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**The Lure of the Local and the sense of Place in Pieds-Noirs’  
Discourses about a Collective Traumatic Post/Memory in  
Algeria: the Paradise Lost Documentary.**

Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Literature and English Language in Partial  
Fulfilment of the Degree of Master in Literature and Civilisation

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## **Dedication**

*I dedicate this modest work in the first place to all members of my family, my father and my mother and my brothers, Amaine, Farouk, my sisters, Riheb, Roumaissa and Aya.*

## **General introduction**

The burden of the colonial past has weighed heavily on Franco-Algerian relations for a very long time. Thus, the construction of a healthy future cannot be achieved without a reconciliation of memories, based on the recognition of the responsibility of the French authorities for its colonial policy in Algeria, and to fully assumed; it is devastating effects.

The question of pied noirs is a harmful fact generated by this colonial policy, which favoured the massive transfer of population from all over Europe, as part of a strategy set up as part of a settlement policy. Therefore, it was in this context that colonial France decided to create settlements in Algeria. It encouraged the city's French people to settle. In addition, this call was also made to the European communities, which responded favourably to it, such as the Spanish, Italians, Maltese..., which were made up of political refugees, immigrants for economic reasons and those who were taken to court.

Thus, it should be pointed out that the question of pied noirs is a question mainly linked to French colonial policy, which wanted to francize Algeria and subsequently created a French Algeria, through a favourable immigration policy with the aim of creating a community of naturalized French settlers because of a majority population of Algerians of origin. It simply responded to the proposals of the French State, which, from 1830, sought to populate Algeria, promising fertile land and housing to the pied noirs.

Consequently, the pied noirs are French descendants who, from 1830 until decolonization, settled in Algeria to make it a settlement colony; the settlers had privileged to the natives, they enjoyed better living conditions.

This historical truth contradicts the French thesis that the pied noirs issue is linked to the massive repatriation of the French from Algeria after Algeria's imminent independence in 1962, "it is not 1830 that creates the pied noirs, but 1962" (J.J. Jordi, 2002). Moreover, exile and forced exodus were the origin of the uprooting of this community of pied noirs, causing post-traumatic disorders displayed by depressions (post-traumatic stress disorder: feeling of unreality and strangeness, generalized anxiety...), and was at the origin of an identity crisis. French of Algeria with diverse origins, linked mainly to integration problems and feelings of nostalgia for the native land that is Algeria.

The purpose through working in this work is to find out **what impact has the repatriation of the French of Algeria forced into exile and the exodus, and integration policy had on the future of pied noirs**. Entitled, that is part of this framework, which links the past, present and future of the pied noirs community.

Therefore, the answer to this problem' displays through the formulation of the different hypotheses listed as follow

The problem of pied noirs has impacts on the future of the pied noirs community.

In order to respond to this problem, a research plan has been draw up. It is composed of three chapters; each of it includes three sections. This research plan scrupulously responds to the various research hypotheses formulated previously.

- First chapter tackles “**Algerian colonial history**”,
- Second chapter examines «**Results of Algerian independence: exile and exodus**”,
- Third chapter develops “**Pied noirs problematic impacts on the present and on the future**”.

It has been clear that the meted ology selected to study and analyse the issue of French of Algeria after the exile. However, the choice of this theme is motivating by several factors, including various reasons, all of this are important:

- The fate of the pied noirs is a historically important issue.
- The desire to better understanding what could have pushed the pied noirs at the beginning and the conditions of this exile.
- Finally, despite the obstacles and limitation that encountered the research while conducting academic this research such as lack of sources available locally to depend on, the research strived for the success of this humble studies concern the question of pied noirs presenting the Algerian vision of the subject.

## **1 Theoretical concepts**

The theoretical foundations, mainly the present master's thesis refers, are be frozen on the study and analysis of theoretical concepts such as: the identity aspect of the problem, as well as the traumatic aspect suffered and generated by the wave of exile and mass exodus of pied noirs after the independence of Algeria. It is of primary interest to have a conceptual approach that will address these theoretical concepts:

- The **identity aspect** as the first theoretical concept, it is indeed one of the primordial points around, which most of the problems of this master's thesis revolve. However, the question of pieds noirs on the scene began with the massive wave of departures following the historical evolution with Algeria's independence, forcing this minority community into forced exile and forced exodus. However, the integration of this pieds noirs community into French society has not been able to resolve the identity claims of this community, which is experiencing a certain nostalgia for its native country, Algeria. This identity problem really takes root with the beginning of French colonial politics, which has led to a policy of transferring populations of various nationalities, French, Spanish, Italian, Maltese and German, to Algeria, a country that is not its own. These new colonizers were naturalized French as a result of the 1870 Crémieux decree, thus becoming French Algerians, linked to French Algeria as a native country on the one hand and France as a country of origin on the other. This double identity belonging was at the origin of the identity problem because of the pieds noirs community. So consider which country proclaims this community may the departure of the pieds noirs in 1962 as a refusal of this community to live in an independent Algerian Algeria. Currently, the nostalgic withdrawal that pieds noirs experience refutes the belonging to this France, which was once the country of origin. Today, the identity claims of the pieds noirs community are turning to the native country.

Thus, the theory on which our problem is based is that individual and collective identity is forged, formed and constructed with others in a certain context. Certainly, we can confirm the accuracy of this theory through the question of black feet, which come from different nationalities, then acquire French nationality or they are identified as the French of Algeria. This change of nationality has had repercussions on the quest, on the search for the pieds noirs

of their true plural identity, linked to France, as their origin and to Algeria, as their native country.

In addition, we cannot confirm that this identity, which could not be transmitted from one generation to another, the case of the *pieds noirs* threads, was made a concrete, which consolidates this hypothesis, or the latter have successfully integrated and do not share the identity concerns of their antecedents.

- The **traumatic aspect** as a second theoretical concept, characterizing the problem of *pieds noirs*, and in fact the result of a French colonial policy applied on Algerian territory and whose *pieds noirs* are the first victims to pay the price. Thus, the historical trauma suffered by the *pieds noirs* community was one of the consequences of this defeatist policy.

Many of the *pieds noirs* who were repatriated, had to suffer real suffering, depression and a PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder: feeling of unreality and strangeness, generalized anxiety,) after their arrival in the country of origin, France, their living conditions were difficult. The historical trauma, be it colonial trauma, or postcolonial trauma, has left its mark on the aboriginal population and the *pieds noirs* community. As a result; Memory director. Not caused by a natural or accidental disaster, but by a public policy (Andrieu, 2005) the historical trauma means the presence, within a population, of serious (especially moral) injuries that is.

In addition, the trauma of postcolonial exile has created a sense of distress in *black feet* specific to the experience of uprooting. In fact, this trauma of exile linked to the war constitutes a fracture of identity.

## 2 Textbook research and historiography

For the preparation of this master thesis, reference has been made to academic scientific studies and research that have studied the problem and question of pied noirs, these studies are listed below:

La thèse présentée pour obtenir le grade de Docteur de l'Université d'Avignon et des Pays de Vaucluse, Décembre 2009, intitulée «*Construction / Reconstruction Identitaire dans le discours des Pieds Noirs : Étude de cas* » présentée par Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA.

- La thèse de doctorat, de l'Université de Lorraine, 2015, intitulée «*L'Algérie natale entre désenchantement et nostalgie : écritures plurielles de l'exil* », présentée par Elisabetta Bevilacqua.
- La Marie Thèse de docteur de l'Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne intitulée «*Les Français d'Algérie : socio - histoire d'une identité*», présentée par MUYL.
- A thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History, of the University of North Carolina, 2015, entitled « *RETHINKING FRANCE'S "MEMORY WARS": HARKI AND PIED-NOIR COLLECTIVE MEMORIES IN FIFTH REPUBLIC FRANCE*», presented by Laura Jeanne Sims.
- La Manuela Mémoire de master de l'Institut de littérature, civilisation et langues européennes, Université d'Oslo Printemps 2013, intitulée «*La fin inéluctable de l'Algérie française Mythes et vérités sur le sort des Pieds-noirs* » présentée par Seu-Stokkmo.
- A thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of History, submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, entitled «*LE SILENCE DE LA GUERRE? FRENCH COMBATANTS' MEMOIRS OF THE ALGERIAN WAR, 1954-1988*» presented by Anndal G. Narayanan.
- La Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Institut de Formation à la Psychanalyse et à la Psychothérapie, octobre 2016, intitulée «*LA NOSTALGÉRIE. PSYCHANALYSE D'UNE DÉCHIRURE. POURQUOI LES PIEDS-NOIRS NE PEUVENT-ILS FAIRE LE DEUIL DE « LEUR ALGÉRIE ?* », présentée par Denis Kremer.



The historical approach of the question of the pieds noirs, which divides this question into two distinct historical periods, that complementary. It is about:

- The first period is the colonial period, which extends from 1830 beginning of French colonialism and ends with the independence of Algeria in 1962, during this period, the pieds noirs community served to the realization of the French colonial policy in Algeria, through a massive settlement policy. Thus, the real participation of this community in the exactions, the tortures, the racist crimes, the spoliation of the goods, contributed strongly to the fate received by the pieds noirs later.
- The second period is the period of massive repatriation, which succeeded the independence of Algeria in 1962 and extends to the present day. This period saw the massive departure of the pieds noirs towards a forced exile. It was because of the mistakes made by the pieds noirs community that the exile of the pieds noirs was forced. This period had repercussions the behavior of the pieds noirs, who feel the need to be around their history, in search of a common identity. This quest imperatively requires an understanding of the knowledge of the specific past of pieds noirs, as well as a discovery of the original culture of this community. This culture is in peril and the pieds noirs community is trying to preserve and save at all costs.

### **3 Sources and methods**

In the concretization of this master's thesis we adopted a scientific research approach, based on a scientific methodology used in the human and social sciences, and more precisely our work based on three scientific research methods, these are the following methods:

- The descriptive method,
- The analytical method,
- The historical method.

With regard to the different sources used, particular reference made of sources such as:

- Academic research, doctoral and master's thesis,
- Books and specialized books related to the theme,
- Scientific articles in scientific journals,
- Daily and weekly newspaper articles,
- Specialized websites.

✓ **PLAN:**

## **General introduction**

### **Chapter1:** Algerian colonial history

- 1-Introduction
- 2-French in Algeria 1830-1962.
- 3-Pied noirs historical or identity problematic:
- 4-Pied noirs participation in colonial policy
- 5-Conclusion.

### **Chapter2:** Results of Algerian independence: exile and exodus

- 1-Introduction
- 2-Pieds noirs and O.A.S
- 3-Effects and results of the war
- 4-Pied noirs political orientation before exile
- 5-Conclusion.

### **Chapter3:** Pieds noirs problematic impacts on the present and on the future.

- 1-Introduction
- 2-French pieds noirs integration Policy
- 3-Current reality of pieds noirs
- 4- Algeria and the question of pied noirs.
- 5-Conclusion.

## **General Conclusion**

## **Abstract**

The question of pieds noirs in Algeria is primarily a problem linked to French colonization; it is the result of this French colonial policy. Thus, the repercussions of this policy were harmful for all the populations involved in this colonial policy, first the Algerian population of origin, second the pieds noirs population "the French of Algeria", who were encouraged to immigrate to French Algeria after 1830 and who participated implicitly and directly in the implementation of this colonial policy. Reflect the consequences of this participation in the pieds noirs population with Algeria's independence in 1962, pushing them into exile and exodus and causing a post-colonial trauma and identity crisis among these pieds noirs, which be rejected and poorly received by the French.

**Keywords** : pieds noirs, indigenous population, colonial politics, exodus, exile, historical trauma (postcolonial), identity crisis...

**Chapter One:**  
**Algerian colonial history.**

## **Chapter1: Algerian colonial history:**

### **1.1 Introduction.**

The heavy burden of history that weighs on the memory of Algeria and France has raised the question of the problematic of the French of Algeria, known as the "pied noirs", and which is the subject of this study. The Theme through it we will try to understand and to analyse the effect of the pied noir memories on the deconstruction of their identities. The problem of Algeria's "pied noirs" began with the French colonization and grew in importance by the Algeria's independence in 1962, with the exile of these French communities from Algeria. Effectively, the presence of the "pied noirs" in Algeria began from the early beginning of the French settlement in this territory in 1830 and ended after their expatriation in 1962. However, the Algerian independence did not end their peril. Rather, it became much more an intrinsic case study.

When they left Algeria; the pied noirs had a return constraint; for various reasons, because of their concrete participation in the concretisation of the colonial policy of France in Algeria. The Algeria that they considered as French.

This first chapter intituled “Algerian colonial history” has been dedicate with study and analyse of the French colonial policy in Algeria, thought this differs three tapes: conquest, colonialism and the war of independence. The first chapter has been also dedicated on three sections:

- The first section entitled: “French in Algeria 1830-1962”,
- The second section entitled: “Pied noirs historical or identity problematic”,
- The third section entitled “Pied noirs participation in colonial policy”.

## **1.2 French in Algeria 1830-1962.**

The presence of the French colons in Algeria is characterized by three main periods: conquest, settlement (colonialism) and the war for independence. The main attempt of this chapter then is to shed light on the main policies that French colonizer followed during his presence in this territory.

### ✓ **Conquest :**

The early beginning nineteenth century witnessed a diplomatic incident between Algeria and France. Following this incident, France drew up an agreement on its debt to Algeria during a period of revolutionary war, which opposed the legislation of the imperial era. In 1827, France imposed a blockade of the Algerian port ... because of the ‘fly swatter’ incident. Whereas, Dey Hussein of Algeria slapped the French consul representing Charles X, who failed to defend himself, and his reaction was passive in the face of this act. Charles X considered this incident as an insult to France by Dey Hussein. As a result, Charles X took advantage of this incident as a pretext to impose a blockade of several years on Algeria and seized the opportunity to reveal his earlier intention to occupy Algeria.

However, France main purpose was to enhance the prestige of the French monarchy during the collapse (revolution period). Thus, Charles X engaged on the place a military intervention in 1830, in order revenge and to teach Algeria a lesson for having humiliated, insulted his consul. Thus, a huge maritime force left the port of Toulon on May 24, 1830 to the direction of coast Algeria that landed in June 14 under the command of Bourmant.

However, this invasion had common and unanimous agreement in England of European countries on the conquests and expeditions. Immediately, the first battle took place in Sidi Frej and lasted almost four nights. Thus, on 5 July 1830, French forces landed and occupied the capital of Algiers. At that moment, Bourmant and Dey Hussein were able to conclude an agreement and sign an exchange agreement. The invasion of Algeria has caused an economic and political crisis.

Since 1830, the French leader Bugeaud had become general governor after in 1840 on Algeria. Hence, he consider as one of the principal persons in the lunched the Algerian colonisation. The military strategy of Bugeaud allowed the French forces to gain the battle against warrior and enemies Emir Abd-el-Kader and his forces as result; he proclaimed his French colonial policy when he said:

*“J’ai fait des efforts pour détourner mon pays de s’engager dans la conquête absolue de l’Algérie. Le pays s’est engagé, je dois le suivre, il faut que les arabes soient soumis, que le drapeau de la France soit le seul debout sur cette terre d’Afrique, mais la guerre indispensable aujourd’hui n’est pas le but. La conquête serait stérile sur la colonisation, je serai donc colonisateur ardent, car j’attache moins ma gloire à vaincre dans les combats qu’a fondé quelques chose d’utilement durable pour la France ”<sup>1</sup>*

*“I made efforts in order to engage my country into absolute invasion of Algeria. The country had engaged; I have followed it; I must do it. All the Arabs should submit that the French flag should be the only flag standing upon the African land, but the indispensable war of today is not our goal, the invasion*

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<sup>1</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, **CONSTRUCTION / RECONSTRUCTION IDENTITAIRE DANS LE DISCOURS DES PIEDS-NOIRS : ÉTUDE DE CAS** -volume 1, thèse présentée pour obtenir le grade de Docteur de l’Université d’Avignon et des Pays de Vaucluse, Décembre 2009, p/14.



*would be sterile and , because I attach less my glory to conquer in the combats that founded some useful use durable thing for France”*

✓ **Colonisation:**

Although the Algerian conquest could not resolve governmental issues at that time, it contributed largely to create a new one, consequently, the Algerian conquest was but it purely chaotic, because there was no cohesion in the planning, and the organization of colonial policies. General Bugeaut, Governor of Algeria and Emir Abd-el-Kader were finally signed the Tafna treaty, which provided for a partial colonization of Algeria by colonial France.

In order to repair the obvious errors of the Treaty of Tafna; King Louis Philippe ordered an expedition to Constantine in 1837. This invasion reinforced the prestige of the French monarchy, allowed a generalization of the colonization of Algeria, and was not limited to a partial colonization as provided for in the Treaty of Tafna. Therefore, France has violated the terms of this treaty. This led Emir Abd-el-Kader to proclaim holy war. In 1840, Adolph Thiers, head of government, stated a general criticism of the Treaty of Tafna and advocated a meeting to win the case.

General Bugeaud, who was appointed as general Governor of Algeria, controlled the entire Algerian territory, started his second Peace Company, which led to the rebellion of Emir Abd-el-Kader, allowing his forces to continue fighting it, which ensured victory in the battle of Islay from 1844 to 1848.

After many years of struggles, efforts and battles, the second republic proclaims a constitution in which Algeria officially becomes an integral part of France. The 1848 Constitution; in particular, special provisions, Article 109 of Chapter 10, Algerian territory and the colonies had been declared a French territory which will be subject to special laws until the places under the present Constitution are specified. Through, this time France hesitated on the question of conquest, Algeria never give way to the conquest of French power without a fight. As a result, from the conquest of Algeria in 1830, the resistance of riot never ceded, France emerged itself more determined.

Consequently, the French fight become more difficult, it took France about forty years to establish itself durably on its opponent. In addition, Emir Abd-el-Kader's

resistance continued after his incessant insurrections that saved the nation until 1870. The latest rebellion led by the Berbers of El Mokrani who were protesting against the confiscation of their land by settlers, French oppression and Algerian resistance engaged in a violent cycle of bloody repression.

To achieve its objectives, the French colonizer used the "**burned land**" strategy as an effective technique to defeat the fight that would escape the domination of colonization. Then and within the sequences of events, the Arab office was created that contains the administration of indigenous issues. However, these offices were segregation offices that classified indigenous Arabs in the lower rank.<sup>2</sup>

The policy of settlement consider as plan to success the French occupation, however it` s provide an emigrational flow of French and Europeans communities. This immigrant population consist many classes of social strain, orphans; prisoners perform parts of immigrants. However, a large of land about 100.000 hectare was consider as property of Immigrants colons, so from that moment the history of "**Pied noirs**" began in Algeria.<sup>3</sup>

✓ **War:**

In many respects, the historical synthesis has obviously emerged with the revolutionary FLN and with the apogee of the progression of the nationalist elite, but it had considered as a front of union of multipolitical obedience. The venerable Messali Hadj and the rebel nationalists having proclaimed "**A movement rich in contradictions and confusion**". As a result , the young leaders of Messali were attenuated precisely by the Setif-Guelma crisis and the atrocities of May 1945, by the "Berber crisis" of the late 1940s, by the repression of the paramilitary OS (Special Organization; many had been members) and the split of the MTLD (Mouvement du Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques) in 1953<sup>4</sup>,

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<sup>2</sup> Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*, Oxford University Press 2016, p/35.

<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey James Byrne, p.w quoted p/35.

<sup>4</sup> Phillip C. Naylor, **France and Algeria**, a History of Decolonization and Transformation, University Press of Florida, Gainesville · Tallahassee · Tampa · Boca Raton, Pensacola · Orlando · Miami Jacksonville · Ft. Myers, p/10.

Albert Camus moralized that:” ***one can rebel against lies as against oppression.***”

***“The commencement of the FLN’s revolution, on the night of 31 October–1 November 1954, was extraordinary in it’s the audacity. The plotters had progressed from initial discussions to all- out war in a mere six months, without waiting even to create a proper political apparatus. As one participant later explained, they believed that there was no time “to engage in minute and precise study ... [or] the full elaboration of a program of action and coordination at every level.”***<sup>5</sup>

The French metropolitan has a significant influence in the manifestation reduce, as well as, the formals reduce considerably the number of deaths. also troubles that were follow when the general De Gaulle expedited the event in his history of war that published in 1954, 1956, 1959 with the phase:“ ***In Algeria, a commencement of insurrection ascend with the Constitantiniens and synchronized with the riots Syrians of may month, has been fabric by the general governor Chataigneau***”.<sup>6</sup>

The Algerian national movement began in the 1930s with the "North African Star" which was founded by Messali Hadj, who also founded the People's Party (PPA) to liberating Algeria. The secret organization (SO), which constituted the armed organization, was created in 1947 and then dissolved by the French colonist. The FLN organization, however, inaugurated a new technique of warfare, such as the band war strategy. In addition, the considerable material losses, it permit to FLN prevails the French forces.

The leaders of the Algerian army revolution, Arbi BenM'hidi; Didouche Mourad, Krim Belkacem; Rabeh Bitat; Mustafa Benboulaid; who choose the first November 1954 as the beginning of the armed revolution. Thus, the FLN imposed the regression of Algerian France with the advancement of events; the revolution affects the entire

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<sup>5</sup> Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*, Oxford University Press 2016, p/35.

<sup>6</sup> Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*, Oxford University Press 2016, p/36

Algerian territory from north to south and from east to west. The reaction of the French colonial army was terrible, the indiscriminate repression against riots and Algerian civilians, the bombing of villagers with napalm and repressive torture. The French army used the path of repression as an instrument for intimidation.

In 1956, the Algerian revolution was organized and acquired the organizations and institutions established by the Soummam Congress. In the same year, France committed an act of piracy by hijacking the aircraft of historic FLN leaders heading from Morocco to Cairo, Egypt. In 1957. The FLN is facing French colonialism, led by General Massu, who is responsible for repressing the revolution in the capital Algiers and who enjoys full power and capacity, using the most atrocious and savage methods of torture as a means of repression, . The 1958 crises of the French government brought General DE GUALLE to head the government and to put things in order.

General Massu dismissed for criticising the DEGAULLE policy on the Algerian conflict, which had pushed the "pied noirs" afraid of losing Algeria, to merge their party the French Algerian Front (FAF) which supported General Massu in his organization of the protests on 24 January 1960. This insurrection marked the beginning of the civil war - Organisation armed secrete (OAS), the successor to the FAF.

In the same 1960s, the internationalization of Algerian affairs in UN headquarters claiming the right of self-determination of the Algerian people. Subsequently, under pressure from General DE GAULLE, negotiations between the French government and FLN representatives began. Thus, in 1961, a referendum on the self-determination of the Algerian people was proposed. In 1962, the both parties signed the Evian Agreements, and the Algerian population by an overwhelming majority approved the referendum on Algerian independence.

As a result, independence of Algeria put Algerians pied noirs in a position of choice between the suitcase and the coffin, as exile and exodus were their final choice.

### **2.3 Pied noirs historical or identity problematic:**

#### **✓ Pied noirs history,**

The ironic term "pied noir" refers to a population of European origin that is identified and forms a French strain in the three Maghreb nations, after the colonization of these countries by France, 1830 in (Algeria), 1881 (Tunisia), 1912 (Morocco). However, the expression of pied noirs indicated, at that time, a specific population that was French from Algeria. Consequently, their return had described by the most as a brutal period.

The Algerian conquest from France was hard, since, it lasted almost twenty years, between 1830 and 1847. The residence of the settlers progressed by force, after 1848: there had been 13100 Europeans in 1851, 385000 in 1881, 583000 in 1901; 1 million in 1954. According to the 1954 census, non-Muslims (pied noirs) in Algeria estimated at 1,050,000, or 1,000,000 French and 50,000 foreigners. Among the one million French people are also 120,000 Jews of Algerian descent, whose fathers naturalized in 1870 by the Crémieux decree. If some of them feel above all Algerian, the vast majority are totally French speaking. There can be no question of separating their fate from that of the other French people. Since, Algeria's "pied noirs" presented a varied

demographic flow from Spain, France, Italy and most departments of the metropolis, as belonged to:

*“Français d’origine Européens installés en Afrique du nord et plus particulièrement en Algérie jusqu’à l’Indépendance ».*

*“French of European origin living in North Africa and more specifically in Algeria till independence”.<sup>7</sup>*

The flow of migrants from the coastal regions of France, Spain, and Italy, Malta, continued massively especially in urban areas at the expense of rural areas. Statistics reported by the general government indicate that in 1866, more than 2170991 Europeans of whom 56% are French, in 1872 more than 245117 of whom 53% are French, this European population lived in cities. Also in 1860, this population was composed of immigrants, small artisans and workers. Residing in coastal cities such as Bône and Philippe Ville.

After 1871, which marked the repression of the El-Mokrani revolt, 45000000 hectares of land were confiscated and the creation of the settlement centre made it possible to settle 6 members in family settlers from 1871 to 1895, or 5955 families settled in the countryside in Algeria. However, active propaganda had developed to attract more volunteers to colonization and French authorities had adapted favourable provisions to encourage the colonization of Algeria.

In order to define the meaning of the origins of the term offensive pied noirs. The Algerians of origin. Therefore, had two contradictory and different definitions to the term; the first one related to the attitude of the Algerians, considered as the source of the term, when they saw the “pied noir” of the French soldiers at the time of the French conquest in Algeria in 1830. Thus, they called the French settlers "**pied noirs**", the second definition to the term, referred mainly to the stamping of the grapes, in order to extract wine, leaving a black resin on the feet.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Amy Hubbell, **Remembering French Algeria: Pieds-Noirs, Identity and Exile**, <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/284019595>, 03/03/2019, p/10.

<sup>8</sup> Amy Hubbell, **Remembering French Algeria**: p.w quoted p/10.

Although, the term pied noirs may also use to describe Europeans from Tunisia and Morocco, but Algeria considered a settlement colony. As a result, the French of Algeria considered as the community of descendants of the settlers who lived and were born in Algeria and grew up in their country after the Algerian conquest of 1830.

The truth behind the pied noirs or the French of Algeria is that their feet were never black until they began "repatriating" the French settlers, who were born in North Africa return to France almost at the beginning of 1962. It is estimated that an average of about one million French people from Algeria reached the territory of France from 1961 to 1963, or this category settled there, more precisely after the brutal seven-year war, as a result, of their bad experience and illegal acts of severe torture and terrorism. This ended with the escape of an aligned population flow to France.

Since then, historian Jean-Robert Henry has proclaimed, to the other settlers who described themselves as superior to the settlers who assumed they are defiled by Algeria, that both consider that the country defiled by their country. Moreover, their disturbing arrival considered the main reason that has created a kind of gap between the French community in Algeria and the French community in metropolis .therefore. They were rejected at all costs, Jean-Jacques Jordi in his book "**de l'exode à l'exil**": Rapatriés ET Pied Noirs en France", explores this question in greater depth and illustrates the tensions that existed between the people of Marseilles and the «repatriates» when they arrived in 1962, Expresses:

*“Les Marseillais ont des Pied-Noir une image assez négative. Ils les dotent généralement de fortunes considérables avec tous les stéréotypes les accompagnants. Brutal, raciste, de convictions politiques très marquées à droite, inculte, borné, parlant fort...le mythe du ‘colon’ était prégnant jusqu’à la caricature parmi les Marseillais”.*

*“The people of Marseilles have a rather negative image of pied noir. They generally endow them with considerable fortunes with all the stereotypes that accompany them. Brutal, racist, with very strong political convictions on the*

*right, uncultured, stubborn, loudly speaking... the myth of the 'colon' was prevalent to the point of caricature among the people of Marseilles".<sup>9</sup>*

*"...Que [les rapatriés] quittent Marseille en vitesse, qu'ils essaient de se réadapter ailleurs et tout ira pour le mieux »*

*"...That [The repatriates] leave Marseille quickly, that they try to readapt elsewhere and everything will be fine"<sup>10</sup>*

The Algerian war pointed out to the contenders for recolonization: "allowed the French to know that Algeria was an integral part of France, whose population was composed of immigrants, small craftsmen and workers"?

However, the significant influence of the various consequences of the Evian Agreements, which consider that the war ended on 19 March 1962, with the proclamation of a ceasefire and the cessation of hostilities that followed. Consequently. It is an amnesty for the Algerian rebellion, because of the crime committed by the French enemy. Ultimately, amnesty seen as an opportunity for the French to change their memory of their involvement.

The period of French colonization in Algeria, which lasted more than a century and left a large number of ancestors in Algeria. Since, their deep sense of heritage revealed their desire of claiming to belong to the land heritage. In addition to the long duration of their presence in Algeria which approved the cultural and political impact of previous European settlers. Thus, considers decolonization and the difficulties it has caused by the beginning of French colonization in 1830, through the Algerian war that began in 1954 and continued until 1962, periods during which both parties committed many crimes and torture. Due to defamation, on the part of the French authorities, the Algerian war is experiencing unrest and a particular bitter struggle.

In addition, the secret armed organization (OAS) created in 1961, adopted as a strategy to prevent the allied community from maintaining a French Algeria,

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<sup>9</sup> Campora, Chana Maria, **Nanou Gazing Across the Mediterranean: A Journey Through Space, Memory, and Nostalgie**, Permalink <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/4kv3n0c9>, Publication Date 2017, p/5

<sup>10</sup> Campora, Chana Maria, p.w quoted, p/6.



threatened the French in Algeria with physical attacks. The consequences of this strategy was the massacres of civilians and the widespread use of torture at that time. Ended by the intensified departure from Algeria, many of the aligned population had an excessive desire to return, weather only few of them did not tried, with their believing that it would be difficult. Since, the absence of homeland and the spread of violence provoked this community to live their experiences because of the compulsion and struggle of return; as result, the articulation of collective pied noir identity had been a strong relation with the concept of return, because it is concerned on their return to France.

Because the “French of Algeria” earned the nickname pied noir, when the most of pied noir returning to their homeland never been to France, thus, the majority of theme were not a French heritage even more naturalized citizens. Because of the French term “French of Algeria” Refer mainly the colonial French because it obviously related to the truth, that were a French citizens from Algeria, as result most of the time, the “**pied noirs**” emphasis on their dual identity.

Since, to the ambiguity behind of the term “**pied noirs**” is to put an emphasis on the social separation between the French of France and French of Algeria. This community were not welcomed from France with an open arm, In remembering French of Algeria: “**pied noirs**”, identity and exile, Amy Hubbell proclaims: «**turning to France was not easy for the “pied noirs”, who were unwelcomed symbol of failed colonial rule, confusion, in unspeakable war**”<sup>11</sup>, as result, few of this population would be well-known today by: “French of Algeria”.

✓ **Pied noirs identity:**

The theoretical basis on which our scientific approach for understanding of pied noirs issue related to the identity aspect based as follows: identity, as a personal, collective or social problem could not transmitted; but rather constructed. So, how did the identity content of the pieds noirs come about?

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<sup>11</sup> Campora, Chana Maria, p.w quoted, p/6.

Identity, as Vincent De Gaulejac<sup>12</sup> points out, is a polysemous term. According to the definitions given by the Petit Robert, it refers to:

- **similarity** "character of what is identical",
- **unity** "character of what is ONE",
- **permanence** "character of what remains identical to oneself",
- **Recognition and individualization**, "the fact that a person is such an individual and can also be recognized for such without any confusion thanks to the elements that individualize him".

Identity, according to E-M. LIPIANSKY<sup>13</sup>, which distinguishes two visions:

- ✓ The **objective vision** of identity is a set of relevant characteristics that define an individual and allow him to identify from the outside. This component of identity related to the subject's position in culture and society. It defined as a social identity.
- ✓ The **subjective vision** of identity refers to notions such as self-awareness, self-definition. It also contains feelings, representations, experiences and plans related to an individual. This subjective identity is rooted in experiences, as well as in a certain cultural context. It affected by each relationship and interaction, so it is constantly reproduced.

According to Michel Castra<sup>14</sup>, "identity is constituted by all the characteristics and attributes that make an individual or group perceive themselves as a specific entity, and that they are perceived as such by others. This concept must be understand at the

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<sup>12</sup> Vincent De Gaulejac, **L'identité**, sous la direction de Barus-Michel (J.), Enriquez (E.), Lévy (A.), **Vocabulaire de psychosociologie, références et positions**, édition Paris, Érès, 2002, p/174-180.

<sup>13</sup> LIPIANSKY (E.-M.), **Identité et Communication**, édition PUF,1992, p/262.

<sup>14</sup> Michel Castra, **Les 100 mots de la sociologie**, collection Que\_sais-je, édition PUF.

articulation of several social authorities, whether individual or collective.

As a result, we can therefore distinguish three types of identity, namely:

1. **Individual or personal identity:** Personal identity is the product of socialization, which allows the constitution of the "Self". For interactionist sociologists, individual identities arise from social interactions more than they precede them. Identity is not a fixed property; it is the result of a process. Thus, identity work carried out continuously throughout the individual trajectory and depends on both the context and the resources that can be mobilize. This identity therefore modified according to the different experiences encountered by individuals.
2. **Collective identity:** Collective identities have their origin in community identity forms where feelings of belonging are particularly strong (culture, nation, ethnic groups, etc.) and societal identity forms that refer to collectives that are more ephemeral. to temporary social ties (family, peer group, work, religion, etc.). The individual thus belongs simultaneously or successively to social groups that provide him with multiple identification resources.
3. **Social identity:** Claude Dubar distinguishes two inseparable components of social identity. Identity for oneself" refers to the image that one constructs of oneself. Identity for others" is a construction of the image that we want to convey to others; it always developed in relation to others, in interaction, in relation to the image that others convey to us, it is a recognition of others.

In addition, as Michael Pollack<sup>15</sup> perfectly pointed out, the question of identity only arises for actors, and correlatively for researchers, when the definition of self for oneself and for others. In the context, Jacques CHEVALLIER<sup>16</sup> confirms, *"the construction of individual identity requires a process of successive identifications, by which the values, norms and behaviours of the home groups will gradually be internalized; and, conversely, the identity of a group is constructed through the*

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<sup>15</sup> Éric Savarese, **LA RENCONTRE POSTCOLONIALE**, Éditions du Croquant, janvier 2014,p/63-90.

<sup>16</sup> Jacques CHEVALLIER, **IDENTITÉ, ORGANISATION, INSTITUTION**, l'Université Panthéon-Assas (Paris 2), Directeur du C. U.R.A.P.P, p/239-251.

*interactions that are established between the members".*

After this primary identification of the identity concept, it is essential to question at this stage of the study on the identity of *pieds noirs*. How did this last one develop over time? Especially, when we know that the *pieds noirs* community comes from a population of immigrants whose origins are diverse, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Maltese....

Some components have been strongly involved in the construction of the identity of *pieds noirs* over time, among others:

1. The family through his memory,
2. The native land,
3. Culture, religion and ethnicity,
4. Memory and common destiny.

Indeed, the construction of the identity of the *pieds noirs* was forget from the beginning of colonial immigration of the latter to a new land, which became the birthplace for many of them, born in Algeria. These *pieds noirs* began to form families, constituting the first nuclei of this new identity, which built throughout the colonial period around 132 years ago, referring to belonging to the same European culture, the same Christian religion and the same ethnic group, the white race. The construction of the identity of the *pieds noirs* continued after the great departure, after the exile and exodus that followed Algeria's independence in 1962.

As Michèle Vatz Laaroussi<sup>17</sup> attests, "It is in this space between the individual, the family and society that new uses of family memory are emerging, therapeutic, social and political uses that aim to care for individuals, treat families, repair the suffering and damage inflicted both by families themselves and by social and historical contexts".

Thus, having the same common collective memory and the same common destiny,

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<sup>17</sup> Michèle Vatz Laaroussi. (2007). *Les usages sociaux et politiques de la mémoire familiale : de la réparation de soi à la réparation du chaos de l'histoire*, p/113.

has contributed concretely to the construction of the personal identity of the pieds noirs, that of self-recognition. In addition, it has contributed to the construction of the collective identity of the pieds noirs through belonging to social groups, to the same community, and to the construction of the social identity that aims at the recognition of others, which is at the head of the claims of the pieds noirs.

Memory linked on the one hand to habits, fixed on man's daily actions, and on the other hand to memories of the past. In short, three types of memories can be distinguished among immigrant populations and are the subject of dynamic transmission:

1. Migratory memory, which refers to the mobility experience of the different generations of the network,
2. Family memory, which is transmitted daily,
3. Social memory, therefore international history.

In addition, the preservation of this common memory of the pieds noirs is essential to face amnesia, oblivion and answer the identity questions necessary for the construction of identities. Thus, the black feet ensured a transfer of a memory of war to the metropolis (France), whose analysis by Benjamin Stora<sup>18</sup>, is based on identifiable actors formerly dedicated to the cause of French Algeria, and moving from the defence of the colonial cause to that of French France via anti-Arab racism.

*"Immigrants coming to France should behave like responsible people as they create disorder, create an ever-increasing insecurity, and disturb public order. In a word, they are already behaving as conquered countries [...] Tolerance is leading our country towards Maghrebisation [...] I fought for French Algeria, if necessary I will fight tomorrow for French France".*

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<sup>18</sup> Éric Savarese, **LA RENCONTRE POSTCOLONIALE**, Éditions du Croquant, janvier 2014,p/63-90.

An identity problematic appeared with the generation of French in the Algerian land because they revealed as population that expressing a party of France. Since, they expected to have a relation to the Algerian territory, they commonly known with the nickname of “pied noirs”. This population found conflict of the problematic of identifying between a part of French origin of the metropolitan and another part of Algerian population autochthon.

These identity crises started with the colonial conquest, this point of view amplifier with the Algerian independence in 1962. However, in the context of the study of “pied noirs” identity was interesting to turn off upon some designation like; the French of Algeria; The indigenous; the pied noirs; the repatriate; El harkies. In addition, other terminologies used for the sake to poll convictions, and search goals and historical periods of colonialism. Also as the precise Elisabeth BERILACQUA: it was necessary to proclaim these terminologies in order to invest the “pieds noirs” identity. However, in the case of the “pieds noirs”, there was no synonyms of term “repatriates”, because this last included “El harkies” whose were repatriates, but those has not any consideration as “French citizens”. Also this term contributed those who returns in the nation of ancestor, this has corresponds never to Europeans of Jewish of Algeria and for “Harkies”, that is located from the first time upon the balance after the evil, that was posed an identity problematic for this category that was considered as “expatriates” and not the “repatriates” .

The “pieds noirs” were French citizens of Algeria and of the north of Africa in general, as result those lasts consider as a French of Algeria until release of the independence war when the term “indigenous” comes to precise the status of Algerian identity. They were part, from the part of French colonialism or the part of the war of liberation, the case of Maurice Odin was there for the sake to give a precise of this situation from mean.

Hence, the term “pied noirs”, the French settlers who was under the French of Algeria, be as well “indigenous”, this difference between this two terms “pied noirs” and “indigenous” comes to expose one, furthermore the aspect related to the “pied noirs” identity.

In another part, the term “**pied noirs**” has no limits of correspond to Europeans of Algeria. But it included also the Jewish of Algeria, because the legislative disposition of 1870 were gives the French nationality for this Europeans and for this Jewish of Algeria, with the exception of “Harkis”, that excluded ,were not consider as “**pied noirs**” but included among the “repatriates”.

As result, after the independence of Algeria, the exile had been the choice of this population who had preferred the scratch turn in France where they well known under designation of “**French population of Algeria**”. Eventually, the term “**pied noirs**” because were an instrument of construction of identity after the independence of Algeria and by the following of claim identity.

✓ **The Theories of Memory :**

The Pied noir identity defending the exile from Algeria in 1962 and the subsequent arrival in France; these two crucial historical moments had reconstructed and maintain the collective memory and collective mobilization that now spans nearly five decades. However, the centralization of these two events had increasingly well known, Beside the applied strategies of pied noir has been to form their own narratives of exile and arrival by comparing and contrasting theme to other global events, which accrued through their life.

For the sake to deconstructing this apparently international forming of the pied noir past, it's accrued through put the ways concern a specific segment of the pied noir community, had attempted to negotiate their sense of being as part from their own nation. As well as, this return could evolving relationship between this community and the motherland; besides the offering of how pied noir understand their position as French citizens within the French society and within the nation's collective memory. Through a common of memorial discourse of the nation; according Halbwach's theory concern of collective memory, in his most important contribution to the field of sociology in the book:” la memoire collective “(1950).

Since; he emphasis on his thesis about the society which can have a collective memory and that this memory is depend mainly on the cadre or frame work of a group installed in a society ;it's couldn't found only an individual memory that exist outside and lived beyond the individual. As well as; an individual's understanding of the past is strongly linked to this group of counsiciosness. At the collective level, identity guaranteed by a memory core common to the majority of the group. HALLBWACHS indication, in deed, its consider as current acceptance, the term "collective memory" is a representation, it is a form of met memory, it's an expression that related a specific

members of a group as pied noir community will produce about a memory supposedly common to all members of this group.

The significant function of the collective memory is to permeate many persons to share or having lived the same moment of such experience of rebuilding the event with the cohesion. For this reason, the whole individual's memories mainly put to use then selected an organization of memories for the sake to reproduce content shared by all.

According to HALLBWACHS, the human being memories divided into two part: inner memory (autobiographical) and an external memory (historical). Both memories would be complementary, insofar as the internal memory is part of the external, social memory, more extensive than the first. However, in chronological order we notice that the memories of the internal memory must pre-exist those of the external memory. Collective memories would come to apply to individual memories and would give them a more comfortable and secure hold; but it will be necessary while individual memories are first there.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, when different individual thoughts come together, form a new entity, collective, in which the memories are based individual. Then admit that a kind of artificial environment created outside of all these personal thoughts, but that surrounds them, a collective time and space, and a collective story. It is in such settings that the thoughts of individuals are would join, which supposes that each of us would shortly cease to be himself. HALLBWACHS emphasis the preponderance.

The memory analyse, or rather the memory of pied noir for the sake to understand their history. It is significant in the first time to research for found a precise explanation of population of out mere French. Which included a different groups whose joins Algeria: republican of commanders of 1870, the naturalization laws of 1889 had transformed the inhabitants of this "tour de BABLE" Algerian French.

After a several years of brutalization activities from both sides; which concluded by the independence of Algeria and the crucial decision of depart that drawn the destiny of pieds noirs towards the land of ancestors. The brutal seven years caused a kind of psychological trauma for the pieds noirs, since they were suffered from an anxiety

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<sup>19</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, p.w quoted, pp/122/123/124.



because the hostility of French population. Benjamin Stora explains the gestation of these memory wars in the following terms:

“After periods of great fever – uprisings, wars, revolutions, massacres, genocides – societies accumulate silences so that all citizens can pursue their life together. It is only after that, painful memories return to the surface of societies then, the conflicts begin”.<sup>20</sup>

The era of colonial Algeria divided into a standard of three part: chronology of life, memories of the war and life in France after the exodus; as result the pied noir community; shared the same pain experiences and memories of trauma at the time of depart and bloody eight years ;which precedence the Algerian war in 1962. Although, the root of the guerre de memoire discussed until now lie in the events that took place on Algerian soil between 1945-1962. However, the GUERRE OF MEMORY events and vectors are kept separate; according Jo MC CORMACK book COLLECTIVE MEMORY, France and the Algerian war, deliberate mainly on the single historical case study :to consider the transmission of the past; through three vectors of memory: education, the family; and the media .

These three vectors conceptualised after Russo any source that proposes MC CORMACK, is claimed the relationship history and memory. In which memory consists of one representation of the past amongst others, his definition of collective memory is a self CONSCIOUSLY bricolages notion that combines Halbwach’s notion of a present orientated reconstruction of the past within Freudian elements of repression, the Algerian war remains a matter of general ignorance with her issues “swept under the crept” for too long.

After the Algerian independence a number of commentators evoking to decline of France or the French disarray “le disarroi français”. The Algerian war and its legacy through 40 years end of conflict; its war finished merely forty-five-years ago. However; about one million of people now in France fought or lived through the conflict, which lasted seven years; and depicted a fiercely fought campaign that had effected a huge

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<sup>20</sup> Pascal Blanchard, Isabelle Veyrat-Masson, **Les guerres de mémoires : La France et son histoire, enjeux politiques, controverses historiques, stratégies médiatiques**, edited by : Paris, La Découverte, 2008, ISBN : 9782707154637 ; pp /334.

within French society. As result, the war brought down the fourth republic and provoked an immense division in France and Algeria as different communities emerged such as conscript professional, soldiers, as members, Harkis and pied noirs, Gaullist, partner de valise (French who supported Algerian national members).

Henceforth, these communities were still very evident mainly tend to be very hostile towards other group. The memories of Algerian war regularly appear directly through several polemical progression and debates in contemporary France concern the issue of the use of torture and brutalization of criminality during the Algerian war. However, by the early 1980s the Algerians were the largest foreign nationality group in France. an estimation numbering some thousand persons; about nearly one million Europeans settlers left Algeria in 1962 for example within the education sector ;the teachers and students depicted their trauma from the Algerian war and horror they lived at that time concerned on the Algerian war and how they bring memories to class. Indeed; it is in significant manner their history; this history is linked to identity; the Identity of pupils, teachers, and ultimately the French in general.<sup>21</sup>

✓ **The Theories of identity :**

The Pied NOIR identity reconstruction based mainly on reflection of transformation experienced of a recent group formulated of a very various individuals. Thus; there was no pied noir election or vote; identity; or even memory, only an identic strategy that they seek to reconstruct or transform a set of heterogeneous association throughout the intervention of tradition, planning that are moreover disputed particular by those Pied noirs who don't consider themselves to be represented by the repatriating organizations.

However, identity trauma effects some individuals, who considered to be pied noir but to face with the sequels for tragic Algerian war. The presentation of the theoretical part of identity included a characteristic of construction identities; it based mainly on the interaction of relation with others beside the function of social environment. The identity divided on tow constitutive of each individual: the identity collective and identity individual. Through the given definition of identity according to Psych

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<sup>21</sup> Pascal Blanchard, Isabelle Veyrat-Masson p.w quoted, pp/ 334.

sociology; the significant construction of individual with his relation to others ;also the individual identity related to the personal identity ; while the collective identity can be recognized under the group of identities ;social identity or identity for others .

The definition of DUBAR could give an explanation and distinguish between identity for others and identity for himself, DUBAR proclaimed: The identity of someone is the most precious: the loss of identity is synonymous with alienation, suffering, anguish and death. However, the identity of human being is not be given, finally, at birth; it built all throughout life. The individual never builds it alone: it depends as much on 107 judgments of others only of one's own orientations and orientations of oneself. The identity is a Product of successive socialisations.

The identity is a process and not a definitely an attributed case from the birth. Lipinski in his coverage dedicated in the identity, and join the point of view of Dubar resume the declaration of code & tap: Identity is a structured system, differentiated, both anchored in a temporality past (roots, permanence), in a coordination of current and from a legitimate perspective (projects, ideals, values and styles).

She coordinates multiple identities associated with the person (body identity, character identity, personal specificities ...) or language (roles, status ...). Identity is a System of representations, feelings and strategies, organized for the defense Conservative of his project (the "being oneself"), but also for his control, his Projective mobilization and its idealizing mobility (the "becoming oneself).

As result; the identity consider as scalable, in constant becoming and never completed, which the basis had constructed during the childhood ,but who undergoes several transformations, all along existence. Although; the experiences contributed to form the shape of identities, once established, these identities could include a set of significant characteristics related to individuals as his system of values; his opinion; his assumption.

- The Link between Personal identity and self-image of CODE
- « *L'image de soi d'un individu n'est ainsi qu'un ensemble structuré d'éléments d'information signifiant, reçus ou construits par l'individu à propos de lui-même. C'est en définitive une organisation de traits, de qualités, de caractéristiques que l'individu s'attribue à lui-même [...].*

*L'attribution de traits à soi-même suppose leur identification. Celle-ci s'effectuera [...] par catégorisation et comparaison ».*

*“An individual's self-image is thus only a structured set of elements of information that signify, received or constructed by the individual about himself. It is ultimately an organization of trait; qualities, characteristics that the individual attributes to himself.... The attribution of traits to oneself implies their identification. This will be done by categorization and comparison.”* <sup>22</sup>

In addition; others point of view concern the construction of individual proper identity , with an identification process and differentiation, it's based on the appearance of individuals to the others from the rejection of the identity of others that will elaborate his own identity schema. According to DUBAR; the individuals identity related to the internalization of all characteristics elements of all group home. Which is responsible of the production of the basic personality; such as a particular psychological configuration that had a specification to the members of a precise society and affected by a certain lifestyle on which people embroider their singular variants; thus, each individual mainly enters a process of socialization. That, he belongs to a precise social group that shares the same models; culture; mentality etc.

According to DUBAR; the biographical process of each individual's identity refers to biographical that is to say; everything is specific to the individual and inaccessible to others. This identity combined with identity for others; leads to the constructed identity of a subject. Thus, the individual is in perpetual relation with the society or his group of belonging, and any change produces an adaptation to the social environment.

The collective identity or social identity defines by LIPIANSKY: Social identity, according to the most common definition, relates to belonging from the individual to bio psychological categories (sex, age), to groups sociocultural (ethnic, regional, national, professional ...) or the assumption roles and social status (family, professional, institutional ...) or ideological affiliation (confessional, political, philosophical ...). <sup>23</sup>

According to DUBAR, the institutions in which individuals evolve conditioning that results in a type of personality shaped by these institutions. In addition, the personality

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<sup>22</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, p.w quoted, pp/129

<sup>23</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, p.w quoted, pp/131.

training is possible through the integration of the culture of society or the community of belonging. In his book, he presents the theory of socialization named LIGA: any and the normative stability function (sometimes denoted by the letter L as latency) means that the social system must ensure the maintenance and stability of values and standards. To ensure that these are known to stakeholders and internalized by them.

- ✓ The integration function (I as integration) means that the social system must ensure the necessary coordination between the actors, members of the system;
- ✓ The goal-reaching function (G) means that the social system must enable the definition and implementation of the objectives of the action ;
- ✓ The adaptation function (A for adaptation) must ensure the adequacy of means to the aims pursued and therefore the effective adaptation to the surrounding environment.<sup>24</sup>

The self-concept is multifaceted entity based on personal characteristics, feelings, images, beside the roles of society and statuses that an individual recognizes as being to a part or of person's self. It is the combination of all these elements to shape an individual identity. However, the recent point of views concern the concept of identity includes a content component activation of started information interaction with others. According; to the theories and investigation in the field of cognitive process underlying identity integration and development in adults; hence the cognitive development model social identity integration (DMSII) developed by AMOIT and Comorkes which based mainly on the Noe –Pigetain perspective of identity development.

Although; the DMSII mainly emphasis on social identity changes within the long-term development and integration of social identities to the self. Moreover, the cognitive –developmental Perspective could either shed light. On a significant process of personal identity, reconstruction in the context of rang disability onset. The social identity with combination of personal identity had intimately formed. <sup>25</sup>

An interrelation, the personal identity being the result of social experiences and interactions. The positioning theory, is a method of analysis developed in psychology,

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<sup>24</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, p.w quoted, pp/133.

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that examines discourse, usually oral interaction to find ways of understanding; how identities are produced and performed; for that interactions; it seeks to understand the roles interacts attribute to themselves and others; and how they react to the roles put in. The positioning of the self and the positioning of others can be reveal by the use of language, this theory originally outlined by Bronwyn Davies and Rom Harré (1990),which seek to examine for an examination and exploration of the distribution of human rights identities. More precisely to speak or behave in certain ways with the social interactions and intra-group relations; for ex: face-to-face interactions.

However, this rights and duties combines the basis, in order to discursive construction of interpersonal positions and positioning. In addition; this theory emphasises on specific –situations and seek to the construction of different positions in interactions, by stating the inability of the concept of the rule by giving a precise dynamic of social behaviour.

The position is different from roles because could not refer only on human beings as social, but rather contributed other institutions, as social groups; organizations, and events cultures. Rather than; the distinction between roles and positions especially; in the interpersonal interaction; consider as problematic because, roles can be regarde as the basis of positions. And positioning and positions can be clarify into roles, through an examination of the moral order of social actions and the right and duties of the interaction participants to act and speak in certain ways by shape the essence of positioning theory .

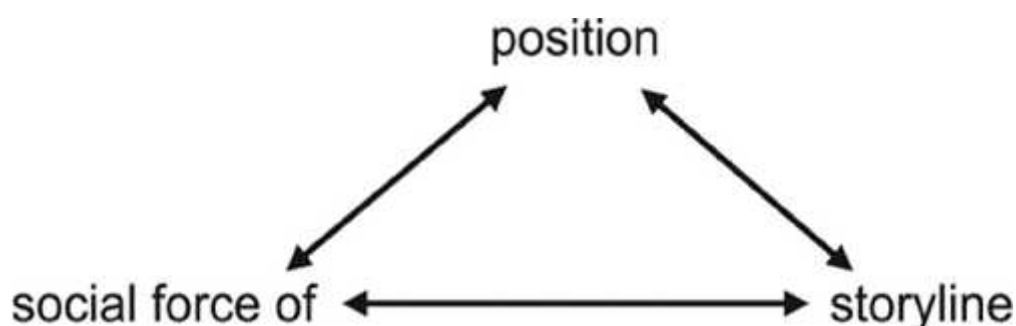
Hence; they emphasis mainly on social the social field, where these rights and duties are distributed negotiated and disputed. As well as, each social group has its own implicit structure of moral orders that guides the group interaction and the Dynamic is between the group members. According; to the theory; the distribution of rights and duties and the construction of social interaction episodes, such as in small groups of pied noir; which depend on three aspects of join interactions.

Hence, the first aspect is the lived storyline that the interlocutors or groups, as well as; the ongoing interaction of participants. The concept of storyline can be describe; as result of ongoing social episode; in addition the second aspect is the specific speech acts and the actual utterances of the interlocutors; with the illocutionary and

prelocutionary effects, Davies and Harre (1990); had proclaimed the concept of speech acts and the presentation utterances of the interlocutors with illocutionary and prelocutionary effects.

Davies and Haree (1990) have proclaimed the concept of speech act from John Searle (1979) but; have modified it by learning out the intentions of the speaker. Thus, a speech act is purely social phenomenon; and could be explained as the social result of social action; as such, «a speech action can become a determinate speech act to the extent that it is taken up as such by all the participants»(Davies & Haree).

Figure 01: <sup>26</sup>



Then; the third aspect is the positions; being assigned and taken by the participants by respect to the two previous elements. As a result; these positions represent the moral aspects concerning the persons' interactions; with indications to the rights and duties of the speakers mentioned something within; the specific social context. Since, these theory aspects could be shaped refer to as positioning tried to have Langenhove and Harre 1999; Haree & Langenhove (2010) for more explanation.<sup>27</sup>

✓ **Pied noir's memories and identities impact on the human psychology:**

The former community of French citizens of Algeria, the pied noir comprise one of Europe's largest diaspora by the population by twentieth century; the diversity of

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<sup>26</sup> **Pasi Hirvonen, Positioning Theory and Small-Group Interaction: Social and Task Positioning in the Context of Joint Decision-Making,**  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016655584>.

<sup>27</sup> **Pasi Hirvonen, Positioning Theory and Small-Group Interaction: Social and Task Positioning in the Context of Joint Decision-Making,**  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244016655584>.



group of people settled in Algeria during the colonial era that took about thirty years French colonial rule ,this period was a depiction of Algerian fought and the achieved independence in 1962.

However; the brutal seven years' war was traumatic for both the Algerians and the French living in colony, which provoked nearly one million people crossed the Mediterranean during and after the war to the exodus toward the metropolis France. Although; the pied noir were a French origin and formal French citizens; the most of them had never set foot in France territory before; as result, some of them used the Spanish language and other languages based on the heritage of the colony they had settled. The protected war to keep Algerian French had grown deeply unpopular by the time .as result; the Algerian independence in 1962. The emigrational flow of exoduses to France; hence, this period depicted a hostility and discrimination from the French society because of the strain they established on the coastal cities of France; such as Marseille.

The Algerian war and the departure conditions develops a kind of psychological trauma for the repatriations. As well as; two types of remembrances emerged within the community for the old generations of migrants; whose suffered from nostalgic attachments to the homeland that named by “nostalgérie” which began to tackled in literary pieces and art .then; the young generation who suffered from the violence and brutalities from both sides during the Algerian war. However, their memories concern the bloody events of Algeria and trauma of departure described by silence and fragmentation. Moreover, the pied noir's descendants tackled many times with Algeria and trauma of depart from their parents and older relatives or as “post memory”.

Since, many works depicted the tragedy of pied noir that written by those survivors themselves during the era of 1962 and the mid-1990s that tended to emphasis on their beautiful reactions of the lost paradise in North Africa. As lucienne martini; proclaimed that deep love for Algeria and their obvious knowledge of the country could appear heavily through the landscape and sunlight in their works. Despite, the complication of identity and homeland; many-pied noir have the opportunity to return to Algeria as tourists and revisiting their home and revived their childhood memories home again in1980; soon because of the Algerian civil war the community isolated again once more.

After many struggle and debates; France could accepted a recognition of Algeria memory by a set of “memory laws”. Hence, the next years of Algeria’s young generation of pied noir during the 1990s consider as turn point within the community. After the end of the pied noir previous generation; the young generation, who had scarified for Many years from their life in the formative period of struggling with the war of independence; was obvious through art and literature, which depicted the powerful memories of Algeria and traumatic experiences during the war.

Although; this works content is based mainly on a wonderful background of state; but sometimes the landscapes scattered with unforgettable horrible images of cadavers and others fragments of traumatic events; which faced into a scarred memory. The generation of children and young teens who survived during the war and bear the bad experiences and consequences of exodus; unfortunately those were still young to understand the war but not too young to fell it and to see it; as well as; those who don’t remember but who struggle with post memory.

However, the tragedy of the Algerian war could appear through the testimonies of Nicola Guirand; who suffered from physical and psychological traumatic wounds; through a bombing incident, which caused to serve her arm. Nicole Guirand; was born in Algeria and famously survived the bombing of milk bar during the Algerian fighting. Since, her father suffered from severe wounded because she lost her left arm; and uses her artwork for the sake to transmitted or share her suffering from this traumatic memory, with the large part of children who endured during the war. Guirand; develops a serious psychotherapy after the exoduses with her sister to France; as result, became a spoken person for victims of terrorism and the pied noir community for women.

She emphasis on her artworks on both the psychological facts of trauma; because her work were a depiction of her suffering with other children at that time. Despite; the fascinated landscape of Algeria sometimes serves as focal point; but the Algerian territory was at overlain with blood: slit throats; severed limbs, cadavers, backdrops on garden paths. Patrick Guirand another artist; who bearing no nostalgia of his own; because he received the memories of Algeria through his community and his family.

Since, he was born in Algeria after the war had begun. Unlike Guirand; Atles woundes are not physical; as well as, he doesn't has any sense of proprietorship of his country, because of his young age at the time of independence; rather his experiences of Algeria has been largely through the scope of independence, so he feels no right to feels anguish about his homeland. However, he proclaimed his political "engagement against" the concept of colonialism has robbed me of my right to feel for land where I was born and feel guilt at celebrating it; were my passport Algerian; feeling nostalgia from my birth country when estranged from it; would be natural with a French passport, it become suspect .

“ He relies on pictures of the broader community, which allows him to investigate different relationship to the past. Since, “the transactional act of my request for photographs of someone’s private personal history-and their selecting handing them and giving me permission is in fact a dynamic exchange in the now were they share to an artistic exploration that encompasses past present and future”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Layering Over the Wounds of Algeria in Contemporary Pied-Noir Art 2016-2019 EuropeNow. All Rights Reserved 2016-2019.

## **2.4 Pied noirs participation in colonial policy:**

The role « Pied noirs » in the concretisations of the French colonial politic of Algeria was expose principally through:

### **✓ spoliation of the Algerian wealth:**

The repression of French army of the popular resistance, that made accompanied with the confiscation of land, since, the sequester collective and the contribution of war, to know 500.000 hectares more than 29 million of Franc-or. Beside the loss of land, the Algerian population were known a demographic crises on it decrease, a quarter or fifth in comparison to 1830. In addition the deterioration in the level of life. Between 1877 and 1898, the number of centres of colonisation was past of 474 of 1900, also every legislatures disposition adapted about 1897 amending of the legislation landed for the sake of “Francization of property” also between 1880 and 1920 Algerian fellah was lost almost 888000 hectares. In general, in 1917 the landed property was distribute on three domains:

The public domain: 504000 ha, domain of state: 4617000 ha in 2240000 ha of forest, communal domain: 451520000 ha in 3263000 ha of land and 69000 ha of forests. Since, the compulsion to return and live that experience was rather more effective because of the violence concerning their departure and absence of their homeland.

The privates’ properties had distributed as 2317000 ha for Europeans in 194000 ha of forest and the rest in land cultivated, and about 9226000 ha for the indigenus, in 1813000 ha of land 4644000 ha of land “Melk”, and 2767000 ha of land “Arch”. Consequently, the Algerian fellah had lost .since the life of French 1159000 ha in 2503000 ha of forest.

### **✓ The racial politic toward the Algerian population indigenus:**

The advent of third republic put the Europeans within the organization and the formation of group after the across in the nationality and the French citizens. This racial fusion between the Europeans of Algeria expose an aspiration autonomist, and the tendencies of this racial discrimination that classified the Algerians under the

group of indigenous “Muslims” either, if there is under reach for: «the personal law of Muslims”.

However, no survive from the civil code to conserve their practice Marital. The construction colonial of Algeria was translated by the situation of a report of domination, or a minority of “**pie** **noirs**”, French of Algeria and the group domination and the majority constitute with the indigenous Muslims, the group dominated, the inferiority race This discrimination is tempted of a force racial coloration.

The essential fact from an economic, psychological and political point of view, as Andrée Pierre-Viénot <sup>29</sup>points out, the disparity in the standard of living between the French in Algeria on the one hand and Muslim Algerians on the other. The standard of living of Muslims is barely 10% of the standard of living of non-Muslims; and the entire social structure of Algeria is abnormal. The Muslim population is 8.5 times larger than the non-Muslim population. However, 92% of industry executives, 82% of middle managers, 78% of clerical employees, 80% of civil servants are French.

The colonial enterprise is structurally racist. The France of 1789, the same France that affirmed equality between all men, appropriated other countries, whose inhabitants had kept out of the laws of the Republic and denied this equality. Colonial France, in order to resolve such a contradiction, relied on the thesis of the hierarchy of "races". This is the principle of the "native", considered inferior. Racism is inseparable from the colonial enterprise. That is undeniable. Some of my witnesses have confessed with evidence.

✓ **A repressive colonial policy:**

The foundation of the commissioner by the French senate in 1892, which had headed by former premier Jules Ferry. since, the French senate open a commission of inquiry, by former premier who consider as a lawyer for colonial expansion, however, this last

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<sup>29</sup> Andrée Pierre-Viénot, Histoire coloniale et postcoloniale, les Français d’Algérie, <https://histoirecoloniale.net/les-Francais-d-Algerie-par-Andree.html>.

period depicted an abandon policy that impose a French law, in order to serve the recommendation of the particular region that contour about 2 millions of Europeans and 4 million Muslims of inhabited Muslims.

As fact, the Algerian Muslims had no Algeria's national assembly .thus, has egregious representation on local councils. By 1915 only 500000 of Muslims has the right to react in elections of the crucial communes. Because of the assumed restrictions from the authorities. However, when elected to the national assembly, they permit the colons for a constant fixtures, in addition, they had the opportunity to exercised inquire for influence. Beside their support had crucial impact to any governmental survival. August warier, a leader of colour delegation could achieve a success during 1870 and 1880. Since, he provide a legislative regulation for the sake to facilitate the exchange for the settlers, in terms of the privacy relocate of land, also to maintain the continuation concerning the strategy of land distribution.

Hence, they spoil the land from the local population in order to transfer it to settler's property. "George Clemenceau" and the socialist "Jean Jaures" consider as consistent preprints of reform and they were handily in the national assembly. The Algerian diversity of wealth in manufacturing, mining, agriculture, trade was manage "grand colons». However, the sector of the economy was managing and owned by the modern European that achieved the small industry and highly progress in the exporting trade, since, it related with food and raw materials that provide exportation to France for the sake to consume and capital of merchandise. Thus, the arable land shaped about 30 percent that was grasping by the Europeans.

However, by 1900, the Europeans agriculture exports contributed more than two thirds of the value concerns with agriculture manufacturing. The modern sector, also based on commercial foundation and French market system that supplied with vegetables. In addition, to the heavy burden of the colonial regime that assumed to Muslims a higher taxes.in comparison to Europeans. Thus, the Muslims population had obliged to paying traditional taxes, starting from before the French conquest, besides the payment of new taxes; they spent 70 percent in the direct taxes, besides, to the total taxes collected. That consider as 45 percent.

The education regime of French colonialism had negative impact toward the Algerian Muslims; however, this population had attending previously to religious schools, for the sake to learn reading, writing, and to engage in religious matters. In 1843, many religious schools were close because of the lack of financial support from the colon officials in order to maintain the religious leaders for the growing population.

Since, by 1892, the allocation of money for the education of Europeans as for Muslims, as result, Muslims schools were almost staff only by French teacher. Since, few Muslims teachers had trained .because of the availability of French teachers in the Muslims schools. Although, the institution of schools which had contained a French members, and provide a bilingual and bicultural curriculum in schools, attempt to bring Muslims and Europeans children together in the classroom. As well as, it was achieve an obvious failure and rejected from both communities. However, by 1890 the efforts of the Algerian state begun a regime of the education of Muslims as part of France's "**civilisation mission**" in Algeria.

As **Kaddour Naïmi** attests: "as for those who mention the "benefits" of colonialism, giving as evidence schools, railway lines, roads, water dams, hospitals, industries, agriculture, "culture", etc., etc... The theorists of these achievements forget or pretend to forget that all these achievements decided and concretized, primarily to serve the interests of the colonialist oligarchy of France and its representatives in Algeria.

Do we still need to recall what the French colonial system was like in Algeria? Massacres of the population with attempted total genocide, in the manner of Europeans in America against the indigenous populations. Then, enslavement of the surviving population, making the workers "sweat the burnous", and tracking, torturing and murdering revolts against the colonial occupation and its crimes; finally, an all-out war to prevent a people from conquering its independence, and this through napalm bombs, systematic torture, murder of leaders, massacres of civilians supporting the national liberation struggle, etc., etc. The presence of "France" in

Algeria, that is to say its colonialist component, is first of all blood and tears, then sweat and again tears and blood!”<sup>30</sup>

## **2.5 Conclusion.**

Through the first chapter, the question of “**piéd noirs**” had a very ambiguous historical and identity problematic because it was related to the colonial past, in the present of the exit the repatriate in the “**piéd noirs**” and in the future and becoming of this “**piéd noirs**”.

Also, the French colonialism consider the origin of these problematic through the of transfer of Europeans of the metropolis toward Algeria, also the colonial politic of repression, of spoliation of wealth and of racial discrimination through the legislatures dispositions separate the population between class dominated of characterized of full rights and class dominated by the capacity of this elementary rights.

This situations lead to an army revolt and an independence war, that was push and constrain the “**piéd noirs**”, that were took the party of French colonialism toward exude and the exit with the independence of Algeria.

This situation create a cries of identity if “**piéd noirs**” that were in the research in order to continue of their identity between the nation or they were born and survive the Algeria and between nation of fathers ancestress and France.

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<sup>30</sup> Kaddour Naïmi, Quant aux crimes contre l’humanité s’ajoutent les impostures, <https://www.lematindalgerie.com/quand-aux-crimes-contre-lhumanite-sajoutent-les-impostures>, Samedi 18 août 2018.



**Chapter Two:  
Results of Algerian independence:  
exile and exodus.**

## **Chapter2: Results of Algerian independence: exile and exodus**

### **2.1 Introduction.**

A few short years later, by the end of 1962, the history of  **pied noirs** make a part of the French history; it has been associated with the black page of the Algerian war and the decolonization. However, its roots had a profound and complex past than this lonely conflict. In addition, emphasis more on the French metropolitans than the  **pied noirs** community did. As result, it open a question of misunderstanding of conscience of guilty. Before all the history of French of Algeria was a history of conquest, more precisely of colony created on a foreign land, where it had to set up the French population.

It is took about more than century from the arrival of French population. Indeed, from Mediterranean basin and a part of Europe, some of them go away to make wealth, while authors research for better life. However, this sail constitute mainly undesirable poor and refugees from all frontiers of metropolis. This population consider as source of honest and proud, in order to Clair image of proclamation. The  **pied noirs** play a significant role and put the French nation under a constantly pressure for the sake to gain reparation and reconnaissance. Actually, they took advantage from the importance of the Algeria war for the actuality to provide in return the appearance of colonial French history as falsification, from a part of historians. Consequently, the present chapter had designed for a good answer of the second period that marked the  **pied noirs** problematic of exile and exodus of repatriate. Thus, this chapter divided through three sections:

The first section intituled “ **pied noirs and OAS**”, though we have attempting to precise the  **role-pied noirs** from the side of  **OAS** with the propagation of racist ideas and through the committed repressive attacks from this organisation.

The second section intitled “**effects and results of war**”, attempts to study the effects of independence of Algeria after the army war upon the **pied noirs** who have been constraints to select the choice of exile and of exodus, and the results of this choice was becoming **pied noirs** community.

Eventually, the third section intitled “**pied noirs political orientation before exile**”, was consecrated rather with analyse and the study of different policy of orientation that were the choice of **pied noirs** towards the exile.

## **2.2 Pied noirs and O.A.S.**

A few short years later, at the end of **1961** and in early **1962**, people found that had obliged to leave the Algerian territory toward metropolitan France. At the time where France finally articulate the Algerian independence. the Algerian literally and obviously progressed a kind of hatred of some of those people in Algeria, the so called:” **Europeans of Algeria**”, the settlers or **pied noirs**, the National Liberation Front (**FLN**) with the combination of other Algerian nationalists that the so-called Algeria Muslims, whose had engaged firsts with arguments.

After the revealed that representatives of the FLN and the French government had signed the Evian accords, on **19** march **1962**. the French radio station Europe1 gives detailed the stark distinction concern reigned in the Muslim neighbourhoods and the scene in European, Bab el Oued: “*one thousand men but only men in the street, who look at everything inspect everything*” streets littered with : “*light barricades made of broken bottles and crates*”<sup>31</sup>

Beside the proclamation of a government minister spoke of “*the atmosphere of insecurity, the attacks, the street-fighting, the closing of schools - often by bombing – that brings mothers of families to send their children to the metropolis, the economic difficulties, without mentioning the fear of (these women) experience*”<sup>32</sup> .

The government focus mainly to impose that most French citizens of Algeria would prefer to stay until the independence of Algeria. France’s secretary of state Louis Joxe noted that who were arrived in the metropolis were “*almost all women and children*

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<sup>31</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, Algeria and France, 1800-2000, Identity, Memory, Nostalgia, Syracuse University Press 2006, p/154.

<sup>32</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, p.w quoted, p/154.

*coming to France, mostly still for summer vacation*”<sup>33</sup>. As result, the French horror consider as reaction of the OAS actions.

French horror concerns the **OAS** actions comes as growing sympathy for the crimes and oppression of Algeria Arabs and Berbers. It is obviously that their implicit desire is to see the peace accords. Since, the **OAS** were merely the main responsible behind the brutalization of the Algerian people. As result, they had blamed for their involvement in the activities that had sullied the France reputation.

As face of terror, they saw an army protecting:” **women and children** “from other violent and questionably French men, the susceptibility of the armed forces tried to temper the brutal image of the irrationality which had tainted them. As result, the brutalities of **OAS** gives the French army an opportunity to appear as defenders of weak and of French values.

The civil servant in Algeria had presented by Julien in Algeria as” **traitors**” to the metropolis. They had been: “*mostly recruited there or quickly converted by the milieu*” or what:” gave the French of Algeria strength “he explained, was: “*their refusal of literal tendencies of the metropolis*”<sup>34</sup>.

Thus, the only solution for save France and Algeria was to put end to unmoral bond. Which related only to the “**French of Algeria**” and not to Algeria’s “**non Europeans majority**”, the new left of the French intellectuals articulated a sensible definition in order to distinguish the Algerians from the French and gives an explanation that reaffirmed French superiority.

However, the writer of new left transmitted the image of pied noir as difference, because their efforts support the activities of government. For the sake to separate the Europeans of Algeria from France in illegal behaviour. As result, the difficulties they faced to explain the exodus, that is the Algeria’s coming to France after the war.

After **DE GAULLE** declaration in 1961 of the decolonization, and orientation of his policy, the OAS was between a scene as organisation that defends the French of Algeria purposes and with the approach that end the conflicts of metropolis, which pushed the

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<sup>33</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, p.w quoted, p/154.

<sup>34</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, p.w quoted, p/155.

French authorities under De Gaulle rule. As result; The French of Algeria “**piéd noirs**” refuse the bad orientations, on 1961 the **OAS** created under the presidency of General Raoul Salan.

The Discussions between General Salan, Pierre Lagaille and Jean-Jacques Susini end by the creation of the Secret Armed Organization (**OAS**) in Madrid in January 1961. The **OAS** was an object for civil and military “**activists**”, pied noirs and activists of the anti-Gaullist right in metropolis, as well as , they regrouped and tried to block the negotiations by fight for French Algeria. In the month of March, some of **OAS** addresses without first tract for French of Algeria “**piéd noirs**” whose here as an extract:

*“Algériens de toutes origines, en luttant pour l’Algérie française, vous luttez pour votre vie et votre honneur, pour l’avenir de vos enfants, pour la rénovation nationale. Dans cette lutte, vous suivez désormais et exclusivement les mots d’ordre de l’OAS. Soyez certains que nous nous dressons tous contre l’abondant de l’Algérie et que la victoire est assurée si nous savons la méritée. Dans le calme et la confiance tous debout, tous prêt, tous unis vive la France”<sup>35</sup>*

*“Algerians of all origins, fighting for French Algeria, you fight for your life and your honour, for the future of your children, for the national renovation. In this fight, you now follow and exclusively the OAS watchwords. Be certain that we all stand against the abundant Algeria and that victory had assured if we know the deserved. In peace and confidence all standing, all ready, all united long live France”.*

Many French Algerians felt betrayed by De Gaulle's policy that supported the OAS. As fact, the OAS had become in a way the only defender of the French of Algeria and Algeria France. Olivier Dard proclaimed that despite his name and his propaganda always presented in the third person singular “*OAS strikes where it wants and when it wants*”, the **OAS** had conjugated in the plural. However, the diversity of its members is emblematic in this regard and goes beyond the distinction and civilians as political

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<sup>35</sup> Marie MUYL, **Les Français d’Algérie : sociohistoire d’une identité**, Tome 1, Thèse de docteur de l’Université Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, p/260.

divisions. The sociology of the **OAS** was in fact a function of its places implantation and this territorial nebula is very different found in Algiers, Oran, and Constantine.<sup>36</sup>

In addition, the **OAS** become the speech part, they were the French of Algeria, who symbolise the enter war of population of **piéd noirs**, it represents would of proud. The **piéd noirs** had fully integrated because of the **OAS** in order to maintain the French of Algeria. Indeed, the last events, which effected the French of Algeria to be satisfied that they have no chance in the future within the Algerian territory. Especially, when the Algerian became uniquely the indigenous Muslims, as well as, they had convinced of their destiny towards the exile.

The participation of **piéd noirs** in the committed acts with OAS had caused a deep rupture that participated on the departure of **piéd noirs** .thus; end the ephemeral dream of French of Algeria. As fact, the OAS terror and beside the brutalities that allowed the French army to critics the organization about the illegal crimes that emerged as defends of the weak and the French values. Rather than the offered explanation of **OAS**, which was a detailed illustration about previous French committed crimes and tortures consider as discussion of French crises of values on the republic that provoked a disguised behaviour towards the civil Algerian people. Pierre Nora and others writers blamed "*Pied Noirs fascism for French abuses, such as torture, during the Algerian War*"<sup>37</sup>.

The **OAS** refuse to decline the arms and in the night of April **21, 1961**, Generals took power in Algiers. Hence, they control the city entirely. After the week of the barricades. This situation seems more serious. In Paris, the government announces that it had "**taken the necessary measures**" and decrease the state of emergency. As result, the failure of the military **putschists** was eminent. The last days will be, for the French of Algeria, the bloodiest, without doubt, the most painful. The agreements of Evian had signed and implemented on March 19, which means the end of the existence for the French of Algeria. For them, now all things are clear, it is time, to

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<sup>36</sup> Sous la direction d'Abderrahmane Bouchène Jean-Pierre Peyroulou Ouanassa Siari Tengour Sylvie Thénault, **Histoire de l'Algérie à la période coloniale**, aux Éditions La Découverte, 2014, P/86o.

<sup>37</sup> Laura Jeanne Sims, **RETHINKING FRANCE'S "MEMORY WARS": HARKI AND PIED-NOIR COLLECTIVE MEMORIES IN FIFTH REPUBLIC FRANCE**, University of North Carolina, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History, 2015. p/211,

resign themselves to leave their native land, Algeria, which had become insecure too dangerous for them.

Finally, at the end of March 1962, the **OAS** had issued a leaflet for the attention metropolitans in order to explicit title, what is a **piéd noirs**? with this answer: *"He is the son of one of these soldiers come to defend the honor of France it's the son of one of these many French came to take refuge of Alsace or Lorraine after 1870 on this uncultivated land, that to remain French."*

A majority approves the referendum on Algerian independence. However, members of the OAS continue to organize attacks against Algerians and French forces, especially at Bab el-Oued on the port of Algiers. They are largely responsible for rising tensions between the **piéd noirs** and the Algerians. Indeed, the hostility between the communities becomes unmanageable and many **piéd noirs** chose the **"valise"** against the **"coffin"**. It is the great departure and the beginning of the exodus and the exile; it is the end of the French Algeria.

The testimony of Andrée Pierre-Viénot<sup>38</sup> affirms the much-ignored truth, which stipulates that the French in Algeria have, collectively, a terrible responsibility in the outbreak and continuation of the Algerian war. The integration and francization that they are now demanding, they have prevented their realization for a century. History is long of their furious resistance against the slightest liberal measures, the most timid attempts to grant Algerians equal rights. Faced with an ignorant and indifferent metropolitan opinion, they have always succeeded in imposing their will.

Since the beginning of the Algerian war, every time the possibility of peace through negotiation has been open up, the French of Algeria, with the complicity of the army, managed to sabotage it, to impose on a fascinated metropolis the continuation of the war.

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<sup>38</sup> Andrée Pierre-Viénot, Histoire coloniale et postcoloniale, les Français d'Algérie, <https://histoirecoloniale.net/les-Francais-d-Algerie-par-Andree.html>.

### **2.3 Effects and results of the war:**

After, the huge exodus of French of Maghreb they became  **pied noirs**, when arrive to France, had imported on the French their African specificity, because, they were the representative of “**ambiguous colonisation**”. As soon as, their arrival to France, they had suffered from the contradiction concern their vision of Algerian war and that of French .rather than they relieved by the end of war in 1962. However, the period of their exodus to the exile was a depiction of stereotypical behaviour towards the  **pied noirs** population. The French society consider them as racist, brutal, uneducated and narrow minded, lowed speakers.

Since, the  **pied noir** community had faced an adversity when had transferred to France, in order to define or redefine themselves as French citizens and took place within the French society; it was only a description on what the colonial universal had given to those exoduses. For this reason, they seek to be recognized by the French nation as specific group, with putting on place an identic strategy, which allowed them to build a coherent and unified past, either to impose it in the memory of the war that shake French colonial past.

The flow of repatriate of Algeria broke down the cold reception of metropolitan France, which was ready from the holiday. However, the authorities had decrease the member of refugees, besides the persuasion that the independence acquired by Algerians would change nothing in the Europeans life in the place. This period was an essential step that depicted the last hours of pied noir in Algeria and considered as the firsts on metropolis, the ultimate dramas caused in the decision of depart and retreating toward new exile .

Eventually, the 5 July 1962 within the independence party, some of adjusted compete with the Europeans of Oran. Since, the cold slight was an interpretation that they had neglected by the French society. The constant of the French army was a result



of the received instruction to avoid any military intervention. Consequently, the French authorities had abundant El Harkis in their own way. In addition, the definitive French departure occurred after a sequence of events, which pushed them to escape the Algerian territory in very rare and crowded boats. In France, there was not any planning, thus, the French of Algeria were undesirable and suffered from the hostility of the French and suspicion from the French inhabitants. Because, the **piéd noirs** experiences in the first months of hosting would be terrible.

The dispersal of families in metropolis and the image of pied noir and racism, which depicted them as victims, whose provoked then a depression and silence . As result, they become convinced that they has no chance to return to Algeria.so they obliged to pay any coast in order to integrate as French citizens. By their arrival to France, the pied noir realise at what extreme the view hold by about this colonies had changed.

Hence, the France was not anymore proud or satisfied of this empire. The public powers had erased the manual history in hurry way and the references of the empire and the history of French of Algeria colonies, and becoming “**Français d’outre mer**”. Disappears within the forgotten republican memory, arrive on a hostile sail, the **piéd noirs** released the disputed concern existence and their history denied. Consequently, the most significate that they took the responsibility of “**sale guerre**” which share Algeria during high years. They were consider as “**boucs émissaires**” of one hundred years of failed French colonization.

The French had failed in their civilization mission, because were unable to conserve nearly the population that had seek to educated them. Since, in order to avoid disorder, they have to found responsible, they becoming on the summer of **1962**, after the proclaimed of independence the expletory victims of the failure of the colonization. The title that the women had exterminated of the collaboration of the liberation.

The exodus constitute a privilege moment for French of Algeria because it gives birth to soldier group. Thus, The rupture of depart and the hostile of reception allowed the unit. Indeed, never realised as “**Outremer**”.

The consequences of the Algerian war for **piéd noirs** is to leave this land, which they consider their native land. The **piéd noirs** left Algeria at different times, under personal and singular circumstances. Thus, they had a similar emotion during the time

of departure. The circumstances when the  **pied noirs**  arrived in France was decisive for the process of identity reconstruction. Faced with the tragic events they had to face, the  **pied noirs**  responded in different ways.

Some still support the marks of the trauma caused by the Algerian war. Whereas, others managed to overcome it. The repatriation episode, especially the arrival in France, was very difficult to live for all  **pied noirs** . They testify to the refractory attitude, sometimes acerbic, adopted by the French metropolitans. <sup>39</sup>

The starting of exodus in bled, Provide a government military intervention, which observes as remark the segregation of urban neighbourhood, and understood that this process had a negative consequences in terms of flatten the interior of Algeria from the European population. Since , the exodus to France from of cease -fire, the accords accelerated a *“regrouping in villages or large cities”* of the *“near totality”* of Europeans bled dwellers ; and after : *“the abonnement of towns where the (ALNE army deliberation national ) will involving Europeans leaving by sea or air”*. As result, some officials’ first note and explaining concern such departures in *“the countryside and small towns, where in securing is greater”*.

The report of Koch as gendarmerie commander Capitan, the departures to the metropolis he said concern: «certainly a rather small percentage, however, one of officers in Algeria, who was used material proof in order to sign his assertion that: *“certain symptomatic indicators allow as to think that the exodus is become general in the weeks ahead”*. Either his observation that *“wrapping paper of all kinds, cardboard and twine had become unavailable necessities”*. Koch reveals that the movement in Algeria concerned the entire families toward the metropolis, which touch all the social classes mainly were in the first place women and children.

From Constantine, whereas the Jewish had already introduced the term exodus to the metropolis that was his planning provide a suggested reason as the firsts level development of investigation concern the uselessness of all the demonstration. Rather than and within this strategy, the fear of resistance concerning the future exactions by

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<sup>39</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, p.w quoted p/77-85.

the Muslim masses or administration, and by the end, beside the tension of “**tax that are imposed on them by FLN since the cease-fire**”.

Since, they had no mention of such reasons, instead analysing the stupor of the comforted European population with:” *the referendum in France and the installation of the provisional executive*” which: “*will determined their future but in which they play no role*”

The war, the abandonment by France, the painful conditions of the departure, the absence of reception are events, which marked the memory of the repatriates. As the precise **Elisabetta Bevilacqua**: Assimilated to the Europeans of Algeria, the **piéd noirs** had to face several difficulties. After the trauma of the departure, the “**repatriates**” must endure harmful from the hostility of the French with French from Algeria. The welcome message that greets them when they arrive at the port of Marseille that: “**Leave where you come from**”. The repatriated pied-noir presents himself to be observed by French 'strain' as a foreigner with hybrid roots, too violent, closer to the Arab than the metropolitan French. His intrinsic violence and certain for terrorism would be confirm by his alleged affiliation to the **OAS**.<sup>40</sup>

May be the first reason invoked that was behind the exodus of **piéd noirs**; is fear as the only reason, they were afraid from violence. Nevertheless, the journalist **Pierre Daum** invoked other reasons, it is:<sup>41</sup>

- ✓ The profession: some professions would be less compatible with Algeria in this case, for example, for French State officials and those who shops with a mostly French clientele.
- ✓ Change in the social environment with an increase of Algerians in the cities, lower incomes, etc.
- ✓ A flight from misery: fear from their destiny the future, fear the inability of social reproduce, afraid of underdevelopment etc.”μ

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<sup>40</sup> Elisabetta Bevilacqua, **L’Algérie natale entre désenchantement et nostalgie : écritures plurielles de l’exil**, thèse de doctorat, Université de Lorraine, 2015, p/135-137.

<sup>41</sup> Manuela Seu-Stokkmo, **La fin inéluctable de l’Algérie française Mythes et vérités sur le sort des Pieds-noirs**, Mémoire de master Institut de littérature, civilisation et langues européennes, Université d’Oslo Printemps 2013, p/36-37.

- ✓ Some felt French in their souls that even though the presence of Algerians did not bother them, hence; seems France and the "**French symbols**" leave Algeria, by their exoduses
- ✓ Still others, as Jews may not see themselves living in Muslim Algeria.
- ✓ The end of several people leaving relatively quickly, because the departure of "everyone" there was suffering from loneliness.
- ✓ One last possibility mentioned is racism.

More exhaustively, Clarisse Buono<sup>42</sup> distinguishes, by identifying biographical paths, six types of pieds noirs:

1. The nostalgic historian (nourished by a non-academic history of the colony and the Algerian war),
2. Political nostalgia (according to which Algeria should remain French),
3. The exotic nostalgic (in search of lost social spaces),
4. The politicised nostalgic non-nostalgia (attached to republican values flouted in colonial Algeria),
5. Indifference to the community phenomenon (which does not consider itself as a pieds noirs),
6. Finally, smugglers (keen to organise trips, meetings and promote Franco-Algerian interculturalism).

Algerians have been fighting a fierce armed struggle and fighting for eight years for the sake to live freely within their Algerian territory. As they are fight to conquer this right, the French in Algeria must not lose it, that is to say lose their homeland. The French of Algeria who consider themselves as well as deeply French. At the same time,

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<sup>42</sup> Éric Savarese, **LA RENCONTRE POSTCOLONIALE**, Éditions du Croquant, janvier 2014,p/63-90.

they are deeply attracted to the Algerian land. Moreover, this inevitable separation of Algeria and France means for the pied noirs, a painful trauma, which must be supported.

#### **2.4 Pied noirs political orientation before exile.**

The most familiar that the Algerian and France relations characterized by a qualification of a singular relations. Thus, these relations tackled the most of the time with matters that shared common memory that included the two nations. As result, the **pied noirs** and **El Harkis** and their descendants' create; conclude by the decolonization and the Algerian independence.

Since, the main purpose behind the Algerian war continuation was to provide a politic manipulation of associative of pied noirs, El Harkis, repatriates and old militants whose urged the French state that the particularize memories could converted on national history.<sup>43</sup>

However, the "**rapatriements**" –,proclaimed the most important achievement created by the sequence and the independence of Algeria, which is the only veritable colony of settlement provide an irruption within the old metro pole of new individual group pied noirs, El Harkis and old combatants. Thence fourth, semantic shift was a significant of new polities' issues. Thus, according to same views by 1961, the repatriations signify the "*retour dans son pays d'origine*" - back to his home country, from that date its meaning is modified by the legislator: are then consider as "**repatriated**" those who arrive in France from countries where France has exercised their functions. The repatriation becomes, by the 1961 law, a tool for managing the colonial question and decolonization<sup>44</sup>. However, these repatriates were of two kinds.

First, those that we called **pied noirs** who were citizens in colonial Algeria, but also the Harkis, who were not among the French citizens in the former colony. Therefore, the former French citizens of colonial Algeria can be considered as Pied-noirs, "Repatriated" between 1961 and 1962. The definition makes it possible to count

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<sup>43</sup> Eric Savarese, *Algérie, la guerre des mémoires*, Paris, Non-Lieu, 2007.

<sup>44</sup> Eric Savarese, **Les mémoires, lectures historiques : rendre hommage**, commémorer Colloque du Trinôme académique de Montpellier, 20 mars 2013.

them: they are about one million people, and this enumeration operation caused harmless because it is still the subject of debates and struggles.

During the year 1962, nearly a million **piéd noirs** landed in France, the majority of them had never seen this country. This repatriation was not lived as a refuge but as exiles. Thus, the **piéd noirs** see in the experiences uprooting as the source of their distress. In addition to the emotional implications, they felt a sense of helplessness, injustice and abundance. The **piéd noirs** that defended their French identity find in this France a foreign country to them. The repatriates discovered so a hostile country, unknown but paradoxically, they were part of it. They have been the representatives of France in Algeria for more than 130 years, but unfortunately, the France they discovered in 1962 was not theirs.<sup>45</sup>

Despite everything, the **piéd noirs** succeeded their complete integration. In fact, it is for them to assert their identity in front of the French population. Throughout the duration of the conflict, which was lead to the independence of Algeria, many Frenchmen from Algeria will "**shelter**" behind the law. It gives them reason and indicate the way forward the appropriate course of action to ensure its protection and retention. By law, Algeria was French. It is therefore in all logic, and without any possible dispute, that the French of Algeria claims a belonging to the national community, stemming directly from their link with Algeria French.<sup>46</sup>

However, by the aftermath of Algeria's independence, and from one day to the next, the law that they were very anxious about it is incapable of their status as French of Algeria. The lack of measures taken by the French authorities to protect French from Algeria who still his nationals has created a feeling of abundance and betrayal. Within the Succession of events the Algerian war remained unnoticed for long time, the law passed on December 26, 1961 "*on the reception and resettlement of the French overseas*" did not impel a sharp turning policy.

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<sup>45</sup> Catherine GOMEZ-BELLOMIA, p.w quoted, p/41.

<sup>46</sup> p/245, 246.

The law of 26 December 1961 was an important law of regulation, which provide a pacification on the social and political relations about the Algerian question, even before the independence of Algeria; directed the French interior and exterior policy towards a new postcolonial era. The census of the population in Algeria estimated, on June 1, 1960, to 1 024 000 the number of "**French**". A year and a half later, on 31 December 1961, the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs was only 860,000. As result, it is impossible to deduce from this decrease that there was a simple transfer of Algeria to France.

The Secretariat for Returnees founded, under the authority of the Ministry of the Interior, which had created on May 6, 1961. Hence, it had entrusted to **Robert Boulin** who seeks to study the possibility of a massive departure of the French from Algeria and to reform the status of repatriate, insufficiently protective for the colonial French forced from the territories where they had previously settled. The law never named the French of Algeria.

On the contrary, it extended the definition of repatriates to all French overseas *"having had or thought it necessary to leave, as a result of political events, a territory in which they were established and which had previously been under the sovereignty, control and protectorate or the guardianship of France "*. The quality of repatriate had henceforth conditioned by the colonial experience. The law also established transitional aids, intended to facilitate immediate facilities. Returnees benefited from *"measures of a nature to integrate them into the economic and social structures of the nation"*<sup>47</sup>

The period of the national assembly on 30 may 1962, the representatives of government Gerard Woolf as revealed the increase of the number of exodus toward the metropolis about 5 thousand. since, he cautioned: *"what I would like to inform the assembly is that this rate is exactly the same for various reasons of course as it was at this time last year :99.522 in May 1962 ,around 100.000 now"*

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<sup>47</sup> Sous la direction d'Abderrahmane Bouchène Jean-Pierre Peyroulou Ouanassa Siari Tengour Sylvie Thénault, p.w quoted, p/763-765.

As well as, there were any suggesting, because the France deputy Andre Laffin asserted that: «**no one is leaving**». Thus, nothing irreversible was happening and need demonstration. Moreover, the Algerians would go back to their native independence homeland, after their pied noir vacation. The summer vacations revealed a cooling down period despite the internal government documents had direct referred. From Oran, the large crowd of people attracted intention: “*descending on the port of Oran and waiting day and night on the docks*”.

As result, insist on the minister of the interior: “*to organize the transportation to France of thousands of women and children for summer vacations. Whereas, others had confider their reverse view that the Europeans were:*” pretending to go on summer vacations “*for the sake to save face, with their obvious intention and their hope that have chance to return Algeria.*”

The OAS proclaimed that would dispute concern the truth of the exodus, the OAS reject **June Susimi Mostefia** agreement beside the foundation of territorial platform that had headed the OAS as well as took independent and created the Algerian republic. Moreover, a demonstration of communication: we have asked that certain zones be evacuated and the slightly more numerous departures of the last few days are the result of the evacuation of some families from the interior “by families, which include women and children:

*“the men is staying put, they are ready to fight. As result, had reflected an image of reversing and started to fight”.*<sup>48</sup>

In addition, the agree of exodus with the familiar that the cause rather being conjectural was structural: “*the collapse of hope among the European community in OAS victory , which would keep Algeria French ,plunged them (in may ) into deep despair and provoke an exodus verging or panic*”. However, the estimation concern this movement was seasonal or rather irrationally as the proclamations of one officer:” *departures to the metropole, in any case have not ceased and their numbers are far beyond previous records for vacations-related voyages: 225.000 passengers recorded, versus 88.000 for june 1961 “.*

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<sup>48</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, **Algeria and France, 1800-2000, Identity, Memory, Nostalgia**, Syracuse University Press 2006, p/158.



Previously a category of European were against the exodus. Thus, despite their desire to stay in Algeria they realized that they had obliged to leave the Algerian territory.

In addition, to the difficulties the French officers in Algeria prediction concern the perfect of polis in Oran explanation to minister of interior Frey that:

*“we are going, if the general tendency does not reserve itself between now and July 1, to have important exodus of Europeans”*. As result, it’s was time to face *“the problem of organization their departure by sea and air, of transportation, of arrival Marseilles and port –venders”*<sup>49</sup>.

The exodus start, whereas the government of Pompidou had already managing to repair the failure of the French policies. Between from the period of creation of status in 1961 until the guarantees of the 1962 Evian accords, for the sake to maintain all Algerians as Muslims, as French as well as Muslims in Algeria, after the inter-ministerial committee statistics for the Algerian matters and the different measures that consider to be taken or paid for .

Robert BOULIN emphasised that because of the psychological and political reasons, it was necessary to go beyond the parliament for the sake to precise a massive effort, which the nation required. The secretary of state’s words nation focus firsts about the public mobilization in order to host the repatriation. Since, it is obvious that his calling to the nation was totally in ironic terms with demonstration to his colleagues that:

*“any other policy might lead the assembly to reject a budget judged derisory”*<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>49</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, **Algeria and France, 1800-2000, Identity, Memory, Nostalgia**, Syracuse University Press 2006, p/158.

<sup>50</sup> Patricia M, M. E. Lorcin, **Algeria and France, 1800-2000, Identity, Memory, Nostalgia**, Syracuse University Press 2006, p/159.

## **2.5 Conclusion.**

As fact, the **piéd noirs** have overall a critical image of politics and their representatives that they seem more politicized than others do. Thus; this community gradually disappearing, after the trauma of the Algerian war had helped to forge a system of representation world and an ideology turned toward the past.

The second chapter, tackled mainly with the consequences of the Algerian independence in 1962.

Therefore, the Algerian war had a crucial impact on the destiny of French of Algeria community. More practically, the exodus of pied noir considered as reaction to the persecution and brutalities of crimes, which committed during the Algerian war and from the OAS organization.

The situation in the participation of **piéd noirs** in the committed acts with OAS organization considered as the main fact that caused the departure of pied noir from the Algerian territory.

In addition, the negative effects of Algerian war that involved pressure on this community to leave the Algerian land with their deep desire to stay in Algeria, Which consider it as their native land.

Thus, the era that depicted the independence of Algeria had characterized by a huge number of exodus toward the metropolitan French because of the spread of violence and the lack of security. Eventually, the pied noir policy and orientation toward the exile precise their destiny and the exodus process of this community; yet before shedding light on this it is pertinent to examine first the problematic impact of pied noir on present and future .that will from the core of third chapter .

**Chapter Three:**  
**Pieds noirs problematic impacts on  
the present and on the future.**

## **Chapter3: Pied noirs problematic impacts on the present and on the future.**

### **3.1 Introduction.**

Between Algeria of yesterday and France of today, the reality of pied noirs after the massive repatriation that followed Algeria's independence is different from before. Thus, the effects and impacts of forced exile and forced exodus were extremely diverse, causing post-traumatic squeal and pressures, and identity crises of the pied noirs, i.e. the repatriated French from Algeria who come from various origins.

The massive departure of the pied noirs required the implementation of an integration policy by the French authorities. Nevertheless, the testimonies collected from the pied noirs clearly presented the reality of the hostile reception reserved for the French of Algeria, who had held responsible for the French defeat in Algeria.

This chapter, entitled "Pied noirs problematic impacts on the present and on the future", will deal through these three sections, which compose it, with the effects and impacts generated by a mass departure:

- **Section 1** entitled "French pied noirs integration Policy": will deal with the integration policy adopted by the French authorities and will try to describe the real conditions of repatriation, reception and integration.
- **Section 2** entitled "Current reality of pied noirs": will study the real and current situation of pied noirs after Algeria's independence in 1962 to the present day.
- **Section 3** entitled "Algeria and the question of pied noirs": will be reserved for the study of Algeria's official position politically and historically, as well as from an academic point of view.

### 3.2 French pied noirs integration Policy.

The definition of **pied noirs** will allow in particular counting, to measure, to interrogate upon the economic reintegration, the “**repatriates**” decide; The research of modal trajectories and more generally, the statistics outliers for write the principals characteristics of the population considered here. Indeed, among the million identified people, they consider the old activities of the secret army of organization (**OAS**) as illegal organization composite an invest activities in the defense of the Algeria French.

However, the experienced pain of depart, succeed the bad reception of metropolitan French, as well as, a sequence of incertitude about the origin investigation of identities was more or less useful. In this condition, it is easy to admit, by rebuilding militants trajectories that revealed the past first year in the old metropolis to be dedicated in the installation as social integration of returners, as well as; this is what the politics updates in place were supposed, allowed also, if the results are variable.

Few years later the first experiences associations compared the militant’s solutions Of “**pied noir**” and “**repatriates**” world to formulate a series of concrete strong claim. It’s about, firstly to obtain laws of amnesty that seek for old French of Algeria ,who having participate in the committed acts under a auspice of **OAS** ; and another part in order to solicit measures of compensation material. Many laws allowed to satisfying partially the claims of 7 may as an image from the whole circumstances of the material repairs as the legislatives measures, hence ,the pied noirs don’t exhaust the mobilizing, because challenge were first memorial and identities as testifies in1973. The pied noirs were for mission to save a culture in risk.

After the realization of pied noir integration, the departure of Algeria has not only been painful because of uprooting, but also because of the separation. In this context, as indicated by Claire Eldridge:

*“In order to explore these particular pied-noirs perspectives on the past, it is necessary to provide some historical context regarding the relationship between the settler community of French Algeria and the Metropolis, including how this was affected by Algerian independence in 1962 and the “return” of the settlers to France”<sup>51</sup>.*

Questioning the economic reintegration of repatriates, asked beforehand a count, a measure, as well as a description of the main characteristics of this community. In fact, among the million individuals identified, there are former activists of the Secret Army Organization (**OAS**), an organization clandestine composed of activists invested in the defense of French Algeria. The conditions lived by the French of Algeria, characterized by the pain experienced at the time of departure and the bad reception of the French metropolitans, as well as the uncertainties at the origin of questioning of identity. It conditioned the efforts of the first years devoted to the installation and social integration of returnees, which the policies put in place are supposed to allow.

Through the associative movement, **pied noirs** and repatriates have formulated their claims summarized in the following:

- ✓ To obtain amnesty laws aimed at the former French of Algeria who took part in the actions carried out under the **OAS**,
- ✓ To solicit material compensation measures.

All the same, the claims of the **pied noirs** are not limited to material reparations and legislative measures, but the stakes are first of all memorial and identity. In addition, the goal of this community invested in the defense of the **pied noirs**, whose mission is to save a culture in danger. The integration for many of the **pied noirs** was very hard, and about the trauma of the uprooting that the latter undergo, M, L, Bourgeois writes:

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<sup>5151</sup> Claire Eldridge, « **Returning to the “Return”: pied-noir Memories of 1962** », Revue européenne des migrations internationales [Online], vol. 29 - n°3 | 2013, Online since 01 September 2016.

*“Nombreux furent les rapatriés à souffrir d’une véritable dépression et d’un PTSD (post-traumatique stress disorder : sentiment d’irréalité et d’étrangeté, anxiété généralisée,) après leur arrivée dans l’Hexagone. Leurs conditions de vie furent difficiles. Ils étaient dispersés, séparés, déclassés, les ménages rapatriés avaient, en moyenne, un revenu inférieur de 37 à 54 % à celui d’un ménage métropolitain. Pourtant ils firent front avec courage. La première génération, malgré l’amertume et le chagrin, serra les dents, tut sa douleur et se fit une place au soleil. Leurs descendants, nés en France ou ayant quitté l’Algérie peu après leur naissance, respectèrent ce silence et cette douleur. Ils savaient que leurs parents étaient souvent des écorchés vifs. Eux aussi luttèrent pour trouver leur place dans la métropole ».*

*“Many were repatriated to suffer from a real depression and a PTSD (post-traumatic stress disorder: feeling of unreality and strangeness, generalized anxiety) after their arrival in France. Their living conditions were difficult. They had dispersed, separated, declassified, and had repatriated households, on average, 37 to 54 percent less income than a metropolitan household did. Yet they braved courageously. The first generation, in spite of bitterness and sorrow, clenched their teeth, lost their grief, and made their way into the sun. Their descendants, born in France or having left Algeria soon after their birth, respected this silence and this pain. They knew that their parents had often skinned alive. They also struggled to find their place in the metropolis”<sup>52</sup>*

This integration was difficult, under the eyes of the intellectuals and the French of origin who considered the French of Algeria, **piéd noirs**, as a people different from them. As, writing the journalist **Eugène Mannoni** in le Monde: “Mannoni argued with regard to French Algerians “that this new people represent a profound otherness, a difference as much physical as it is behavioural”.

These intellectuals helped to give the impression that French Algerians were very different from the French. After the exile that followed the independence of Algeria, the repatriated **piéd noir** adopted the politics that the forgetfulness policy make it

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<sup>52</sup> M.L. Bourgeois, **Annales Médico-Psychologiques** (2008), p/166.

obvious; however, try to overcome the distress of the French in the metropolis and the weaknesses of the government in the treatment of the repatriation process, and attributing its failures to the unexpected part of French from Algeria. This forced migration of French Algerians impact on the important financial and administrative challenges that their arrival posed.

All of these causes and others have made it difficult to integrate the repatriated **piéd noir**, considered as vestiges of France's shameful colonial past and intimately associated with images of violence.

Thus, the reception reserved for them was hostile and negative or calls for the return of the pied noir from where they came from, since. This situation has become a symbol of their rejection and abandonment by France and the centre of their collective memory trauma, as well as; this has pushed them to become active, organize and create a sense of difference and singularity. However, the first concerns the pied noir claims were material concerns such as housing, employment, material allowances and amnesty, to pass in the second stage to concerns of needs for commemoration, concerns of memories and concerns of identity recognitions.

The testimonies of the repatriated **piéd noir**, through their witnesses they revealed essentially their need to appear like Frenchmen of metropolis, to assimilate completely to the standards of the metropolitan population. For this reason, many had to make effort to lose or hide their accent, to erase from their vocabulary words or expressions used exclusively by **piéd noir**, especially borrowed from Arabic or Spanish. Most of them did not mentioned their place of birth for fear to be reject. Today, while they are honest with the metropolitan society, we are witnessing a reverse phenomenon, which occurs of claiming their identity-pied **noir**, now they are proud to say that they were born in Algeria, they return to their roots, to their history, in order to be truly themselves.

Despite all the difficulties, for them they had obliged to face the struggles, the **piéd noir** managed to integrate. This mainly working-class community could quickly find a job in France. However, in the 1960s, some areas of the South experienced a real economic boom thanks to the pied noir massively installed on the Mediterranean rim, in particular Provence and Languedoc-Roussillon.



To be able to rebuild their lives, they had to focus on their future, obscuring the nascent “**nost-Algeria**”. Thus, in the late 1960s, pied noir associations had created. The first was to obtain repatriation compensation. Gradually, associations of another category emerged, whose function was to exchange memories and safeguard the memory of the lost country. They have categorized these associations into six categories.

First, they find the associations that defend the rights and the material and moral interests of the **pied noir**. They resort to justice to obtain compensation; they help their members in the various administrative and legal procedures. The first association created for this purpose is “*the Union Syndicale de Defence des Interests des Français Replies d'Algerie (USDIFRA)*”, founded on July 23, 1965.

Then, cultural associations developed to safeguard the **pied noir** heritage through annual, quarterly or monthly bulletins. These associations collect testimonies; organize demonstrations, meetings, and congresses. The oldest is the Algerianist Circle, created in 1973.

They also find many geographical associations, which defined the region, the city, or the district of origin of their founding members. Like cultural associations, they publish magazines, organize gatherings, collect testimonies and publish photos, maps or city plans. For example, the Association of the Alumni of Mostaganem proposes a set of documents intended to make discover this city at the time of French Algeria.

Other cultural associations created for mission of safeguarding and the transmission of the history and the memories of the pied noirs. They work for the recognition of a true pied-noir identity by proposing pilgrimages, commemorations and various events, such as the Carnoux Racines Association, which brings together returnees from the Maghreb.

Thus, as Marie-Paule Couto points out, the French repatriated from Algeria have a migratory trajectory that has strongly depended on the integration policy implemented by France at the end of the Algerian war of independence. The law "on the reception and resettlement of French overseas nationals" promulgated on 26 December 1961. Thus stipulates that, whatever their social conditions, returnees may "benefit from the national solidarity affirmed by the preamble to the 1946 Constitution" (article 1), which itself specifies, "The nation proclaims the solidarity and equality of all French people

before the charges resulting from national disasters". Again according to the law of 26 December 1961, "this solidarity is manifested by a series of measures designed to integrate repatriated French nationals into the economic and social structures of the nation" (article 1).<sup>53</sup>

Finally, Marie-Paule Couto concluded, the bond of citizenship is materialize through the actions of the State to recognize and protect its nationals. Thus, since they were national, the pied noirs were the subject of an unprecedented integration policy conducted in the early 1960s. The Permanent Demographic Sample that built at the end of this decade allows us to measure their trajectories. Three strong results emerge:

1. The measures introduced by the law on the reception and resettlement of French overseas nationals were not sufficient to provide them with employment in 1968 and 1975,
2. The protective force of citizenship then expressed more clearly. It allows them, on the one hand, privileged access to the public service and, on the other hand, easier access to their retirement rights than others,
3. Thus, Pied noirs distinguished from immigrants who suffer from the deterioration of the labour market.

In addition, it should be note that the Algerian war continues to influence the attitudes and political behaviour of pied noirs. The loss of Algeria had consequences for their political participation. The trauma of repatriation would have led some French people in Algeria to more specific political position. Thus, in her book entitled "les pieds noirs et la politique" (2009), Emmanuelle Comtat<sup>54</sup> states, "The pied noirs were confronted, because of the Algerian war, with the conditions of decolonization and Repatriation, the same type of phenomenon? We must look to what extent the events resulting from decolonization - such as:

- The abandonment of colonial territory by the homeland,
- The loss of property in Algeria,

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<sup>53</sup> Couto Marie-Paule (2013) L'intégration socio-économique des pieds-noirs en France métropolitaine : le lien de citoyenneté à l'épreuve, *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 29 (3), pp. 93-119.

<sup>54</sup> Emmanuelle Comtat, **les pieds noirs et la politique** (2009), p/123-159.

- The bad reception felt on their arrival in France,
- The weakness of the compensation of their property
- And the non-recognition of their memory ,

All that can constitute for the  **pied noirs**  a traumatism, which would have effects in politics.

### 3.3 Current reality of **pied noirs** .

The most of  **pied noirs**  admit their life in France. Since, the repatriation does not correspond to the one they were waiting for. They are mostly nostalgic and regret their lives in Algeria. After a long time, proclaimed their membership in France as a European of Algeria, and after almost fifty years of great departure and return to the homeland, they witness a paradoxical, nostalgic phenomenon that appears through a return to the origins and reconstruction of the identity of  **pied noirs** . This trend has gained momentum in recent years through the creation of associations that defend the identity and rights of  **pied noirs**  through a reinterpretation of colonial history. As Valerie Esslingen-Morin writes, *“The exodus is a privileged moment in the history of the French people of Algeria, because it gives birth to a solidarity group. The tear of departure and the hostility of the home allow unity, never achieved “Outremer”. These nationals of French nationality had to “return to their homeland”, to be “repatriated”. Nevertheless, for the pied-noirs, the fatherland is not France. The fatherland is “the land of fathers” and therefore Algeria”*.<sup>55</sup>

Following the trauma suffered by  **pied noirs**  after the break-up and tearing, which led to the exodus and exile, the latter are currently experiencing a certain nostalgia for the country. In addition, as Nicole Simek and Zahi Zalloua claimed: *“Nostalgia thus, is a normal part of dealing with trauma of separation, and it serve to create stable reference system for those who feel fragmented. In psychological terms, nostalgia create a sense of security in the present and is often a result of the inability to criticize a painful past such as that based on violence and exile. Nostalgia, historically both*

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<sup>55</sup> Esclangon-Morin Valérie. **La mémoire déchirée des pieds-noirs**. In : Hommes et Migrations, n°1251, Septembre-octobre 2004. Enfants sans frontières. pp. 99-109.

*illness and a coping mechanism resulting from separation with past, today lends itself to covering the pain it once indicated”<sup>56</sup>.*

When French Algeria ended, the **pied noirs** instead found themselves. Currently, they are witnessing a jump in their identity memory. Therefore, after all these long years, the **pied noirs** are always in the advanced place to ask, if we are considered by the French as French citizens?

The answer to this question hides some uncertainty. The current reality, **pied noirs** expresses a malaise that appears more particularly through the demands of this community in the respect of the French state, a possible recognition of claims identity and history, as well as their legitimate rights. This crisis of identity that the **pied noirs** are currently experiencing is increasingly necessary in the face of a community that is dying out and is destined to disappear.

The question of the material demands of the **pied noirs** and repatriates rather is neglect, and the associative movement supports now pied-noirs cause through political actions, while exerting a lobbying activity with the elected French, with the local scale as with national parliamentarians, an action aimed at converting a memory into official history.

Thus, the outcome of these demands had concretized through the adaption of the law of 23 February 2005, which include four article concerning the inscription, in school curricula, of the positive role of colonization, and includes compensation measures for former members of the OAS.

These attempts to formalize the memory of the pied noirs in an official historical context, seek besides to a conversion of the role of the French of Algeria in the process of colonization, from a negative vision towards a positive vision. First, they had considered as victims of this process, then to be consider as the builders of a prosperous and developed French Algeria.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Nicole Simek and Zahi Zalloua, **Representation of trauma in French and Francophone literature**, Dalhousie French Studies, winter 2007, p/60.

<sup>57</sup> Esclançon-Morin Valérie, p.w quoted, pp. 99-109..

Despite all these years, the consequences and the impacts of exile and exodus permeate the current life of pied noir, misfortunes, disarray, nostalgia, trauma, and as many psychopathological consequences. This state of affairs had observed through the various testimonies of **pied noirs** such as:

*“1955, J'avais 15 ans, debout sur le balcon de ma grand-mère, je regardais la baie d'Alger : c'est fini l'Algérie, c'est fini” Louis Gardel (2007)*

*“1955, I was 15 years old, standing on the balcony of my grandmother, I was looking at the bay of Algiers: it's over Algeria, it's over”*

*“Oui, il avait quitté l'Algérie la mort dans l'âme, mais il refusait qu'il soit dit, jamais, à quel point il avait été malheureux de partir” Sophie Avon (2007),*

*“Yes, he had left Algeria dead in his soul, but he refused to be told, never, how much he had been unhappy to leave”*

The **pied noirs**, who have the bitter experience, still draw from it what identifies them. Their **"common soul"** is mainly composed of this wound always open in their depths, of this uprooting, of this **"tearing out"** that only those who knew exile could understand.<sup>58</sup>

By the last decade 20 century, the France witnessed a significant progress concern the social and political level that consider as participation for the sake to attract the attention of the colonial past. Since, the integration of the pied noirs within the French metropolitans leads the scholars to investigate the way they transmitted and created their common identity. As result, about one hundred and eighty self-identified pied noir had interviewed, in order to discover the pied noir identity and the reason why they regarded so: **"suspiciously and disparagingly"**. Verdes-ferrous proclaimed that the pied noirs integration was in pacified manner, but rather the society create a kind of hostility and posed problems for the pied noirs community.

Moreover, Joelle Hureau declared that the pied noir community had different subdivisions, because some of them had no difficulties to integrate into French society, whereas, the rest of them prefer to eliminate themselves in order to protect their

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<sup>58</sup> GARCIA, *L'Arrachement*, édition Guetta, Nice, 1982, p/164.

specific “**algerianité** “, as well as, they present a cultural mix of French Algerian and meditation effects .<sup>59</sup>

The political scientists Eric Savarese made an interrogation about the pied noirs community and emphasized on their “**identity strategy**” that create the collective group of pied noirs, which characterized with political impact. However, the category of pied noirs shared memorial tradition for the sake to unit them. The last works that focuses on memory and identity of this group, revealed the scattered and heterogeneity of this group. Savarese had argued that despite the attempts of pied noir to emerge as representatives and to win the pied noir electorate.<sup>60</sup>

Indeed, this category had not any pied noir vote, or pied noir culture or memory. Rather, the pied noir have apparently a large variety of views concern the politic point of view beside the narratives memory contend the Algerian past. Besides the anthropologist Andrea Smith idea of the shared common culture of pied noir.

However, she proclaimed that the descends of Maltese in Algeria, consider as subdivisions group within the memory of pied noir and that of pied noir social clubs had expressed their “**continued salience of intra-settler cultural distinctions**”

The early years of 21<sup>st</sup> through this past, some historians argued that the “*phenomenon of amnesia*” in the colonial period, became “*completely visible and recurrent in the heart of French society*”

This category begun to celebrate a different memories in the public sphere.as result, the educated elite become more interesting about the division of the potential of memory. The interpretation of the colonial past and the Algerian war in specific had emerged the social conflicts. However, in Algeria, La Guerre Des Mémoires, Savarèse explained,

*“Harkis, pied noirs, descendants of slaves or grand-children of colonial subjects...The war of memories swells. Each community, real or self-proclaimed, demands a plaque, a monument, a law”<sup>61</sup>.*

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<sup>59</sup> Laura Jeanne Sims, p.w quoted, p/216.

<sup>60</sup> Laura Jeanne Sims, p.w quoted, pp/211-226.

<sup>61</sup> Laura Jeanne Sims, p.w quoted, pp/211-226.

Moreover, savarese, stora and others memories had progressive focus on the idea of competitive memory model, with their own views, for the sake to reinforce their memory practices interpretation. Nevertheless, for some researchers, this situation is purely inventive on the part of the latter to create a certain union of this minority of pied noirs. Other researchers go further in this perspective to conclude pure and simple the non-existence of memory and culture of pied noirs. Certainly, a colonial reading confirms that these pied noirs came from different nationalities and cultures, constituting a certain division of memory, leading to social tensions.

### **3.4 Algeria and the question of pied noirs.**

It must say that the French government has always considered colonization and the Algerian war as an internal affair, to avoid the possibility of internationalization of the case, which involves convictions, sanctions and compensation, which must avoid at all costs. Thus, this question of the **pied noirs** is consequently an internal affair. In the same context, the journalist Pierre Daum in a fascinating historical investigation, "No suitcase or coffin", published in Actes Sud expresses this reality clearly:

*" La présence de pieds noirs dans l'Algérie indépendante est un fait historique largement ignoré depuis 50 ans. En fait, dès la fin de la guerre d'Algérie, les Français, soulagés, ont voulu tourner radicalement la page. D'où l'enfouissement brutal du passé colonial dans les mémoires. Mais surtout, depuis 50 ans, le discours médiatique sur les pieds noirs est monopolisé par une poignée de responsables d'associations de rapatriés. Ceux-là ne sont pas du tout représentatifs de l'ensemble des pieds noirs, car seuls les nostalgiques, héritiers des ultras de l'Algérie française, se sont véritablement organisés. Ils ne représentent pas la diversité des pieds noirs, qui ne constituent pas du tout un groupe social et politique monolithique. Or ces responsables d'associations assèment depuis 50 ans le même discours : « Nous sommes tous partis en 1962, nous n'avions pas le choix, c'était la valise ou le cercueil ». Sous-entendu : « Nous étions tous des victimes pures et innocentes et ceux d'en face, c'est à dire le FLN, voire*

*l'ensemble des Arabes étaient des assassins en puissance dont la seule idée fixe était de massacrer les Français jusqu'au dernier »<sup>62</sup>.*

*"The presence of pied noirs in independent Algeria is a historical fact largely ignored for 50 years. In fact, at the end of the Algerian war, the French, relieved, wanted to radical turn the page. Hence the brutal burial of the colonial past in the memories. Above all, for 50 years, the media discourse on pied noirs had monopolized by a handful of leaders of return associations. These are not at all representative of all the pied noirs, because only the nostalgic, heirs of the ultras of French Algeria, have really organized. They do not represent the diversity of pied noirs, which are not at all a monolithic social and political group. However, these leaders of associations assemble for 50 years the same speech: "We all left in 1962, we had no choice, and it was the bag or the coffin". Implied: "We were all pure and innocent victims and those on the other side, that is to say the FLN; indeed all the Arabs were potential assassins whose only fixed idea was to massacre the French until 'last "*

Therefore, the position of Algeria vis-à-vis the issue of **pied noirs** is pure and simple a case related to the French colonization of Algeria since 1830. Especially with the policy of settlement led by the French colonial authorities, and not, as some claim, that the question of the **pied noirs** is linked to the independence of Algeria in 1962, of which it is the direct result.

Since, there was a kind of falsification of historical facts. When, Jean, Jacques Jordi directly links the tragic fate of pied noir to the independence of Algeria in 1962 and not to the colonization of Algeria in 1830, where he clearly confirms the following:

*"Ce n'est pas 1830 qui crée les pieds noirs, mais 1962. Le rapatriement massif et tragique de l'été devient l'élément fondateur de la communauté en exil"*

*"It is not 1830 that creates the pied noirs, but 1962. The massive and tragic repatriation of summer becomes the founding element of the community in exile"*

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<sup>62</sup> Pierre Daum, "LA PRÉSENCE DE PIEDS-NOIRS DANS L'ALGÉRIE INDÉPENDANTE EST UN FAIT HISTORIQUE LARGEMENT IGNORÉ", l'Humanité. Lundi, 19 Mars, 2012.



Several alternatives offered to the French in Algeria by the F.L.N.: either they will be Algerians like the others having the same rights as the Muslim Algerians, but without being able to claim French nationality, or they will keep their French nationality and remain in Algeria as foreigners. It will also be necessary for the pied noir to be able to adapt to a new situation where they will be the equals of Algerians and no longer the "preponderant".

The real problem for the French in Algeria is that of economic survival. In this regard, it is necessary to be frank; certainly, a large part of them will not be able to survive economically in an independent Algeria, and will be forced to return to mainland France.

As soon as independence had proclaimed, the majority of these supporters of French Algeria preferred to cross the Mediterranean to reach their real country rather than remain in Algeria. Proving their refusal to live among free and independent Algerians. Among equal Algerian citizens in an independent Algeria. Thus, by their choice to recover their motherland France, these pied noirs have demonstrated that their head was never Algerian. Of course, they loved Algeria, but not the Algerians. They only loved them as submissive, enslaved, colonized, corruptible and mercilessly exploitable. Then, please, you will never be Algerians! Neither yesterday, nor today, nor tomorrow, so did Mesloub Khider express the opinion<sup>63</sup>.

These leaders of pied noirs associations have been giving the same speech for 50 years, we all left in 1962, we had no choice, and it was the suitcase or the coffin. We were all pure and innocent victims and those opposite, that is to say the FLN, or even all the Arabs, were potential assassins whose only fixed idea was to massacre the French to the last. Since then, they have been constantly putting forward arguments; they had forced to leave Algeria under violence and fear. In this context, Pierre Damn provides details on these alleged events, including three events:<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Mesloub Khider, **Les pieds-noirs ont les mains maculées de sang**, <https://www.algeriepatriotique.com/2018/11/01/les-pieds-noirs-ont-les-mains-maculees-de-sang/>, novembre 1, 2018.

<sup>64</sup> Pierre Daum, "LA PRÉSENCE DE PIEDS-NOIRS DANS L'ALGÉRIE INDÉPENDANTE EST UN FAIT HISTORIQUE LARGEMENT IGNORÉ", l'Humanité. Lundi, 19 Mars, 2012.

1- The shooting on the rue de Islay on 26 March 1962: it was the French army, and not Algerians, who were involved. In this victimisation speech, the army is accused not only because did not protect the Europeans, but also of somehow turning against them.

2- The massacre of Europeans in Oran on July 5, 1962: Indeed, on that day, a completely uncontrolled Algerian crowd engaged in a European hunt for a few hours. However, a precise study of these events reveals that these actions were limited to the city of Oran. They explained by the daily massacres of Algerians perpetrated by the OAS in the six months before. The OAS supported by the Oran population, spread terror, killing an average of five people a day. The people who lived this day systematically forget to remind.

On the other hand, it was only the crowd part, which plunged into murderous hysteria, while the most of Algerians returned home. Others including ALN soldiers and officers have organized to save the lives of dozens of Europeans.

3- Kidnappings and murders of about 3000 Europeans, Algeria's political position has clear on the issue of pied noirs. An issue purely linked to French colonial policy, which France considers an internal matter, feared an internationalisation that criminalises France.

Moreover; concerning, the claims of the pied noirs relating to real estate, the Director General of the Domains, Mohamed Himour, wonders about these repatriated French people who claim their real estate more than half a century after Algeria's independence. Adding *"What do they want... to expel Algerians who live in these houses and whose taxes they have been paying for over 40 years..."*

These pied noirs have even gone to the courts to recover their property. However, nothing worked... because they abandoned them. In addition, even if these properties remained in the name of the former owners, many of them had rejected in both terms of justice and in terms of administration because the law governing vacant properties is clear; it de facto excludes the return of property to the pied noirs who left Algeria in 1962. These 180,000 properties consist of agricultural land, individual housing and industrial infrastructure.

In this context, Mohamed Himour revealed that 250,000 vacation homes in the pied noirs region, which left Algeria after independence, were recovered by the Algerian State at the end of 2014, after have identified between 2013 and 2014 and cannot be returned to foreigners. These properties may not return or claim, by their nature, from any foreigner. National sovereignty is at stake. For him, these assets do indeed belong to the Algerian State and the situation of foreign assets cleared at the level of the Land Registry<sup>65</sup>.

The president Abdul-Aziz Bouteflika told the French newspaper Le Figaro: If pied noirs people want to contribute through their investments to the development of their country of origin, I can only encourage them. If they wish to go there as tourists, they will be welcome... I know... the emotional dimension that links the pied noirs to this country.

Bouteflika reiterated his invitation a few months later during the first official visit of an Algerian president to France since the end of the war of independence. However, he also made it clear and controversial that the Harkis Assembly, those Algerians who ended up fighting for the French as auxiliaries, were not welcome on Algerian soil, said memorably"; it's not yet time for Harkis visits; it is exactly like asking a Frenchman from the resistance to shake hands with a colleague". Although outraged on behalf of the Harkis, members of the pied noirs community. Nevertheless, had intrigued by the apparent olive branch of Bouteflika for them. Following his remarks, thousands of pied noirs made the return trip to Algeria, often as part of excursions organized by pied noirs associations. Widely published in the Association's newspapers and literature, these self-proclaimed "pilgrimages" also attracted the attention of the French media, which produced several programmes on the subject, including that of Adrienne.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Imène Kimouche/ Version française : Ben-Aïssa Khaled, source : <https://reseauinternational.net/les-pieds-noirs-revendiquent-180-000-proprietes-en-algerie/>.

<sup>66</sup> Sharif Gemie and Scott Soo, *Coming Home? Vol. 2: Conflict and Postcolonial Return Migration in the Context of France and North Africa, 1962–2009*, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, This book first published 2013.

### **3.5 Conclusion.**

It must be said that the integration of pieds noirs after the massive repatriation that followed the independence of Algeria, was not easy for the majority of them. The hostility, the poor reception and the ignorance of the French authorities have had a negative impact on the behavior of the pieds noirs. The pressures and the sequels engendered by forced exile and the forced exodus due to the historical trauma suffered, weighed heavily on the process of integration.

Today, if we can say that most of the pieds noirs community, has successfully integrated into French society. Nevertheless, the majority of this community confirms that France is not their country, but their native country is Algeria, which they regret very much. This nostalgic fact that the pieds noirs community currently lives has led them to come together in associations to claim their rights, and to commemorate their individual and collective memories. However, the most important, and to snatch a recognition from the French authorities face silence long imposed.

Regarding the position of Algeria on the issue of pieds noirs; it has always been consider a case related to French colonialism, and as stated by Ferhat Abbes, when he speaks on the fate of the feet confirming "The French community, because of the mistakes it made, exiled to the other side of the Mediterranean. Despite the welcome of France, these French people mourn the country that saw them born ". Finally account of this issue of pieds noirs, is called to disappear eventually with the

disappearance of these French Algeria. It will only be recount as a historical fact linked to French colonialism.

### **General Conclusion**

The history of the pieds noirs represents a black image of colonization, decolonization, it is associated with the Algerian war, and it is an integral part of the colonial history of France. This story is linked to the policy of silence and unsaid exercised by the French authorities for a very long time; it is also link to the question of misunderstanding, bad conscience and guilt. As one former retired pieds noirs pensioner said: "We are not well here, we were not well received, we were treated with respect to everything and even today. There is not that heat here that we had there. We are not love.

These pieds noirs who were once, coveted, motivated to immigrate to this new land as part of a settlement strategy and policy aimed at achieving a French Algeria. This pieds noirs community was an integral part of this colonial policy, participating directly or indirectly in war crimes committed by the authorities and the French colonial army in Algeria.

History has already judged the French in Algeria, as war criminals, who committed barbaric crimes in Algeria. The Algerian people have never forgotten the violations they have suffered; they still remember the crimes against Algeria. The Algerian collective memory still bears the scars of your deadly bullets. The large cities built to the glory of

the settlers still contain the sweat and blood of the Algerian exploiters, who were the real builders of these infrastructures, whose paternity you claim to be yours.

French Algeria as a colonial objective was doomed to failure; it came up against the will of the Algerian people, who have been fighting for their independence for 132 years. Algeria's independence in 1962 led to a vague departure of the French from Algeria. Thus, the policy of massive repatriation of the pieds noirs community has caused a rift, compounded by the harsh reception conditions and hostility of the French in the metropolis; making the pieds noirs feel guilty and responsible for the failure of the French Algerian colonial project.

Overcoming the challenges of new emigration, integration and identity reconstruction, the pieds noirs community has had to cope with historical trauma, colonization and decolonization, and repatriation, exile and exodus trauma.

This reality has created a certain nostalgia in pieds noirs that is the regret of the native country. This situation has had consequences expressed in these words, the journalist, writer and singer-composer, Jean-Pax Mefret, who was born in 1944 in Algiers: "132 years of French colonization of Algeria leave many consequences that will still survive for many generations. We must now as far as we are concerned. Say that these unhealthy manifestations of nostalgia must end finally. To arrive at a bitter truth and conclude: "I come from a land that no longer exists; I come from a lost paradise".

It should also be point out that the policy of silence applied by the French government since Algeria's independence contributed to the disarray of the pied noir, but it was only in the 1990s that the French authority recognised the Algerian war as such through its parliament, because previously it had only qualified itself as simple Algerian events.

Additively, it must be say that the politicization and media coverage of the pieds noirs issue has in no way served these causes, nor has the harmful role of French historians, which has contributed to a misunderstanding of the issue in the presentation of an erroneous and falsified official reading of historical facts. In any case, the question of pieds noirs will remain a question of a minority of the population, which is a victim of a French colonial policy, which ended in failure on the one hand, and which is a victim

of these participatory acts in this policy of which it was one of the instruments. Pieds noirs have always been identify with colonization.

The question of pieds noirs has also suffered the same fate of failure because the claim to this native land was still linke to this French Algeria, although the majority of pieds noirs now recognize Algeria's independence. Today, the question of pieds noirs in these claims is just limited to a quest for recognition.

Finally account of this issue of pieds noirs, is called to disappear eventually with the disappearance of these French Algeria. It will only be recount as a historical fact linked to French colonialism.

The results of the study can be summarize in the following points:

1. The usurpation and historical falsification of the role of pieds noirs in colonial war, from the actor involved in colonial politics to the victim of this policy.
2. The amnesia and historical forgetfulness of the pieds noirs issue, the rejection of the French population of this community, and the painful integration in France.
3. The post-colonial trauma suffered by the pieds noirs community after repatriation, the great departure, the aftermath of exile and forced exodus, and the loss of the native land forever.
4. The ambiguity of the identity of the pieds noirs community, individual, collective, which aims to define oneself for oneself and for others.
5. The communication of the collective memory of the pieds noirs to future generations to make this French Algeria live temporarily, it also aims at social reparation and the inscription of memory in history.
6. The nostalgic effect (historical nostalgia, political nostalgia, exotic nostalgia...) whose purpose is to perpetuate this collective memory.

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