



The Code de l'Indigénat and Colonial Management in Algeria (1865-1944): Hierarchy, Ethnic Division, and Politicisation of Identity

Understanding the Past to Move Forward: Identity and (Im)mobility in Colonial Algeria

Erell Mourouga¹

¹London School of Economics

Abstract

Used as a means for colonial management in Algeria, the *Code de l'Indigénat* provided the legal structure which enabled for a systematic stratification of society. Analysing its pyramidal workings and limited mobility within it, provides an understanding of identity as the product of rigid legal assumptions. This article delves further into the use of citizenship as a tool for ethnic division, through the instrumentalization of an 'Other' – that is, here, Jewish and Berber populations. Finally, investigating the colonial instrumentalisation of identity offers a revelatory understanding of far-right rhetoric today and the need to shed light on the past to move forward, enabling to break down a normative discourse on French identity. We identify historical objectivism as the best way to move forward, enabling for the formation of a public memory and societal reconstruction in the contemporary aftermath of the colonial period.

Keywords: France; Algeria; Identity; Law; Citizenship; Colonialism

Introduction

In July 2020, Emmanuel Macron, in a bid to “look history in the face, so as to build a Republican memory to be shared by all” (Elysée 2022), opened up the difficult colonial Algerian chapter of French history by commissioning a report to Algeria-born historian Benjamin Stora, entitled ‘Questions of memory on colonisation and the Algerian War’ (Stora 2021). Describing the “impossible forgetfulness” of Algeria [impossible oubli], his paper explores the evolution of Franco-Algerian relations and means of societal and institutional mechanisms for memory and reconciliation through the uncovering and opening of national historical archives (Stora, p. 34). He strikingly stresses the need to “read the whole (hi)story, to stop hemiplegic memory” [lire toute l’histoire, pour refuser la mémoire hémiplegique], the latter term being taken from the medical field and indicating a state of paralysis (Stora, p. 16). It is this very societal paralysis regarding colonial management in Algeria and the consequences, or aftermath, of the politicisation of identity through legal means, that this article seeks to explore in light of a national drive to move forward.

Utilised by many as a source of great political rhetoric, from Jean-Marie Le Pen to Eric Zemmour, the subject matter of colonial Algeria permeates far-right discourse in France to this very day (Stora et al. 2023; Briost 2022). In a book written by historians seeking to break down the rhetorical mechanisms and normative underpinnings in the falsification of history for political ends by then far-right candidate to the presidential elections Zemmour, Philippe Lemarchand writes “History is the heart of the mechanisms of the polemist” [L’Histoire est le noeud de la mécanique du polémiste] (Briost, p. 13). Thus, it remains essential to understand history in its entirety, to avoid distorted truths and erroneous political conceptions. In other words, one needs to understand the past to move forward – and to understand the past means to have recourse to historical objectivism in the formation of a national collective memory.

The subject matter of colonial Algeria is particularly insightful as a historical dark hole, it is a societal taboo that, like a ghost, looms over political debates (Mann 2009). Indeed, historian Benamou describes a “contemporary cacophony”, an “obsession” built around “amnesia and over-presence”, or a “collective neurosis” citing the post-colonial thinker Franz Fanon (Benamou 2003, p. 14, 17). He argues in 2003 that “in the last decade of *French Algeria* was invented the concept of integration (...) it was the *leitmotiv*, a national cause (...) today (...) we make laws, policies” (Benamou, p. 16)

We seek to analyse one key aspect of the colonial period in Algeria, that of the *Indigenous Code* as a formative nexus of identity assumptions, politicised rights and colonial management very much influential in understanding contemporary France, and the mechanisms of far-right rhetoric. In doing so, we stress the need to understand the historical past to comprehend the political present.

The first section unpacks the specificities that constituted the *Code* in its stratification of society, looking at how identity is assumed, hierarchised and (im)mobile. Secondly, we examine identity’s application in practice, through the politicised tool of citizenship, and ensuing processes of re-acculturation and de-individualisation. The *Code* was powerful in its management of identity, for the *indigène*¹ is not only defined in reaction to an ‘Other’ but also and thus, by negation – by what she or he cannot be – neither French, nor Algerian. The state ruled by instrumentalising that ‘Other’, in cultivating ethnic and social divisions. This leads us to our third section which delves into the *Code* as a site for the creation of super normative identities and their securitisation – which still permeates to this day. All in all, the *Code* enabled for the *mise-en-oeuvre* of a divide and rule political strategy, which we can find remnants of in contemporary far-right rhetoric, as found in France. It has led to what Amin Maalouf decries with great alarm as “identités meurtrières” [murderous identities] – a “notion that reduces identity to one single affiliation [and] encourages people to adopt an attitude that is partial, sectarian, intolerant, domineering” (2003, p. 30).

Analysis of the Code de l’Indigénat: A Code, Regime, or Law?

Frantz Fanon wrote in *Black Skin, White Masks* “The white man is a master who allowed his slaves to eat at his table” (2021, p. 194) – depicting the colonial mechanisms of power which enabled, through the partial distribution of rights, the maintenance of the binary ‘coloniser’ versus ‘colonised’ (Fanon 2002, p. 41). Described as the “obscure core of the French colonial state (...) [which] like a black hole (...) ordered the space around it” (Mann 2009, p. 331, 335), the *Code* provided the legal framework for colonialism as a site for ethnic management, as exercised in Algeria in the years 1865-1944.

¹ This essay uses the French ‘*indigène*’ and not ‘*indigenous*’ to reflect the specificities of this status in the French *Code de l’Indigénat*, different to British colonial rule.

The *Indigénat* was neither a rule of law, nor was it technically a “code” in the strict juridical sense. Indeed, if one goes back to the draconian definition of “law”, as defined by the French *Ministry of Justice*, it is “the set of rules that administer life in society. It also refers to the prerogatives attributed to an individual” (Justice.Gouv). It is thus no surprise that the *Indigénat* was not referred to as a law, which includes the individual at its heart – while a “code” is “a compilation containing all the laws, decrees and regulations in a given matter” (Justice.Gouv), be it civil, criminal, or commercial. Referred to at the time as the “régime de l'Indigénat”, the distinction (from a code to a regime) is far from a linguistic or juridical detail, it is in fact immensely revealing. It illustrates the non-dissociation of the political and the legal in colonisation. The *Code* came from a desire to add to the ‘code pénal’ as found in metropolitan France a section specific to colonial territories. First explicitly mentioned in 1874 (though mentions of ‘naturalisation’ of the *indigène* are found in a ‘senatus consulte’ of 1865) (Laïssaoui 2021), the *Indigénat* was formally established in 1881 – for a transitory period of seven years, but effectively prolonged until 1944 (Benhaddou 2020, p. 39).

The *Code* in Algeria (1865-1944) included the limitation of the *indigènes*’ freedom of movement, who required a travel permit (Benhaddou 2020), who they could invite into their home (Benhaddou), regularised a specific “Arabic tax” (Thénault 2014, p. 299), forbid their ownership of a firearm, sanctioned any public articulation against colonisation (Benhaddou, p. 32, 35), and put in place from 1902 onwards special “repressive tribunals” for *indigènes* (Thénault, p. 298). Sanctions played a central role to the *Code* and unlike in a body of law which is built around the prerogatives of an individual, they were in many cases collective in nature (Collot 1987; Benhaddou). They included detentions, sequestration of property and possessions, as well as fines – historian Sylvie Thénault arguing that “administrators’ disciplinary powers [was] the only truly legalised part of the regime” (Thénault 2019). Furthermore, the *Code* made possible the conversion of prison incarceration or fines into forced public labour in 1897, of which around 600,000 were recorded between 1898 and 1910 (Thénault 2004, p. 375). The July 1914 notice to the *Régime de l'Indigénat* in Algeria states: “The European has a clear notion of the separation of the temporal and spiritual domains. The Muslim does not and cannot have it. It is in the Koran that are found the Muslim principles of civil and criminal law” (Thénault 2019). Such identification of incompatible identities justifies a dichotomous hierarchisation of rights.

The Hierarchisation of Society Through the Legal Eye

The *Code* hierarchised society based on ethnicity, religion, or general adherence to the regime (Saada 2012, p. 256). In this institutionalisation of “social engineering” (Smith 1996, p. 34), there were two legal categories: the subject and citizen (Saada), illustrated in *Figure 1*. At the top of the hierarchy of rights were French citizens. Just below we find European immigrants, Algerian Jews (since 1870), and Berbers (or Kabyles²) – in order of increasing difficult conditions for meeting citizenship criteria – and finally *indigène* ‘subjects’ who did not benefit from civil rights, governed by the *Code*.

² Kabyles are a distinct Berber ethnic group, but the two terms are often used interchangeably.

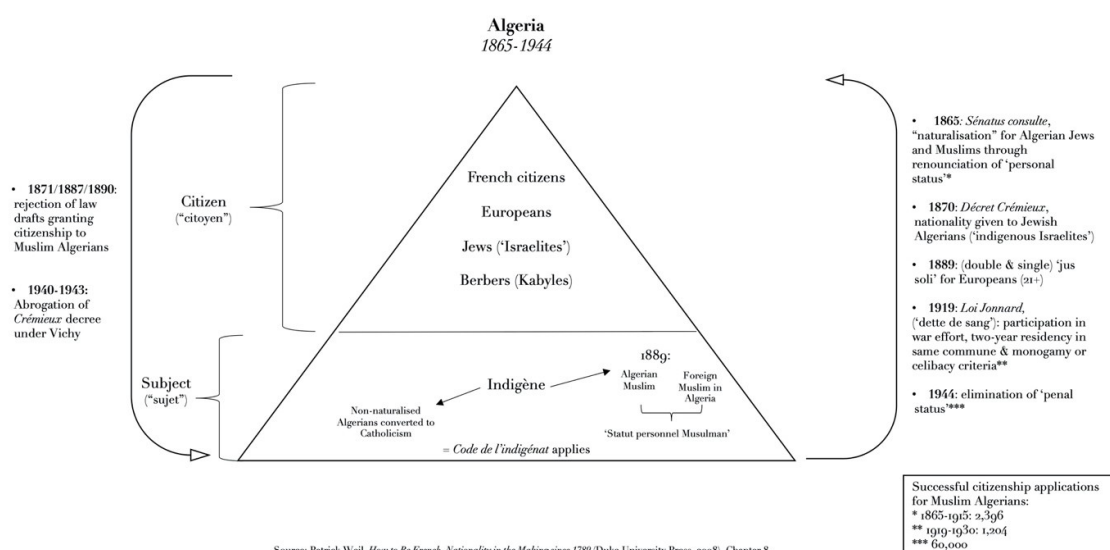


Figure 1: Stratification of civil rights in relation to acquisition of French citizenship (1865-1944), Erell Mourouga

A Shifting Hierarchy? Legal Assumptions on Identity

Criteria to move up (or indeed down) the legal ladder changed throughout 1865-1945. The *Crémieux Decree* of 1870 gave to all Jewish Algerians citizenship (though revoked under Vichy in 1942) (Thénault 2004), but such legal status remained inapplicable to Muslim Algerians. From 1889 onwards those born of European parents – and grandparents – could gain automatic French citizenship (Thénault; Weil 2008). Only at times of war in 1919 (albeit in very small numbers) and 1944 were Muslim *indigènes* able to gain citizenship, given they could prove they deserved an “honorary” status of “serving Frenchmen” (McDougall 2006, p. 89; Blévis 2003, p.40). That is, because naturalisation was seen as “a favor of the State to those who support it [ceux qui les agréent]” (Blévis, p. 37). It is important to note that marriage is not inscribed in Figure 1 as a criterion for citizenship. Indeed, a French woman (benefiting from civil rights) would keep her status in marriage, while her husband would remain an *indigène* (Blévis, p. 34).

Religion as a status-defining criteria, and what was meant by ‘*Musulman*’, is revelatory in its evolution. In 1865, Algerian *indigènes* could be ‘naturalised’ if they abandoned their personal status, or “statut personnel Musulman”, defined as: “local customs, thought of as contradictory with the exercise of citizenship” (Saada 2012, p. 18; McDougall 2006, p. 88-89). It is itself translated into Arabic as *shakhsiyyatunā ‘li-islāmiyya*: “our Islamic personality” (McDougall, p. 93). Such status fundamentally created ‘Muslim Algeria’ as a finite political community – what scholar Urban calls a “religion-nation” (Urban 2009, p. 326) – when it had previously been a site for multi-ethnic and multi-religious entity. Scholar McDougall describes the workings of such a status when saying: “The symbolic site of ‘Algerian’ identity (not, of course, labelled as such but as ‘native’) was a repressive invention of colonial jurisprudence, the *statut personnel musulman* (...) served as an effective means of judicial *cantonement*” (McDougall, p. 325). Furthermore, those who had converted to Catholicism were not naturally naturalised either, and would remain governed by the Code. They were labelled by the administration as “muslim catholics”, an oxymoron which scholar Blévis argues is an “implicit but practical definition of the *indigène* category” (Blévis 2003 p. 36; Thénault 2014, p. 294, 297). That is because the status ‘Musulman’ for the *Court of Appeals of Algiers* was not “purely confessional, but that it [designated] on the contrary the entire body of individuals of Muslim origin (...) without there being any need to distinguish whether they [belonged] to the Mahometan cult or not” (Weil 2008, p. 217).

Citizenship: Site for the Practised Politicisation of Legal Assumptions

Reformist Lamine Lamoudi declared in Algiers in 1936: "Our status as French is recognised by legislative decree but refused to us in practice (...) The senatus-consulte of 1865 attributes to us, as of right, the status of French national. Why then [are we obliged to go through] the process of naturalisation, which ought to apply, in law, exclusively to foreigners (...) and not to we who *are* French?" (McDougall 2006, p. 89-90). Citizenship is indeed practiced, defined as the: "supreme privilege (...) the incarnation of civilization" (Blévis 2003, p. 36), through the process of naturalisation.

The Instrumentalisation of the 'Other', Cultivating Ethnic Hierarchical Divisions

Locating the narrative (McDougall 2006, p. 189) of the 'Berber myth' is revelatory to understand the difference in naturalisation discourse that took place in Algeria. Berbers were deemed "more easily assimilable" since they had in 1839 and 1845 refused to collaborate with *Emir Abdelkader* who fought the French colonial invasion of Algeria (Benhaddou 2020, p. 65). They were deemed "noble savages" (McDougall, p. 197) and "morphologically close to the European" (Bancel et al. 2004, p. 149). In practice, they did not have to endure the 'Arabic tax' and were not concerned by the '*statut personnel musulman*' (although for Arabs such Muslim status was deemed "intangible and indestructible") (Merad 1967; McDougall; Lorcín 1999; Benhaddou). Furthermore, military-man Bodichon argues: "France must (...) put the two races up against each other as it sees fit. We in the Kabyles have the conditions for a fusion, for an easier, more natural assimilation. If a reason of public utility obliges us to sacrifice any natives, let it be the Arabs rather than the Kabyles. The latter are much more accessible to civilization. Our real enemies are the Arabs" (Lorcín, p. 668). This explicit passage says it all, concerning the political management of populations in Algeria.

The Code enabled for the mise-en-oeuvre of a minority rule through the citizenship process-making of the Jewish population which gained civil rights. Similarly to the Berbers, the Jews were assumed to be "useful in the project of French domination (...) [because] more capable than Muslims of being "civilized"" (Katz 2015, p. 199). At a time marked by the Dreyfus affair of the late 1890s, anti-Semitism grew amongst the Algerian society which would be translated into forceful attacks on Jewish communities (McDougall 2006). Such exclusion-based citizenship process nourished tensions, fulfilling the French strategy of divide and rule (Hill 2009; Brett 1988).

The Politicisation of Citizenship: Why Some Can Be(come) French and Others Not

Legally speaking, the *indigènes* are defined by what they cannot be: they are "all individuals who live in northern Africa and who do *not* belong to the European race" (Urban 2009, p. 326). Fanon highlights this site of negation when he describes that "The Antillean does not possess a personal value of his own and is always dependent on the presence of the 'Other'" (2021, p. 186). This is "a systematic negation" described by Sartre as one in which "colonialism forces the dominated people to constantly ask themselves the question: Who am I in reality?" (Fanon 2002, p. 240). Homi explains this question. Identity, because of the ambivalence of colonial discourse, becomes a site for "mimicry" (Bhabha 2004; Bhabha 1984, p. 125-33). He argues that this 'Other' is "a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite (...) in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference" (Bhabha 1984, p. 126).

Assimilation is done through an interchangeable process of acculturation and re-acculturation – ranging from physical appearance to toponymy (Thénault 2014). Berber women were for example forbidden from having face tattoos in 1882 and they were encouraged to 'francisise' their names. Furthermore, those elites who had access to a certain level of French culture and education were called the "évolués" (evolved) and

“assimilés” (assimilated) (McDougall 2006, p. 74) – reflecting a systemic drive for “absolute depersonalization [through] (...) cultural alienation” to use the words of Homi Bhabha (2004, p. 58-61). Depersonalisation through cultural alienation alternates between what the latter characterizes as a turn “from mimicry (...) to menace – a difference that is almost total but not quite” (Bhabha). One must never forget the consequent latent violence of colonisation.

Instrumentalisation of Identity and Political Discourse(s)

The hierarchisation of ‘being’ under the *Code* made colonial management so powerful in that it remained under constant maintenance (Mann 2009). While one born *indigène* could (arduously) become French, it remained a matter of great ambiguity, strikingly described by Ferhat Abbas in *La Nuit coloniale* where he argues: “When an Algerian described himself as an Arab, the French lawyers told him: ‘No, you are French.’ When he demanded that he be given the rights of the French, the same lawyers told him: ‘No, you are an Arab” (Abbas 1962, p. 110; McDougall 2006, p. 86). This unstable ambiguity reflects the instrumentalised interweaving of identity and politics – of which we live through the aftermath of, to this day – through the creation of normative identities embedded in a securitised vision of society.

From Legal Assumptions to the Creation of Normative Identities

Ideas on identity reflect on ideas of, and justifying for, violence. In 1927, politician Léon Baréty made the direct link between “original nationality and race” and criminality (Saada 2017). Such association helps understand why there is a strong presumption that there is an inherent, natural Muslim separatist push, posing as a threat to French ‘integrity’ and “social cohesion” (Jabri 2010, p. 44). Such discourse has led to a process of securitisation, defined by scholar Vivienne Jabri as “a whole panoply of interventions that seek to re-shape, reform, re-design the very subjectivity of this other in the name of security” (p. 46-47). In this framework, culture is perceived as a matter relating to the public domain (p. 49). Indeed, the *New Right*’s definition of subjects by their “birth-cultural identity” has led to struggle being perceived as inherently inevitable (e Orellana & Michel 2019), with a separatist push driving for civilisational struggle and collapse (Economist 2021). Such alarm is deeply embedded in Eric Zemmour’s discourse (Briost 2022).

Ideas on identity also influence on ideas of sex and gender (McDougall 2006). Scholar Mehmed Mack explores in *Sexagone* the “broad politicization of sexuality in public debates about immigration and diversity (...) [and how the latter] has eroded French identity” (Mack, 2017, p. 1-2). Amongst a panoply of deep-rooted concepts engrained in a “vocabulary of race and desire”, that of the *beurette* is interesting to highlight, as it shows the “variable but real alienation that assimilation can implicate” for women (Mack, p. 125; Souilamas 2003). Focusing on *Orientalism* as “a cultural and political fact (...) a whole series of ‘interests’ which, by such means as (...) sociological description (...) not only creates but also maintains (...) a discourse” (Mack, p. 12), Edward Said argues it “raises the question of whether modern imperialism ever ended” (Said 2003, p. xiv). Thus, from legal assumptions to the creation of normative identities, colonialism permeates every aspect of what Mann characterises the “state of being” (Mann 2009).

In a context of growing securitisation of identity, Vivienne Jabri specifically argues that “multiculturalism has increasingly been associated with insecurity; that cultural difference as such is potentially a source of threat and danger” (Jabri 2010, p. 44). Multiculturalism goes against the spatial, temporal and normative dimensions of colonial politics (as institutionalised through the *Code*), which nourishes a discourse based on the understanding of ‘a people’ as resulting from an idea of ‘binarity’. However, as scholar Ashcroft puts so well, “The problem with such binary systems is that they suppress ambiguous or interstitial spaces between the opposed categories, so that any overlapping region (...) becomes impossible” (Ashcroft 2007, p. 18). Thus, the *Code* is revelatory as a site for the creation of

super normative identities and their securitisation – which still permeates to this day. It enabled for the systematisation of a divide and rule political strategy, permeating contemporary far-right rhetoric.

Legacies of the Code de l'Indigénat: Identity and (Im)mobility

We opened this article by arguing that historical objectivism is the solution to move forward and avoid the dogmatic erroneous falsification of French Algeria in the hands of the far-right. Understanding the mechanisms of the *Code* in the formation of an “empire of law” (Mann 2009) is thus revelatory to understand assumptions and presumptions found in contemporary debates about French identity and society in the public sphere.

When examining the colonial politicisation of citizenship, one cannot ignore the socio-political phenomenon (and perhaps true product of colonial Algeria) of the *New Right* (de Orellana & Michelsen 2019), exemplified by the politics of Eric Zemmour, himself of Berber Jewish Algerian descent (Branche 2022). Historian Raphaëlle Branche in, *'The fable of Origins, or why one cannot be Muslim, of Arab origin and French'*, dismantles his claim that the Algerian Jews gained citizenship because of “individual will or cultural resistance” (Thénault 2014, p. 137). Instead, she argues: “The legal fabrication of French citizens shed light on (...) how to ensure the maintenance of the domination of a minority over the majority (...) colonization could not satisfy the equality between individuals. It would have meant risking to lose privileges acquired through force” (Thénault 2014, p. 142). Such cold, ethnic reasoning divided society into two opposite factions based on citizenship – one subjected to the *Code*, the other not – what Fanon calls “a world cut in two” (2002, p. 41).

Conclusion

Moving Forward: Historical Accuracy for Societal (Re)conciliation

“No colony was more important to the process of identity formations in modern France than Algeria” argues historian Patricia Lorcin (1999). This article offers a thorough examination of the identity mechanisms underlying the application of the *Code de l'Indigénat*, which highly influences how French identity is instrumentalised today. This illusory system is powerfully decried by Aimé Césaire: “‘*Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité*’, always advocate these values, but sooner or later, you will see the problem of identity appear. Where is the ‘*fraternité*’? Why did we never get to know it? Precisely because France has never understood the problem of identity” (Césaire 2005, p. 37). A forgotten aspect of the Algerian colonial period, we argue that a thorough examination and understanding of the *Code* is essential not only to enable to move forward and permit societal reconciliation and resilience, but also and perhaps most significantly to understand, and thus better fight, misguided allusions to the past by the far-right. Politicised in the *Code* and used today as a tool to argue for political ends, identity has been at the heart of the polemical political crusade embodied by Zemmour, consumed by a fear of ‘replacement’ (Moïsi 2021).

In his depiction of the white man allowing for his slaves to eat at his table, Fanon adds “The black man (...) went from one way of life to another, but not from one life to another” (2021, p. 195). There is a difference between being (or becoming) acculturated and deracialized, and being Franchised, or perceived legitimately as French (Bhabha 1984, p. 130). Such ambivalence of identity, and the violence it unleashed in society, is the consequent extent to which the *Code* enabled for ethnic management in Algeria through the stratification of society. Today, we live through the remnants of such colonial history, and the erroneous allusions of the colonial period to make for contemporary ideological arguments by the far-right (Briost 2022). It thus remains more than ever imperative to establish historical truth to avoid the monopoly of history for power so as to be able to move forward, a path that however does not come without its hurdles.

References

Abbas, Ferhat. *Guerre et Révolution d'Algérie, Tome 1: La Nuit Coloniale*. Julliard, 1962.

Ageron, Charles-Robert. *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine, tome 2: De l'insurrection de 1871 à la guerre de libération de 1954*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France - PUF, 1979.

Arendt, Hannah. *Il n'y a qu'un seul droit de l'homme*. Payot, 2021. <https://www.librairie-gallimard.com/livre/9782228929264-il-n-y-a-qu-un-seul-droit-de-l-homme-nous-refugies-hannah-arendt/>.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. 2nd edition. London ; New York: Routledge, 2007.

Bancel, Nicolas, Pascal Blanchard, Gilles Boëtsch, Éric Deroo, and Sandrine Lemaire. *Zoos Humains, Au temps des Exhibitions Humaines*. Poche / Sciences humaines et sociales. Paris: La Découverte, 2004. <https://www.cairn.info/zoos-humains--9782707144010.htm>.

Benamou, Georges-Marc. *Un mensonge français*. Paris, Robert Laffont édition. Paris: Robert Laffont, 2003.

Benhaddou, Samira. *La Matraque Coloniale - le Code de L'indigénat en Algérie*. Paris: Al Bouraq, 2020.

Bhabha, Homi. 'Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse'. *October* 28 (1984): 125–33. <https://doi.org/10.2307/778467>.

Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. 2nd edition. London ; New York: Routledge, 2004.

Blévis, Laure. 'La citoyenneté française au miroir de la colonisation : étude des demandes de naturalisation des « sujets français » en Algérie coloniale'. *Genèses* 53, no. 4 (2003): 25–47. <https://doi.org/10.3917/gen.053.0025>.

———. 'Sociologie d'un Droit Colonial : Citoyenneté et Nationalité En Algérie (1865-1947) : Une Exception Républicaine ?' These de doctorat, Aix-Marseille 3, 2004. <http://www.theses.fr/2004AIX32050>.

Branche, Raphaëlle. 'La Fable Des Origines Ou Pourquoi On Ne Peut Pas Être Musulman, d'Origine Arabe et Français'. In *Le Grand Détournement, Comment Zemmour Falsifie l'Histoire*, 192. Atlande, 2022.

Brett, Michael. 'Legislating for Inequality in Algeria: The Senatus-Consulte of 14 July 1865'. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51, no. 3 (1988): 440–61. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0041977X00116453>.

Brioist, Pascal. *Le grand détournement: Comment Zemmour falsifie l'histoire*. Edited by Philippe Lemarchand. Neuilly: ATLANDE, 2022.

Burchell, Graham, Colin Gordon, Peter Miller, and an Interview with Michel Foucault, eds. *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1991. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/F/bo3684463.html>.

Césaire, Aimé. *Discours Sur Le Colonialisme*. Paris: Editions Présence Africaine, 2004.

———. *Nègre je suis, nègre je resterai: Entretiens Avec Françoise Vergès*. Paris: Albin Michel, 2005.

Collot, Claude. *Les institutions de l'Algérie durant la période coloniale (1830-1962)*. Paris; Alger: Edition du CNRS ; Office des Publications Univ., 1987.

Cooper, Frederick. *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History*. Berkeley, UNITED STATES: University of California Press, 2005. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/londonschoolecons/detail.action?docID=231908>.

Downing, Joseph. 'Colonial Tensions and Contemporary Challenges: What We Learned from Emmanuel Macron's Visit to Algeria'. *LSE* (blog), 1 September 2022. <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/euoppblog/2022/09/01/colonial-tensions-and-contemporary-challenges-what-we-learned-from-emmanuel-macrons-visit-to-algeria/>.

Elysée. 'Mémoire de la colonisation et de la guerre d'Algérie.' *elysee.fr*, 17 October 2022. <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2022/10/17/memoire-de-la-colonisation-et-de-la-guerre-dalgerie>.

Fanon, Frantz. *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Richard Philcox. 1st edition. London: Penguin Classics, 2021.

———. *Les Damnés de la Terre*. Paris: La Decouverte Editions, 2002.

FranceInfo. 'Guerre d'Algérie : pourquoi l'ouverture par la France de ses archives est si attendue'. *Franceinfo*, 10 December 2021. https://www.francetvinfo.fr/monde/afrique/algerie/guerre-d-algerie-pourquoi-l-ouverture-par-la-france-de-ses-archives-est-si-attendue_4876165.html.

Harbi, Mohammed, and Gilbert Meynier. 'La dernière frappe du révisionnisme médiatique'. *Confluences Méditerranée* 48, no. 1 (2004): 221–32. <https://doi.org/10.3917/come.048.0221>.

Hill, Jonathan N. C. *Identity in Algerian Politics: The Legacy of Colonial Rule*. 1st edition. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2009.

Jabri, Vivienne. 'Security, Multiculturalism and the Cosmopolis'. In *Terrorism and the Politics of Response*. Routledge, 2010.

Joppke, Christian. 'Beyond National Models: Civic Integration Policies for Immigrants in Western Europe'. *West European Politics* 30, no. 1 (1 January 2007): 1–22. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01402380601019613>.

'Justice / Portail / Les Mots-Clés de La Justice - Lexique' [Justice.Gouv]. Accessed 19 May 2022. <http://www.justice.gouv.fr/les-mots-cles-de-la-justice-lexique-11199/>.

Katz, Ethan B. 'Shifting Hierarchies of Exclusion'. *CrossCurrents* 65, no. 3 (1 September 2015): 357–70. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cros.12145>.

Lemarchand, Philippe, ed. 'Avant-Propos de l'Editeur'. In *Le grand détournement: Comment Zemmour falsifie l'histoire*. Neuilly: ATLANDE, 2022.

———, ed. 'Le Grand Détournement'. In *Le grand détournement: Comment Zemmour falsifie l'histoire*. Neuilly: ATLANDE, 2022.

Lorcin, Patricia. *Algeria and France, 1800-2000: Indentity, Memory, Nostalgia*. Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 2006.

Lorcin, Patricia M. E. 'Imperialism, Colonial Identity, and Race in Algeria, 1830-1870: The Role of the French Medical Corps'. *Isis* 90, no. 4 (1999): 653–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/237655>.

Louis Lesueur, and Eugène Dreyfus. *La Nationalité. Commentaire de La Loi Du 26 Juin 1889*. Durand-Pedone-Lauriel, 1890.

Maalouf, Amin. *In the Name of Identity: Violence and the Need to Belong*. Penguin Books, 2003.

Mack, Mehammed Amadeus. *Sexagon: Muslims, France, and the Sexualization of National Culture*. Fordham University Press, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.5422/fordham/9780823274604.001.0001>.

Mann, Gregory. 'What Was the Indigénat? The "Empire of Law" in French West Africa'. *The Journal of African History* 50 (1 November 2009): 331–53. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0021853709990090>.

McDougall, James. *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria*. Illustrated edition. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Merad, Ali. *Le Réformisme Musulman en Algérie de 1925 à 1940: Essai d'Histoire Religieuse et Sociale*. Paris, la Haye: Mouton, 1967.

Moïsi, Dominique. 'Zemmour: The Embodiment of Fear'. Institut Montaigne, 15 November 2021. <https://www.institutmontaigne.org/en/expressions/zemmour-embodiment-fear>.

Mussard, Christine. 'Réinventer la commune? Genèse de la commune mixte, une structure administrative inédite dans l'Algérie coloniale'. *Histoire@Politique* 27, no. 3 (2015): 93–108. <https://doi.org/10.3917/hp.027.0093>.

Orellana, Pablo de. 'Retrieving How Diplomacy Writes Subjects, Space and Time: A Methodological Contribution'. *European Journal of International Relations* 26, no. 2 (1 June 2020): 469–94. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066119868514>.

Orellana, Pablo de, and Nicholas Michelsen. 'Reactionary Internationalism: The Philosophy of the New Right'. *Review of International Studies* 45, no. 5 (2019): 748–67. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0260210519000159>.

Saada, Emmanuelle. *Empire's Children: Race, Filiation, and Citizenship in the French Colonies*. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2012. <https://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/chicago/E/bo9637538.html>.

———. 'Nationalité et citoyenneté en situation coloniale et post-coloniale'. *Pouvoirs* 160, no. 1 (2017): 113–24. <https://doi.org/10.3917/pouv.160.0113>.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1st edition. London: Penguin Books, 2003.

Smith, Andrea L. 'Citizenship in the Colony: Naturalization Law and Legal Assimilation in 19th Century Algeria'. *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 19, no. 1 (1996): 33–49. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24498061>.

Souilamas, Nacira Guénif. *Des beurettes*. Paris: Pluriel, 2003.

Stora, Benjamin. 'Les Questions Mémoires Portant Sur La Colonisation et La Guerre d'Algérie', January 2021. <https://www.elysee.fr/emmanuel-macron/2021/01/20/remise-du-rapport-sur-la-memoire-de-la-colonisation-et-de-la-guerre-dalgerie>.

Stora, Benjamin, Olivier Dard, and Fabien Archambault. 'Épisode 2: Le chagrin et le ressentiment (1956-1962)'. France Inter, 27 February 2023. <https://www.radiofrance.fr/franceinter/podcasts/jean-marie-le-pen-l-obsession-nationale/le-chagrin-et-le-ressentiment-1956-1962-2415854>.

The Economist. 'Far-Right Ideas Are Gaining a Renewed Respectability in France'. Accessed 19 May 2022. <https://www.economist.com/books-and-arts/2021/11/20/far-right-ideas-are-gaining-a-renewed-respectability-in-france>.

Thénault, Sylvie. '1881-1918: L'« apogée » de l'Algérie Française et les Débuts de L'Algérie Algérienne'. In *Histoire de l'Algérie à la Période Coloniale, 1830-1962*, 157–84. La Découverte, 2014. <https://www.cairn.info/histoire-de-l-algerie-a-la-periode-coloniale--9782707178374-page-157.htm>.

———. 'Algérie Coloniale, la Mise en Oeuvre du Code de L'indigénat'. *Centre d'histoire sociale des mondes contemporains (CHS)* (blog), 29 August 2019. <https://histoire-sociale.cnrs.fr/algerie-coloniale-code-indigenat/>.

Université Sorbonne Paris Nord. 'Benjamin Stora, Biography'. Benjamin Stora. Accessed 14 April 2023. <https://benjaminsora.univ-paris13.fr/index.php/biographie/505-biography.html>.

Urban, Yerri. 'Race et nationalité dans le droit colonial français (1865-1955)'. Phdthesis, Université de Bourgogne, 2009. <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-01630611>.

Weil, Patrick. *How to Be French: Nationality in the Making since 1789*. Translated by Porter. Illustrated edition. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.