

Algerian colonial history in French textbooks

At the crossroad of nationalism and memory clashes

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55 ANS APRÈS LE DÉBUT DE LA GUERRE D'ALGÉRIE



Master thesis
Erasmus University Rotterdam
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26/08/13

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Acknowledgements

The present study came about through my participation in the Master History of Society: the Global History and International Relations program at the Erasmus Rotterdam University. My passion for the domain of history education soon led me to choose a topic with the aim to investigate the impact of education on society and vice versa.

My internship at the Georg Eckert Institute only confirmed my attraction to this subject. My short stay in Braunschweig enabled me to meet and interact with many brilliant researchers who always shared with great pleasure their opinions on matters such as society, religion and conflicts in relation with history textbooks. Driven by a similar interest I then dedicated many hours of my research to the analysis of more than fifty French textbooks in order to learn and compare the way in which controversial topics were approached in French society between 1970 and 2012. Growing up and living in France until I reached the age of eighteen gave me the occasion to have firsthand experience with not only French education but also public debates regarding the growing ethnic diversity of France. Hence, I have on numerous occurrences witnessed the discrepancy between the so-called democratic foundations of France and the increase in immigration. Following school and attending highly multicultural classes left me with an uncomfortable sense of *faux semblant* and incompetence from both French historians and politicians. My passion for the topics of colonization/decolonization and especially Algerian colonial history highly influenced the choice of research for my Master thesis.

I would like to thank everyone who helped me through the research and writing process with a special mention of my thesis supervisor Maria Grever and all the professors of the Master Program History of society. I would also like to express my gratitude to the staff of the Georg Eckert institute for welcoming me and enabling me to use not only their library but also their priceless knowledge and expertise. I am also grateful for the help of Marcus Otto and for his mentorship during my three weeks internship at the Institute.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Historical realities are always enigmatic and, while appearing to be self-evident, are difficult to decipher; and there is perhaps none which presents these characteristics in a higher degree than Algerian reality. That is why it represents an extraordinary challenge, both for knowledge and for action.

—Pierre Bourdieu ‘Acts of resistance’ (New York 1998).

The main goal of my Master thesis is to study the representation of Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks between 1970 and 2012 and to investigate how and why these representations changed over time. The choice of this specific timeframe is motivated by several important factors.

The beginning of the new millennium witnessed a rise of public interest in the colonial history of North Africa both in France and globally. This should be seen as one of the many consequences of the increase of popular interest in processes such as immigration or radical nationalism. Extremist political parties such as the Front national, with Jean-Marie Le Pen as leader, have tried by any means to attract French citizens’ attention on matters such as security and immigration almost always relating these processes in a straightforward causal relationship. Moreover, international events such as 9/11 in the U.S added to the general fear of what was now considered as the “Muslim menace”. Terms such as integration or multiculturalism soon started to spread everywhere in the news provoking both dread and controversy.¹ The study of North Africa and more particularly Algeria became in few years the most controversial and fragmented topic of French history. Public events such as the riots of October 2005 by the furious youth of the banlieues, often part of the so-called second generation migrant group, as well as the discussion of the passing of restrictive lois mémorielles on the representation of Algerian colonial history seem to show the confusion of both groups on the actual social situation of

¹ See on online journals such as www.lemonde.fr or www.lefigaro.fr between 2000 and 2012.

France.² One of the main examples of the political pressure that is exerted upon the academic representation of the colonial history of Algeria in history textbooks started on November 6, 1989 when the senator Paul Alduy confronted the ministry of education for what he thought is the misrepresentation of this episode with the lack of recognition for the suffering of the *peïds noirs* (French colons that inhabited Algeria) and the humanitarian drive of the French when conquering Algeria. It is because of such statement that the law of February 2, 2005, with article 4 asking for the recognition of the positive impact of French colonization, became visible in the French political agenda. Article 4 was an attempt to rehabilitate the French colonial ideology of the *mission civilisatrice*.³

In order to understand the struggles that most ethnic minorities are faced with when living in France one has to understand the importance that is given to the values of the French nation. Since the French Revolution, new goals started to form for the future of what was seen as the French territory. In order to erase the influence of the Ancient R gime - the monarchic, aristocratic, social and political system - the people of France were increasingly represented as one and indivisible and as part of a homogenous territory which found credit in its ancient Gallic heritage.⁴ This reformation started the process of unification of the French people with actions such as the prohibition of regional languages such as the language of the Basques.⁵ Moreover, the image that the new republic shared of what a true French citizen must look like did not leave any place for the spread and development of cultural or social differences. Therefore, French citizens were seen as autonomous entities who were expected to actively participate in politics by following their reason and not to their personal background.⁶ Although some important changes occurred since this period, these ideas are still present within the foundations of the country.

As pointed out above, the ethnic and social reality of contemporary France is far from matching the ideal French conception of a homogenous people and territory. France is one of Europe's oldest countries of immigration. Therefore, since ancient time many travelers from all

² Pascal Blanchard et Isabelle Veyrat-Masson eds., *Les guerres de m moires. La France et son histoire. Enjeux politiques, controverses historiques, strat gies m diatiques* (Paris 2008).

³ Maria Grever, 'Plurality, Narrative and the Historical Canon', in Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman eds., *Beyond the canon. History for the twenty-first century* (Basingstoke 2007) 31-47, 31-32.

⁴ Halima Ait-Mehdi, 'Teaching the history of colonization and decolonization in France: A shared history or to each their own?', *UNESCO IBE* (2012) 194.

⁵ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford 1976).

⁶ Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, 'French School History Confronts the Multicultural', in Mario Carretero et al eds., *Constructing Patriotism: Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds* (Stanford 2007).

around the globe gathered in the territory that is nowadays called France. In modern times three important waves of immigration took place answering to the growing demands of industrial developments. From 1800 onward people from neighboring countries such as Germany, Belgium or Italy chose to immigrate to France. In the 1920s this wave increased with people from all over Europe. Finally after the Second World War people from North Africa started their journey to the French territory with the hope of finding work.⁷

It is also important to understand that although the modern concept of French nationhood emerged during the French Revolution, nationalism was mainly a product of war. Therefore, due to the stagnation of the demographic rate of France during the 1880s, the amount of men in the army (who were included through the obligatory military service) was considered highly insufficient when compared to Germany. The naturalization of immigrants to French citizenship enabled the increase of this amount. In order to guarantee the allegiance of newly foreign citizens to the French patrie, school and the army started the practice of strict assimilationist processes enabling the formation of a unified and strong French people with multicultural background. This heritage is still present in the educational goals of France today.⁸ It is clear that the republican ideal and the contemporary ethnic reality of France are highly incompatible. These two important components of France's foundation are constantly clashing in the media but also during the creation and adjustment of crucial democratic elements such as school curriculum.

The social conflict due to North African immigration in France is a controversial and complex part of my Master thesis. Yet the focus of my research is on how one of these controversies has been represented in French secondary school history textbooks: Algerian colonial history. The study of history textbooks has already a long and extensive history. These media mostly contain fragmented versions of history which are nowadays in France mostly known for their lack of neutrality. If so much importance is given to the study of textbooks it is because their use is of significance for processes such as socialization and that they play a crucial role in molding the national identity of numerous future citizens.⁹ Moreover, the increased multiculturalism of classrooms has now become the greatest challenges regarding the teaching of a partial and relevant history. In this view the place of the history of ethnic minorities, such as

⁷ Ait-Mehdi, 'Teaching the history of colonization, 193.

⁸ William Brubaker, 'Immigration, citizenship and the nation-state in France and in Germany: a comparative historical analysis', *International Sociology* 5 (1990) 379-407.

⁹ Simone Lässig, Karl Heinrich Pohl, 'History Textbooks and Historical Scholarship in Germany', *History workshop journal* 67 (2009) p.125.

Algerians in French classrooms, is given enormous attention and is handled with caution. Hence, it is always difficult to find the right approach when dealing with controversial historical events.

The frequent changes in the contents of most textbooks are not an innocent matter. This is not only due to the progress that historians accomplished in both research and writing but also to contemporary political, economic and social processes. Therefore, as it has been pointed out above, new developments such as the voting of a law regulating the representation of historical occurrences can demand the rewriting of whole passages of history. In this view, it is interesting to notice whether the changes in the representation of Algerian colonial history in history textbooks between 1970 and 2012 can be linked to any recent alterations in French society.

In this chapter I will present my research question. Next I will discuss some important theoretical notions which are necessary to understand in order to grasp the topic of my thesis. Then I will study the developments that have been made in the area of textbook research to finally introduce my sources and methods.

1.1 Research question

My main research question is the following: *How is colonial Algerian history represented in French history textbooks between 1970 and 2012? To what extent can we link possible changes in these representations to public debates on this history in France?*

I will mostly focus on history textbooks which are reaching students between the age of 14 and 15 in the last term of the French “college” (high school). I chose this specific age frame because it is during this year that students are getting acquainted with the history of imperialism and with the history of the French colonies.

To be able to answer the main question I will investigate six different sub-questions:

1. What is the position of the subject History in French high schools between ca. 1970-2012?
2. What are the social and political contexts in post-colonial French society concerning migrants from former colonies, such as Algeria?

3. To what extent has the discipline of history influenced the approach taken in history textbooks in the research period?
4. What is the place of colonial history and Algerian colonial history in the whole contents of French textbooks in the research period? Is it part of the history of French extension or is it sometimes lacking?
5. What kind of developments can we notice in the discursive and visual representations of colonial Algerian history during the research period?
6. Can we notice any influence of the memory clashes in the 2000s (such as the riots of 2005) in the perspective taken on Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks concerning discursive and visual representations?

1.2 Theoretical concepts

National identity/ National history

National identity was and still is a controversial concept which is often addressed by a broad area of experts. One of the most interesting accounts on this matter was written by Benedict Anderson with the book *Imagined communities*. Instead of seeing nationalism as pathology or as an ideology, Anderson tries to study it as part of processes such as “kinship” or “religion”.¹⁰ This approach allows us to understand the roots of this notion and to see it as a result of the shift in time between different forms of belongingness which are necessary for the functioning of the modern state.

Anderson also refutes the long-lasting idea that the nation-state and nationalism are ancient entities which can account for many events that happened in the past by regrouping them under categories such as “French history” or “English heritage”. Therefore, this trend is highly noticeable in history teaching and writing when looking at the index of textbooks with chapters such as “French imperialism” or “France in the Middle-Ages” which seem to imply that France as a nation existed for several centuries. As Anderson explains, the production of textbooks by itself creates a reality in which people can feel connected to their fellow French citizen and help in the formation of a so-called imagined community. Therefore, while learning about the history

¹⁰ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (London, 1991) 5.

of France some might feel as if, although they do not all know each other, French citizens are all sharing a common past which bound them together. In this sense we understand the crucial role that textbooks hold in the creation of a strong national identity.

However, processes such as globalization and immigration have strongly redefined the identity of most individuals. Markers such as ethnicity seem to be holding more and more importance in the identity-making process of people. Faced with such threats the nation tries by any means to enhance its power and grasp over the life of people. The emphasis on important defining moments for France such as the French Revolution or the resistance against the Nazis during the Second World War is one of the main strategies of the nation to remind French citizens of their belongingness. It is around such events that one understands what it means to be French and can start building a national identity.

Just like Anderson, Stefan Berger does not see nationalism as an ideology but more as narration.¹¹ According to him, the notion of nation survives because of the strong national master narrative on which it is built upon. These narratives are often changed but always have the nation as the central character. Berger believes that these narratives are powerful because they appear to people as if naturally rooted in a distant history. He states that these narratives are far from being outdated and obsolete and that because of the fear of the development of supranational entity such as Europe they are reinforced. This statement is important for my topic since I actively research any type of trends or changes regarding the narration of the Algerians by the French. Consequently, national identity can be seen as a fairly recent attribute which thanks to strong national narration bound people to one specific territory.

The concept of national identity is deeply intertwined with the notion of **national history**. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed the rise of more national historiographies which were mostly led by male historians and were mainly influenced by political affiliations. This resulted in the fragmentation of the so-called European historiography and in the national canonization of history.¹² However, since the 1960s with the influence of the *Annales* school, the tradition of national historiography started to become more and more criticized. Hence, what was now praised was a much more global approach which would represent history in its whole. Moreover, the waves of emancipation of both workers and women

¹¹ Stefan Berger, Linas Eriksonas and Andrew Mycock eds., *Narrating the Nation: Representations in History, Media and the Arts* (Oxford/New York 2011) 1-16.

¹² Grever and Sturman eds., *Beyond the Canon*, 34.

greatly decreased the elitist approach as taken in the national canons. However, such processes coupled with the growth of immigration soon gave place to a multiplicity of voices which resulted in so called memory clashes. Hence, it now seems difficult to find a common history in which each and everyone recognize themselves. There now seems to be a divide between the historians praising the return of the traditional canons which provide the people with a clear common historical ground and the historians whom praise multi-perspectivity and plurality.

Education is never neutral. Its aim is always to build a future citizen who will be capable of to use the basic values learnt in school in order to act in society. As Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon indicates in her essay on French schooling, there have been more than six different new curricula introduced in secondary education since the 1970s in France.¹³ However, any innovation of French education is a delicate matter, which often takes plenty of time and debate. This is one of the reasons why most curricula are still really similar to the traditional canon which was created at the end of the nineteenth century.

According to Mario Carretero there is still a strong bond between nation and history, and little has changed for many decades.¹⁴ This lack of evolution is mostly due to the constant failure to change the content of the history curriculum caused by the involvement of numerous politicians who perceive change as a threat to the creation of a strong national identity for students. Since the 1980s, globalization, immigration and the new media have undermined the nation states revealing the growing need for politicians to protect the national curricula. Hence, since the last decade the contribution of politicians to the building of history curricula has strongly increased.¹⁵ However, the opposite camp, praising the creation of a more relevant history, blames their opponents for sponsoring an irrelevant version of history which does not fit into our contemporary society anymore. Therefore, since the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of the Soviet Union the so-called process of super-diversity has completely remodelled the ethnic composition of European countries.¹⁶ In the view of such factor it becomes difficult to provide a canon that answers to both national and globalized requirements. Few historians seem to

¹³ Tutiaux-Guillon, Nicole, 'French School History Confronts the Multicultural' 173-187, 175, in Mario Carretero ed, *Constructing Patriotism: Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds* (London 2007).

¹⁴ Mario Carretero, Mikel Anensio, Maria Rodriguez-Moneo eds., *History Education and the Construction of Identities* (London 2012), 153.

¹⁵ Grever, 'Plurality, narrative and the historical canon,' 32.

¹⁶ Steven Vertovec, 'New complexities of cohesion in Britain: super-diversity, transnationalism and civil-integration', *commission on integration and cohesion* (2007)1-42.

successfully come to terms with a solution regarding the accurateness of the canon. However, they do recognize the need to keep national histories while linking them to the contemporary processes of globalization and transnationalism. Nevertheless, it seems important to notice that politicians are not the only group praising the teaching of a more national version of history. Hence, many teachers and historians are often complaining about the fact that students seem to know less and less about their country.¹⁷

Moreover, it is important to acknowledge the progress made by historians in both the quality but also depth of their research. Hence, the old historical canon mostly recounts history from the point of view of the elites while completely ignoring the oral witnesses of other marginalized groups and classes. It would be interesting to investigate whether these different voices are integrated or not within French history textbooks between 1970 and 2012.

What is so peculiar about the change of national French history can be explained by the concept of French citizenship. Since the French Revolution the notion of citizenship is based on an ideal abstract concept through which the nation expects individuals to only be led by reason and to leave any cultural and social influences apart in order to serve the nation as good as possible.¹⁸ Historians Laura Hein and Mark Selden argue: 'The stories chosen or invented about the national past are invariably prescriptive – instructing people how to think and act as national subjects and how to view relations with outsiders'.¹⁹ Moreover, Tutiaux recognizes the difficulty that teachers encounter when dealing with new material. Most teachers are torn between the will to make of students responsible citizens but to also make them aware of the diversity out there. Many professionals do not know how to deal with painful events such as colonisation. Should these periods be avoided? Should the perspective of the nation be emphasized? There is a big difference between the ideal of cosmopolitanism and what can really be done in class.

Orientalism / Othering

The writing of Algerian history by French intellectuals follows a long tradition. Algerian history as written by French experts has often been considered as the manifestation of so-called

¹⁷ Grever, 'Plurality, narrative and the historical canon', 33.

¹⁸ Nicole Tutiaux-Guillon, 'French School History Confronts the Multicultural' 173-187, 174, in Mario Carretero ed., *Constructing Patriotism: Teaching History and Memories in Global Worlds* (London 2007).

¹⁹ Laura Hein and Mark Selden eds., *Censoring History: Citizenship and Memory in Japan, Germany and the United States* London (ME Sharpe 2000).

orientalism. The term **orientalism** has become very controversial after the publishing of Edward W. Said's book straightforwardly entitled: *Orientalism*.²⁰ Said's goal was to vividly criticize the publications made by experts on the Orient which in his view were only created in order to support imperialism and to create racist and degrading stereotypes based on false or misinterpreted facts. Said reproach to western intellectuals to make extensive use of the dichotomy "us" and "them" in order to alienate the Easterners from the rest of the world. It is known that in order to function in society one has to make clear categorizations which will enable he/her to fit and function in his/her surroundings. The nation or the ethnic community is one of the most important categories to which one belongs during a lifetime. This type of belongingness always goes hand in hand with the exclusion of the other.

Pia Mikander distinguishes three different main types of Othering.²¹ The first one is based on the economic status of the two groups. The poorest party would then be called the Other. The second type of Othering is more related to gender and sexuality. Hence, it was quite common for westerners when meeting people of either the East or Africa to describe them as effeminate in order to lower them to the status of women. A third way of Othering is by considering the Other as a child and constantly referring to him/her as if at an early stage of development and in need of guidance and authority. I will try throughout my research to investigate if one or several types of Othering are noticeable in French history textbooks when addressing Algerian colonial history. In this sense it is interesting to investigate dominant discourse in French history textbooks. Discourses should be seen as "worlds of understanding".²² Each of these realities evolves according to peculiar values and ideologies. The study of discourse in textbooks allows not only the in-depth analysis of the content but also the broadening to the wider context. However, it is important to keep in mind that Orientalism is a Western construction and not some innate process. For my research it becomes interesting to notice whether the French textbook authors (Westerners) reproduce these so called negative or romanticized stereotyping of the Algerian.

The **Othering** process at play in the creation of historical knowledge is relevant to coin out both in purely academic works and in secondary school history textbooks. When belonging

²⁰ Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London 1979).

²¹ Pia Mikander, 'Othering and the construction of the West: The description of two historical events in Finnish school textbooks, *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices* 6:1 (2012) 31-45, 33.

²² Mikander, 'Othering and the construction of the west', 35.

to a group it becomes normal to make a differentiation with the people outside of this sphere. That is when the dichotomy “us” and “them” comes into play. Othering differs from Orientalism in the sense that it is not a pure construction but more a natural process. French colons saw their conquest of Algeria as the triumph of humanity over darkness. As a result it became easy to start differentiating and categorizing each other immediately. Patricia Lorcin in her work on imperial identities shows how the so-called Kabyle myth, which was created by French colons and intellectuals, enabled the biased representation and manipulation of many French and Algerian individuals. French officials, while governing Algeria, decided to make a distinction between two types of natives, the Kabyles (also known as Berbers) and the Arabs. They then started to spread the idea that the Kabyles were much more civilized and noble than the Arabs and were considering the former as more able to assimilate than the other. This kind of false stereotypes is one of the many examples of the so-called French imperial classifications which were exerted upon Algerians.²³ It is interesting to study whether this phenomenon is also noticeable with French historians writing about Algeria. In order to do this I will provide in chapter 2 as part of the historical context of my research a chronological overview of the most important events and agents involved in the French encounter with North Africa.

With all these information in mind it is really interesting to study whether historical textbooks are influenced by both what has been done on the history of Algeria in the past and what is happening in France today. Therefore, it is important to remember that the students in direct contact with these fragments of memory are the French citizens of tomorrow.

Collective memory / memory clashes

The last pair of concepts I will discuss in my research and which are much debated by historians is **collective memory** and **memory clashes** (or *guerre mémorielle*). Collective memory as seen by Eviatar Zerubavel is the process through which we remember things only as members of particular communities.²⁴ Therefore, in this context remembering is part of a social process. Collective memory has often been criticized as being manipulated by either the state or by other dominant communities. Therefore, the settlement of happenings such as commemorative events is mostly initiated by the state and is of high selective custom.

²³ Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London 1995).

²⁴ Eviatar Zerubavel, *Time maps. Collective memory and the social shape of the past* (Chicago 2003).

In order to be a successful entity a nation needs to create a unified community of inhabitants. In this endeavor most nations have to create the idea that its existence is the result of a natural and almost organic development. This belief has to be sustained by collective events such as rituals or commemoration and a collective set of knowledge. As Maria Grever and Siep Stuurman highlight in the following: “Today, most historians acknowledge that nations and nation-states are “invented traditions” and fields of construction rather than enduring numinous realities.”²⁵ However, this strategy is not reproduced within the schooling system in which the implementation of an essentialist idea of the nation is still often present.

One of the first scholars who reflected on collective memory was Maurice Halbwachs. In his ground breaking study, published in 1925, he defined collective memory as: “collectively shared representations of the past”.²⁶ This author highlighted the mediated dimension of collective memory. Like Anderson, Halbwachs believes that it is through the sharing of such collective narration that a national community is created. Jan Assmann in this regard makes an interesting distinction between potential and actual collective memory.²⁷ Therefore, collective memories are only used when these fit into the current contemporary social and historical contexts. Collective memories only appear in the public sphere when relevant to the present setting and when serving some contemporary goals.

In his article Wulf Kansteiner, makes a critical report on what has already been done in the study field of collective memory. In his view, many complex theoretical challenges have not yet been addressed by most studies. He argues that collective memory is “the result of the interaction of three types of historical factors: the intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past, the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions and the memory consumers who use, ignore or transform such artifacts according to their own interests”.²⁸ In this perspective, it becomes interesting to investigate whether this interaction is apparent in textbooks in the French context. However, the existence of numerous and different collective narrations can result in the clashing of these memories.

Memory clashes are very much present whenever the colonial history of Algeria is debated. As Thierry Leclère recognizes in the beginning of his work: “la France est malade de

²⁵ Grever and Stuurman eds., *Beyond the Canon*, 5.

²⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, (Paris 1925).

²⁷ Jan Assman, ‘Collective memory and Cultural Identity’, *New German critique* 65 (1995) 125-133.

²⁸ Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Finding meaning in memory: a methodological critique of collective memory studies’, *History and Theory* 41 (2002), 179-197, 179.

son passé colonial” and has all the difficulty in the world to recognize and face what has happened.²⁹ In the next chapter I will come back to this issue.

1.3 Textbook research and historiography

In order to write a relevant report of past happenings, one has to prioritize and select some important passages of history in order to create a plot which will enable the audience to grasp the relevance and continuity of the narrative.³⁰ But which event should be considered more important than the other? To answer this question, historians have to set clear goals which in the area of history textbook writing often tends to follow a nationalistic and patriotic trend. Already in 1972 famous French historian, Fernand Braudel, who also happened to have lived many years in Algeria, recognized the difficulty of writing history while being torn between the nation-state’s demands and one’s own personal social background. Braudel is mostly known because of his important participation within the Annales School, a historiographical movement centered on the journal *Annales*. Starting in the 1920s, these historians aimed at writing on both political and social economic dimensions of history. Braudel focused mostly on the economic aspect of history and often warned historians of the danger of the influence of patriotism when writing history.³¹

Mario Carretero in his book *History Education and the Construction of National Identities* shows how the teaching of a “romantic” nationalist form of history can create in the student’s mind a biased version of crucial past events.³² Carretero discovered that the narrative strategy behind numerous historical textbooks is to instil the following belief in students’ mind:

1. A positive assessment of their own social group’s past, present and future; both local and national.
2. A positive assessment of the country’s political evolution.
3. Identification with past’s events and characters and national heroes.

Carretero contrasts this approach with the enlightened or disciplinary goals which are according to him much less present in contemporary educations

²⁹ Benjamin Stora, *La guerre des mémoires: la France face à son passé colonial (entretiens avec Thierry Leclere)* (La Tour d’Aigues 2007) 108.

³⁰ Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, history, forgetting* (Chicago 2009).

³¹ Fernand Braudel, ‘Personal testimony’, *The Journal of Modern History* 44 (1972), 448-467, 451.

³² Carretero, Anensio, Rodriguez-Moneo eds., *History Education*, 154.

Throughout his work, Carretero emphasizes the importance of cosmopolitanism for education. The main principle of cosmopolitanism as defined by Jonathan Hansen is “that human beings are worthy of equal treatment irrespective of the accidents of birth, race, gender, status, citizenship...”³³ Hansen tries to show the importance of de-nationalizing history in school in order to create a future open-minded citizen who although aware of his locality recognizes the importance of his universal belongingness. Audrey Osler also elaborates on the importance of reframing history teaching so as to teach students that they are not only students of a nation-state but of the world in general.³⁴ Through her comparison of two different approaches adopted in Britain regarding the relation of citizens to ethnic minorities such as the Muslims, Osley shows the danger of too much nationalism and patriotism in the school curriculum. It would be interesting throughout my research to notice whether this cosmopolitan approach seems to be developing in French historical textbooks. More recently, many researchers investigated to what extent students recognize that the history curriculum of their high schools is linked to their personal interests and origins. The empirical research of historians such as Halima Ait-Mehdi, Maria Grever and her colleagues, shows that most students from France, England and the Netherlands do not either identify with the events taught in school or have much more global interests than just national history.³⁵

What struck me after reading many of these studies was the general agreement that most historians seemed to share when declaring contemporary history education as either irrelevant or obsolete when measured to the ethnic reality of contemporary classes. If so much importance is given to the study of textbooks it is because of their key role in the socialization and internalization of youngsters. Therefore it is believed that the use of historical textbooks enables the development of student’s national identity because of the possibility that such media offer to understand the past while positioning oneself in the present.

In the view of such important expectation many different groups of interest compete during both the creation and edition of historical textbooks. Hence, it is important to understand that textbook writing is not a homogeneous and straightforward process. Sometimes it can be a

³³ Jonathan Hansen, ‘De-nationalize history and what have we done?’, in Carretero, Anensio, Rodriguez-Moneo eds., *History Education*, 17-31.

³⁴ Audrey Osler, ‘Patriotism, multiculturalism and belonging: political discourse and the teaching of history’, *Educational Review* 61:1 (2009) 85-100.

³⁵ Ait-Mehdi, ‘Teaching the history of colonization; Maria Grever, Ben Pelzer and Terry Haydn, ‘High school students’ view on history’, *Journal of Curriculum studies* 43 (2011) 207-229.

battlefield on which social, political and economical factors constantly fight. As Keith Crawford highlights in his editorial, the end product of historical textbooks is supposed to reflect the nation as a whole in both its diversity and unity.³⁶ However, little is said about the methodology used for the analysis of textbooks.

The interest in textbooks research mostly began with the collaboration of UNESCO and the Georg-Eckert institute in 1974. This cooperation resulted in the publication of an important work for the field, the *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision* written by Falk Pingel, Deputy Director of the Georg Eckert Institute.³⁷ In this book Pingel distinguishes three important parts to consider when starting textbook analysis. The first step consists in defining a textbook sample which will allow you to generalize when presenting the results. The second process should help you to determine the techniques used to analyze the sources that could be either qualitative or quantitative or both. The third step, which is considered by most as the most difficult, consists in designing an analytical instrument which will help the researcher to formulate categories and questions which are used to conduct the research. Finally, Pingel stresses the importance that should be given to the study of the context in which the textbook was produced but also the awareness that the researcher should have of the effect on his/her own background on the analysis.

According to Stuart Foster the study of history textbooks follows two distinctive paths: the conciliatory tradition which aims to ensure that the past is represented in an objective and fair way, and the critical tradition which is of much more interest for the purpose of my Master thesis.³⁸ The latter tradition goal as highlighted by Foster is to “analyze critically the perspectives, discourse, and content of textbooks in order to raise important questions about how historical knowledge is controlled and influenced by dominant socio-cultural and ideological forces”.³⁹ This tradition focuses much more on the place given to the history of ethnic minorities in textbooks. In this way it is interesting to notice whether history textbooks find a balance between nationalism / collective memory and the relevant representation of other ethnicities’

³⁶ Keith Crawford, 'The role and purpose of textbooks', *International journal of historical Learning* 3:2 (2003) 5-11.

³⁷ Falk Pingel, *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*, 1999. as cited by Jason Nicholls, 'Methods in school textbook research', *International journal of historical Learning, teaching and Research* 3:2 (2003) 12

³⁸ Stuart Foster, 'Dominant Traditions in International Textbook Research and Revision', *Education Inquiry* 2 (2011) 1-19, 9.

³⁹ Foster, 'Dominant Traditions', 9.

history. However, the question is if such straightforward differentiation can ever really account for the diversity of textbooks researches.

As I already mentioned some historians doubt whether the use of textbooks in classes is still the predominant source of historical knowledge for students. Terry Haydn wonders whether the introduction of media such as DVD players or computer programs strongly affects the power of history textbooks.⁴⁰ Through his research Haydn investigated the development of textbooks through the years in the UK. He focused on the interaction between textbooks and teachers as well as students with textbooks. As a conclusion he does recognize the fact that history textbooks are less and less important within the structure of the class but that other media such as Power Points should be studied and taken into consideration due to their lack of references and their visual simplification. However, one should not underestimate the presence of history textbooks within classes. Hence, this media is still the most used by teachers and students today.

In Greece the opposite phenomenon seems to be happening. As Maria Repousi has experienced herself, the conception of a new historical textbook which does not strictly follow the dogma of either the Greek Orthodox Church or some political affiliation is extremely difficult if not impossible to be accepted.⁴¹ Hence, it seems likely that in Greece history textbooks still are not only the dominant media within classes but are also highly influenced by external ideologies. Moreover, the development of the internet, which offers a wide panel of historical websites and non certified dictionaries such as Wikipedia, also highly influence the kind of historical knowledge students are integrating. However, as Grever and Stuurman has indicated , the appearance of new sources of historical knowledge enable students to have access to digital archives in which relevant and plural articles are available. Their argument shows the useful side of such media.⁴²

⁴⁰ Terry Hadyn, 'The changing form and use of textbooks in the history classroom for the 21st Century: a view from the UK', in *International Society for History Didactics Yearbook* (2011) 1-15.

⁴¹ Maria Repousi, 'New history textbooks in Greece: The chronicle of an ideological war on the national past', in M. Repousi, C. Andreadou, A. Poutachidis and A. Tsivas, *In Later and Contemporary Years*, Ministry of Education and Religion, Pedagogical Institute, Schoolbook Publishing Organization (Athens 2006)1-3.

⁴² Grever and Stuurman eds., *Beyond the Canon*, 11.

1.4 Sources and methods

The sources I have used in my research are French history textbooks from 1970 to 2012. To make this broad timeframe more feasible I divided my research in chunks of five years. Although there are eight different publishing houses on the French textbook market, I chose to focus on the four largest and oldest companies: Belin, Bordas, Hachette and Nathan. My main focus is on secondary school textbooks from the level of 4^{ème} (13-14 years old) and 3^{ème} (14-15). It is in these grades that the topics of colonization and decolonization are addressed. However, it is important to notice that before the 1980s the topic of colonization and decolonization were both tackled in 3^{ème} leaving the program of 4^{ème} exclusively centered on the national history of France.

The library of the Erasmus University of Rotterdam possesses a large didactic collection which enabled me to conduct a small pilot study. This pilot study which consisted in the analysis of two French textbooks enabled me to familiarize myself with the material. The library of the Georg-Eckert Institute in Braunschweig provided me with the main sources. I was welcomed by this institution during a three weeks internship which offered me full access to the library. The Georg-Eckert institute is not only a center of research on matters such as education and textbooks but is also composed of one of the largest textbook library in the world.⁴³ This collection offered me a large choice of French textbook material as well as numerous secondary sources of literature regarding the process of textbook analysis. However, as it will reflect in my quantitative research, some needed textbooks, regarding the division of my analysis in chunk of five years, were missing explaining the gap of few years that can eventually be noticed between two periods of analysis.

My research is composed of two different types of analysis. About 20% of the empirical chapters will be dedicated to my quantitative research. I do believe this research to be important in order to investigate whether the number of pages dedicated to colonization/decolonization and the colonial history of Algeria is evolving through the years. This calculation will appear in percentages in several tables. The second part of the empirical chapters addresses the content analysis of the textbooks. Here I investigate the lesson within the textbooks as well as the so-called “documents” and exercises. In this section I answer several of my sub-questions and try to

⁴³ See Manon Chauveau, *Textbook research and colonial history: Final report internship Georg-Eckert Institute for International textbooks* (Braunschweig 2013).

explain the different noticeable changes. Moreover, another paragraph is dedicated to the narrative analysis which is of specific interest regarding the type of media studied.

Many historians specialized in didactics recognize the difficulty that is often encountered when analyzing educational media such as textbooks. Therefore, my first hand contact with the material, during my pilot research at the Erasmus library, turned out to be quite chaotic since I did not know exactly what to look for and how to make sense of it. However, I had the chance in the beginning of my master program to attend a lecture given by Professor Mario Carretero who is specialized in the study of cognitive psychology. His main area of interest is the history of education and conceptual change.⁴⁴ As explained above, Carretero is interested in investigating the master narratives found in history education which would, according to him, create or reinforce students' national identity. In order to do that, he comes with an analytical scheme composed of six features. However, in the context of my research I decided to sensibly change the scheme by erasing few elements and adding new ones. This was necessary since Carretero's scheme was mostly used to analyze students' interviews and not textbooks.

The scheme of analysis consists of five elements:

1. *Exclusion-inclusion as a logical operation contributing to establish the historical subject.* This feature enables me to recognize whether there is a clear distinction between the "us" (French) and the "them" (Algerians) and if so whether it changes throughout the years.
2. *Frequent presence of mythical and heroic characters and motives.* With this feature I investigate whether there is a recurrence of heroes in textbooks and if these tend to be more of Algerian or French origins.
3. *Historical school narratives contain basic moral orientations.* With this third attribute I examine whether the conquest of Algeria is justified by moral arguments and if these arguments change through time.
4. *Implicit or explicit representation of violence.* With this new feature I investigate not only the content of the lesson but mainly the primary sources in the margins of the book, such as written texts of third party witnesses and visual materials such as photographs or paintings.
5. *Coherence in the composition of the textbook.* This attribute enables me to study whether what is said within the lesson corresponds with the accompanying primary sources and the exercises and if the quantity of each component evolves through the years.

⁴⁴ <http://www.mariocarretero.net/en/cv>, retrieved on June 10th 2013.

In the next chapter I will present the historical context of my research, some aspects of the history of Algerian colonial history as well as some defining attribute of French society such as education or the French notion of the nation. In the empirical chapters 3 and 4 I will discuss the outcomes of my qualitative and quantitative research for the period of 1970 to 1990 and 1990 to 2012. In chapter 5 I will summarize my findings and share my conclusions.

Chapter 2: La patrie: the foundation of French democracy

The goal of this chapter is to explain the importance of some distinctive French features which could partially justify the way in which Algerian colonial history is represented in French history textbooks. Firstly, I describe the concept of French nationalism by investigating its roots and developments. Secondly, I explain the peculiarities of the French educational system as well as some developments in French historiography. Finally I investigate the relationship of the French people with the so-called process of ‘Othering’ through the study of French immigration and the colonial history of Algeria.

2.1 French nationalism

The concepts of nation and nationalism officially emerged in France with the beginning of the French revolution in 1789. The term ‘nation’ was mostly used by the leaders of the revolution in order to justify their deeds against the privileged and unjust monarchy. The nation was soon considered as the new authoritative entity to which all should swear eternal allegiance. The concept of nation had the advantage of being abstract and broad enough and could embrace all people giving an end to the injustice of social classes. However, it is important to notice that the ideas of nation and nationalism were not suddenly created out of the blue by few revolutionary minds in 1789 but followed a tradition which can be traced back forty years before the revolution.⁴⁵ The past system of monarchy with the supremacy of the king over the kingdom and people resulted in the creation of a French political unit. Hence, as Palmer highlights in the following: “The French already possessed what someone has called the essence of nationality, the memory of having done things together in the past, and the expectation of doing things together in the future”.⁴⁶ Although Robert Palmer’s work is not recent, this author does clarify that the French revolution’s nationalistic foundations were already being build in the past. The revolutionary minds wanted this unity to be made of brotherly love and pureness and not of a

⁴⁵ Robert R. Palmer, ‘The National Idea in France before the Revolution’, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 1:1 (1940) 95-111.

⁴⁶ Palmer 97.

common loyalty to a corrupt king. The goal of this unity was to triumph over private selfish motives. The idea was to have a community of men equal in rights and duty for whom political involvement was a priority.

In 1723 with *la Henriade* Voltaire introduced the idea of the nation by praising Henry IV for his love for France and his fight against religious corruption. Hence, it was French thinkers before the revolution who started to implement the concept of the nation into people's mind and heart. It is from the 1750s onwards that several works started to explicitly praise the concepts of patrie and patriots. Through popular pamphlets such as the one of Abbé Coyer, the term patrie began to gain more and more importance within both private and public circles.⁴⁷ Other events also highly contributed to the flourishing of this concept such as the Seven years war which resulted in the steady increase of national feelings. Furthermore, the reforms in the educational system in 1762 with the prohibition of Jesuits to teach revealed the growing need for schools to be nationalized. Hence, many intellectuals saw the teaching of religious men as dangerous or even contrary to the formation of future loyal citizens. As Navarre highlighted in the following quote: "Why should not colleges in France, as in Sparta, Athens and China, become schools of patriotism?" education soon came to be seen as the main media for successful development of nationalism.⁴⁸ The concept of the patrie in political discourse became strongly present in the 1770s during the constant opposition of the Parliament and the Crown regarding which body had the most power over the homeland. It is through his famous pamphlet entitled *Les ennemis de la patrie desmasqués* that Robespierre introduced himself in the revolutionary circle in 1789. Patriotism in pre-revolutionary France should be seen as the direct protest against a monarchical society in which the right of birth prevailed against natural rights and in which the loss of trust for the king transformed into an arduous love for the abstract and universalistic concept of the French patrie.

It is really important to understand the importance and impact that the French revolution has on the way in which ethnic minorities were and still are represented in French history education. The French revolution should be seen as one of the main reasons why it is still in France really difficult to think in terms of plurality.⁴⁹ Hence, it is during this period that two

⁴⁷ As cited in Palmer: G. Coyer, *Dissertations pour être lues; la première sur le vieux mot Patrie, la seconde sur la nature du peuple*, La Haye, 1755.

⁴⁸ A. Sicard, *L'éducation morale et civique avant et pendant la Révolution* (Paris 1884).

⁴⁹ Ait-Mehdi, 'Teaching the history of colonization', 198.

major notions started to be considered as defining for the French patrie. The first one is the strong belief that the French nation is one and indivisible with an over whole homogeneous territory. This conviction was highly praised and reproduced abroad during colonial time with for instance the ideal of the fusion of France and Algeria as one single French territory.

Moreover, the concept of the French citizen is also really specific and implies that each French inhabitant engage in political actions following his reason and leaving his cultural peculiarities aside. Therefore, it is expected of French citizens to forget about their individuality in order to primarily think about the greater good of the French nation. However, the increase in immigrations is seen by many French people as a threat to the nation.⁵⁰ Hence, numerous policies were voted in order to make the access to citizenship more and more difficult for the immigrants. This is mostly due to the fact that many French people believe that most migrants do not understand the value of the republic and risk to endanger the nation with wrongful voting. The power of democracy comes from the number of people voting and the constant increase of immigration threatens this power.

The historian Eugen Weber, in his famous work entitled *Peasants into Frenchmen*, provides another perspective regarding the homogeneity of the French people. According to him the republican homogeneity that France showed after the French revolution and well into the nineteenth century was only secluded to official and elitists areas such as justice, finance or legislation⁵¹. Therefore, Weber argues that peasants only started to participate in French politics between 1870-1914. According to him large groups of French people living in rural areas were still talking different dialects disabling numerous communities to understand any laws or duties created within the newly French republic. Languages such as Basque, Corsican or Catalans were very active in many French regions. Weber believes that it is thanks to the creation of two distinct bodies that nationalism became so powerful within the French territory. It is thanks to the creation of the ministry of agriculture created by Leon Gambetta that the peasant class finally started to be represented within the French republic. The second important influence was the republican creation of a school for all French children in which only one language was used. It is through the constant use of the official French language within the classrooms that most students

⁵⁰ Sophie Duchesne, 'La citoyenneté en France entre particularisme et universalisme', *Horizons philosophiques* 12.1 (2001), 87-108.

⁵¹ Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914* (Stanford 1976).

from rural areas started to break away from their community. However, it is important to understand that this process was extremely slow and that it is only under the fifth republic that French dialects came close to extinction. Yet, it is interesting in the context of this research to understand the unifying power that French education had few centuries ago. Moreover, it seems highly important to see the shift in target in the fight against French heterogeneity. Hence, the persecution of the rural community seems to now be replaced by the one of the immigrants. One cannot ignore the common roots and goals that are at play when studying French plurality in France.

2.2 French educational system

The French education system is organized in three levels. The first level is called “*école primaire*” (primary education) and is followed by children between the ages of six to ten. The second level is the college (*école secondaire*) with children from 10 to 14 which is followed by the *lycée* (high school) with young adults of 15 to 17 which ends with the examination of the *baccalauréat*. In France school is obligatory for children between 6 to 16. Both primary and secondary school are followed by all children with a final examination at the end of the college which enable the reorganization of children according to their level of thinking. This is one of the main reasons why I chose to study the subject of history as taught in college since it touches almost all French students. Hence, in the beginning of high school many children are redirected to either general or technical studies and do not learn exactly the same history program. Most schools are free and public, however, it does exist some private school which are not obligated to follow these rules.⁵² The five main principles of the French educational system are the following:

1. The freedom of teaching: the freedom to organize and provide education
2. School is free of charge. History textbooks are free and distributed by the state.
3. Neutrality: philosophical and political
4. La laïcité
5. Compulsory education from 6 to 16.

As we can see with the three first principles, the French government’s main aim is that all French citizens receive, where ever they might reside, a relevant and neutral education. Although the

⁵² <http://www.france.fr/etudier-en-france/le-systeme-scolaire-francais-de-la-maternelle-au-lycee> retrieved june 13 2013

majority of French schools are public, few private institutions do not follow the second principle and do request payment while subscribing a student. Some remaining religious schools are not obligated to provide a neutral religious environment. Yet we have to realize, only the state has the right to provide diplomas.

One of the main principles of the French school system is *laïcité*. This principle represents the strong will of the French government to separate civil society from religious communities. The principle of *laïcité* was established through the passing of the law of December 9 1905 declaring the strict separation between state and religion. Since a few decades and with the increase of minorities in France, this principle is becoming the subject of numerous attacks. These debates regard mostly the schooling system in which all sign of religious affiliation is forbidden. Hence, it becomes more and more difficult to handle the encounter of several cultures and religions with a single homogenous law. Moreover, the advancement of the European Union is seen by some as a threat to the authority of the French legislation. In the view of such reactions, the French government enacted a new bill on December 11 2003 confirming that the principle of *laïcité* was still firmly applied in the French territory. It is quite common to see in the media cases of disputes between schools and Muslim students regarding the right to wear the headscarf.

The topic of colonization is taught in the secondary school level called 4^{ème} while decolonization is taught in 3^{ème}. It is important to keep in mind that up to the year 1983 (1979 for the history textbooks of the publishing house Belin) the program of colonization and decolonization was taught in the same year at the level of 3^{ème}. This program was after the 1980's separated in two chunks with colonization taught in 4^{ème} and decolonization in 3^{ème}. There are eight publishing companies on the French textbook market. Each school is free to decide which history book to choose every year. The freedom of the history textbook authors is really limited by the strict control of the French ministry of education. Each year this governmental entity produces a new detailed history program which covers what has to be studied throughout the year. Apart from these guidelines the authors are free to create a different textbook each year (which is rarely done).

It is of paramount importance to keep in mind that the process of textbook making does not entirely rely on the joined effort of a few historians writing a grand summary of national and global history but is also influenced by some other major trends. Hence, as Marcus Otto

highlights in his research on the postcolonial politics of memory in France since the 1960s, textbooks are mostly based on different structural couplings such as politics, mass media, economy and academia. As I highlighted in my first chapter I intend to investigate the effect of both mass media and politics on the representation of Algerian colonial history between 1970 and 2012. However, I was also intrigued to by the structural coupling of academia and science as introduced by Dr. Otto in his research. As most can easily imagine the area of history didactics between 1970 and 2012 has strongly evolved and changed.

I will now outline the different steps in the evolution of history education in order to investigate whether these can be seen in French history textbooks between 1970 and 1990 as well as if it influenced the representation of Algerian colonial history. Before this period history didactics has witnessed three major waves of reformation. In the 1950s the dominant approach regarding French history teaching was mainly nationalistic. Its main goal was to create a history through which students could build a strong French identity. The objective of this approach was mostly political since the teaching of history was more or less used to construct the perfect future French citizen. The second generation of the Annales School which aimed at rejecting a nationalistic approach of history influenced greatly French historiography. This approach gained importance through the work of Fernand Braudel who praised the study of the history of civilization against the one of the nation. In the 1960s the process of global modernization gave birth to a completely different approach. Hence, influences such as the Thirty Glorious War (1945-1975) as well as the new process of economic planification and the epistemological success of the social sciences strongly influenced the way in which French intellectuals were seeing history. Decolonization started to be seen as the natural process through which the empires successfully modernized and the colonies failed to do so by entering the new underdeveloped community. This view enabled French intellectuals to reject events such as the war of Algeria to a much more global and broad background. In the 1980s, actors such as the French minister Jean Pierre Chevènement started to highly criticize the history curriculum accusing it to represent a threat to the construction of a real French national history.⁵³ He then decided in 1987 to introduce the Chevènement plan with the goal to reestablish a national narrative within the study of history. It is also since the 1980s that decolonization is directly

⁵³ Stora, Benjamin, *La guerre des mémoires: la France face à son passé colonial* (entretiens avec Thierry Leclere) (La Tour d'Aigues 2007).

linked to the contemporary history of France in some kind of causal nexus. The 1990s have been characterized by the thrive between the preservation of cultural heritage within the teaching of history and the fulfillment of the so-called duty of memory towards the countries which suffered during imperial time.

2.3 France and immigration

It is important to keep in mind that the process of immigration in France is far from being new. Hence, France is one of the oldest countries of immigration in Europe. France was mainly built by the successive waves of migration which took place before modern age and the industrial revolution. The first pre war immigration wave in the 1880s brought immigrants from Italy, Eastern Europe, and the Iberian Peninsula.⁵⁴ After World War II, Algerians and some other from North and South Africa decided to move in France. From the beginning immigration fluctuated according to the economic demand of the country. In time of prosperity numerous immigrants where needs while during a crisis such as in 1880, 1930, and 1980 the strict regulation of immigrants were needed. It is extremely important to distinguish between two different types of immigrants. The first one is mostly composed of refugees whom for political or social reasons decided to leave in emergency their country of origin. This type of immigration will not be studied within this thesis. The second type of immigration is the so-called “colonial immigration” which changes drastically from the first type.

According to Gérard Noiriel, a famous French historian who was one of the first to show interest for the history of French immigration, the history of immigration in France has long been an “illegitimate object”.⁵⁵ This is quite different from for instance the United States in which immigration is considered as the foundation of the nation. According to a research led by Noiriel, one out of three French have a least one great-grandparent of foreign origins.⁵⁶ So why do French people try to hide so much their ethnic diversity instead of praising it like the Americans do? Suzanne Citron, another French historian, emphasizes in her work the important role that the Jacobins exerted on the teaching of history.⁵⁷ The difficulty of thinking in terms of pluralism can

⁵⁴ Ait-Mehdi, ‘Teaching the history of colonization’ 199.

⁵⁵ Gérard Noiriel, *Le creuset français. Histoire de l’immigration aux XIXe–XXe siècles* (Paris 1988).

⁵⁶ Gérard Noiriel, *Gens d’ici venus d’ailleurs: la France de l’immigration, 1900 a nos jours* (Paris 2004).

⁵⁷ Susanne Citron, *Le mythe national. L’histoire de France revisitée* (Paris 2008).

be explained by the unifying desire present in the French revolution. This concept of the one and indivisible nation was even more expanded during colonization and even more in the case of Algeria which was constantly in danger of being completely absorbed by France and its idealistic idea of homogeneity. Moreover, with the use of myth such as the Gallic ancestors, the French gave much more historical and ancient credit to the French territory and people. The heritage of the centralizing spirit of the Jacobins resulted in the teaching of a homogenous history in which the Other does not have any place or is represented in opposition to the French in order to highlight the uniqueness and solid foundation of the French territory.

In this paragraph I would like to briefly give an overview of the history of Algerian immigration in France. Algerian immigration started at the end of nineteenth century when the consequences of the immigration of a massive number of Europeans in Algeria started to become too heavy for the natives of the colony. Hence, the presence of numerous Europeans in Algeria resulted in the privation of the Algerians. Consequently, numerous young Algerian mainly Kabyles men decided to move to France in order to work both in the city and in the rural areas of France.⁵⁸ However, it is important to notice that this type of migration was only temporary since each Algerian man before leaving their country was married to one of the local women in order to make sure of their return. Most of the money won in France was directly send to the families. Once back the Algerian men were often replaced by someone with the same physical qualities. It is during the First World War that a lot of changes took place. Many Algerians from the metropolis but also numerous soldiers from the colonies were sent to fight for France. The few survivors were send back to France in 1918 although some had the desire to stay. Between the two wars numerous men returned to Algeria in order to work.

During the Second World War many Algerians were sent to fight against Nazism and died with bravery to defend France. The law of 20 February 1947 allowing the free crossing of France enables many more Algerian workers to settle. Surprisingly, the war of Algeria does not disturb the coming of Algerians since as the following numbers show there was 211 000 Algerians in France in 1954 and 350 000 in 1962.⁵⁹ The men start to come more and more with their family in order to escape from the atrocity of the war in Algeria. Between 1980 and 1990 many Algerians immigrate in France in order to answer to the numerous work opportunities that

⁵⁸ Peggy Derder, ' L'immigration algérienne en France', <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr> retrieved June 11 2013.

⁵⁹ Peggy Derder, ' L'immigration algérienne en France', <http://www.histoire-immigration.fr> retrieved June 11 2013.

the economic boom in France offer. Since the new millennium the immigration from Algeria did not stop but has slowly diminished due to the poor demand of workforce. In 2008 the number of Algerians was estimated at 1.5 million (2.3% of the French population) .⁶⁰ According to the Insee the Algerians are the second biggest group of immigrants in France.⁶¹

France and Algeria

It is in 1830 that the army of Marshall Bugeaud conquers Alger after more than 10 years of battle with the help of 103 battleships and 572 trading ships. The idea of the colonization of Algeria came primarily from the French king Charles X (1757 -1836) and was approved by most European countries.⁶² The motivations of King Charles X were mostly to avenge himself from the insult of the Algerian Dey (title given to the rulers of the Regency of Algiers and Tripoli under the Ottoman Empire) and to stop the slave trade of Christians on the Mediterranean Sea. The population of Algeria before French colonization was estimated around one to three million.⁶³ According to the French historian Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison more than one quarter of the Algerian population disappeared during the conquest of Algeria:

« Le bilan de la guerre, presque ininterrompue entre 1830 et 1872, souligne son extrême violence; il permet de prendre la mesure des massacres et des ravages commis par l'armée d'Afrique. En l'espace de quarante-deux ans, la population globale de l'Algérie est en effet passée de 3 millions d'habitants environ à 2.125.000 selon certaines estimations, soit une perte de 875.000 personnes, civiles pour l'essentiel [...] Le déclin démographique de l'« élément arabe » était considéré comme bénéfique sur le plan social et politique, car il réduisait avantageusement le déséquilibre numérique entre les « indigènes » et les colons »⁶⁴

It is under the reign of Napoleon III that the conquest of Algeria is completed with the domination of the Kabylie in 1857. Napoleon III's plan was to create "un royaume arabe" which would be under his power. However, this never came into realization and it is under the third republic that the process of assimilation started. It is in 1870 that the decree recognizing every Algerian as French citizen was accepted; ignoring the will of many Algerians to be recognized as other. It is in 1871 that the first revolt of Algeria took place. This revolt was due to the poor

⁶⁰ <http://www.bivouac-id.com/> retrieved on 12 june 2013 ;

⁶¹ <http://www.insee.fr/fr/> retrieved on 12 june 2013

⁶² Guy Pervillé, *La guerre d'Algérie HISTOIRE ET MÉMOIRES*, (2008).

⁶³ *La Guerre d'Algérie*, Collection Librio Documents Le Monde 2003

⁶⁴ Olivier Le Cour Grandmaison, *Coloniser. Exterminer* Fayard, (2005) 88.

quality of life of the Algerians and of the Europeans living a wealthy life style. Consequently, the leader Mohamed El Mokrani declared a holy war against the French resulting in the uprising of 15000 kabyles. However, this movement was quickly controlled by the French colonizers. In retribution numerous French decrees were created ordering the confiscation of Algerian's possessions by the Europeans. Followed the two World Wars during which many Algerians died. During the Second World War General De Gaulle promised to Algeria many developments towards freedom in exchange for their participation in the war. However, these guarantees were never fulfilled and the uprising of many Algerian nationalists resulted in the manifestation of 1945 which turned for both Algerian and French into a massacre. In 1954 the movement of the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale) was founded. Their strong activism resulted in the war of Algeria during which both FLN and OAS practiced intense terrorist activities. The French government under the leader François Mitterrand refused to declare the independence of Algeria by famously saying: "L'Algérie c'est la France". After the report of many tortures and crimes many French intellectuals decided to help the FLN.⁶⁵ Hence, many French believed that the war of Algeria, after the atrocities of World War II, was a waste of men and money. However, this did not stop many citizens and policemen during the event now known as "la nuit noire" to kill many members of the FLN during their manifestation in Paris. Due to this catastrophic series of events, Charles De Gaulle was re-elected as president and started the negotiation with the FLN on March 18 1962 which resulted in the accord d'Evian. Once signed, this accord resulted in the massacre of many Europeans in Algeria as well as the death of 30 000 to 90 000 harkis (Algerian soldiers fighting on the side of France) and the escape of thousands of pieds noirs to France.

French Orientalism and memory clashes

How was Algeria studied throughout the years by French intellectuals? French Orientalism began with Napoleon's expedition in Egypt in 1798. Colonial history was then written by adventurers and pioneers who were fascinated by so much novelty and exoticism. It was also written for military purposes with people such as Raoul Girardet, David Galula or Vincent Monteil who studied Algeria with a spirit of conquest. After 1871 the study of Islam emerged, which required the intervention of religious experts, such as Charles de Foucauld or Louis Massignon? Many of

⁶⁵ Yves Courrière, *La guerre d'Algérie*, Fayard Paris (2001).

these authors were criticized for their narrow colonial perspective and for their lack of interest in the study of the “true nature” of Algeria.

The revival of interest in the year 2000 in the study of North Africa as mentioned above did not come so much from historians but rather from sociologists and politicians who were mainly interested in the controversial aspects of history and were antagonizing differences which reflected the actual social situation of France. In this modern tendency two traditions can be distinguished. One tradition consists in anti-colonialist denunciations with works throwing at the face of the audience all the horrors of the French dominion with the vivid description of torture scenes and murders. The other tradition consists in justifying colonialism as a hazardous adventure made by well intentioned pioneers which invaded Algeria with only positive and fair expectations.

The French author Isabelle Merle deplors the fact that, unlike in the United States, the French study of colonialism is only part of a fragmented group of analysis. Therefore, there is no real study of colonialism as a “fait colonial”. The author believes that this lack of autonomy and this fragmentation results in the production of too many different biased interpretations and assumptions which does not serve history. The presence of colonial or post-colonial studies in the U.S shows that such field of study should also be given importance in France. In an interview with famous historian Benjamin Stora, Leclère gives a brief overview of the relation between French intellectuals and Algerians from 2000 onwards. Between 2003 and 2004 the relation between Algeria and France was developing towards a positive path.⁶⁶ Therefore, it was in 2004, even considered to sign a “traité d’amitié” between the two countries. In the same year the creation of the historical work entitled: *La fin de l’amnésie* written by both Algerian and French historians, which goal was to fight the silence one always used to meet when talking about the colonial past of Algeria, seemed to announce a much more objective future for the field.

However, in 2005 everything changes. The law of the February 23, with controversial article 4, reopened memory struggles. Although this article was rejected in January 2006 nothing could ever be the same and no one seemed to be able to agree on anything regarding the colonial history of Algeria and the role of France. In spite of all, 2007 witnessed the advance of both France and Algeria towards the goal of giving an end to the memory clashes. In October of the same year France shared with Algeria a plan which enabled the latter to discover the position of

⁶⁶ Salomé Leclère, ‘Un effort énorme à accomplir : interview de Benjamin Stora’, *www.europe 1.fr* (2010).

old mines placed on the borders of Morocco and Tunisia which still threatened the life of many Algerians. The recent visit of the French president François Hollande during which he recognized “the unjust dimension of colonialism which always results in the exploitation of the natives” seemed to have given to the Algerians the hope of the French recognition of their suffering. However, many still disagree on important key components such as the date of the end of the Algerian war. Therefore, some do not agree with the choice of the 19th October. The correct date seems to differ between different memory groups such as the harkis, the natives or the immigrant.

But what exactly explains such differences and wars between different participants for the correct representation of what happened back then? The French historian Daniel Lindenberg considers the way France deals with memory really peculiar, mainly linked to the French Revolution in three ways. First, since this event France has a rather ambiguous relationship towards the past, both denying its value and referring to it all the time in order to give credit and prestige to contemporary issues. Second, the past is always subject to numerous reinterpretations changing accordingly to shift in goals in different periods of time. Third, the French Revolution gave to the state the possibility to control collective memory. Therefore, this crucial event gave to the government the strict ownership of archives and monuments.

The aim of this chapter was to explain the essential component of French society especially regarding its interaction with minorities and plurality. The two next chapters are dedicated to my empirical research. It is important to keep in mind all that has been addressed in this chapter in order to fully understand the two following.

Chapter 3: From nationalism to 'fait de civilization', 1970-1990

The goal of this chapter is to analyze the representations of Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks between 1970 and 1990. I intend to give a brief quantitative overview of the place of both colonization/decolonization and Algeria within the textbooks. Next I will continue with a content analysis through the use of both features of Mario Carretero's scheme of analysis and some of my own findings. It was hardly possible to link any changes in the representation of Algerian colonial history to socio-political developments in French society. As Benjamin Stora highlights in his research on memory clashes, colonial Algerian history only became a political and public matter in the beginning of the new millennium.⁶⁷ Hence, it is really difficult to find before 1990 any trace of political or social developments regarding this episode in French history or the position of Algerians within French society. However, as explained in chapter 2, between 1970 and 1990 some crucial developments in history education took place. In view of my main research question it is important to investigate whether these changes are noticeable in French textbooks during this timeframe. In this chapter I answer to the following sub-questions:

1. To what extent has the discipline of history influenced the approach taken in history textbooks in the research period?
2. What is the place of colonial history and Algerian colonial history in the whole contents of French textbooks in the research period? Is it part of the history of French extension or is it sometimes lacking?
3. What kind of developments can we notice in the discursive and visual representations of colonial Algerian history during the research period? To what extent can we notice overly nationalistic or forms of historical distancing?

3.1 Quantitative outcomes and the global perspective

In this section I will share the outcome of my quantitative analysis of French history textbooks between 1970 and 1990. The second sub-question regarding the place of Algerian colonial

⁶⁷ Benjamin Stora, 'Algérie-France, mémoires sous tension', *le monde.fr*, (2012) retrieved on June 24 2013.

history in French textbooks will be answered. Although this type of analysis only holds a minor place in my research I do recognize the need to investigate some important external components such as the evolution of the number of pages dedicated to colonization, decolonization and Algeria. Hence, such dimensions can only be approached through quantitative analysis. The tables below give a clear overview of the outcome of such analysis.

Each table is classified by the school grade in which colonization and decolonization is taught. I also separated the tables according to the quantitative analysis of colonization and decolonization in general and Algeria in peculiar. In each table I analyzed by chunks of five years the textbooks of each of the four edition companies I chose to study: Belin, Bordas, Hachette and Nathan. The year of publication does not always follow my initial scheme of analyzing history textbooks every five years. As I explained in chapter 1, my research highly depended on the availability of these textbook in the library of the Georg Eckert institute. Unfortunately the institute lacked several textbooks from different years of edition which explains the gap between some years of publication.

In table 1 and 2 I first share for each year of analysis the percentage of pages dedicated to both colonization and decolonization according to the total amount of pages within the textbook. In table 3 and 4 focusing on Algeria, I share the percentage of pages dedicated to Algeria according to the total number of pages of the textbook to then calculate this same variant according to the amount of pages dedicated to the topic of decolonization. As I will explain later, no pages were especially dedicated to Algeria in 4ème (the year in which colonization is studied) explaining the lack of table for this grade. Under each table I will give a brief explanation and will attend to provide some hypothesis explaining most important trends.

4^{ème} (age group: 13-14)

Table 1 Colonization in French history textbooks between 1970 and 1988 for the main 4 publishing companies (% of total pages)

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1970			4.2	
1971		1.7		
1975				2.4
1979	0.8			0.8
1983		0.3	1.0	
1984				0.6
1988	3.5		3.2	

What seems striking for three of the publishing companies, Bordas, Hachette and Nathan, is that the percentage of pages dedicated to colonization seems to decrease after 1975 after holding quite an important place in the early 1970s. This might be explained by the fact that colonization was still really present in the memory of most French citizens and that no historical distance had been yet given to reflect upon the atrocities committed. Hence, the propaganda surrounding colonization, such as the white men's burden belief, might have still been strongly influencing in people perspectives'. Moreover, no one had yet witnessed the catastrophic results that both colonization and decolonization had on the future social, economical and political developments of third world countries.⁶⁸ The edition company Belin on the contrary seems to focus much more on colonization in the 1980s. It would be interesting to investigate which trend can be noticed in the four other remaining French publishing companies which are not analyzed in this Master thesis.

A second interesting and salient observation regards the total absence of pages dedicated to the colonization of Algeria between 1970 and 1989. Hence, as we will see below an important amount of pages is dedicated to this colony in 3^{ème} while learning about decolonization but no special focus is given to Algeria during colonization itself. This is even more peculiar knowing

⁶⁸ Françoise Lantheaume, 'Manuels d'histoire et colonisation: Les forces et faiblesses de la polyphonie de l'auteur-réseau, ses effets sur la formation de l'esprit critique', *lidil, revues de linguistique et didactique des langues* 35 (2007) 159-175.

that the conquest of Algeria by the French lasted more than ten years and was agitated by numerous acts of violence. However, it is important to keep in mind that the estimate of this table is based on pages and not on the amount of words and that Algeria is still talked about within the general lesson on colonization.

3^{ème} (age group: 14-15)

Table 2 Decolonization in French history textbooks between 1970 and 1989 for the main 4 publishing companies **3^{ème}** (age group 14-15): % of total pages

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1970			2.9	
1971		1.0		
1975				2.8
1979				
1980	4.6	1.9		
1984			2.6	
1988	4.4			
1989		4.5	2.7	2.6

In table 2 the percentage of pages dedicated to the period of decolonization through the years seems to steadily increase. This is suggested when comparing the percentage of this topic based on the total number of pages of each history textbooks between 1970 and 1989. For instance in the case of Bordas the amount of pages dedicated to this subject increased from 1.0% in 1979 to 4.5% in 1989. This trend is quite opposite to the one noticed above when investigating colonization. Most edition companies after the 1980s were rather praising the movements of liberation of the colonies than the act of colonization. This can of course be seen as the result of changes in history research and of the slow release of guilt regarding events which as the years pass seem to be more and more part of a distanced past.

Table 3 Algeria colonial history in French history textbooks between 1970 and 1989 for the main 4 publishing companies: % of total pages

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1970			-	
1971		-		
1975				-
1979				
1980	2.3	0.6		
1984			-	
1988	-			
1989		1.1	-	0.6

Table 3 shows that in the beginning of the 1980s the subject of the decolonization of Algeria gains more importance within most textbooks. However, it seems fair to say that the place dedicated to this episode seems quite meager when compared to the total amount of pages within each textbook. In the textbooks of some publishing companies such as Hachette or Nathan the history of the decolonization of Algeria does not seem to raise the smallest interest.

Table 4 Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks between 1970 and 1989 for the main 4 publishing companies: % of total pages on decolonization

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1970			-	
1971		-		
1975				-
1979				
1980	50	33		
1984			-	
1988	-			
1989		25	-	25

Table 4 enables us to measure the importance of the place Algerian history holds within the topic on decolonization. Hence, when addressed, Algeria's decolonization seems to dominate over other colonies' history. However, as above this episode is still in many textbooks and years ignored.

Now, where do we find both topics of colonization and decolonization in the history textbooks, and to which parts and chapters are they linked? This is important to investigate since it reveals the position that the colonial history of Algeria holds in French history. Between 1970 and 1990 the history of Algeria is studied as part of world history, and is not included in solely French history chapters. From the late 1980's on when two pages start to be dedicated to Algeria, these are to be found at the end of the chapter as some kind of side "dossier" which can be analyzed by the teacher if the tight time schedule allows it. Hence in the early 1980's the traditional layout of most history textbooks changes to work in double pages. Most chapters are now composed of more or less three double pages of lesson with on the side some documents and a varying number of double pages dedicated to the so called dossier and exercises.

The dossier could be seen as a kind of case study which provides the opportunity to investigate in depth a given episode of history through the study of diverse media, such as photos, extract of texts, maps or graphs followed by mainly descriptive questions. The risk with such double pages is that most of these dossiers will not be investigated due to small amount of time that teachers have when covering the wide program. Hence, the only solution is to only stick to the content of the lesson. Moreover, as explained above the topics of colonization and decolonization in history textbooks are far from the most popular and celebrated subjects resulting in the quick wrapping of the corresponding chapters. Hence, the topic of colonial Algerian history, especially the episode of the Algerian war, is seen by most French as a so-called plaie (open-wound) and is comparable to the war of Vietnam for the Americans.⁶⁹

Between 1970 and 1990 the chapter on colonization was mostly found under the headings "Europe and the world", "Imperialism and international relations" or even "Europe dominating the world".⁷⁰ Astonishingly, the heading of the chapter on decolonization is mostly always the same and is entitled: "decolonization and the emerging of the third world". The title of this heading can be linked to the change in history education between 1980's and 1990's as explained

⁶⁹ Elizabeth Knutson, 'Teaching Difficult Topics: The Example of the Algerian War', *L2 journal* 4 (2012), 83-101.

⁷⁰ Textbook: Gisèle Berstein, Anette Buzacoux, Yves Gauthier, Pierre Milza, Serge Berstein, *Histoire, géographie 4ème*, Nathan 1979.

in chapter 2. Hence, this heading implicitly translate the process of decolonization as part of a much more global movement resulting in the appearance on the third world from which empires are completely alienated. This illustrates the impact of the *Annales* school on the way in which the history program is organized within textbooks. Therefore, decolonization is represented as a “fait de civilization”, which as a process does not exclusively relate to French national history but to a much larger supranational entity. Interestingly enough this peculiar construction of the history program enables the association of this episode to the national history of France. Hence, what seems to be the goal of the ministry of education, which is responsible for the elaboration of the history curricula, is to dissociate colonial Algerian history to the national history of France. Consequently, students should understand the war of Algeria as not relevant to the construction of their national identity.

After analyzing numerous French history textbooks between 1970 and 1990 I can say in all fairness that changes in historical contents are highly noticeable within this media. Although I did not analyze any textbooks between 1950 and 1970 I did notice some important changes regarding the way in which history was approached. One of the most striking examples of this impact is the influence that the Annales School exerted on most textbooks between 1970 and 1980. In 1972 for instance, the author of one of the Hachette history textbook clearly states his desire to follow the approach of the Annales by presenting history in a global context and not only through a nationalistic lens.” This is remarkable since I could not find traces of this mention after 1980. What is quite astonishing is the fact that I could not really find any regain of nationalism within the history narrative of the textbooks between 1980 and 1990. The program of Jean Pierre Chevènement did not seem to have great impact on the way in which the textbooks were conceived. However, the second tendency of this decade regarding the explicit link between contemporary France and decolonization is highly noticeable. Hence, between 1980 and 1990 the chapter on decolonization is strategically placed near the chapters on immigration and globalization.

3.2 Silence and ambiguity

The goal of this section is to describe whether the representation of Algerian colonial history changes between 1970 and 1990 within the content of the lesson. The third sub-question that will

be tackled in this part is the following: *What kind of developments can we notice in the discursive and visual representations of colonial Algerian history between 1970 and 1990? To what extent can we notice overly nationalistic or forms of historical distancing?*

The assumption is that both the narrative plot and the rhetoric in the textbook will influence teachers and students. Hence, it is often the case that due to the large program and the small amount of time teachers decide not to study in depth or even avoid some documents and exercises and focus on the most essential facts that are found within the main narrative of the lesson in the textbook. Moreover, the words and sentences used in the lesson are highly mediated by the author and reveal which historiographical approach was followed at the time. However, when relevant, I do not hesitate to use in my arguments some of the elements found in the exercises or in the primary sources which can also be of great importance and influence when studied.

In order to investigate such representations I will make use of some of the features of my scheme, which is based on the analytical frame of Mario Carretero. The first feature I investigate aims at discovering whether there is frequent use of mythical and heroic characters and motives within the textbooks.⁷¹ In this sense it is interesting to study whether these heroes are predominately of French nationality or also of Algerian origins. Moreover, it seems important to analyze the description of each type of hero in order to classify which kind of term and agency is attributed to each of them. For the sake of this chapter I will divide my analysis into two parts. I will first deal with the period of colonization to tackle afterwards decolonization. The heroes appearing in both periods are often completely different individuals.

Heroes and mythical figures

Considering the period of Algerian colonization in this timeframe the textbooks of Bordas, Hachette, Belin and Nathan refer mostly to two heroes. The first hero is the French marshal Thomas Robert Bugeaud who had an active role in the conquest of Alger which began on June 14th 1830 and ended on December 23rd 1847. Up to the editions of the early 1980s Bugeaud is described as a heroic figure who sacrificed his life and career in France in order to serve his country in Algeria. Hence in the edition of 1972 from Hachette, Bugeaud is seen as the hero who

⁷¹ Mario Carretero, Cesar Lopez, Maria Fernanda Gonzalez, and Maria Rodriguez-Moneo, 'Students historical narrative and concepts about the nation', in Carretero, Anensio, Rodriguez-Moneo eds., *History Education and the Construction of Identities*, 153-170, 157.

enabled the “soumission” of the Algerians.⁷² In the four editions, Bugeaud is always represented as the savior of the colonial enterprise and as the role model for most French colonists of the past. What is interesting is that Bugeaud is not only praised for his actions but also for his passion and love for France. Hence, in many textbooks between the 1970s and the 1980s, an extract of Bugeaud’s journal, in which he describes that his only motivation in the conquest of Algeria is his belief in the greatness of France, is often used. This use of the mythical French hero can easily be translated into the will of the writer to enable students to identify with this great character and to understand that loyalty to their country is a feature to envy. Therefore, we notice here a deep entanglement of national history and national identity.

However, this image seems to slowly change throughout the years. In the Hachette textbook of 1983 Bugeaud’s name is only used as a reminder of his failure of to conquer Alger during seventeen years. Then in the edition of 1988, Bugeaud’s actions during this conquest are described in negative terms and qualified as “extrêmement sanglant” and “sans pitié” “il sera responsable pour la decimation d’un tiers de la population Algérienne”.⁷³ This reverse might be explained by the advance in historical research and by the distanciation that most historians were taking regarding French imperialism.

The second main protagonist of the period of colonization is the Algerian leader Abd el Kader. Abd el Kader was an important Algerian figure in both the military and political areas. He led the resistance against the French colonists during 15 years. Up to the years 1990’s Abd el Kader seems to be given little agency and is only briefly introduced in order to enhance the prestige of Bugeaud. Hence, little is said about who he really is or what his motives were when defending the freedom of Algeria. Most visual representations of Abd el kader represent him in a position of submission or of defeat. This is quite striking when compared to the status that he holds within Algerian history where he is represented as the symbol of bravery and craftiness.⁷⁴ This contrast is a perfect example of what Edward Said means when addressing the academic flaw of Orientalism. What we see here is the complete opposite representation of an Eastern individual viewed by Easterners and Westerners. Moreover, these representations of Abd el Kader surprisingly imitate the propaganda used during imperialism when colonized people were

⁷² Textbook: Antoine Bonifacio ; Jean Michaud, *1789 - 1970, l'époque contemporaine*, Hachette éducation (Paris 1972).

⁷³ Textbook: Jean-Michel Lambin, *Histoire, géographie, initiation économique*, Hachette éducation (Paris 1988).

⁷⁴ Abdelkader Djeghloul, *Éléments d'histoire culturelle algérienne*, (Paris 1984) 43.

seen as childlike and inferior. What is also interesting to notice is that the paintings representing Abd el Kader are always made by French painters not enabling the Algerian's perspective to be seen.

In the chapters on decolonization the use of heroes is quite different. From the 1970s up to the early 1990s there is no trace of any Algerian hero which is quite curious since the independence and revolution was led by Algerians. No French characters are highlighted in the content of the chapters on decolonization throughout the years. Many extracts of speeches or articles from Charles de Gaulle and Pierre Mendès France are compared due to their opposing nature, but no blame seems to be directly given to a French citizen for the loss of Algeria.

Inclusion-exclusion

The second feature of the scheme I would like to discuss is the one of 'inclusion and exclusion'. It is important to notice whether in recent and older textbooks the distinction between the "we" and "them" is present and if more negative qualities are attributed to one group in particular. As explained in chapter 2, the different layers of people touched by the colonization of Algeria are quite peculiar. Hence, there is not only this divide between colonizers and colonized but also two other groups namely the harkis and the pieds noirs. The harkis are not once mentioned in any of the French history textbooks between 1970 and 1990. However the pied noirs are almost always mentioned for both their contribution to the imperial quest and the great suffering the independence caused them.

What did strike me, while investigating this feature, is the constant use of the wording "L'Algérie Française" (French Algeria) when referring to the Algerian colony. This is noticeable in both colonization and decolonization periods and from the 1970s to 1990s in several edition companies. I do understand that the use of such term was indeed correct during colonial time. It is, however, quite curious that Algeria is always referred to as still being 'owned' by the French. This seems to correspond with an old colonial attempt of inclusion as if Algerians were completely sucked in France's dominion (see chapter 2).

Important to notice within the content of the lesson is the lack of differentiation between French and Algerians, between "them" and "us". Hence, the content of the lesson is dry and is limited to only naming each country and people by their neutral designation. In the early 1970s there is no use of terms such as "primitive", "nomadic", "fanatic" or "whatsoever". The only

categorization is in terms of either the nationality or the religion. The religious distinction is an interesting one, since only the Algerians are characterized as part of a religious community while the French are not. Moreover, it is rather simplistic to categorize a whole country of such diverse habitants as one religious community. The word “Muslims” comes back in almost all editions I studied up to the year 1989 where it is used more than five times in order to name the Algerians.⁷⁵

As highlighted above, Algeria is only rarely distinguished from France. However, it is quite often strictly differentiated from the other French colonies. In many history textbooks up to the year 1990 Algeria is mostly presented as a difficult colony which, unlike other territories such as Morocco or South Africa, gave much more unnecessary trouble during the process of decolonization than needed.⁷⁶ Hence, Algeria is often accused of being a difficult colony not only because of the rebellion but also because of the fact that so many Europeans resided there. Therefore, the impression that such statements give is that the Algerians are to be held accountable for the atrocities happening during the independence since they were the one to rebel. In the chapter on decolonization, the history of the liberation of Algeria is often found under the subheading entitled “the war of independence” and is often put into contrast with the above subheading “peaceful decolonization”, in which the history of colonies such as Morocco and Tunisia is recounted. The authors do not hesitate to make comparisons between the so called peaceful independences and violent ones, enhancing the negative and brutal aspects of the rebellious colonies.

It is in the primary sources that the feature inclusion-exclusion is the most noticeable. Although diverse, the perspectives presented in most documents either reproduce the colonial gaze or adopt the point of view of the white colonists. Regarding the reproduction of the colonial gaze, many photographs representing Algerians seem to have been selected for their typical depiction of 'the Algerian man'. Hence in the Hachette edition of 1983 for the grade of 3^{ème} the photograph of an Algerian FLN soldier perfectly illustrates the preconceived stereotypes of the wild Algerian with a black beard, a long tunic and a savage glance. Moreover, most extracts of speeches or of articles are taken from white sources. Hence, the voice of the Algerians is only to be heard as a uniform revolutionary whole behind the FLN's proclamation.

⁷⁵ Elisabeth Faguer, Jeannine Guigue, *Histoire, géographie, initiation à l'économie*, Bordas (Paris 1989).

⁷⁶ Jeannine Guigue, Elisabeth Faguer, *Histoire, géographie, initiation à l'économie*, Bordas (Paris 1989).

On the opposite the French are represented at a different level with documents about on the pieds noirs, OAS, the people and the government. The French are mostly represented by elitist men such as Charles de Gaulle, Alexis de Tocqueville or the Marshall Bugeaud. The agency of the Algerians is also quite lessened compared to the one of the French. Many photographs represent the so-called “submission” of the Algerians”. One picture representing a French school in Algeria in which Algerians children are being taught by French teachers seems to often come back in many textbooks between 1970 and 1990. This picture is the perfect example of the rather specific status that Algeria holds in French history. In this picture a clear process of exclusion is noticeable with the physical distinction between the French and the Algerians such as the clothing or their skin color. Moreover, the position of the children sitting at the feet of the French teachers clearly represents a difference in agency. However, a process of inclusion is also highly noticeable. On the blackboard depicted in the picture one can read “La France est maintenant votre propre pays”. This sentence clearly demands that the Algerian people abandon their own national and / or local identity in order to completely be part of the great French nation. This picture represents the ambiguous position that French intellectuals attribute to Algeria and Algerians.



French school in Algeria around 1860 (Hachette 1988)

Presence of basic moral orientations

The third feature from Carretero's scheme I would like to discuss is called presence of basic moral orientations. The goal of this feature is to investigate whether, within the content of the textbooks, moral justifications are given to explain violent acts towards other people. Hence, the question is whether the French justified their conquest of Algeria according to any moral principle. We can distinguish several arguments regarding the reason of the French colonization of Algeria. The first argument advanced in one of the textbooks of the edition Belin explains that the conquest of Algeria by the French was made by "total coincidence" and that French soldiers and government did not premeditate such action.⁷⁷ The fact that this history textbook was published as late as 1988 is quite striking. It seems quite improbable that French colonists decided to conquer Algeria out of the blue. By using this argument it is as if the French were not really responsible for the colonization of Algeria and could not really be made accountable for what happened since it was not intentionally planned.

The second argument justifying the conquest of Algeria is given in a quite general statement in one of the textbooks of the edition Bordas in 1989. It is there stated that "France conquered Algeria because of the belief in the greatness of its imperial endeavor".⁷⁸ In this statement the term France is used as an overarching entity which does not only designate the territory but also the people as a whole. By using "France" as subject the author gives a much more powerful dimension to the statement and does not enable the identification of any active agent. Surprisingly in the early 1970s up to the mid 80s no justification is given for the conquest of Algeria. Hence, this event seems as if natural and do not require any explanation.

In the chapters on decolonization different arguments are used in order to explain the independence of Algeria. Until 1989 the textbook authors make use of peculiar terms in order to describe the liberation of Algeria. In these statements France is described as "granting" the freedom to Algeria.⁷⁹ Through my research in each of the four publishing houses from 1970 to 1990 I did not once encounter sentences in which Algeria was holding any kind of agency regarding their independence. Therefore, such statements would induce the reader to think that it

⁷⁷ Textbook: Rémy Knafou, Valéry Zanghellini, Jean-Marie Baldner, *Histoire, géographie, initiation économique*, Belin (Paris 1988).

⁷⁸ Textbook: Jeannine Guigue, Elisabeth Faguer, *Histoire, géographie, initiation à l'économie*, Bordas (Paris 1989).

⁷⁹ Textbook: Pierre Milza, Serge Berstein, J-L Monneron, *De la révolution au monde d'aujourd'hui : classe de troisième*, Nathan (Paris 1975).

is through the help of the French colonizers that Algerians gained autonomy. The reasons given for the independence of Algeria are quite diverse. Early 1970 almost no accusations are made against the unfair dominion of the French. In one textbook I found a statement accusing Algerians for the general underdevelopment that led to the revolts. Hence, in the textbook from Hachette of 1972 the Algerians are accused of sabotaging the economical development of their country by resisting the modernization of their pastoral activities.⁸⁰ After the end of the 70s, it is quite common to finally find some statements questioning the French dominion of Algeria. Hence, numerous editions then recognize the inequality between Algerians and pieds noirs providing an explanation for the will of Algerians to revolt.

The fourth feature regarding the representation of violence in textbooks in this timeframe is not relevant to investigate since there is almost no representation of any sort of violence in textbooks between 1970 and 1990. Most primary documents do represent Algerians as inferior but do not directly show the force that is used upon them. Within the text very little is said about either the conquest or the war. The number of death is only mentioned for the side of French soldiers and civilians but not for the Algerians.

From one author to numerous authorities

In this section I will apply the technique of reading against the grain. The goal of this technique is to acknowledge the inherent complexity of the text by trying to deconstruct its layered-ness as well as its silences. Hence, by focusing on notions such as the narrator or focalization we can succeed in understanding the general discourse in which the author is writing.

Firstly it is important to understand the context in which the authors are writing the textbook. As I explained in chapter 2, history textbooks of the early 1970s were often written by one historian who took upon his time to complete the work by himself. It is only from the 1980s on that several authors started to collaborate on the composition. In both cases it is important to remember the academic relevance that was given to such a task. Hence, the authors while writing a history textbook are expected to write objective facts which should be understandable by a young audience of students. Consequently, the content of textbooks has little to do with a novel or an autobiography in which the authors have the liberty to freely express their opinion. There is

⁸⁰ Textbook: Antoine Bonifacio, Jean Michaud, *1789 - 1970, l'époque contemporaine*, Hachette (Paris 1972).

no first person narrator and hardly any shift in the narration. Hence, the narration of textbook is often dry and is deliberately reduced to the simple statement. However, the voice of the author is interesting to study because of its self-evident authoritative dimension.

In her work Mieke Bal gives a clear overview of the role the narrator plays in the construction of a story.⁸¹ She argues that there are two main types of narrator which are the EN (external narrator), such as the omnipresent narrator which is used in many different genres, and the CN (character bound narrator) mostly used in autobiographies but also in fiction through different characters. Her work is relevant because it shows the importance of finding and analyzing who the narrator is in order to understand the context and ideological background through which the text is being recounted. She then explains the term “level of narration” showing how in most texts there is not only one story recounted but many more. These stories can range from non-narrative texts to embedded texts with primary stories. The analysis of such level of narrativity enables us to not only gain access to the complexity and density of the text in itself but also enables us to historicize the content. Lastly she emphasizes the role of focalization in literature: the fact that focalization and narration is not the same thing. Therefore, character bound focalization can shift while the narrator stays the same. It is of paramount importance when analyzing a text to be able to make a clear distinction between narrator and focalizer.

However, as explained above these several important components of narrativity are either lacking or modified in the context of textbook writing. In many cases the textbook narrator is clearly part of the EN type since he/she only talks about others and events. The textbook narrator most of time has complete authority. This use of authority seems highly necessary regarding the intellectual level of the readers. A bit more can be said regarding the shift in focalization. Although it is quite rare to experience a sudden shift of focalization within the content of the lesson, since the author rarely directly share the perspective of another character, some other movements can be noticed. As I highlighted in the content analysis section of this chapter many textbooks authors between 1970 and 1980 did not hesitate to make use of words such “La France” as subjects within general statements. By choosing this abstract perspective, the authors chose to give a sense of homogeneity to both the French people and territory. Such statement does not allow the identification of any active agent by making use of the personification of France.

⁸¹ Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the theory of narrative* (Toronto 1985).

Regarding the different level of narrativity and the embedded story quite a few things can be said. The documents or primary sources present within the textbooks are of paramount importance regarding the layering of the content. Already in 1858, Charles Seignobos stated that the “documents” (or primary sources) were a way for students to participate actively” during the lesson.⁸² According to historian Dominique Borne, in the 1980s the so-called “documents” started to steadily invade history textbooks.⁸³ This increase did not only concern the volume of the visual representations but also the diversity. This diversity results in the coexistence of many different voices and perspectives which adds to the already dense content of the textbooks. It is important to keep in mind that the volume of documents present in history textbooks between 1970 and 1990 is much less impressive than in the beginning of the new millennium. Hence, the composition of the textbooks of the twentieth century was dominated by the main narrative with the perspective (or focalisator) of one author. However, in my view it is important to investigate what type of documents tends to come back in this timeframe and what kind of message and perspective they transmit. Through these primary sources a lot of different perspectives are adopted from both the Algerian and French sides. This is especially visible when studying the extract of text or speeches that are found in the textbooks. It is during the last decade of the analyzed timeframe that we notice the appearance of diverse Algerian witnesses from simple school boy to journalist. However, it is important to know that most sources present in these documents are still of French source.

3.3 Conclusion

To conclude it is important to state that both qualitative and quantitative results were the object of numerous changes between 1970 and 1990. We can clearly distinguish a change towards historical distancing as we progress through the years. Hence, the glorification of the period of colonization through the extensive coverage of this topic and the praise of heroes such as Marshal Bugeaud is gradually disappearing in the 1980s. Moreover, the increase in primary sources such as photographs, extract of text and speeches and maps from diverse origins provides the students with a more multi-perspective approach.

⁸² Patrick Garcia, Jean Leduc, ‘L’enseignement de l’histoire en France de l’Ancien Régime à nos jours’, *Collection U* (Paris 2003) 320.

⁸³ Dominique Borne, *Programme de travail 1997-1998* (Paris 1998).

However, it is also crucial to remember that colonization and decolonization in general and the Algerian episode especially are still strongly represented through a French nationalistic perspective. Hence the presence of basic moral orientations to justify the French dominion over the Algerians with the recurrence of arguments such as the white man's burden is still sign of French failure to deal adequately with this controversial episode. Moreover, the selection of primary sources such as photographs representing a stereotypical Algerian man or woman as well as the silence regarding the events of the war of Algeria indicate that, at this given timeframe, French society was not yet ready to recognize its responsibility. It is interesting to notice whether the following chapter with the analysis of the timeframe of 1990-2012 will provide us similar or opposite trends.

Chapter 4 From francocentrism to multi-perspectivity

The goal of this chapter is to analyze the representations of Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks between ca. 1990 and 2012. First I present a brief quantitative overview of the place of both colonization/decolonization and Algeria within the textbooks. Next, I use some of Carretero's features combined with others to interpret my findings. I will answer to the following sub-questions

1. What is the place of colonial history and Algerian colonial history in the whole contents of French textbooks in the research period? Is it part of the history of French extension or is it sometimes lacking?
2. What kind of developments can we notice in the discursive and visual representations of colonial Algerian history during the research period? To what extent can we notice overly nationalistic or forms of historical distantiation?
3. Can we notice any influence of the memory clashes in the 2000s (such as the riots of 2005) in the perspective taken on Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks, and what kind of influences concerning discursive and visual representations?

4.1 Recognition of Algeria's defining role in French national history

In this section I will present the outcome of the quantitative analysis of French history textbooks regarding the second part of my research period. The tables are organized in the same manner as in chapter 3, focusing first on the number of pages dedicated to the general topic of colonization and decolonization and second on the coverage of Algeria's colonial history. This analysis contains two more tables than the previous chapter, since Algerian history started also to be addressed in French history textbooks in 4^{ème} between 1990 and 2012. Hence, as we saw in the quantitative analysis of the research period no specific pages seemed to have been dedicated to Algerian history in 4^{ème} during the study of the period of colonization. This is quite surprising

since the conquest of Algeria was one of the longest in the imperial history of France and numerous French and Algerians lost their lives in the process.

Table 4.1 Colonization in French history textbooks (ca. 1990-2012) for the main 4 publishing houses **4^{ème}** (age group 13-14): % of total pages

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1992				1.1
1993		0.2		
1996			0.8	
1998	3.2	2.4		3.1
2001			2.2	
2006	6.5	2.7	2.8	5.3
2011	6.4	5.9		7.7

In table 4.1 it is interesting to notice the important reversal when compared to table 3.1 in the previous chapter. Hence, colonization was much more tackled in the early 1970s than in the 1990s. Here, the percentage of pages dedicated to the topic of colonization is much less important in the 1990s than in more recent years. We can see that up to the late 1990s this topic was as much disregarded as in the beginning of the decade. It is in the year 2011 that the amount of pages increases most. This increase in the early 2000s might be explained by the sudden revival of the Algerian debate in mass media as Benjamin Stora highlights in his study on memory clashes.⁸⁴ Hence, Stora emphasizes the key role that the work of important journalists played in reviving the Algerian debate. Interested in understanding the growing impact of immigration on French society, many started to dig into the history of French imperialism to explain different contemporary issues coming to the fore in the media. The expansion of the chapters on colonization could be explained by this sudden need for understanding.

⁸⁴ Stora, 'Algérie-France, mémoires sous tension'.

Table 4.2 Decolonization in French history textbooks (ca. 1990-2012) for the main 4 publishing houses **3^{ème}** (age group 14-15): % of total pages

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1994				2.9
1996			2.5	
1999	2.6	1.1		7.5
2003	3.7		1.6	2.2
2007		2.2	1.0	
2012	4.1	7.3		7.8

Table 4.2 seems to more or less follow the evolution of table 4.1 and shows a steady increase in the percentage of pages dedicated to decolonization between 1994 and 2012. It is in the most recent year again that decolonization shows the most coverage. At this stage it is still difficult to understand whether the growing problems highlighted through the riots of the French banlieux in 2005 had any impact on the treatment of chapters such as decolonization, but the increase in pages seems to show the growing interest of French historians in such episodes.

Table 4.3 Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks between 1990 and 2012 for the main 4 publishing companies **4^{ème}**(age group 13-14) % of total pages.

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1992				-
1993		-		
1996			-	
1998	-	-		-
2001			-	
2006	-	-	-	-
2011	2.5	0.9		1.1

In table 4.3 we clearly see the total lack of space dedicated to Algeria within the chapter of colonization before the year 2011. This trend is noticeable in each of the four publishing houses.

This is remarkable since the conquest of Algeria was one of the longest and most prestigious of the French dominion. As in the two previous tables, it is in the year 2011 that the history of colonial Algeria starts to be addressed in the 4^{ème}. This trend seems to contradict the hypothesis that the debate in the media regarding the colonial history of Algeria specifically had a strong impact on the treatment of this episode in history textbooks between 1990 and 2010.

Table 4.4 Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks between 1990 and 2012 for the main 4 publishing houses % of total pages on colonization

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
1992				-
1993		-		
1996			-	
1998	-	-		-
2001			-	
2006	-	-	-	-
2011	36	16		14

The results in table 4.4 are a bit more puzzling than in the other tables since the percentage of pages dedicated to Algeria in the chapter on colonization highly fluctuates from one publishing company to the other. Belin dedicates up to 36 percent of the total amount of pages of the chapter to Algeria, while both Bordas and Nathan choose not to grant more than 16 percent of space.

Table 4.5 Algeria colonial history in French history textbooks between 1990 and 2012 for the main 4 publishing houses **3^{ème}** (age group 13-14):% of total pages

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1994				0.5
1996			-	
1999	0.6	-		0.5
2003	-		-	0.5
2007		0.5	-	
2012	0.6	0.9		1.0

Table 4.5 shows striking similarities between the publishing houses. Hence, the percentage of pages dedicated to the topic on Algeria according to the total amount of pages in the textbooks is almost exactly similar for each publishing company. Moreover, the place of Algeria seems extremely reduced when compared with the coverage of other colonies such as India. Hence, the decolonization of India – although a former English colony – seems to hold a much bigger place in French textbooks between 1990 and 2012 than Algeria does. This outcome seems to indicate a distraction from the recognition of French imperial responsibility and deserves further investigation than is possible in the context of this Master thesis.

Table 4.6 Algeria colonial history in French history textbooks between 1990 and 2012 for the main 4 publishing houses % of total pages on decolonization

Publishing houses	Belin	Bordas	Hachette	Nathan
	%	%	%	%
1994				20
1996			-	
1999	25	-		14
2003	-		-	25
2007		25	-	
2012	16	12		13

In table 4.6 it is interesting to notice that Algerian colonial history within the chapter on decolonization seems to hold a less important place in 2012 than for instance in 1999 or 2003. This outcome is quite puzzling when studying the five previous tables in which the year 2012 was the most important regarding the coverage of Algerian colonial history. This could confirm the statement of Benjamin Stora who highlights the decrease of debate and memory clashes between Algeria and France after the year 2006.

To conclude this section, it seems fair to state that the percentage of pages of both colonization/decolonization and Algerian colonial history fluctuate much less in the second part of the research period than in the first part (see chapter 3). What is highly noticeable is the steady increase of the percentages when calculated on the total number of pages. However, it is important to keep in mind that the amount of pages dedicated to Algeria within the chapters on decolonization and colonization often varies. Moreover, the absence of pages dedicated to Algerian colonial history in the publishing house Hachette is quite remarkable. Hence, in the first research period most publishing houses follow a similar path regarding the place given to Algeria within the history textbooks.

As in chapter 3, I will now analyze where both colonization and decolonization are found in the textbooks and to which parts and chapters these subjects are associated. For the sake of clarity I first describe the place of colonization within textbooks between 1990 and 2012. In this period, colonization is mostly found under the third part of the textbooks which is often called “l’Europe au XIXe siècle”. In this research period the chapter on colonization is still entitled “Le partage du monde”. One of the heading most used by the publishing house Hachette between 1990 and 2000 is “L’Europe domine le monde”. The use of such broad and general headings has the advantage to disable the coining of any specific country. Hence, these titles represent imperialism as a overarching European process.

The lack of change between the titles of the colonization chapters in the whole research period 1970-2012 is striking. Hence, it seems quite astonishing that the French ministry of Education chose to adopt the same structural approach to the history program as in 1970. What is also interesting are the discursive qualities of such titles which are really broad and reproduce perfectly the power balance at play when addressing imperialism with words such as “share” or

“dominating”. However, it is also striking that in all these titles the colonies are not once emphasized. That could be explained by the fact that the process of colonization by definition attributes a submissive position to these countries. Colonization is still part of a global approach and not singled out in an exclusively French history section. Consequently, one could argue that Algerian colonial history is increasingly amputated from traditional national French history.

The chapters on decolonization, as in the previous timeframe, are often entitled “La décolonisation et l’émergence du tiers-monde”. However, the part in which these chapters are found do change in almost all publishing houses between 1990 and 2000. Hence, before the beginning of the new millennium the chapter on decolonization was often found under the heading “L’après guerre: de 1945 à 1973”. After 2000 the chapter on decolonization is found under the heading “Elaboration et organisation du monde d’aujourd’hui”. This is interesting since decolonization is here recognized as directly connected to the way in which the world is organized today. However, the most interesting change is how the decolonization of Algeria is represented. Hence, as we saw in the research period 1970-1990 the decolonization of Algeria was simply part of the general chapter on decolonization. From 1999 onwards the decolonization of Algeria and more peculiarly the war of Algeria is often given two pages in the part solely dedicated to the history of France entitled “La France”. This so called double page or “dossier” which addresses this episode is found in the chapter entitled “La France de 1944 à nos jours”. This is really interesting since none of the history of the other colonies is to be found in this part of the textbook. This can be understandable since the decolonization of Algeria was one of the main causes of the end of the IV republic, which started after the war in 1946.

However, the wars of independence, such as the one of Vietnam and Algeria, demanded the fast intervention of Charles de Gaulle who chose to end the IV republic by establishing a new one in 1958. Finally, on a more negative comment, it is important to keep in mind that the double pages about the war of Algeria are only part of a so-called dossier and can be consequently ignored.

4. 2 Multi-perspectivity and historical unraveling

The goal of this section is to investigate whether the representation of Algerian colonial history changes between 1990 and 2012. The third sub-question tackled in this part is the following: *can*

we notice any influence of the memory clashes in the 2000s (such as the riots of 2005) in the perspective taken on Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks, and what kind of influences concerning discursive and visual representations?

As in the previous chapter I will make use of some of the features of the analytical frame of Mario Carretero. Some of the same features will be used in order to relevantly compare the two periods but some new ones (violence, coherence...) will also complete the analysis.

Heroes and mythical figures

The first feature I would like to investigate aims at discovering whether there is frequent use of mythical and heroic characters and motives within the textbooks. For the sake of clarity I will first analyze the heroes of the period of colonization in the history textbooks of the 4^{ème} between 1990 and 2012. Surprisingly there is no mention of the Marshal Bugeaud in any of the textbooks anymore. As I highlighted in chapter 3, numerous reports of the early 1990s, revealing the cruel and sadistic behavior of Bugeaud during the conquest of Algeria, resulted in the total disappearance of his praise in most history textbooks. Abd El Kader is also much less emphasized as Algerian character but is still mentioned in some of the textbooks. When present, Abd el Kader is addressed in a much more respectful manner than in the first research period. Hence in the following textbook from Hachette Abd el Kader is referred to as “l’émir Abd el Kader”, giving him much more credit than the simple name designation.⁸⁵ Yet with the new millennium the name of Abd el Kader within the lesson is not found anymore.

A new character appears on the French side: King Charles X of France (1757-1839). He became the leader of the French territory after the death of his brothers Louis XVI and Louis XVIII. He was not appreciated by the French people because of his desire to continue the ancient régime and French monarchy. It was Charles X’s decision to conquer Algeria, which disappointed the French rightwing factions who were much more focused on the re-conquest of Alsace-Lorraine. However, the leftwing parties supported this military action with the belief to “apporter le progrès de la civilisation aux peuples d’Afrique et d’Asie”, the so-called ‘mission civilisatrice’.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Textbook : Jean-Michel Lambin ,Yves André, *Histoire, géographie, initiation économique*, Hachette Paris (1996).

⁸⁶ Textbook : Jean-Michel Lambin ,Yves André, *Histoire, géographie, initiation économique*, Hachette Paris (1996).

This is the first time in the history textbooks I have analyzed the French government is shown as divided regarding the conquest of Algeria. Consequently it seems fair to say that the antagonism between Algerian ‘villains’ and French ‘heroes’ is much less clearer. Hence, what we now notice is a major opposition within the French elite regarding the conquest of Algeria which seems to be lacking in the period 1970-1990. This is interesting when compared to chapter 3 in which statements such as “La France pris la decision de conquérir l’Algérie” represent this choice as unanimous within the French kingdom. Moreover, less harsh adjectives are attributed to Abl Kader who seems to have acquired much more respect than in previous history textbooks. However it is important to keep in mind that such reverse in representations within the lesson does not always concern the visual representation and primary documents surrounding the content. For instance, in the 1996 textbook from Hachette one painting of important size depicts a war scene with ‘savage’ Algerians cutting heads facing well organized and neat French soldiers. These kind of pictures are still found in the history textbook published in 2012 and can almost been seen as contradicting the non stereotypical written narrative of the lesson. I will come back to this point later in the analysis when addressing the feature investigating the coherence of the different parts of the textbooks.

Regarding the presentation of mystical heroes within the chapter on decolonization in the period 1990 to 2012 a lot can be said. There is not any peculiar French heroes singled out during the decolonization but again general statements such “La France engage d’important moyens pour tenter de garder l’Algérie où vivent un million d’Européens, implantés depuis plusieurs generations”⁸⁷ However, speeches of great French political figures such as Charles De Gaulle, Pierre Mendès or François Mitterrand are found on the pages dedicated to the primary sources. Interestingly there is a contradictive quality of the French primary sources. Indeed, the divide between partisans of the independence of Algeria and the adherents to the maintenance of the French dominion is clearly represented. Both Mendès and Mitterrand support the sending of French soldiers to eradicate the Algerian revolution while Charles De Gaulle quickly shifts his perspective by recognizing the need for the Algerian to be free. Here again we can notice a big change between the two research periods. Historians between 1990 and 2012 seem to find it important to highlight the fact that not all French people and leaders were responsible for the colonization and the war of Algeria. Other types of French witnesses are found in the primary

⁸⁷ Textbook: Marie-Hélène Baylac; François Icher, *Histoire, géographie*, Bordas (Paris 2007).

sources mainly representing the perspective of the pied noirs. Hence, in the second research period, the emphasis on the suffering of the French colons is increased through the selection of moving primary sources.

Only few primary sources represent the perspective of the Algerians civilians or soldiers. However, some new Algerian “heroes” figure as key players during the Algerian revolution. In the most recent textbooks names such as Messali Hadj or Ben Bella and Boumedine started to be included. However, these names are only rarely found within the lesson of the chapter but much more in the primary sources on the side with photographs representing each Algerians with only a few descriptive lines. Unlike the representation of the independence of other colonies such as India or Morocco, in which a lot of the colonized names appear, the representation of the independence of Algeria totally lacks of such elements. Although no French heroes were clearly mentioned, there still exist a classification within the group of French people who participated to the events in Algeria. So the history textbooks distinguish five different groups: the OAS (terrorist French group fighting against the independence of Algeria); the government; the people; the pieds-noir; and the harkis (Algerians that fought against the independence on the side of the French). The only Algerian movement singled out is the FLN.

Memory clashes

The next feature I would like to discuss is not part of Carretero’s scheme but is much more related to the current memory clashes taking place in France since the beginning of the millennium. I would like to analyze whether the passing of the law of 23 February 2005, advising textbook authors to enhance the positive results of the French dominion in France, had any effect on the representation of Algerian colonial history. Although this law was rejected later in 2005 and any transformations of textbook contents are pretty slow, this question is important to address. From 1996 onwards I discovered a growing emphasis on the positive aspect of the French colonization of Algeria within several history textbooks. It became clear that the selection of numerous primary sources, representing for instance the Algerians building railways or Algerian children in French schools, was directly intended to highlight these positive involvements.⁸⁸ These aspects are also strongly emphasized in a history textbook of 2006 in which the authors describe the progress in health care that Algerians made thanks to French

⁸⁸ Textbook: Jean-Michel Lambin, Yves André, *Histoire, géographie, initiation économique*, Hachette Paris (1996).

training and import.⁸⁹ In a 2011 history textbook an entire double page is dedicated to photographs in which the positive deeds of the French are enhanced.⁹⁰ To conclude, it seems fair to state that the law of February 2005 did not directly affect the content of the textbooks since this tendency is already noticeable in 1996. Moreover, textbooks between 2005 and 2012 do not seem to represent increasingly these positive French involvements in Algeria.

The other law that I would like to study is the law of October 18, 1999, which officially recognizes the war of Algeria as such. Before the passing of this law this episode was often referred to as “evenement d’Algérie” (or Algerian event), ignoring the fact that this was a war involving military action and war commodities.⁹¹ This law did not affect the way in which this episode was treated in history textbooks between 1990 and 2012. Hence, the war of Algeria was still addressed as an ‘event’ in history textbooks as early as in 1970. However, I did not notice any kind of increase in the use of this term after 1999. This perfectly illustrates the frequent separation between education and politics or legislation. Even though the war of Algeria was not recognized as a war officially in French law until 1999, it was still addressed as such in history textbooks as early as in 1970.

Inclusion-exclusion

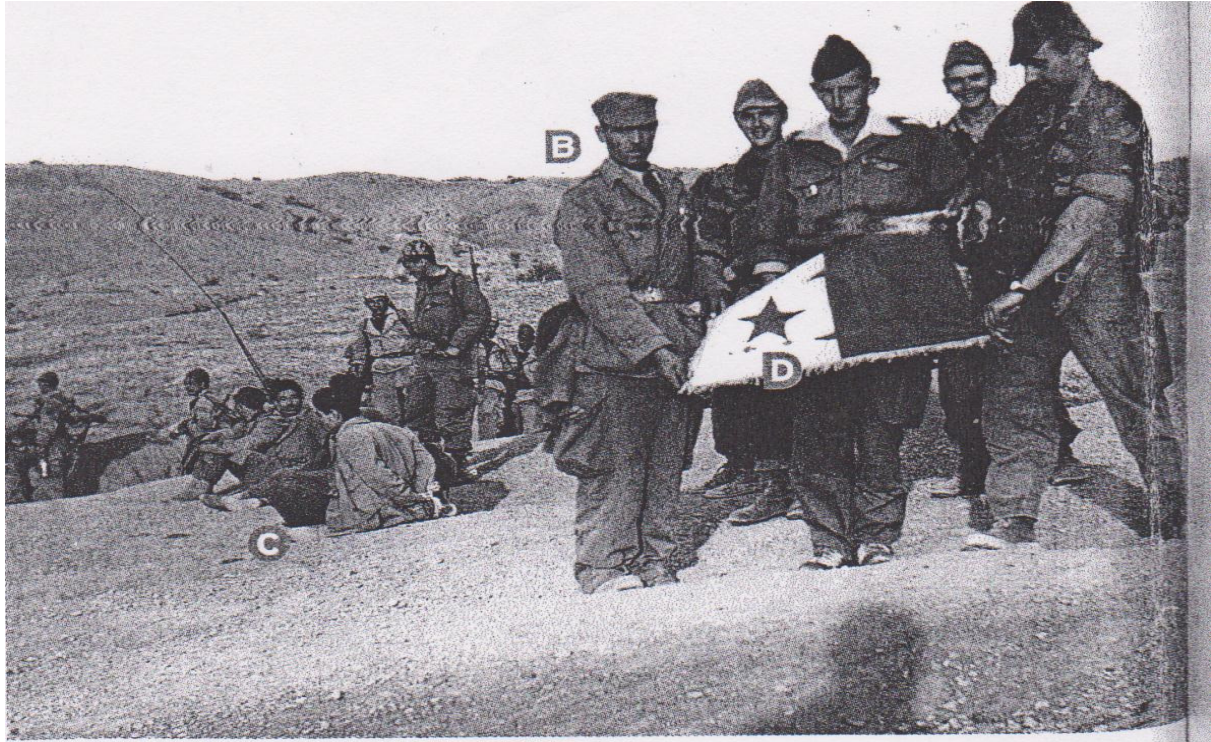
I will now address the feature inclusion-exclusion. As we saw in the first research period no real attempt was made to completely separate the “us” from the “them” when narrating about the French and the Algerians. This trend was much more recognizable within the primary sources surrounding the lesson with numerous distinctive visual representations. Between 1990 and 2012 many textbook authors seem to share the desire to include Algeria to the French territory. Hence, in the chapters on decolonization one of the main arguments justifying the horror of the war is the peculiar link that Algeria shares with the French metropolis. This status is unique to Algeria since other colonies such as Tunisia or Indochina are simply represented as colonies of exploitation and not as an annex of the French territory. This treatment is used in a least 80% of the analyzed history textbooks between 1990 and 2013. This trend is also noticeable in the selection of the visual representations which represent in a much less drastic dimension the

⁸⁹ Textbook: Sébastien Cote; Jérôme Dunlop, *Histoire, géographie*, Nathan(Paris 2006).

⁹⁰ Textbook: Christine Dalbert; Danielle Le Prado-Madaule, *Histoire, géographie*, Bordas (Paris 2011)

⁹¹ Loi relative à la substitution, à l'expression “aux opérations effectuées en Afrique du Nord”, de l'expression “à la guerre d'Algérie ou aux combats en Tunisie et au Maroc” [archive], sur www.senat.fr. Retrieved June 3 2013.

Otherness of the Algerians. Hence, one of the textbooks of 2012 contains a photograph of three different soldiers holding the new independent flag of Algeria happily. One of the soldiers is a harki, the other is a French combatant and the last is an FLN partisan. This is the first picture on which both Algerian and French are represented as equal and cooperating.⁹²



French military helping during Algerian independance (Belin 3ème 2012)

Violence

The extent of violence, which was not an element in Carretero's scheme of analysis, appeared to me as an important new tendency to investigate. Violence seems to be a new element which often comes back in French history textbooks between 1990 and 2012. It is important to remember the implication of the journalist Louisette Ighilahriz who, after the terrible revelations of the General Aussaresses revealing the execution of many innocent Algerians civilians, decided to consult the archive of the military. Her goal was to prove the existence of unjust acts of violence from the side of the French during both colonization and decolonization.⁹³ These proofs are strongly present in many textbooks of the new millennium in which a lot of

⁹² Textbook : José Abrami, Eric Chaudron, *Histoire géographie et éducation civique 3eme*, Belin (Paris 2012) PLACE.

⁹³ Stora, 'Algérie-France, mémoires sous tension'.

photographs represent the violence the French exerted over the Algerians. Moreover, the term OAS (representing French terrorism in Algeria) only started to be mentioned in the year 2000. Furthermore, I found in numerous textbooks of this research period the use of words such as “torture” to qualify the behavior of French soldiers towards member of the FLN. However, the violence of the Algerians seems to be much more enhanced than of the French. Hence, when addressing the number of death caused by the war, there never seems to be a precise estimate of the number of Algeria’s loss but always a really accurate number of the French and pieds noirs who were attacked or murdered. Moreover, the violent terrorist attacks of the OAS are often described or depicted as less aggressive than the attacks of FLN on either the French soldiers or colons. Hence numerous violent death and war calamities are often blamed on the actions of the Algerians activists.

Coherence

Another feature I would like to discuss in this analysis is the whole composition of the textbook. As in the first research period, the exercises accompanying the primary sources and the lesson are highly descriptive and do not involve critical involvement of the students. The questions following the photographs of two violent interventions of the French with both Algerian civilians and soldiers are simply studied with the following question: “Comment se déroule la décolonisation de l’Algérie”.⁹⁴ Hence, the focus of most exercises is the preparation to the so called ‘brevet’, which is the final evaluation through which all students of secondary school have to successfully go through in order to graduate and start high school. What counts in this examination is the recognition of the primary sources through the description of its date, context and sources, not the criticizing of the episode represented. Moreover, the questions found in this evaluation are selected for the testing of the basic knowledge of the students, such as historical dates and names, and not for the investigation of the student’s knowledge of different historical perspectives. Consequently, what we nowadays call historical thinking skills are completely absent.⁹⁵

The incoherence between primary sources and the content of the lesson has increased between 1990 and 2012. Hence, the content of the lesson seems to be getting drier as we

⁹⁴ Textbook: Dominique Audet, Vincent Adoumié, *Histoire, géographie*, Hachette (Paris 2007).

⁹⁵ Peter Seixas ed., *Theorizing historical consciousness* (Toronto 2004).

progress through the years while the selection of images seems to become more violent and controversial. The variety of the primary sources suggests that modern history textbooks are progressing towards a multi-perspective approach while the neutral and plain content of the text seems to witness the complete detachment of the authors from the episodes of history recounted. The total absence of text in the dossier on Algeria, which is only composed of photographs, maps and extract of speeches or journals, seems to diminish the importance that should be given to these peculiar pages.

Absence of author and multiplication of primary sources

Finally, as highlighted above, the content of the textbook in this research timeframe is not only becoming more neutral but is also increasingly diminishing. What we notice in the textbooks of the new millennium is the steady disappearance of the textbook author(s) who is replaced by a multiplicity of voices that are found within the primary sources. The primary sources not only mention known historical figures such as Charles de Gaulle or Mouloud Feraoun (Algerian teacher who was murdered in Alger in 1962) but also completely anonymous characters who provide a third layer to the variety of voices. Hence, the authors seem to have now lost the authority that was defining history textbooks between 1970 and 1980 to give place to more multiperspectivity.

The chaotic order of the textbooks with a mosaic of different primary sources obliges the students and the teacher to organize the lesson according to their own taste and logic. This development could be seen as a sign of positive progress towards a more critical approach of history in which more than one authority is voiced. But it could also result in the confusion and avoidance of some complex or controversial topics which could either be misunderstood or not covered.

4.3 Conclusion

To conclude it is fair to state that numerous changes are noticeable when comparing this research period to the previous one. One of the most striking developments is the reduction of the content of the lesson which is steadily replaced by diverse primary sources. The selection of these primary sources is becoming throughout the year more diverse and from multiple origins.

Moreover, the presence of the so-called “dossier” on the war of Algeria within the textbook part dedicated to France shows the will of French historians to include this painful episode to the national history of France. However, as I indicated before, the risk of such case study is the high possibility of teachers choosing not to cover it due to lack of time.

It is also interesting to notice the unraveling of many new elements within this research period such as the representation of violence or the mention of the harkis. This unraveling could be mostly seen as resulting from the numerous memory clashes taking place during the new millennium. Hence, such debates pushed many intellectuals to research further with new techniques and materials what really happened during the colonization and decolonization of Algeria. Therefore, the appearance of words such as “torture” as well as the recognition of the action of several famous Algerians show the development that French historians made towards a new historiographical approach. Although the authors seem to adopt multi-perspectivity in the text and primary sources there still subsist silences and francocentrism. Hence, little is said about the number of death on the side of the Algerians or the consequences that the French dominion had on Algeria’s future as an underdeveloped country.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The central question of this master thesis has been the following: *How is colonial Algerian history represented in French history textbooks between 1970 and 2012? To what extent can we link possible changes in these representations to public debates on this history in France?*

In this chapter I will share my answers in two separate sections. Firstly, I summarize the qualitative and quantitative outcome of my study and connect these to my theoretical concepts. Secondly, I review the different social-political and historiographical developments regarding the place allocated to Algerians immigrants in French society and intend to find some correlations with the changes noticeable in the textbooks.

As we have seen in chapter 3, in the French history textbooks published between 1970 and 1980 there are no pages dedicated to the topic of Algerian colonization or decolonization and that in all publishing houses. However, the topic of colonization in general was much more covered during these years than anytime afterwards. Colonization is often praised and when criticized it is mainly defended in the name of progress. During this period, the content of the textbooks is written by a single historian whose authoritative tone and novel-like style are highly noticeable. We deal here with the so-called EN (a narrator who talks about the other) as if the author is some an omnipresent entity with endless knowledge.⁹⁶

After 1980 we notice in the textbooks of almost all publishing houses a reversal in the coverage dedicated to the topic of decolonization, which is much more important than the one of colonization.⁹⁷ There is also a noticeable change in the way in which history is approached. The important influence of Braudel in the years 1970s-1980s is perceptible since the process of both decolonization and colonization are presented as part of a global enterprise and not as singularly French. Moreover, the single writer gave place to many different voices mainly teachers from both history and geography departments. Whereas the number of pages dedicated to Algeria between 1980 and 1990 barely increased, the number of so-called “documents” steadily

⁹⁶ Bal, *Narratology*, 14.

⁹⁷ Eckhardt Fuchs, Marcus Otto, Introduction: Educational Media textbooks, and Postcolonial Relocations of Memory politics in Europe, not yet published (draft version) (2013) 1-20.

increased. We now find the most controversial elements of either both topics in these media. However, it is important to remember that between 1970 and 1990 only few visual representations depict violence.

In the period 1970-1990 the influence of Orientalism is the most noticeable. Hence, Algerians are often represented in a position of submission or weakness. Moreover, the colonial gaze which used to be omnipresent in imperialist propaganda is still noticeable in the selection of images or photographs of the history textbooks of this research period. Therefore, it is quite frequent to find, within the primary sources, alienating visual representations depicting stereotypical portraits of Algerian men or women. Furthermore, the process of Othering, with the distinction between the “us” and the “them”, is often used in order to describe both parties. However, it is crucial to notice the important place of Algeria when compared to other French colonies. Therefore, although represented as Other, the Algerians are often depicted as potentially future French citizens.

It is also in this timeframe that national history is clearly used for the creation of a stronger national identity. Hence, in spite of the important historiographical influence of Fernand Braudel, stressing the importance to see each episode of history as “fait de civilization”, colonization and decolonization are still composed of strong national narratives. Hence, the ways in which the chapters of these two topics are presented often clearly differentiate the French process of colonization and decolonization from the one of the other imperialist countries such as England or Germany. As indicated above, French colonization is often more positively justified than for foreign colonial powers. Therefore, the motive generally stressed for other countries is thirst for power and hegemony. In the case of France the emphasis is much more on the will of French people to share their knowledge, language and culture to the rest of the world, in sum to bring civilization. Hence, France is mostly represented as the white savior of the 'wild heathen'. This national focus mostly disappeared after 1990. Little can be said about the socio-political developments of the position of Algerians in France regarding the lack of debate and evolution between 1970 and 1990.

In the 1990s with the opening of the army archives and the wave of new researchers the knowledge of this episode greatly evolved.⁹⁸ Moreover, the law recognizing the war of Algeria as such in 1999 opened up a whole new horizon of debates and controversies. Although the

⁹⁸ Stora, 'Algérie-France, mémoires sous tension'.

quantity of pages dedicated to both colonization/decolonization and Algeria increases compared to the previous timeframe, no spectacular quantitative change is noticeable before 2011. The war of Algeria is recognized as such in most textbooks from 1970 to 2012 showing the small impact that the law of 1999 had on history education. Within the French history textbooks some changes can be noticed with the increasing importance given to the documents and the disappearance of some important characters such as Marshal Bugeaud. The historiographical approach of the decolonization of Algeria is much different than in the previous timeframe since it is often found under a chapter solely reserved to French history. Hence, the decolonization of Algeria is not seen anymore as a global necessary process of independence of the tiers-monde but much more as a French matter as if the French finally recognized their responsibility. The beginning of the new millennium saw the increase of studies made by journalists such as the work of the Algerian activist Louissette Ighilahriz who decided to expose the torturous ways of the French military during the war.⁹⁹ Hence, the mention of the torture exerted by both French and Algerians appears increasingly in the textbooks between 2000 and 2012. Furthermore, I found an important increase in third party witnesses from Algerian and French sides as well as numerous photographs representing violence.

However, it is important to notice that when addressed violence is always represented in a very specific way. Both colonizers and colonized seem to share the same categories of victims. A simple example of this process would be the representation of the terrorist attacks of the French réseau the OAS which is always justified or balanced by the violence of the FLN. Moreover, a written witness of the horror committed by the French military would always be followed by an extract of text in which one pied noir would complain about the ferocity of the Algerians. Therefore, even in 2012 it seems difficult for the authors to recognize the total responsibility of the violence of imperialism in Algeria.

One of my main goals in Chapter 4 was to investigate whether the law of February 23 2005 had any visible impact in textbooks between 2005 and 2012. I did not find any evidence of such influence. Therefore, there does not seem to be any increase in the emphasis on the positive aspect of French colonialism in the textbooks within this timeframe. However one of the articles of this law required the fair recognition of the participation to the war of the harkis. This was highly noticeable in textbook from 2007 onwards with the increase of the use of the word harkis

⁹⁹ Louissette Ighilahriz, *Algérienne* (Fayard 2001).

within the pages dedicated to Algeria. It is between 2005 and 2007 that memory clashes between Algeria and France were the most violent. Firstly with the disagreement over the date of the end of the war of Algeria and secondly with the constant debates over the commemoration and monuments representing the collective memory of the historical episode. These debates and controversies were not visible in textbooks since the date of the end of the war of Algeria stayed the same between 1970 and 2012.

To conclude I would like to acknowledge the numerous changes that have been made to the representation of Algeria within French history textbooks in the whole research period 1970-2012. The increase in space dedicated to this historical topic as well as the growing quality and multiperspectivity shown within the lesson and documents are definite signs of inclusion. However, many stereotypes and silences about the Algerian colonial history are still found in recent history textbooks, such as the use of the designation “Muslim” when addressing Algerians. Furthermore, as demonstrated in chapter 4, the numerous contemporary laws, intending to change the approach to the representation of the colonial history of Algeria, do not seem to have a noticeable impact on the content of history textbooks. This could be explained by the fact that the production of textbooks takes a lot of time. However, the public debates on colonial Algerian history and the memory clashes as well as the evolution in school history seemed to have contributed to important changes in the representation of such a controversial episode.

Appendixes

I Researched history textbooks authors between 1950 and 2012 during internship at the Georg Eckert Institute, March 2013

Year	Title textbook (as in catalogue)	Name	Activities	Other publications
1954	Histoire contemporaine: 1852-1939; classes de philosophie, mathématiques et sciences expérimentales; [classes terminales] / André Alba; Jules Isaac; Antoine Bonifacio	André Alba	-Professeur d'histoire au lycée Henri-IV, en khâgne, jusqu'en 1959, André Alba (1894-1979), normalien, agrégé d'histoire, a été un des maîtres qui ont formé des générations d'historiens en France après la Deuxième Guerre mondiale	Does not seem to have written anything else than textbooks.
1954	Histoire contemporaine: 1852-1939; classes de philosophie, mathématiques et sciences expérimentales; [classes terminales]	Antoine Bonifacio	Antoine Bonifacio a été condisciple de Georges Pompidou à l'École Normale Supérieure de la rue d'Ulm. Il a été ensuite enseignant au lycée Charlemagne et à l'Institut d'Études Politiques de Paris.	-Histoire, le monde contemporain, livret bibliographique (1 janvier 1962).
1954	Histoire contemporaine: 1852-1939; classes de philosophie, mathématiques et sciences expérimentales; [classes terminales]	Jules Isaac	Jules Isaac né le 18 novembre 1877 à Rennes et décédé le 5 septembre 1963 à Aix-en-Provence est un historien français. Il est l'auteur, à la suite d'Albert Malet, de célèbres manuels d'histoire, usuellement appelés « Malet et Isaac ». Jules Isaac est également un pionnier des Amitiés judéo-chrétiennes.	-Jésus et Israël, 1948. -Genèse de l'antisémitisme, 1956. -L'Enseignement du mépris, 1962.
1958	L' époque contemporaine: (1851-1939); classes terminales	Lucien Genet	Professeur agrégé d'histoire et de Géographie au Lycée Louis le Grand. Maître de conférences à l'institut d'Etudes Politiques	-Revolution-Empire: 1789-1815 (Collection Histoire contemporaine generale) (French Edition) (1 janvier 1975). -Révolution-Empire, 1789-1815 (1 juin 1994).
1958	L' époque contemporaine: (1851 - 1939); classes terminales	Victor L. Tapié	Victor-Lucien Tapié était un historien et universitaire moderniste français né à Nantes en 1900 et mort en 1974. Il était notamment spécialiste de l'Europe centrale. Il fut professeur à la Sorbonne.	-La France de Louis XIII et de Richelieu, Paris, Flammarion, 1952. -Baroque et classicisme, Paris, Plon, 1957. -Le Baroque, Paris, PUF, coll. "Que-sais-je ?", 1961. -Monarchies et peuples du Danube, Paris, Fayard, 1969. -Retables baroques en Bretagne, Paris, PUF, 1972. -L'Europe de Marie-Thérèse, Paris, Fayard, 1973. -La guerre de Trente Ans, Paris, SEDES, 1989

1965	Le monde contemporain: classes terminales	Jean Sentou	Maitre-assistant à la faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Toulouse	-FORTUNES ET GROUPES SOCIAUX A TOULOUSE SOUS LA REVOLUTION 1789-1799 -La fortune immobilière des Toulousains et la Révolution française -Révolution et Contre-Révolution dans la France du Midi: 1789-1799.
1965	Le monde contemporain: classes terminales	Charles Olivier Carbonelle	Assistant à la faculté des lettres et des sciences Humaines de Toulouse. Charles-Olivier Carbonell, est un historien spécialiste français d'histoire contemporaine	-Les Grandes civilisations, Delagrave, 1962. -Le Grand Octobre russe : la révolution inimitable, Le Centurion, 1967. -Histoire et historiens, une mutation idéologique des historiens français, 1865-1885, Privat, 1976. -Historiographie du catharisme, Privat, 1979. -L'Autre Champollion, Privat, 1984. -Les temps de l'Europe, Conseil de l'Europe, Strasbourg, 1993. Tome 1 : Les Temps traditionnels et historiques. Tome 2: Les Temps mythiques -Les Sciences historiques d'Hérodote à nos jours, Larousse, 1994. -De l'Europe: identités, mémoires et mémoire, Presses universitaires Sciences sociales de Toulouse, 1996. -Une histoire européenne de l'Europe (2 volumes), Privat, 1999. -Les grandes dates du XXe siècle, PUF, «Que sais-je ?», 2002.
1970	Le monde depuis 1939: classes terminales section G	Victor Prévot	Professeur agrégé d'histoire et de Géographie au Lycée Marcelin Berthelot	-Pour comprendre la crise économique du monde actuel (1978). -Comment fonctionne la monnaie (1979).
1970	Le monde depuis 1939: classes terminales section G / (Belin)	Gérard Dosdat	Professeur au lycée CMT Robert Schuman	Only wrote textbooks
1970	Le monde depuis 1939: classes terminales section G / (Belin)	J.Boichard	Maitre assistant de géographie à Besançon	Only wrote textbooks
1983	Histoire: Terminales A, B, C, D (Belin)	François Lebrun	Professeur émérite d'histoire moderne à l'université Rennes 2 Haute Bretagne, François Lebrun est un spécialiste de l'Anjou à l'époque moderne. Il est depuis la fin de l'année 1989 membres du comité de rédaction de la revue mensuelle, L'Histoire Il est l'auteur de manuels d'histoire-géographie pour lycéens et le directeur de collection d'ouvrages universitaires.	-Le XVIIe siècle, Paris, Armand Colin, coll. U, 1967. -Les hommes et la mort en Anjou aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Paris, La Haye, Mouton, 1971, éd. Poche, Flammarion, 1975. -Histoire de France, éd. Seuil, 1987, avec Jean Carpentier. -La vie conjugale sous l'Ancien Régime, Colin, 1975, rééd. 1998 Se soigner autrefois. -Médecins, saints et sorciers aux XVIIe et

				XVIIIe siècles, Messidor, 1983, éd. En poche, Le Seuil, 1995. -Croyances et cultures dans la France d'Ancien Régime, Le Seuil, 2001. -Histoire des catholiques en France du XVIe siècle à nos jours (sous la direction de F. Lebrun), Privat, 1980. -Histoire de la Méditerranée, avec Jean Carpentier, Seuil, 2001. -Louis XIV, le roi de gloire", coll. Découvertes, Gallimard, 2007.
1983	Histoire: Terminales A, B, C, D (Belin)	V. Zanghellini	Inspecteur pédagogique Régional Lille	Only textbooks
1983	Histoire: Terminales A, B, C, D (Belin)	Pierre Mélandri	Pierre Melandri est un historien français, né en 1946, spécialiste des relations internationales et de l'histoire des États-Unis. Il est aujourd'hui professeur des universités à l'institut d'études politiques de Paris.	-Les États-Unis et le défi européen (1955–1958), 1975. -L'Alliance atlantique, 1979. -Les États-Unis face à l'unification de l'Europe (1945–1954), 1980. -Une incertaine alliance : les États-Unis et l'Europe, 1973-1983, 1988. -Reagan. Une biographie totale, 1988. -Histoire intérieure des États-Unis au XXe siècle, avec Jacques Portes, 1991. -La Politique extérieure des États-Unis de 1945 à nos jours, 1995. -La France et l'OTAN (1949-1996). Actes du colloque tenu à l'École militaire, 8, 9 et 10 février 1996, à Paris, avec Maurice Vaïsse et Frédéric Bozo, 1996. -Le Welfare State en Amérique du Nord, 2000.
1983	Le monde actuel (Bordas)	Nicole Bernard	Docteur en histoire et agrégée de l'Université. Spécialiste de l'histoire de l'Afrique	-Les comédiens de Molière 1920-2002 (2003).
1983	Le monde actuel (Bordas)	Serge Corre	Agrégé d'histoire. Professeur d'histoire à l'École normale d'Antony, Hauts-de-Seine (en 1985)	Only textbooks
1983	Le monde actuel (Bordas)	Pierre Kerleroux	Professeur agrégé au lycée de Massy-Vilgénis	-Histoire de Moncley, village du bas-pays franc-comtois (2012).
1983	Le monde actuel (Bordas)	Michel Piffault	Professeur agrégé de lycée	Nothing
1983	De 1939 à nos jours: classe terminale (Hatier)	Gisèle Berstein	-Historien. Spécialiste d'histoire politique de la France contemporaine. Professeur à Paris (en 1995)	-Au regard de l'Histoire. L'actualité vue par les historiens, du printemps arabe à l'élection présidentielle. -Dictionnaire historique de la France contemporaine. Tome 1, 1870-*1945. -Un siècle de radicalisme (2004).
1983	De 1939 à nos jours: classe terminale (Hatier)	Serge Berstein	Serge Berstein (né en 1934) est un historien français du politique, spécialiste de la Troisième République.	-Les Années Giscard de R. Remond, S. Berstein et J.-F. Sirinelli (19 novembre 2003). -Michel Debré premier ministre (1959-1962) de Serge Berstein,

			Docteur ès lettres, il enseigne à l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris. Membre des conseils scientifiques de la Fondation Charles de Gaulle et de l'Institut François-Mitterrand, il est l'auteur de nombreux ouvrages, ainsi que des manuels dans la collection Initial, chez Hatier, en collaboration avec Pierre Milza.	Pierre Milza, Jean-François Sirinelli et Collectif (2 juin 2005).
1983	De 1939 à nos jours: classe terminale (Hatier)	Pierre Milza	Pierre Milza, né le 16 avril 1932 à Paris, est un historien français. Il est professeur émérite des Universités à l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris et membre du conseil scientifique de l'Institut François-Mitterrand.	-Voltaire, Paris, Perrin, 2007. -L'année terrible, la guerre franco-prussienne, septembre 1870-mars 1871, Paris, Perrin, 2009. -Les relations internationales de 1871 à 1914, Paris, Armand Colin, collection «Cursus», 2009. -Les derniers jours de Mussolini, Paris, Fayard, 2010, 290 p. En collaboration avec Serge Berstein. -Dictionnaire historique des fascismes et du nazisme, Bruxelles, André Versaille, 2010, 782 p. -Conversations Hitler-Mussolini, Paris, Fayard, 2013, 408 p.
1983	Histoire de 1939 à nos jours	Yves Trotignon	Yves Trotignon a fait carrière au sein de la DGSE. Il est aujourd'hui analyste senior chez RISK&CO comme spécialiste de la menace terroriste.	-Le XXe [i.e. vingtième] siècle en U.R.S.S (Collection Etudes; 54: Section historique) (1976). -Le XXe [i.e. vingtième] siècle américain (Collection Etudes; 55: Section historique: Serie bleu) (1977).
1995	Histoire terminales (Hachette)	Jean Michel Lambin	Professeur agrégé d'histoire au lycée Watteau de Valenciennes et maître de conférences à l'IEP de Lille (en 1996).	-Quand le Nord devenait français, 1635-1713. -Carnet de voyage dans la Rome antique.
1995	Histoire terminales (Hachette)	Annette Becker	Annette Becker, née en 1953, est une historienne française, professeur des universités à l'Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense et membre senior de l'Institut universitaire de France Elle est spécialisée dans l'étude de la Première Guerre mondiale et de ses représentations culturelles, religieuses en particulier. La publication de son principal ouvrage avec Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, Retrouver la guerre, a concrétisé le bouleversement de l'historiographie de la Grande Guerre. Ces deux auteurs s'attachent avant tout à comprendre les cultures de guerre et la dialectique entre la souffrance et le consentement ; en quoi la Première Guerre mondiale, avec cette	-Les Monuments aux morts: patrimoine et mémoires de la grande guerre, Paris, Ed. Errance, 1988. -La guerre et la foi, de la mort à la mémoire Paris, Armand-Colin, 1994. -Oubliés de la Grande guerre : humanitaire et culture de guerre, 1914-1918: populations occupées, déportés civils, prisonniers de guerre, Paris, Noësis, 1998. -Journaux de combattants et de civils de la France du Nord dans la Grande Guerre, Villeneuve-d'Ascq, Presses Univ. du Septentrion, 1998. (avec Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau), La Grande Guerre: 1914-1918, Paris, Gallimard, 1998. (avec Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau), 14-18, retrouver la guerre, «Bibliothèque des

			acculturation à la violence, est un événement paradigmatique du XXe siècle	Histoires», Gallimard, 2000 -Maurice Halbwachs: un intellectuel en guerres mondiales 1914-1945, Paris, Viénot, 2003 (avec Étienne Bloch), Marc Bloch: L'histoire, la guerre, la résistance, Paris, Gallimard, «Quarto», 2006. (avec Georges Bensoussan), - Violences de guerre, violences coloniales, violences extrêmes avant la Shoah, Revue d'histoire de la Shoah, 189 (2008). -Guillaume Apollinaire: une biographie de guerre: 1914-1918-2009, Paris, Tallandier, 2009. -Les cicatrices rouges 1914-1918, France et Belgique occupées, Paris, A. Fayard, 2010.
1995	Histoire terminales (Hachette)	Jean-Luc Carton	Certifié d'histoire-géographie et formateur	No other than textbooks.
1995	Histoire terminales (Hachette)	Christian Defebvre	Certifié d'histoire-géographie, directeur du Centre de recherches pour l'éducation à la solidarité internationale (Lille).	No other than textbooks.
1995	Histoire / sous la dir. de Jacques Marseille	Jean-Pierre Azéma	Jean-Pierre Azéma, né en 1937, est un historien français. Spécialiste de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, et plus particulièrement de l'histoire de Vichy et de la Résistance, il a été professeur au Lycée Henri-IV, professeur des universités et a enseigné l'histoire à l'Institut d'études politiques de Paris.	-Les Communards, Éd. du Seuil, 1964 (avec Michel Winock) -La IIIe République, Calmann-Lévy, 1970 ; nouvelle éd., 1991 (avec Michel Winock) -La Collaboration : 1940-1944, PUF, 1975 De Munich à la Libération : 1938-1944, 1979 ; nouvelle éd., 2002 -Histoire générale politique et sociale : la France des années sombres, les années 40, 1987 -Les Communistes français de Munich à Châteaubriant : 1938-1941, 1987 (avec Antoine Prost et Jean-Pierre Rioux) -1940, l'année terrible, Éd. du Seuil, 1990 -«Vichy et la mémoire savante : quarante-cinq ans d'historiographie» dans -Vichy et les Français, Fayard, 1992 (direction J.P.Azéma avec François Bédarida)
1998	Histoire T, Compléments pédagogiques	Marie-Hélène Baylac	Spécialiste de l'histoire du XIXe siècle, ancienne élève de l'École normale supérieure et agrégée d'histoire, Marie-Hélène Baylac est l'auteur de plusieurs ouvrages,	-Les Objets racontent l'histoire (2000) - Le Sang des Bourbons (2009).
1998	Histoire, géographie T	Philippe Claus	Monsieur Philippe Claus, rapporteur de la commission nationale du débat sur l'avenir de l'école, est l'un des experts consultés par le Ministre et les directions sur le socle commun et les contenus d'enseignement.	-
1998	Histoire, géographie T	François	Agrégé de géographie,	-


		Collignon	professeur	
2005	Les grandes problématiques, les méthodes de l'oral, les épreuves du BAC: terminale (Nathan)	Olivier Belbéoch	IUT De Paris (Statistiques - Démographie) chez Université Paris Descartes	-Concours de Contrôleur des impôts (2006) -Cahier de vacances pour adultes: Spécial écolo (2009)
2007	Histoire, géographie: STG / (Hatier)	Guillaume Bourel	Professeur en CPGE au Lycée Fenelon	-
2007	Histoire, géographie: STG / (Hatier)	Marielle Chevallier	CNDP	-
2008	Le monde, l'Europe, la France de 1945 à nos jours: Term L,ES,S (Nathan)	Joëlle Alazard	Professeur d'histoire CPGE littéraires, lycée Faidherbe (Lille)	-
2008	l'Europe, la France de 1945 à nos jours: Term L,ES,S (Nathan)	Jacques Marseille	Jacques Marseille, né le 15 octobre 1945 à Abbeville et mort le 4 mars 2010 à Paris est un historien français, spécialiste d'histoire économique, chroniqueur de presse et de radio connu pour ses prises de position libérales. Il a également occupé des fonctions dans l'édition.	-Lettre ouverte aux Français qui s'usent en travaillant et qui pourraient s'enrichir en dormant, 1992. -C'est beau la France! Pour en finir avec le masochisme français, 1993. -Les grands événements de l'histoire de France, France Loisirs, 1994. -France, terre de luxe, 1999. -Nouvelle histoire de la France, 1999 ; réimpression 2002. -Le Journal de la France au XXe siècle, 1999. -L'UIMM, cent ans de vie sociale, avec Patrick Éveno, Catherine Hodeir et Danièle Rousselier-Fraboulet, 2001 (édité par l'Adase, émanation de l'UIMM). -Les Années Hugo, Larousse, 2002. -France et Algérie – Journal d'une passion, 2002. -Le Grand gaspillage, Plon, 2002; Perrin, 2005
2008	[Le monde de 1945 à nos jours] (Bordas)	Jérôme Grondeux	Jérôme Grondeux est un historien français né le 19 novembre 1965 à la Garenne-Colombes (Hauts-de-Seine). Spécialiste d'histoire des idées et du XIXe siècle, auteur en 1994 d'une thèse sur Georges Goyau et d'articles sur les problèmes politiques de l'époque, il propose dans La religion des intellectuels français au XIXe siècle une lecture mettant en avant l'interpénétration des débats religieux, philosophiques et politiques de la modernité.	-Histoire des idées politiques en France 1814-1914, Paris, La Découverte, collection "Repères", 1998. -La France entre en République 1870-1893, Paris, Le Livre de Poche, 2000. -La Religion des intellectuels français au XIXe siècle. Essai sur les origines de la modernité religieuse, Toulouse, Privat, 2002. -Georges Goyau. Un intellectuel catholique sous la Troisième République, Éditions de l'École Française de Rome, 2008. -Socialisme: La fin d'une histoire?, Payot, 2012.
2011	Histoire, géographie: bac pro 3 ans (Nathan)	Alain Brélivet	Alain BRELIVET est né à Quimper (Bretagne, France) en	-FORMATION CHRÉTIENNE DANS LES GRANDS COLLÈGES

			1973. Ses recherches portent sur l'histoire de la jeunesse et sur l'histoire du genre. L'ouvrage consacré à la formation chrétienne dans les grands collèges catholiques en Bretagne a été primé par l'Académie des Sciences morales et politiques (2002).	CATHOLIQUES (BRETAGNE, 1920-1940) -SCOUTS SANS FRONTIÈRES Le scoutisme dans sa dimension internationale.
2011	Histoire, géographie: bac pro 3 ans	Martin Fugler	-	-

II Representation of Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks. Presentation at the Georg Eckert Institute March 5, 2013

Slide 1

Representation of Algerian colonial history in French history textbooks



Slide 2

Research

Main research question: How is colonial Algerian history represented in French textbooks between 1970 and 2012. To what extent can this representation be explained by political developments in French society?

■ **Main theoretical concepts:**

- National identity/National history
- Orientalism/Othering
- Collective memory/Memory clashes

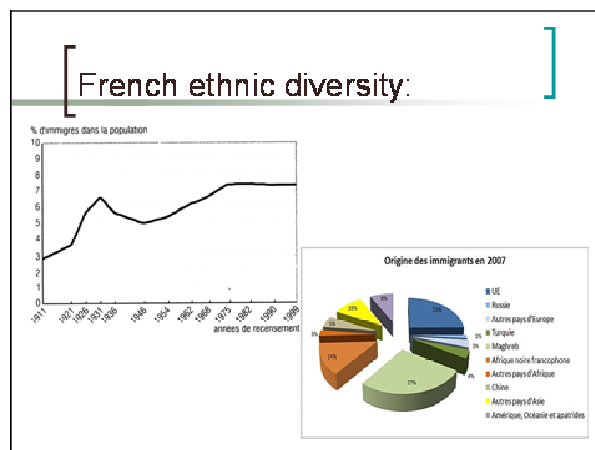
Slide 3

France as a nation

- Notion appeared during the French revolution
- Seen as one and indivisible with a homogenous territory
- Myth of the Gallic ancestor
- Notion of citizenship



Slide 4



Slide 5

Why Algeria?

- **Status: seen as an extension of the French territory**
- **Independence gained from violent war**
- **End of the IV republic**

Slide 6

[**Methods**]

- **20% Quantitative:** Number of pages, recurrence of words or documents
- **80% Qualitative:** stereotyping, agency, inclusion-exclusion

Slide 7

[**Scheme of analysis:**]

- 1: *Exclusion-inclusion:* differentiation between the "we" (mostly the nationals) and the Other
- 2: *Identification process:* many textbooks manipulates the emotions of students in order to create an affective anchor
- 3: *Frequent presence of mythical and heroic characters and motives*
- 4: *Search of freedom of territory as a main and common narrative theme*
- 5: *The presence of basic moral orientations*
- 6: *The romantic and essentialist concept of both the nation and the nationals.*

Slide 8

[**Hypothesis**]

- The changes in the representation of Algerian colonial history can be linked to contemporary French issues
- Enhanced presence of Algerian colonial history in most recent textbooks
- Disappearance of Franco-centric view for a multi-perspective approach

Slide 9

First difficulties

- Initial timeframe was too narrow (2005-2012)
- It is hard to find any controversial wording in recent textbooks
- Quantity of material to analyze in three weeks
- Difficult to relate changes to actual political developments


Slide 10

Relevance

- Empirical study
- Important for contemporary classroom reality
- History textbooks direct media of socialization
- Constant media covering of Algerian/French memory clashes

Slide 11

Questions?



The slide features three small images arranged horizontally. The first image on the left shows the cover of a textbook titled 'HISTOIRE' with a portrait of a man. The middle image shows a man in a suit and glasses speaking at a podium. The third image on the right is a hand-drawn illustration of a hand with the French text 'TRAUCIE PAS A TON POTE' written on it.

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Algerian colonial history in French textbooks

At the crossroad of nationalism and memory clashes

Manon Chauveau

Keywords

history textbooks, history education, colonial history, Algeria, immigrants, multiperspectivity

ABSTRACT

The representation of controversial or painful events is always difficult. One cannot consider the feelings and perspectives of all people that were involved in a given occurrence. This difficulty is felt in any sort of media. Hence, journalists or politicians when speaking publicly or writing an article or speech have the obligation to choose the right words and to state the right facts in order to not only be taken seriously but also to be respected as authorities. When such past events have to be represented in media such as history textbooks the matter becomes even more complex.

History textbooks are seen as crucial tools in the creation of the future model citizens. Although some might argue that this medium is slowly losing ground to tools such as the internet, the textbook still plays a fundamental role in the daily routine of a classroom. The role of explaining and justifying the occurrence of controversial or horrific past events to the students is not solely held by the teacher but also by the authors of history textbooks. Hence, these authors have the responsibility to represent a fair and impartial version of what truly did happen in the past. However, this task becomes difficult when the historical occurrence happens to severely put in jeopardy the image of the country in which the textbook is published. The authors are then faced with the difficult choice to either be loyal to their belief in impartiality, which is part of their history profession or to their obligation of to form faithful future citizens. In a country such as France the choice seems often easily made and the representation of controversial historical topics is often known to be either avoided or distorted.

With respect to my Master Thesis research I have formulated the following main question: *How is colonial Algerian history represented in French history textbooks between 1970 and 2012? To what extent can we link possible changes in these representations to public debates on this history in France?*

I have investigated how one of the most controversial French historical events was and is still represented. The goal of this Master thesis is not only to describe the possible changes, but to link these to one of the most heated French public debate of the new millennium: the connection between the colonial past and the present situation of immigrants. Hence, the occurring of highly covered public events such as the riots of 2005 by the youth of the French banlieux, which were mostly organized by second generation North African immigrants, stirred not only academic debates but also public frenzy. This study does not only touch upon area such as education and history didactics, it also highlights contemporary public issues that are now being addressed all over the world.

August 21, 2013