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Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
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Female Identity in Postcolonial Algerian Literature

**Case study : Assia Djebar's Femmes d'Alger dans leur
appartement**

A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of English in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for Master Degree in Civilization and Literature

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2019-2020

Dedication

To my

beloved parents

The reason of what I become today

Who pray for me and always supporting me .

May allah protect them .

My brother Abderazak, for being my first teacher.

My brothers and their wives and to my sisters and their

husbands; as well as, my nephews and

my nieces .

To Ilyes

Another dedication to all my friends ; for

supporting and encouraging me

to believe in

myself .

Acknowledgements

First of all

I express gratitude toward

ALLah who helped me to finish this work

My deep gratitude to Mr Sayeh K̄halfa , for his precious advice , his help, his patience, his encouragement and guidance throughout the work.

My sincere thanks also go to the members of the jury for their interest in my search by accepting to examine my work and enrich it with their proposals.

Abstract

Post-colonial Algerian society considered women as the last stronghold of identity that must be preserved and defended after colonialism destroyed the tribal structure that prevailed before it as well as the cultural and religious pillar. Assia Djébar was one of most brilliant writers at that time in Algeria . She tried to represent the statue of Algerian woman in her masterpiece ‘’ *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* ‘’. Through this work Djébar focused on the memory and the lost identity and made a connection with history. Also, she tend to make a link between post colonialism theory and feminism in Algeria. However, the principle issue is to reveal that the idea of postcolonial feminist exists in Algerian literature . Assia's writings are an interpretation of a suffering experienced during her youth in a society which gives priority to man.

Key words : Feminism , Identity , Assia Djébar , *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* , postcolonialism .

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General Conclusion

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General Introduction

The Post-colonial discourse became the main work of many prominent authors as: Kateb Yacine *Nedjma* , Homi Bhabha *The Location of Culture* ,Ngugi WAThing O A *Grain of Wheat* (1986), and Chinua Achebe *Things Fall Apart* (1986). Despite the fact that every one of these writers had extraordinary terrains, ethnicities and social backgrounds , they could all make their own qualification in creating brilliant literary works come under the label of “ Postcolonial Literature “.Furthermore ,there are common concepts of post colonialism in African literature, for example, Algerian writers in French , who effectively donated to Algerian Independence utilizing the French language as a contrivance to denounce colonial brutality and had progressively abused the French language as a political way to portray Algerian reality and further rebuke Algerian governmental issues.

The term Identity incorporates a wide range of intellectual issues that have been examined under various schools of thought and in context of different theories . Thus , Algerian Authors have endeavor to develop their identities of their own and portray a different representation of distinctions and identities in terms of inclusion/exclusion and interiority/exteriority. Moreover , they are counted as anti-nationalist by pan-Arab nationalism. Though , they do not deny their national identity and heritage .

In the context of postcolonial literature , Assia Djebar an eminent postcolonial figure , who has developed as a significant voice in both post colonialism and feminist movements . As a feminist, she sees the contrast between male/female as an philosophical develop used to naturalize the hierarchy between men and women in the social rules and the relations of hegemony . The novel of

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Assia Djabar ‘ ‘ *Femmes d’Alger dans leur appartement* ‘ ‘ indicates that her main influence in writing these stories, from which she borrows the title of the book, Delacroix's famous painting: *Femmes d’Alger dans leur appartement* and maintains that the painting represents these two forms of subjugation while Picasso’s cubist work *Femmes d’Alger de 1955*. The author demonstrates the traditional hopes of women in order to rise up and give a voice to oppressed women and she poses her work in a dialogue with those of Delacroix and Picasso in order to highlight the long history of female oppression and to denote eventual liberation. Moreover, Assia Djabar attempts to fill the socio-cultural and intellectual blank caused by patriarchy and advocate that Algerian female identity is a cultural structure influenced by various mistreatment and marginalization .

This thesis interprets and analyzes a work involved in post-colonial era , which have plots spinning around the quest for identity with regard to postcolonial context . More precisely, it endeavors to focus on the position of women as a patriarchal society dominated by the male . Finally , this study tends to represent the Female identity in a literary works.

The research follows a descriptive analytical method to convey an summary about postcolonial feminist approach in Algeria, further on examine the Algerian female identity through *Femmes d’Alger dans leur appartement*. Methodologically, this research work is pursued within the Modern Language Association format (MLA 2007).

Expanding on the introduction ; This dissertation hold a three-chapter structure. It made up of a general introduction, the body in three chapters, and a general conclusion.

To begin with the first chapter I tend to give an overview about feminism in Algeria and devoted to discuss the struggles of Algerian women in order to face the fundamentalists in one hand and the patriarchy in the other hand . Furthermore, This chapter discussed the birth of the Algerian Feminism Revolution at the turn of the 19th century. Also, an attempt is made to give an idea about colonialism and post colonialism in Algeria .

The second chapter, I dealt with Maghreb literature in general, as it has been influenced by many cultures ; and Algerian literature in particular . Moreover, this chapter tackled with the female literary work in the Post colonialism .Finally , it devoted to address the effects of using French language in Algerian Literature.

Chapter three's main focus is the study of the novel of Assia Djébar *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* ", as an illustration of the "lost personality" , which Djébar endeavors to recollect the historical backdrop of expansionism from a female perspective. Assia Djébar speaks out against this chauvinism towards women because the man must know that the female sex is his half and without the women the men will not be able to survive .In this concern various questions will be addressed about the Algerian female abuse and the battle of Algerian women writers through their realistic works.

To sum up, the conclusion discussed the findings obtained after a thorough review of certain postcolonial work ,and finds that one of the causes of identity perplexity is that amid colonization colonizers efficiently generalized the idea of inadequacy and ingraining it within the awareness of the colonized. This concept is profoundly implanted and reflected within the book , backed by the hypotheses that are investigated in this thesis.

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the main questions that I will try to grapple with are:

- How do Algerian writers validate their identity and specific their struggling via their literary works ?
- How do they project their inherent oppressive identities? And in what way ?
- Also, how do Algerian female challenge the social standards in order to shape an impartial identity?
- To what extent could the novel *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* depicts the Algerian female identity?
- What is the nature of the newly emerging identity? If it is a hybrid identity, then is it honestly a new identity resulting from cultural exchanges or is it solely an imitation of western ways?
- Moreover , does a postcolonial writers like Assia Djebar adopt the colonial identity both for herself and her writings or does she adapt it to her own culture and beliefs ?

Chapter One

Feminism in Algeria

The emergence of a true feminist movement was delayed in Algeria compared to the Arab countries, where the first claims appeared in the 1980s, largely due to French colonialism. While Iraqi, Palestinian and Egyptian women went out to the squares in the forties and chanted against exclusion and the veil, Algerian women were still confined to the home, as for the Algerians they were just one of the tools of the cultural, religious and social struggle against colonialism, and the representation of civilized identity. Their new positions during the struggle for Algeria's independence engaged the full society during a period of transition and evolution, and also their resistance to the retrograde powers of Islamic fundamentalism and the barbarity of terrorist violence was crucial for keeping the country alive, and for keeping their demands for his or her citizenship rights a priority.

1. The Feminist Movement in Algeria, its Roots and the Current Situation:

The Algerian society at the time considered women, the last stronghold of identity that must be preserved and defended after colonialism destroyed the tribal structure that prevailed before it as well as the cultural and religious pillar.

This impairment was encouraged by the French authority, which did not implement the law of secularism issued in 1905 in Algeria and was satisfied with a law that excludes people from the public sphere and gives them the right to manage personal affairs through Sharia courts based on Islamic jurisprudence.

On the other hand, French colonialism used the case of Algerian women to prove their cultural superiority by comparing their situation with that of the French

women at the time. As Laura Nader says: "The position of women has always been used in ideological discourses to compare different cultures and attack the other."¹

We note that during this period, the demands to improve the status of women and keep pace with global changes were restricted to men only. After that, another current of French-speaking educated people emerged, influenced by the 1789 revolution and the European Enlightenment movement, who were the first to claim the necessity of revolution against the traditions that govern Algerian society, openness to the world, and a rational balance between the constants of national identity and the change that the Western world witnessed and took it as a model.

With the beginning of the organization of the resistance in the forties and its transformation into a revolution in the fifties, the issue of women remained secondary and marginalized and should not be raised in light of the presence of the supreme issue, which is freedom from colonialism. Despite the participation of many women in the revolution, such as Jamila Bouhared, Baya and others, seeing them as icons and jihadists in the first place prevented their status as women in society from being considered, and this is evident in the political exclusion they were subjected to after independence, as none of them assumed leadership positions like their comrades. Of the men, but they were returned to their homes again, considering that their role outside it ended like this. The 1984 law, passed under President Chadli Bendjedid under pressure from the World Bank, was part of a plan for political and economic reforms that were programmed and in an unprecedented climate of repression for the opposition.

¹ - "Contextualizing Laura Nader" Introduction to Laura Nader: A Life of Teaching, Investigation, Scholarship and Scope. pp ix-xi. Bancroft Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Berkeley, California. http://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/roho/ucb/text/nader_laura_2014.pdf

This law was also the direct reason for the emergence of an independent feminist movement in Algeria, away from the ruling party and trade unions, how not? The main objective of the family law was to restore Algerian women to their pre-independence status and to consider them as minors under the jurisdiction of the male family and to prevent them from traveling without a mahram, for example. Most of the women jurists at the time were from a bourgeois, university, and communist background (Trotskyist in particular), and the first association was established with the efforts of three women: Khalida Massoudi, Louiza Hanoune and Aisha bin Abdel Momen, and efforts focused on thwarting the adoption of the new law. However, in 1990, with the beginning of the political rise of the Islamic trend, the dispute resolved between the institutional members and Masoudi separated from them under the pretext that Hanoun and Ibn Abdel Moumen did not want a complete break with the Islamic authority.

The disagreements between feminists increased even more in 1992 when the first pluralist elections were held in Algeria, which ended with the victory of the Islamic Salvation Front and the army's intervention to cancel the elections. Masoudi supported the army, while Louisa Hanoune demanded respect for pluralism and called for political dialogue between the parties to the crisis.

Thus, Algerian feminists and human rights defenders failed miserably to catch up with the rest of the movements in the world or even bring about real change or attract the people's attention to their demands due to the black decade and a large number of them siding with the army under the pretext of fighting terrorism and cutting the path of judgment against the Islamists.

2. The birth of Algerian Feminism Movement :

After a long and bloody confrontation, lasting from 1954 until 1962, Algerians were finally able to secure their independence. Although the 1962 constitution established numerous liberties, including the right of women to vote in national elections, the racial and gender hierarchies established during the colonial era endured into the development of modern Algeria. In spite of women's military participation during the war for independence and the equality of gender roles they experienced, women were expected to return to the traditional roles of wife and mother in the post-war era. However, over the next three decades the situation of women began to gradually improve, particularly as educational opportunities increased. By the 1990s, primary school enrollment rates for girls had reached nearly 90 percent and the percentage of women in secondary education had more than doubled.²

General Montaignac's³ letter to his mistress

“ In a letter you asked me what happens to the Algerian women we capture; some we keep as hostages and therest are auctioned to the troops like animals. In the operations we have carried out during the last four months I have witnessed scenes that would melt the hardest heart if one had time to let them! I witnessed it all with a frightening indifference. Kill all men over the age of fifteen; take all women and children and put the mon a ship for the Marquisa Islands or some other destination .” (Bennoune, 1999: 40)

² - Valentine M. Moghadam, *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East* (Lynne Rienner Publishers: Boulder, 1993), 128.

³ Louis Raymond marquis de Montaignac de Chauvance , was a French naval officer and politician. He served as naval minister from 1874 to 1876.

The Algerian woman's situation became the topic of many French humanistic . Their stated objective was to protect and rescue the Algerian woman, who had been humiliated, oppressed and isolated. At this stage the woman question attracted the interest of the Algerian nationalist parties such as the PPA (*Le Partidu Peuple Algérien*: The Party of the Algerian People) and the MTLD (*Le Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques*: The Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Freedoms). They had initially believed that there was no genuine women's question for as long as Algeria was not liberated ; both parties put Islam at the base of their political strategy and, as such, it was judged almost indecent to speak about the rights of women, as the prime concern of all was to fight colonialism.

Female activists have long challenged their marginalisation in male-dominated environments. And Algerian women's struggles go back to the revolutionary war of 1954-1962 .Thus ; Joining the revolution meant an extraordinary move for Algerian women from the private to the public sphere .

After the end of the black decade, the role of feminists became very marginalized, and while some of them turned from supporters of the army to members of successive governments, the majority were forced to change activity and be satisfied with social and charitable work, and the discourse changed from political demands to social discourse against violence against women, especially after the wave that witnessed the nineties and the explosion Beyond societal violence. Despite government promises related to secularism, the changes in the family law were disappointing and did not guarantee Algerian women the equality stipulated in the constitution among citizens.

3. FANONISM

A term for the anti-colonial liberationist critique formulated by the Martiniquan psychiatrist Frantz Fanon (1925–1961). Fanon's work in Algeria led him to become actively involved in the Algerian liberation movement and to publish a number of foundational works on racism and colonialism. These include *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952, translated 1968), a study of the psychology of racism and colonial domination. Just before his death he published *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), a broader study of how anti-colonial sentiment might address the task of decolonization. In these texts Fanon brought together the insights he derived from his clinical study of the effects of colonial domination on the psyche of the colonized and his Marxist derived analysis of social and economic control. From this conjunction he developed his idea of a comprador class, or *élite*, who exchanged roles with the white colonial dominating class without engaging in any radical restructuring of society. The black skin of these compradors was 'masked' by their complicity with the values of the white colonial powers. Fanon argued that the native intelligentsia must radically restructure the society on the firm foundation of the people and their values .⁴

In much amazement on the new roles played by these revolutionary women, Frantz Fanon remarks : “ Carriers of machine guns, hand-grenades, hundreds offorged identity cards, or bombs, the unveiled Algerian woman swims like a fish in the Western waters. Themilitary, the French patrols smile at her as she passes,compliment her on her physical appearance , but no onesuspects that in her

⁴ - Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin , POST-COLONIAL STUDIES The Key Concepts Second edition , published in the Taylor & Francis e-Library, 2007. 270 Madison Avenue, New York, NY 10016 .p91.

briefcase lays the machine gun, which in a short while will be used to shoot four or five members of a patrol ‘’ (Fanon, 2001: 41)

He explains in detail how the revolution gave women more confidence in themselves, and how it helped them rid of their previous fears as they entered the European quarters .

4. Algerian Women’s Struggling of Patriarchy ,Nationalism, and Islamism :

Algerian women’s struggle for both equality and national liberation are vital to Algerian democracy because if democracy means a state in which citizens have rights to participate in society and the way it is governed , women automatically must be included in the equation , rejecting their restricted role as mothers , wives and daughters in a private sphere of the household , women took an active role in a wider public sphere by challenging the broad power of patriarchy threatening to erode its power and privileges , also altered the, patriarchal concepts of the division of labour between the gender .

Despite great patriarchal opposition, Algerian women have always played important roles in effecting change in their societies. During the fight for Algeria's independence , their resistance to the regressive powers of Islamic fundamentalism and the barbarity of terrorist violence was crucial to keeping the country alive and prioritizing its citizenship rights .

Fadhila Assous makes the FLN (Front de Libération Nationale: National Liberation Front) party representative address a group of women in the following terms: “*Dear Women, dear mothers, dear sisters and dear wives. Be women!*”

Always and forever remain women! Give us many children. Sweep your floors and polish your furniture. Make us good soup, and if you have time weave the wool and make some rugs".⁵. This statement clearly defines the expected position of Algerian women by the male elite and designates the family home as a place for women, while maintaining the male dominance of the public sphere.

Fetmouche's play, *Al-Basma al-Majruhah* (The Wounded Smile) in which Assous performed, comes as an alternative to the discourse of both the FLN and the Islamists. It demonstrates the courage of this female/feminist voice who challenged the silence that was imposed on the country by the Islamic fundamentalists who stifled all types of liberal expression, and reveals the determination of Algerian women to continue their struggle to retrieve their citizenship rights by repealing the Family Code⁶ that was imposed on them in 1984. However, this play reminds women of the revolutionary roles they played in the not too distant past during the Algerian struggle for national independence and stimulates them to maintain their roles as agents of change and social cohesion.

The 1984 Family Code reproduced provisions of Islamic Shari'a law. Among these provisions:

- 1- Women have no right to marry but can only be given in marriage by a matrimonial guardian.
- 2- Women cannot divorce their husbands and can only obtain divorce by submitting to the *Khol'a* practice which stipulates that they

⁵ - Extracted from the play *Al-Basma al-Majruha* (The Wounded Smile), (2002), written by Omar Fetmouche, and performed by Fadhila Assous.

⁶ - legislated on June 9, 1984, specifies the laws relating to familial relations in Algeria. It includes strong elements of Islamic law which have brought it praise from Islamists and condemnation from secularists and feminists.

should give up their legal rights or claims to alimony. Men can divorce as and when they want .

- 3- Women are given the role of procreators, making it their legal duty to breastfeed their children and care for them until adulthood.
- 4- Women must obey their husbands and respect them. Women can only work if they are granted permission, and must respect as well as obey their husband and in-laws.
- 5- Women are given custody of their children; boys till the age of 10 and girls until marriage. If a woman has no guardian, the man will only support her if he can. This means if the husband owned only one house, the divorcee and the children will have to end up being homeless. Furthermore, a divorcee is not permitted to take her children abroad or to get them into certain school activities without the father's signature .
- 6- The family code institutionalized polygamy and made it the right of men to take up to four wives.⁷

5. Post colonialism in Algeria :

The term ‘‘ colonialism ‘‘ was initially used by scholars after the Second World War to describe official colonization and to label the post-independence period as "post-colonial state" . Colonialism and post-colonialism have produced and reduced nations, massacred population, disposed people of their land, culture, language and history shifted vast number of people from one place to another. (Ashcroft et al) .

⁷ - Zahia Smail Salhi , Women in the Middle East and North Africa: Agents of Change . p160-161

Historically, when France colonized Algeria in 1830, it was not primarily for economic gain or political dominance, but rather created a systematic colonization to eradicate the civilization of Algeria. France imposed a harsh acculturation program that pinned French as the dominant language, at the expense of local languages: Arabic and Berber and passed a law in the 1930s in the form of acculturation, which listed Arabic as a foreign language .

Another image of colonialism represented by the Algerian men who had maintained a sense of control by dominating women from within the culture, as a result the French targeted these women to gain a foothold in Algerian society. As the tension between the Algerian colonized and French colonists escalated in the decades preceding the 1954-1962 Algerian War of Independence, the French began encouraging veil removal in order to liberate these ‘ ‘ Fatmas ’ ’ from patriarchal oppression . The political aims of such propaganda were, of course, to undercut the social powers of patriarchal Algerian society rather than to create a truly egalitarian society. In this tension, however, women remained passive victims of either party.

6. Post-Colonialism and Political Identity :

In most cases, colonial empires did not simply give up their territories. Anti-imperial movements among the colonized peoples agitated for independence. Identity played a major role in these anti-imperial movements, and those identities were often self-consciously anti-imperial. In other words, they defined themselves against the imperial order. In many ways, this is quite logical. If one does not have a political identity that is different than the ruling empire, why be independent? Accordingly, leaders of independence movements often attempted to frame their struggle in terms of political identity. In the Middle East, these identities were

often a cocktail of ethnic nationalism, territorial nationalism, and religion. These identities manifested differently in different places. Sometimes different movements within the same state used the same cultural building blocks but put different emphasis on each. Egypt had the Muslim Brotherhood, which used Arabism, Islam, and Egyptian identities, but they placed Islam above the others. Nasser, as will be discussed below, also used all of these identities, but he placed Arabism above the others. There were also socialists who viewed identity through the prism of class. Similar cultural and historical cocktails of identity could be found in other countries. For example, Syria and Lebanon had a Mediterranean or even Phoenician identity that some attempted to instrumentalize. Iraqis could point to ancient Mesopotamia.⁸

Conclusion :

The chapter stated the case of Algerian women at the time in order to give voice to women who participate in the resistance against colonial and postcolonial violence. Also focused on post colonialism concepts and clarifies the use of language as an important marker and a repository of cultural tradition. As a result, the Algerian women writers are not just a mirror that challenges the women's position in Algeria but also they propose various strategies for women's emancipation in a male dominated Algerian society.

⁸ - Samuel Helfont, POST-COLONIAL STATES AND THE STRUGGLE FOR IDENTITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST SINCE WORLD WAR TWO , OCTOBER 2015 .p3.

Chapter Two

Postcolonial literature in Algeria

The history of literature in Algeria has been informed by centuries of differing, and sometimes warring, cultures: indigenous Berbers, Roman invaders, Muslim Arabs and French colonists have all played a role in the creation and development of Algerian literature.

Algerian French-language literature approves that the female writer has never been absent but who risks not being recognized. It seems clear that participating and integrating into literary life has become for this woman, an existence of herself, a procedure towards her flight and her freedom from her constraints and a field where she can defend herself, take refuge, expose herself and secure its place.

Language of the Civilizing Nation :

Algeria offers an ideal example for the study of the ‘‘language of the civilizing nation’’. During the colonial era in Algeria, which started as early as 1830, France established a host of political and administrative institutions to rule beyond its borders. These had significant effects on how people worked, lived, what they learned, and how they interacted with one another. One major effect of colonization in Algeria had been the dislocation of language. The imposition of the French language meant not only segregation, illiteracy for the great bulk of Algerian people, religious intolerance, but above all the eradication of Algerian identity and her linguistic expressions, Arabic and Berber.⁹

Since the second half of the twentieth century, there has been a commitment on the part of women writers and scholars in order to revise and rewrite the history

⁹ - Malika Rebai Maamri, *The Syndrome of the French Language in Algeria*, University of Algiers, Algeria. (2009)

and culture of colonial and postcolonial women and serve the need of female readers to argue about what women had done and still do.

Their writings can be seen as a site of memory and resistance to the past where the experience of women as victims of sexual abuse, male violence and work exploitation can give us a valuable knowledge of that past. Taking into consideration other aspects of women's subjectivity like: race, ethnicity, social class, sexuality and gender to construct a new version of the traditional history that takes into account the women view and their interpretation of the world.

1. Maghreb Literature and Writers

Several civilizations also inspired Maghrebian writing, like the ancient Romans, Arabs, French, and Spanish, and indigenous society. French and Arabic are the main languages of Maghrebian literature but Berber is also portrayed. Maghrebian literature has played a critical role in North Africa's cultural transition, and its presence is felt around the globe, but francophone "Maghrebian" literature is neither indigenous nor regional, creating a significant question for both Arabic-speaking commentators and international observers.

The first novel written in French by an Algerian dates back to 1920 but since 1950s the francophone literature is considered to be first written in French by Maghrebian (as Maghrebian and not as French). Since then various literary terms have been coined to explain the Maghrebian literature: "Litterature d'Expression Francaise" and "Litterature de Langue Francaise" are the most commonly used ones. The terms coined to explain the Maghrebian literary works itself reflects the impact of French language on their writings. Although some critics find these terms cumbersome, nothing better has yet been suggested. Kacem Basfao has

talked about "Litterature Marocaine de langue vehiculaire Francaise ", Ahmed Lanasri has discussed "Litterature Algerienne d'Expression Arabe mais de Langue Francaise ", and the late Jean Senac has proposed "Litterature d'Ecriture Francaise" or "Litterature de Graphie Francaise", but none of these terms has met with much success. If Andre Miquel's term "Litterature Arabe Ecrite en Fancais" accurately reflects a part of the situation, it misrepresents the works of Berber authors who know Arabic but continue to write in French (Dejeux, 1992).¹⁰

2. Female Literary Work in the Post colonialism :

Women's history of a colonized nation is doubly marginalized as the history of women and the history of the colonized. Even in the postcolonial period, when the nation that experienced colonization has produced its own historic discourse and claimed its place separate from that of the colonizer , women's history tends to remain invisible. In this context, the works of women authors from postcolonial countries constitute an important source of information : they contain "women's" history.

In their works, postcolonial women writers express that which was not said before, and, in particular, verbalize the experience of double oppression as gendered subjects and as colonized subjects.

Women, mostly excluded from political life and confined to the private sphere of the home, remained largely invisible throughout the written accounts produced by male scholars and analysts, but this does not mean that women did not have a "history" rather, we see that traditional approaches to history which focused on "describing" and not on "theorizing" and which presented only one point of

¹⁰ - IMPACT ON MAGHREB/LITERATURE AND JOURNALISM , chapter 5. p171.

view that of the “mainstream ” fail to do justice to the marginalized groups, of which women were (if not are) certainly one.

3. Algerian Literature Colonialism

post colonialism is a literary activity had done by the third world’s intellectual groups as a reaction to identifying a social force, colonialism, and express their experience (Selmon 13).

Literally, Colonial literature refers to the main writings that concerned with the colonial perceptions and experiences during colonial times, it is known as the literature of settlers (Boehmer 12).

Algeria had largely wanted to distance itself from French influences after independence. That sparked a debate among writers about the language in which they should write. The Moroccan poet, Abdellatif Laabi¹¹, instructed Maghribi authors not only to use French as a tool of correspondence but also as a spiritual tool.

The Algerian female writers were seeking to create a new style of novel that reflects ambition, desire, and historical memory, expressed in a vocabulary of sensuality fused with common colonial history.

The use of the language of the colonizer as a means of literary expression raises questions regarding the attitude of Maghrebi writers Vis-à-Vis European languages: Is it possible for any language to express perfectly any culture? .In the context of a multilingual environment, is there interference between the oral tradition, the mother tongue, and the written language. The interference of

¹¹ - Moroccan poet , novelist, playwright, and essayist, born in 1942 in Fes, Morocco , he founded the magazine “Souffles” in 1966.

languages implies that in this linguistic universe different systems become interdependent. In this way, the language of “Others” and the language of the colonizer become another language in itself. It is difficult for a monolingual to decode the hybrid messages because his/her universe is monoculture, which excludes other referential universes. In this situation, the bilingual reader grasps fully the literary and cultural significance of such hybrid literature. (Igoudjil 2014).

In Algeria in particular, there are many writers who express their innermost feelings in French language rather than the mother tongue which reflected in the development of the Francophone Algerian novel that is relatively began with Youcef Khade’s novels but it attained its highly point in *Les Romans Noirs* (1970) of Yasmina khadra; they were related to political, social and historical events of the times and clearly show the development of Algeria in search itself (Krajenbrink, Quin 186).

In Language Conflict in Algeria, Mohamed Benrabah examines Algeria 's language history and linguistic culture, lasting almost two centuries, from the eve of the French colonial invasion of 1830 until 2012. He calls his book a research on 'using language as a tool for conflict' (p. xiv), which discusses three periods. These are, initially, the age of the colonial oppression of the indigenous Algerians by France (1830-c. 1954), when French leaders propagated French; second, the years of Algeria's struggle for independence (1954-62), when nationalists anguished and debated over the future of the country; and third, the postcolonial period (1962-present). [...] As for French, this language certainly lacks the muscle that it enjoyed in Algeria a century ago, so that its future now looks somewhat shaky. Nevertheless, French holds at least one wildcard that Benrabah does not mention: this is the substantial population of citizens and permanent residents of France who claim Algerian Muslim origins, and whose relatives, back in Algeria, may see

French as a Lingua Familia and emigration opportunity that can span the Mediterranean divide. The author provides a compelling documented analysis of language conflict in Algeria, tracing the situation from French colonization in 1830. Language and cultural identities in Algeria are marked by the use of standard Arabic, Algerian Arabic, Berber and French, which makes for complex language policy...Benrabah's book provides a convenient overview of the language situation in Algeria and illustrates the rich potential for further investigation.¹²

4. The Effects of the Use French in Algerian Literature:

The Algerian literature writers who wrote in French ; others in Arabic. And the recourse to the French language as a means of expression was framed by the political situation of a colonized Algeria. These writers, with little freedom and means, contributed largely to the cause of their country by raising world consciousness. It is of the utmost importance to highlight that the French-written Algerian literature should not be treated as an undesirable topic since both French and Algerian literatures had supported this situation, which led to mutual enrichment.

This was shown by the Algerian writer, Mouloud Mammeri. He explained how he benefited from western culture; he said in substance: « C'est à nous de faire retrouver en quelque sorte les valeurs réelles de notre propre culture qui avait tendance à rester un peu pour nous lettre morte.»¹³ . He also pointed out that culture had become for him « [...] un instrument de libération extraordinaire. »

¹² - Mohamed Benrabah , Language Conflict in Algeria: From Colonialism to Post-Independence , *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 16th May 2013.

¹³ - Mouloud, Mammeri, 1962. Rencontre au Maroc de l'Orient et de l'Occident, (Confluent, No. 23-24 September-October, 1962), pp. 567-8.

The same writer stated that the existence of two languages was an auspicious case for writers, and consequently, two cultures in Algeria. He clarified this extensively in an article titled, —Les Ecrivains Algériens débattent les problèmes de la culture‖ which appeared in the Algerian daily, *El-Moujahid*,

Je dirai presque que c'est une chance. Peut-être qu'en définitive la valeur d'un écrivain qui joue sur deux claviers est plus grande que celle de quelqu'un qui se contente de produire dans sa propre langue ce qu'il ressent. Il faut considérer que c'est une richesse algérienne; il faut qu'on en enrichisse la culture algérienne. Il ne faut pas s'amputer de toute cette partie qui, je crois, est absolument une chance unique pour l'Algérie.¹⁴

In accordance with Mammeri, Algerian writers favoured their literature and undertook to make it an original literature, that is, a literature that was distinct from all the other Arab literatures, with distinct rationale and meaning. Ultimately French critics had come to understand the presence of an Algerian literature and to accept its contribution to the French literature. They argued that whereas authors were short of new themes, subjects, and originality, it had become a source of inspiration .

So, using the French language does not signify betrayal of one's culture or identity; on the contrary, it has helped the Algerian writers reclaim their lost heritage and secured them their own identity because the colonizer's language became the weapon used by 17 postcolonial writers to fight the enemy as Assia Djebar in her novel *L'Amour, la Fantasia* (1985) declared: Writing in the enemy's

¹⁴ - Mouloud, Mammeri, 1962. Les Ecrivains Algériens débattent les problèmes de la culture, (*El-Moujahid*, No. 113, February 2, 1962), p. 13.

language is more than just a matter of scribbling down a muttered monologue under your every nose; to use this alphabet involves placing your elbow some distance in front of you... This language was formerly used to entomb my people; when I write it today I feel like the messenger of old, who bore a sealed missive which might sentence him to death or to the dungeon.

Also, Kateb Yacine, Francophone Algerian writer, has point out in Hafid Gafiati's *Laphormic* (1986) that: "I write in French because France has invaded my country and holds such a powerful position there that I am compelled to write in French, my Arab and Berber roots are still alive" (30-31).

***THE COLONIAL HAREM* By Malek Alloula**

The poet, writer, editor, and literary critic , Malek Alloula , was born in 1937 in Oran, Algeria . He went to France where he undertook further studies at the Sorbonne University, shortly after he having graduated from the *Algerian Ecole Normale Supérieure* .

Alloula, who married the famous novelist, Assia Djebbar, penned several poems and novels (*Rêveurs/Sépultures* 2008; *Les Festins de l'exil*, 2003, *Le Bec en l'air et Alger*, 2005; *Approchant du seuil, ils dirent Paris*, 2009) . in his book *Le Harem Colonial* Tackled the dilemma of postcard stereotypes sent by French soldiers to their families and relatives . After scrutiny, he came to sharply criticize the distorted image of the Algerian woman conveyed through these postcards .

Alloula divided his book, the *Colonial Harem*, in ten chapters. It also contained a total of ninety reproductions of Algerian women . Alloula brings to the fore a series of postcards all of which are conspicuous for their exhibition of breasts; what he termed as an —anthology of breasts.‖ The breasts were of women

from the communities that inhabited Algeria, the Bedouin; Kabyle women, Oulad Nail and so on. The fact that the postcards were sent without any envelope automatically increased the number of viewers and subsequently imagination. The journey to the addressee goes along an invitation. For Alloula the messages on the postcards, which were being sent for not less than thirty years, were neither casual nor incidental. On the contrary, Alloula argues that the photos of the Fatmas and other Algerian women suggested the existence, aloof in the background of a will to conquer. Consequently, the French claim on the land had to go first through a claim on the bodies .

In an article which appeared in the American daily, *The New York Times*, dated January 11, 1987, the novelist, Carlos Schloss, says about Alloula's tackling Orientalism. He explains how the Algerian female called by the colonizer, Fatma, was in reality sheer phantasm; she was —a French colonial projection of a world that never truly existed, an oriental mystery, whose secret lies not so much in what her exotic costume hides, as in the imperialistic desires that evoked her image.

Schloss also states that Alloula wanted to return the postcards to the sender via this book and the problem he addressed. Because of the strange look on the Algerian woman, what inspired Alloula was a hurt sensitivity. According to Schloss, he agreed with the art historian, John Berger, that account must be taken of the background for these photos.¹⁵

¹⁵ - Carlos, Schloss, *Algeria, Conquered by Postcard*, (*The New York Times*. January 11, 1987), p.1

5. Assia Djebar Writings :

Assia Djebar whose real name was Fatma Zohra Imalayene was born on 30th of June ,1936 in Cherchal and Died on 6th of February , 2015 in France. She was an academic, a writer and a director. After her coranic education in Cherchal and then secondary education in Blida, she continued her university in the Sorbonne University in France where she obtained her PhD from Montpellier in Paris.

After the bloody war, she returned to Algeria to teach history at the university of Algiers. In 1995, she moved to the United States of America where she taught the French literature. In 2005, Assia was elected as a member in the Academy of the French Language, And considered among the most seminal feminist writers either in Algeria or abroad.

Assia Djebar is known as being the writer who defends the rights of women at first hand in a hard patriarchic society; in addition to her condemnation of the French colonialism and she was awarded the Newstad International Prize in (1996) as also won the prize of the book exhibition in Germany in (2000). And finally, she was nominated for the noble prize for literature.

Her works also proffer an inter-textual reading and are a proof of how writing -be it fictive or real- could spot and highlight important colonial, postcolonial, and feminist issues through a —Process of reclaiming identity through history.... [and by doing so illustrates how a novelist] restructures relations between politics and

poetics, calling into question French critical norms while simultaneously revaluating Islamic tradition.¹⁶

Secondly, her writings could also be deemed as a thesaurus of the Algerian history in that the patriarchal side is scrutinized at rather different periods: during colonization and under Algerian nationalism. Under this head, Djébar, in order to enact the reconstruction and appropriation of historical silences, had, in actuality, to infringe on deeply entrenched cultural borders and, at once, to speak and unveil those whose voices and lives had been silenced for so many years. In so doing, experiences stood aloof in the background.

“ Young Arab women have unsuspected reserves of romanti-cism; too brutally thrown against men, they seldom regain their injured innocence. And their husbands will never know the exalted face of their adolescence. Only the dry look, barely touching, of submissive beasts, of the weak. “

Assia Djébar, *La soif*

Conclusion :

Language played a major role in the management and subordination of colonized communities in postcolonial contexts. However, Postcolonial literature is concerned with blurring identities, reinterpreting politics, translations, and nationalism, which is relevant literature that helps to understand both 'colonizer' and 'colonized' in many ways, such as education, politics, geography, culture and customs. Therefore, by combining the native language with imposed language, most postcolonial writers approach the problems in several ways, the outcome is a hybrid one that underscores the fragmented existence of the colonized mind.

¹⁶ - Sandi, Solomon cf Winifred Woodhull. 1993. *Transfigurations of the Maghreb: Feminism, Decolonization, and Literatures in French*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1993), p. 9.

Postcolonial Algerian literature is clearly one of the appropriate examples of post colonialism described as post in identity and parts of Algerian history.

Chapter Three

« Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement »

Introduction :

The heritage has become a war against modernity undermine the social and political life in Algeria at the present time, and brings to mind the acts of violence and silence in the time of colonialism. The silence of the Algerian woman may be an act of resistance, whether socially, culturally and ideologically, and it is a way to bury the terrible truth and close it in a forgotten grave, and hide it from the world's eyes. Silence was imposed by a colonial reality and is still enforced by a post-colonial society.

Writing in all its races is a cultural representation of society, reflecting its structure and formulating its dreams, its breakdowns, and its relationship with others in various manifestations. From this standpoint, the writer is the mirror that reflects his society and it is his responsibility to project his image to the other. In this context, the experience of the Algerian writer and novelist Assia Djabar is involved.

The Algerian government chose the second option, ignoring the role of women in the struggle for independence. Women have fought side by side with men for freedom, and have endured the same violence, torture, revolution, and resistance as men. Women, like Jamila Bouhared, have proven themselves equal to men in war, and as a result, she sought to improve the social conditions of equality in the country for which she risked her life. However, peace was utopian, especially for women. The country faced the internal struggle against extremism and modernity, and the women continued their struggle for liberation. Women are still marginalized by law, tradition and society to this day and are always considered secondary to men, and certainly in decision-making.

Innovation in Assia Djebar Literary Style

Assia Djebar, a writer of middle-class Muslim and Algerian origins, was able to synthesize her traditional Muslim background and her European education. Although, She manifested several identities. Djebar had become a notable writer for her works that address gender inequality in Arab countries .

The aim of Djebar's writing is to examine the French language for its dark colonial past and its present effects . As she said in her speech of appreciation for the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade 2000 : "My aim has been to make the leaden muteness of Algerian women noticeable and their bodies visible, since concealment of the body too has come back together with a reactionary and chauvinistic tradition."¹⁷

Assia Djebar talks about the woman and the oppression imposed on her by her society, the suffering of the Algerians under the French colonization, images of death, the French language, love, marriage, her courage in her participation in the fight against colonialism, and her identity as a woman endowed with a double culture. Djebar is obviously a politically interested writer; she tends to criticize the patriarchal system of the society that she is exploring, and to encourage Algerian women's increased emancipation and liberation. she is influenced by the need to emphasize feminine solidarity, emphasizing women's ties to reinforce their own resistant voices. She is actively interested in a broader feminist movement, aware of the political necessity for solidarity and mutual support .

¹⁷ -Assia Djebar: The Clear but Fragile Force of Writing - Qantara.de- Dialogue with the Islamic World
<https://en.qantara.de/content/assia-djebar-the-clear-but-fragile-force-of-writing>.

Femmes d'alger dans leur appartement :

In 1832, in the recently conquered Algiers, Delacroix entered a harem for a few hours. He brings back a masterpiece, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*, which remains a "stolen gaze". A century and a half later, twenty years after the war of independence in which Algerian women played a role that no one can deny them, how do they live on a daily basis, what margin of freedom have they been able to conquer? In this collection of news published for the first time in 1980 and here augmented by a long unpublished short story, *La Nuit du récit de Fatima*, Assia Djebar tells: the lived experience, the difficulty of being, the revolt and the submission, the rigor of the Law which survives all the upheavals and the eternal condition of women. "Shadow language", often premonitory in view of the immediate history, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* has become a classic in many countries where it has received an exceptional welcome.

« Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement : trois femmes dont deux assises devant un narguilé. La troisième, au premier plan, est à demi-allongée, accoudée sur des coussins. Une servante, de trois quarts dos, lève un bras comme si elle écartait la lourde tenture qui masque cet univers clos; personnage presque accessoire, elle ne fait que longer ce chatoiement de couleurs qui auréole les trois autres femmes.»¹⁸

Djavar devotes an entire section of Algerian women to their apartment to talk about the arrival of the French painter Delacroix in Algiers in 1832, where he has the opportunity to discover the harem for the first time, and this place where women and children gathered "lying in the middle of a pile of silk and gold." This

¹⁸ - Assia Djebar, *Femmes d'Alger*, Albin MICHEL, 2002, P241.

unexpected and shocking experience will ensure that after his return to Paris, the painter works for a few years on the 'image of his memory', which was enabled by the observations he made during his visit to the harem. He paints his portrait of Women of Algeria in their Apartment in 1834 and another in 1849. Djabar analyzes the two works and compares them to later paintings by Picasso between 1954 and 1955.

Delacroix depicts in his painting three women half lying, absent, looking into emptiness, enveloped in an aura of mystery and sensuality; They are surprised by the viewer's gaze and are supervised by a black servant in their luxurious prison. These women are suspended or frozen in a strange silence. The mysterious silence of their gaze depicted on the paintings of the Spanish painter reveals how male domination of the female body has persisted over the centuries, and emerged during colonial rule as a form of defense and preservation of culture and traditions against the arrival of the stranger / intruder.

In the novel, *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*, Djabar describes the massacres and insults that Algerian women were subjected , during the War of Independence against the French colonialists, and the subsequent internal violence. The text consists of a collection of short stories about the past and present in Algeria, inspired by the 1834 painting Delacroix of the same name. These compound feminine voices are presented as “Segmented Grunts” and that the author unites them as broken mirror pieces reflecting an “underground” reality, heavily covered in mainstream discourse. Djabar begins her narration with a long introduction, summarizing her approaches, themes, and techniques .

Ces histoires, quelques cadres de référence sur le chemin de l'écoute, de 1958 à 1978. Conversations fragmentées, remémorées et reconfigurées [...].

The stories portray women from different backgrounds: intellectual, rural (rural women), youth, adults, fighters and the silent. Djabar's heroines live in Algeria or France and endure a daily struggle with their scars from the war of independence, internal tensions, and social and political persecution. For example, Djabar blends the story of an educated surgeon's wife seeking to help her French childhood friend with an elderly woman carrying water in public restrooms; And they both remember what they endured and lost throughout their lives. Although these women are different, they share similar experiences of rape, imprisonment, exile, widowhood, prostitution and silence. Their silence is through strict law and a society reinforced by the silence of their friends, brothers and fathers, who, according to the interviews and accounts of these women, usually kill them, and ask the attackers to kill or exile them, deny them from family and surname, and then sells them to prostitution. The collection of stories from 1958 to 1978 reveals how war destroys women.

In the text, the water carrier in the bath describes how Algerian women are portrayed in contemporary society. In a stream of consciousness in the first person, the worker reveals the burden of "underground" as he narrates how she was sold into marriage at the age of thirteen and how her life is torn apart into perpetual slavery with the endless joys of being rejected. Her cry rang out from the heart of silence: "Where are you, you are the bearers of fire, you are my sisters, who should have liberated the city... Barbed wires no longer obstruct the alleys, and now they decorate the windows and balconies, absolutely everything will open to an outdoor

space”. Then it comes back to talking about other violations, always expressing a sense of space, and its striking fluctuation between inside and outside.

Djabar’s work seeks to explore the Algerian cultural identity, by reconstructing the objective self of women, by writing stories of women that are transmitted from one generation to another, verbally, by dialect, or using the language of the other. Over the centuries, women have been confined to separate spaces. Revealing their stories behind closed doors is an act of liberation, revealing their secrets and hearing their previously silent voices. For example, the heroine, Anne, who lives in France, describes Algiers as follows:

In this strange city, saturated with the sun, but full of prisons closed at the top of every street, did the women live for themselves or first of all, if we talked about a larger group of women who had been captive in the past, generation after generation, while they appeared to be falling the same light Unchanged blue, rarely cloudy? . In Anne's words, it is difficult to reveal the authentic voices of women outside of the silence and isolation to which they are exposed. By being able to speak and revive, these women regain control of the space, control their own outlook, and navigate the space where their desires for liberation and creativity can be fulfilled. The freedom of the eye corresponds to its liberation from the body and the mind, regardless of where the person resides.

Hence, the goal of Djabar does not become “speaking in the name” or “about”, but “close” to women, in a gesture of solidarity in which the mighty one calls upon all women. The first witnesses and these silent voices aim to invade the public space by using writing as an expression of freedom and movement, and moreover, by revealing the secrets of the inner lives of the heroines, Djabar redraws the image of Algerian women and exposes them to the world.

« Je ne vois pour les femmes arabes qu'un seul moyen de tout débloquent : parler, parler sans cesse d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, parler entre nous (...)»¹⁹

Djabar's artistic experimentation and the use of anthropomorphic writing may represent an attempt to destabilize representation, and thus it is a way to give the image of fluctuating nature and its relationship to imagination and originality. It plays on the boundaries between the visible and the invisible, the spoken and the unspoken, and the reality and the imagination. Through entertainment and rewriting, it attempts to reconstruct a clear image of the invisible and give voice to the former gagging by cultural and political systems that render women invisible. Through the gaze of others, which is located in the external public space in which women appear veiled and marginal, Djabar enters its readers into thinking about the gaze; Then the analysis becomes more specific, highlighting the Western view of the East as a woman. An amusing or curious look that reflects the full experience of colonialism. By silencing and imprisoning women or colonizing them, the West exercises its powers in interpreting Algeria.

Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement, the author gives a voice to women who struggle and dream and who wanted to resuscitate freedom among the women of Algiers: Baya, Sarah and Anne were the main characters of this second part. As well as Fatma the water carrier who worked in the public bath (where women gather and share confidences) after her hard experience and who lets free her words of suffering and the harshness of her life. This text is set in the news of the women of Algiers. A story that speaks only of the present.

¹⁹ - Assia DJEBAR. *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement*. Albin Michel. p127, 128.

Conclusion :

Djebar through portraying this significant idea of character is in fact uncovering her own identity. Her characters express her real thoughts; she communicates her yearning to recover her unique personality and her need to reproduce a connection among him and her roots .Also the works of Assia Djebar (*Femme d'alger dans leur appartement*) illustrates that , in spite of the contrasts within the postcolonial circumstances that these works come from, one can still distinguish common topics, the emptiness, the loss, and the disappearance of her identity, where Anne is used as a symbol of the marginalized and the excluded Algerian woman from her society. One of the foremost vital subjects is the relationship of women and history and the portrayal of female as agents of history, where women are put within the center, and not marginalized.

Conclusion

Conclusion

This work endeavored to research in the postcolonial field of study, explicitly that of writing, and how it is formed by the pre-colonial, and postcolonial experiences of postcolonial societies . All the more accurately, how identity is investigated in this kind of composing. I came to attest that post colonialism significant reason is to fight the proceeding with European impact known as "colonization of mind " .Furthermore ,Postcolonial literature was the medium through which marginalized people over the world express their struggling against racism, and among many challenges postcolonial writers attempt both to resurrect and combat preconceptions about their culture.

In females' writing , Algerian authors, so as to communicate their abuse from a female perspective a long way from the male writing domination , made women's liberation to improve the setting of the goals of women's activist enquiry. the postcolonial study is profoundly a gendered procedure that speaks to significance, qualities, and characters in connection with race, ethnicity, and religion.

Postcolonial literature and postcolonial authors attempt to portray this thought through tending to the components that make up this personality in the individual of their characters. Among the components they talk about and that are of an incredible significance in confining their own and their society's identity and the ideas of language, home, hybridity, and otherness.

As what mentioned above , all the formerly discussed elements could be portrayed through the works of Assia Djébar's master piece ‘ ‘ *Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement* ‘ ‘ . Djébar inspected the quest of identity both in her plays and literary works . In her works she defence the idea of female identity and the

Conclusion

patriarchal oppression imposed by the community then she reject any kind of literary oppression by colonial powers and she tried to find a way to tak advantage from the colonizer cultures .

The method adopted during this research allowed to attempt an exhaustive study of the place of each of these women in the universe of the novel. Indeed, we are faced with a multitude of images of women from different generations with varied experiences. We can say that the production of Assia Djébar, for forty years, has been at the service of "imprisoned voices", especially those of women confronted by silence imposed on them by men and traditions. Women therefore listen to their own world, which transforms some passages in this work in autobiography. The author gives himself through his work which allows him to reap the fruit of immortality. The writing of Assia Djébar has always had Algeria as its main setting and which is more committed to the autobiographical path. As a result, the historical investigation intersects with the personal journey throughout the story. However, a thick cloud still envelops the privacy of the novelist.

Assia Djébar's work is a path of historical landmarks and personal memories, a space of identity questions and questions about writing, an ensemble associating patios and battlefields, political harems and arenas, warriors and odalisques. The pioneer of Algerian women's literature demonstrates that one can shine in a foreign language without being cut off from one's roots. From what has just been said above, research on such a subject remains a fertile field which is fully open to students passionate about this cross between the literary identity and the artistic identity of Algerian society .

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Appendices

Appendices

Assia Djebar's works are translated into 21 languages, we mention some:

- Nulle part dans la maison de mon père,
- Ces voix qui m'assiègent: En marge de ma francophonie,
- Les Nuits de Strasbourg, roman, Actes Sud, (1997)
- Oran, langue morte, (1997), (short story)
- Le Blanc de l'Algérie, Éd. Albin Michel, Paris, (1996)
- Vaste est la prison, Éd. Albin Michel, Paris, (1995)
- Loin de Médine, Éd. Albin Michel, Paris, (1991)
- Ombre sultane, roman, J.-C. Lattès, (1987)
- L'Amour, la fantasia, roman, J. C. Lattès/Enal, (1985)
- Femmes d'Alger dans leur appartement,(1980)
- Rouge l'aube, théâtre (1969)
- Poèmes pour l'Algérie heureuse, (1969)
- Les Alouettes naïves, Éd. Julliard, Paris, (1967)