

**Marginalization and Persistence of Colonial Legacies: The Crisis of Arab
Immigrants in France**

Hashem Hilles

George Mason University
M.S Conflict Analysis and Resolution

University of Malta
M.A Conflict Resolution and Mediterranean Security
2023



University of Malta Library – Electronic Thesis & Dissertations (ETD) Repository

The copyright of this thesis/dissertation belongs to the author. The author's rights in respect of this work are as defined by the Copyright Act (Chapter 415) of the Laws of Malta or as modified by any successive legislation.

Users may access this full-text thesis/dissertation and can make use of the information contained in accordance with the Copyright Act provided that the author must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the prior permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

Abstract

This research delves into the historical and contemporary processes of marginalization that have shaped the experiences of French Algerians, particularly within the context of identity and belonging. The research begins by examining the historical context of French Algeria, tracing the roots of power dynamics, cultural hierarchies, and identity construction that continue to influence the lives of French Algerians. It analyzes how the colonial administration employed knowledge production, ethnography, and the creation of racial and cultural hierarchies to justify its control over Algeria, setting the stage for enduring power imbalances. The study then shifts its focus to contemporary France, investigating the lived experiences of French Algerians in the realm of identity and belonging. It highlights how the legacy of colonialism, combined with postcolonial challenges, contributes to a sense of marginalization and discrimination among this community.

Acknowledgements

For family and friends, and friends everywhere.

To Dr. Alexandra Schaerrer for her long efforts and patience.

To my first teacher, Gilles Deleuze, whom I've tried repeatedly not to mention, so this academic research wouldn't turn into a love letter.

To the wonderful friends in Malta, and to everyone who made this year special.

Finally, to the teenager who once aspired to write a book, you're on the way.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction: 6

1.1 Thesis Overview: 9

Chapter 2: Literature Review: 12

2.1 Understanding Settler Social Structures: 14

2.2 Horowitz's Advanced and Backward Group: 16

2.3 The Ethnic Division of Labor: 17

3.3 Karl Marx's class analysis: 17

Chapter 3: Methodology: 23

3.1 Process Tracing: Examination Through a Colonial Historical Lens: 25

3.2 Content Analysis and Narrative Building: 28

3.3 Limitations: 29

Chapter 4: Foundational Background: 34

4.1 Colonial Episteme and Ethnographic Knowledge: 35

4.2 Tocqueville in Algeria: 38

4.3 Tocqueville in the Context of colonial liberalism: 40

4.4 Colonialism and the Enlightenment Era: 42

4.5 Direct and indirect rule: 42

4.6 The Kabyle Myth: 24

4.7 Arab immigrants: 'Backward' group within an 'Advanced' country: 48

4.8 Conclusion: 52

Chapter 5: French Colonialism and Immigration Policies: A Political Economy Perspective: 54

5.1 The Political Economy of Precolonial Algeria: 55

5.2 The Political Economy within the Colony: 58

5.3 The Political Economy of Immigration in France: 62

5.4 The North African Experience in the Post-Industrialist Era: 64

5.5 Different Mechanisms in Different Epochs: 69

5.6 Conclusion: 72

Chapter 6: Nation-Building and Immigration: Interconnected Aspects: 73

6.1 Class vs. Culture Approach to the French Revolution: 75

6.2 Cultural Approach to the French Revolution: 76

6.3 Economic Progress and Unfolding of the Bourgeoisie: 79

6.4 Citizenship and Immigration: 82

6.5 Beyond the Veil: The Implications of Cultural Differences: 85

6.6 Conclusion: 89

Chapter 7: Conclusion: 91

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2005, a series of widespread riots and civil unrest occurred in various suburbs and cities across France, primarily in low-income neighborhoods with significant immigrant populations, including those of North African and Arab descent. The riots were triggered by the death of two teenagers, Zyed Benna and Bouna Traoré, who were electrocuted while hiding in an electrical substation while trying to escape from police in the suburb of Clichy-sous-Bois, a suburb of Paris, on October 27, 2005.

Again in 2023, the killing of Nahel, a 17-year-old Algerian second-generation immigrant in the suburbs of Paris after being stopped by two police officers. The incident led to similar civil unrest in Paris, Lyon, Marseille, and other French cities. The riots included setting bus stops on fire, firing police officers with fireworks, and destroying private properties. These incidents ignited discussions in France about police brutality and violence among immigrants of African origin in general, and North Africans in particular.

The aim of this research is to explore current and historical processes of marginalization that lead to the crisis of Arab immigrants in France. Many cultural approaches that focus on identity and religion instead of the material and historical processes of the issue fail to recognize the roots of subjugation of Arabs in France and explain the issues based on what is present and apparent without going through the causes that resulted in the current state of affairs. In this paper, I contend that the echoes of historical policies once enacted in French colonies resound even after

Algeria's independence, as the persistently unchanged colonial mindset continues to shape the reception of Arabs in France, mirroring the patterns of the colonial era.

These parallels persist across various contexts and manifestations, serving as a testament to the enduring grip of colonial power. While the transformation of Western reception has shifted from racial and biological othering to cultural distinctions based on lifestyles and values, the unchanging thread stems from enduring systemic and material conditions rooted in the colonial era.

The research examines the experiences of North Africans and Algerians in particular, living in France and delves into the historical context of French Algeria to identify parallels that contribute to the challenges of acceptance and integration within French culture for Algerians and Arabs in general.

Algeria represented a valuable case than other colonies for the varying French authorities that have ruled the country. There are multiple reasons for this, first, Algeria was an integral part of France since 1848, with the three coastal provinces being made full-fledged départements. This meant that Algerian settlers, including Europeans, gained French citizenship, and had political rights within the French system, distinguishing Algeria from other colonies. Second, the numbers of French settlers outnumbered the number of Algerians in some parts of the country (Hauser, 1995). Third, Algeria was geographically closer to Europe compared to other African colonies, which facilitated greater migration and interaction between Algeria and European countries like France, Italy, and Spain. The proximity played a role in shaping the colonial dynamics and the relationship between the settlers and the indigenous population. This is partly the reason why Algerians have the largest population of Immigrants in France.

Despite the fact that Algeria was part of the territories of France and Algerians being extended French citizenship, Algerians have faced forced labor often working in harsh conditions on settler-owned lands as they were used as cheap labor. Cultural suppression was a tactical tool by the French authorities to undermine resistance by the native population. The colonial authorities aimed at marginalizing indigenous language and cultural identity by assimilating Algerians into French culture. Furthermore, Algerians were subjected to arbitrary violence, including beatings, public floggings, and even executions.

The different processes of subjugation the French have employed in Algeria and other North African colonies persist now in multiple forms with the treatment of North African immigrants in France, including brutality, attempts at assimilation, and turning these populations into cheap labor for the French economy. To understand these historical parallels, it is vital to trace the historical events and policies that were implemented in the colonial era and compare it to the testimonies of Arabs in France, and particularly Algerians. The focus on Algeria in this context is grounded in two significant factors. Firstly, Algerians constitute the largest Arab population in France, rendering their experiences particularly influential and representative of broader dynamics. Secondly, the historical depth and extensive interactions between France and Algeria, spanning multiple centuries, have left an indelible mark on the relationship between these two entities, making it a compelling subject for examination.

Based on an exploration of colonial knowledge and the historical subjugation and ethnic identification of North Africans, this research reveals that these processes persistently recur in the experiences of North African immigrants. This persistence

can be attributed to the enduring values and policies of the French Republic, which hinder the integration of Muslim North Africans into French society.

By delving into the mechanisms of colonial knowledge, this study unveils the ongoing replication of these processes within the contemporary context. The policies established during the colonial era have left a lasting impact, impeding the successful integration of North African immigrants in France. These policies serve as barriers, restricting the opportunities and social mobility of Muslim North Africans and perpetuating their marginalization within French society. Scholars such as (Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon, 2006) note that there are notable discrepancies between immigrants of non-European descent and their European counterparts, notably individuals from Spain and Portugal.

1.1 Thesis Overview

The first chapter delves into the theoretical underpinnings of the paper, focusing on the concept of Colonial Knowledge and its relevance to the research topic. By examining the historical context of French Algeria, this chapter aims to shed light on the enduring legacies of colonialism and their impact on present-day experiences of Algerians and North Africans in France. Drawing on postcolonial theory and critical discourse analysis, the first chapter analyzes the power dynamics inherent in colonial knowledge production. It explores how colonial discourses and representations shaped perceptions of Algerians, constructing them as the "other" and perpetuating stereotypes that continue to influence intercultural dynamics in contemporary France. By unpacking the ways in which knowledge was produced, disseminated, and internalized during the colonial era, the chapter lays the

groundwork for understanding the complexities of identity, integration, and cultural acceptance faced by Algerians in France today.

The second chapter delves into the concept of ethnic division of labor, examining its historical manifestations within the context of French Algeria and its implications in present-day France. By exploring the socio-economic structures and labor dynamics during the colonial period, this chapter uncovers the roots of the enduring patterns of ethnic segregation and inequality in contemporary French society.

Through a comparative analysis of the past and present, the chapter highlights the persistence of ethnic divisions within the labor market and the challenges faced by Algerians and North Africans in accessing equal opportunities. It examines the systemic barriers, discriminatory practices, and stereotypes that perpetuate socio-economic disparities and hinder the integration and upward mobility of these communities. By critically examining the legacy of the colonial-era division of labor, this chapter aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the structural factors contributing to the marginalization of Algerians in France today.

The third chapter delves into the religious dimension of the conflict experienced by Algerians and North Africans in France. It explores the perceived attacks on religious identity and the ways in which this phenomenon is rooted in an assimilationist mindset reminiscent of the colonial era in French Algeria.

By analyzing historical and contemporary examples, the chapter examines how cultural assimilation policies and the pressure to conform to dominant French norms have affected the religious practices and expressions of Algerians. It investigates the tensions between maintaining religious traditions and adhering to societal expectations, which contribute to a sense of identity crisis and marginalization. By

drawing parallels between the assimilationist mindset of the past and its echoes in present-day France, this chapter aims to provide insights into the complexities of religious identity and the challenges faced by Algerians in reconciling their faith with the pressures of integration.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Michael Foucault's (2003) conceptualization of power challenges conventional paradigms by asserting that power is not merely possessed or relinquished; rather, it is enacted through action. This fundamental premise prompts an exploration into the very nature of power and its operational mechanisms. From this inquiry emerges two distinct perspectives. The first contends that power is fundamentally repressive, suppressing elements such as nature, class, and ethnic identity. Does this imply that power analysis centers solely on the study of repressive mechanisms? The second perspective delves deeper, considering power's underlying foundation. If power is not granted or revoked, it must find its grounding in conflict and struggle – effectively rendering politics as the continuation of war through alternative means. The reconciliation of these viewpoints suggests that repression serves as the political outcome of war, evolving beyond mere abuse to symbolize the perpetuation of a dominant relationship (Foucault, 2003).

This study draws its roots from political philosophy, interrogating the core tenets of colonialism, power, and the episteme within which they operate. Episteme refers to the underlying systems of knowledge, concepts, and rules that shape the ways in which individuals in a particular historical period perceive and understand the world. It goes beyond individual knowledge to encompass the broader framework through which knowledge is produced, categorized, and legitimized within a given society. By forging connections between disparate eras, it presupposes that while the episteme

may have evolved, its outcomes remain strikingly consistent. This inference implies the strategic manipulation of Arab immigrants, hinting at a lasting power with enduring effects. The domination exercised by the French over Arabs, underpinned by power, finds its reinforcement in discourse – a discourse that fabricates its own version of truth. Michel Foucault's theoretical framework profoundly influences this investigation.

Foucault's (2003, 27, 28) conception of power departs from traditional views, eschewing a focus on rule-governed and "legitimate" power. Instead, he scrutinizes the mechanisms employed by institutions operating beyond traditional power structures. Within the context of French colonial power, both forms of control are evident – overt repression, land appropriation, cultural erasure, and forced labor. Beneath the surface, civilians who executed these procedures played pivotal roles, acting as scholars, educators, and physicians. This decentralized execution aligns with the values espoused by the colonial center.

This intricate power dynamic parallels the experiences of contemporary Arab immigrants in France. State and police actions result in harm, echoing the earlier noted police brutality. Neoliberal policies legitimize the state and further solidify the challenges faced by Arab immigrants. Within this dual framework, centralized and decentralized forces coalesce.

The underlying theory of this research posits that knowledge is not detached from power dynamics; rather, it is intricately linked to them. Knowledge production does not occur in a vacuum, and intellectuals do not simply observe and theorize about realities. Instead, they engage in categorizing identities, often overlooking the richness of difference in order to serve existing power structures. Difference, as a

fundamental aspect of human existence, does not align with the interests of those in power, whereas identity formation contributes to the establishment of social hierarchies.

2.1 Understanding Settler Social Structures

Ethnographers played a pivotal role in shaping realities for the colonial settlers. Their knowledge had a functional relationship with reality, serving the purpose of ruling and controlling rather than seeking genuine understanding. The primary objective was to establish a settler social structure that served the interests of the colony. Consequently, settler ethnographers adhered to the categories created by the colonial system. These mental categories encompassed dichotomies such as civilized versus savage populations, religious and tribal as backward, secular and cosmopolitan as advanced, and communal property and immediate needs as representative of primordial social life, while private property and production-based economies signified advancement. (Horowitz, 1985). These binary categories were not mere abstract concepts used to comprehend diverse social systems; they were concrete realities imposed upon people. If a population did not conform to the prescribed level of advancement dictated by these categories, they were deemed inherently inferior and condemned indefinitely.

In this research, the assumption that knowledge serves power and states is drawn from the ideas of Michel Foucault. Michel Foucault (1972) referred to the knowledge system of the modern era as the "empirical-analytic" or "positivist" episteme. This episteme represents a distinct shift in the organization and production of knowledge that emerged in the 18th and 19th centuries. The empirical-analytic episteme is characterized by a focus on empirical observation, measurement, and the analysis of

data. It emphasizes the importance of systematic observation and experimentation as a means to generate knowledge and establish scientific truths. This episteme is closely associated with the rise of the natural and social sciences, which sought to uncover regularities and laws governing the natural and social realms.

Foucault's concept of episteme highlights the interconnectedness of power and knowledge, suggesting that discourses are not naturally emergent but are shaped by power dynamics. Power operates through these discourses, influencing both citizens and the social field. Colonialism, though it may have disappeared in the political realm, continues to exert its interests and power in various forms. Foucault here provides great assistance when studying Arabs integration in France and what are the obstacles behind it. I conclude in the first chapter that systems of knowledge and categorization that existed during French Algeria are still maintained to a certain extent, and they still re-emerge when Arabs discuss their experiences in France.

Edward Said's work (1978,1993) unveils how European intellectuals constructed a distorted image of the East, perpetuating stereotypes and prejudices. European scholars and thinkers, driven by colonial ambitions, sought to assert the superiority of Western civilization. They categorized Eastern societies as stagnant, exotic, and inferior, reinforcing the colonial narrative of European domination and the civilizing mission. These Orientalist ideas continue to influence Western perceptions of Arabs and Muslims, fostering a climate of misunderstanding and bias. In contemporary France, the legacy of Orientalism can be seen in the persistence of stereotypes and the challenges faced by Arab immigrants in dismantling these preconceived notions.

2.2 Horowitz's Advanced and Backward Groups

The notion of categorizing groups as `backward" and `advanced` has a deep-rooted history in Western thought, dating back to the 17th century and continuing through the colonial era and beyond. These categorizations were not limited to comparisons between Europeans and non-Europeans but extended to create hierarchies even among non-European populations.

This concept of evaluating societies based on their perceived adherence to European values and ideals originated during the Enlightenment era. Philosophers and thinkers of that time, influenced by notions of progress and reason, began to assess societies in relation to European standards of civilization. This Eurocentric perspective led to the construction of a binary framework in which European societies were deemed advanced, while non-European societies were often labeled as `backward` or `savage` (Horowitz, 1985).

These hierarchies and binaries were not confined to theoretical discussions but were actively employed as justifications for colonialism. When French ethnographers arrived in Algeria and other colonized regions, they utilized these preconceived notions to divide native populations along perceived lines of advancement or primitiveness.

For instance, French ethnographers interpreted the Kabyle myth through this Eurocentric lens, which allowed them to categorize indigenous Algerians into hierarchical groups. This process reinforced the colonial narrative that European intervention was necessary to civilize and uplift these `backward` populations,

thereby justifying the colonization and subjugation of these societies (Horowitz, 1985).

Importantly, these hierarchies and binaries did not disappear with the end of formal colonial rule. They continue to influence contemporary perceptions and attitudes, both in France and globally. The legacy of colonialism and its construction of racial and cultural hierarchies persists in various forms, including how certain immigrant communities are perceived.

In the context of Arab immigrants in France, these historical categorizations contribute to the perpetuation of stereotypes and biases. Arabs are often subjected to prejudiced views rooted in these historical categorizations, which can hinder their social integration and economic opportunities (Horowitz, 1985).

2.3 The Ethnic Division of Labor

The concept of the ethnic division of labor (Wills et al., 2009), derived from the Marxist tradition, provides valuable insights into the socioeconomic dynamics experienced by Algerians and Arabs in France. This literature review examines how this division perpetuates inequality and unequal power relations within the economy.

Scholars Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon (2006), Fougère and Pouget (2004), and Dupray and Moullet (2004) have observed that Algerians and Arabs in France are often confined to low-paying and marginalized positions within the labor market. This pattern is attributed to various factors, including institutionalized discrimination, limited educational opportunities, language barriers, and biased hiring practices. Consequently, these communities face significant challenges in accessing higher-

paying and prestigious occupations, leading to a cycle of poverty and restricted upward mobility.

The ethnic division of labor not only affects individuals' economic well-being but also reinforces social disparities. Those in low-paying jobs have limited access to resources, opportunities, and social capital, reinforcing unequal power dynamics. Moreover, this division contributes to the construction of stereotypes and prejudices against Algerians and Arabs, further marginalizing and stigmatizing these groups within society.

The literature on the ethnic division of labor provides a theoretical framework for understanding the persistent socioeconomic challenges faced by Algerians and Arabs in France. It underscores the importance of policy interventions and social initiatives aimed at dismantling discriminatory structures and fostering inclusive environments that enable these communities to overcome barriers and achieve economic and social advancement.

2.4 Karl Marx's class analysis

The incorporation of Marx's (1974) concepts into this study is driven by the explanatory potency that the notion of class holds within his theoretical framework. Nevertheless, delving into Marx or Marxism demands a nuanced approach, as one must discern which facets of Marx's thought are under scrutiny. In this research, I do not align with the traditional, rigid Marxist viewpoint akin to that of the Soviet Union. Instead, I adopt a more tempered form of Marxism, acknowledging that while class analysis is a pivotal tool, it is not the sole lens for dissecting social and political phenomena.

My stance in this research aligns with Erik Wright's (2005) assertion that class occupies a distinctive central role within the Marxist tradition. Wright (2005) highlights the role of exploitation as a defining characteristic of the Marxist concept of class, distinguishing it from alternative interpretations of the term. Exploitation, in this context, reflects the dynamic between capitalists and workers, where workers are remunerated with wages that fall short of the value they generate—the surplus value, as Marx terms it.

Marx's notion of value creation, particularly evident under capitalism in the form of commodities, gives rise to a social division of labor that significantly influences societal function. My assertion is that while class is not the exclusive tool, it's the primary tool by which society and culture evolve. To this end, I employ Marx's historical materialism—a tool that underscores the paramount role of class in shaping historical trajectories.

Marx introduces a nuanced interplay between the mode of production and society at large. The mode of production, dictating how goods are produced and distributed, to some degree determines societal functioning. Marx's core contention is that those controlling production also wield power over society. Class struggle emerges as the principal impetus behind historical change. Identities and cultures, according to Marx, represent surfaces that don't elucidate the driving forces of conflicts; rather, conflict is fundamentally about wealth and resources.

How does this intersect with our research focus? I contend that the dynamics between French Europeans and the indigenous population of Algeria, as well as subsequent Arab immigrants, mirror the employer-employee relationship. However, this doesn't negate the racial or ethnic dimensions of this dynamic; it merely

elucidates why France conquered Algeria—was it to civilize or control, to teach liberalism or extract resources? Marx, applied here, primarily discerns the economic underpinnings of colonialism, without negating its outward manifestations.

The settler-native dynamic cultivated a superiority complex for settlers that endures. My research aims to unveil how this dynamic rested on the exploitation of natives by settlers—predominantly economically, yet with multifaceted implications. The imagery of wealthy or middle-class settlers compared to impoverished and unclean natives pervades these dynamics, observable in contemporary France, where immigrants are often deemed disorganized and unclean in contrast to the organized native populace. I posit that this discrimination's root ties back to the colonial past, entrenched in class-based superiority.

Fanon, a dedicated Marxist, scrutinizes Marx in the context of settlers and natives. He recognizes the nuanced nature of the settler-native dynamic, distinct from the capitalist-worker relationship. A settler, as per Fanon, is wealthy due to being a settler, and a settler because of wealth (Fanon, 1968).

Economism, interpreting dynamics solely through economic lenses, proves insufficient when unpacking the settler-native relationship. It overlooks the European justification of conquests through cultural pretexts. I argue that the racial facet played a pivotal role in these justifications, otherwise, weaker European nations would also have been colonized. This Marxist-postcolonial approach aims to uncover the material conditions driving colonialism while acknowledging that the European claims of superiority played a role in rationalizing it. Marx alone is not exhaustive; comprehending other power dynamics that legitimize historical events, like France's colonization of Algeria, is imperative.

2.5 Colonial Algeria vs. France's North African Immigrants

The major narrative this research assumes is the continuity between the past and the present. However, one cannot draw resemblance without accounting for the differences within the same phenomena. It is impossible to assume a complete similarity between two different political spheres with different power dynamics, economy, and social structure. To account for these differences, I draw from Baudrillard work (1994) on the differences between Modernity and Postmodernity regarding power. Baudrillard's concepts of hyperreality, simulacra, and the desert of the real can offer valuable insights when comparing the experiences of Arabs during French Algeria and Arab immigrants in contemporary times. By understanding these theoretical frameworks, we can examine how power dynamics, perceptions, and representations have evolved and how they continue to shape the experiences of Arabs in these two contexts.

The dominant authority of the French colonial regime skillfully constructed a web of symbols and narratives to legitimize their control over Algeria while suppressing the native Arab population. This manipulation of perception obscured the actual conditions and identities of the Arab population. As a result, genuine resistance struggled to take root in an environment saturated with manufactured realities. This distortion led to a `desert of the real` where the authentic experiences and identities of the Arab population were silenced and overshadowed.

For example, the French colonial authority projected a façade of Algeria as a `French territory` creating an illusion of control and civilization. They carefully crafted

narratives that portrayed native Algerians as inferior and dependent on French guidance. This constructed hyperreality obscured the true experiences of Algerians who were grappling with dispossession, cultural suppression, and economic exploitation. Consequently, authentic opposition faced significant hurdles in challenging the overpowering illusions propagated by the colonial authority.

In a contemporary context, where Arab immigrants reside in France, the dynamics of power may have evolved, yet Baudrillard's concepts remain highly relevant. Arab immigrants encounter diverse manifestations of power dynamics, yet they, too, grapple with the impact of hyperreality and simulacra. Media representation and societal discourse can create distorted depictions of Arab immigrants, perpetuating stereotypes, and biases. This hyperreal image can shape public opinions, influence policy decisions, and impact the daily lives of Arab immigrants. Similar to the situation in French Algeria, the genuine struggles and identities of Arab immigrants may be obscured by these artificially constructed manifestations of power.

For instance, media portrayals often depict Arab immigrants as inherently predisposed to criminal behavior or religious extremism. These hyperreal portrayals oversimplify the intricate experiences of individuals, perpetuating a biased narrative that obstructs a nuanced understanding of their diverse realities. The authentic aspirations of Arab immigrants to integrate and contribute to society can be overshadowed by these manufactured representations of power.

Furthermore, Baudrillard's concept of the complexity of genuine resistance resonates with the challenges faced by Arab immigrants. The proliferation of simulations and representations in modern society can hinder effective challenges to prevailing

power structures. Media framing of specific groups can distort public perception, making it difficult for Arab immigrants to initiate authentic and meaningful dialogues about their actual experiences and concerns.

To elaborate, the media's framing of Arab immigrants as a "threat" to cultural homogeneity can obstruct open conversations about cultural exchange and coexistence. The hyperreal image of these immigrants as perpetual outsiders can deter nuanced discussions about their contributions and challenges in the host society. In this way, the manufactured simulations of power impede genuine efforts to resist and reshape existing power dynamics.

The central aim of incorporating Baudrillard's body of work is to illuminate the shifting power dynamics between the two contexts under examination. Throughout this investigation, it becomes evident that despite the inherent differences in the experiences, there are striking similarities in their outcomes. These resemblances can be traced back to the historical perceptions and categorizations of Arabs during the era of French Algeria. It is crucial to note that the objective of this research is not to equate both cases as identical, but rather to highlight how power dynamics can undergo shifts and transformations while retaining a fundamental essence. This essence is deeply rooted not only in Eurocentrism but also in the persistent capitalist nature of Europe, which might evolve over time but fundamentally remains oriented towards capital-driven interests.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The issue of marginalization and Arab integration in France has been a contentious subject since the 1980s, with its significance intensifying notably after the 2005 riots. This research endeavors to construct a narrative that bridges the historical context with the contemporary, transcending the superficial discussions often framed by media focusing solely on culture and religion. To achieve this, a meticulous examination of archival materials and primary literature pertaining to the history of French Algeria is essential. This historical analysis will be juxtaposed with the evolving circumstances and living conditions of Arab populations post-Algerian independence and since the influx of migrants in the 1960s.

This research adopts a comprehensive and multi-faceted approach to meticulously scrutinize both the historical intricacies and the contemporary experiences of Arab immigrants in France. The primary aim of this study is to shed light on the intricate interplay of colonial history, cultural perceptions, and economic realities that have significantly contributed to shaping the status and integration prospects of Arab immigrants. This investigation is conducted within the dual contexts of the historical backdrop of French Algeria and the nuanced contemporary fabric of present-day France, employing a case study approach. Specifically, this case study delves into the French historical casual narrative regarding immigrants of Arab and North African ancestry, drawing connections to the complex legacy of colonialism in French Algeria.

In this research, the objective is to demonstrate the intricate interplay of history, cultural perceptions, and economic realities in shaping the experiences of Arab immigrants in France. To achieve this, a comprehensive case study approach is

undertaken, focusing on the historical casual narrative in France concerning immigrants of Arab and North African ancestry. This case study delves into the historical backdrop of French Algeria, examining the rules and structures that colonialism imposed on Algerians and how these historical legacies resonate in the contemporary experiences of Arab immigrants in France.

In this research, the objective is to demonstrate the intricate interplay of history, cultural perceptions, and economic realities in shaping the experiences of Arab immigrants in France. To achieve this, a comprehensive case study approach is undertaken, focusing on the historical casual narrative in France concerning immigrants of Arab and North African ancestry. This case study delves into the historical backdrop of French Algeria, examining the rules and structures that colonialism imposed on Algerians and how these historical legacies resonate in the contemporary experiences of Arab immigrants in France.

In this study, a distinctive comparative analysis unfolds, exploring the enduring legacy of the ethnic division of labor—a theory positing that Arabs, dating back to the era of French Algeria, have been systematically steered into specific unskilled job sectors. The research is driven by the overarching objective of unveiling how this historical framework has persisted and evolved over time, impacting the contemporary economic realities of Arab immigrants in France.

To delve into the economic dynamics at play, this research diverges from a traditional data-driven approach and adopts a multifaceted strategy. Rather than solely relying on statistical data, this study employs a holistic examination of various facets, including but not limited to average income, employment rates, and socio-economic disparities. These facets are meticulously scrutinized to trace the trajectory of the

ethnic division of labor theory, encompassing both its historical roots in French Algeria and its manifestations in present-day France.

Through this comparative lens, the research endeavors to illuminate the extent to which the ethnic division of labor has persisted as a defining feature of Arab immigrant experiences in the French labor market. By bridging the temporal gap between the past and the present, this analysis seeks to provide a nuanced understanding of how historical imprints continue to shape the integration prospects and economic status of Arab immigrants within French society.

This approach invites a comprehensive exploration of the intricate interplay between historical legacies and contemporary economic realities, shedding light on the enduring structural factors that have influenced the employment trajectories of Arab immigrants. By weaving together historical context and modern data, this research aspires to contribute to a deeper comprehension of the challenges and opportunities faced by Arab communities as they navigate the intricate fabric of French society.

3.1 Process Tracing: Examination Through a Colonial Historical Lens

The investigation commences with a rigorous examination of the substantial corpus of scholarly works centered on the phenomenon of colonialism, with a specific focus on the intricate dynamics of French Algeria. This meticulous analysis engages historical documents, archival resources, and comprehensive scholarly studies to unveil the multifaceted mechanisms through which French colonial authorities categorized and marginalized Arabs, relegating them to a prolonged status of socio-political and economic subordination both within the colonial context and subsequently in the metropole.

The economic inquiry delves into the transformative impact that settlers exerted on the labor market, leading to cascading consequences across various strata of the indigenous population. Through this analytical lens, the research seeks to discern how these economic shifts were instrumental in engendering the marginalization and social hierarchy prevalent among Arab communities.

The choice to focus on French Algeria as a representative case for examining the interaction between Arabs and France is rooted in its unique historical and contextual significance. Unlike other North African nations under French colonial rule, Algeria held a distinct position in the annals of colonial history.

Algeria was not merely a French colony; it was officially considered an integral part of France, bearing the title 'Algerie française.' This exceptional status set Algeria apart, as it was deeply intertwined with the political and administrative structures of mainland France. This integration created a colonial relationship that was both intimate and complex, providing a fertile ground for the study of interactions between Arabs and the French.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of French Algeria was the presence of a substantial population of French settlers known as 'Pieds-Noirs' or 'black feet.' These settlers, primarily of European descent, constituted a significant demographic in Algeria. Their sheer numbers and influence in the region were unparalleled among French colonies in North Africa. Their interactions, often marked by conflict and tension, with the Arab and Berber populations of Algeria played a pivotal role in shaping the region's sociopolitical landscape.

French Algeria served as a crucible where direct and sustained interactions between French settlers and the Arab and Berber communities occurred. These interactions

encompassed not only economic and political spheres but also extended into cultural, linguistic, and identity domains. As a result, Algeria became the theater where the French constructed and refined their perceptions and conceptions of Arabs, contributing to a nuanced understanding of colonial dynamics.

Furthermore, the experiences in French Algeria had a profound impact on the development of French colonial ideology and practices. It functioned as a laboratory where ideas about colonialism, assimilation, and the intricate relationship between colonizers and the colonized were tested and evolved. This experimentation had far-reaching consequences for the broader French colonial enterprise and its interactions with Arab populations in other regions.

The legacy of French Algeria endures, leaving a lasting imprint on contemporary France and Algeria. The Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962) and the subsequent process of decolonization continue to influence the relationship between the two nations today. The experiences of French Algeria have not only left an indelible mark on the identities of both countries but have also shaped the perceptions and interactions between Arabs and France on a broader scale.

In summary, French Algeria stands as an exceptional and historically significant case study for exploring the intricate interaction between Arabs and France due to its unique status within France, the presence of a substantial French settler population, and the profound and multifaceted interactions that unfolded within its borders. By delving into the complexities of French Algeria, one gains valuable insights into the intricate dynamics of colonialism, identity, and cultural exchange that have forged the relationship between Arabs and France.

3.2 Content Analysis and Narrative Building

To comprehensively explore the contemporary narrative, this research analyzes existing Arab immigrant voices. Instead of conducting new interviews, a diverse range of accounts from various sources is gathered and analyzed. These sources include journalist reports, blogs, websites like Reddit and Quora, books, and pre-existing interviews. They collectively provide insights into the perspectives of Arab immigrants living in France.

These existing accounts remain an integral part of my research framework, serving as poignant instruments through which I explore the perceptions, interactions, and cognitive frameworks of Arab immigrants within the intricate mosaic of French society.

The qualitative methodology, guided by these curated accounts, recognizes the inherent complexity, subjectivity, and nuanced nature of human experiences. This approach complements numerical data, as both forms of data have their strengths and weaknesses. While numerical data provides abstraction, narratives offer subjective insights. By integrating these individual accounts with the objectivity found in historical records and empirical studies, this research transforms into a scholarly discourse that resonates with depth and authenticity.

The trajectory of inquiry unfolds through the interplay of thematic threads, with each thread contributing a distinct perspective to the intricate fabric of the research. These threads encompass a comprehensive exploration of economic standing, inquiries into citizenship dynamics, reflections on the embrace of French cultural norms, and critical examination of media representations of Arabs and Muslims.

The inquiry concludes with a comprehensive synthesis aimed at unraveling the complex experiences of Arab immigrants in France. This study harmoniously combines historical analysis, economic examination, and qualitative accounts from various sources to provide a holistic portrayal of the diverse experiences of Arab immigrants. Rather than a one-sided monologue, this research engages in a scholarly conversation that navigates the intersection of historical influences and contemporary realities. With scholarly precision, this study aims to shed light on the intricate challenges and aspirations of Arab immigrants as they seek integration and belonging in French society.

3.3 Limitations

While this research endeavours to provide a comprehensive exploration of the historical and contemporary experiences of Arab immigrants in France, it is essential to acknowledge the inherent limitations that shape the scope and depth of the study.

Historical Gaps and Interpretative Challenges

The historical aspect of this research relies extensively on the examination of existing records, archival materials, and scholarly works that document colonial history, particularly in the context of French Algeria. It is essential to acknowledge, however, that historical records are susceptible to biases, omissions, and gaps that may impact the accuracy of the analysis. Interpretative challenges also emerge due to the multitude of perspectives and interpretations inherent in historical sources. Despite diligent efforts to triangulate data and cross-reference sources, it is important to recognize that the researcher's subjective lens when interpreting the

data could introduce a level of subjectivity into the analysis, potentially influencing the historical narrative.

Sample Selection and Generalizability

The data analyzed in this research, which aims to capture the voices of Arabs in France and understand their experiences, has been sourced from various outlets, including media publications, social media platforms, books, articles, and blogs. Due to practical constraints that prevented field research, I relied on internet-based content to access the expressions and perspectives of Arabs in France. While these narratives provide valuable insights into the sentiments of Arabs and North Africans in relation to France, it's essential to acknowledge that they represent a specific subset of the population.

For instance, it's noteworthy that individuals who actively participate in platforms like Quora or Reddit tend to be predominantly young males aged between 20 and 30. Recognizing this limitation, I took measures to address it. To provide a more comprehensive view, I incorporated journalist reports, articles, and books that offer diverse accounts and experiences of Arabs in France. This multifaceted approach helps ensure a more representative and balanced exploration of Arab voices within the broader context of French society.

Subjectivity and Researcher Bias

interpretive nature of qualitative research introduces an inherent element of subjectivity. When analyzing content from various sources such as social media platforms, books, articles, Reddit, and Quora, the researcher's own perspectives and biases can subtly influence several facets of the research process, including data selection, coding, and interpretation. Despite dedicated efforts to maintain objectivity and minimize bias, it is important to acknowledge that complete elimination of researcher influence is unattainable in qualitative research. Furthermore, the specific nature of online content poses unique challenges related to bias and representativeness.

In the context of content analysis, steps were taken to mitigate these potential biases. Firstly, in data selection, a systematic approach was employed. Clear inclusion and exclusion criteria were defined, ensuring transparency in source selection. The rationale behind the choice of data sources, which included content from diverse platforms and mediums, was carefully documented to provide insight into the decision-making process.

During the coding and interpretation phase, a conscious effort was made to mitigate bias. A structured coding framework or methodology was utilized to minimize subjective interpretation. The data were coded based on predefined categories or themes rather than relying solely on the researcher's perspective. To further enhance objectivity, peer reviewers or other researchers were involved in cross-checking coding decisions and interpretations, adding valuable perspectives to the analysis.

Recognizing the limitations of online content in representing a broader population, it was crucial to address this potential bias. The research methodology section

included discussions about the inherent biases within online content and highlighted any limitations in generalizability. This served as a transparent acknowledgment of the scope and boundaries of the research.

In cases where online communities, as observed on platforms like Reddit and Quora, displayed distinct biases or echo chambers, steps were taken to ensure diverse representation. Multiple sources and perspectives from different subreddits or Quora threads were included in the analysis. Any noted biases within these online communities were documented and discussed.

Finally, to maintain data credibility, fact-checking and data verification were undertaken wherever possible. Claims and statements were cross-referenced with reliable sources to verify their accuracy.

While it remains a challenge to completely eliminate subjectivity and bias from qualitative content analysis, these strategies were diligently implemented to minimize their impact. The goal was to provide a comprehensive, objective, and balanced analysis of the varied sources of content drawn from social media platforms, books, articles, Reddit, and Quora. Through systematic and transparent methodologies, the aim was to uphold the integrity of the research findings considering the inherent complexities of qualitative research in an online context.

3.4 Conclusion

As with any scholarly endeavor, this research acknowledges its limitations and embraces them as integral to the pursuit of knowledge. While these limitations delineate the contours of the study, they also provide opportunities for future research to delve deeper, broaden the scope, and refine the insights presented here.

It is with a clear-eyed recognition of these limitations that this research endeavors to contribute to the nuanced understanding of the historical roots and contemporary complexities shaping the lives of Arab immigrants in France.

This research examines the relationship between history and the present, its relationship from continuation or gaping, the goal is to look at and test the present and the past. To test the present, we need to search for the unheard voices, the forgotten ones, and narrate these experiences in a way that creates a story of marginalization.

Chapter 4: Foundational Background

4.1 Colonial Episteme and Ethnographic Knowledge

The industrial revolution marked a transformative and disruptive event for Europe. It represents a significant break from the historical trajectory that preceded it, as it revolutionized various aspects of society and established a new foundation for human understanding based on facts and observations. What Foucault (1980) considers Episteme, understood as a strategic framework that enables the selection of statements that are considered acceptable within a particular field of knowledge or scientificity, serves as an `apparatus` that allows for the distinction, not between true and false, but between what can be characterized as scientific and what cannot (Foucault, 1980). In this sense, there is colonial episteme, a framework that stemmed from empiricism which dealt with the native populations of the colonies as objects of knowledge to measure, compare, and put into places.

The industrial revolution brought about a profound transformation, as it ushered in a new form of scientificity according to Foucault's framework. This scientificity emerged from the ability to generate knowledge through direct encounters with objects, or even, native populations. In the case of the latter, by closely observing and documenting people's behaviors, societal structures, and economic systems, it became possible to develop an understanding of a particular group and translate that understanding into the realm of social sciences. This approach was primarily motivated by the remarkable achievements of the natural sciences. The success of these sciences was evident in their empirical encounters with the objects of study,

leading to the generation of robust knowledge that subsequently fueled societal advancements, including transformative industrialization. Social scientists, inspired by these triumphs, began contemplating the application of similar measures and methodologies to their own fields of study, with the hope of yielding equally favorable outcomes.

A prime example relevant to the focus of this research is the French philosopher Tocqueville and his visits to Algeria. While it is not sufficient to fully evaluate the success of this approach in comprehending human societies, Tocqueville's experiences offer a valuable case study in how direct encounters with foreign populations were conducted in Algeria. From this point onwards, the research will employ the term "ethnography" to denote this approach to knowledge acquisition. It is important to clarify that the intention here is not to pass judgment on ethnography as a method of acquiring knowledge, as that is beyond the scope of the research. Instead, the research aims to test this approach specifically within the colonial context, and particularly in the context of Algeria.

4.2 Tocqueville in Algeria

The case of Tocqueville is particularly fascinating as he serves as a prominent example of a colonial ethnographer. Although Tocqueville did not hold any official position in French Algeria, he wielded significant influence over the administrators in the region (Richter, 1963). Interestingly, his views on the native populations of Algeria have been perceived by many scholars as contradictory to his general ideology. While renowned for his work "Democracy in America" (1838) and his condemnation of the mistreatment of Native Americans and advocacy for the

abolition of slavery (Richter, 1963), his stance takes on a peculiar aspect when comparing his support for Native and African Americans with his seemingly cold indifference to the brutalities faced by the Algerians. This paradox raises concerns and questions about the consistency and integrity of his beliefs.

Upon his arrival to Algeria, Tocqueville was critical of the way the French were governing the local population, he noticed a deep ignorance of the people they are governing, and he argues that merely conquering a nation does not make one capable of effectively governing it. He points out the importance of understanding the local culture, language, and administrative practices to govern a conquered territory successfully. (Tocqueville, 2001)

Tocqueville realized the complexity of ruling a foreign country with different language and religion. For this, he made a distinction between the Arabs and the Kabyle tribes. The Arabs are portrayed as having a fluid and less structured society, yet they hold a strong inclination towards a well-organized government and a larger sense of nationhood. Despite valuing independence, they appreciate effective governance. The fall of Turkish rule resulted in anarchy among the Arab tribes, prompting Tocqueville to emphasize the need to recreate a stable government to maintain peace (Ibid, p.7, 8,9,10)

On the other hand, the Kabyles are depicted as more individualistic and less devout than the Arabs. They prioritize material pleasures and are less focused on the concept of a unified nation-state. Living in small tribal units in the mountains, the Kabyles present a challenge for the French in their attempts to govern and penetrate their territory effectively (Ibid, p. 6,7,8).

Tocqueville's distinctions between the Arabs and Kabyles in Algeria are driven by pragmatic motives – the belief that understanding a nation is crucial for ruling it. This form of knowledge does not seek to do justice to its subjects; rather, its aim is to control and serve the power it represents. In the context of colonialism, Tocqueville's knowledge serves the purpose of ruling and dismantling the identities of the colonized peoples.

Tocqueville's approach to ruling the local population reflects a practical orientation. He advocated for direct rule over the Kabyles tribes as he saw similarities between their lifestyle and that of the French. In contrast, he approached the Arabs with caution and fear, believing that they required a more gradual approach to colonization and should be governed by customary laws. This approach aimed to gradually assimilate the Arabs into the colonial system rather than ruling over them immediately. Tocqueville's perspective on the native populations of Algeria, particularly the Arabs, reveals his perception of them as "half savages," a characterization that influenced his approach to ruling and governance in the colonial context (ibid, p.10).

Tocqueville had a pragmatic stance to how to conquer the Arabs as he believed that the French should not be as barbarous as the Turks in dealing with the Arabs because the Turks had the advantage of religion over the French (ibid, p.70) so they had to be superior. In regard of the Turkish rule over Algeria, it is important to note that Algerian Historians look at this issue from their ideological positions, however one could argue that the difference between the French and the Turks lies in the fact that the Turks did not aim at sending their native population to become settlers in Algeria, and they had no ambition to change the language or the culture of the native population in Algeria.

For Tocqueville, However, he did not hold the position that the French should not be cruel out of principle against cruelty, but because it is ineffective in obliging the Arabs to submit to the French, which was his ultimate goal. Tocqueville (ibid, p.70, 71) proposes that the most effective way to subdue the tribes is to prohibit commerce with them, as they heavily rely on buying and selling goods. He cites conversations with intellectuals who expressed the bitterness of the tribes under the cessation of commerce. He suggests that ravaging the country through the destruction of harvests and conducting razzias, or rapid incursions, are also legitimate means to weaken the Arab tribes. Tocqueville believes that such measures are necessary to make the position of the tribes supporting Abd-el-Kader, a leader the of Algerian armies at that time- intolerable, forcing them to abandon him.

Contrast to what Tocqueville anticipated, the Kabyles were ferocious in their combat against the French military, and they created so much trouble for the French that they were engaged for the first time in the 1850s in Guerrilla warfare (Lorcin, 2014). Lorcin (2014, 29) notes that creating the Arab-Berber distinction was made for the first time when the French observed that the Kabyle women participated in the combat, and that individual action was more important than group maneuvers. These two reflections assured the French of their preconceptions about the Kabyle were more egalitarian than the Arabs.

4.3 Tocqueville in the Context of colonial liberalism

It would be redundant for this research to argue for the obvious, that Europeans came to exploit the native populations of the uncivilized races, for this, the intention here is to put this exploitation in context, to understand how these

philosophers, who were proponents of liberalism and tolerance, were at the same time advocates for colonialism and subjugation.

There are two perspectives that could benefit from one another in explaining the theoretical foundations that made Tocqueville prone to justifying colonialism and violence when effective. One argues that tolerance as a notion applies only for civilized nations and that within the same paradigm, a justification for civilizing mission is implied (Mamdani, 2020). Another one treats violence as a means, a way of redeeming the natives for their humanity to be recognized (Asad, 2015).

Mamdani, in his book *Neither Settler nor Native: The Making of Permanent Minorities* (2020) goes back to John Locke to understand colonialism. Locke argued for toleration of minorities as long as they renounce rival allegiance and support the state. This position creates the status of permanent minorities as they always have to announce their loyalty to the state as opposed to the majority who are considered citizens undoubtedly.

In the context of European colonies, Mamdani (2020, p. 7) claims that the concept of sovereignty was used to justify colonizing other countries as other races were looked at as unsovereign, meaning that they are not capable of governing themselves. This meant that only Europeans were able to govern which extended the majority-minority distinction and turned native populations into uncivilized minorities within their own countries.

The other perspective, help by Tala Asad (2015) argues that violence used against other was justified under the name of the creating a political community, that violence by the superior race, European, was for a purpose, a universal purpose. The moral limit for violence is for it to be effective; reducing pain is the ultimate goal of

enlightenment, and ineffective violence is unnecessary pain that could not be justified (Asad, 2015, p. 405, 406).

Asad's (2015, p. 397) analysis uncovers a theological basis for violence against native populations, originating in Christianity and manifesting in humanitarianism. The approach views the sinner, or the uncivilized, as possessing inherent humanity. Through violence, colonizers sought to redeem and fully humanize native populations. This theological legacy influenced the belief in potential humanity, wherein violence was used to uplift others and instill civility. Such ideas have persisted and shaped power dynamics in colonial encounters and beyond.

While both perspectives acknowledge the use of violence in colonial encounters, they differ in their emphasis and underlying justifications. Mamdani's perspective highlights the role of tolerance and sovereignty in perpetuating colonial domination, while Asad's perspective delves into the theological aspects and humanitarian justification for violence in the pursuit of civilizing and humanizing native populations. These two views offer a context for Tocqueville's stance on Algeria, one offers why colonization was required and the other put the use of violence in context.

4.4 Colonialism and the Enlightenment Era

Colonialism represents a distinct trend within Western Civilization, arising from the ideological principles of the European Continent. While empires have existed well before the emergence of Western Civilization, colonialism, as we understand it today, is intricately tied to the Enlightenment era and its universalizing ambitions.

This connection becomes more evident when we closely examine European thought, philosophy, politics, and literature alongside the phenomenon of colonialism.

Essentially, Europe was exporting and applying the principles it cultivated domestically to the wider world. The discourse surrounding the methods of governance, whether through direct or indirect rule, within European colonies provides a vivid illustration of the objectives and repercussions of the civilizing mission. It set the Enlightenment ideals into motion and demonstrated their practical implementations on a global scale.

it is crucial to recognize that the direct rule of Algeria did not imply a singular, uniform policy adopted by France towards the region. Instead, France employed different approaches in its dealings with Algeria, depending on the ruling authorities at the time (Ageron, 1990) Military administrators believed that allowing tribal self-rule was the most effective means of penetrating Algerian society. Conversely, civilian rule aimed to influence and shape the manner in which Algerians governed themselves, often implementing French laws to regulate various aspects of life within Algerian society (Ageron, 1990).

The strategy of "Divide and Rule" was implemented in Algeria as a colonial tactic to maintain control and undermine the national sentiment of the colonized population, particularly the tribes in their resistance against colonialism. This strategy was reinforced by French ethnographers and anthropologists who propagated the Kabyle myth, emphasizing a perceived distinction between Berbers and Arabs. The myth depicted Berbers as having distinct racial and cultural characteristics, creating an artificial divide between the two groups.

Before going to historize the Kabyle myth, it is necessary to go through the distinction of direct and indirect rule and the different goals both types set. In addition, France ruled Algeria directly and indirectly and this has led to a confusion in understanding the methods by which France ruled Algeria.

4.5 Direct and indirect rule

Mamdani (1996, 2020) has theorized the difference between direct and indirect rule so thoroughly, yet he has not applied his theories to the situation in Algeria in particular. Because of that it is important to be careful when he is mentioned and applied in the case of Algeria.

The European colonial enterprise was underpinned by a self-imposed burden, one that compelled Europeans to embark on voyages across seas to regions as distant as Asia, Africa, and the Americas. This mission carried the weight of a civilizing endeavor, driven by the aspiration to universalize the democratic and egalitarian values that had been conceived, both before and after the tumultuous era of the French Revolution. It was a venture that entailed the dissemination of specific values and their imposition upon foreign lands. To achieve this mission, Europeans assumed the responsibility of effecting change in the governance structures, traditions, and societies of the territories they sought to influence.

Central to this approach was the introduction of formal education systems that mirrored European models, the imposition of legal systems originating from the colonizers, and the gradual replacement of local customs and traditions with European practices. A key focus of this transformation effort was often directed

toward influencing the local elites, with the expectation that they would become conduits for the diffusion of the colonizers' culture throughout the broader population.

The rationale behind advocating for direct colonial rule was rooted in the belief that the transformation of colonized peoples could best be achieved through the conspicuous example and influence wielded by the colonizer's nation. This approach sought to elevate the colonies to a higher state of civilization, as defined by European standards, and to do so by instilling the values and practices deemed superior by the colonizing powers (Mamdani, 2020, p. 10).

Indirect rule emerged as an alternative to assimilating the native population during colonial times, primarily due to the resistance and opposition of the indigenous people to abandon their cultural and religious practices (Mamdani, 1996). However, Mahmood Mamdani argues that this approach was not without disruptions. Instead of directly ruling the colonial territories, the colonial powers appointed native tribal chiefs to act as intermediaries between the settlers and the indigenous population.

Mamdani contends that indirect rule did not merely preserve the pre-existing local authority but actually altered it by granting certain privileges and power to specific tribal groups. Mamdani describes this altered authority as comparable to a "clenched fist" (Lawrence, 2017). In the case of Rwanda, for example, this system contributed to the establishment of a material imbalance that perpetuated the victimization of the Hutu population until they eventually seized power, leading to one of the most brutal genocides in history (Mamdani, 2002).

Indirect rule was characterized by racial divisions rather than a goal of "civilizing" the native population, leading to the separation of the native and non-native populations (Mamdani, 1996, p. 110). Under this system, the native population was subject to

customary law, such as Sharia Law in the case of Algeria, while the non-native population operated under civil law. This meant that two legal systems coexisted, with one applied to the "civilized" races and the other to the "savages." However, French authorities made various attempts, through education for example, to assimilate the native population of Algeria and unify the legal system. One reason Arabs were treated differently than the black natives of Africa is due the fact that they were categorized higher on the hierarchy of races as Mamdani mentions that Arabs were treated as subject races not an ethnicity along the line with the Asians of East Africa (Mamdani, 2002, p. 28, 33).

The distinction between direct and indirect rule arises from the fact that Algeria, from 1848 to 1962, was not merely a French colony but an integral part of France known as French Algeria (Ageron, 1990). For instance, Governor Damrémont in 1837 supported a policy of limited coastal occupation, leaving the interior under the control of native chiefs who would be vassals of France. General Bugeaud was sent to negotiate with Abd el-Kader, the leader of the Arabs, to implement this policy, resulting in the short-lived Treaty of Tafna (Ageron, 1990). As more settlers arrived, civilian rule expanded, and direct rule became dominant. However, there was no unified policy in France regarding Algeria, with military leaders advocating for native self-rule to minimize disruptions, while civilian leaders emphasized assimilation because they believed that Algeria should be fully integrated into France (Lawrence, 2017).

Indirect rule in Algeria was characterized by racial divisions and the coexistence of different legal systems, but the French authorities also pursued assimilationist policies and sought to unify the legal framework. The approach varied over time,

influenced by differing perspectives among military and civilian leaders regarding governance in Algeria (Lawrence, 2017).

The case of Algeria does not neatly fit into a clear categorization of direct rule versus indirect rule due to the complex and shifting dynamics of colonial governance. The approach to rule varied depending on the specific territory and the changes in colonial power.

4.6 The Kabyle Myth

The significance of this `myth` goes beyond its influence on French Algeria; it lies in its portrayal of two essential realities about France. Firstly, it reflects the Republic's struggle to avoid racial and ethnic categorization of individuals. Secondly, it highlights the use of such myths as a means of manipulating the native population of Algeria, pushing them to become minorities among other minorities. Instead of being recognized simply as Algerians, they were divided into categories such as Arabs and Berbers, while coexisting with French and European settlers. This division served to create a fragmented society, emphasizing the complexities of identity and nationality within the Algerian context.

The Kabyle myth holds great significance in understanding the colonial mindset and objectives of the settlers, particularly the historians and ethnographers who sought to comprehend Algerian society. However, their mission was inherently shaped by the binary distinctions imposed by the empire. These binaries categorized people into two groups: the advanced and the backward (Horwitz, 1985, p. 147, 148), based on certain social and ethnic characteristics. An advanced group was defined by traits such as a reliance on private ownership, engagement in skilled white-collar

occupations, and the presence of a written legal system. Conversely, a backward group was characterized by collective land ownership, involvement in unskilled blue-collar labor, and adherence to customary legal practices.

These binaries formed the foundation for the hierarchical relationship between the French or white population and others, serving as a tool to justify the civilizing mission. The intellectual settlers approached the native population with these preconceived distinctions, aiming to perpetuate divisions based on these binaries.

The Kabyle myth, although not entirely devoid of factual basis, perpetuated inaccurate distinctions between Berbers and Arabs. It propagated the belief that Berbers, specifically the Kabyle people residing in mountainous regions with limited interaction with Arabs, were separate from the Arab population. The myth further suggested that due to their perceived non-Arab origins and distinct customary laws, Berbers were more susceptible to assimilation and more likely to accept a French identity compared to Arabs. This perspective aimed to justify the notion that the Berbers could be more easily controlled and influenced by the French colonial authorities.

Lorcin (2012, 240) argues that the Kabyle myth was strategically utilized to manipulate identity formation. This formation of identity was based on creating a contrast between an "advanced group" and a "backward group." It is important to note that these formations were not solely influenced by the perception of the native population but were driven by an uncertainty regarding French identity itself.

The French Revolution marked a significant ideological shift in French society, transitioning from a reliance on religious leaders and clerics to shape social and legal

life, which resulted in non-meritocratic social hierarchies. Instead, the revolution paved the way for a secular and democratic society (Lorcin, 2012, 242).

When France colonized Africa, they applied the same social categories that had emerged during the French Revolution. The colonizers perceived the colonized populations through these categories, which were binary in nature and created distinctions of superiority and inferiority, as well as advanced and backward.

However, the problem with these categories was their ahistorical nature, as they failed to consider the complexities and nuances of diverse populations.

In the case of the Kabyle tribes, they did possess certain economic and social advantages compared to the Arab population. However, The French colonial authorities deemed these differences significant enough to create social categories that categorized the Kabyles as superior and the Arabs as inferior. According to Lorcin (ibid, 245), the factors of property and production played a significant role in shaping the categorization of societies, further contributing to the perceived divisions between these groups.

Within the Muslim community, ownership was generally viewed as being dependent on God's will rather than individual effort. In contrast, private property was more prevalent in Kabyles. Among Arabs, property was collectively owned and did not serve as a defining factor of social status. The Arab population did not prioritize concepts such as property, productivity, and competition, focusing instead on immediate needs. Conversely, the French Revolution emphasized individual ownership and enterprise, which contributed to the advancement of productive forces. The Kabyles, due to their sedentary lifestyle, had the potential to accumulate wealth as their settled way of life allowed for storage (ibid, 245, 246).

In a wider scope, the French perceived Algerian society in general as backward due to the tribal and religious formation of the social structures and they have utilized the minor differences between Arabs and Berbers to weaken the resistance movement and control the colonized population.

It is crucial to recognize that this distinction did not significantly impact France's colonial rule in Algeria, as it proved to be an impractical and flawed dichotomy in the cities they governed. Nevertheless, its significance lies in the fact that the French could not view Algerians without imposing the same racial categories they had theorized long before colonialism. Moreover, it demonstrates how the notion of superiority and inferiority was deeply ingrained in Western thought, attributing certain differences or advantages as inherent traits that predate history itself.

4.7 Arab immigrants: `Backward` group within an `Advanced` country

The experiences of immigrants in France indicates a parallel with that of the native population in French Algeria. The difference here is in the way these two experiences are actualized.

The context indeed differs significantly between the colonial era in Algeria and the current situation of Arab immigrants in France. While both periods involved the characterization of Arabs as a backward group, the implications of this characterization have evolved over time. During the colonial rule, it meant subjecting Arabs to an educating and assimilating process, aimed at integrating them into French culture and traditions. This direct and explicit effort was carried out by the colonial authorities.

In contemporary society, the notion of Arabs being characterized as backward takes on a more abstract form of subjugation. This form of subjugation may not be

explicitly enforced by the state but rather exists within the intricate framework known as `the system` a concept akin to Jean Baudrillard's perspective. `The system` refers to the complex and all-encompassing social, political, economic, and cultural order that governs modern life. Within this multifaceted system, dominant institutions, power structures, and ideologies wield significant influence over people's behaviors, beliefs, and desires. Subjugation in this context is not necessarily the result of a single, direct authority but instead operates through machinic and abstract apparatuses embedded within the system. These mechanisms aren't always consciously driven by individuals but are deeply entrenched within societal structures, perpetuated through cultural norms, media representations, and social hierarchies.

To comprehend and elucidate these mechanisms, a nuanced examination of the interplay between various elements within the system is essential. Scholars and researchers delving into this topic should explore how cultural stereotypes, media portrayals, institutional biases, and historical legacies contribute to the perpetuation of these notions. Furthermore, they must investigate the profound impact of systemic inequalities, economic disparities, and political dynamics on the lived experiences of Arab immigrants in France.

The argument presented in this research, influenced by Horwitz's characterization (1985), sheds light on how marginalized groups, such as Arabs in France, have been subjected to stigmatizing features. These features encompass being perceived as uneducated, suitable only for unskilled labor, and associated with criminality. It is imperative to enhance our understanding of the complexities of this issue and trace the evolution of these stereotypes over time. However, it's crucial to emphasize that these features, as revealed in this study, are not merely perceptions held by the

dominant group, namely French Europeans; they manifest in the fabric of reality itself.

For instance, M'hamed Bouhjar, a participant in an interview with Al-Jazeera, outlined the challenges faced by immigrants `My friends come from diverse cultural backgrounds. Even if you succeed in assimilating into this society, feeling like you belong, there's always someone to remind you that you are different`.¹

He further delved into the issue of identity, stating, `You can present your identity card, proving your Frenchness, but the insistent question persists: "Where are you really from?" They judge you based on your appearance and the sound of your name`.²

M'hamed Bouhjar emphasized how sports often serve as a path for minorities, remarking, `In France, if you're from a minority background, they often steer you towards sports. Even the Minister of Sports typically hails from a minority group. Contrastingly, you rarely see a Minister of Interior with an Arab background`.³

Drawing from the experiences of Zinedine Zidane, he continued:

Take Zinedine Zidane, for example. In 1998, he became a world champion, scoring twice during the final match. He became a source of immense pride for France. Everyone celebrated the integration of minorities into the nation, epitomized by the slogan "La France, black, blanc, beur." Yet, in 2006, when he engaged in an

¹ <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/5/26/french-algerians-on-identity-discrimination-protests-at-home>

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

altercation with an Italian player during the final, he was suddenly labeled as the “suburb's Arab”.⁴

M'hamed also underscored the pivotal role of politicians in shaping public perceptions: “Politicians hold the key to deciding whether to embrace or exclude us. We require proper public representation as the avenue to reshape existing perceptions, thereby fostering a brighter future”.⁵

He cautioned against harmful media portrayals, remarking, “Yet, if we continue to be depicted as terrorists on national television, no constructive change will emerge”.⁶

Messaoud Djemai, in the same report, highlighted the challenges of navigating between cultures: “When I'm in Algeria, I feel as though I'm in a different country, and vice versa when I'm in France. The difficulty arises when you depart from one culture and return to it, for you no longer seem to fit”.⁷

Regarding nationality, he expressed:

Acquiring French nationality took several years. For me, it was a mere administrative formality, simplifying many aspects of my life, including travel. Nevertheless, I harbor no nationalist sentiments. I vehemently oppose all forms of nationalism. Our birthplace is a matter of chance, not choice. Why defend one country over another?⁸

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

He also delved into the concept of assimilation in France, stating, “In France, assimilation carries a unique connotation: it entails conforming by renouncing aspects of your foreign culture”.⁹

Reflecting on generational shifts, Djemai observed, “Over the past two decades, I've witnessed the younger French-Algerian generation clutching their Algerian identity more firmly. This shift can be attributed to various factors, including France's initial treatment of immigrants, commonly referred to as the “suburb issues”.”¹⁰

These narratives derived from the experiences of Arab immigrants in France illuminate the intricacies and nuances surrounding identity, integration, and the enduring impact of societal perceptions within the complex framework of “the system”.

4.8 Conclusion

The historical dynamic between settlers and natives in colonial contexts bears a striking resemblance to the contemporary relationship between native French and immigrants in France. In both scenarios, a fundamental challenge lies in the recognition and acknowledgment of the agency and cultural contributions of the “other” group within a hierarchical framework.

During colonial periods, settlers often viewed native populations as inferior, possessing a culture deemed less developed or advanced. This perception led to a systematic disregard for the agency and cultural richness of native communities. Settler communities imposed their own values, customs, and institutions upon the

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

native populations, marginalizing and subjugating them. The colonial hierarchy positioned the settlers' culture as superior and dominant, while the native culture was relegated to an inferior status.

In the forthcoming chapter, we will delve into the practical application of these perceptions and explore how they persist within the system, with a specific focus on the economic exploitation of Arabs both during the colonial era and in the present.

The social formation of Arab immigrants is also shaped by broader societal structures and power dynamics. Economic factors, labor market segregation, and limited access to opportunities contribute to their marginalization and restricted social mobility. These factors perpetuate the unequal treatment and reinforce the existing social formations that position Arabs as a disadvantaged group within French society.

Chapter 5: French Colonialism and Immigration Policies: A Political Economy Perspective

5.1 Introduction

Colonialism not only physically reshapes territories but also has profound effects on conceptual territories like citizenship and nationhood. It involves the invention of new identities, transforming both the settlers' self-perception and that of the natives. After colonialism, the natives are forever changed, and their previous notions of nation and country become open to redefinition, as the territorial boundaries are reconceptualized, leading to a reshaping of identity.

This process creates a reciprocal streamflow between the metropole and the colony. Natives in the metropole can become settlers by moving to the colony, while those within the colony become minorities, often subjected to subjugation. The natives in the colony undergo a transformation of identity due to exposure to a new language, culture, and legal system, encouraging them to migrate to the metropole. This migration is typically driven by labor motives, as they believe their prior integration into the culture of the colony makes them suitable for the society in the metropole.

The primary objective of this chapter is to establish a connection and continuity between the historical past and the present circumstances without disregarding the different processes of marginalization between the colony in the past and the

metropole in the present. As previously concluded in the first chapter, specific categories that pertained to Arabs in France's past continue to persist, with contemporary Arabs expressing similar experiences to what was recorded by scholars in the past. In this chapter, the focus shifts to illuminating one of the key aspects through which these categories manifest - namely, the economic conditions and the ethnic division of labor between settlers and natives in French Algeria on hand, and the North African immigrants and European French in France on the other hand.

The chapter delves into the intricate dynamics of the precolonial and colonial political economy in Algeria, using insights from these historical eras to shed light on the economic exploitation experienced by North Africans in France. This exploitation is closely tied to the persistent categories discussed in the preceding chapter.

Moreover, it unveils a shift in the overall paradigm of France, attributed to the stark disparities between a settler colonial economy and the economy of the metropole.

5.2 The Political Economy of Precolonial Algeria

Benboune (1988) notes that Algeria had a segmented political organization before French invasion. It was composed of four provinces Dar-AL sultan as the capital directly ruled by the Dey (The head of the state) and the other three provinces ruled by regional governors or beys appointed by the dey. Political power was distributed hierarchically, with authority emanating from the central dey and replicated at the provincial level. Each province was further divided into local districts, and relative autonomy was maintained in some areas, particularly in the principalities.

Despite the decentralized nature of political power, there were organic links that tied the various regions and social units together (Bennoune, 1988). All segments of the population shared a common culture, and they maintained contact with other Islamic states through trade and pilgrimage. It's important to note that the concept of tribes, as understood during colonial times, is somewhat problematic and has been ossified by colonial officials and later by colonial ethnologists. In reality, these tribal segments were socially, economically, and administratively interconnected with other neighboring tribes, towns, and cities.

Algeria, the state did not exist in the modern sense, there was no central political organization where the state exists and have sovereignty over the territory, but a political unity did exist among Algerians in the sense that there was a shared identity among its people.

The political organization of the state is deeply related to the type of economic system there is. The economy in precolonial Algeria was based on agriculture and trade (Bennoune, 1988). Ownership of land was based on private, collective, and religious ownership. A tribe would own land and all its members worked as peasants and distribute the harvest or its profit among them. This type of economic system serves immediate needs -meaning, there is no accumulation of wealth or capital among owners since private ownership did not prevail. Author A suggests that the economy was based on use-value instead of exchange value (Bennoune, 1988).

In the Marxist sense (Marx, 2004) use value refers to the practical utility or usefulness of a commodity. It represents the ability of a commodity to satisfy human needs or wants. Use value is the inherent characteristic of a commodity that makes it valuable to individuals for its specific purpose or function. For example, food has a

use value because it satisfies hunger, and clothing has a use value because it provides warmth and protection. Exchange value, on the other hand, refers to the value of a commodity in terms of its ability to be exchanged for other commodities in the market. It represents the relative worth of one commodity compared to another. Exchange value arises from the social relations established through the process of exchange. Use value exists within any economic system of production, while exchange value only exists where there is private enterprise.

In the pre-colonial Algerian society, the production of use-values dominated the economic landscape. The economy was largely self-sufficient, with local communities producing what they needed for their sustenance. While there were trading activities and regional exchange networks, they were limited compared to a full-fledged market economy. As a result, there was little incentive for individuals or groups to accumulate capital and engage in profit-driven ventures.

The focus on use-values and self-sufficiency also influenced the social organization and values of society. The emphasis on meeting the basic needs of the community and maintaining solidarity within tribes and extended families contributed to a segmentary social structure. Cooperation and collective decision-making were essential for survival in the harsh environments of North Africa (Bennoune, 1988).

The socio-economic conditions prevalent before the era of French colonial rule in Algeria played a pivotal role in shaping the reality of the colonial system. It was evident that France could not impose its rule on Algeria without taking into account the existing material and social conditions of the region. As a result, any attempts to bring about change or achieve specific goals had to be grounded in the reality on the ground.

However, the colonial mindset exhibited an ahistorical approach, not only in its persistence of understanding Algerian population through a racialized lens, but also in the application of French political philosophy within the socio-economic realm. This colonial way of understanding the world was not limited to specific instances but rather pervaded every aspect of their colonization efforts.

The issue at hand is that the colonial authorities projected their own categories, assumptions, and values onto the Algerian population, imposing a worldview that often disregarded the indigenous cultural, social, and economic realities. This approach proved to be all-encompassing, influencing how the French perceived and interacted with the local population at every level of governance and administration.

As a consequence, the socio-economic application of the French political philosophy was intertwined with this projection of their own mindset and material conditions onto the Algerian society. This had significant implications for how policies were formulated and implemented, often leading to misunderstandings and misinterpretations of the reality leading to economic disasters particularly for the native Algeria population.

In the next section, the aim is to identify the French approach to bring about economic change in Algeria: what kind of changes did the French sought to implement in Algeria and how did turn out to be? Meaning that the focus is on the influence of these changes on the native population.

5.3 The Political Economy within the Colony

Faced with a pre-capitalist mode of production centered on use-value and immediate needs, the settlers arrived with the mission to "civilize" the native population, ushering in massive transformations to the economic structure. Urbanization was

introduced, accompanied by the widespread dispossession of land from the native Algerians, leading to the establishment of private ownership of land and enterprises (Bennoune, 1988). However, these changes were not original developments as seen in Europe; there was no preceding industrialization, and the economy remained largely pre-capitalist, with small-scale production and reliance on exporting raw materials to European colonial powers. The implementation of these changes was not without its dark side. The process necessitated ethnic cleansing, as the settlers' numbers grew to surpass that of the native Algerians (Hauser, 1995). The alterations were primarily geared towards exploiting the land's resources for the benefit of the colonial economy, rather than improving the living conditions of the general population.

For example, Bennoune (1988, p. 65) mentions that in agriculture, which constituted the main source for capital accumulation, as a result of land dispossession, the Algerian peasantry had to work for the settlers who took ownership of most of the profitable lands. The settlers primarily focused on cultivating crops like cereals, wine, tobacco, fruits, vegetables, halfa (esparto grass), and cork for export purposes. While there was some diversification in commercial agriculture, wine and cereals consistently remained the most profitable crops, constituting 69 percent of the total value of agricultural production.

One crucial factor contributing to the profitability of these crops was the low wages paid to Algerian laborers. The settlers exploited a large number of Algerian agricultural laborers, both on a full-time and seasonal basis, to maintain their agricultural activities. By 1914, there were 121,791 agricultural laborers engaged in cereal growing out of a total of 386,000 workers, and 107,786 laborers were involved in viticulture (Bennoune, 1988, p. 65).

Unlike the natural progression of industrialization that accompanies changes in the mode of production in many societies, the development in French Algeria was unplanned and aimed at maximizing economic gains through resource exploitation. The welfare of the native population was often relegated to the background, as profit extraction from the colony took precedence.

Occupations	Algerians (%)	Europeans (%)
Agriculture	21.1	11.9
Food	3.7	7.7
Tobacco	0.8	0.4
Food preparation	3.8	2.9
Liquor	0	0.9
Hotels, boarding houses	0	0.4
Skins, apparel, textiles, and dry goods	5.5	6.2
Metals, precious metals, wood, home furnishings, building and construction, transportation	8.8	26.0
Fuel	0.7	1.3

General manufacturing, chemicals, printing	0.1	1.0
General commercial	9.2	12.1
Arts, liberal professions, clergy, education, government, military, leisured	2.4	10.6
Private Services	0.6	2.7
Public Services	15.3	2.3
Unpacified unskilled	27.0	13.5
Total	100	100

(Table 1) Source: (Hauser, 1995, p.167)

The table reveals distinct occupational disparities between Algerians and Europeans in the city of Bone. Europeans dominate skilled and industrial sectors, holding positions as owners, foremen, and skilled workers in manufacturing, construction, and transportation industries. In contrast, a larger percentage of Algerians are engaged in agriculture and public services, reflecting their involvement in government and administrative roles. Notably, agriculture plays a significant role in the Algerian economy, with one-fifth of the population employed in this sector. The higher representation of Europeans in lucrative sectors points to their economic dominance, potentially influenced by colonial policies favoring European settlers.

These occupational patterns underscore the historical context and socio-economic structures of the time, warranting further examination to understand their impact on socio-economic development in the region.

This division of labor between the natives and the French led not to disparity and inequality regarding wages. Bennoune (1988, p. 65) reveals that in 1932, European semi-skilled agricultural workers earned an average of 22.5 francs per day, whereas their Algerian counterparts received significantly lower pay, only 8 to 10 francs for the same work. Similarly, European unskilled workers earned around 10.8 francs per day, whereas Algerian unskilled laborers were paid between 4 and 6 francs per day.

By creating a new economy in the colony without changing the structures of the old pre-colonial rule, the French did not improve the economic conditions of Algerians, however, they turned them into a minority within their country. These conclusions have parallels with the situation of North African immigrants in France. To understand the current experiences of Arabs or North Africans in France, one has to go back to the history of those immigrants and how they have been subjugated and used for political gains by Politicians.

5.4 The Political Economy of Immigration in France

The presence of Arab immigrants in France, particularly in cities like Marseille, has been shaped by dynamic shifts in French immigration policies and societal perceptions. Prior to the 1980s, the state's focus was centered on socio-economic integration, seeking to address the needs of immigrants within the framework of labor-based policies. However, changing economic conditions and increasing pressure on the welfare system gave rise to a new approach that emphasized cultural belonging and values (Favell, 1998).

As Favell (1998) observed, a notable shift occurred as the state moved from a pragmatic approach that recognizes the economic needs for the immigrant population and aims at integrating them and minimizing their viability towards a racialized approach. By placing emphasis on shared cultural values as essential prerequisites for belonging to the French nation while the cultural approach sought to de-emphasize racial and ethnic distinctions, the association of Arabs as antithetical to the French values inadvertently led to the racialization of ethnicity.

During the same period, Yilmaz (2014) noted a transformation in the perception of immigration from a labor-based issue to a cultural one, particularly in relation to Muslims. The rise of the far-right Le Pen party significantly influenced public discourse on immigration, creating a political atmosphere conducive to anti-immigrant sentiments. Le Pen deftly capitalized on these sentiments, making immigration a central topic in French politics. However, far-right parties in Western Europe, including Le Pen's, have taken an ideological approach that emphasizes cultural determinants of national belonging over biological factors (Hutchins and Halikiopoulou, 2020). These parties strategically avoid explicit racist language against immigrants, seeking electoral success through a broader ideological appeal.

Around the same time and preceding years, France, like other European nations, underwent a prolonged deindustrialization process that saw its manufacturing base shifting to third-world countries due to the forces of globalization. As highlighted by Elhefnawy (2023), there was a peak in manufacturing output in 1979, followed by periods of recovery and decline. However, after the 2008 crisis, there was a noticeable and consistent decline in manufacturing output, exacerbating the effects of deindustrialization (Elhefnawy, 2023).

The implementation of neoliberal policies during this period triggered several backlashes against the government and contributed to the rise of far-right political parties. These policies played a significant role in shaping the crisis faced by Arab immigrants in France. Many of these immigrants were employed in the manufacturing industries and initially benefitted from social welfare programs upon their arrival. However, with the decline of these industries and the subsequent shift towards the service sector, many found themselves excluded from the stable economy, facing economic uncertainty and social challenges.

This research highlights a potential correlation between the adoption of neoliberal policies, the deindustrialization process, and the specific challenges faced by Arab immigrants in France. As the economic landscape evolved, these communities were particularly vulnerable to the changes, leading to social and economic repercussions that require thoughtful attention and policy consideration.

On the other hand, perceptions of Arabs regarding the intersection of culture and labor are rooted in the above-mentioned political economy, which shifted the focus from their economic contribution to society to their cultural integration, leading to the framing of Arab immigrants primarily in cultural terms rather than purely labor-related considerations.

5.5 The North African Experience in the Post-Industrialist Era

A redditor answering the question of why Moghrabi people are looked down upon said the following: `In the office building I worked at for a long time the only

women allowed to wear the hijab were the cleaning ladies. A hijabi colleague had to remove it when entering the building`.¹¹

The job market in France unveils a stark landscape characterized by notable disparities and segmented opportunities. It is imperative to shed light on these divisions, particularly within the context of immigrant experiences, specifically those of Arab and African descent.

Another experience involving a coworker highlights the hurdles Arab immigrants often encounter in their pursuit of employment opportunities. In an effort to expedite her job search, she made a somewhat radical choice – she decided to modify her surname by incorporating her mother's name. Astonishingly, this adjustment yielded positive results¹², prompting a profound reflection on the significant role that one's name can play in shaping hiring outcomes.

Another individual from reddit shared an encounter while in pursuit of a summer job, particularly one involving customer interactions. In a candid revelation, they disclosed that during this job search, they confronted blatant discrimination. They were informed that the position was exclusively open to white applicants, unequivocally excluding Arabs.¹³

This story serves as a poignant example of the overarching notion that individuals of Arab descent frequently encounter discriminatory hurdles within the French job

¹¹https://www.reddit.com/r/arabs/comments/nws6mh/comment/h1dr1ki/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3

¹²

https://www.reddit.com/r/france/comments/7ur3up/comment/dtmg4uh/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3

¹³

https://www.reddit.com/r/france/comments/7ur3up/comment/dtmi3lw/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3

market. It underscores the need for a deeper examination of these challenges and a concerted effort to address them.

Most of the time, the issue of discrimination in French society goes beyond overt racism or state-sanctioned discrimination as seen in the colonial era. Instead, it highlights a deeper problem wherein immigrants face barriers in terms of opportunities and accessibility compared to those of French origin.

Extensive research, including studies by Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon (2006), Fougère and Pouget (2004), and Dupray and Moullet (2004), has explored discrimination in the labor market, particularly focusing on immigrants of European and non-European origins in comparison to those of French origins.

Meurs, Pailhé, and Simon's (2006.) study examined unemployment and discrimination in the labor market, revealing significant disparities between immigrants from non-European origins and their European counterparts, particularly Spanish and Portuguese immigrants (Meurs et al., 2006, p. 662) The research collected data on first-generation and second-generation immigrants of Turkish, South Asian, North African, and Sub-Saharan African descent. The findings indicated that these populations were more vulnerable to unemployment after graduation, often being the first to be affected during economic downturns. Moreover, they faced higher levels of job insecurity and were more likely to engage in informal employment compared to European immigrants and French natives (Ibid., p. 662).

For instance, in the realm of immigration and labor market dynamics, the same study (ibid.) emerges as a noteworthy cornerstone. This comprehensive investigation examined the experiences of both first-generation and second-generation immigrants in France, hailing from diverse backgrounds such as Turkish, South

Asian, North African, and Sub-Saharan African descent. It ventured into the intricate web of employment disparities, uncovering a Complex fabric of findings that carries significant weight in understanding the immigrant labor market landscape.

In addition, the study's findings presented a complicated narrative that revealed the distinct vulnerabilities encountered by various groups within the immigrant population. It illuminated the realities of labor market participation, with a specific focus on the contrast between unemployment and employment experiences, using native French individuals as a reference point.

As one delves into the core findings of this study, it becomes apparent that different immigrant groups and generations grappled with unique challenges. For instance, immigrants who arrived in France after the age of 10 (G1) faced remarkable odds – their likelihood of experiencing unemployment was approximately 2.722 times higher than their odds of securing employment (Meurs et al., 2006, p. 668). Similarly, individuals who immigrated at the age of 10 or below (G1.5) encountered odds approximately 1.804 times higher (ibid., p. 668). Even the second-generation immigrants, born in France to two immigrant parents (G2), did not escape these challenges, with their unemployment vulnerability standing at approximately 1.595 times higher. Furthermore, those born in France to one immigrant parent with a mixed background (G2 mixed) exhibited odds hovering around 1.236 times higher. (ibid., p. 669).

One significant finding of the study was the heightened vulnerability of these immigrant populations to unemployment after completing their education. They often found themselves among the first to be affected during economic downturns. Additionally, they faced elevated levels of job insecurity and were more likely to

engage in informal employment when compared to European immigrants and native French individuals (ibid., p. 669).

Furthermore, the research highlighted the persistence of occupational segregation based on immigrant status. Many immigrants and their descendants remained confined to low-skilled jobs, and they were disproportionately represented in economic sectors susceptible to economic fluctuations (ibid., p. 669). This phenomenon was attributed to historical factors, particularly the conditions that led to the recruitment of immigrant labor in the post-war period. Unlike their French counterparts, immigrants did not typically experience upward career mobility and were predominantly employed in manual labor positions (ibid., p. 669).

For instance, the study noted that approximately 75% of immigrant workers remained in manual occupations even after 20-25 years of activity, while the proportion dropped to 30% for men born in France. Spaniards exhibited better mobility prospects, while Turks and Moroccans faced significant occupational immobility (ibid., p. 669).

The research also shed light on the distribution of immigrants across various occupations. Immigrant men were overrepresented in occupations such as building workers, domestic helpers, directors and managers, and health professionals, while they were underrepresented among legislators, senior officials, managers, and farmers. Immigrant women, on the other hand, were overrepresented in cleaning, domestic assistance, and personal care roles but underrepresented in office clerical and nursing professions. (ibid., p. 669, 670).

The study's examination of the second generation revealed a closer alignment with the occupational distribution of native French individuals. However, some distinctions

persisted. For instance, second-generation men were slightly overrepresented in certain craft trades and computing professions but underrepresented in agricultural and food processing roles (ibid., p. 670). Second-generation women showed overrepresentation in finance, sales, and domestic assistance occupations but underrepresentation in personal care and office clerical roles. (ibid., p. 670).

In essence, what this study distinctly conveys is that immigrants and second-generation immigrants, particularly those from non-European origins, grapple with a significantly higher risk of unemployment and labor immobility in comparison to their native French counterparts. These findings illuminate the stark disparities etched into the fabric of the French labor market, reaffirming that the immigrant experience extends far beyond mere geographical borders. It underscores the multidimensional nature of immigrant integration and labor market participation.

5.6 Different Mechanisms in Different Epochs

When the two cases, French Algeria, and the conditions of North African immigrants in France are presented, there are differences in terms of scale and context, the immigrant is not being discriminated against on a daily basis simply because of their identity yet they always find themselves at the bottom of the social and economic classes. And the context in which immigrants are being discriminated against is more subtle and deceptive in the sense that you do not see usually but it is embedded in the system.

There are several complex factors at play that contribute to an unequal system for non-European immigrants in France. These factors shed light on the persistent disparities in employment outcomes, even after controlling for education.

Firstly, neoliberal policies have a significant impact on the experiences of non-European immigrants in the labor market. As mentioned earlier, these policies often prioritize market-driven approaches, which can disadvantage immigrants, especially those from non-European backgrounds. This may manifest in limited access to stable job opportunities and heightened vulnerability to economic downturns. Neoliberal policies can exacerbate job insecurity and informal employment among this group.

Secondly, cultural perceptions and stereotypes are another layer of the challenge. These biases can play a crucial role in the disadvantages faced by North African immigrants when it comes to employment and hiring practices. If disparities persist even when educational qualifications are taken into account, it suggests that discrimination and prejudice are contributing to these disparities. Negative stereotypes about certain immigrant groups can result in hiring managers overlooking highly qualified individuals, further perpetuating inequality.

Thirdly, non-European immigrants often grapple with the legacy of poverty. This legacy is rooted in the neighborhoods where they were born, characterized by high levels of poverty and underdeveloped public services, including schools and healthcare facilities. In contrast, they find themselves competing with individuals who had the privilege of attending well-funded schools in safe and developed districts. This discrepancy in educational opportunities and access to resources from a young age can have a lasting impact on future employment prospects.

Scholars often turn to Michel Foucault to comprehend various power systems and their methods of subjugation. However, Jean Baudrillard (1990) provides a distinct

perspective on postmodernity, offering a more stringent interpretation that highlights a profound divide between modernity and postmodernity in terms of mechanisms.

In Baudrillard's analysis (Luke, 1991), the social order of modernity stands in contrast to that of postmodernity. During the epoch of modernity, universalism prevailed, driven by state power that enforced certain values. Colonialism, as discussed in the previous chapter, served as a tool of modernity, with the state adopting a traditional role to ensure subjects' compliance with the law. This mode of governance was characterized by coercion, where the state wielded power authoritatively and established rigid rules.

As Luke (1991) suggests in the pre-informational era, a central power dominated, creating and dividing spaces. For instance, in French Algeria, the settlers adhered to a metanarrative propagated by the state, emphasizing their mission of civilizing the native subjects—a mission grounded in the principles of modernity.

Conversely, the advent of postmodernity and the informational revolution ushered in a shift in the dynamics of power. Instead of coercive control, power became more seductive in nature. Postmodernity lacks a central authority, and the traditional state's role diminishes. Instead, power becomes decentralized and fluid, relying on the allure of its influence to motivate individuals to conform to the rules established by various institutions. (Baudrillard, 1990).

In the postmodern context, the rules are not fixed in writing; they are flexible and open to interpretation. This fluidity allows individuals to transcend these rules, as doing so is not seen as a direct challenge to power. Yet, even though there are no explicit laws against certain actions, various entities such as the media, market,

public institutions, the ruling class, universities, and politicians consistently operate within these established rules.

For instance, North African immigrants may have access to public education, and there may be no overt laws against them. However, power, which remains enigmatic, subtly abides by certain rules that can perpetuate their status as minorities or foreigners.

Some participants in this study might not explicitly identify racism or discrimination, not because they have not experienced it, but because these prejudices may not be codified in laws or overtly expressed by citizens¹⁴

5.7 Conclusion

Accounting for the economic aspect of the issue of immigration in any context is impossible without discussing the cultural and political background to the issue. The labor market of North African immigrants in France is related to the colonial perception of Algerian that was created in French Algeria and other North African countries and mechanisms which settlers and French state have utilized to marginalize the native population. These perceptions and mechanisms indicate the French approach to dealing with outsiders from the North African region. However, there are wide differences in the political sphere since the Algerian independence. To account for these differences, it is crucial to look at the two eras through sociological and philosophical lens that could provide context to why the results (economic marginalization) are similar, and the social spheres are different (Colonialism vs Immigration, Modernity vs Postmodernity).

¹⁴ https://www.reddit.com/r/arabs/comments/gg9gpo/north_african_arabs_how_do_you_view_the_french/

In the colonial era, political and social spaces were rigidly determined by the state, and laws were intentionally created to perpetuate a system where natives were subjugated and treated unequally compared to the settlers. The overarching objective of colonialism was to marginalize the native population and transform them into minorities within their own country. However, in modern-day France, there exists the possibility of social and economic mobility for immigrants. While some immigrants are able to secure higher-paying jobs and fully integrate into French society, the barriers they face are not as rigid as those of the colonial era. Instead, they are fluid and perpetuated by various agents, such as the media, rather than explicitly enforced by the state.

Scholarly works, such as those by King and Rueda (2008) and Lakoff (2006), provide evidence from other contexts that immigrants, especially irregular immigrants, are often exploited as cheap labor. This sheds light on how the perceptions and mechanisms discussed earlier in the chapter can be advantageous for French society and employers. The availability of a vulnerable and easily exploitable labor force, combined with a cultural narrative that associates certain immigrant groups with manual labor, can lead to the perpetuation of discriminatory labor practices that benefit certain segments of the French economy.

Chapter 6: Nation-Building and Immigration: Interconnected Aspects

6.1 Introduction

Exploring the historical roots of the nation-state concept in France and delving into the catalysts behind the 1792 Revolution hold pivotal importance in comprehending the dynamics surrounding Arab immigrants. The underlying presumption posits that the very process by which the nation took shape establishes the groundwork for determining who is deemed a citizen. The primary objective of this chapter is to critically assess whether the French Revolution signifies a cultural paradigm shift in the realm of French politics or as alluded by Marx (2008), it unfolds as a product of economic evolution, propelling the Bourgeoisie to assert its interests in forging a republican democracy.

This inquiry bears relevance to the quandary concerning Arab immigrants, postulating that if the foundation of France rests upon cultural cornerstones like equality, fraternity, and liberty, then the hurdle obstructing the integration of Arabs and other immigrants lies in their embrace of these values. Alternatively, it raises the question of whether the French populace is hindered in broadening their capacity to encompass diverse cultures and values. Should the latter proposition hold true, it implies that the bedrock of the state is rooted in class-oriented policies, necessitating a reassessment to facilitate the integration of immigrants.

In essence, this exploration examines the intricate interplay between historical lineage and contemporary challenges, investigating whether the French sociopolitical landscape has been reshaped through cultural metamorphosis or driven by

economic imperatives, while shedding light on its implications for the integration of Arab immigrants.

The question of nation-building and its relation to the immigration issue is interconnected in multiple ways. It is essential to note that the French Revolution played a crucial role in the establishment of what is now known as the French Republic. The French Republic is associated with specific values and traditions that warrant exploration, as these values purportedly dictate the inclusion of citizens and foreigners. Examining state-building in France is critical to understanding the origins of this issue.

The French Revolution played a pivotal role in shaping modern France, and its significance in understanding the current crisis faced by Arab immigrants is underscored by the dichotomy between a cultural and a class-based approach to the revolution. This research seeks to explore whether the challenges of Arab immigrants in France are primarily rooted in cultural differences or driven by economic disparities.

6.2 Class vs. Culture Approach to the French Revolution

Understanding this dichotomy is crucial as it can reveal potential continuities between the past and the present. If the French Revolution was predominantly influenced by cultural factors, such as a shared sense of national identity and common cultural heritage, it might have implications for the conditions to attain nationality or citizenship. In such a scenario, the criteria for belonging to the nation may be aligned with the cultural basis on which the nation was built. Consequently, Arab immigrants, who are perceived as culturally distinct, might face difficulties in assimilating into French society and accessing full citizenship rights.

Alternatively, if the French Revolution was primarily driven by class-based struggles and economic inequality, the current crisis of Arab immigrants in France could be linked to economic disparities and social mobility challenges. An economic basis for defining citizenship might prioritize access to economic resources and opportunities, potentially marginalizing those who face economic hardships and limited prospects for social advancement.

6.3 Cultural Approach to the French Revolution

The Cultural Approach to the French Revolution can be attributed to historians such as Sarah Maza and Fuet Francois and their claim bases itself on multiple remarks about the French Revolution in the sense that the bourgeoisie did not exist before 1815. Sarah (2003) claims that during the French Revolution and before there was so much commentary about the events but never the bourgeoisie was identified as a source of the problem or the solution. Maza (2003, 5) says:

I am not denying either that people often used the word bourgeois in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in its multiple and often contradictory quotidian meanings: a town resident, a person with some money, a worker's boss, or someone lacking in taste and social flair. What the statement means to convey is that, with the exceptions noted above, no group calling itself bourgeois ever emerged in France to make claims to cultural or political centrality and power: bourgeois was almost invariably what someone else was.

And then she (Maza, 2003, 7,8) goes on to say:

To the argument that the bourgeoisie did not exist because it did not in any conspicuous or compelling way identify itself and tell its own story, some historians will respond that bourgeois consciousness did indeed exist in the eighteenth and

early nineteenth centuries, but its nature was concealed under other appearances..... This view presumes an objective, material reality of social existence that is passively reflected in, and sometimes concealed by, language. I believe, however, that language is not passive but performative; people's identities are constructed by the cultural elements they absorb the myth of the French bourgeoisie and then articulate as individual and collective stories. Why should the bourgeoisie, if it existed, refuse to name itself, why should it feel compelled to conceal its own existence and purpose?

The argument presented here is that the bourgeoisie's lack of self-recognition as a class before the revolution raises questions about its ability to act in favor of its interests. While Sarah acknowledges the existence of the term "bourgeoisie" before the revolution, she suggests that it was predominantly used in a negative context. Indeed, this is a compelling argument. How can a class effectively pursue its interests if it fails to identify and unite around them? However, this specific point does not definitively prove or disprove the existence of the bourgeoisie as a distinct class. The core question revolves around the objective economic conditions that may have facilitated the emergence of the bourgeoisie.

The essence of this "revisionism" is to downplay the role of the bourgeoisie in the revolution. By emphasizing cultural and ideological factors, proponents of this view aim to portray the revolution as a democratic-liberal movement with no substantial material basis (Ado, 1990). According to this interpretation, the revolution sought to establish an egalitarian society rather than serving the interests of a specific class.

This discussion around the roots of the French Revolution or the national sentiment in France is based on the idea of whether the revolution was based on a radical shift

of values and culture in French society, or it was a class conflict between the emerging capitalists' class and the old feudalists, The first stance denies or downplays the role of capitalism in the Revolution, while others dismiss the significance of the bourgeoisie as a class. For instance, some cultural revisionists argue that capitalism was weak or unrelated to the Revolution (Ado, 1990), while others claim that the bourgeoisie was non-capitalist or even that the nobility played a more critical role in capitalist development (Maza, 2003). On the other hand, Marx argues that the revolutionaries were unconsciously driven by the interests of the bourgeoisie, and it was only in the aftermath that they became aware of their role as champions of bourgeois society (Marx, 2008). Marx's emphasis on the weight of tradition and false consciousness helps to explain the dominance of classical republican ideology during the Revolution.

6.4 Economic Progress and Unfolding of the Bourgeoisie

Before the French Revolution, the northern region of France witnessed the emergence of a prosperous rural bourgeoisie (Ado, 1990). During the 18th century, there was significant growth in commerce, particularly in overseas trade. Additionally, rural industries experienced a substantial expansion, and the early stages of mechanized factory production began. Within this economic progress, the bourgeoisie played a central role and dominated the economic landscape, reaping the benefits through increased profits (Heller, 2006, 53).

Ado (1990) suggests that the traditional linear understanding of the Revolution as a complete change from feudalism to capitalism within a ten-year period might be oversimplified. He argues that the revolution unfolded within feudalism and against it

and that the transition from feudalism to capitalism was a long-term historical development that began in the fourteenth century and extended beyond the Revolution.

Another argument could be made here regarding the cultivation of the national sentiment in France before the revolution (Johnson, 2015). The argument is that state capacity during the monarchy played a role in creating the conditions for the French Revolution. State capacity refers to the ability and effectiveness of a government or state in carrying out its functions and providing essential services to its citizens. During the monarchy, the regional government created the internal free trade zone known as the Cinq Grosses Fermes (CGF) in 1664 (Johnson, 2015). The absolute monarchy had greater success in quashing local privileges inherited from the feudal system within the CGF boundaries compared to areas outside of it. Additionally, the monarchy was notably more effective in implementing centralized fiscal institutions among the populations residing within the CGF (Johnson, 2015). Within the CGF, individuals were compelled to engage with and eventually align themselves with a centralized French state. Instead of solely paying taxes to local landlords and being subject to seigneurial justice, those within the CGF, including merchants, nobles, and clergy, experienced a growing imposition of royal or 'French' tax bureaucracies and justice systems. This shift led to increased interaction and identification with the centralized French state (Johnson, 2015).

The conclusion of the paper argues that the monarchy, by creating national sentiment and imposing an import-export tax has created its own destruction. By limiting serfdom and creating a class that is capitalist by nature, even though it was not described as so, the monarchy was dismantling its material legitimacy.

These policies indicate that there was a growing capitalist class within France and a decline in the feudalist system. The recognition that people identified with the government and that national sentiment had been growing before the revolution means that the material conditions, not cultural values, were driving the people to rebel.

As Ado (1990) mentions Maza was content with studying the surface and the appearance of the history prior to the French Revolution, while Marx goes beyond the ideology of the republicanism. Marx (2008) as a dialectical Materialist, does not argue that the bourgeoisie existed before the French Revolution but he insists that material conditions for it did exist, and that the period from 1848-1852 unfolded the bourgeoisie nature of the revolution. He believes that the French Revolution had multiple potentials, and the bourgeoisie with their class power eliminated all the other options.

The relevancy of this discourse derives from the earlier suggestion: that the Republic's inception upon the ascending bourgeoisie necessitates an understanding of its subsequent trajectory and challenges through the prism of class dynamics. As the preceding segment aimed to establish, the underpinnings of the French Revolution were firmly rooted in class interests. Thus, the subsequent section aims to forge an unbroken link between the historical past and the present milieu. This continuity, however, hinges upon the demonstration that the primary predicament concerning immigrants in France isn't rooted in cultural distinctions, but rather in their exploitation for economic gains.

6.5 Citizenship and Immigration

The first wave of Arab immigrants in France occurred primarily during the 19th and early 20th centuries. This wave consisted of North African immigrants, mainly from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, which were French colonies at the time. Algerian immigration began during the 19th century when Algeria was under French colonial rule. Many Algerians were brought to France to work as laborers in various industries, such as mining and agriculture. The migration continued to increase during and after World War I when labor shortages in France led to increased recruitment from Algeria. Tunisians and Moroccans also started migrating to France during the colonial period. While some came as laborers, others were attracted by economic opportunities in France. These early Arab immigrants settled in urban areas in France, particularly in and around Paris, and often lived in impoverished conditions in crowded neighborhoods. After World War II, there was a significant increase in Arab immigration to France due to labor demands during the post-war reconstruction period. France signed labor agreements with several North African countries to recruit workers for its growing industries. Family reunification policies in the 1970s and 1980s allowed the families of these early immigrants to join them in France, contributing to the growth of Arab communities in the country.

The waves of immigration that have washed upon the shores of France throughout its history are intricately woven into the fabric of its social and economic evolution. One such wave, which has garnered substantial attention and scrutiny, is the influx of Arab immigrants, primarily hailing from North African countries, into France during the mid-20th century. To understand the dynamics of this immigration wave, one must delve into the nuances of a class-based analysis that transcends the superficial categorizations of race or ethnicity.

The Arab immigrants who arrived in France during this period did not carry with them a singular identity or homogeneous background. They came from diverse socio-economic strata in their countries of origin, bringing with them a tapestry of experiences, aspirations, and hopes. However, upon their arrival in France, a complex process of categorization began to unfold.

The very fact that Arabs and North Africans were brought to France primarily for economic needs suggests that the logic of the French state has consistently been rooted in economic interests. They were not merely seen as individuals seeking a better life but rather as machines supplying specific economic requirements. While the state offered unification, it did not fundamentally alter the prevailing perception that Arabs and North Africans were not truly French.

Regardless of their efforts to integrate, they continued to be viewed as outsiders, as a class of individuals fulfilling specific economic roles rather than as full-fledged members of French society. No matter how hard they tried to assimilate, they were often perceived as "other," as less than fully French. This class-based perspective has perpetuated the notion that their presence in France is primarily to serve economic purposes, further reinforcing the barriers to full integration and recognition as equal citizens.

The experiences and identities of French Algerians, particularly the younger generation, are profoundly shaped by historical factors and the treatment of immigrants upon their initial arrival in France. The legacy of colonialism and its intricate aftermath have left a lasting impact on how the Algerian community perceives their sense of belonging.

earlier in the text, the case of Zinedine Zidane, as observed by M'Hamed Bouhjar¹⁵, offers a compelling illustration of the complexities surrounding identity and belonging in France. Zidane, initially celebrated as a symbol of multicultural France in 1998, later faced categorization as the 'suburb's Arab' following an incident. This transformation of public perception underscores the fragile nature of acceptance and illustrates how perceptions of belonging can be fluid, influenced by both individual actions and societal attitudes. This example highlights how the sense of belonging for French Algerians can be influenced by public perceptions and stereotypes, which can change over time based on various factors.

The historical context of colonialism, economic disparities, and the formation of migrant communities in France play pivotal roles in shaping these sentiments. The legacy of colonialism has left deep scars, contributing to feelings of discrimination and exclusion. Economic disparities can hinder full integration into society, as individuals may face limited opportunities for upward mobility. Additionally, the formation of migrant communities can foster a sense of belonging among themselves, but this may also create barriers to assimilation into the broader French society.

These sentiments are comprehensible, but how do they correlate with whether the French state was founded on service to a bourgeois class or on liberal cultural values detached from economic reality? The argument here rests on the following: if it is related to cultural values, then many liberal-minded Arabs and North Africans would not find integration and belonging to French society challenging. Yet, despite this, they still encounter difficulties concerning belonging.

¹⁵ <https://www.aljazeera.com/features/2019/5/26/french-algerians-on-identity-discrimination-protests-at-home>

French society or the state do not discriminate against Arabs because it is racially biased society, and it does not reject the integration of Arabs because they belong to a less esteemed race than the white European race. However, because the very society that was founded on bourgeois liberal values, primarily aimed at achieving interests and desires of a specific class at the expense of another, is the same society that ventures to the African continent for conquest and appropriation of resources and raw materials. Consequently, it has constructed a class-based perception against Arabs. one could argue that Arabs do not belong to France because they are perceived as belonging to a lower class. There is an economic subjugation faced by Arabs, as demonstrated in the preceding chapter. It has formed a class-based image of Arabs that remains insurmountable and persists even if they surpass their economic class. In the forthcoming section, the aim is to establish that the foundation of the immigrant problem is economic, and all cultural and value-based disparities are, for the French, akin to what Marx aptly stated about the French Revolution—a mere mask veiling the truths behind reality.

6.6 Beyond the Veile: The Implications of Cultural Differences

Both Silverman and Favell (1992, 1998) point out a transformation in immigration policies that took place from the late 1960s to the early 1980s, signalling a shift from an economically focused approach towards immigrant issues to one centered on cultural dimensions. Economically oriented policies aimed at immigrant integration involved the provision of similar economic services to immigrants as those enjoyed by their French counterparts. Silverman (1992) highlights that French immigration policymakers and politicians attribute this shift to the fact that North

African immigrants, particularly Algerians, exhibited fertility birth rates approximately ten times higher than their French counterparts. This demographic trend consequently posed challenges in providing necessary services to these immigrants.

Additionally, Silverman (1992) notes that the initial expectation surrounding North African immigration to France was that these migrants would remain for economic reasons and then depart, suggesting they would not form stable communities.

However, this notion was disproved as immigrants settled in France, unified with their families, and established an Arab or North African presence within the country.

For French policymakers, the issue arose when immigrants did not depart as their economic utility subsided, creating communities with distinct values divergent from French ones (Silverman, 1992). The challenge was then to encourage those capable of adopting the French way of life to do so. The reason behind their difficulty in integrating into French life was attributed to their different lifestyle patterns, manifested partly through higher birth rates than the French.

Such conclusions imply a certain connection between cultural and economic factors, suggesting that the cultural facet could mask underlying economic concerns. Post-World War II, France required immigrants to meet economic needs, yet with the realization that immigrant birth rates surpassed those of native French, a potential economic threat emerged, with these immigrants potentially dominating the job market and potentially depriving French citizens of their privileges. Notably, the proposition by Favell (1998) suggests the exploitation of these concerns by Le Pen and his National Front party, asserting that Arab immigrants' cultural differences from the French could lead to the fragmentation and destruction of France and its values. This exploitation amalgamates economic threats posed by immigrants to the economy with the cultural divide between Arabs and Europeans in general.

Hence, Marine Le Pen consistently strives to defend liberal European values (typically resisted by conservative Europeans) while simultaneously advocating for the French working class (the group most adversely affected by neoliberal policies, a stance that contradicts Le Pen's agreement to these policies). This dual stance can only be resolved through one conclusion: the French right either intends to benefit from this crisis, transforming it into a racially charged issue attributed to immigrants being different, rather than acknowledging it as an economic problem stemming from the state's inability to control and manage the economic exploitation faced by Arab immigrants.

Another point that requires explanation here is how Marine Le Pen and her father (former leader of the National Front party) managed to convince a significant portion of French voters of the ideas previously discussed. To address this, one must delve into the colonialist perceptions that were constructed against Arabs and Africans, which still carry weight in French society, even if not as overtly as in the past. The French individual carries a deep-seated sense of differentiation from the Arab and African counterparts, a feeling of superiority that is daily exercised. As articulated by Fanon (1968), in this context, the settler establishes a symbiotic relationship between wealth and skin colour. Fanon's assertion that "you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich" illustrates this intricate link. In this respect, Fanon diverges from Marx. Fanon's observation aims to complicate and deepen Marxism when examining the socio-economic relationships between colonizers and the colonized, between the white and non-white, where wealth and racial dominance are intertwined and perpetually reinforce each other.

The sentiment that Fanon expresses in "you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich" is similar to one individual on reddit who mentions that

by being North African, French people usually downplay his academic achievements or even question his identity if he was Jewish or Lebanese and sometimes, they would suggest if he was from the Bourgeoise in Algeria.¹⁶ Another one answering a question about “why Maghribi people are looked down upon” shares similar sentiment: “Cause they are usually poor. Their religion is considered to be a backwards mentality. They tend to live in ghettos where crime and rampant drug trafficking are common”.

This symbiotic relationship is palpable to the white French individual each time they enter an Arab neighborhood, particularly Algerian, echoing the imagery described by Fanon of the radiant settler's city juxtaposed with the streets of LA Noailles. As Fanon (1968, 39) states describing the settler town, "It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about." While on the other hand, the town of the native is dirty filled with starving men.

What Fanon illustrates here is the intricate relationship between the economic and the cultural. The indigenous populations of the past and the current migrants become symbols of poverty and squalor, portraying France itself as impoverished and tainted because of them. This portrayal doesn't attribute France's condition to neoliberal policies benefitting from their poverty. Marine Le Pen effectively capitalizes on this perception to attract her voters by tapping into the imagery that triggers their French cultural sentiments.

This imagery casts the previously indigenous populations and contemporary migrants as embodiments of poverty and filth, rendering France as destitute and

¹⁶

https://www.reddit.com/r/france/comments/7ur3up/comment/dtmlsaw/?utm_source=share&utm_medium=web2x&context=3

unclean due to their presence. This narrative shifts the blame away from neoliberal policies that exploit their poverty. Le Pen manages to achieve this by appealing to her supporters through this imagery, which stirs their French cultural emotions. She paints a portrayal of the Arab and African conditions that disfigure France and purportedly steal its European heritage.

In this way, Le Pen manipulates these perceptions to resonate with her supporters, fuelling their fears of cultural dilution and economic decline. This strategy effectively draws a connection between economic struggles and cultural identity, and by reinforcing these sentiments, she gains support from those who perceive these issues as threats to their French way of life. This calculated approach aligns with the core argument that Fanon presents, where the economic and cultural aspects intersect in a way that influences public opinion and political engagement.

6.7 Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was to challenge the prevalent cultural approach often adopted by scholars, politicians, and activists when addressing immigration concerns. It is crucial to recognize the historical underpinnings that continue to exert influence on contemporary issues. Throughout this research, the interplay between class and identity has been a recurring theme, but in this section in particular, the aim was to emphasize how the legacy of nation-state building continues to reverberate in the present. As Lorcin (2017) observes, the sense of uncertainty surrounding one's own identity as a European French society has a profound impact on interactions with others, particularly the Arab community. The construction of self-identity within France, the very concept of French subjectivity, shapes perceptions of

those who are considered 'other'. This lens reveals that the envisioned bourgeoisie society aspired to during the French Revolution encounters challenges in effectively integrating immigrants, particularly those perceived as belonging to lower socioeconomic classes (as highlighted in the preceding chapter). The core issue lies in the definition of what is deemed 'proper' and 'French', which revolves around the notion of being Bourgeois or middle class.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

In the pursuit of understanding the challenges faced by Arabs in their integration into French society, this study has endeavored to address a fundamental question: Why has there been an enduring struggle for Arabs to fully integrate into France? The answer, it becomes apparent, lies in the persistence of discrimination perpetuated by stereotypes and theories rooted in the colonial era. Historically, Arabs were often relegated to roles perceived as suited for hard labor, and while such explicit theories may have faded into obscurity, their legacy continues to influence perceptions and treatment.

Yet, the subtlety of contemporary discrimination complicates the issue. The postmodern condition, characterized by a reluctance to overtly acknowledge such biases, has obscured the reality of ongoing discrimination faced by Arabs. While explicit theories of Arab labor may have waned, the patterns of exploitation persist. Arabs find themselves in roles reminiscent of those in French Algeria, toiling in menial jobs that offer little upward mobility.

The socioeconomic disadvantage faced by Arab immigrants in France is deeply intertwined with systemic issues that have perpetuated their struggles. Poverty stands as a significant impediment to their integration into French society. Many Arab immigrants find themselves residing in economically disadvantaged neighborhoods or suburbs with limited access to quality education, employment opportunities, and social services. These areas often lack the necessary infrastructure and resources needed to break the cycle of poverty.

Neoliberal policies, which have gained prominence in recent decades, have been touted as a means of fostering economic growth and prosperity. However, for Arab immigrants and other marginalized communities, these policies have failed to deliver on their promises of upward mobility. Neoliberalism emphasizes deregulation, privatization, and reducing the role of the state in the economy. While these policies may benefit the affluent and corporations, they often lead to reduced social safety nets and diminished support for those at the lower end of the socioeconomic spectrum.

One of the central tenets of neoliberal economics is the concept of the trickle-down economy. This theory suggests that by creating favorable conditions for businesses and wealthy individuals to thrive, the benefits of their success will eventually "trickle down" to the broader population, including marginalized groups. However, in practice, this has not proven effective in addressing the unique challenges faced by Arab immigrants.

The trickle-down economy has failed to bridge the economic gap because it relies on the assumption that the interests of the wealthy will align with the needs of disadvantaged communities. In reality, the pursuit of profit often leads to exploitative labor practices, wage stagnation, and precarious employment for Arab immigrants and other vulnerable populations. The benefits of economic growth tend to disproportionately accrue to the top echelons of society, leaving those at the bottom struggling to make ends meet.

Moreover, neoliberal policies have contributed to the erosion of social safety nets and public services that could provide critical support to marginalized communities. Cuts to social programs, healthcare, and education have left Arab immigrants with

fewer resources to overcome the economic disparities they face. As a result, the promise of neoliberalism as an engine of progress has not materialized for those who are most in need.

The socioeconomic disadvantage experienced by Arab immigrants in France is exacerbated by systemic factors, including poverty and the shortcomings of neoliberal policies. The trickle-down economy, which prioritizes the interests of the wealthy, has failed to address the unique challenges faced by marginalized communities, leaving them economically vulnerable and socially marginalized. To achieve meaningful integration and social equity, it is essential to reevaluate these policies and implement measures that provide genuine opportunities for economic advancement and social inclusion for all residents, regardless of their background.

Furthermore, the study sought to expose the political landscape surrounding immigration and integration. It became evident that the cultural war waged by certain political factions, particularly on the right, often masks ulterior motives. These parties exploit anti-immigrant sentiment to secure votes, capitalizing on fears of cultural change. However, a deeper examination reveals that the same political forces, driven by the interests of those who fund them, may not be averse to open borders if it means a continued influx of cheap labor, which can be harnessed to maximize profits.

There is a crucial point that needs clarification regarding the fact that the French Revolution is not a primary factor in shaping the socio-economic reality or the situation of immigrants today, but rather resembles a specific mode of interpreting history. Through the lens of the French Revolution, we can adopt a somewhat

Marxist perspective to understand a certain aspect of this history. Why the French Revolution, then? Simply because the French Revolution reflects a foundational history of the French state, a path created by France for itself, a path in which the theories of Montesquieu and Jean-Jacques Rousseau became fundamental in the political and legal reality of the state. The Marxist reading of the French Revolution, one that focuses on the factor of relations of production in shaping the superstructure (culture and society), never denies the presence of these superstructural factors in shaping a part of reality; it just places a certain centrality over another. In sociology, analysts often seek the analytical centre, for Marx, it was class; for Foucault, it was power and discourse; for Hegel, it was spirit. These theories attempt to explain history through a specific centre, a centre with analytical weight that enables understanding of what is happening.

This does not mean that the religious and cultural discussions about Islam, the veil, and Western culture are meaningless, but it tries to transcend them to understand something more authentic, something bigger that drives political parties and creates contradictions among them. This argument is based on the idea that these real contradictions between Muslims or Arabs and the French do not constitute a sufficient reason for young Arab men to clash with the police in the suburbs of Paris. So, what drives this? Complex and deep-seated feelings fundamentally arise from a sense of economic and political oppression. This oppression crystallizes in the mind of a young Arab when he sees that he lives in an underdeveloped neighborhood compared to other city areas, a neighborhood that the municipality does not care about and does not prioritize for any infrastructural reforms. He also realizes that his father works in a job without guarantees. All of these realizations shape an oppressed consciousness.

Cultural expressions of this oppressed consciousness often manifest in religious contexts, such as the debates surrounding the burqa. While these concerns are undoubtedly genuine and do indeed highlight issues faced by some women, it becomes evident that there is a deeper layer to this problem. The realization that one's ability to wear a burqa might depend on their occupation, for instance, whether they work in cleaning as opposed to teaching, underscores a more profound aspect of the issue: the expectation that Arabs or Muslims, in this particular case, are pigeonholed into specific social classes.

In essence, this exploration seeks to unravel the layers beneath the surface, delving beyond cultural and religious discussions to uncover the underpinning forces that drive political and societal dynamics. By understanding the complex interplay of economic and political factors that contribute to the plight of Arab immigrants in France, we can begin to address the multifaceted challenges they face and work towards a more inclusive and equitable future for all.

Further studies have the potential to deepen our understanding of the complex issue surrounding immigrant communities in France. In particular, if these studies succeed in amplifying the voices and experiences of not only North African or Arab immigrants but also other immigrant communities, such as those from African backgrounds, a more comprehensive and comparative perspective can be achieved.

By expanding the scope of research to include diverse immigrant groups, researchers can gain valuable insights into the unique challenges and opportunities faced by each community. These comparative studies can shed light on commonalities as well as distinctions in the immigrant experience, helping us identify systemic issues that transcend specific ethnic or cultural backgrounds.

Moreover, hearing directly from immigrant communities themselves allows for a more nuanced understanding of their lived experiences, aspirations, and concerns. This inclusive approach can lead to more informed policymaking and social interventions aimed at addressing the multifaceted dimensions of integration, discrimination, and economic disparities.

Further studies that encompass a broader spectrum of immigrant communities in France hold the potential to contribute significantly to the ongoing discourse on immigration and social cohesion. They can provide a richer tapestry of narratives that not only reflect the past and present but also inform a more equitable and inclusive future for all residents of France.

Ultimately, this study has illuminated the continuity between the past, particularly the era of French Algeria, and the present circumstances of immigrants in France. The exploitation of Arab labor, the perpetuation of stereotypes, and the struggle for socioeconomic advancement all bear traces of historical legacies. To address these challenges effectively, it is imperative to recognize the enduring consequences of past actions and commit to policies that promote equity, inclusion, and economic opportunity for all, regardless of their background. In doing so, France can take meaningful steps toward fulfilling its ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity for all of its residents, regardless of their origins.

References

Aderon, C. (1991). *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present*. Translated by Michael Brett. Hurst & Co. Publishers.

Ado, A. (1990). The Role of the French Revolution in the Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism. *Science & Society*, 54(3), 361-366. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40403089>

Asad, T. (2015). Reflections on Violence, Law, and Humanitarianism. *Critical Inquiry*, 41(2), 390-427. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/679081>.

Baudrillard, J., & Singer, B. (1990). *Seduction*. New World Perspectives.

Baudrillard, J. (1994). *Simulacra and Simulation*. University of Michigan Press.

Benboune, M. (1988). *The Making of Contemporary Algeria, 1830-1985*. Cambridge University Press.

Dupray, A., & Moullet, S. (2004). Disparités de carrières entre hommes et femmes au sein d'un marché interne: mobilités et salaires. *Céreq*, 55.

Elhefnawy, N. (2023, May 15). The Deindustrialization of the French Economy: A Note. Retrieved from SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=4448674>

Fanon, F. (1963). *The Wretched of the Earth* (R. Philcox, Trans.). Grove Press.

Favell, A. (1998, January 19). *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*.

Foucault, Michel (1980a), *Power/Knowledge*

Furet, F. (1996). *The French Revolution, 1770-1814* (A. Nevill, Trans.). Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Hauser, M. (1995). *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bône, 1870-1920*. Cambridge University Press.

Heller, H. (2006). *The Bourgeois Revolution in France (1789–1815)*. New York: Berghahn Books.

Heller, H. (2010). Marx, the French Revolution, and the Spectre of the Bourgeoisie. *Studies in Socialism*, 74(2), 184. <https://doi.org/10.1521/siso.2010.74.2.184>

Hutchins, R. D., & Halikiopoulou, D. (2020). Enemies of liberty? Nationalism, immigration, and the framing of terrorism in the agenda of the Front National. *Nations and Nationalism*, 26(1), 67-84.

Johnson, N. D. (2015). *Taxes, National Identity, and Nation Building: Evidence from France*. George Mason University, Department of Economics. Paper No. 15-33. Retrieved from <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2593331>

King, D., & Rueda, D. (2008). Cheap Labor: The New Politics of “Bread and Roses” in Industrial Democracies. *Perspectives on Politics*, 6(2), 279-297. doi:10.1017/S1537592708080614

Lakoff, G. (2006). *The Framing of Immigration*. UC Berkeley Previously Published Works. <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0j89f85g>

Lawrence, A. (2017). *Colonial Approaches to Governance in the Periphery: Direct and Indirect Rule in French Algeria*. Prepared for the Comparative Politics Workshop, University of Chicago. Retrieved from https://home.johnshopkins.edu/~alawren1/ComparativePolitics_Workshop_2017.pdf

Lorcin, P. M. E. (1995). *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria*. I.B.Tauris.

Macey, D., & Foucault, M. (2003). *Society must be defended*. Picador.

Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and Subject: Contemporary Africa and the Legacy of Late Colonialism*. Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2001). *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda*. Princeton University Press.

Mamdani, M. (2020). *Neither Settler nor Native: The Making of Permanent Minorities*. Harvard University Press.

Marx, K. (2004). *Capital: volume I (Vol. 1)*. Penguin UK.

Meurs, D., Pailhé, A., & Simon, P. (2006). The Persistence of Intergenerational Inequalities linked to Immigration: Labour Market Outcomes for Immigrants and their Descendants in France. *Population*, 61(5-6), 645-682.

Richter, M. (1963). Tocqueville on Algeria. *The Review of Politics*, 25(3), 362-398. Retrieved August 13, 2016, from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1405738>

Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. Vintage Books.

Silverman, M. (1992). *Deconstructing the nation: Immigration, racism and citizenship in modern France (Critical studies in racism and migration)*. Routledge.

Tocqueville, A. (Pitts, J., Ed. & Trans.). (2001). *Writings on Empire and Slavery*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tocqueville, A. de. (1835). *Democracy in America* (H. Reeve, Trans.). Saunders and Otley.

Wills, J., May, J., Datta, K., Evans, Y., Herbert, J., & McIlwaine, C. (2009). London's migrant division of labour. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 16(3), 257-271.

Wright, E. O. (Ed.). (2005). *Approaches to Class Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.