Categorical Divides and the Berber Identity Movement: A Discursive Approach to Identity Formation in Algeria and France

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Abstract:

In 2001, the killing of a young Kabyle student in Algeria sparked Berber anti-Arab protests in Algeria and France, marking decades of intermittent conflict positing Berber identity against the Arab-Islamic policies of the Algerian state. Explanations for a growing Berber movement and the resulting conflict point to historical categorical divisions of "Berber" and "Arab" in colonialism and cultural groups. This thesis challenges the historical consistency of these explanations and examines how identity is constructed; it asks how this categorization of "Berbers" and "Arabs" has mobilized a Berber identity movement. Instead of linking this movement to a legacy of "Berber" against "Arab," this thesis aims to show that the Berber identity movement as understood today is a relatively recent phenomenon. The following analysis develops two main arguments to support this claim: First, a historical discourse analysis of four periods shows that the category "Berber" has served different functions in different contexts. Second, the analysis develops a genealogy of "Berber" to present an alternative understanding for how categorization has shaped Berber identity, arguing that this movement is better understood as a product of interacting national discourses based on exclusive concepts of membership. These arguments are developed using insights from securitization theory to model identity formation, conceptualizing "Berber" as a term used with a purpose that produces a context dependent effect.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

In 2001, the killing of a young Berber student in Kabylia, Algeria sparked a wave of civilian protests in Algeria and France. Collectively called the "Black Spring," these protests escalated into violent clashes, marking decades of a growing movement that has posited Berber identity against the Arab-Islamic policies of the Algerian state (McDougall 2003: 67). This categorical division between "Berber" and "Arab" has surfaced over years of intermittent conflict. During the Algerian civil war in the 1990's, for example, politics of classification in Kabylia permeated the struggle, "following a strict binary logic that has alternatively opposed Berberists to the state, on the one hand, and to Islamist, on the other." (Silverstein 2003:95). When this conflict spilled over into France, these debates were picked up in national discourse and launched discussions over transnational violence and historical ties with Algeria. In this context, the so-called "Berber question" has increasingly been framed as a historically based identity issue which sets a minority group against the state; as Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika stated in a televised national address in 2001, this continuing division constitutes "la crise identitaire" of Algeria (Roberts 2001:4).

This treatment of Algerian identity conceptualizes a separation between "Berber" and "Arab" as the impetus for the growing Berber movement, yet the fact that there are linguistic and cultural differences among Algeria's population does not explain the existence of conflict. Arguments seeking to explain the Berber movement have focused on the historical factors which created this apparent divide, following two major approaches: The first treats the Berber identity claim as the result of colonial divide-and-rule policies that placed "Kabyles" ahead of "Arabs" in a hierarchical system. The second emphasizes the linguistic and cultural ties that link Berber communities and argues that the persisting conflict is a reaction to repressive state practices that fail to recognize a minority group. These arguments rest on an assumption of historical continuity; they hold both the category "Berber" and a Berber "group" have had the same meaning throughout shifting historical contexts. However, the representation of "Berbers" and "Arabs" has changed since colonialism and there is disagreement over the impact of any divisive policies on the broader population. In addition, though there is a clear linguistic and

cultural dimension to the Berber movement, the apparent claims of protesters from Kabylia and those professing to represent the Berbers have also shifted dramatically.

This thesis examines how identity is constructed and asks how this categorization of "Berbers" and "Arabs" has mobilized a Berber movement. Addressing this question requires conceptualizing "Berber" not as a stable signifier or object, but as a term used with a purpose that has a context dependent effect. This thesis aims to show that despite the historical claims of this movement, the Berber identity movement as understood today is a relatively recent phenomenon and develops two main arguments to support this claim: First, the category "Berber" has served different functions in different contexts, countering arguments based on the unchanging meaning and use of words and the "group" they represent. The second argument presents an alternative understanding for how processes of categorization have shaped Berber identity. Instead of linking this movement to a legacy of "Berber" against "Arab," the recent mobilization of Berber identity is better understood as a product of interacting national discourses based on exclusive concepts of membership. These arguments are developed using insights from securitization theory to model identity formation. The analysis places the function of categories within a context dependent on politics and power relations to model how the term "Berber" has been restructured and reproduced in several discourses.

This study connects historical, ethnographic, and political pieces with a theoretical thread, placing multiple narratives and views on one schema. This issue is extremely relevant to current discussions on the relationship between the state and populations that span former colonies. It underscores debates on migration policy and the promotion of minority rights, but also those discussions that treat transnational identity as a challenge to state authority. From a theoretical perspective, a critical approach to identity formation pushes scholarship to explain how this process works. As Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox, and Grancea note in their study on everyday ethnicity: "*That* ethnicity and nationhood are constructed is a commonplace; *how* they are constructed is seldom specified in detail." (Brubaker, Feischmidt, Fox and Grancea 2006: 7). The approach adopted here treats identity formation as a process that links labels and the populations they describe.

This analysis does not offer a comprehensive history of colonialism, decolonization, or the current political situation in Algeria. This extends beyond the scope of the current project, and would add little to the excellent historical studies developed elsewhere. Towards that end, the discussion is organized as follows: the remainder of

Chapter 1 sketches the context of the "Berber question" and introduces the major approaches to this issue in current literature. Chapter 2 develops securitization as a theory of identity formation, and then outlines the discursive analytical approach adopted here. Chapter 3 structures the analysis around three main discourses in four historical sections: the French colonial discourse, the Algerian nationalist discourse, and the post-colonial discourse. Separately, each of these sections considers an argument for how the categorization of "Berbers" and "Arabs" has affected the Berber identity movement; placed together, the three discourses map out a genealogy of "Berber" through shifting historical contexts. The first two sections dissect arguments based on the stable meaning of "Berber" as a state label or minority claim, using the colonial discourse and nationalist discourse as a basis for historical analysis. The third section begins to develop an alternative understanding for Berber identity using the war of independence to examine key elements of the French and nationalist discourses. This argument then uses evidence from the post-colonial period to explore the immediate and underlying context for Berber identity mobilization. The final Chapter discusses the benefits and limitations of this approach to examining identity formation. The discussion then examines the fragmented use of "Berber" in shifting historical contexts before turning to the final conclusions. This final argument draws on the important legacies of preceding historical sections, but reframes these contributions as part of a process of interacting national discourses.

1.2 Situating the "Berber question" in Algeria

In current usage, the term ""Berberism" as a movement loosely describes those associations and groups promoting Berber language and culture (Roberts 2001:6). Berber speaking Algerians comprise roughly a quarter of the population, amounting to some 8 million people, but Berber dialects are spoken across several countries in the Maghreb-Sahara-Sahel region (Chaker 2001: 1). In Algeria, the most prominent dialects are concentrated in two regions: Kabylia, where 5 million people speak Taqbaylit, followed by 2 million Chaoui speakers in the mountainous Aurès region (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 2). The other dialects -Tamzabit, Znati, Tachenouit, and Tamesheq- are scattered in smaller pockets of populations, spoken by between 100,000 and 200,000 people (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 2). Chaker argues that this "Berber identity claim" is a social discourse comprising song, literature, cultural action, protest movements, and poetry, but goes even

further stating: "It is clearly a claim for recognition of a particular linguistic entity, i.e., a problem of cultural minority." (Chaker 2001: 12). The linguistic tie is often invoked as the strongest bond of the movement. Some, however, present a more nuanced version of the correlation between language and identity noting that the "feeling of being Berber does not necessarily correspond with speaking the Berber language." (Abrous and Claudot-Hawad 1999: 2).

Though many speculate about what it means to be part of this "Berber," community, "Amazigh" seems to be the only self-designated term that connects Berberophone populations across state lines, but it has only been used in Algeria since the late 1940's (McDougall 2003: 68). Amazigh means literally "free man" (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 2). This term has increasingly been used to represent a transnational identity in the scattered populations in North Africa and the diaspora (McDougal 2003: 68). Starting in 1995, the World Amazigh Congress (Congrès Mondial Amazigh) appropriated this term, stating it was the only pan-Amazigh organization with the mission of internationally defending the "legitimate rights of the Amazigh people" (Congrès Mondial Amazigh 2012). The fact that this movement has adopted a transnational dimension has called attention to the relation between the state and those professing to represent a "Berber identity." As the geographical spread, aims, membership, dialects, and degree of activity vary substantially among the millions usually grouped as belonging to this movement, however, its relation with Algeria (and other states) is anything but clear. The "Berber question" thus generally refers to how the growing Berber movement fits within the state apparatus.

1.3 Linking history and identity in literature

There are three intersecting clusters of scholarship that surround this project and examine the relationship between the state and group identity in Algeria and France. The first looks at national approaches to integration policies, the second examines the historical background of these policies, and the last approaches these issues from a critical perspective of what constitutes groups, national policies, and how they interact. Debates on state relations to "Muslims" or "Berbers" have spurred the first group of literature. Many in this branch focus on national citizenship approaches, looking at the French "assimilation," approach, or examining how the uniquely French system of secular

republicanism affects integration policies (Freedman 2004; Maillard 2005). Others focus on the French tradition of avoiding multicultural statistics and singling out ethnic groups for support (Bleich 2005: Simon 2008). Fewer examine these issues from an Algerian perspective, but a growing body of literature focuses on the place of Berbers within Algerian and French politics (especially Chaker 1987 and 2001, Maddy-Weitzman 2007). These treat the relation between Berbers and the state as evolving, but more or less work on the assumption that groups constitute the object of state policies.

The second cluster of literature details the origin of policies, and presents a more formative perspective of identity in historical accounts. Within this broad grouping, there is great focus on the war of independence as a defining stage for French and Algerian relations and the national development of both countries (Horne 1977; Jackson 1977; Naylor 2002; Philpott 2001). Others examine the relationship between colonial rule and classification policies, for example some study the role of categories in the form of censuses as a basis for colonial rule (Jackson and Maddox 1993; Kateb 1998). Additional literature focuses on how classifications of "race" and "ethnicity" have continued to guide current understandings of what constitutes a certain group (Hirschman 1986). However, there is no consensus on to what degree this history has affected current policies or how (e.g. Bleich 2005). A final strand of the historical literature has started to look at the process of decolonization, discourse, and identity more specifically. Examining the Algerian war of independence, for example, Shepard examines the debates of who could be French, and discusses how France formed conceptions of Algerians as "others" (Shepard 2006). Conelly accounts the importance of discourse to the *Front de Libération Nationale*'s strategy in promoting its cause internationally and solidifying its claim to Algerian nationalism (Conelly 2002). As these are largely historical chronicles, however, there remains a need to integrate this literature on colonial identity formation with a theoretical approach.

The last group of scholarship examines the thematic components of state policies and the reproduction of group identities, spanning topics of nationalism, race, ethnicity, and identity more generally (see Brubaker 2009). In light of this myriad of branches, a couple of relevant trends stand out. First, is the emergence of literature that questions what constitutes the object of study, challenging notions of a "racial," or "ethnic" group as a homogenous, bounded entity existing prior to analysis (e.g. Jenkins 1994; Brubaker 2000 and 2009). This has steered scholarship towards a "processual understanding" of

concepts such as nation or ethnicity, which shifts the analysis to what Brubaker calls "group-making" projects (Brubaker 2009:32). Foster, for example, looks at how the process of decolonization and subsequent state building relies on and employs constructing narratives of "nation" to overcome colonial groupings (Foster 1995). Fearon and Laitin examine whether there is a connection between socially constructed ethnic groups and ethnic violence based on those divisions (Fearon and Laitin 2000). In line with this skeptical approach to "groupism," some studies have addressed Berber identity as the interplay of several factors. Some focus on its historical foundations in myth (McDougall 2003; Lorcin 1995; Gross and McMurray 1993; Silverstein 2003 and 2004), others critically examine the extent to which the current "Berber movement" represents a homogenous claim to identity (Roberts 2001). Yet these works hesitate to draw causal links between the historical narratives and the observed evolution of Berber identity today. Even as literature increasingly takes a critical view to understanding "groups," deciphering the historical processes that have guided Berber identity formation requires additional research. The present project builds on this last trend in the literature that heralds additional theory development.

Chapter 2: Identity Formation Through Discourse

2.1 The "Berber question" in international relations

International relations theory treats questions of sub-state identity within the constructivist tradition. From this perspective, socially constructed identities are the result of intersubjective understandings of a self relative to an "other." This view eschews realist assumptions of state interests as exogenously given. Identities drive interests, and as identities can change, interests represent a continual interaction of identities whose relative stability depends on the context (Wendt 1994). Treating identities as contingent on historical processes introduces a new variable to explain actor behavior, yet this view does not in itself detail why one identity gains primacy over another, or under which circumstances actors will attempt to represent a certain identity. Post-structuralist discourse approaches challenge the validity of separating identity (and ideas) as causal variables in themselves and view the relationship between identity and action as inseparable; identity is relational, but also discursive. The policy insights from this

perspective have centered around foreign policy, in which research is “based on the assumption that policies are dependent upon representations of the threat, country, security problem, or crisis they seek to address" (Hansen 2006: 5), where others are more concretely linked to security studies. Though slightly outside of the scope of this study, this branch of literature is worth mentioning because it explores the process in which political actors use discourse to identify certain issues, bringing them into the policy sphere to justify action.

However, this more universal pragmatic approach ignores other factors that may affect how competing discourses interact or influence which ones are relatively successful. Some critique the Copenhagen School’s approach to securitization as a “speech act” as too narrowly focusing on the performative aspects of speech, and marginalizing those acts of language which reference something, and those which aim to prompt some kind of response (Balzacq 2005: 175). As the c.a.s.e. collective neatly summarizes, a more pragmatic approach focuses on the role of the government in defining security, positing that intentions are secondary to the “power games” which determine which discourse is most influential, and introduces context, audience and practices as variables which affect government action in this area (C.A.S.E. 2006: 449). This final cluster of theoretical literature represents some of the most recent approaches to how discourse and material factors intertwine and thus provides a link between labels, the objects they target, and the intended effects.

2.2 Securitization as a model for identity formation

If identity is seen as a policy aim and outcome, then this final branch of theory offers a different theoretical model for a constructivist approach to identity formation. The theory employed here is based roughly on a “pragmatic approach,” of securitization for understanding the political structuring of categories. Balzacq describes securitization as “a sustained argumentative practice aimed at convincing a target audience to accept, based on what it knows about the world, the claim that a specific development is threatening enough to deserve an immediate policy to curb it." (Balzacq 2010: 60). This approach conceptualizes securitization as a process dependent on other factors than the language itself, namely the context and agency of the actor and audience (Balzacq 2010: 64-65). The model implies the strategic intent of the actor to persuade the audience, but this many

not lead to a specific desired outcome as other factors will influence how effectively an actor can use discourse to achieve an aim. Balzacq suggests the success of securitization is best understood as a "common structured perception," of the threat between the actor and audience, which prompts the audience to act in some way. (Balzacq 2005: 181). This common understanding primarily depends on: 1) the audience's frame of reference, readiness to be convinced, and ability to accept official's mandates; 2) the effect of context on audience responsiveness and interpretation of agent's message); and 3) the securitizing agent's ability to use context appropriate words and frames of reference to achieve support for political aims (Balzacq 2005: 192). As the current aim is not to trace the precise conditions for successful securitization, this framework is useful for organizing the circumstances that shape how categories are introduced into policy discussions and the conditions in which they have the most impact.

As a model for identity formation, securitization theory helps examine how actors structure categories to achieve political aims in a particular context; it links the act of using labels to their social effects. From this, there are several useful insights for the present argument. First, this process models how "groups" can be defined through discourse. The act of introducing and using categories presents "groups" as both referent objects and target audiences. "Berbers," for example, denotes a particular population, but this process also entails defining what that group *is*. A category not only works to regard something as an object, but it also "judges" it within a particular discourse- it assigns characteristics to an object and compares it with others (see Foucault 1970: 94). Categories thus serve to define group membership; they define its characteristics, how it relates to others, and who is targeted as "belonging." Second, this model helps understand how the form and function of categories can shift. In a more pragmatic approach to securitization, speech is used strategically to achieve a particular purpose, but the use and success of this act depends on power dynamics and the context. Power determines who is able to use categories and dominate their representation. The form of discourse (which labels are employed, what those labels mean, and which populations are targeted), depends on the political purpose of an actor, but also on his ability to use discourse. Therefore, even though categories broadly define groups, the practical use or function of "Berber," e.g, is context dependent. This dependence on external factors means the function of a category can shift rapidly. Categories can be politically

manipulated in particular moments; they can be reframed with negative characteristics, or restructured to link certain populations with others.

Abstractly speaking, categorization can 'group' populations based on any number of dimensions. In national discourse, categories function to define how certain populations are related to the state. Brubaker explains this process of inclusion and exclusion as "the politics of belonging" (Brubaker 2010). Brubaker argues that nation-states are idealized categories of analysis and practice that propose "a set of mappings or congruencies," that link territory, culture, and citizenry (Brubaker 2010: 63). Challenging the image of the nation-state as an "internally homogeneous, and externally bounded" entity, Brubaker highlights the disjunction between formal and informal membership, and the internal and external dimensions of belonging. The "everyday practices of identification and categorization," might be at odds with formal forms of membership, such as citizenship (Brubaker 2010: 65). Similarly, states may "include" populations that do not correspond with the physical state territory (Brubaker 2010: 66). The idealized congruence between who, what, and where defines a state does not exist, but this model operationalizes the dimensions of state membership and thus makes it possible to trace how categories are structured and shift in a more systematic manner.

In sum, securitization theory posits several relationships to explain how the categories "Berber" and "Arab" have been politically structured and reproduced to mobilize a Berber identity movement. Categorization defines group membership, but their represented and the function they serve depends on the changing power relations and context. This shapes who becomes the "spokesperson," of a discourse, how categories are used and defined, and whether this spokesperson can maintain the dominant position to reproduce discourse. In this model, identity is not a steady, slowly evolving or unchanging concept- categories serve particular functions, and can be manipulated from one moment to the next. As a process that defines state membership, categories serve to include or exclude "groups." Viewing this as a process of inclusion and exclusion distances the argument from the assumption that the Berber identity movement has always held the same membership or meaning, while taking a skeptical approach to the ultimate impact of colonial practices with the inclusion of context and power into the model.

Though this model does not predict specific causal relations, this allows the systematic comparison of the function of "Berber" across discourses and leads to two

tentative understandings for Berber identity mobilization. First, despite the historical use of "Berber" categories in colonial and nationalist contexts, it was only in the post-colonial context that this category's function was to represent and mobilize a broader base of support. Second, the form of this movement can be understood as the result of context and power relations. This explains variance in the use of "Berber" in different contexts, but also helps understand the continuities that link the colonial, nationalist, and post-colonial discourses. If categories are seen as a tool to define the relation of certain populations to the state, then the practical use of categories is thus not to define "Berber" as against "Arab," but determine degrees of inclusiveness in a national discourse. This leads to an alternative understanding of how categorizations of "Berber" and "Arab" have been reproduced despite changing functions in particular contexts.

2. 3 Method of analysis

The methodology consists of a within case study practical discourse analysis. Though in some ways, "Berber identity formation" is the entire object of study, Algeria is not the only state with a Berber speaking population. Morocco in particular has even more Berber speakers but has had a very different experience with French colonialism and decolonization; therefore the "Berber" question has taken a different path in the post-colonial Moroccan state. Several authors make the case for Kabylia as the most concentrated center of the Berber identity movement, but hesitate to extrapolate their historical and cultural analyses to other Berber speaking communities or countries (Chaker 2001: 2; Abrous and Claudot- Hawad 1999:2). As a case within the small universe of other Berber speaking communities, Algeria's Kabylia represents the most extreme in terms of integration with France, level of protests, and apparent leadership in the movement.

Utilizing a discourse approach allows a look at "strategies whereby actors use discursive resources to produce certain outcomes," (Phillips and Hardy 2005:52), thus is an ideal fit for the theoretical premises underlying the study. The purpose of this kind of analysis is largely theory development- it is difficult to test discourse theories, therefore the methodology focuses on clarifying how processes interact and highlighting key causal relations. This is a historical analysis that traces the development and interaction of three main discourses: the French Colonial Discourse, the Algerian Nationalist Discourse, and

the Berber Identity Discourse. As three "separate" discourses, this is an analytical distinction that aids in the study of how actors dominate the representation of categories. "Discourse" more broadly includes the comprehensive set of factors that simultaneously influence categorization. Therefore the substantive focus of analysis is not only on words, but actions and contexts as well.

In practice, instead of establishing a line of causality, Balzacq suggests studying the "degree of congruence between different circumstances driving and/or constraining securitization." (2005: 192). The present aim is to understand how categories serve changing functions, which requires examining 1) how categories are politically structured, and 2) how they are reproduced. The analysis follows two levels: 1) Agent level (form and strategy of discourse), 2) Audience level (reproduction of categories and impact on Berber identity). The first level comprises an analysis of the political elite to examine the continuity and change between discourses as they evolve in relation to each other and interact. This examines why one discourse becomes dominant and how the context and power affect which words and policies the actor employs. The second "audience" level of analysis examines the degree of congruence between these categories and the impact on Berber identity. The target audience and populations included in the "categories" may not coincide therefore examining the effects of discourse looks at both the elite and broader popular level. These elements of "agent" (or "speaker") and "audience" are highlighted in the analysis only to the extent that they help model the shifting components of categorization. After each phase is mapped out, a final examination compares the colonial, nationalist, and emergent Berber identity discourse to determine whether general congruencies exist.

As the analysis is not based solely on the interpretation of language, data is drawn from a wide variety of sources and selected on the basis of the purpose it serves for each discourse. Relevant data is limited to those texts and actions that aim to restructure or reproduce categories as part of defining national discourse, and the historical context that affects the actor's choice of these tools. For this reason, the analysis does not simply follow texts that juxtapose the key words of "Berber" and "Arab." As the discourse shifts, at times this division is strategically masked, so including those texts and actions (e.g. nationalist propaganda) that specifically *avoid* using "Berber" is equally important if the purpose is similar. In addition, there is often a disjunction between the aim of a text and the function of a text in practice. The text of policies demonstrates political purpose, for

example, but the impact shows what this discourse actually does. As no policies target Berbers specifically by name, the analysis must look at the actual implementation policies to fully understand the discourse and its effect. Due to the time and research limitations, many texts are gathered from secondary sources. In assessing the evidentiary worth of archival sources, George and Bennett recommend always asking "*who* is speaking to *whom*, *for what purpose* and *under what circumstances*,"(2005: 100). Though meant as a cautionary to assess the political goals behind supposedly neutral historical documents, the research for this project purposefully asks these questions for all data included in the discourse.

Finally, several terms warrant attention before the analysis proceeds:

National discourse: The practices of leaders to represent and shape the reality of what constitutes a "state." National discourse is a process of categorization: the state (or leader of political group) does not "create" identities, but is an identifier "because it has the material and symbolic resources to impose the categories" (Brubaker 2000:16). This is operationalized by breaking down the discourse into several elements that can be traced with proxy variables as they change: *Where* is the state? Kabylia, Algeria, and France, also historical geographical links. *What* is the content? Social practices: language, religion, and education. *Who* is included or excluded? Gauged mostly by citizenship, but also informal measures of membership when available.

Power: power is part of this relationship, but the substantive focus is not on what power means. The main role of power is relational- how the discourse changes when there is a perceived change in the relative level of power among the actors.

Identity: The intended outcome of categorization. The understanding here follows Brubaker's conception of identity as a "processual, interactive development of the kind of collective self-understanding, solidarity, or "groupness" that can make collective action possible." (Brubaker 2000: 7-8). This can be operationalized in the same way as the de facto driver, national discourse. Identity in this relationship is measured to the extent that the audience accepts, eschews, or redefines the elements of the national discourse in its actions and representations of itself.

Last, as this study takes a critical perspective of groups as bounded, internally homogeneous entities, it is understood that the continued used of "Berber" and "Arab" or "Muslim" etc. in the analysis risks reifying these labels. These terms are mostly employed in the context of particular discourses and thus used to signify the meaning of the

historical period in question. In more general use throughout, "Berber" is used as an aggregate reference to denote links to a community beyond Kabylia along linguistic and cultural lines. Though this paper treats identity as a process, the point of the analysis is not to disavow linguistic or cultural differences, but analyze how categorizing one as "better," or more easily assimilated into the state, is reproduced and has mobilized the Berber identity movement.

Chapter 3: Analysis

3. 1 The French Colonial Discourse

This first "discourse" aims to consider the effect of colonial divide-and-rule policies on the present day Berber movement. This examines a first possible explanation for Berber identity stemming from colonial policies that separated Kabyles into an elite group. This explanation argues that categorization provided Kabyles with better opportunities through French language training and labor recruitment; the Berber movement today thus rejects Arabic domination because it removes Kabyles from an elite position. The approach represented in this argument assumes the function of "Berber" was to separate one group from an "Arab" group and that this category has maintained this same function from the colonial period to present day. To address this argument, the historical analysis traces how the Arab/Berber divide was first constructed, the initial function it served, and then determines the actual impact on the Algerian population. This section aims to show that colonial categories shifted in aim, and the resulting policies had only limited impact on the Kabyle population. Data is drawn from census records, ethnographic studies, and key citizenship, language, and education policies (both the texts and effects).

3.1.2 Military rule and the origins of the "Kabyle Myth" (1830-1870)

Though some point to the overt "divide- and-rule" strategy as the main driver for the French colonial policies, categories served two major functions in early colonial rule: they legitimized colonial expansion and provided a schema for understanding the population of Algeria. The French conquest of Algeria began with the landing at Sidi-

Fredj in 1830 amidst a historical narrative that painted the *mission civilatrice* as the historical reclamation of lost Christianity and Roman civilization (Lorcin 1995:18). The restoration of colonial territories to Christianity transformed the mission into a sort of "Crusade" which invoked historical stereotypes of Islam as a fanatical and belligerent region (Lorcin 1995: 19-21). Links to Roman antecedents supported France's claim to reunifying North Africa with Europe; with political union and the restoration of the land to its former glory, France "could claim itself as the rightful guardian of the Latin *mare nostrum*" (Silverstein 2004: 63).

These narratives underscoring the general claim to colonization were developed and specified in a military context. The immediate goals of military rule were to establish a secure hold over the territory, and assess what should be done with the local population. Lorcin's historical account of the "Kabyle Myth" shows how first observations were guided by the understanding of the historical mission in Algeria. In the first phase of conflict, the French faced fierce opposition from Abd-el-Kader in the name of Islam, which served to reinforce the French historical understanding of Islam as an aggressive obstacle to the mission (Lorcin 1995:32). But "Kabylia" presented a formidable, mysterious landscape that remained largely unknown to the French until the conquest was complete, and was not initially compared to such stereotypes. The French called this mountainous region "Kabylia," after the Arabic words that referred to the indigenous population that had "accepted" Islam with the Arab conquest centuries earlier (Lorcin 1995: 4). The act of distinguishing this geographic region had two important consequences for the "Kabyle myth." The first was to ascribe characteristics to the people that lived there. Early studies equated the character of Kabyles with sedentary mountain living, which was linked to landowning and a "commercial instinct" that equated them with European lifestyles (Silverstein 2004: 53). As one military officer observed of the Kabyles: "His need to defend his turf and his economic interests, rather than folding up his tent and catering off into the dust in adversity, had forced him a courage and steadfastness that the Arab did not need to possess." (Lorcin 1995: 31). Second, separating this region established a kind of "homeland" for part of the population, which reinforced any character assessments of Kabyles as different from the "Arab" (Silverstein 2004: 53). This separation affected French actions; if security was easier to maintain in one defined area with a sedentary population, then the civilizing mission could proceed with less trouble. Categories thus first functioned to classify the population into groups

based on the perceived degree of relative equality to Europeans. Characterizing the population in terms of "good Kabyle" or "lazy Arab" and attaching particular geographic regions to these descriptions created "groups" that helped organize colonial policies in Algeria.

Subsequent census data and ethnographic studies produced by the military structure reflect this use of categories. Widely published in France, these studies informed discussions on how the new colony should be governed. There was substantial debate about what to do with the population- how to categorize them, whether it should be assimilated or simply destroyed (Kateb 1998: 81). The census process was also decentralized, inconsistent, and shows substantial variation in the estimation of the population as well as the terms used to describe it. In 1880, French Algerian demographer René Ricoux described the process of collecting documents as without method, "irregularly published, are incomplete, teeming with errors and mistakes in calculations which strain the attention and tire the most skilled mind at reading figures ... It is, without doubt, difficult to establish the census within scattered populations and nomads, to calculate the social phenomena of people without civil status and without family names… (Ricoux 1880 quoted in Kateb 1998: 90).[1] The very first census was thus extremely cursory. In 1830, the population was very roughly estimated as: Moors and Arabs (farmers and workers), "independent" Arabs, Berbers of Kabyles, Jews, Turkish and renegades, and Koulouglis. (Kateb 1998: 101). The term "Berber" did not significantly enter European literature until the French conquest, and the census represents the one of the first uses of this term to describe Algeria's population (Boetsch and Ferrie 1989: 261). In 1840, the population was divided into three categories: Maures (Moors) et Arabes, Israelites, et nègres, and by 1856 changes included "Arabes de villes, Arabes des tribus," but no longer a "nègres" category (Kateb 1998: 101). The term "Maures" gradually disappeared from the census and other records and was replaced with "Berber," by the end of the nineteenth century, but the terms were used very differently; Moor was employed more generally to speak of urban dwellers of Andalusian origin, while Berber was supposed to specify a particular ethnic group by culture and geography (and later physical appearance) to distinguish them primarily from the others, or the "Arabs"

[1] Original text: "publiés sans régularité, sont incomplets, fourmillent d'erreurs et de fautes de calculs qui fatiguent l'attention et lassent l'esprit le plus exercé à lire dans les chiffre…Il est, sans doutes, difficile d'établir des dénombrements su sein de populations disséminées et nomades, de calculer les phénomènes sociaux de peuples sans état civil et sans noms patronymiques.." (Kateb 1998: 90)

(Boetsch and Ferrie 1989: 262).The census shows that the precise way of categorizing Algerians shifted.

The dominant representation of Kabyles as separate group developed slowly. In 1839 the Ministry of War formed the Scientific Commission to conduct scientific exploration, reconnaissance for colonial exploitation, and map out the population and territory (Lorcin 1995:40). With the annexation of Algeria in 1841, the Arab Bureau was established as the main administrative arm for the new territory, charged with discovering the "truth" about the Algerian population and determining the best way to govern it (Hannoum 2001: 344). Influential ethnographic studies such as officer Edouard Lapène's *Notice historique, morale, politique et militaire sur les Kabaïles*[2] focused more on deciphering the nature of this region and people than making any comparisons to another group (Lorcin 1995:23). His account invokes the division between Islam and Christianity, but generally groups "Arab" and "Kabyle" together as roughly interchangeable terms (Hannoum 2001: 351-352). In the 1850's, officer Pellissier de Reynaud explicitly challenged the developing conception of the "fanatic Arab," hailing the "Arab" as intelligent, moral and with little opposition to Kabyles in his *Annales Algériennes*; others from different disciplines such as interpreter Thomas Urbain's work presented Kabyles as "an agglomeration of tribes," and just part of a larger heterogeneous population," whose precise origins could not be verified (Hannoum 2001: 362). These and others were eclipsed, however, by the dominant version of "Arabs" and "Berbers" espoused in the 1847 *Grande Kabylie* by Colonel Daumas and Captain Fabar which became the authoritative account and official discourse of the Arab Bureau (Hannoum 2001: 347). Daumas and Fabar painted a picture of the Kabyles as having "accepted the Koran but they have not embraced it," stating that the "Kabyle detest the Arab and the Arab detests the Kabyle." (quoted in Silverstein 2004: 53-55). Work that focused on Arab culture did not usually posit it contra anything "Berber" but tended to highlight Islam as the defining object of study. Edouard de Neveu's *Les Khouan: Ordres religieux chez les musulmans de l'Algérie* of 1845, was one of the most important early works on Islamic institutions, describing the religious organization as exclusive and impenetrable (Lorcin 1995: 55).

This early military work was especially important in structuring categories because it defined Kabyles as a group, attached particular characteristics to its members,

[2] The full title of Lapène's work alludes to the aim and context surrounding this study: *Vingt-six mois à Bougie, ou collection de mémoires sur sa conquête, son occupation et son avenir: Notice historique, morale, politique et militaire sur les Kabaïles.*

and linked it to a geographical region. Military field studies disproportionately focused on Kabylia because this area was largely unknown until the area was fully conquered in 1857. The aim of such studies to discover the "truth" about this region raised these categories to an official, scientific level. This military fieldwork was not conducted in isolation, but continually fed back into the intellectual debates on race and origins in France. Pascal Duprat's *Essai historique sur les races anciennes et modernes de l'Afrique septentrioneale*, concluded that Berbers were indeed the original inhabitants of Algeria and began to detail the physical differences between the Berbers and Arabs as well and concluded that the Berber's constituted a superior, "noble race." (Lorcin 1995:150). Based on their observed democratic organization and propensity for economic activities, texts supposed their shared ancestry with a European "race," as in Hanouteau and Letrouneau's *La Kabylie et les costumes Kabyles* in 1872 (Hannoum 2001: 372). The "Kabyle" Myth thus was not only that the Berbers were somehow different from Arabs, but also that their historical lineage made them superior.

The development of "Berber" and "Arab" in colonialism reflects broader power dynamics and context. The military occupied an authoritative position on the topic as the only organization really in the "field." Of the several versions produced within the military, the one that became dominant was produced by an authoritative figure: Daumas' publication gained traction over others because of his status as a director of indigenous affairs at the Ministry of War, then as General in 1857, his works were widely published and with several editions, he spoke Arabic, and had spent significantly much more time in the field than other authors (Hannoum 2001: 367). The specific discursive tools chosen to represent categories also reflect the context. The military linked specific historical narratives and field studies to convince an elite French audience to accept their version of the "superior" race. In this way, the argument that colonial policies functioned to distinguish an elite population of Kabyles does posses some merit. However, there is a disjunction between the purpose behind this discourse and the way it functioned in practice, as well as whether this continued to have the same effect.

3.1.2 Colonial discourse in practice: assimilation to association

With the consolidation of colonial rule, it became possible to translate the intellectual definition of Kabyles into policies that would affect the broader population.

After the collapse of the Second French Empire in 1870, the Third Republic pushed legislation towards assimilation as part of a national project to centralize the metropole (Silverstein 2004: 44). Kabylia continued to be an area of ethnographic interest, and as the presumptive, more "easily assimilated" group, Kabyles were the natural targets for special policies. Yet on balance, this "divide-and-rule" policy only manifested tenuous distinctions in practice. There was no official "Berber" policy, as was the case with Morocco's "Berber Dahir"(Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 56). After the 1871 insurrection in Kabylia, this region was increasingly viewed with the rest of Algerians as distinctly non-European. French suppression of the 1871 turmoil was framed as a "victory for modern civilization;" then Governor General Vice Admiral Gueydon stated that "all immunities granted to the Kabyles at the time of their submission could now be disregarded." (Lorcin 1995: 175).

As colonial policies of the later nineteenth century show, assimilation was still the professed goal, but legislation increasingly defined this as assimilation for the non-"Muslim," population, and made little distinction between Arab and Kabyle. This marked the first major shift in both the purpose behind categorization and the practical use of defining the population into groups. As soon as the territory was secure, the purpose of policies was to organize Algeria in a way that would allow French settlement of the new colony. The first wave of policies aimed to separate the Muslim population from the settlers, and reorganize local society. Between 1871-1881 the tax system was developed which imposed a colonial and Koranic tax on the Muslim population (Lorcin 1995:8). The "native code" of 1881 introduced additional "infractions" only applicable to the non-Europeans (Shepard 2006: 31). The Warnier law of 1873, the so called "colons law," allowed settlers to take local properties if the *fallahin* (farmers) were unable to "show good title to them," which effectively reorganized ownership away from religious and tribal entities towards individuals (Jackson 1977:6). Citizenship regulations were equally aimed towards separating the "Muslims" from those considered French. In 1865, the Senatus- Consulte of 1865 declared that all Muslims were "French," with "local civil status" or the right to be governed under local (Koranic) law (Shepard 2006: 27). Access to full citizenship was conditional on renouncing this local status (or personal statute) and as a result very few Muslim men actually applied- only 1,309 by the end of the century (Shepard 2006: 27). Though data does not clearly separate how many of these were from Kabylia, the overall impact was low. Categorization of "Muslim" at once aimed to

undermine the local hold of traditional Islamic society and assure that this population remained largely separate from France.

A second major shift in the purpose of policies was the result of the national consolidation project. As part of the national push for assimilation within the metropole, education and language also constituted major foci of legislation. The laws championed by Jules Ferry (the "Ferry" laws) in the 1880's made French the only language taught in the now purely secular and compulsory primary school system (Silverstein 2004: 59). As an extension of the metropole, Algerian education was institutionalized in the same way. However, the overall impact of education was extremely modest until the late 1950's. If the French language was the means to assimilation and participation in French society, then few ever reached this level. Numbers vary in different estimations, but the trend is clear: Colonna estimates that in 1936 only 2% of Algerian men were literate in French, with 6% by 1948 (Colonna 1972). In 1954, only 5% of the population could read in both French and Arabic (Colonna 1972: 196). Building on Colonna's arguments, Von Sivers argues that the impact of French education on Algeria was both quantitatively and qualitatively a failure (1979). First, few received education due to local resistance, but also importantly due to the continued bureaucratic disagreement in the French government over the extent to which education should in fact be used as a tool of colonial domination. Some advocated universal education, while others feared the effect of "too much indigenous education on French ascendancy," (Von Sivers 1979: 145). A middle approach targeted the "easily assimilated" elite, but Von Sivers and Colonna argue that the actual advantage for Kabyles was limited given the overall low numbers of enrollment (Von Sivers 1979: 145; Colonna 1972: 202-203). Though the net effect was limited, there was still some disproportionate focus on Kabylia. At the beginning of the Ferry law's in the early 1880's, only 75 schools had been established for Muslim children, but half of these were in Kabylia despite representing only a quarter of the entire Algerian population (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 41). This focus in education translated to some privileges in labor recruitment. The state recruited teachers almost only from Kabylia between 1891-1950 (Maddy- Weitzman 2011: 43).

The limited impact of policies on the population in general is partially due to the fact that most of the laws in the1880s were measures that affected all of France and were not specifically targeted at Algeria. France's national construction efforts reiterated the notion that Algeria was, more than any other colony, part of France. In line with France's

universal approach to citizenship, this meant that the official categorization of civil status could not be determined on racial, ethnic, or religious grounds and was therefore supposedly based on descent (Shepard 2006: 34). The most obvious exception to this rule was the census, which continued to employ categories in Algeria. At the end of the 19th century, published census data discussed the population as Arab, Arabophone Berber, Berber, Kabyle, Mzabite, and others (Kateb 1998: 104). By 1939, the population distribution data was treated by "nationality or race," then after the World War II, religion appeared as the main divisor, grouping all the population into "Muslim" or "non-Muslim," with sub-groups of “French” or “foreigner.” (Kateb 1998: 105). However, the preponderance of categories in literature and census appears to have not guided any policies.[3] This may be due to the fact that the census was not entirely centralized, regular, or widely published until almost after the second Word War (Kateb 1998: 89).

Though few official documents employed categories, the census reflects a broader shift in the aim and use of categorization. These policies in land ownership, citizenship, and education show that the population was increasingly defined as “Muslim” or non-Muslim. “Muslim” increasingly functioned to exclude a large group from full membership in the French state. Though “Kabyle” was meant to have the opposite effect at first, and act as a more inclusive signifier, the texts and impact of policies show that “Muslim” was the most important division. The Berbers had been framed as the closer to Roman heritage than the Arabs, but by the early twentieth century colonial scholarship was increasingly placing all "Muslims" as opposite European. The writings of Louis Bertrand and others claimed that Berbers had "diluted" the Roman ancestry with African and Islamic traditions, whereas the European settlers then arriving in larger amounts, "better preserved the true "Latino-Mediterranean civilization and virile trAïts which could lead to human progress." (Silverstein 2004: 65). Assimilation started to lose traction and association was seen as the better option: “civilizing now meant improving what was already there, rather than refashioning it in the image of France” (Lorcin 1995: 171). As such, “divide and rule” was increasingly seen as a failure. Though “Muslim assimilation,” continued receive attention in policy debates, few laws actually changed until after the Second World War, when the nationalist movements were already gaining momentum.

[3] The exception was the Crémieux Decree of 24 October 1870, which extended French citizenship to all “native Israelites of the Algerian department,” but this again was not aimed at “Berbers” or “Arabs” specifically (see Shepard 2006: 28).

Tracing how "Kabyle" was used throughout the colonial discourse reveals a shifting function for defining groups depending on the changing policy aims of the colonial administration. After the territory was fully conquered, it became less important to base assessments of the population on security needs or legitimize the mission in Algeria. The result of this shift was mixed by some measures; even though Kabyles were not defined in official texts aside from the census, there was some disproportionate attention on Kabylia as the examples of education, labor, and migration data shows. This implies that the "good" Kabyle characteristic associated with Kabylia might have had some lasting effect. However, the definition and separation of the "Muslim" group from the Europeans had a clearer impact on the broader population. Not only were texts specifically targeted at reifying "Muslim" as a distinct category in citizenship and tax laws, but the very low number of Algerians educated and the fact that very few applied for French citizenship shows that this category did more that "Kabyle," in practice.

However, this period also points to some continuities in the function of categories, whether Kabyle, Arab, or Muslim. The French conception of "Algeria" was based on an exclusive conception of membership: it was both universal and racial. The universal approach accepted individuals in their capacity as equals able to assimilate, but the correlation policy was the inability to accept defined groups. Kabyles were seen as easier to assimilate based on their personal attributes that would meld with French society (democratic, secular, e.g.); when placed as part of the Muslim "group," however, they were excluded from French membership. The move towards association was thus not a significant shift from assimilation- it still defined the population as easily assimilated or not. Even though the Kabyle myth was a foundation for the colonial state, therefore, the more enduring category was "Muslim." This category served to define two poles of identity, as either French or Muslim, which reinforced the treatment of both as exclusive categories. Though not immediately obvious for Berber identity, this was a critical legacy for the development of the nationalist movement.

3.2 The Nationalist Discourse

This section compares the use of "Berber" with the preceding colonial discourse, and addresses the basis of a second argument explaining the Berber identity movement. If the "colonial policies" argument rests on ascribed groupings as the impetus for continuing

divisions, a second approach could argue that the Berber identity movement is simply a reaction to state repression. Algeria has excluded a minority group, thus this movement's claims target the reformulation of state policies. If the Berber identity movement is based on the cultural and linguistic claims of a group, then the assumption is that one can speak of a distinct Berber group holding the same meaning and membership in different instances of dominant culture, i.e., "Berber" has historically represented a culturally consolidated entity. But within the nationalist context, categories again serve a changing function: they recast Algerian identity to a historically unified entity, link "Kabylia" to a broader Berber community, and provide a political tool for eliminating political opposition. This section aims to show first, how nationalist movements incorporated the Kabyle myth into their vision for Algeria. Though these are broadly termed "nationalist," early movements did not call specifically for an Algerian state, thus this is taken broadly to incorporate those that participated in the debate over the meaning of Algerian identity. Second, this section examines how the use of "Berber" to represent a cultural group or claim shifted. Though at times the discourse does not include the term "Berber" specifically, the very exclusion of this label represents a political choice and thus comprises part of the analysis. The data focuses on intellectual texts that counter colonial discourse, political statements, and the use of "Berber" as a cultural signifier.

3.2.1 Forming a new vision for "Algeria"

The rise of nationalism and the period of conflict leading to independence is a complex phase with many actors. Though resistance to colonialism dated to the very conception of Algeria as an extension of the metropole, it was not until the twentieth century that this shifted from "primarily on the defensive, protecting a threatened way of life, to being on the offensive and affirming a new and modern Islamic and national identity." (Deeb 1997: 118). First and foremost, the nationalist movement had to reformulate the vision of Algeria constructed by the French. As the *Front de Libération Nationale* would later assert: "We do not only want to liberate ourselves from colonialism. We also want to construct a new society." (Naylor 2000: 11). Before the FLN finally dominated the discourse in the mid-1950s, the fluid and fragmented development of a nationalist movement introduced several visions for an Algerian national conscience. The three major strands usually mentioned are: the *Association des*

Uléma, led by Sheikh Abd el-Hamid Ben Badis, the evolving groups under the revolutionary guidance of Messali Hadj, and the liberals factions which coalesced around Ferhat Abbas (Horne 1977: 38). This phase was also instrumental to the consolidation of a Kabyle identity, but examining this process necessitates placing Kabylia in this broader nationalist context.

Colonial categories were first restructured in intellectual texts and actions that sought to define a new Algerian state. The reformation of the "Kabyle myth" first took place in the reformist branch of the *Association des Uléma*. The ulama pushed for modernizing the Islamic community in the "spirit of modern scholarly inquiry and scientific method." (Deeb 1997: 119). Especially since the early 1930's, the ulama worked to maintain an influence in schools, various community associations, and of course the religious community (Conelly 2002: 20). This focus on scholarly work combined with religious themes made the ulama very influential in linking religion to a national consciousness, as their oft repeated (and later FLN adopted) creed of "Islam is my religion, Arabic is my language, Algeria is my home," demonstrates (Horne 1977: 38). Ben Badis proclaimed that this image of "Algerian Muslim nation" was not only *not* France, but stated: "it is not possible that it be France; it does not want to become France; even if it wished, it could not be France." (Conelly 2002: 20).

However, the formation of Algerian identity took place in the colonial discursive context. Reformists defined Algeria in relation to French identity even as they sought to distance Algeria from France. The more radical, salafi reformist movement inspired a new wave of nationalist theorists, like Tawfiq al-Madani, that created a "counter- history" to the French version employed at conquest (Silverstein 2004: 68). Interestingly, al-Madani also framed this history based on "scientific truth," much the same way the military Scientific Commission had sought to construct the origins of the Berbers. Al-Madani at once disavowed the validity of the French colonial myth meant to influence the Berbers, and used the same terms to describe them as "frugal laborers and noble warriors with a fearless love of Freedom" (quoted in Silverstein 2004: 69). Other arabphone, ulama writers like Muhamad al-Mili, claimed Algerian intellectuals' restricted "historical consciousness" served to alienate them from other citizens, and viewed history as a link to present and future aims (Naylor 2000: 9). Al-Mili and others presented history as the core for Algerian unity. On the question of colonial categories, McDougall argues that the reformists had no choice but to include the Berbers specifically in their version of

Algeria- they had to make Berbers seem "inassimilable" to the French and fully integrated with an Arabic past conception of the historical state (McDougall 2003: 72). The colonial context undoubtedly shaped the choice of discursive tools- the reforming of Algerian history to include Berbers and Arabs aimed to legitimize the Algerian claim and define the membership of "Algeria," much like the French colonial policies had aspired to do. The ulama restructured colonial categories to limit previous divisions, and the nationalist parties building on these concepts would equally try to create a unified vision of Algeria. But because they also continued to represent Berbers as "inassimilable," it proved to be a ready made label for "divisive" in future political power struggles.

Just as the ulama restructured the meaning of "Berber" in the nationalist movement, Kabyle writers such as Jean Amrouche reformed the image of Kabyle culture in texts. Amrouche's *Chants Berberès de Kabylie* recounts oral poems as the true representation of traditional culture but at once reflects the preceding colonial intellectual discourse; his texts are "characterized by original expressions of universal, humanist themes, while folklore is seen as low culture, particularistic, and unoriginal." (Goodman 2002: 94). The collection is also presented in French; even as it re-appropriates the Berber culture, it presents it a the literary mold recognizable to a French elite (Goodman 2002: 94). Though Algerian writers sought to restructure categories in the early nationalist context, their target audience still remained the few with education. As noted previously, this was a very small segment of the population. Immersed in the French intellectual discourse, these writers thus countered colonial concepts directly, but employed the same terms, themes, and in many cases reproduced the works in French as well. The way this culture is presented is also important. In this intellectual context, "Berber" serves to reformulate *Algerian* identity; it is not used to represent or assert the claims of a defined group of Berbers. If the Berber identity movement were based primarily on a historic cultural claim against a repressive Arab conception of state, then one would expect resistance to the grouping of Berber and Arab under Algeria as Islamic and Arab, or perhaps the rejection of a dominant culture (French) and the assertion of Berber language. Neither of these is apparent in the early reformation of colonial categories.

From these intellectual movements, two major approaches to nationalism emerged: that of the ulama which promoted an Arabic, Islamic Algeria and that embodied in Amrouche's texts which accepted French cultural tenants as part of Algeria. In both of these strands, categories served different functions. In the ulama based nationalist

discourse, “Berber” is grouped with “Arab” for the purpose of creating a unified state to separate it from France. Though this seems to present a more inclusive conception of Algeria, stating that no difference existed among Algeria’s population mirrors the French conception of universal citizenship in its aims and seemingly contradictory exclusiveness. In the other model, “Berber” is defined as a distinct group within a state that can integrate with France. It does not preclude the continued influence of French culture, and in fact treats it as a vehicle to challenge French authority. The extreme of this approach later represented by Ferhat Abbas would accept assimilation but push for reforms that would allow broader participation. However, in neither of these is Berber identity used to group a population against the state on cultural grounds- “Berber” is used to formulate different versions of Algeria.

3.2.2 The politicization of nationalism

The political battle to represent the dominant nationalist discourse shows both these trends in a protracted and shifting process. As a consequence, the political use of “Berber” in this context also shifted. The political impetus for nationalism started among the elite Algerian immigrants in Paris. The most important early organization was the *Etoile nord-africaine* (ENA), founded in 1926 (Aissaoui 2009:17). Chaker argues that the first evidence of a "Berber" element in Algerian politics appeared in the discourse of the first ENA secretary-general, Amar Imache, in his discussions of "la democratie primitive Berbère" (1987: 17). Amar Imache highlighted the role of Berbers in their fights against assimilation, targeting the intellectual Kabyle community that had been educated in French: "For Imache, as for Berber culturalists ever since, opposing assimilation did not preclude being steeped in the ways of the French language and culture, while also emphasizing fidelity to the Berber language and communal village traditions, which could and should underpin the political culture of an independent Algeria" (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 46). This use of “Berber” recalls Amrouche’s treatment of the tribal cultural that participated in French society.

This link to France was a source of conflict between Imache and the second in command of ENA, Messali Hadj, who aligned his vision with the ulama’s conception of Algerian history. Under Messali’s increasing control in the organization, the ENA gradually developed as an “autonomous, pro-independence organization with strong

religious undertones" (Aissaoui 2009:17). The ENA combined the principles of the ulama and the *évolués* that had previously been leading resistance; it placed the calls for equal rights in education and legislation along with demands for Arabic language (Conelly 2002: 23). In 1930, Messali launched the ENA's publication *El Ouma*, which helped spread this vision to broader audiences, but his nationalist program remained largely in France until 1936, when Messali gave a speech in Algeria (largely in French) advocating an "Algerian parliament elected by universal suffrage without any racial or religious distinction," (Aissaoui 2009:25). This shows that even as Messali's message called upon the truly "Algerian" identity that was both Islamic and Arabic, this was also framed as a universal construction of membership.

The other major political force formed around the leadership of Ferhat Abbas. Abbas' *Fédération des élus musulmans d'Algérie* (FEMA) was primarily made up of the intellectual, French educated class (Jackson 1977:11). Their platform was based largely on assimilation, and non-violence as the means to promote further integration; as Abbas famously said: "If I had discovered the "Algerian nation," I would be a nationalist… But I will not die for the Algerian fatherland because it does not exist. I have questioned history, the living, and the dead… Nobody spoke to me about it." (quoted in Jackson 1977:11). In stark contrast to the historical narrative of the ulama and Messali's Arabic-Islamic national conception, this perspective argued an individual's claim to equality via French republican values. As the nationalist discourse increasingly targeted a broader audience, the use of "Berber" started to disappear from both assimilationist and independence based political currents. The intellectual writings of the ulama and others more or less only targeted elite audiences. But these themes were especially influential when the organizations moved the base of operations from Paris to Algeria; giving speeches and distributing publications like *El Ouma*, targeted Algerians as *Algerians*, not colonial subjects.

The relation between these various organizations shifted substantially from the mid-1930's to the postwar era. After ENA was banned in 1937, Messali created the *Parti du people algerien* (PPA) promising to focus more on Algerian affairs in 1937 and moved to Algeria the following year (Jackson 1977:13). Half the founding members of PPA were from Kabylia, but the PPA continued to call for Arabic in education in the steps of its predecessor organization (Silverstein 2003: 90-91). Abbas also variously reformed his organization, but tenuous cooperation between his assimilationists and Messali's PPA

continued. May 1945 constituted a turning point in the debates between assimilation and independence approaches. In the Algerian town of Setif on May 8, 1945, protesters gathered to demand the release of the imprisoned Messali, waving the red and green flags that Messali's ENA had introduced almost a decade before (Jackson 1977:15.). When police tried to take the flags, ensuing clashes soon escalated to blows between nationalists and colonists and police fired indiscriminately at the crowd (Jackson 1977:15). In the violence that followed, at least 100 Europeans were reported to have been killed, though estimations for the Muslim population range in the thousands (Horne 1977: 27). Some cite this instance as the real spark for hostilities that would follow in subsequent decades, but it also marked the end of any attempts at coalitions between the "assimilationist" and independence approaches.

It was in this context that the Kabyles supporting the PPA started to refer to Berber identity as a rallying call for supporting independence. Between 1945 and 1950, Kabyle members of the PPA (and later MTLD) developed songs in Berber language to mobilize the younger population to the nationalist cause (Chaker 1987: 17). The term "Amazigh" first appeared in this context; the most well known song of the so-called "Muslim Boy Scout" movement was "Kker a mmi-s amaziy" (meaning "Arise, son of Amazigh"), which linked Kabylia to a broader Berber community (McDougall 2003: 68). Other texts from prominent leaders showed an increasingly nationalist sentiment in Kabylia, accompanied with an emphasis on the Berber connection. In an analysis of more than thirty texts produced by several Kabyle leaders during the late 1940's, (including Mohamed Idir Aït-Amrane, Hocine Aït-Ahmed, and Mohand Saïd Aïche), Chaker notes several trends, which places this young generation of "militant intellectuals" between nationalist and traditional culture: First, there was a strong nationalist component that called for armed resistance against the "foreigner," in Berber: "*Tura qrib a nennay* (Bientôt nous nous battrons!) *Ayilmezyen begset!* (Jeunes gens préparez-vous (au combat)!) (Chaker 1987: 17). Second, the historical references specifically linked resistance to Berber and Kabyle- there is no mention in any of the texts to "arab", or the Arab language. The word "Islam" never appears, and "religion" is only mentioned once. Instead, the texts recall the historical valor of the Kabyles in resistance, and employ their own categorical description of the population as Berber (Berber, Kabyle, or Chaouias), national (Algerian), or international (African), but "Arab" is not included. (Chaker 1987:17). The degree to which this was meant to exclude an "Arab" group is not clear,

but what is clear is a broader "Berber" audience for the first time in the nationalist context. Previous references to Berber culture had been targeted at the French educated, thus they continued to accept elements of French culture and were therefore more aligned with the assimilationist approach of the liberals. Within the PPA and later *Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques* (MTLD), "Berber" as a category functioned to connect Kabylia with the Muslim identity of a new Algeria as well as a new conception of a larger Amazigh community. In contrast to its function in the colonial context, in the nationalist political context Berber was increasingly used to connect those previously distinguished by geography and culturally contra Arabs.

3.2.3 The "Berberist crisis"

The "Berber" question had been dissected in ulama literature, and Kabylia increasingly promoted its role in the movement, but "Berber" was not recast as a group distinguished from "Arab" until the so-called "Berberist crisis" of the nationalist movement. After Messali's release in 1946, PPA reassembled under the banner of the *Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques* (Jackson 1977: 16). The MTLD created a military group, the *Organisation Speciale* (OS), which remained small but constituted the only real fighting force in the late 1940's (Conelly 2002: 25). In 1948 the MTLD distributed a fifty page brochure, titled "Memorandum a l'ONU," claiming that the Muslim, Arab Algeria had existed since the seventh century (Abrous and Claudot-Hawad 1999: 6). In response to this increasingly Arab version of the nation, a group of "communist leaning intellectuals" argued for linking Algerian identity with both Berber dialects and colloquial Arab (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 45). In 1948 the head of the French Federation, Rachid Ali Yahia, claimed that: "Algeria is not Arab but Algerian," stressing the necessity of forming a union of "all Algerian Muslims who want to fight for national liberation, without distinction between the Arab and Berber races."[4] (Aissaoui 2009: 132). When Rachid Ali Yahia proposed the creation of a "Popular Berber Movement," Messali targeted all radical elements of the MTLD he deemed "Berberists" and expunged them from the party (Aissaoui 2009:132).

[4] Though it is interesting to note that even as this statement denies differences between Arabs and Berbers it also reasserts that they constitute two distinct races. This reflects the dual nature of the universal/racial "exclusive" discourse.

The term “Berberist” had not been used previous to this event. Messali and other MTLD leadership used "Berberist" because the radical faction was primarily from Kabylia, and as their vision was labeled "divisive," it was easily equated with the colonial Arab-Berber division (Roberts 2001:8). In actuality, at issue were not only the content of the Algerian nationalist discourse, but also the methods of insurrection. Messali's plan to gain independence through political pressure was increasingly challenged by members of the MTLD's central committee. Some opposition pushed for immediate and armed response, challenging the "undemocratic nature" of Messali's domination of the movement (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 45). Hocine Aït Ahmed, from Kabylia and also leader of the OS, for example, challenged Messali for dominating the movement, but did not argue based on any "Berber" agenda (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 47). In addition, there was little correlation between those from Kabylia and those targeted as “Berberists”. The "Berbero-materialists" were marginalized from the movement by other Kabyles that would play a leading role in the national movement in the following years: Abane Ramdane, Belkacem Krim and Amirouche Aït Hamouda. (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 47). This political episode would be cited repeatedly as evidence of intrinsic Arab-Berber tensions, but the debate was more politically molded than often represented. Messali himself later admitted that he had “eliminated bothersome candidates indiscriminately by branding them as Berberist.” (Lorcin 1995: 234). The use of “Berber” obviously shifted in this instance; it was easily restructured to fit the political needs of the MTLD.

This event is evidence to the fact that “Berber” was not continuously linked to a stable representation or claim of one “group,” against a dominant culture. More generally, this period shows that “Berber” served to refashion Algerian identity and re-appropriated the major division of “Muslim” as a core element of what it meant to be Algerian. This process of defining Algerian identity did provide an anchor for Berber culture and language, however. In this way, in spite of the concerted efforts to create a unified Algeria, the nationalist discourse impacted the Berber identity movement in several ways. First, the reproduction of categories in the new narratives continued to reify “Berber” as a meaningful category, even as the characteristics and defined membership shifted. Second, in response to the French historical narrative, an emphasis on discovering the “truth” of Algerian origins also prompted a return to Kabyle history in the songs and text produced by members of the PPA. Last, though the dominant national discourse which emerged by the late 1940’s built on an integrated conception of Algerians as sharing one language,

religion, and past, the nationalists mirrored the French discourse in its exclusivity. These factors together started to shape the image of Kabyles as a "group" that could not quite fit into the national discourse— as evidenced in the "Berberist crisis," the act of categorizing Kabyles identified it as a group that could not assimilate to the forming Algerian model, while as individuals from Kabylia they were accepted as leaders instrumental in the early movement.

3.3 The Algerian War for Independence

The battle for Algerian independence is known for its brutality and as one of the definitive examples of violent decolonization. A complete history is both beyond the scope and aim of this project, but there are several important aspects for the mobilization of Berber identity. The first point is between 1949 and independence in 1962 there was very little mention of either Berber or Arab categories, or any real development of a Berber movement on a popular level. But this does not mean that categories were absent from the discourse; the preceding sections have highlighted the colonial and nationalist contexts separately, but this section brings them together in a crucial period of transition to show how the use of categories continued several trends started in the earlier periods, yet subject to the important power shift between the metropole and colony (as well as internal power struggles), and established the framework for the post-colonial Algerian identity in which the Berber identity movement consolidated. Though both the French and nationalists avoided using the word Berber in official texts, actions from both show that categorization continued to play an important role in this period. For the French discourse, data focuses on policies and statements that aim to construct an increasingly inclusive conception of France, as well as the effects of these attempts that reinforced categorization in a different way. The nationalist discourse is described in statements and actions that define the Algeria, and those events that separated or unified Berber/Arab distinctions.

3.3.1 From integration to self-determination

There were two important trends in the French discourse that impacted the Algerian state in the aftermath: the shift to a more inclusive conception of membership

through integration policies, and the ultimate reification of "Muslim" as a separate category. First, as noted before, the French treatment of colonial categories gradually moved away from assimilating a target elite Kabyle population, and instead focused on distinctions between Muslim and non-Muslim. However, there was a substantial push for after the Second World War and during the first years of conflict with Algeria to erase even this distinction. In 1944, Charles de Gaulle's provisional government abolished the "native code," and another ordinance stated that the "diversity of civil statuses was compatible with a uniform French law." (Conelly 2002: 23; Shepard 2006: 39). The same year, 60,000 Algerians were granted citizenship, followed by the inclusion of all Algerians in 1947 (Tyre 2006: 288, 279). But the vague labeling of Muslim did not disappear. In France, it was possible to be "French Muslim from Algeria," then this became "North-African-born French," then finally "French Muslim of Algerian origin."(Tyre 2006: 279). That same year, France and its colonies were redefined as the French Union and Algeria was grouped into departments with its own "civic personality," which assured that Algerians stayed under the local court systems thus the actual change was minimal for most in Algeria (Shepard 2006: 42). Thus despite some apparent changes, when the FLN launched its first attack in 1954, President of the Council of Ministers Pierre Mendès-France declared that it was "inconceivable that Algeria should secede from Metropolitan France. This should be clear forever to all, in Algeria, in Metropolitan France, and abroad. France will never, no Parliament, no Government will ever, yield on this basic principle. Algeria is France," (Galula 2006: 8). Redefining categories was a way to consolidate French identity; it was a way to once again legitimize the colonial relation between France and Algeria.

The successive increase of integration policies reinforced this view. When Jacques Soustelle was appointed Governor General in Algeria in 1955, he declared his intention to make Algeria "a [French] province, different from the others, certainly, but fully French." (Horne 1977: 108). Soustelle proposed comprehensive structural reforms, targeting education, women's suffrage, and a reorganization of the governing structure (Tyre 2006: 279). Education reform was especially apparent. In 1956, 1200 new classrooms were built, with another 3,300 the following year (Naylor 200: 20). Enrollment almost doubled between 1956-1960, which meant that more Algerian children actually attended school between 1958 and 1960 than in the first 128 years of colonialism (Naylor 2000: 21). The push towards integration was on the one hand a political move to maintain control in

Algeria. But these policies constituted a marked shift from the values underlying the categorization of the population in colonialism. Assimilation policies depended on the acceptance of a hierarchy that placed some above others. Integration accepted different "categories" as more or less equal into the inclusive fold of the state model. Categories thus served a different function in the integration approach - they legitimized France's continuing claim to Algeria not because France and "Berbers" shared superior ancestry, but because the most important category was "French," which supposedly united the two territories.

But the political support for this trend was unsustainable. Even though integration was a means to retain control in Algeria, the colonists saw this recognition of "Muslims" as equals as a challenge to their power. Soustelle's party needed the colonist *pied-noir* vote to face competition from the *Mouvement Républicain Populaire* (MRP), thus it was ultimately willing to sacrifice some reforms to remain in power (Tyre 2006: 289). Amidst increasing violence in Algeria, plus the advent of the Suez crisis in 1956, even the Gaullist press began to warn against integration, stating "we mustn't have any illusions about the current attitudes of Islam towards us' (Tyre 2006: 291). Even though momentum was building in the late 1940's and early 1950's towards integration, the prevailing attitudes still placed "Muslim" contra "French." The events of May 1958 demonstrate this dual trend, which seems to abolish categories and reinforce them simultaneously. In May 1958, a coup in Algiers brought down the Fourth republic and summoned de Gaulle to power (Seferdjeli 2004: 44). Integration was the word of the hour. The revolt was accompanied by large communal displays of Algerians and Europeans together, even with some Muslim women removing their veil, and seemed to signal that the "last bastion of Muslim resistance," was indeed surmountable (Seferdjeli 2004:45). However, though championed by the Gaullists, de Gaulle did not mention integration in his speeches (Seferdjeli 2004). As de Gaulle remarked in 1958: "If we went ahead with integration, if all the Arabs and Berbers of Algeria were considered French, how could we stop them coming to live in France, since the standard of living is so much higher? My village wouldn't be called Colombey-les- Deux-Églises, but Colombey-les-Deux-Mosquées!" (Tyre 2006: 276). In September 1959, then President de Gaulle put the question of Algerian self-determination to a referendum; independence, complete integration, and association were presented as viable options for the future of Algeria (Tyre 2006: 276). The clear preference was association, and the continued social reforms

under de Gaulles's Constantine Plan aimed to show Algeria that it had much to gain from continuing relations with France (Seferdjeli 2004:28). But the relation would not be a fully integrated one.

Even as integration departed from the underlying principles of assimilation, in the end the discourse continued to paint the conflict in categories of Muslim and French. The Berber distinction was not a part of this discourse, following the trend of the colonial policies at the beginning of the 20th century, but categorizing the population continued to serve a particular function as France's political purposes shifted. This phase is important to note because even though the French colonial discourse would seemingly fade to the background of the new Algerian state, the war was not an immediate break - France remained tied to Algeria for years. The push for reforms in the war years had more impact on the social landscape in Algeria than many previous policies, which not only built up the education system which would lie at the heart of future Arabization policies, but it also assured that France would stay connected with Algeria during a phase of slow separation (meaning that the anti-colonial discourse and the place of the French educated would remain part of the debate).

In sum, France targeted a much wider audience with a more inclusive conception of who and what constituted "France." This discourse translated to fewer restrictions on citizenship and more education reforms. Yet in the end, integration was still dominated by the more universal approach that had attempted assimilation. When viewed in line with the historical discourse, it is easier to understand this shift to integration as a political strategy in reaction to a change in power than a fundamental departure from its past conception of categories. France increased integration measures when it was recovering from WWII, and at a time when the nationalist organizations were gaining strength. Integration offered a way to "keep Algeria France" for a brief time, but the persisting colonial conception of Algeria as "Muslim" prevented these reforms from permanently altering the French discourse.

3.3.2 The nationalist discourse consolidates in the FLN

From the nationalist experience in this period, two aspects are important for understanding the shape of the post-colonial state and the use of "Berber" in this context. First, was the form and dominance of the FLN's discourse, which promoted a particular

meaning of Algerian identity. Second, though there was no formal declaration of "Berberism" in the conflict, "Kabyle" was increasingly distinguished from the rest of Algeria. Kabylia played an important role in the nationalist movement, which ultimately separated it politically from the national platform by the end of the war. The *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN) grew out of Messali's crumbling base of support in the early 1950's. Some former OS members broke away and challenged Messali's domination with the creation of yet another faction, the *Comité révolutionnaire d'unité et d'action* (CRUA) (Jackson 1977: 23). At the first full meeting of the CRUA in 1954 the principle of collective leadership was selected in part, to avoid that either Arabs or Kabyles would be alienated within the organization, but was also as much a reaction to the "personality cult" they so loathed in Messali's leadership (Horne 1977: 78). As former FLN leader Mohamed Boudiaf later noted in an interview with French journal *Le Monde*: "When the CRUA was created in March 1954 [he told us], there was no question for one second of creating a new movement; we were obsessed with the idea that the unity of the party (MTLD) had to be preserved at all cost; in order to rid it of its bureaucracy and impotence, we had to throw it into action; it was the only way to bring to the base a truer conception of things." (See Galula 2006: 252). From the very start, this context implied that any categorization of "Berber" could be used as a divisive label, but as "Arab" was associated with the broader Algerian identity, it maintained a unifying function (in contrast to the French usage of "Arab" or "Muslim").

This constant push for absolute unity permeated FLN actions in the years to come. The FLN tried to mask any divisions, whether Arab/Berber, Jew/Muslim, European/Muslim as long as people were dedicated to the singular cause of Algeria as the FLN conceived it. However, this vision of unity often produced an exclusive conception of membership. Combined with their goal of armed struggle by any means necessary, the FLN made little effort to preserve a neutral civilian force. Their early military strategy was more or less blind terrorism, which prompted the policy of collective responsibility from the French (Conelly 2002: 77). This indiscriminate polarization of the conflict won some recruits, but by the end of the war, the FLN had killed more Algerian civilians than European- an estimated 16,300 compared to 2,700 (Shepard 2006: 44). At the elite level, their obsession with a collective personality made it easy to frame any dissent as subversive and the leadership was increasingly prone to personal attacks as the war progressed.

The *neuf historiques* that had created CRUA included former OS members Ahmed Ben Bella, Hocine Aït Ahmed, Mohamed Khider, Mohamed Boudiaf, Belkacem Krim, Rabah Bitat, and new additions Mourad Didouche, Larbi Ben M'Hidi, and Mustafa Ben Boulai to engineer a new direction for the nationalist movement (Jackson 1977:23). None of the other nationalist strands had integrated violence so explicitly into its aims- CRUA presented armed struggle as the only way to independence, and sought to convince others that their legalistic attempts at reform had failed. They announced themselves under the banner the *Front de Libération Nationale* via radio from Cairo and in pamphlets immediately after they launched their first attack on November 1, 1954 (Horne 1977: 94). Claiming to solely represent the nationalist cause, their declaration called for the "restoration of the Algerian state, sovereign, democratic, and social, within the framework of the principles of Islam" (Horne 1977: 95). The external goal aimed to internationalize the cause and simultaneously link Algeria's Arabo-Islamic context with North Africa; a delegation of Ben Bella, Aït Ahmed, and Khider was sent to Egypt to garner support from Nasser (Horne 1977: 85, 95). It is important to note that the correspondence between cultural claim arguments or an elite grouping appeared to have no influence in the way that the members of the FLN asserted Algerian identity. Several of the key, founding members were from Kabylia, thus the FLN vision was also their vision- there was no move to introduce any special recognition for a Berber group at this stage. Nor was there a desire from the Kabyle leadership to use any "elite" French connection.

The FLN consolidated its dominant discourse in less than two years after starting the rebellion. Centralists agreed with the FLN premise of unity and drifted to the FLN's ranks, but Messali rejected their claim to represent Algeria, and organized limited opposition with an underground movement (Jackson 1977: 27). The FLN quickly exterminated this movement with force. The ulama originally opposed the FLN's use of violence, but with the ascendancy of al-Madani as a leader, the FLN were able to appeal to his understanding of history as a key claim for legitimacy (Jackson 1977:28). Convincing the liberals following Abbas proved to be slightly harder. After the FLN appeared, Abbas made one last attempt to appeal to the French, but admitting that "cooperation, discussion, persuasion" had proven ineffective, Abbas gave his support in 1956 declaring in Cairo that: "Algeria is Arab! If the French government changes its line, then it and ourselves will begin to proclaim the same truths: 'Algeria is Algerian,'" (Horne 1977: 140). This reinforces the point that the conception of Algeria as "Arab" was

largely supported in the leadership of the FLN, even though its members represented several regions of Algeria (including Kabylia).

Categorization assumed a political function for dividing the movement when the Kabyle leadership gained power. Kabylia had played an important role in the war from the beginning. The "internal leadership" of the organization was largely Kabylia (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 49). The region also served as a key battleground. Due to the insistence of some leaders, especially Belkacem Krim, Kabylia became one of the autonomous battle zones in the initial planning of hostilities (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 48). Silverstein calls Kabylia, the "war within a war," not for the Kabyle/Arab discussions in the leadership, but also as a site for acute violence and battles with the *Mouvement National Algérian* (MNA) (Silverstein 2003: 88). Though this challenge was largely eliminated after the first couple years of conflict, the area remained central to the violent campaigns from both the French and the FLN. Kabylia was also the site of the Soummam Conference, which was organized by the internal leadership and one of the single most influential moments for the course of the nationalist discourse and ensuring Berber relations.

The internal leadership headed by Abane Ramdane organized the FLN's first conference in the Soummam Valley in 1956. One important outcome of this meeting was the clarification of the movement's platform. As appeared later in the the FLN's publication *El Moudjahid*, the FLN claimed that the war was not "between people of different ethnicities or religion, but between those who wanted liberty and justice and the colonial oppressors and those who supported them." (Deeb 1997: 121). Even as it espoused a more inclusive discourse, however, Soummam also marked a turning point for the FLN's claim to solidarity. The external leadership was excluded from the congress, which viewed this meeting as a subversive challenge to its authority (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 49). This fragmented the movement between those pushing for the pan-Arab connection on the external front, and those inside Algeria. In addition, 1956-1957 marked a military surge from the French and the internal forces faced several military setbacks, which shifted more power to the external front (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 49). This power shift was especially important when the conference acquired a "Berber" dimension as well, as most of the leaders present at Soummam were from Kabylia; Ben Bella and Boudiaf especially "accused the Kabyles of wanting to take over the revolution." (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 49). Even years after the event, former President Ben Bella reflected on

the actions of Abane Ramdane at Soummam as "tainted by Berberism and turning its back to Islam."[5] (Chaker 1987:19). As Boudiaf later stated in an interview, it was at this moment that the FLN really became a "front," as opposed to a unified organization: "former members of the MTLD and the UDMA moved into the leadership organs without really renouncing their individuality. It was in 1956 that the Front of today, this magma, was constituted." (Galula 2006: 256).

After Soummam, the disproportionately Kabyle leadership on the inside was slowly weeded out. First was the death of the political leader Abane Ramdane. Though Krim had been complacent in Abane's demise, he himself was slowly marginalized over the next couple years and later killed (Silverstein 2003: 88-89). That they were not professed "Berberists" only mattered to a degree; being French educated Kabyle in the leadership made "its supremacy intolerable and potentially dangerous for Arabism and Islamic identity of the national identity." (Chaker 1987:19). Yet these incidents, such as the situation surrounding Abane's death, were not publicized to the broader population as an instance of divisive, "Berberism." The FLN shrouded this event in mystery, only publishing months later in *El Moudjahid* that Abane had "died in the field of honnor." (Horne 1977: 227). The story stated that he was "surrounded by affection and admiration of all his brothers…nothing could foresee the brutal accident that was to tear him away from the fervour of fighting (for) Algeria." (Horne 1977: 227). The effect of this period for Kabylia and for the Berber movement was largely to reinforce separation from the nationalist movement. Kabylia had provided a number of leaders disproportional to its population and was a focal point of battle, but in the end it was slowly separated from control of the movement. This consolidated rifts in the leadership, and with the rising use of "Berber" as a divisive label among the nationalists, references to "Kabyle" and Berber were increasingly employed to group those that did not fit the nationalist agenda.

Yet despite these divisions, the FLN was able to link their message of reclaiming the Algerian state to a particular audience that assured continual dominance of the movement. As Conelly argues, as the FLN lacked territory as a basis for sovereignty, their claim had to abstractly connect with "peoples' estimations of their legitimacy as the rightful rulers—not just people in Algeria, but in France, the United States, and anywhere else influence could be brought to bear on the course of events." (Conelly 2002: 38). In 1958, the FLN declared itself the Gouvernement provisoire de la République algérienne

[5] Original text: "entachés de berbérisme et tournant le dos a l'Islam" (quoted in Chaker 1987:19)

(Naylor 2000: 27). Though quite presumptive given the state of their military at this point, it does portend an important final element for the development of the Algerian national discourse. Despite the internal divisions, military defeats, and almost a decade of conflict, the FLN managed to maintain a degree of dominance over rival nationalist groups. This assured that the their use of "Berber" as a divisive label meant to exclude certain populations was reproduced in the post-colonial state. Even as Soustelle and de Gaulle attempted to create a moderate, third force, the FLN made every effort to destroy any *interlocuteurs valables* (recognized interlocutors), to assure that their version of independence was carried to the end. The French declared a unilateral cease-fire in February 1961 as a show of good fAïth to begin negotiations with the FLN. (Naylor 2000: 27). The following year, negotiations commenced.

In sum, the FLN's discourse did not shift substantially in terms of aims or content. Its target audience overlapped substantially with the French, but focused on those that had been previously divided by French policies and the external audience for support. After Soummam, this external audience gained prominence, at the expense of efforts on the internal front to maintain a unified discourse. As mentioned above, between 1949 and the end of the war, there was no outright expression of Berber identity in the form of a broader movement. Though accusations of "Berberist" were mentioned within the FLN leadership, this labeling was not meant to target any larger audience and was primarily employed as justification for political exclusion. This period shows that categorization linked several characteristics together, connecting a geographical region to a language, culture, and particular political aims (whether the category was Kabyle, Berber, French, or Algerian). But most important, the purpose of using "Berber" was political- it was method for consolidating power. The other characteristics of "elite Kabyles," e.g., were attached to this category as a means to reinforce the notion of certain members as a distinct group; it was not the impetus for division, nor explicitly culturally based, but rather a tool to justify power struggles.

3.4 The Post-Colonial Discourse

The preceding sections have shown that the use of "Berber" shifted significantly, calling into question those arguments that treat Berber identity as a stable and historically consistent movement. This section first sketches how the Algerian state discourse used

categories in the immediate years following independence. Then within this context, this final historical period is used to examine the immediate context for the Berber identity movement, focusing on the moment in which “Berber” was used to signify a particular cultural claim and represent a broader population. The goal is to show both the immediate conditions of this shift in the use of “Berber” and the relevant trends from previous periods that manifested in the last few decades. Data for the Algerian discourse comprises primarily state policies, treaties, and charters that define the state identity. For the Berber movement, there are few official statements therefore the emerging literature, associations, and tentative political platforms are guides for the meaning and membership of “Berber” in this last phase.

3.4.1 Consolidation of the Algerian state

In this final phase, both the Algerian national discourse and the Berber identity movement reach a degree of consolidation. For the nationalists, an independent Algeria solidified the exclusive conception of Algeria as an Arab, Islamic state. The Algerian government initially faced internal political problems, but the trend undoubtedly moved towards increased “Arabization.” In the aftermath of the war, the FLN framed all resistance from the colonial period right up to independence as one continuum of struggle of a "singular Algerian colonial subject," under the slogan "One hero, one people." (Silverstein 2003: 89). The Algerian leadership met to vote on the result of the Evian Accords in Tripoli, Libya in 1962. The Tripoli Program described the Accords as "neocolonialist," and called on the FLN to continue to "liquidate, by all means, colonialism such as manifests itself still after the cease-fire." (Naylor 2000: 40). Though antagonistic relations continued to plague the leadership, the emergent Tripoli Program, like the Charter of Algiers to follow in 1964, consolidated the basic tenants of the nationalist identity and treated the Arab-Islamic dimensions as a given (Abrous and Chaudot-Hawad 1999:4). In 1963, Ben Bella became President of Algeria (Naylor 2000: 55). The transition to independence included several years of continued cooperation with France, which included continued cultural cooperation. Ben Bella realized that French was necessary for assistance and modernizing Algeria, but he continued to claim Arabization was the path to "rediscover an Algerian identity," (Naylor 2000: 64). In 1965, Houari Boumedienne sequestered the leadership from Ben Bella and pursued an even

more explicit program of national unity (Joffé 1980: 39). In the 1970's, state "Arabizing" policies especially targeted the media and the education system (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 69). The FLN announced in 1980 that "total Arabisation" would be completed in 1985 (Joffé 1980: 38).

Successive charters and constitutions reaffirm this, even renewing several historical incursions used to legitimize this state vision. They referenced antiquity and framed the resistance to domination, as well as the Arab conquest, as the base of the nation (through "conquest" does not appear- the words used are "une penetration pacifique a la faveur de l'adhésion populaire." (Abrous and Claudot-Hawad 1999: 5). In all these texts there is no mention of any Berber identity, but "Amazigh" is mentioned once along with Arab and Islamic as a core identity of Algeria, in the preamble of the 1986 Charter (Abrous and Claudot-Hawad 1999: 5). Yet the language continues to portray a universal state that is free from division. The constitution of November 28 1996 not only reaffirmed that: Islam is the religion of the state, and Arabic is the national and official language, but also added that: (Article 40:)" …political parties cannot be found on a religious, linguistic, racial, sexual, corporate, or regional basis; (Art. 42)…. political parties cannot resort to partisan propaganda referring to elements of the preceding subparagraph." (translated in Chaker 2001: 9-10). Three things are remarkable about the form of the Algerian state discourse. First, the choice of wording in the Tripoli Program, Charter of Algiers, and other documents comes almost verbatim from the FLN's declaration in 1954 showing the effect of the FLN's domination of the war period nationalist discourse. Second, the way the state presented Algerian legitimacy through historical narratives and the manner it expressed the fundamental tenants of the state in universal terms are notably French. The target areas for Arabization- education and language- were also designed to counter similar programs in the French quest for assimilation. This demonstrates the intersubjective nature of the national discourse- it formed to counter the colonial discourse along specific lines but in doing so also adopted the same language, and universal (yet exclusive) conception of state membership (though of course, the effect of these tenants in practice created a very different state than France). Third, is the lack of effort to incorporate "Berber," in this state discourse. It is not mentioned in the historical references in the national texts, nor represented in any policy. On the one hand, this can be interpreted as a break from the previous use of "Berber" in the nationalist discourse, which had used and recognized the label it as something that

needed to be reframed in the counter-French discourse. On the other hand, this use of "Arab" and the of lack of specific mention is in line with the development of "Muslim" as the key category employed both by the French and the emergent nationalists. Either way, the categorization of Algeria as a universally based, Arab-Islamic state created an exclusive version of the state that provided the context for consolidating the Berber movement.

3.4.2 Rise of the Berber identity movement

As has been shown, Kabylia was a center for resistance since early colonial rule, thus the fact that the first revolt post-independence also took place there does not necessarily represent a Berber anti-Arab claim. Kabylia had the lowest voter turnout in Algeria for the referendum in September 1962 on the new political system (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 67). In 1962, the limited Berber language press more or less disappeared as the national movement viewed linguistic diversity as a challenge to national unity, and the new constitution limited the formation of cultural associations (Chaker 2001: 1). Hocine Aït Ahmed formed the *Front des forces socialistes* (FFS) and led a revolt in 1963 that persisted beyond his own imprisonment in 1964 (Roberts 2001:18). Some, for example Joffé, directly relate Aït Ahmed's uprising as a reaction to Ben Bella's refusal to grant Berber elements a place under the Arabic nation (Joffé 1980: 39). Yet as the case with successive challenges, this agenda is debatable. As has been noted above, Aït Ahmed was one of the "historic chiefs" of the FLN, had led the OS before that, and had reacted with disdain at the subversive efforts of the divisive "Berberists" in 1949 (Roberts 2001:19). The FFS challenged Ben Bella's authoritarianism without any claims to Berber or Kabyle particularities, and drew support from Arab and Berber speakers in several regions of Algeria (Roberts 2001:19). In addition, half of the Kabyle representation in the national assembly actually condemned Aït Ahmed's actions. (Maddy-Weitzman 2011:68). The challenge to state authority did not present its claim based on cultural or linguistic representation, and the lack of support among a broader Berber audience shows that the notion of "Berber" representing some group against the Arab state was fairly insubstantial as this point in time.

The use of "Berber" as term to mobilize a broader population to challenge state policies did not occur until almost a decade later. The conception of "Berber" as a cultural

signifier implying group membership started to develop in the university context, first in France. 1967 the Académie Berbère was established at the University of Paris–VIII–Vicennes. (Maddy-Weitzman 2011:73). In 1969 this was renamed the Académie Berbère Agraw Imazighene and brought mostly intellectuals and artists together whose objective was to raised awareness of the Berber history, language, and culture (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 74). The Académie played a large role in France for the emigrant Kabyle community, publishing relevant polices and providing meeting places for discussions and events (Silverstein 2003: 91). Not all such organizations had the same aims, however. University students and scholars split off and formed the Groupe d'Études Berbères (GEB) and adopted a less political, more cultural approach in their association (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 75). In Algeria, by the late 1960's, there were some anti-Boumedienne stirrings in student groups, especially in Tizi-Ouzou (Kabylia) and Algiers. There was only limited organization in Algeria along cultural lines. In 1968 the Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) emerged, with its supporters secretly distributing information on a platform for a multicultural Algeria that would recognize Berber culture and language (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 72). Though the MCB was limited in its reach, it is one of the first organizations that uses "Berber" as self-identification for the purpose of connecting a cultural community. Amazigh (or the plural 'Imazigh') is also used along side Berber in this period, for one of the first times on a popular level since its introduction in the pre-war nationalist movement.

These cultural associations and academic centers were important for the development of Berber identity, but they comprised a mostly elite movement until around 1980. The shift to a broader audience is apparent through the popular texts that promoted Berber culture, especially in music and poetry. This genre of music, known as the "New Kabyle Song," has mostly been depicted as oppositional because it projects an identity at odds with the Arabic state (Goodman 2002: 102). The song *A Vava Inouva* (Oh My Father) by singer "Idir" (Hamid Cheriet) was adopted as a symbol for Kabyle identity in the early 1970's (Maddy- Weitzman 2011: 72). In an interview over the poetry of the New Kabyle Song, writer and colleague of Idir Ben Mohamed stated: '"Our system of reference," … had been "either the East or the West, [but] we didn't have our own lens."' (quoted in Goodman 2002: 102). Goodman argues that the New Kabyle Song shows a shift from earlier works primarily for presenting Beber lyrics without an accompanying translation (Goodman 2002: 109). It was clearly targeting a different audience than

previous Kabyle works in French, but the song *A Vava Inouva* also received attention in France and helped connect the Kabyle diaspora to Algeria (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 72). In this way, Idir and other singers became de facto spokespersons for Berber identity.

One of the most important figures in the growing Berber movement was Mouloud Mammeri, who among other things wrote the seminal Kabyle poetry collections *Les Isefra, Poemes de Si Mohand ou Mhand* of 1969, then later in 1980 *Poemes kabyles anciens* (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 76). Meant as a "transmission of Berber culture," the text of *Poemes kabyles anciens,* both challenges the colonial historical frame and targets a particularly Berber audience (Goodman 2002: 99). Speaking of the past conceptions of Kabyle poetry, Mammeri wrote: "Our poems were dead objects, mere arguments in the conceptual edifice erected by the West both to confine us and to understand itself…It is to reverse this process that I wrote this book, in the hopes of preparing the grounds for more radical projects, so that one day the culture of my ancestors will fly with its own wings." (Mammeri 1980, quoted in Goodman 2002: 99). Though some of the poems still target an elite French audience, the poems written in Berber are not translated into French; only a small segment of the population would be able to read these poems as Berber was not taught in Algeria at the time, but the shift in representing Berber culture is notable (Goodman 2002: 101). Similar to the effect of Idir's song, the poetry of Mammeri and others shows a shift in the aim of using "Berber." In the context of the cultural organizations in France, these groups were based on the idea of a community already existing and they served to connect people within that community. These songs and texts reframe "Berber;" they provide a new definition of the characteristics of this community and expand its membership.

In this context of increasing Arabization and this recognition of a uniquely Kabyle audience, in April 1980 demonstrations broke out in the capital city of Kabylia, Tizi-Ouzou. The protest was sparked by an incident when Mouloud Mammeri was banned from presenting a lecture at Tizi-Ouzou university (Joffé 1980: 40). Mostly starting with students, it quickly spread to the artist community and several well-known Kabyles were arrested (Joffé 1980: 41). Protesters demanded the creation of a Berber Department at the University of Tizi-Ouzou (created a decade later), and university level programs in the Berber language (Chaker 2001: 4). More importantly, this was the most widespread showing of any "Berber" movement. Later called the "Berber Spring," it became a kind of "memory site" whose annual commemoration provided a connection to a range of Berber

associations (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 80). Right before the protests in 1980, the FFS had added Berber language to its political platform, identifying itself as a representative of a particularly Berber claim (Maddy-Weitzman 2011: 76). With the development of "representatives" and an audience, within this context of Arabization, the cancellation of a lecture was enough to convince a wider community to reject the dominant discourse.

The first protests in Kabylia had not specifically centered on a Berber identity; up until this period, who or what was explicitly included in a Berber "group" was not clear. The act of including Berber culture as part of a political platform shows a final shift in the use of "Berber"- it asserts a claim of a defined constituency. "Berber" defines a group as different from the Arab state and in need of special attention. The protests of 1980 were different from the previous signs of collective activity in the nationalist phase. In the late 1940's, the songs that rallied Kabyles were meant to encourage them to join other Algerians, (as Kabyles but also as Algerians), against the French. The post-colonial phase is the first time that representatives claim to act on behalf of a Berber identity in opposition to an "Arab" identity; even though the term "Berber" had been used to distinguish a group from "Arabs" since the early 1830's, it was only around 1980 that Berber was used to mobilize a population self identifying as a group along cultural lines against the Arab Algerian state. As in many previous movements, this started among intellectuals. These works started to reform the frame of reference; instead of repeating the same myths, authors looked to develop a different "lens." For the first time a specifically Berber audience was defined for the purpose of furthering a Berber community. It is only at this moment that the Berber identity movement as recognized today first mobilized. Only at this point was the "Berber question" defined as a "problem of cultural minority." (Chaker 2001: 12)

Chapter 4: Discussion and Conclusion

4.1 A discursive approach to identity

Before the analysis concludes, several notes on the approach adopted here warrant attention. This project rests on the assumption that identity is a process; it is neither a purely ascribed characteristic nor something that defined groups intrinsically "have." To accommodate this perspective, the approach has sought to distance the discussion from

using “groups” as units of analysis and focus more on the discursive processes which link categories to the populations they describe. The benefits of this approach lie in the flexibility to examine a complex relationship in which a linear line of causality is absent. This allows the analysis of how conceptions of identity are created and examines if (or under what conditions) these conceptions shape collective action as “identity movements.” The challenge is to integrate causality into the processes that constitute and shape reality. The use of a historical analysis has aided the systematic comparison of how categories are used; the structure of several discourses as analytically distinct, but historically connected has highlighted both immediate context and elements that are reproduced and shift over time.

Critics of discourse analysis claim it runs the risk of simply describing a process, narrowly construes reality bereft of material aspects, and has little institutionalized methodology. One of the first challenges lies in determining what to analyze as “discourse.” One cannot use discourse analysis literally as the absolute record of all utterances and actions, nor is there a realistic way to examine the impact of everything comprising discourse. Looking at the words and actions of the dominant discourse has limited the analysis to those sources that potentially have the most effect. This has focused the analysis on the statements and actions of state and major organization leaders. The side effect of this approach is a narrow conception of what identity means- it is treated only as a broader collective understanding which provides the basis for interaction with the state, but in so doing overlooks the daily ways in which language, culture and the feelings of “belonging” to a group manifest. A thorough examination of these aspects goes beyond the scope of this study, but this comprises part of the process of identity formation. This project has attempted to limit the critique that discourse only treats words as reality with the inclusion of power relations, context, and actions in the analysis. This analysis has shown that there is often a disjunction between the texts and actions that purport to achieve the same goal, which supports a more pragmatic approach to discourse analysis. However, there are certain data limitations that have focused the current analysis disproportionately towards the use of texts. One practical challenge was the limited data that clearly divides education, citizenship, and labor statistics among different populations (in the French tradition of prohibiting such official data based on race, religion, and ethnicity). This has made it more difficult to assess the actual impact of policies on Kabylia, for example, thus the analysis at times focused more on texts that reflected

policies. To rectify this bias, the analysis has attempted to treat texts as "signposts" for actions; it has followed the narratives and policies which aim to use categories in a certain way, then trace the effects of these words as evidence of the actions comprising discourse.

A final potential limitation is in the ability to extrapolate the present conclusions to other cases. Since the goal of this analysis was not to test the validity of a theory but explore how processes work, this study has not posited precise causal relations. Securitization theory does not aim to model linear causality, but this creates a number of potential variables. Some (e.g. Balzacq 2010) have attempted to detail the conditions for successful securitization to develop a more systematic model. Identifying the many moving parts in securitization helps organize broad processes, but this framework may be more useful when developed with an additional theoretical base that limits the possible relations under scrutiny. As a model for identity formation, the inclusion of constructivist tenets and conceptions of state membership have allowed a more systematic treatment of securitization processes. This has attempted to extend the use of securitization outside of the more obvious application in situations of conflict. During the Algerian war for independence, for example, both French and Algerian leadership explicitly tried to destroy the "middle ground" with discourse; French policies of collective responsibility, the FLN's brutal treatment of the unaffiliated civilian population, for example, sent a clear message: we define ourselves as against them. If you are not with us, then you must support them. The aim of this kind of extreme categorization is not only to gain support for the war effort, but also to exclude a threatening group from the national discourse, and simultaneously define the parameters of one's own identity. Using the same model to describe how French colonial intellectuals modeled the "Kabyle myth" shows the flexibility of this theoretical framework, but points to the use of additional theoretical understandings as part of this process.

4.2 The variable function of categorical divisions

The previous sections have dissected the use of "Berber" and "Arab" in several historical contexts to examine two competing explanations and develop an alternative understanding for how categorization has mobilized the Berber identity movement. Each historical conception of "Berber" has contributed to the reification of the Berber/Arab divide, but in ways that are not immediately obvious unless placed within the historical

context. A first reading of the historical sections shows this changing use of "Berber." In the French colonial discourse, "Berber" and "Arab" first functioned to legitimize the colonial claim to Algeria, and then they served to organize the population. Though intellectual texts defined "good" Berbers as separate from their "lazy Arab" counterparts, the actions of the colonial administration (evident through education policies, land and tax reforms, and citizenship regulations), show that categorization functioned differently than to define a small, elite class of Kabyles. The policies and stereotypes that had the most impact were those general groupings of "Muslims" which separated Algerians from French and other Europeans. In the nationalist context, categories of "Berber" and "Arab" served the purpose of creating a new category: Algerian. "Berber" was a tool to recreate identity and consolidate nationalist politics. Kabyle leaders joining this movement placed Berber language within this struggle for independence; it functioned to mobilize Kabyles to support Algeria, but not a particular cultural claim posited against an Arab identity. The fact that "Berberist" was later recast as "divisive" for political aims shows both how the use of a category can shift rapidly depending on the political context, and also the lack of correlation between the people from Kabylia and the identity they supposedly "possess," or with which they are ascribed. The war period demonstrates the convergence of two discourses at a moment of transition. Categories in this context serve to define national identity first, but this period also shows that the trends from preceding periods continued to influence French and nationalist actions. The French discourse briefly implemented more inclusive policies, but largely continued to categorize Algerians as simply "Muslim." On the nationalist side, categories served to isolate Kabylia slowly as the external leadership built an Arab state. The post-colonial state completely abolished references to "Berber," and the dominant Arab category represented Algerian politics, but initial resistance claimed no "Berber" agenda. The Berber identity movement only emerged after "Berber" was used by those professing to represent a population and assert a cultural claim, through the creation of associations, the popularization of culture through songs and texts, and the eventual politicization of claims in protests and political platforms. In each phase, therefore, categories served a different function, which largely depended on the current political needs and power relations constituting the immediate and distal contexts.

This presents a fragmented picture of Berber identity formation. However, the Berber movement itself continues to demonstrate a fragmented facade, placed somewhere

between cultural claim and political movement. Chaker describes the last few decades of intermittent protest as the "definite awakening of the Berber identity consciousness." (Chaker 2001: 2). After political reforms in 1989, Chaker notes that 154 Berber cultural associations had registered in Kabylia alone, and the Berber Cultural Movement (MCB) formed in Tizi-Ouzou to represent "Berber civil society." (Chaker 2001: 6). Algeria has since seen a surge of television programs, radio broadcasts, and attempts at publishing in Berber language (Chaker 2001: 6-7). However, even Chaker presents a movement lacking in coherence; while these cultural programs demonstrate more popular interest in Berber culture, most associations are short lived and do not establish a significant community presence, while the publications have limited distribution (Chaker 2001: 5). The locus for action also remains Kabylia, even though there are several other dialects and regions that are associated with the Berber identity. In addition, strictly speaking there is no political party that professes to represent a Berber cultural community. In 1979, Aït Ahmed placed Berber language specifically at the heart of the FFS political agenda, though some argue this was only nominally adopted (Chaker 2001: 6; Roberts 2001: 19). The *Rassemblement pour la culture et la démocratie* (RCD), claims it is not a "Berber" party, but based on republic, democratic organization and secular aims (Chaker 2001: 7). The support for these parties is varied. Roberts argues that following the reforms in 1989 that led to more political pluralism, other Algerian Berberophones like the Shawiyya and Mzabis did not show any support for "Berberist" politics, and have professed little support for the political movements that have challenged the Arab-Islamic version of Algeria. (Roberts 2001:9). The Mzabis elected independent candidates, and the Shawiyya largely vacillated between the FLN or the FIS (Front Islamique du Salut) (Roberts 2001:9). Based on this review of Algeria's Arabic state and the nature of the reactions against it, Roberts argues that unity on the "Berber" question has been more about opposing the government than proposing a coherent platform (Roberts 2001:11).

This representation of the Berber identity movement shows there is still substantial debate as to what this movement means today. This assessment reflects the historical analysis, and challenges both arguments presented previously based on stable labels and groups. Viewing the Berber movement as purely culturally based has some merit. An underlying distinction among Algeria's people remains linguistic and associations increasingly target language representation as a major goal. But the fact that there is a linguistic difference does not explain why this should cause conflict, and citing this as the

primary impetus for action also implies that "Berber" has constituted a bounded entity. In instances where "Berber" divides were noted as the locus for conflict, a closer examination reveals that this was often due to the political manipulations of labels. The cultural dimension was highlighted and redefined depending on who used "Berber" and the specific aim. Similarly, arguments that attribute the identity movement to an elite separation of the population in colonial times present some valid perspectives, but the historical analysis shows that the actual advantage for Kabyles in colonial rule was limited, not to mention the fact that the other Berber speaking regions in Algeria received no additional attention. The focus on Kabylia as an "elite" region did serve to focus additional attention on this region and its people as separate. Yet there appears to be little enduring conception of "Berber" as was originally used in the colonial context. Instead, conceptions of Berbers as an elite or a cultural group have surfaced sporadically over the course of Algeria's history, used in various contexts to create some sense of "groupness" for shifting policy aims.

4.3 Conclusion: a genealogy of "Berber"

The noted shift in "Berber" and "Arab" categories prompts an examination of why these have changed. This entails looking at the process behind the use and impact of categories and asks different questions then the two primary arguments that have served the basis for analysis. A second reading of this historical interaction as a connected process reveals several trends that point to an alternative understanding for the Berber identity movement. First, examining the purpose and structuring of categories in each section elucidates the intersubjective nature of identity. This was related to the power dynamics of each context. The French colonial discourse and conception of Algeria provided the dominant discursive context for the nationalist movement, and the post-colonial discourse was a product of both. Any attempt to reshape the use and meaning of categories took place within these successive discursive contexts. The historical analysis shows that in each phase, actors challenging the dominant conception of "Berber" or "Arab" employed discursive tools that mirrored those used in the dominant discourse. This is especially apparent in the reframing of the historical narratives that served to legitimize claims to Algeria: narratives in all periods focused on reclamation and discovering historical truth to support each conception of identity. This reproduction of

discursive tools also appeared in the dimensions of state identity. In the French, nationalist, and post-colonial context, language and education were core components of identity. This can arguably be traced to the institutionalized French education system of the 1880's, but understanding how this affected the current Berber current claim for language requires examining how the nationalist discourse tried to counter French with its own stringent Arabization policies. The immediate context for the Berber identity movement is thus linked to this historical progression of interacting discourse.

Second, the "elite" and "cultural group" arguments not only assume the consistent use of labels and groups, but they also narrow the scope of inquiry to only "Berber" and "Arab." The analysis shows the importance of several other categories in the process, namely the broader state categories of French or Algerian, and various groupings of Muslim/non-Muslim, Berberist, e.g.. This reiterates the transient nature of categorical divisions, but the interaction of these categories also provides some clues as to why "Berber" and "Arab" have seemingly persisted despite the fact that they assumed different roles in various contexts. The general purpose of all categories was to determine membership; it was to define the characteristics of groups and determine their relation to others. Though the immediate context showed in several cases that these categories could be manipulated to define smaller groups, such as "FLN leadership," they were continuously tied to the dominant conceptions of French or Algerian state membership. This observation, and the intersubjective nature of this process leads to an alternate understanding of how the categorizations of "Berber" and "Arab" have effectively mobilized a identity movement. The form of state membership as universal yet exclusive was very important in this case. It was universal in the sense that official policies were not based on any groupings of race, religion, or ethnicity; state membership was determined on the basis of civil status in an individual capacity. The exception for France was its treatment of Algeria, which introduced Arab/Berber into the policy sphere. They were used to determine degrees of membership in comparison to the French state, hence the dual "exclusive" nature of this form of membership. Thus even as Algeria developed its own state based on remarkably similar tenets of universal, republican (and extremely Jacobin) values, categorization in practice continued to function as a way to separate some populations from the state. The fact that Arab-Islamic was used as a fundamental "universal" characteristic in Algeria (to counter the dominant French usage of "Muslim") assured that Berber was the only category reformed with characteristics implying

"divisive," "elite," etc, placed in Kabylia, and compared to the Algerian state. In this sense, one can say that the current movement in Algeria is indeed a response to Algerian state policies. But understanding why Algeria developed this particular discourse, or why "Berber" has not represented a stable historical grouping, necessitates a broader view of the complete process of identity formation between two national discourses.

Finally, two notes on the significance of this analysis for understanding how categorization has shaped Berber identity. This analysis has aimed to examine the Berber movement, but the emergent story primarily details Kabylia's development. This was the intended focus, but the extent to which this represents the development of Berber identity in other regions is not clear. The analysis has shown that Kabylia was the focus of French attention, a cradle for nationalist leadership, and a center for independence and post-colonial protests. This has made Kabylia a leader in the Berber identity movement, but a comparison with another region would strengthen the explanations presented in the preceding discussion. A next step for further study could compare how the use of "Berber" was used in Morocco or in other regions of Algeria. As they also exist within the French colonial discourse, this may provide a degree of control to compare how certain processes unraveled differently and affected the level of Berber identity-based activity in other areas.

Next, the fragmented historical development and apparent lack of coherence in the current movement may prompt the critique that this is not actually an identity movement at all, but rather based on Kabyle resistance to authoritative Algerian state policies. This immediate context has undoubtedly constituted an important part of the explanation. But the presented assessment of how "Berber" and "Arab" were restructured shows this is not only a reaction to repression; that conclusion would make the current movement little different from many years of resistance to colonial rule. The key difference was the restructuring of what "Berber" meant and what it aimed to do in a distinct context. In the post-colonial context, Berber functioned not only to oppose policies, but it was meant to connect a broader community and reframe the categories with different characteristics and membership than either colonial or nationalist discourses had employed previously. This is similar to how the emergence of the nationalist movement was marked not by resistance, but by the moment in which a representative and redefinition of how "Berber" or "Arab" was used to appeal to a broader audience. In this sense the movement has "mobilized," and remains distinguishable as an identity movement even if notions of

inherent "groupism" are challenged. Explaining the development of Berber identity requires conceptualizing "Berber" as a term used with purpose that produces a context dependent effect. This shifts the understanding of the current Berber movement away from what Berber *is*, to examining identity as the process that connects categories and the populations they describe. The preceding analysis has started to clarify how this process unfolds, and though limited in space to fully develop all dimensions of the "Berber question," presents a case for approaching identity formation in this manner.

List of Abbreviations:

AUMA- *Association des Uléma Musulmans Algériens* (Association of Algerian Muslim Ulama), founded in 1931 by leader Sheikh Abd el-Hamid Ben Badis

CMA- *Congrès Mondial Amazigh* (World Amazigh Congress), founded in 1995 to protect international Amazigh identity

CRUA- *Comité révolutionnaire d'unité et d'action* (Revolutionary Committee for Unity and Action), breakaway militant successor to the OS and MTLD

ENA- *Étoile nord-africaine* (North African Star), Algerian nationalist organization founded in 1926 under the aegis of Amar Imache and Messali Hadj

FEMA- *Fédération des élus musulmans d'Algérie* (Federation of Elected Algerian Muslims), movement to increase Algerian representation in government, best known under the leadership of Ferhat Abbas

FES- *Front des forces socialistes* (Socialist Forces Front), party formed by Hocine Aït Ahmed in opposition to the FLN in independent Algeria in 1963

FIS- *Front Islamique du Salut* (Islamic Salvation Front) main political rival to the FLN in Algeria

FLN- *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front), main revolutionary party during Algerian independence, current socialist party in Algerian politics

GEB- *Groupe d'Études Berbères* (Berber Studies Group), Berber cultural association started in Paris, 1969

MCB- *Mouvement Culturel Berbère* (Berber Cultural Movement), formed in the late1960's in Algeria, this organization remained largely clandestine until 1980

MNA- *Mouvement National Algérien* (Algerian National Movement), Messali Hadj's last organizational attempt to challenge the FLN's hold on Algerian nationalism

MTLD- *Mouvement pour le triomphe des libertés démocratiques* (Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties), Messali Hadj's nationalist party to replace PPA in 1946

OS- *Organisation Speciale* (Special Organization), the military arm of MTLD

PPA- *Parti du people algérien* (Algerian People's Party), successor to ENA under Messali Hadj

RCD- *Rassemblement pour la culture et la démocratie* (Rally for Culture and Democracy), Algerian political party founded in 1989

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