detrimental to women. As evidenced by a detailed analysis, Algeria's French and English textbooks rely heavily on the country's literature produced during the colonial period. This literature, Bauwens tells us: "insiste beaucoup sur la séparation géographique, sociale, religieuse, et politique entre hommes et femmes. De nombreux auteurs, comme Assia Djebar, Malika Mokeddem, Fatima Mernissi ou encore Rabah Belamri exposent explicitement cette séparation entre hommes et femmes et ils décrivent souvent les locations comme féminines ou masculines" (Bauwens, 2012, p. 36).

The literary extract from *Le Fils du pauvre* inserted in the textbook pertains to the Menrad family and stresses the importance of having a male heir in Kabyle society for representative matters within the village assembly, discussed in chapter three. Though the

excerpt does not contain much detail about the life of this family or its entire members, it is both an introduction and an invitation for learners to read the entire novel. The latter is about the division of roles in a society under colonial dominion and the misery that the Menrads had to undergo on account of colonialism. Feraoun depicts life in a Kabyle society in a colonial period when women had little access to the public space in the presence of men, a period which can be read against Lalla Fadhma n'Soumer's time, when women in this region constituted another additional strength to men in the public space. Thus, Feraoun presents the public space as an exclusively male domain: "les bancs de la "tadjemait" sur lesquels viennent s'asseoir les hommes et les enfants" (Abdelouhab, et al., 1976, p. 14). In another passage, he suggests that women's space is necessarily domestic: "l'aménagement intérieur des maisons appartient aux ménagères. C'est leur tourment et leur orgueil" (Feraoun, 1954, p. 16). According to Feraoun, the domestic space is a source of both torment and pride for women; a source of torment because women are required to patiently take care of the household, children and husbands; and a source of pride because it safeguards them from the coloniser's gaze and preserves their honour.

Feraoun's narrative, presented through the main character-narrator Fouroulou, assumes the separate sphere structure of the Kabyle society wherein both men and women have separate roles in gendered spaces. According to this worldview, women are expected to work in the household, whereas men are depicted as not only representatives of their families in the village assembly, but also economic providers of their families. Fouroulou's father, Ramdane, is a farmer who works very hard to earn a humble living for his family, but suffers immensely in silence. Unlike Dib's Aini who finds it unbearable to perform a masculine role and vents her anger against her children, Ramdane is shown to suffer in silence because it is assumed that it is his responsibility to perform the role of provider. Indeed, Dib and Feraoun project the separate sphere structure of their respective societies in a similar way through the behaviour of their characters, Aini and Ramdane. The miserable life and harsh conditions that the Menrad family have to suffer bear similarity to the hardship endured by Dib's characters in Dar Sbitar. Furthermore, as is the case with Omar, a heavy burden falls on the shoulders of Fouroulou in order to ameliorate the sufferings of his kith and kin.

Through the movements of his child protagonist, Feraoun underlines the physical and spatial boundaries separating the male and female characters and emphasises the gendered division in the Kabyle society: "Lorsque ma cousine Chabha me demandait de jouer avec elle, je lui répondais, non sans importance, que des occupations plus

intéressantes, plus viriles, m'appelaient loin de la maison" (Feraoun, 1954, p. 29). Fouroulou refuses his cousin's invitation to play and claims that more suitable masculine matters await him outside domesticity. Girls during this colonial period, are brought up to respect men within the household, learn from their mothers and assist them inside the house, without ever transgressing the domestic space.

The image of girls trained to become future, obedient housewives to their husband is the other representation associated with women's roles through non-literary examples in French and English textbooks. This representation implies a traditional type of family based on the division of roles and the segregation in space, wherein women are almost exclusively assigned the roles of a mother and a housewife, performing household chores and taking care of the children, while being subservient to the desires of their husband. In this regard, one of their key domestic roles is cooking: in *Le fils du pauvre*, "les femmes préparaient les repas" (Feraoun, 1954, p. 24); in Dib's short story *Au Café* (1955), "Tante Hasna avait l'œil à tout, elle donnait des ordres aux cuisinières, souhaitait la bienvenue aux femmes qui entraient" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 105). Meanwhile daughters are primarily entrusted with the responsibility to take care of their mother: "Baya aidait notre mère. Elle savait déjà prendre son parti et la défendre au besoin" (Feraoun, 1954, p. 27). Like Aouicha and Meriem in Dib's *Dar Sbitar*, Baya helps her mother and sisters inside the confines of the house and is only present to take care of her brother Fouroulou.

The relegation of women into the confines of their homes confirms Bourdieu's observation of the latter as a feminine domain. According to this viewpoint, a woman is solely destined to the performance of household activities and is destined for an attitude of submission, particularly when she is newly married: "une mariée n'était pas autorisée à parler. Elle ne doit rien montrer de son caractère le jour de la célébration" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 99). In fact, this passage from Dib's novel inserted in the revised edition of the textbook of French shows that the silence of the bride during the wedding day is synonymous with her lifelong submissiveness.

Meanwhile Rabah Belamri's *Le Soleil sous le Tamis* (1982) is the other Francophone novel that fleshes out the Algerian middle school textbook of French and provides didactic literary materials about Algerian culture of the past. Despite being published in 1982, the story is basically autobiographical, relating in retrospective the life of the writer during the 1950s. Women in the literary excerpt inserted in *Mon livre de français: 3ème année moyenne* (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015) perform the same roles as the ones that were previously discussed in Dib's and Feraoun's works, "A l'intérieur des maisons, les femmes marquaient de l'humeur...le couscous était prêt depuis longtemps

et l'homme ne rentrait toujours pas...une petite ombre s'approchait de la *djemaâ* et hélait son *dadda*⁴⁹ (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 147). The excerpt also stages the 'dehors'/ 'dedans' duality wherein gender roles follow a strict dichotomy with distinct roles for men and women within their respective spaces. In this novel, women are defined by their movement within this internal space, whereas men have power and domination over the public space. However, there is reference to women in the hammam⁵⁰ which Belamri foregrounds as another space through which gendered identities are constructed and consolidated. The hammam is the only public space that women are allowed to visit. Belamri describes the day of the hammam as follows: "le jour du bain, ma mère se levait aux aurores. Car elle devait s'acquitter, en premier lieu, de toutes ses taches ménagères: balayer, donner à manger à la volaille et aux lapins, pétrir et cuire la galette. C'est seulement après qu'elle se préparait pour partir" (Belamri, 1982, p. 142). However, in order for the narrator's mother to go to the hammam, she first has to complete her household tasks, which implies that public bath for women are no more than the extension of the house.

Although English textbooks of the three different periods do not have recourse to local literary texts as didactic materials, their representations of gender roles and space echo the implications of the literary excerpts used in French textbooks. This means that colonial structures still prevail in the present and shape the country's cultural discourse. The barriers drawn between men and women in francophone Algerian novels during the late period of colonialism still appear in the postcolonial social scene through the same divisions of labour and space. As a matter of fact, the postcolonial society develops the legacies of colonialism at a time when gender equality and opportunities are the requirements of the contemporary society. The Algerian postcolonial textbook is, thus, caught between two conflicting orientations, the progressivism initiated to catch up with the modern requirements of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, as well as the restoration of a culture forged and shaped by a long colonial presence. The latter reinforced the patriarchal structures and the division of roles and space between men and women and resulted in gendered representations of space and social roles. Within this dual organisation, women are confined to the domestic space with a domestic role performance, whereas men enjoy visibility in the public space with a variety of public

⁴⁹ It is a respectful appellation of the old man in Algeria's traditional society.

⁵⁰Is a public bath in Arab-Muslim countries and aims to consolidate gendered divisions in the society, "Le hammam traditionnel féminin est un espace clé dans les sociétés arabo-musulmanes algériennes et marocaines..." (Bauwens, 2012, p. vii).

roles that make them empowered agents. Gendered postcolonial representations in textbooks allow the continuity of the solidified patriarchal structures inherited from the colonial period. Through such a gendered organisation, the textbooks of French and English help learners inculcate a gendered worldview, which might have found expressions in the fundamentalist period in the country's history, when some political parties advocated patriarchal values under the veneer of religion and tradition.

The solidified seclusion of women within domesticity during the colonial period denotes cultural resistance to France's assimilation policy, which was studied previously in the above-mentioned excerpts, still appears in the postcolonial non-literary content of English textbooks. For example, through its non-literary content, *Majid in England* represents gender and space in the same way as the colonial Algerian novel does and demonstrates a gendered division of social roles highly reminiscent of the same organisation during the colonial time. Given that women are always regarded as the custodians of culture and tradition, they are depicted in roles that emphasise protection of past traditions and culture. This is the case in *Majid in England* and its cast of characters, including Majid, the eponymous main character, as well as the Algerian family that he represents. The textbook begins with the introduction of Majid's extended type of family: "I've got seven brothers and one sister... She's older than me and she is married. She still lives in our house with her husband and her two children. My father's mother lives with us too" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 19). In this large family, the division of roles assumes a gendered perspective. For example, the mother is at home taking care of children and doing housework. In the following quote, Slim, a male character, describes his wife's routine within the domestic space: "Yesterday she got up at four o'clock in the morning. Then she went to get the water. Then she cooked the breakfast, cleaned the house, made the beds and washed the clothes. At twelve o'clock she cooked the lunch and after the lunch she worked in the fields until six o'clock. Then she cooked the dinner, cleaned the windows and washed the children" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 67). These descriptions are concluded with a sarcastic sentence wherein the male character exclaims in sheer exasperation: "Then at ten O'clock she said, I am tired! I'm going to take her to a doctor" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 67).

It is noteworthy that Slim's list of women's activities is described with a certain level of detail and precision. Yazid, another male character, follows suit when he affirms that his mother is duty-bound to do household chores as if this role is conferred to her by both destiny and biology:

Father was watching television when I saw him, Yazid says

Mother was watching television too, I suppose, Donia replies
 No, she was cleaning the windows, Yazid confirms
 So while father was watching television mother was cleaning the
 window!, Donia concludes
 Well, she had to. Nobody else does it, Yazid confirms.
 (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 154).

Yazid's statement makes it clear that cleaning is a domestic activity reserved for women because it is shown to be disparaging to the cause of men's virility. 'Nobody else does it' implies that this task is not related to men. Another example confirms that housework is primarily connected to women: "Did she fold the clothes? Yes, she had to" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 147). The second part of the sentence, 'she had to', implies that women had no choice but to solely focus on domestic performance. If the textbook's publication date is to be taken into consideration, this clear-cut division in social roles between men and women taught in *Majid in England* palpably vindicates the gender segregation that followed the institutionalisation of gender inequities in accordance with the Family Law of 1984. Indeed, many reservations concerning the rights of women were put in place in this law, which enforced a conservative model of tradition. Symbolically, it brought the progressive period of the 1970s to an end.

Many other examples positioning women within the domestic confines of their homes are evidenced in both English and French textbooks. Women are designated the role of a dressmaker in the following examples: "She has been a dressmaker for ten years. And she is still a dressmaker!" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 101). The quote hints at the unchanging status for women in a changing postcolonial society. It is shown that during a ten-year period, women continue to perform the same household chores. This role is a gendered one, curtailing the freedom of women because it confines them within an activity that has always been seen by conservative, male dominated societies appropriate for a woman, who must be "a good mother and an attractive (yet frugal) wife" (Gordon, 2009). Remembering Dib's *La grande maison*, the role of Aini, the main character is shown to be sewing. This depicts her as a good mother ideally suited for domestic performance and for her role as the provider of her family.

As a supposedly feminine role, sewing reminds us of the colonial school, which aimed at teaching embroidery for Algerian Muslim girls. This is evidenced in the film adaptation of Dib's *La grande maison*, in the scene where Zhor makes reference to Madame Luce's school designed to teach embroidery and sewing to Muslim girls. As a patently feminine role, sewing has been ingrained within the Algerian cultural heritage since the colonial time and continues to be an exclusive feminine profession even in

postcolonial representations. Therefore, it can be inferred that Madame Luce's efforts have come to fruition in the postcolonial time, since Algerian textbooks endorse the same viewpoint and assign women the same role and profession, as those within which colonial ideology that embedded them (*see appendix 02 in the appendices section*).

Women are given a variety of other responsibilities within their homes: "Mother was putting the children to bed" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 156); "Every day Fatiha gets up at 6:30. She washes, cooks breakfast and makes her bed. Her children get up at 7 o'clock" (Belgaid et al., 2001-2002, p. 91). In a number of other examples, women's role is shown to be related to cooking, "Notre mère fait cuire du pain et du poisson" (Amhis, et al., 2004-2005, p. 165), "Pour l'Aïd, ma mère prépare de bons plats et des gâteaux variés" (Amhis, et al., 2003-2004, p. 114), "My mother made us a cake" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 96). These domestic roles show a clear demarcation between spaces of men and that of women. They also reflect the conservative ideology of the 1980s, which sought to send women back home. Indeed, in the aftermath of independence, FLN leaders declared that "Algerian women won their rights by their participation in the war" (Daoud, 1996, p. 141). However, with the institutionalisation of the 1984 family law, gender inequality was re-established. Religious fundamentalists were keen to restore a conservative way of life as they saw in the progressivist attempts a threat to the supposedly dominant authentic culture during colonialism.

Expressing her view on postcolonial Algerian politics, Moghadam argues that the "keen desires" of the country's revolutionary leaders have been "to restore cultural authenticity, religious integrity, and national traditions, which they felt colonialism or imperialism had distorted, led to the policy of family attachment rather than labor attachment for women" (Moghadam, 1993, p. 96). The study of non-literary representations in French and English textbooks reveals, in fact, that the policy of family attachment has been fostered at the expense of labour attachment. Various and consistent examples adduce this claim. To illustrate, in *Spring book one*, the main character projects his parents as follows: "My father works in a factory and my mother makes dresses at home...After school, Karima helps mother at home and I help Tahar in the garage" (Belgaid N. , et al., 2001-2002, p. 95). Importantly, the word 'home' appears twice in the paragraph, emphasising the confinement of women in this space. In addition, it suggests that the natural space of women is home and the public space is for men. This example also reminds us of the separate structures of families projected in colonial novels written by Algerian francophone writers. *Majid in England* stresses the responsibility of women in taking care of their children and abdicates men from this responsibility: "She was

looking after the baby but he wasn't" (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 155). This statement situates men's duties in the public space and women's within homes. Haddab makes the same observation in her investigation of primary school French textbooks, "A la maison, il [husband/father] ne participe ni aux tâches ménagères, ni aux soins donnés aux enfants. Il ne paraît jamais ni dans la cuisine, ni dans la salle de bains, mais on le voit installé dans un fauteuil du salon pour lire ou raconter une histoire aux enfants" (Haddab, 1979, p. 9). *Lecture Française 9eme année fondamentale* projects a similar image: "Papa, enfoncé dans un fauteuil, lit son journal et maman fait de la broderie" (2004-2005, p. 184). Despite the fact that both the father and the mother are present in the same domestic space, their tasks are not the same. The domestic space for the father is a source of relaxation; he either browses the newspaper, watches television or reads out a story for the children, as mentioned in *Livre de Français 3eme Année Moyenne*: "Dès que la cousine ramassait le large plat de bois et les culières du diner, mon oncle, bien repu et remis de la fatigue de la journée, nous réunissait autour de lui, mes cousins, mes sœurs et moi, et commençait à nous raconter l'un de ces merveilleux contes" (Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006, p. 149).

The domestic space within which women are embedded in a bid to preserve and nurture supposedly traditional culture finds its most striking examples in the traditional crafts associated with them as part of an ancestral legacy. Indeed, it is patent that Algerian textbooks of French and English make women the legatees of various crafts, such as pottery and carpet making, which are domestic in essence. These didactic materials make it explicit that those crafts are allegoric of past identities and that it is incumbent upon women to preserve them for future generations.

In the revised edition of the textbook of French, women are portrayed with the role of pottery-making. This craft "is a very commonly female craft" (Vincentelli, 1989, p. 124) in Algeria. The Kabylie is a region noted for this activity and other craft traditions (Vincentelli, 1989, p. 125). A number of images conjoin to illustrate this important claim, featuring women in traditional performances, either in traditional meal preparations, carpet-weaving, or pottery-making, as depicted in figures 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19. The Kabyle woman is praised for being "une tisseuse, une nourricière et une potière" (Makilam & Dujardin, 2011, p. 63). An excerpt from Feraoun's *Le fils du pauvre* is also inserted to portray pottery-making as an exclusive female activity: "Mes tantes vont d'abord la [l'argile] chercher dans des paniers à plusieurs kilomètres du village... [Khalti] façonne vivement le fond de la marmite... Nana, souriante et très à l'aise, saisit l'argile de ses petites mains pales" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 186). Nana and Khalti, the female

characters in the excerpt, represent other women belonging to the colonial time and whose existence is defined solely in terms of domestic life and domestic task fulfilment.

Figure 15 is intended to remind learners of their identity, belonging and cultural heritage. It stresses the traditional nature of this craft and constructs a gendered image through this activity. The illustration serves as a call for the preservation of national cultural, heritage; it is as much about women as producers of this craft as it is about them as its users. The picture also suggests the region from where these women belong through explicit landscapes, mountains, greenness, cactus, traditional dress, jewellery, and pottery that are specific to the Kabylie. These symbols distinguish the Kabyle from the Arab ethnicities in Algeria. In so doing, the picture does not only advocate a strong, gendered definition of tradition, but also a strong return to ancestral origins as Kabyle constitute one ethnic group of the Amazigh population. However, it is notable that this representation opposes the country's social transformations since the craft, which used to be a domestic hobby widely practiced in the entire Kabyle region (Vincentelli, 1989, p. 125), now tends to disappear (Smail, 2014). This urges men to take up the craft by making and selling potteries in craft shops illustrated in appendix 03. However, it is regrettable that although the craft is transformed into a man's activity (as shown in appendix 03) and is poignantly displaced from the domestic space, women are confined to the domestic sphere of society.



Figure 15: Pottery as a feminine domain (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 186)

Some other instances in *Textes choisis, 3eme année moyenne* and *Majid in England* portray women in the role of carpet-making or *azta*⁵¹, an activity which contends that women are bearers of ancestral culture and tradition. In the English textbook, this idea is embodied in figure 16 in the statement: “Women make nice carpets” (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 43). The depiction of women in such role not only restrict them within the boundaries of the domestic space, but also calls for the perpetuation and preservation of the gendered argument that underlies this tradition. Figure 16 foregrounds a gendered space of carpet-making for women, who are sitting side-by-side and shape a community of practice, which can be opposed to the men’s assembly, the café, as well as other masculine spaces. To illustrate, *Azta* is a gendered space where women “sing, exchange gossip and jokes and where the reserved, restrained and modest behaviour expected of women can be relaxed” (Naji, 2007, p. 160). If the space of carpet-making is comparable to the public space of men, it is because women break their silence inside this space and abandon their restrained behaviour. Yet, *Azta* is synonymous with seclusion for women, a space that serves to accentuate gender divisions. In foregrounding such gendered representations, as depicted in appendix 04, the textbook perpetuates a cultural memory and an identity marker that promulgates an idea of the past that is detrimental to the modernity of women.



Figure 16: Women in the making of carpets (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 43)

⁵¹It is a Berber appellation for carpet-weaving.

The *Imzad*⁵² music also illustrates a return to tradition within the cultural revival policy of the state. A musical genre practiced by Tuareg women, the Berbers of the Algerian desert, since many centuries, it is illustrated in figures 17 and 18 below, extracted from the revised edition of the French textbook. In the revised French textbook, women are portrayed as perpetuators of this cultural heritage, because: “seules quelques vieilles femmes savent encore en jouer et le maintiennent en vie. Si nous ne les aidons pas, une partie de notre patrimoine culturel disparaîtra” (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 170). The French textbook introduces the learners to this kind of music and publicises the necessity of teaching people because it forms part of the Algerian ancestral legacy that must be preserved. The creation of the cultural association “**Sauver l’Imzad**” aims, the textbook tells the reader, to “faire connaître la culture de l’Imzad, de la sauvegarder et de la développer. Ainsi cet instrument, ami de la poésie, sera préservé pour les générations futures” (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 170).

In the image, the ancestral music of *Imzad* is emphasised as an element of cultural uniqueness. Figure 18 depicts an old woman holding it on her thighs and playing it. The text inside the box stresses the importance and necessity of preserving the national cultural memory, presented as a human heritage: “le patrimoine est un héritage commun d’une collectivité, d’un groupe humain: c’est la mémoire d’un peuple et de l’humanité” (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 171).

⁵² Is a traditional Tuareg musical instrument made of a half-calabash covered with a goatskin stretched and fixed on the calabash with “cord or acacia thorns; often decorated with motifs painted in bright colours or with inscriptions in *tifinagh* [see Berbers, vi], the goatskin is pierced with one or two sound-holes (in Ahaggar, *titt* “eye”) either to the right and left of the bridge, or between the bridge and the visible part of the wooden neck which passes under the taut goatskin and emerges on the other side” (Pellat, 2012).



Figure 17: Imzad as an exclusive feminine musical instrument (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 170)



Figure 18: Women playing Imzad (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 171)

Depiction of women in preparation of traditional meals is another gendered representation of women in the revised edition of the most recent period's French textbook. Meanwhile this representation also illustrates the state's return to the past in order to establish cultural continuity with the present, by using women as the main transmitters of cultural memory. Figure 19 shows a woman appearing inside the house preparing couscous, a traditional meal, with her daughter seated next to her: "la mère assise par terre sur une peau de mouton, la fille regarde faire pour apprendre et perpétuer la tradition" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 169). The underlying assumption of the picture

does not only lie in the woman being the repository of the culture of the past, but also in the little girl who epitomises the younger generations, and who is expected to take over the art of couscous making from her mother and participate in the coveted preservation of the nation's cultural heritage.



Figure 19: Woman in a traditional role and childhood initiation to womanhood (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 168)

The imagery of the young girl sitting beside her mother to learn is a reflection of the gendered expectations of postcolonial Algerian society. At a very young age, girls are designated the unchallengeable role of successful mothers and good housewives. In the textbook, the following question assumes importance: “A ton avis, pourquoi la petite fille est-elle à côté de sa mère?” (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 168) This is due to the fact that it anticipates women's social roles and their socialisation within domestic performance. The table in appendix 5 (*see appendices section*), elucidates the role of the mother and the daughter within the domestic space, and seems to confirm Haddab's point when she claims that the role of women in the domestic space is described with a certain precision that strongly embeds women within the domestic space: “Les tâches de la mère sont décrites avec un grand luxe de détails” (Haddab, 1979, p. 9). In this table, a sequence of statements minutely describes how the woman preparing couscous performs her role, with a sequence of adjectival and verbal phrases: “en chantant, ambiance de fête, rouler, arroser, tamiser, faire cuire à la vapeur, imbiber d'eau, ajouter le sel enduire d'huile, répéter la cuisson à la vapeur, beurrer ou huiler avec de l'huile d'olive, mélanger a des légumes cuits à la vapeur/ raisins secs, servir avec du petit lait ou lait caillé, piments” (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 169). The mother's depiction in this role reflects the postcolonial FLN statement which advocated housework for women and politics for men: “Que la femme fasse le couscous et nous [hommes] la politique” (Knauss, 1987, p. 5). This official statement palpably stands for the programme of the postcolonial state, which

established a neo-patriarchal social and political order by institutionalising gender inequality and gender-based hierarchy. Indeed, this proverbial statement has become so ingrained in the popular culture of postcolonial Algeria that when a girl's achievement at school is not deemed satisfactory, she is sarcastically invited by her family and society to return home and learn couscous-making instead. Socializing females for the role of the mother and the housewife evokes the understanding of Simone de Beauvoir of gender: "on ne nait pas femme on le devient" (de Beauvoir, 1949, p. 13). It is through this kind of socialisation that women are known to reproduce gendered roles and through such representations that gendered identities are socially constructed.

The state's effort towards providing equal schooling opportunities for girls and boys in postcolonial Algeria was not an attempt to position both genders at an equal footing and bridge gender gaps. Instead, it was aimed at perpetuating a national culture that was not only altered by a 132-year old reign of colonialism, but also frozen in a patriarchal mould where women were alienated and kept in a subaltern position, relegated to the task of guardians of culture and tradition. The realignment of women with tradition in postcolonial Algeria "and their consequent exclusion from public life, was considered by feminists to be a betrayal both of the women who had fought for the nation's freedom and of the revolution itself" (Woodhull, 2003, p. 568). In fact, Algerian women actually became the role models of the new nationalist patriarchal family based on segregation of space and a rigid gendered division of roles (Woodhull, 2003, p. 569). It is this image that French and English textbooks seek to convey to support and perpetuate the nationalist project constructed on the ruins of colonial legacy.

As this chapter explores, return to the past for the Algerian women's rehabilitation that has been exotically portrayed in the visuality of *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *4eme année moyenne* (explored in chapter two) results in the restoration of a gender order that colonial presence unilaterally imposed on the Algerian society. This colonial gender order is characterised by its gendered nature where the space of men and women is demarcated and the role of women is confined to that of domesticity and motherhood. Return to the past, as discussed in this chapter, does not necessarily indicate a return to Algeria's authentic culture because colonial inventions of tradition in Africa created new social orders where women were subjugated as victims. This chapter explains the traditional face of modern Janus in Algeria that connects with the past in order to redeem the image of an exoticised Algerian woman based on the myopic notion of honour that governs Algerian social relations. To summarise, chapter four takes a fact-based look at the traditional face of nationalism in relation to gender and space in French and English

textbooks. Meanwhile chapter five examines the modern face of nationalism and aims to understand the manner in which it is implemented, thus giving an alternative national model as opposed to blindly following western modernity which, as discussed in chapter one, is accused of being viscerally patriarchal.

Chapter Five

A Selective Return to the Past of Algeria and Changing Roles for Women in French and English Textbooks

Algeria, like many other postcolonial nation-states, worked for the development of education after its independence by fostering a free, public and gender inclusive school. Within the school context, the government aimed to abrogate colonial education inherited from France and to implement 'Algerianised' curricula and syllabi (Ait Saadi Bouras, 2010, p. 445) as discussed in chapter one. Thus, beginning from 1971, and under the impetus of the country's revolutionary heritage, Algerian education was subject to a number of reforms which were, as MacBeath tells us, "constantly in search of the model which would fit the needs of the country and the expectations of its citizens" (MacBeath, 2010, p. 1). As the nation-state attempts to (re)define and re/construct its identity, the reforms implemented through locally-designed textbooks are informed by a nationalist philosophy which, in the postcolonial context, implied a difficult compromise between progressive/modernist and revivalist/reactionary forces, advocating modernity while re-appropriating and re-inscribing the cultural past in the postcolonial present. Therefore, at the heart of the Algerian nationalist ideology, which dominated the country's politics in the 1960s through 2000s, one feels a sense of ambivalence and an uneasy paradox, resulting from two conflicting movements and nurtured by two contradictory philosophies within the ideology of the postcolonial nation-state: on the one hand, a conservative ideology, having its roots in religion and a certain understanding of tradition restored from colonial times, which defined the country's identity by returning to the legacy of colonial system; and on the other hand, a progressive, largely leftist, ideology advocating a forward looking philosophy which would eventually fulfil the 'revolutionary' promises of the heroic war of independence by keeping pace with the rigours of modernity. At the level of gender, and despite the claims for equality advanced in the subsequent constitutions of the postcolonial nation, as highlighted by chapter one, the two orientations combined to create gender boundaries and maintain male domination, confining gender roles within what Peter Knauss calls 'separate spheres' (Knauss, 1987). The implementation of these two antagonist worldviews, revivalism vs. progressivism, within the textbooks of French and English, lead to a dual representation of gender, because while the revivalists' celebration of traditional culture reassigns the woman in a new guise to the domestic roles within which colonial domination had already confined her, progressivism looks forward to achieving gender equality by introducing the woman into public life and emancipating her by establishing another selective return to the past of the country. However, this time, return to the past involves a celebration of feminine strong sense of leadership played during the early years of colonial domination

as well as the legacy that this feminine resistance left for women of the war of independence as well as the ones who participated in the nation-building period by implementing feminine emancipatory symbols and roles that link with their role in the revolutionary struggle.

Research has aimed to understand the issue of gender and the way it is affected by the paradoxical incompatibility between modernity and tradition in the social context of postcolonial Algeria (Charrad, 2007; Rebai-Maamri, 2016; Vince, 2009). For Charrad, Rebai-Maamri and Vince, the two concepts are dichotomous and their combination leads to conflicting identities within the postcolonial nation-state. For these scholars, the traditional side of identity reconstruction views women as guardians of the people's national and cultural identity besides positioning them within subordinate roles. The main reason for their continuous subordination relates to the nature of the postcolonial state's orientation vis-à-vis the ideology of the former colonial power which it seeks to oppose at all costs (Schneider, 2003) In the case of Algeria, women's subordinate status "came to be seen as a mark of Algeria's difference from the French colonizer and thus as the foundation of Algerian identity." (Schneider, 2003, p. 9). Schneider contends that to emancipate women in a 'Western' image would go against the project of Algerian post-war revival premised on the reconstruction of national identity following a traditional vision, wherein the status of women is necessarily subordinate, as chapter four illustrates. Thus, the aim of modernising educational content advocated by progressives is countered by a conservative view of tradition. The latter hampers the nation's pace of progress and embeds the Algerian school within a state of ambivalence because it promotes two conflicting ideologies. Ben Meziane Thaâlbi clarifies the state of ambivalence of the Algerian postcolonial school:

Partagée qu'elle fut continûment entre la double tentation de la tradition et de la modernité, de l'authenticité et de l'universalité, bref de la sécularité et de l'historicité, on la [l'école] découvre aujourd'hui encore [...] comme bloquée dans cette ambivalence fondamentale qui crée les conditions existentiellement douloureuses de l'impossible choix entre les deux termes de l'alternative. (Ben Meziane, 1998, p. 48 Italics his)

The Algerian postcolonial school, education, and textbooks are caught within a paradigm constituted of binary concepts represented by secularity and Islam, universality and historicity, modernity and tradition. These binaries adduce the contradictions of the postcolonial state in relation to women because, while official state ideology claimed to ensure the integration of the woman in society through inclusive education and some

public roles, it also relegated her to traditional roles in domesticity. The result in present-day Algeria is a sense of paradox reflected in a composite social reality which combines elements of modernity and others of archaism. (Benali, 2005, p. 23) The composite social reality is responsible for the contradictions found in the postcolonial society at large and, more specifically, the educational policies implemented by the country since independence. The dual representation of women, as both guardians of tradition performing a conservative role in the domestic space and as teachers, nurses, and typists in the public space, highlights the contradictions in English and French textbooks fostered during the three selected periods that have been considered in this study.

As has been explained by chapter four, the underlying theme of tradition and its effect on the construction of gender identity in school textbooks is yet to be investigated in previous research. Modernity, as a second face of nationalism and the second aspect of Algeria's postcolonial paradox in relation to gender, has never been investigated in textbook context. In the postcolonial discourse of the Algerian state, progressivism is often considered to be part of the independence struggle's 'revolutionary spirit', since "l'école était considérée par l'état comme partie intégrante de la Révolution et devait donc changer de fond en comble." (Chetouani, 2001-2002, p. 159). Despite attempts to advance the condition of women in the name of the revolution and its progressive forces, the orientation towards gender equality is tempered by the urge to return to tradition or, more precisely, a conservative view of tradition, in order to reconstruct the national identity of Algeria. The progressive current is supported by 'symbols of revolution', such as the skirt, modern hair-cut, the *haik*, and public roles for women as nurses, teachers and typists. The revolutionary symbols are intended to consolidate with their ideological weight and historical depth the country's quest for modernity and its atonement with its past.

This chapter analyses the textbooks of French and English and illustrates the progressive aspect of official ideology in its attempt to emancipate women following a national model. As mentioned before, Charrad (2007), Rebai-Maamri (2016) and Vince (2009) have underlined this aspect of the Algerian postcolonial policy. If Algerian nationalism in its progressive orientation lacked consistency and did not go far enough as to ensure the equality of the sexes, it is because the state seems to have been engaged in a parallel ideological task, which consists of endowing the nascent nation with a sense of continuity with the past from which it was severed by more than a century of colonial domination. In *Culture and Imperialism*, Edward Said acknowledges the need for

postcolonial states to return to the past for the sake of interpreting the present and contends that the issue of the past “animates all sorts of discussion- about influence, about blame and judgement, about present actualities and future priorities.” (Said, 1994, p. 1). In the context of Algerian nationalism, continuity with the past formed part of a larger post-war ideological attempt to institute a tradition of resistance as well as to structure the life of an emerging society looking for cultural modernity and political liberation. In other words, in the postcolonial period, Algeria embarked on a task analogous to that of most modern nations during the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. During that time, Eric Hobsbawm argues, modern nations made an instrumental return to the past, by creating, dismantling and restructuring images of the Western past (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 13). This instrumental return involved “a process of formalization and ritualization” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 4) and a “conscious manipulation of symbols” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition*, 1983, p. 9), whereby some historical elements were instituted as “invariant”, whilst excluding others. This process of inclusion and exclusion answered the need for a sense of both tradition and novelty and resulted into a “paradox” (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983, p. 14) analogous to the one which seems to characterize Algerian nationalist ideology.

This chapter identifies three different periods in Algerian postcolonial policy of education and another return to the traditional past of the country for the sake of establishing a sense of historical continuity: the 1970s, was mostly informed by an ideology of resistance and progressivism whilst retaining reactionary seeds that would eventually grow into a conservative programme during the next period: the 1980s and 1990s, which signifies a conservative turn in the state’s postcolonial history and culminates into a long period of civil strife triggered by religious fundamentalism; the 2000s and 2010s, characterized by a re-appropriation of traditional symbols for the sake of: one, re-constructing a sense of modernity growing up from the remote Berber past redefined in terms of heroic resistance so as to assert the Amazigh origin of the country (which was denied by the post-independence nationalist discourse); two, to recuperate aspects of traditional culture which were, and are still, manipulated by fundamentalists; and, three, to appropriate symbols of modernity that are likely to socially and politically empower women.

This chapter looks into the cultural symbols endowed with a progressive weight, such as the skirt, modern hairstyle, and public roles for women as nurses, teachers, and typists. It argues that these symbols do not fulfil modernising purposes in the textbooks

of the first, second and third periods, and function as symbols of resistance tightly bound to specific historical periods of the country, such as the Berber past, the anti-colonial resistance, and/or the war of independence in the contemporary textbooks. In addition to cultural symbols, the chapter is also interested in the representation of feminine figures of the past, as illustrated in the portraits of the Berber Queen Al Kahina, and the Kabyle freedom fighter, Lalla Fadhma N'Soumer during the early years of Algerian resistance, whose inclusion in present-day teaching materials confirms the ideological trend which seeks to return to the past for the sake of fighting fundamentalist thought and empowering a vision of modernising change from within the Algerian national culture. The vision of change is further illustrated by the appearance of women in sports activities as well as the acknowledgement of success for Baya Rahouli, Souad Ait Salem and Soraya Haddad, and whose practices and achievements in international events function as forms of resistance to the fundamentalist rigorist culture of the 1990s.

A foremost progressive example signified in the Algerian foreign language textbooks of the first and second periods is the skirt. As a modern identity marker for women, this garment evinces a controversial response from Algerian society, as it evokes both the freedom of women associated with modernity and their assimilation into the colonial culture inherited from French domination. The women in the textbooks of English *Andy in Algeria*⁵³ (Menasseri, Heniche, Belkaid, Watson, & Tadjer, 1982-1983) and *Spring book two*⁵⁴ (Belgaid N. , et al., 2004-2005), representing the 80s and 90s decades, respectively are all portrayed in this garment⁵⁵, in order to denote the nation's will to progressively modernise society. In the context of the Algerian war for independence, the skirt connoted a meaning of resistance, which was best captured by what Homi Bhabha calls "camouflage" with reference to colonial mimicry and colonised people's resistance (Bhabha, 1994). As a symbol of resistance, this garment had a referential meaning during the *Battle of Algiers* (1966) when militant women adopted a

⁵³ It was first published in 1975 followed by *Majid in England* in 1976. They are both the first Algerian English textbooks that are locally designed, written and published. In this research; however, thesis worked on the subsequent editions with different publication dates; *Andy in Algeria* (1982-1983) and *Majid in England* (1985-1986). These textbooks were in use from the date of their publication until the first half of the following decade, i.e.1984.

⁵⁴ It is the second textbook of the series of Spring Books published in 1985. The first textbook of the series *Spring Book One* appeared one year earlier in 1984. These textbooks were in use from mid-80s until the early years of the new century, up to the 2003 school reform. The textbooks' publication dates coincide with the institution of the Family law of 1984, a law in the disadvantage of women. The textbooks I worked on in this research again hold other edition dates; *Spring book one* (2001-2002) and *Spring Book Two* (2004-2005).

⁵⁵ See appendix 06 and appendix 07 in the appendices section about the representation of female characters with skirts.

shift in dress codes so as to divert the attention of French soldiers while carrying guerrilla actions by assuming the look of emancipated settlers⁵⁶. Rohloff explains that during the late years of the war for independence, women in Algiers converted from the traditionally conservative and resistant dress code to a ‘European style of dress’ as a means to pass through the French military checkpoints ‘inaperçue’ (Rohloff, 2012, p. 8). The action of those women during the battle of Algiers would have been rendered ineffective without the European attire. For example, this is the case of the three Algerian women featured in Gillo Pontecorvo’s film *The Battle of Algiers* (1966), who take off their *haik* and transform themselves into European looking women, in order to allow the urban guerrilla of the FLN to attack targets in the heart of the capital city. In Pontecorvo’s film, the three women transform their traditional look into European-looking girls and plant bombs in three different French public places. Figure 20 illustrates the three women in the film representing the historic, female resistance fighters, “Zohra Drif, Samia Lakdari and Djamila Bouhired, [who] in an act of revolutionary masquerade, [...] manipulate the fixed, binary logic of colonialism through shifts in appearance, from veiled (*haik*) to a comparatively ‘Westernised’ form of dress” (Sharpe, 2012). Figure 20 shows the symbolic transformation of appearance, from the traditional *haik* to a western style of dress, for the sake of the national resistance movement.



Figure 20: Representation of Algerian women’s shift to European dress code (Pontecorvo, 1966).

⁵⁶ A lot has been written about the role of this dress code and Algerian women during the battle of Algiers. For example, see Srivastava, 2005; Khanna, 2008; Vince, 2009; Rohloff, 2012.

Algerian women in the French dress moved freely in the city, carrying weapons and planting bombs. Therefore, the skirt, like the *haik*, played a liberating role for revolutionary women because they allowed their participation in the public space. However, the skirt did not fulfil its promises of emancipation during the post-independence period, even when the skirt was embraced by most Algerian educated women of the 1970s. Indeed, during the war, resistant women had freedom over their dress, looked modern and engaged in militant action. After independence, women increasingly adopted western style of dress as a symbol of modernity and progress. However, two decades after independence, Western forms of dress for women became a controversial issue and society started to see it as a French legacy marker with the rise of religious fundamentalism and a more conservative vision of tradition. In fact, although the Algerian postcolonial identity is reconstructed following an Islamic worldview, the veil was not imposed on women after independence as was the case in post-revolutionary Iran. *Hijab*⁵⁷ in this country has been promoted and imposed by the Islamic government in 1979, after the toppling by the Islamic government of Khomeini of the monarchy of the Shah. In the aftermath of the Islamic Revolution, new rules concerning women were issued immediately after the access of Khomeini to power (Shirazi, 2000, p. 116). These rules imposed *hijab* as a dress code for women along with other restrictions on the type of jobs they might take. That was not the case in the first years of independence in Algeria. During the tenure of President Boumédiène, the skirt was the dress of the post-independence ‘civilisées’ and the fashion of their time. The television report, *Les Filles de la Revolution* (Bouchard, 1968), underlines the shift in dress and habit of Algerian women during the post-independence period, from the traditional *haik* to the French skirt, and shows women moving freely from the traditional space of the Casbah to the urban space of the capital city in Western-like attire. The new dress code adopted within the newly independent country symbolises Algerian women's will for emancipation. The first scene in the report begins with a veiled young woman changing her dress, wearing the skirt as she moves from the Casbah to the capital city.

The ‘civilisées’, the term used to denote women who rejected the traditional dress, had freedom over their dress until the rise of fundamental Islamists, during the late eighties and the beginning of nineties, who imposed a sense of identity attuned with the

⁵⁷ It is another appellation of the veil. It derives from the Arabic verb *Hajaba* and means covering and veiling.

country's religious morality and premised on the nation's Islamic past. According to this philosophy, women were forced to reject the skirt and to embrace the traditional *haik* as an exclusive dress code. Sid Ali Mazif's *Houria* (Houria, 1987) is a film that explores the manner in which the skirt turned into a subject of contention in the late 1980s as a progressive identity marker. The contention is staged through the inherent contradictions in the Algerian post-independence society, as represented by Houria, the female protagonist who looks forward to emancipating herself by taking up her destiny, and her family, which then confines her within conservative outlooks. The film also explores religious fundamentalism through the standpoint of Houria's cousin, a conservative religious man, who objects on her dress code and her admission to the university, which he considers alien to Algerian culture and a threat to the family's sense of honour and pride. The religious cousin argues that Houria can pursue her studies at university only if she wears the veil: "Je suis étudiant à l'université et la situation laisse à désirer. Ma cousine ne doit pas ressembler à ces dévergondées. Son instruction est suffisante et le verset du Coran dit...Bon, d'accord mais qu'elle se couvre au moins!...Le dernier mot revient aux hommes" (Houria, 1987). The argument of Houria's conservative cousin reveals a fundamentalist outlook, because it considers the university as an exclusively male space and the girls who pursue higher education without wearing the Islamic dress as 'westernised individuals' who lack traditional morality. To use Linda Arthur's language, dress, the veil in this case is "considered symbolic of religiosity" (Arthur, 1999, p. 1), because it is allegoric of a religious identity and implies "social control" (Arthur, 1999, p. 2). The social context in Algeria at the end of the 80s and the beginning of the 90s seems to corroborate Arthur's ideas, when the FIS (Front Islamique du Salut) decreed the veil as the only proper dress for women in order to exert control over their body. During the 'Black Decade', i.e. the 1990s, the extremist groups affiliated to the FIS went as far as to murder unveiled women and to legitimise the murder of all those who refuse to dress in Hijab or the Algerian traditional *haik* (Rohloff, 2012, p. 21). The unchallengeable imposition of this militantly religious dress code on women stems from a fundamentalist will to purify Algerian identity from seemingly Western forms of cultural contamination.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ Algerian cinema is replete with films having as a main theme the condition of women and the politics of women body and dress. For example, another case in point is Djamila Sahraoui's short film *La moitié du ciel d'Allah* (1995).

In the context of English textbooks of the 70s through the 90s, the designers do not seem to have had clear-cut stands on the issue of gender, as were the cases of the fundamentalists on the one hand, and the progressives, on the other. Thus, although all female characters in the English textbooks are dressed in either a skirt or a short garment, they do not enjoy complete and unrestrained freedom over their bodies; their social actions are mostly confined within the realm of domesticity. The representation of women with skirts in English teaching materials suggests that despite seeming a modern and emancipatory dress for female body, the skirt does not secure a role in the public space for these women. This is the case, for example, of Mona (shown in figure 21), who is featured in a skirt, but whose social role is confined within domesticity⁵⁹. Figure 22 imparts the same representation since Zhor, another woman character, appears as a modern woman, in a Western dress and haircut. However, Zhor's sphere of action is limited to the household, and her behaviour is never described to go beyond domestic confinement. Actually, the representation of both these women warrant many conclusions as far as gender politics in postcolonial Algeria is concerned: one, Western style of dress did not imply the women's full control over their body, nor the emancipation from domestic chores; two, the skirt lost the revolutionary/subversive potential attached to it during the war for independence; three, the house was still viewed as the natural space wherein they were supposed to fulfil their social roles and duties. Put differently, the public sphere in postcolonial Algeria was still under male domination, and the daunting task of (re)defining Algerian identity undertaken after independence did not go beyond conservative tropes inspired from rigorist religious interpretations inherited from the colonial period, when native identity passively acquiesced to the Manichaean organisation of the colony, as highlighted by Frantz Fanon in his *The Wretched of the Earth*(1963).

If the government did not go far enough to transgress the conservative social roles assigned to women in postcolonial Algeria, it was because the political leadership and ideology, represented by President Houari Boumédiène and his socialist state, were ambivalent on this issue. Indeed, even if Boumédiène called for the foundation of a socialist state based on the revolutionary nationalism of the war for independence in his political programme, and asserted that women are an indispensable part of post-independence ambition to progress towards a modern society bereft of all forms of

⁵⁹ See similar examples in appendices 06 and 07 of women with short dresses and skirts in the appendices section.

oppression inherited from colonial domination⁶⁰, he also reminded that the role of women is primarily in the household and that men should be prioritized for taking up jobs (Gordon, 1972, p. 77).



Figure 21: Representation of women in domestic space (Menasseri, et al., 1985-1986, p. 16)



Figure 22: Representation of women in domestic roles (Belgaid, et al., 2004-2005, p. 106).

⁶⁰ See appendix 08 in the appendices section on women's freedom of dress. The picture depicts president Boumédiène with his family on a beach.

President Boumédiène's support for the question of women was voiced in his speech during the third congress of the national women organisation, UNFA⁶¹, held in 1974, when he denounced traditional thinking, which he qualifies as being old-fashioned and archaic: "S'il existe des courants allant à l'encontre de l'évolution de la femme, ce seraient des courants allant à l'inverse de la révolution et du socialisme" (Tamzali, 2007, p. 2). This statement implies that the evolution of the status of women is part and parcel of the revolutionary nationalism and progressive programme in postcolonial Algeria. In fact, Boumédiène's leadership was known for its revolutionary aspirations aiming at the integration of all social groups under his socialist programme (Smail-Salhi, 2011, p. 157). His speech in the International Women's Day in 1966, however, also goes on to demonstrate that his stand was not fully gender egalitarian because he advocated men's priority over women in jobs (Gordon, 1972, p. 77). The small number of women with public roles in English textbooks as nurses, typists, and teachers confirms the President's position about granting men priority over important jobs and, therefore, their domination of the public space. Boumédiène's stand on the issue of women employment is, thus, slightly akin to that of the fundamentalists who, during the early 1990s, were calling working women back home to alleviate male unemployment, as shown in Boumédiène's speech above. The textbooks of the post-independence period might, therefore, have reinforced the nascent fundamentalist ideology regarding women's visibility in the public space. The appearance of the female characters Zhor and Mona in the domestic space with a domestic performance in figures 21 and 22 above reflects the spirit of the period that borrowed western dress as a symbol of resistance and emancipation, while denying women access to the public sphere.

As a symbol of resistance and progressiveness, the skirt illustrates the nation's will to establish continuity with the spirit of the revolution and to modernise society through education. In this regard, the textbooks *Majid in England* (1985-1986) and *Andy in Algeria* (1982-1983) are the first Algerianised learning materials; they reflect Boumédiène's progressive period when the constitution championed the cause of equality between the sexes, and stressed the need for granting women political rights while encouraging socialist states to achieve the promise for change (Smail-Salhi, 2011, p. 157). However, after the tragic turn caused by the decade of civil strife in the 1990s, Algeria has undertaken a visionary reform to renew the education syllabi and the language

⁶¹ Union Nationale des Femmes Algériennes is an Algerian women organisation founded in 1963 in order to fight for the rights of women.

textbooks to fight against the tendency to remain obsequious to religious fundamentalism. For this purpose, the education policy makers not only promoted modern ideas in freshly designed textbooks, but also accommodated traditional dress codes as a means to resist the *hijab*, which was seen as alien to the country and a Middle-Eastern, imported type of dress. Hence, in these new textbooks, a different return to the traditional past is instituted, as old dress codes seem endowed with positive symbolic connotations in order to stand for the antidote to the phenomenon of religious fundamentalism.

For the generations of the 60s through 90s, the *haik* connoted religious fundamentalism and cultural retardation; however, it appears as a revolutionary symbol in the revised edition of the French textbook. The *haik*, it should be reminded, played a major role in making women visible in the public space during the revolutionary war and in making the revolution successful. Although the *haik* and the skirt belong to different traditions and conflicting philosophies, they both contributed to the achievement of independence. Revolutionary women played with two dress codes: the traditional *haik* and the western type of dress and haircut, to escaping the French army's repression of the FLN militants. The resistance strategy of those women is explained by Srivastava,

The transformation of female roles along revolutionary lines is foregrounded both in Fanon and in Pontecorvo, most notably with the strategic use of a female colonial identity alternating with a female colonized identity: occasionally the woman will dress like a French woman, joke and laugh with the soldiers at the checkpoint, in order to blend into the European city and plant bombs. At other times, she will don the veil to better hide the explosives she carries underneath (Srivastava, 2005, pp. 103-104).

Srivastava refers to the manner in which both Fanon and Pontecorvo addressed revolutionary women's transformation of their traditional dress and identity in *L'an V de la révolution algérienne* (1959) and *The Battle of Algiers* (1966), respectively. Fanon elucidates the unveiled Algerian woman carrying weapons as well as her movement through French checkpoints "comme un poisson dans l'eau occidentale." (Fanon, 1959, p. 41). He terms the strategy of resistance deployed by the FLN women militants as a 'technique de camouflage' (Fanon, 1959, p. 44), and shows that Algerian women wearing the traditional *haik* are also capable of playing with their clothing in order to carry weapons under their garment (Fanon, 1959, p. 44). Women in this resistant traditional dress were not suspected because they were luridly described as being weak, passive, and incapable of revolutionary action.

Pontecorvo has also dealt with the idea of looks transformation in his *The Battle of Algiers*. Figure 23, sourced from Pontecorvo's film, illustrates how Algerian women, in a European make-up, joke and laugh with French soldiers while their handbags are full of military weapons. These women take up the interchangeable transformation of look, from traditional to Western and from Western to traditional, with a view to serve the military action of the independence struggle. It is for this reason that the revised edition of the textbook of French published in 2013 re-appropriates the *haik* with a more approving eye, with the aim of commemorating resistance through this traditional dress. In other words, the dogmatic attitude which shunned the traditional dress in the name of a progressive ideology during the 1970s seems to have lost ground and has gravitated towards a more pragmatic view of tradition as a consequence of the bloody confrontation during the 'décennie noire'



Figure 23: An unveiled Algerian woman receiving compliments about her appearance (Pontecorvo, 1966)

The telling image of the woman with a *haik* in the revised edition of the textbook of French illustrated in figure 24 re-asserts the colonial struggle and re-inscribes the traditional dress within the armed and cultural resistance of the war for independence. Presented in this manner, the *haik* is invested as a strong identity marker, a sign of Algerianness which breaks away from the connotations of cultural retardation and fundamentalism associated with it during the progressive years of the 1970s. For this reason, the textbook ascribes to the *haik* a didactic function as being ‘l’affirmation d’une

identité, le symbole d'une résistance à l'occupation coloniale. Avant que ne disparaisse à jamais le port de la voilette⁶², cet accessoire, jusqu'aux années soixante, signait l'élégance de l'algérienne voilée... Il fut porté avec coquetterie, raffinement et originalité" (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 172). This representation is as much about the celebration of the traditional dress code as it is about the role of this dress in empowering women during the war of independence.



Figure 24: A woman dressed in *haik* (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 172)

The shift in the representation of women traditional dress codes in contemporary textbooks can actually be inscribed within a larger national narrative, which attaches the roots of the country to the primitive past, and which re-interprets Algerian history in terms of their resistance to different invaders through time. One such feminine figure noted for her heroic resistance to foreign invasion is Kahina⁶³, also known as Dihya, the Berber Queen of the Aures Mountains in Algeria. Kahina was at the forefront of the native resistance to the Arab intrusion into Algeria, and opposed a fierce resistance to the Muslim armies in the 7th century, thus deserving her status as the country's foremost symbol of women leadership and strength. El Kadiri describes her as "Une femme dans un monde d'hommes, une femme guerrière qui a tenu en échec les troupes arabes pendant plusieurs années" (El Kadiri, 2013). Dressed in traditional attire, with a long and loose dress which looks like the modern *haik*, she successfully led armies against Arab

⁶² Also known in Algerian dialectic Arabic 'ajar', it is a triangle piece of cloth put on the face to cover the nose and the mouth. This type of veil is specific to Algeria.

⁶³ Her name means seeress in Arabic.

conquerors. Her traditional dress⁶⁴, illustrated in figure 25, did not prevent from plunging into the battlefield, leading troops and waging deadly wars against the conquerors until her capture.

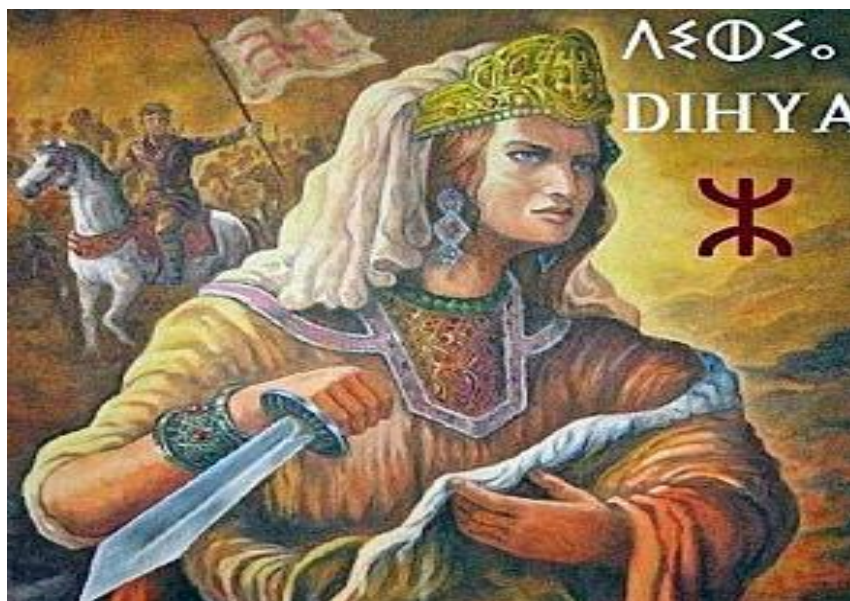


Figure 25: An example of the dress code of the Berber queen Kahina (Dihya) (<https://www.pinterest.co.uk/pin/754493743795324206/>, n.d.)

Kahina's victories in the battlefield and her great sense of leadership are one among the many examples that are intended to invalidate the claim that the traditional woman dress is incompatible with modernity and women empowerment. To illustrate, Figure 25 depicts her as a woman icon, a paragon of modern values and feminine resistance, empowerment and emancipation. Her dress compares with the *haik* in both its form and symbolism, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Her position in the picture above foregrounds her leadership, whereas the sword in her hand symbolises her warrior spirit as well as her heroic resistance for the sake of the Amazigh identity, exemplified appropriately through Amazigh 'Z'⁶⁵ symbol in her crown, on her right hand side, as well as on the flag behind her.

Ibn Khaldun was one of the first authors to acknowledge Kahina's strong sense of leadership in *Histoire des berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique*

⁶⁴ This woman comes from the Aures region and traditional clothes in this part of the country are much similar to the Kabyle region where women put scarves on their heads and wear loose and long dresses, covering their entire bodies. Kahina's dress is based on the same principle as the *haik* that women during French colonialism put on to resist the French male gaze and carry weapons.

⁶⁵ ✎ is the Amazigh letter Z which means freedom and free man. It symbolises the Amazigh identity in North Africa.

septentrionale that was written in the 14th century (Ibn Khaldun, 1852). In contemporary times, Gisèle Halimi's *La Kahina* (2006) is a recent biography that revisits the life of the Berber Queen. In an interview, Halimi glorifies the Queen and re-interprets her life story in terms of a struggle for liberation, a symbol of women resistance and emancipation: "Elle a été celle qui a montré aux femmes d'aujourd'hui et en particulier aux femmes d'Afrique du nord les chemins de la liberté parce que je lisais elle était épanouie physiquement, sexuellement c'est une femme de liberté" (Halimi, *La Kahina*, 2008). Her story was written in different versions as it was subject to the influence of folklore and part of the oral tradition of Berber people (in Algeria) before it was appropriated by historiography (Hannoum, 2001, p. 21). Her role as a woman continues to evince the attention of researchers as she represents a model of an emancipated woman in North Africa. During the colonial period, she was referred to as the African Joan of Arc because she was viewed as an extraordinary female leader because she heroically fought the invader, as was done by Joan of Arc in France (Hannoum, 2001, p. 47). In his study on the Kahina, Hannoum discusses many similarities between the Kahina and Joan of Arc and finds that their heroic struggle against invaders and their death is alike (Hannoum, 2001, p. 47).

Next to Kahina, Lalla⁶⁶ Fadhma n'Soumer is a figure that belongs to the country's past represented in the textbooks as an equally bold symbol of feminine leadership and heroism, this time against the more recent French colonial invaders in the middle of the 19th century. Like Kahina, she is a woman of the mountain, the Kabylie, with a strong sense of freedom and resistance. Her traditional dress, made up of a long garment, a hooded long top called burnous⁶⁷ and ankle jewellery, conveys her Kabyle identity and connects her to the women of the Casbah who would then go on to wear the *haik* in order to bring the war of independence into the urban, well-guarded centre of the capital city, Algiers, and defeat the modern and sophisticated tactics of the French army. At the age of twenty-four, she led a rebellion against the French army in the Kabylie, and in 1854 waged a battle referred to as the battle of Oued Sebaou (Laakri, 2014), commanding military troops and challenging the Kabyle culture as well as their code of honour that was strengthened during colonial domination. In so doing, she transgressed the logic of

⁶⁶ Is the veneration of pious women in North Africa, "l'équivalent féminin de sidi... un titre honorifique réservé aux femmes de haut rang, ou qui sont vénérées comme des saints" (Rachid, 2015).

⁶⁷Called "Avernous" in Berber language is a long, loose, hooded traditional top, usually white, worn by Berbers in North Africa.

space in the Kabyle code of honour wherein women and men under colonial domination have separate spaces and different social roles.

Lalla Fadhma came from Ouerja, “un village de marabouts⁶⁸ ultra-traditionalistes, [où] elle dut s’imposer non sans difficultés dans ce milieu où la liberté de la femme était très restreinte” (B. L., 2009). She attended the Zawiya, a religious institution of the Rahmaniya,⁶⁹ which was a religious brotherhood free from state control that provided traditional teachings in various aspects of Islamic spirituality, law, and wisdom. Within the premises of the Zawiya, learners of both genders sit together to learn the ‘Word of God’, without imposing any dress code on girls, such as the headscarf, but that of decency (*see figure 27*). Put differently, the teachings of Zawiya invalidate the imposition of the headscarf on Algerian women by fundamentalist ideology during the eighties under the pretext of traditional culture. This interpretation was attested by the minister of religious affairs Mohamed Aissa, during his visit to the Kabyle region in 2015, when he emphasised the need to combat religious fundamentalism by returning to the ‘ancestors’ understanding’ of Islam. This is because, as he argues, it is “le seul remède capable de combattre cet extrémisme religieux qui est en train de menacer de destruction des nations entières” (Tighilt, 2015). Aissa went further and underscored the role of the Zawiya Rahmaniya in the Kabyle region, Lalla Fadhma’s religious and ethnic community, in fighting colonialism. In addition, he extolled the principles of the brotherhood which, in his view, entails wisdom, peaceful cohabitation, love, and many other noble values (Tighilt, 2015).

⁶⁸ An appellation for saints or holy persons of North Africa.

⁶⁹ Is “la *tariqa* la plus connue, la plus répandue, et la plus influente en Algérie” (Gallèze, 2016, p. 100). It is a religious order founded by Sidi Muhammed Ibn Abd al-Rahman Abu Qabrayn. This religious order is followed across the Kabylia region (Akyeampong & Gates, 2012, p. 496).



Figure 26: Lalla Fatima n'Soumer... The daughter of zawiya, who led the Algerian resistance against the French (Kamal, 2018)

In the 19th century, the Zawiya Rahmaniya was headed by Fadhma n'Soumer's father. After his demise, Fadhma took up his position and became the saint of the Soumer village. Her exemplary leadership and strength acquired in the Zawiya and exhibited in the battlefield accorded her several titles among historians, such as 'la cheftaine de guerre', 'la reine de Djurdjura', and 'la Jeanne d'arc du Djurdjura' (B. L, 2009). During the colonial regime, when the Kabyles organised resistance against the French troops headed by General Randon, and the Rahmaniya brotherhood allowed Fadhma to occupy the position of chieftaincy within the public space by taking up arms and leading troops to defend the country. Her strong faith and sincere piety helped her garner the reputation of being a virtuous, honest woman across Algeria.



Figure 27: Rouhani’s house resists being forgotten (Rekha, 2016)

In the wider context of the education policy, the rehabilitation of Lalla Fadhma n’Soumer as a historical figure of resistance goes beyond the issue of gender and the promotion of women’s status within Algerian society. Indeed, by rehabilitating Lalla Fadhma, a radical change is operated in official curricula, since the traditional past of the country is no more seen by education policy makers and designers as being antagonistic to social progress, as was the case during the first few reforms during the post-independence period. In fact, the representations of Lalla Fadhma and the Zawiya Rahmaniya in the textbook underline the state’s will to return to the traditional teaching of zawiya, because the latter are said to have deep roots in the country’s social and political past, as compared to fundamentalist interpretations, which are often described in official discourse as being “Wahabbi” ideas imported from the Middle East.

The return to Zawiya and their teachings is endorsed by the Minister of National Education, Nouria Benghebrit, who encouraged the cooperation of the school with the Zawiya and the Qur’anic schools affiliated to them to combat religious fanaticism. Importantly, one of Benghebrit’s key advisors, the late Professor Mohamed Brahim Salhi, was appointed the director of the National Institute for Research in Education (INRE) in charge of supervising teaching materials. Salhi belongs to a family which has strong connections with the Zawiya Rahmaniya, and is a specialist of the Rahmaniya school of

thought, since he performed a doctoral thesis⁷⁰ and devoted an entire socio-historical study on this religious brotherhood.

The cooperation between the school and the Zawiya stated above is reflected in the revised edition of the textbook of French through the integration of Fadhma n'Soumer; a representative of the Rahmaniya religious order. The teaching and pedagogical representation of this saint woman is a fundamental return to the very essence of education where teaching draws from the realities of the Algerian society. Having a female figure of this kind represented in instructional materials is emblematic of the true gender equality and the true place women hold in Algeria in the first years of colonisation. The appearance of this woman warrior twice in the second edition of the textbook of French on the cover page and within the text, as illustrated in figure 28, is evidence of the progressive and nationalist spirit represented with the intention to transmit resistance values and to rehabilitate the memory of the role played by women during colonialism. Figure 28 illustrates the status of women thanks to the teachings of the Zawiya.



Figure 28: Lalla Fadhma N'Soumer (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 120).

⁷⁰ See Mohamed Brahim Salhi's doctoral thesis, *Société et religion en Kabylie : 1850-2000* (Salhi, 2004) and his sociological contribution, *La Tariqa Rahmaniya - De l'avènement à l'insurrection de 1871* (Salhi, 2008).

Meanwhile women's hair is another cultural and gender identity marker endowed with massive symbolism in the three generations of French and English textbooks. Traditional Algerian women never cut their hair, and even prided themselves for the length of their tresses (*see figure 29*). During the colonial time, native women used to camouflage their hair in the public space by covering it with the *haik*. In Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers*, one of the FLN militants is shown to make a hefty sacrifice in cutting her long braids and bleaching her hair for the sake of serving the revolution (*See appendix 09 in the appendices section*). In other words, during the anti-colonial struggle, women's hair, such as European dress codes for the FLN militants, is another form of camouflage, a hybrid, ambivalent symbol connoting both the assimilation of French culture and the resistance to the colonial order. After independence, many young Algerian women, those tagged as 'civilisées', reverted to the European hairstyle by having a haircut and uncovering their head in public in order to claim emancipation, education and, seemingly, open-mindedness.



Figure 29: A 1960 photograph of an Algerian woman in a French regroupment village (Naggar, 2013)

This symbol of revolution manifests as the exclusive hairstyle for the female characters in the English textbooks *Andy in Algeria* (Menasseri, 1982-1983) and *Spring Book Two* (Belgaid N. , et al., *Spring: An English Course for Beginners (Book Two)*, 2004-2005). The female characters in figures 30 and 31 depict female characters in a modern hairstyle with a domestic role. In figure 30, Zhor appears in a modern hairstyle reflecting the national attempt to modernise society through learning, but her role as a

dressmaker reflects also the other side of the conservatives' ideology of keeping gendered boundaries between the public and the domestic spaces. Figure 31 depicts a woman in a short haircut and a short dress, both symbols of progressive change, albeit again in a domestic performance. This contradictory duality of modern appearance and traditional role is explained through Boumédiène's stand on the evolution of the Algerian woman's status, "The evolution of the Algerian woman and the enjoyment of her rights must be in the framework of the morality of our society" (Quoted in Gordon, 1972, pp. 77-78). In asserting 'the morality of our society', Boumédiène gives an evidence of fundamentalist thinking in postcolonial Algeria. Indeed, more than once, he stated that Algeria had its own traditions and that the emancipation of Algerian women did not, in any way, imply the imitation of Western women. President Boumédiène was not against the short hair or the skirt (see appendix 08) because both were the fashion of that time. Yet, after his death, religious fundamentalists took over his ideas on the priority of men over women in jobs and advocated absolute domination for men over the public space.



Figure 30: Sewing as a traditional woman role (Belgaid N. , et al., 2004-2005, p. 199)



Figure 31: Women with domestic traditional roles (Menasseri, 1982-1983, p. 199)

In addition to the dresses and hairstyles investigated above, social roles are the other elements that must be taken into consideration to better decipher the transformations in official curricula with relation to the issue of gender. After independence, the integration of women into the public space by giving them jobs formed part of the progressive will for development and revolutionary change. To a certain extent, it was viewed as the fulfilment of the liberation promise of the Revolution. However, a careful analysis of the revolutionary struggle, women were most often confined within subordinate roles of nurses, teachers, etc. Natalya Vince argues that the Algerian women who went up into the mountains were given “auxiliary roles most of the time [such as] teachers [who] give Arabic lessons to [National Liberation Army, ALN] soldiers, nurses, social workers in neighbouring villages. A few take up arms” (Vince, 2014). During the post-independence period, the progressive transformation of society did not translate into significant changes for women, who were still employed in similar roles. Stanford asserts this fact and adds that Algerian women “work almost exclusively in the home, taking care of all domestic chores. Anything that involves leaving the house is taken care of by men... Only 7 percent of women work outside the home, most of these in traditionally female professions such as secretarial work, teaching, or nursing” (Stanford, n.d.). In fact, the revolution has shaped the postcolonial reality and its representation to a great extent. Therefore, the professions women carried out during the colonial times have been replicated in the postcolonial society as a legacy of the revolution. The textbooks of the 70s through 90s corroborate the above orientation, as the cast of their women characters

are described to hold what is considered to be traditional feminine professions. These women work as teachers, nurses and typists etc., in other words what Turshen depicts as “the most socially accepted work role for a woman” (Turshen, 2002, p. 892).

Among the public roles assigned to women, nursing is, by far, the most conspicuous. As a traditional feminine profession, it is meant to illustrate the postcolonial progressive ideology and to establish a link of continuity with the revolution when women nursed the sick and the wounded alike in the *maquis* (fighting fronts) (Smail-Salhi, 2003, p. 27). The textbooks depict nursing as one of the exclusive roles for women within public space. In fact, the profession, Porter tells us, “has long been regarded as one of the archetypal female occupation” (Porter, 1992, p. 511) because it involves caring and as such is regarded as a feminine trait. Passages from the text foregrounding this profession are, thus, ubiquitous: “what does a nurse do?”, “she is a nurse...she looks after patients, of course!” (Belgaid, et al., 2001-2002, p. 94); “Her name is Wanda. She is a nurse” (Menasseri, et al., 1982-1983, p. 15); “How about your mother? Says Najet. She is a nurse, says Kada” (Menasseri, et al., 1982-1983, p. 32).

Women in the revised edition of the textbook of French, *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015) are still represented in the role of nursing. While this book has been revised and edited to reflect the development and change in women status, it continues to portray women in nursing role. The recent revival of interest in the country’s cultural heritage, especially the one related to the war of liberation, might elucidate the persistence of the association of this role with women. This orientation is illustrated in figure 32, which depicts Algerian women in *maquis* during the revolution.



Figure 32: The depiction of Algerian women in the nursing profession in the maquis during the struggle for independence (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 141)

Apart from nursing, teaching is the other role associated with women within the progressive ideology of the post-independence years, when women were encouraged to become teachers to help in the postcolonial nation-building. Although they connote the traditional feminine roles of mothers educating their children, statements embedding women within the sphere of the school abound in the textbooks: “I am Mrs. Salem. I am your teacher of English” (Belgaid, et al., 2001-2002), “Her name is Fatiha...She is a teacher” (Menasseri, et al., 1982-1983, p. 14), “My name is Leila and I am a teacher” (Menasseri, et al., 1982-1983, p. 15), “Rose is teaching English at University” (Arab & Riche, 2012-2013, p. 113). However, during the ‘Black Decade’ of the 90s, the teaching profession were a source of contention as many women teachers were targeted by terrorist attacks. To illustrate, in 1997, Amnesty International reported that, “eleven women teachers were slaughtered in front of their pupils by an armed group outside the Ain Adden school in Sfizef (south of Mascara)” (Lloyd, 2006, p. 458).

Other types of professional roles featured in the textbooks that has been exclusively associated with women include typists and hostesses⁷¹: “Miss Brahim Sabeha can type”; Fatiha has been a typist in the bank for ten years” (Belgaid, et al., 2004-2005,

⁷¹ In a word game (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 82), (see appendix 10) a number of professions are enumerated on the right hand side of the illustration. In this activity pupils are asked to match the professions with the right picture. It is significant that two women featured in the picture are a nurse and a dressmaker.

p. 173); “Les hôtesses de l’air ont servi des boissons fraîches aux passagers” (2003-2004, p. 75). Secretaries and hostesses are other forms of assistance and imply subordinate positions which are analogous to teaching and nursing.

The other most noticeable change taking place in education policy, and reflected in English and French textbooks relates to the representation of women in sports activities. In the post-independence period, sportswomen were absent in the textbooks, and all texts and figures feature local or foreign sportsmen: “Mark Thatcher, 28 years old, is a business man and a sports car-driver. He participated in the automobile rally Paris-Algiers- Dakar (January 1982)” (Belgaid, et al., 2001-2002, p. 147) and “C’est l’arrivée. Zatopek a gagné, mais Mimoun est là tout près, il vient de se battre en grand champion” (Belkhir, et al., 2003-2004, p. 118). As a male athlete, Mimoun is feted as a national hero as well as a good representative of Algerian runners. In a similar vein, sports as a public domain is considered by fundamental Islamists to be the exclusive space of men and the athletic attire for women as being against the Islamic morality (Dine, 2017, p. 208). This conservative ideology appears in the textbooks of English of the 80s and 90s through the exclusive representation of men in sports activities⁷² and the absence of women from it.

In the 1990s, during the decade of civil strife and religious fundamentalism, many events made transformative changes in the country as a result of Hassiba Boulmerka’s successes in World Athletics Championship (1991) and the World Olympic Games (Barcelona 1992), when she won two successive gold medals. After her victories, Boulmerka was met with fierce abuse and public ridicule; she is even reported to have received death threats (Arnold, 2012). The deplorable hostility against her was fuelled by a fundamentalist assumption, which found it nothing less than abominable for a Muslim woman to expose her bare legs in public. In comparison to the popular enthusiasm which welcomed the performance of Noredine Morcelli during the same events, the abuse meted out to Boulmerka reveals a gendered reception of both sports and success. Put succinctly, large sections of the Algerian public perceived athletic prowess unsuitable for a Muslim woman until the 1990s (Kilcline, 2008, pp. 35 quoted in Dine, 2017, p.208). This is why, Boulmerka considered it as one of defiance when she commented on her experience: “It was a symbol of victory, of defiance. It was to say: ‘I

⁷² See appendix 11 and 12 in the appendices section about the exclusive representation of men in sports activities.

did it! I won! And now, if you kill me, it'll be too late. I've made history!"(Quoted in Arnold, 2012). Her victories were considered internationally as “a political statement and a form of emancipation for Mediterranean women” (Kilcline, 2008, p. 35)

One can never deny the extent to which Boulmerka's, and other Algerian sportswomen's international successes, such as Benida Merah, Baya Rahouli, Salima Souakri, just to mention a few, contributed towards shaping public opinion and changing official politics in favour of a progressivist stance towards women's sports. This is why the recent textbooks show a beam of change towards female involvement in sports activities. The following passages serve as an example: “Sabrina is a schoolgirl. She is fond of basketball” (Arab S. A., Riche, Ameziane, Khouas, & Louadj, 2013-2014), “I [Becky] am determined to graduate in Chemistry. And if I have any spare time, I'll keep on playing soccer with the College team” (Arab & Riche, 2012-2013, p. 71). These instances from the reform textbooks of English series *On the move* (Arab & Riche, 2012-2013) and *Spotlight on English* (Arab S. A., Riche, Ameziane, Khouas, & Louadj, 2013-2014) convey the changing attitude of the national ideology towards female participation in sports practice. Similarly, the French textbook of the same period introduces the three Algerian women athletes and champions in different sports activities to counter the myopic fundamentalist ideology of the 1990s as well as to reflect the change Algeria as a postcolonial nation has achieved and aims to achieve: “...interroger l'une des trois championnes médaillées d'or des jeux Méditerranéens d'athlétisme 2005, Souad Ait Salem 10 000m, Soraya Haddad Judo, and Baya Rahouli saut en longueur”(Djilali & Tounsi, 2005-2006, p. 34). These examples illustrate Algeria's openness to modernity after the gendered politics that characterised the ‘décennie noire’ the achievements of women athletes were faced with public ridicule and inexplicable absence from school material.

The reformed textbooks of the 2000s show other changes at the level of women social roles. Indeed, in addition to the openness towards women's sports practice, women are also allowed to take up artistic positions, such as music and the arts. One of the woman characters mentioned in the textbooks defines herself and her family in the following manner: “I live in a family of artists. My father is a landscape painter and my mother is a musician. My brother is a collector of antiquities and my sister is training to be a sculptor. Each of them wants me to train to be an artist too. Mom wants me to be a guitarist, Dad a cartoonist, my sister a writer and my brother a film director. But I expect

to have a different occupation. If I get a scholarship, I will go to university and become a physician, or a librarian, or a chemist” (Arab & Riche, 2012-2013, p. 73). This example demonstrates the variety of roles available for women and expresses the social will for change fostered in contemporary textbooks. The personal pronoun “I” is gender neutral and provides female learners with more opportunities to situate/visualise themselves in those artistic roles.

Since Independence, Algeria worked for the improvement of the quality of education and adopted various policies towards gender. The diachronic study of Algerian foreign language textbooks carried out in chapter four has shown that since the nation’s independence, representations of women within the ‘Algerianised’ textbooks have always been thought of in terms of their biological role as mothers of the nation. This is why they have been represented in nurturing roles that require their presence in the domestic space. However, a positive change has taken place as a result of the late reform implemented since 2003 as a response to the conservative ideology of the ‘Black Decade’ and the fundamentalist ideology that underpinned it. However, even if the integration of women in the public space attests to a change in the social structure and denotes a great step towards the elimination of gender inequality, gender inequality is still an on-going issue in the textbooks. This is attributed to the fact that the representation of women within domesticity and with traditional roles still looms large in the textbooks, as seen in chapter four.

Despite the relative visibility and empowerment that women are endowed with in today’s day and age, the fact remains that those representations seem to have taken a significant leap towards gender equality. Overall, the reforms brought to the teaching materials of foreign languages were the outcome of their time given that they were determined, first and foremost, by the social and political contexts of the country. Hence, the three periods singled out in the postcolonial history of Algeria (the 1970s, a period of decolonisation and progressive reforms under Boumédiène’s socialist state; the 1980s through 1990s, period of growing fundamentalism followed by civil strife as return to past was established and nationalism defined women as mothers of the nation; and the 2000s, a time of national recovery) uniquely reflected the type of (gender) identity conferred upon the country in its own way. Nonetheless, in Algerian curricula, the past is still considered as the main cultural and national reference, and remains a given, a constant, since it holds a tremendous place in the three periods, to the extent that it can

be viewed as the only cultural and ideological foundation in (the restoration of) the country's, arguably authentic, identity denigrated by more than a century of colonial domination and a decade of religious fundamentalism. However, during the 1980s, the return to a conservative tradition within the progressive ideology of the socialist state resulted in a fragile sense of identity and a long period of instability, as testified by the bloody 'décennie noire'. During that particular middle period, modernity was viewed as alien to, and incompatible with, what was considered to be national culture, whose authenticity was ostensibly threatened by "la pénétration des modèles étrangers" and the "risques de déculturation" that they entail (Benali, 2009, p. 93). Hence, recourse to the past as a source of values is repeatedly seen to be a protective shield against foreign influences (colonial and Wahhabi), a bulwark against the loss of the national cultural heritage. The examples of the Kahina, Lalla Fadhma N'Soumer, and the women freedom fighters explored in this chapter provide an understanding that not all returns to the past help incur a restoration of a contaminated order as seen through chapter four. Return to the past, as evidenced in the case of Fadhma N'Soumer, constitutes a selective return to the past of the country that involves rehabilitation and acknowledgement of the true role Algerian women played throughout the history of Algeria. Reconstruction of femininity in the French and English textbooks of the more recent decades is certainly a good step forward to emancipate the image of Algerian women from the shackles of colonial visuality and from the role nationalism has confined her to in the post-war years. Postcolonial textbooks (Algerian) of French and English discussed in this chapter have certainly succeeded in changing the exotic visuality of the Algerian woman illustrated in chapter two through the established continuity with colonial orientalist visuality in the French and English textbooks of the post-independence years by rehabilitating the image of Algerian women leaders and heroines. *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015) rehabilitates the image of Algerian women and signifies a positive change in the way learners should perceive Algerian women and their role in society. Reference to Fadhma N'Soumer is an initiative towards providing a postcolonial Algerian, an emancipated type of woman that implies development from within the country rather than from without. As discussed in chapter one, although modernity has always been associated with the modern and progressive aspects of enlightenment it was also criticised for being a male-dominant philosophy that instituted differences between men and women on the basis of physical ability, as documented by Jean Jacques Rousseau in his *Émile, ou, De l'éducation* (Rousseau, 1762). Rousseau received critical reading for his sexist view about women. Similarly, his views on education have been criticised for

being ambivalent about the role of women in society (Thomas, 1991). In order to overcome the stifling legacy of western modernity in the Algerian context, these textbooks serve as a poignant example of change for women from within the nation's traditional past and, by implication, the teachings of Zawiya.

Conclusion

This thesis has provided a postcolonial analysis of gender representations in French and English textbooks in the context of postcolonial Algeria. In the five chapters of the thesis, constructions of gender identity in the textbooks have been closely investigated in relation to the ideology of nationalism that has been adopted by the state. This ideology, being affected by colonial legacies, establishes a linkage with Algeria's past in order to reconstruct its present. Chapters two, three, four and five demonstrate the impact of nationalism and the several returns to the past to shed light on how the issue of gender is constructed and conceived in the aforementioned textbooks. The French and English textbooks that constitute the corpus of this thesis represent the different periods in the postcolonial history of Algerian education that necessitate an incisive examination from a postcolonial perspective to provide explanations for the kind of gender identity that French and English textbooks construct. Looking at the textbooks from a postcolonial viewpoint and referring to postcolonial theory provides a better understanding of the numerous ways in which gender is constructed and represented. Theories of nationalism, introduced in chapter one and discussed throughout the analytical chapters of this thesis, allowed us to better understand the logic of inclusion of men and the exclusion of women. Constructions of gender in these textbooks reflect the definition based on which men and women are framed within the discourse of nationalism as 'protectors' and 'mothers' of the nation, respectively. Separate spheres for men and women in the textbooks are explained through the ideology of nationalism assigning different roles for men and women. Chapter one of this thesis provides a critical introduction and a contextual review of the social and historical contexts in which the textbooks were produced and the nation's nationalist ideology that dictate gender representations.

Chapter two explored French and English textbooks of the post-independence years, namely, *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* (1982-1983), *Textes choisis: 4eme année moyenne* (1984-1985) and *Majid in England* (1985-1986) which exhibit a sense of continuity with the colonial past of Algeria because Manichean representations of the colonial period still resurface in the textbooks' visual content despite claiming the textbooks as being the first national educational products to adapt to the national culture. Despite making such claims in the forewords of *Textes choisis: 3eme année moyenne* and *Andy in Algeria* (1982-1983), as discussed in chapter two, the visuality reflected in these textbooks repeats a typical orientalist visuality wherein the Algerian man is emasculated and the woman is portrayed as an exotic and erotic individual. The visual content of these textbooks is analysed in relation to the postcolonial theory and theories of nationalism that highlight a sense of continuity between the postcolonial and colonial periods.

Through Figures 1 to 13, the chapter reiterates gender-based colonial visualisations premised on the West/ East dichotomy. It concludes that despite being products of national post-independence, residues of colonial visual legacies still have a strong effect on the constructions of gender identity. The verbal content of the textbooks analysed in chapter three, however, reflects an attempt towards liberating the content of the textbooks from Orientalist content through a calibrated reconstruction of Algerian masculinity by establishing another connection with the country's past. The chapter discussed the manner in which masculinity is rehabilitated.

Meanwhile the written literature used in these same textbooks, as well as the ones published in the subsequent years 1990s and 2000s, also constitute an attempt towards liberating the content of the textbooks from colonial myths through a calibrated reconstruction of Algerian masculine identity. Chapter three investigated the myriad ways in which Algerian masculinity is reconstructed as a corrective of colonial emasculating visuality that reduced Algerian men to the status of femininity. By establishing a return to a colonially-contaminated past of the country, the chapter concluded that these textbooks emphasise masculinity and the reconstruction of their identity by over-asserting the masculine figure in both literary excerpts and non-literary content analysed in the verbal content of the stated textbooks. The verbal content of these French and English textbooks representing the three periods emphasises male virility, the virtues of epic heroism by returning to pre-colonial leaders and the glorification of martyrdom through the Fanonian concept of the 'New man'. The chapter also reflects an attempt to reclaim public space for men by emphasising his dominance and hegemony by excluding women from this space. In the French textbooks, this space is referred to (through the excerpted Francophone literature) as *tajmaât*. The chapter concludes that a hyper-assertion of masculinity resulted in hegemonic male presence in the public space and their unchallenged dominance over public roles. In addition, this chapter refers to postcolonial theory, nationalism and Connell's theorisation of hegemonic masculinity so as to explain how men became dominant agents in the textbooks.

The absence of women in public roles has been the focal point in chapter four. It looked at the reconstruction of feminine identity from the eroticising colonial visuality following a definition of femininity that is aligned with the nationalist ideology where their identity is necessarily confined to the nurturing role of motherhood, as discussed in chapter one. It also looked at the notion of a return to the colonial resistant past where men and women experienced separate spheres and role divisions. With reference to Gordon (1968), Smail-Salhi (2010), Memmi (2003) and Fanon (1963), who contend that

a return to the past does not necessarily warrant authenticity, the chapter argues that this return as part of the philosophy of nationalism in Algeria involves a restoration of a colonial gender order that dictates domesticity for women and public life for men. This chapter, in addition to chapters two and three, is another example of the traditional face of nationalism in which women are stereotyped as ‘the mothers of the nation’. Chapter five, however; illustrated the modern face of nationalism and modernity which is exemplified by a selective return to Algeria’s past in the context of Algeria where Algerian women leaders have been hailed as heroic national symbols of an emancipated type of woman. Since modernity has been critically viewed as stemming from the enlightenment philosophy whose project is mainly masculine and does not serve women, as postcolonial products, these textbooks show an orientation towards modernising change from within the national culture because modernity in its Western sense is not only alien to national culture, but also constitutes an unchanging status for women due to the gendered nature of western modernity highlighted in chapters one and five. The textbooks of the more recent years and the ones that represent the 2000s period reflect changing roles and status for Algerian women by establishing a selective return to the past of the country and providing credible illustrations of heroic, emancipated women.

Although the French textbook *Mon livre de français: 3eme année moyenne* (2014-2015) reflects a slight change towards emancipating women from the shackles of colonial representations, their representation in the public space with purposeful change in their roles and a selective return to the past helps construct a modernising change for Algerian femininity as well as for female learners who would be able to relate more with national women models. In this regard, Fadhma N’Soumer and other revolutionary women whose war-time efforts have been vital for the success of the Algerian revolution, have been emphasised and dress codes like the haik and the miniskirt, which are allegoric of emancipatory connotations not only reflect an implementation of the cultural revolution that Mustapha Lacheraf has long called for in the post-independence years, but also serves as an evidence of a national will towards emancipating women in an Algerian image. Examples of this emancipated woman model constitute the first successful attempt towards Algerianising the content of the aforementioned textbooks. Mostefa Lacheraf’s Cultural Revolution (Lacheraf, 1965) and his ideas on the need to challenge colonial clichés (discussed in chapter two) as a way to liberate Algerian culture from its colonial legacies starts to appear more than 40 years after independence.

As discussed in chapter five, traditional dress codes like the haik during the war of independence and the long dress of Fadhma N’Soumer and the Kahina represented in

Figures 26 and 25 were not impediments for the woman body, as research documents about the veil, within the Muslim context in the Western world (Bowen, 2007; Tropper, 2013; Joppke, 2009). This research considers the veil as a reflection of the subordinate status of women and a challenging factor to nation-states' liberal commitment to gender equality (Fernando, 2009, p. 519). In 2004, France passed a law which banned women from wearing headscarves in French public schools because the veil constitutes a symbol of Algerian resistance in the postcolonial French memory. It is also viewed as a legacy of colonialism which suggests that France is aiming to exterminate any form of Algerian cultural symbols, a legacy of the 132 years of colonial encounter, just as Algeria is trying to distance education from western modernity. The headscarf in France has been perceived to be a threat to the defining values of the French Republic that was founded on the separation of religion from state political and ideological policies known as "laïcité" (Tropper, 2013, p. 25).

Under the generic rubric of gender identity (re-) construction in postcolonial Algeria, this research has attempted to explore the persistence of colonial legacies which paves the way for the organic evolution of nationalism as a philosophy. Future avenues of research could potentially consider some areas this thesis touched upon but did not delve deeper due to time and space constraints involved in this project. Future research could possibly extend the exploration of changing gender roles for women in the second generation textbooks and curricula which have been conceived and published in recent years under Benghabrit, which claim to have taken into consideration "la dimension nationale" (Huffpost, 2017) through the literary texts that were selected by the national commission of the ministries of culture and education starting from 2017. The theme of modernising change and emancipating women 'from within' as opposed to emancipating them 'from without' could be taken further in relation to second generation textbooks and find whether more illustrations of national emancipated women have been referred to. To that end, there are many national examples such as Lalla Dmamaya, Lalla Zeineb, Lalla Saida and Lalla Khadidja, who are also legendary women with a strong sense of leadership and represent emancipated models of Algerian women. The word 'Lalla' in their names is emblematic of the veneration that people show towards them as women saints and exemplary leaders within the regions they lived in.

Future research would provide fertile grounds on investigating the presence of such venerated women in second generation textbooks in relation to the educational policy that was recently developed in 2017. It is also not insignificant that these textbooks

reflect “une dimension nationale” (Huffpost, 2017) of the country. A potential way of extending the scope of this research is to take a closer look at other French, English, Berber and Arabic textbooks at the primary, middle and secondary school levels and ascertain whether representations and constructions of gender identity follow the nationalist ideology of the state or seem to deviate from the ‘cultural revolution’ defined lately as ‘la dimension nationale.’ It would also help explore whether there is a nuance in those representations due to language considerations, mainly attributed to the fact that French is a former language of the coloniser. The element of nuance between languages has already been highlighted in this thesis between French and English language textbooks in the exclusive inclusion of Francophone literature in the French textbooks as well as the absence of these texts in the ones belonging to English, as evidenced by other research: “It was felt that English as a historically neutral language in the Algerian context would be able to play the modernising role that was hoped for from French but without the colonialist and non-Islamic associations that French had.” (Coleman, 2010, p. 13).

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Appendices

Eloge de la vie bédouine

L'Emir Abd El-Kader (1808-1833) est né près de Mascara ; il mourut en exil à Damas (Syrie). Aujourd'hui, ses cendres reposent en Algérie.
Ce furent les circonstances qui firent de lui un homme de guerre, le militant de la résistance au conquérant français. La défaite provisoire de son pays le ramena à sa vocation de philosophe et de poète.

O toi qui comprends l'homme brûlant d'amour pour la vie citadine et **blâmes** l'ami des solitudes du désert.

Ne jette pas le discrédit sur des tentes mobiles et ne réserve pas tes éloges aux habitations d'argile et de pierre.

5 Si tu savais la valeur de la vie bédouine, tu me comprendrais, mais tu l'ignores : que l'ignorance **engendre** de maux !

Si tu avais un matin, au Sahara, gravi une dune, véritable tapis de sable où les graviers scintillent de perles.

10 Si tu t'étais promené dans le jardin d'une oasis où la multitude variée des fleurs aux parfums enivrants offre un spectacle enchanteur.

Tu aurais respiré la délicieuse brise qui dilate le souffle, pure des souillures de la ville.


Si au matin d'une nuit apportant à la terre une rosée abondante, tu avais gravi un sommet d'où le regard s'étend à l'infini, tu aurais perçu à tous les points de l'horizon **les hordes** d'animaux sauvages paissant des arbrisseaux aux plus vives senteurs.

Ah ! la bête halte ! plus de chagrin au cœur en mal d'amour, plus de tourment pour l'esprit angoissé !...

20 Le feu de l'hospitalité brûle toute la nuit pour le voyageur ; il est le remède à la faim et au froid. Notre ennemi n'a ni refuge ni asile, et nos rapides coursiers arrivent les premiers à la course et nous assurent la victoire.

25 Leur boisson est le lait de chamelle, sans eau, le lait de chamelle n'est pas comme celui des vaches.

Les biens de nos ennemis à tout instant sont partagés suivant la justice et le rang.



Il n'est pas de défaut dans cette vie bédouine qui **exalte** les qualités viriles et la générosité.

30 Elle assure la santé du corps ; les vices et les maux sont pour les citadins.

Chez nous, qui ne meurt d'un coup de lance à longue vie. C'est la grâce que Dieu nous a réservée.

Abd-El-Kader.
« Anthologie maghrébine. »
(Hachette.)

1° A qui s'adresse l'émir ? De quoi veut-il lui donner conscience ?
2° Expliquer : « les graviers scintillent de perles » — « pure des souillures de la ville » — « le feu de l'hospitalité ».
3° Analysez ce qui fait la « valeur » de la vie bédouine.
a) Montrez que les Bédouins sont attachés à la nature.
b) Quelles qualités la vie bédouine exalte-t-elle ?

- 16 -

- 17 -

Appendix 01: (Abdelouhab, Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1982-1983, p. 17)



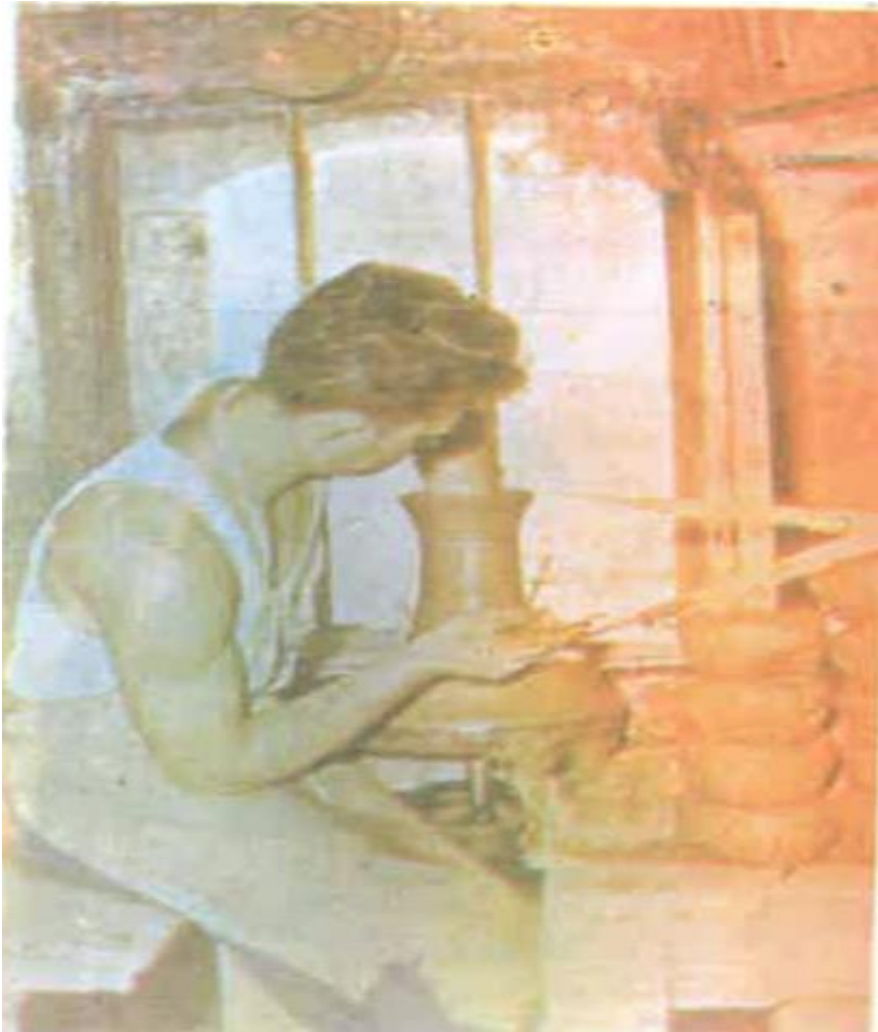
draw the pattern



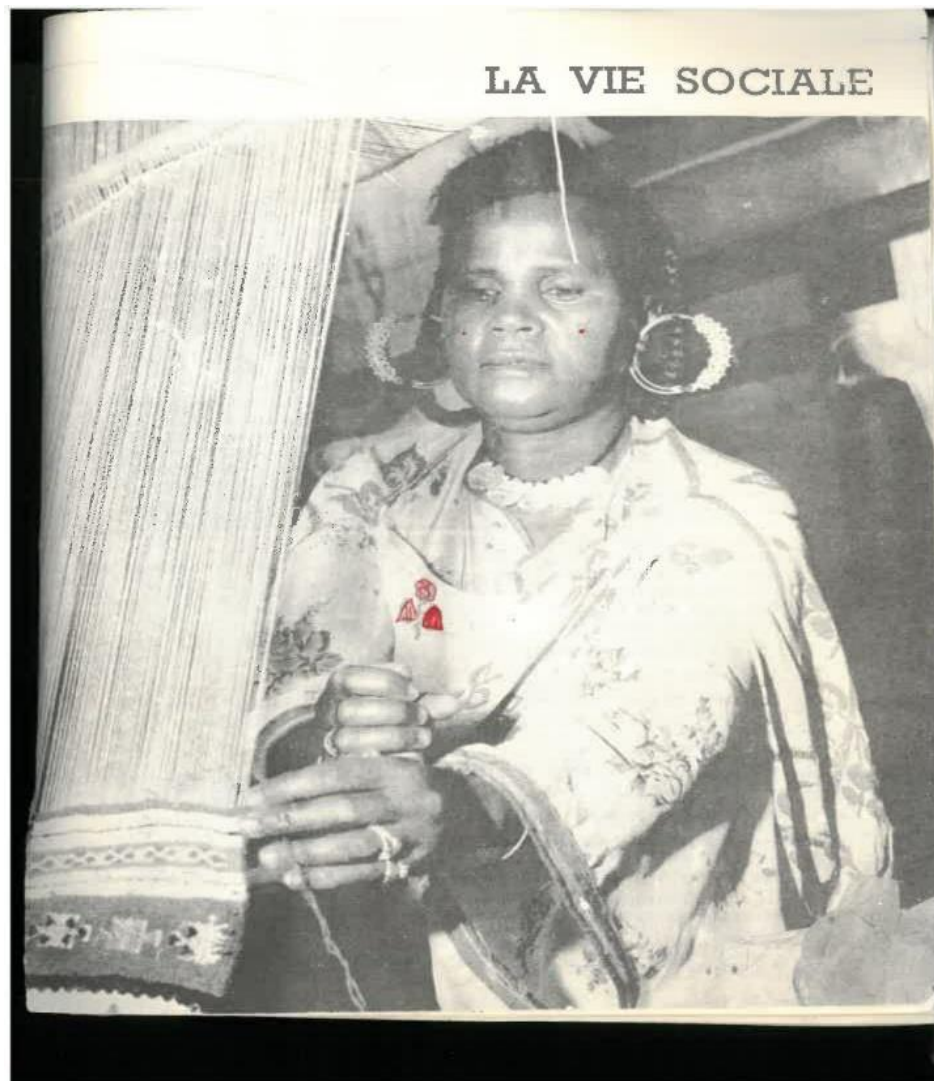
cut the cloth



Appendix 02: Representation of Zhor's role at home (Belgaid N. , et al., 2004-2005, p. 199)



Appendix 03: A man in pottery-making industry (Belgaid N. , et al., 2004-2005, p. 62)



Appendix 04: A woman weaving a carpet (Abdelouhab A. , Bencharif, Fasla, & Ou-saada, 1976, p. 145)

Qui ?	Quoi ?	Comment ?	Pourquoi ?
- la mère assise par terre - sur une peau de mouton	- préparer le couscous : un plat traditionnel national : - la semoule - l'eau - le sel - la gas'aâ : grand plat en bois - le tamis - le couscoussier (marmite en terre) - le brasero (nafakh) - bol ou assiette creuse en terre pour l'eau - odeurs particulières - couscous unique, le meilleur	- en chantant - ambiance de fête - rouler - arroser - tamiser - faire cuire à la vapeur - imbiber d'eau - ajouter le sel enduire d'huile - répéter la cuisson à la vapeur - beurrer ou huiler avec de l'huile d'olive - sauce blanche ou rouge, selon les régions - mélanger à des légumes cuits à la vapeur/ raisins secs - servir avec du petit lait ou lait caillé, piments	- pour le dîner - dans les fêtes - pour les invités - pour apprendre et perpétuer la tradition

Production de l'oral

RÉCAPITULONS

- A la place de la petite fille, raconte comment se déroule la préparation du couscous : l'ambiance - les odeurs...

Tu peux commencer ainsi : *Le couscous de ma mère est unique. Je la revois assise...*



Appendix 05: A detailed description of the food preparation by the mother and the learning of the daughter (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 169)



Appendix 06: A woman in a short dress within the confines of domesticity
(Menasseri, Belkaid, Cherief, Watson, & Tadjer, 1985-1986, p. 199)



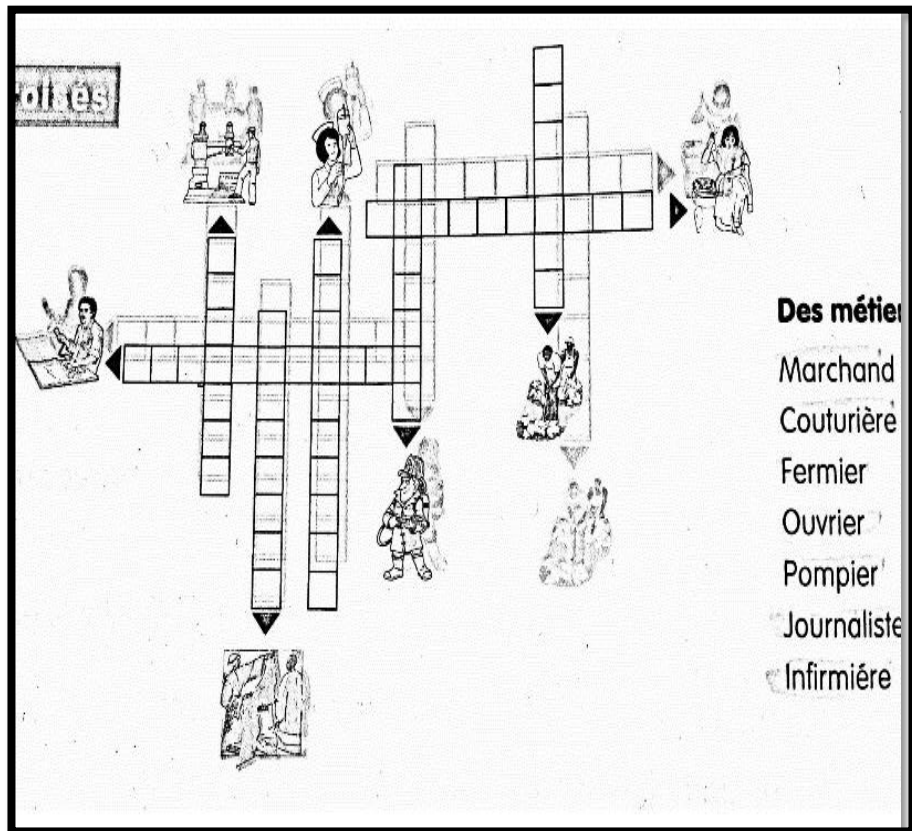
Appendix 07: Zhor wearing modern clothes but with a domestic role (Belgaid N. , Belhouchet, Guedoudj, Kaci, & Rabet, 2004-2005, p. 106)



Appendix 08: President Boumédiène and his family on a beach. The women represent the ‘civilisées’ of that time (Algeriades, 2014).



Appendix 09 Screenshot from Pontecorvo's *The Battle of Algiers* representing a woman cutting her hair to serve the revolution (Pontecorvo, 1966)



Appendix 10: Women and men professions in a word game symbolising a repetition of women's roles during the colonial period (Ayad, et al., 2014-2015, p. 82)



Appendix 11: Representation of the long-distance runner Mimoun (Hadj-Amar, El-Raies, Medani, & Meziani, 2003-2004, p. 118)



Appendix 12: Representation of men in football (Belgaid, et al., 2004-2005, p. 37)