

Remembering Algeria: melancholy, depression and the colonizing of the *pied-noirs*

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Abstract:

This article looks at the end of colonial Algeria and the subsequent repatriation of the settler population as it was experienced and remembered by the settler (or *pied-noir*) repatriates in the aftermath of the Algerian war. It argues that the reception which awaited repatriates arriving in mainland France played a fundamental role in the nascent *pied-noir* community's reimagining of its identity. While perceptions of the *pieds-noirs* are dominated by tropes of nostalgia and return, there are also many literary instances, less widely commented, of grief, depression and melancholia amongst those who were exiled in 1962. Drawing on the work of Ann Cvetkovitch and Kelly Oliver, this article examines the figure of the melancholic as a sufferer not of a pathological malady, but as the object of socially constituted oppression. Using the work of Fanon, it makes the provocative argument that, although the *pieds-noirs* were themselves widely received as colonizers by the metropolitan population, they were subject to a form of discrimination which re-created within the Hexagon the conditions of colonial oppression through the colonization of psychic space. With reference to literary works by *pieds-noirs*, supported by psychological studies, the article draws out the conditions which contributed to depression and melancholia amongst the *rapatriés*. It aims to conceptualise the *pieds-noirs*, not as either guilty colonisers, or injured victims, but as individuals in a site of postcolonial conflict in which the discursive categories of colonizer and colonized are renegotiated. Given that the end of the Algerian war and the exodus of 1962 continue to function as a founding event for the *pied-noir* community, an examination of the consequences and afterlives of these events adds to research around loss and melancholia, and contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of a postcolonial minority which continues to influence contemporary society in the present day.

Keywords : *pieds-noirs* ; decolonization ; melancholia ; depression ; literature.

For a long time I saw [the settler population] only as colonisers, now I see that it is also colonised. Victim and torturer at the same time.

I don't want to be either. Is that possible?¹

Speaking about her French settler family, Marie Cardinal's words, written in her account of her return to Algeria, gesture towards the complex and evolving position of the colonial settlers in Algeria. While the assumption of a binary structure has been definitively superseded, questions remain concerning the inherent violence operating in the unequal vectors of the triangular relationship between settlers, indigenous peoples and the exogenous 'others', here represented primarily by metropolitan France. This article

examines the shift in the settlers' position brought about by the Algerian war and the mass repatriation which followed, and examines the insights which their experience affords into the intersection of metropolitan colonialism which, as Veracini argues, tends to reinforce the distinction between colony and metropole, and settler colonialism, which works to erase it.² As a failed settler colony, Algeria offers a rare site in which the conflicting ideologies of colonialism and settler colonial culture were forced into close proximity by the repatriation and subsequent integration of the settler community. What emerges from the analysis is a clear indication of the extent to which both colonialism and settler colonial culture persist beyond the putative end of colonisation, shaping contemporary society through agonistic yet asymmetric cultural exchange in what many take to be an straightforwardly 'post-colonial' situation.

As the articles in this issue demonstrate, the strength of the relationship between Algeria's European settlers and the French metropolitan homeland historically had fluctuated according to global geopolitical events and domestic concerns. Jonathan Gosnell notes that while colony and metropole drew close in times of crisis such as the World Wars, quieter periods saw the young colony begin to test its strength, its emerging Latin identity a source of confidence which fostered notions of independence.³ The violence of November 1954 marked the end of this ebb and flow, as the settlers saw their sovereignty gradually eroded by the course of the Algerian war until it reached its vanishing point in 1962. Faced with an existential threat, the majority of settlers turned towards the metropole, arguing for their Frenchness and the colony's identity as an extension of mainland France, projecting themselves as true republicans and defenders of the integrity of the indivisible Republic.⁴ At the same time, as Martin Evans writes in this issue, the war exacerbated the settlers' latent fears, both of being overwhelmed by the vastly superior numbers of the now hostile Arabo-

Berber population, and of inferiority and insecurity with regard to the metropolitans, whose culture and civilisation represented a glorious inheritance to which Algeria's settlers were not the direct heirs.

The war thus served as the catalyst for a complex set of manoeuvres which took place, driven by expediency. The settlers' advocates, notably Albert Camus, increasingly emphasised the urban, working-class origins of their community, characterising them as employees and shopkeepers with incomes below the metropolitan average, rather than the landowners of popular imagination; they also insisted on their harmonious relations with their Arab neighbours. According to this narrative, the guilt for the excesses of colonial policies lay with Paris, which had ordered and implemented them; Paris was also the source of the betrayal of France's colonial ideology which de Gaulle was enacting. In an opportunistic embrace of the situation, the settlers presented themselves as a community of the idealised Republic, protectors and deliverers of the values and vision of 'Greater France' and its territorial integrity, seeking to dissolve the perceived division between centre and colony and appealing to the vision of France's civilising mission which was to bring the glories of French culture to the wider world.

This version of events was, of course, directly at odds with the developing mainland narrative as the metropolitans, resentful of the cost of nearly eight years of war fought largely by young conscripts and impatient of the demands of the settlers, turned away from Algeria and the demands of its settlers, following the lead of de Gaulle who argued that France's future lay not in its empire but in Europe. The lasting influence of war-time works such as Albert Memmi's *Portrait du colonisé précédé de Portrait du colonisateur* (1957) and Pierre Nora's *Les Français d'Algérie* (1961), together with political opposition to colonialism

from the Left, contributed to a discourse which blamed settler intransigence in refusing to consider progressive measures which would have increased Arab representation for the uprising. With the outcome of the war all but inevitable and the settlers, who would henceforth be known as '*pieds-noirs*', beginning a mass exodus to France, a new level of rhetoric emerged which condemned the repatriates as colonisers and racists. Designating the *pieds-noirs* as colonisers had the advantage of enabling metropolitan society to absolve itself of guilt, displacing accusations of the exploitation of the indigenous peoples onto the settlers, and so effectively disassociating the mainland from the colonial policies and actions of the French empire. This article examines the consequences of the conflict which took place from 1962 between the dogmatic views which cast the *pieds-noirs*, around 800,000 of whom fled independent Algeria and arrived in France in the summer of 1962, as either oppressors or victims, and which can be traced through contemporary society in the decades which followed.⁵

The repatriate experience: loss, nostalgia and melancholia:

The position adopted by the *métropole* towards the European population at the close of the war, and its response to the unanticipated exodus shaped, albeit unwittingly, the community which was to emerge from the chaos of the summer of 1962, ensuring that loss functioned as the defining element in the nascent community identity. The dwelling-in-loss which followed took a number of forms: nostalgia, perhaps the characteristic most strongly associated with the *pieds-noirs*, but also melancholia, a state to which less attention has been paid. The article draws on the work of researchers such as Ann Cvetkovich and Kelly Oliver, who have sought to depathologise melancholia and depression by locating it in a

social context. By attending to the social factors at work in instances of *pied-noir* depression, it seeks to transform our views of melancholia from a medical condition affecting individuals into a site of postcolonial conflict in which the discursive categories of coloniser and colonised are reimposed, resisted, and renegotiated. In challenging the clear division between categories of coloniser/colonised and situating the nexus of victim/torturer within the subject, it demonstrates the continued and insidious operation of the dynamics of colonisation within the postcolonial metropolitan context, and argues that the discursive dominance of the state's interpretation of the end of the Algerian war has produced repercussions which continue to affect the political and social development of the Republic.

If, as the articles in this issue indicate, the discursive relations between the European population in Algeria and the citizens of the French *métropole* had long been complex and shifting, by the end of almost eight long years of war the metropolitans were largely united in support for Algerian independence and, conversely, in animosity towards the *Français d'Algérie*. The regional characteristics vaunted by the *Algérianistes* of Bertrand – energy, masculinity, virility – had been tainted by the spread of OAS violence into mainland France, in a final, desperate attempt to keep Algeria French by using violence against anyone who supported the independence negotiations. Todd Shepard notes that in the eyes of metropolitan society the *pied-noir* community had become amalgamated with the OAS, leading to the popular assumption that those opposing independence were racists and fascists.⁶ The source of this perception can be traced back to the final months of the war when, following the ceasefire of the Evian Accords, the threat to peace no longer came from the FLN, but from the OAS and the *pied-noir* community. During the months between March and July 1962, months which, proportionally, proved to be the most violent of the war for the European community, the conflict was a civil war between people whose opposition

centred on their differing interpretations of Frenchness. With violence threatening the existence of the Republic, the turn against the *pieds-noirs* can be read, following René Girard, as an (unconscious) move to protect the community by turning the collective violence against a single group in order to destroy it and so restore peace.⁷ Françoise Lionnet makes a similar point, arguing that the trans-Mediterranean relationship deteriorated to the point that 'France [wanted] to abort its colonial progeny, the *pieds-noirs* being a burden and an embarrassment'.⁸ Further support came from a 1962 opinion poll which found that 62% of those questioned felt that France had no obligation to assist potential repatriates from Algeria.⁹ The image of the racist and exploitative 'colons à cravache' memorably ironised by Albert Camus positioned the *pieds-noirs* as the archetypal Girardian scapegoat, allowing them to be at once held responsible for the causes of the war, and dismissed as the human remnants of a colonial era rendered obsolete by the move forward towards modernisation and the new Europe.¹⁰ In contrast, as Claire Eldridge has noted, in the decades since repatriation the *pieds-noirs* have worked hard to achieve the material objectives of integration and financial reparations; equally they have sought symbolic indemnification, seeking to overturn the portrayal of the *Français d'Algerie* as colonisers and oppressors, and present themselves instead as victims of the war and, in particular, as the sacrificial lamb offered up by de Gaulle in order to bring a resolution to the war.¹¹ The intersection of these strongly opposed narratives, which present the *pieds-noirs* as alternately guilty/innocent, has created a site of postcolonial tension within contemporary politics and society.

If the economic and social capital of the *pieds-noirs* has increased since their arrival as dispossessed repatriates, it has not always been matched by an equivalent increase in sympathy for their cause. As individuals the *pieds-noirs* have generally integrated

successfully into French society, with several, such as Yves Saint Laurent and Roger Hanin, becoming leading figures in French artistic life, but as a group they are generally perceived as obsessed with the past and with archaic disputes best forgotten. This characterization stems from the many *pied-noir* cultural associations which, although they represent a relatively small proportion of the community, are highly vocal and politically active, and have lobbied consistently for recognition of the *pied-noir* cause.¹² In their attempts to compel official attention and achieve financial and symbolic redress, the discourse propounded by the associations has, perhaps inevitably, become both extreme and reductive, losing the nuances of the community's varying origins and experiences. Consequently it has played into the evolution of widely held stereotypes of the figure of the *pied-noir*, who is characterised as emotionally burdened by past grievances, with bitterness towards the putative betrayal of de Gaulle recast as present-day support for the pro-*Algerie française* National Front, and his sympathy for the OAS and hatred of the FLN transformed into anti-Arab racism. This tendency towards the wholesale pigeon-holing of a group is familiar, of course, to anyone who has studied the mechanisms surrounding categorisations of gender and race but because here it depends largely on the group's self-identification (rather than on any external identifying visual feature) its functioning is more subtle, and so its outcomes and effects are more varied.

The creation of categories in order to dismiss certain groups can be discerned in the complex discourses around *pied-noir* nostalgia, which functions as a nexus of densely woven and yet competing signifiers. On one hand, nostalgia for Algeria is clearly generated from within the European colonial population – Philip Dine notes that its neologism, *nostalgérie*, is the theme of a body of artistic production extending back to 1899 and Bertrand's *Le Sang des races* – and forms the subject of innumerable *pied-noir* autobiographical works.¹³ The

investment in nostalgia provides the means for the *pieds-noirs* to recreate the homeland which they have lost, a move characterised by Svetlana Boym as ‘restorative’ nostalgia or a harking back to a golden age;¹⁴ it enables the recreation of the touchstone of community identity but, as an atemporal land which exists on no map, French Algeria acquires characteristics of the exotic, a vanished referent offering what Roger Célestin calls ‘the ever receding presence, the unattainable fullness’ of endlessly deferred desire.¹⁵ Consequently, the insistence of many *pied-noir* writers on viewing Algeria as a ‘paradis perdu’ in which the various communities lived in harmonious relation, overlooking the fault lines of colonialism which fractured the population, works to undermine the credibility of the *pieds-noirs* when they argue for their version of history as objective truth.¹⁶ The *pied-noir* version of the end of French Algeria is one which absolves the European population of responsibility and lays the foundations for an identity built on victimhood, a position outlined by Michael Kammen: ‘Nostalgia [...] is essentially history without guilt. Heritage is something that suffuses us with pride rather than shame.’¹⁷ The ideological gulf between the symbolism of *nostalgérie* and the accounts given by historians and writers from other communities has led a surfeit of nostalgia to be added to the list of accusations levelled against the *pieds-noirs*.

Kimberley Smith reads nostalgia slightly differently, as the logical reaction to the kind of abrupt social dislocation suffered by the *rapatriés* forced to leave Algeria.¹⁸ Her work, which points towards a conception of nostalgia which is socially constructed rather than purely psychological in nature, links nostalgia with the alienation, or *dépaysement*, often experienced by *pieds-noirs* on arrival in the *métropole*. Educated from an early age about the French mainland, the *pieds-noirs* were taught to consider France as the homeland on a theoretical rather than experiential basis. Once repatriated, many found themselves in a

country that was subtly unfamiliar, an encounter reminiscent of Freud's uncanny which is 'in reality nothing new or foreign, but something familiar and old—established in the mind that has been estranged only by the process of repression'.¹⁹ France was reminiscent of the homeland of their schoolbooks, but it was not the same as the home they had left. French Algeria was the double of France: it was French yet it was not France, and the *Français d'Algérie* felt out of place, ill at ease, there. However, suggestions of alienation and *dépaysement* found little support amongst a metropolitan populace frustrated at the cost of government measures to accommodate the *rapatriés*: these were French citizens who had battled desperately to remain French; by crossing the Mediterranean they were merely moving between two French *départements* within a familiar administrative system.

Racial sadness and social incomprehension

The sense of social incomprehension which greets the *pied-noir* attempts to voice their difference finds an echo in Cornel West's notion of racial sadness.²⁰ Writing about the Los Angeles riots of 1992, he evokes the overwhelming nature of black sadness which, born of the memory and legacy of slavery, is beyond the reach and understanding of white people, and so is dismissed by them. In the same passage, West refers to white sadness, which he sees as entirely distinct and which he links to the American Dream. Black sadness cannot be voiced because there is no social space in which it may be heard; because racism is not acknowledged to exist in contemporary American society, the assumption is that, ostensibly at least, the racial legacies of slavery have been laid to rest. The effects of the inability to express sadness are profound: writing of what she calls West's 'emotional colour line', Ann

Cvetkovich describes it as a catalyst for depression amongst both blacks and whites, with whites feeling, consciously or not, 'that their forms of sadness are incommensurable with those of the historically disenfranchised, an incommensurability that is lived affectively as alienation and hopelessness, as well as more clinical forms of these feelings, such as depression.'²¹ Her perspective on racial melancholy takes conceptions of loss and trauma resulting from racism and de-dramatises them, translating them from the catastrophic into the plane of the everyday, where insidious structural forms of violence are lived. Her work has been received as provocative on a number of levels; here, it is worth noting that while her initial premise – that depression can be brought about by social causes rather than physical ones – is uncontroversial within a cultural studies context (although less so in daily life), the suggestion that colonial settler groups such as the *pieds-noirs* may share the sadness of victimhood is generally dismissed.

Cvetkovich's work raises the possibility of forms of sadness amongst both *pieds-noirs* and metropolitans relating to the history of colonialism in Algeria, a latent sadness concerning the occupation and exploitation of the Arabo-Berber population that was catalysed by the act of independence which finally gave right to the Arab cause. Here I draw a distinction between settlers as a social collective, and settler colonialism as a mode of domination, drawing no implications about the personal guilt of individuals. Rather, I share Cvetkovich's interest in the consequences for white people of dwelling within a system of oppression, living lives of privilege in the vicinity of the violence of exclusion. Because the situation was brought to an end by violence rather than the achievement of a resolution in which the structures of social violence and racism were replaced by a more just model, the *pieds-noirs* were left without an opportunity to work through their place in a system which

no longer exists. Similarly, according to Cvetkovich's argument, the metropolitans, consciously or unconsciously, were burdened with the fact that war was the direct result of French colonial policy. That the thousands of French military deaths and the atrocities of torture, not to mention the decline in international prestige occasioned by the loss of Algeria, were caused by the policies of a state operating in the name of the people is, for many, an uncomfortable notion. In this context, as the 'actual' colonisers the repatriated *pieds-noirs* offer a convenient scapegoat, and are effectively made to bear the guilt of the whole nation and its colonial policies. From this perspective, the exodus functions as a founding event in creating a lasting current of sadness amongst *pieds-noirs*. Faced with this ideological weight, the attraction of Kammen's notion of a retreat into nostalgia as a means of preserving roots and heritage without guilt is evident.

What becomes apparent through a mapping of nostalgia and sadness is the extent to which certain *rapatriés* were unable to articulate their loss because in metropolitan France they found themselves silenced by the public foreclosure of the possibility of grief. The lack of sympathy for their experiences and predicament disallowed attempts to mourn the past, such that the disappearance of French Algeria became an ungrievable loss. Loss and the inability to grieve recalls, of course, Freud's seminal essay, 'Mourning and Melancholia', in which Freud discusses the healthy and pathological responses to loss.²² In mourning the loss of a loved object means that the individual will go through a painful and gradual process of giving up the libidinal attachments to the loved object until the point at which the process is complete, when the ego is once more free and uninhibited. In the case of melancholia, the situation is somewhat different: grief is interrupted, mourning does not take place, and the subject becomes pathologised, turning reproach towards the lost object

into hostility directed at the ego, resulting in symptoms which have no expectation of resolution.

For the anthropologist Clarisse Bueno, the *pieds-noirs'* ongoing libidinal attachment to Algeria as object of loss produces a melancholia which is reducible to nostalgia; conversely, she sees no prospect of the subject moving beyond melancholia whilst remaining nostalgic for the past.²³ The only route out of melancholia is, for her, to develop a progressive political engagement which, whilst avoiding the pitfall of nostalgia, draws on the group's remembered identity, nurturing and developing it in order for it to be asserted as the basis of cultural difference. However, if nostalgia is, as we suggested above, not purely a psychological phenomenon but one which is, in part at least, culturally constituted with the aim of silencing a particular political position, it might not be the insurmountable barrier to mourning that Bueno perceives. Rather, as Freud identifies, the crucial factor is the ability to overcome the obstacles which might impede mourning. The remainder of this article examines in more detail the social elements which, by stifling the articulation of grief, made the loss of Algeria ungrievable, and ushered in a dwelling-in-loss which has become a hallmark of *pied-noir* identity for many. It also investigates the avenues for resistance and the recuperation of agency which may enable the subject to move beyond a perpetual state of melancholy.

Social melancholy and literary representations

In her book, *The Colonization of Psychic Space*, Kelly Oliver addresses the social component of depression and posits a connection between subjectivity and subject position, which she sees as necessary to understand the effects of social context on the individual psyche.²⁴ For

her, like Cvetkovich, the melancholia experienced by minority groups may be brought about by the effects of oppression and domination in society, but while Cvetkovich focuses particularly on the weight of the past which bears on the individual, Oliver is concerned with the pressures experienced in the present:

Unlike classic melancholy, as described in psychoanalytic theory, which is the incorporation of a lost loved other to avoid losing her or him, what I call *social melancholy* is the loss of a positive or lovable image of oneself and the incorporation of abject or denigrated self-images widely circulating in mainstream culture. [...] It is not only the lack of positive self-images that leads to social melancholy but also the absence of social acceptance.²⁵

Oliver draws on the psychoanalytic work of Fanon and his analysis of black alienation to argue that the development of the psyche does not take place in isolation, but is subject to the forces – values, traditions, laws, institutions, and stereotypes – which are prevalent in society, and which intersect with the bodily drives of the individual. When subject to oppressive social forces which preclude a positive self-image, the ego is fragmented and made passive as the sense of agency is undermined. The translation of bodily drives into language and other signifying systems is disrupted or blocked, diminishing the psychic space available for the movement between drives and signification, and cutting off the individual from the world of meaning which is necessary to our signification. When this occurs, the bodily drives and affects are turned inwards, and the sublimation of drives and affects into words is interrupted. Cut off from words, the individual is silenced, and may experience depression and alienation.

The incidence of depression amongst *rapatriés* in the months following the exodus from Algeria has not been widely investigated. Contemporary reports in both national and regional media preferred to focus on the putative involvement of *pieds-noirs* in OAS-related crimes rather than the material and psychological conditions in which the exiles were living. Over time, as the *rapatriés* re-established themselves economically and began to integrate socially, the experience of alienation became less pronounced. Yet evidence suggests that depression was widespread amongst sections of the repatriate community. *Pied-noir* writers have referred to the exodus of 1962 as a moment of death, while for some Julia Kristeva's evocation of depression as a 'living death' is a fitting description of the life which awaited in France.²⁶ In certain cases, death went beyond metaphor. Based on interviews with family members, psychologist Hubert Ripoll notes that the effects of the *déracinement*, or uprooting, were so pronounced that, in the case of some older *rapatriés*, individuals silently withered and died.²⁷ He concludes that the cause of decline is the loss of an individual's roots, although we should note that the inability of the *rapatrié* to voice his or her suffering prior to death necessarily involves a certain degree of speculation. Unquestionably, though, the *rapatrié* suffering in this way experiences some form of alienation from France, seen as a foreign land which separates definitively from the factors of heritage and ancestry which confer status and identity. Exile, we might surmise, involves a loss of one's self-image, or, rather, a contradiction: the forcible discovery that one's image of self is not shared by those around. In such circumstances, a retreat into nostalgia, which allows the subject to reach towards the shadow of the lost loved self, is a mode of self-preservation.

Examination of the large number of *pied-noir* novels (as opposed to autobiographical accounts) which have appeared finds frequent instances of depression, melancholy and

even suicide. Whilst their narrative structure offers insights into the factors implied in Ripoll's reference to a loss of 'roots', the novels also raise the question of the societal pressures described by Oliver. Indeed, it is notable that these literary representations of the suffering of repatriation often are narrated, not by the generation which experienced it but which arguably is unable to express the trauma, but by the younger generation. Daniel Saint-Hamont's novel *Le Coup de sirocco*, later made into a film, offers a picture of depression in the figure of the narrator's mother, who is presented initially as a conventional image of *pied-noir* loss, weeping on board the departing ship as the situation overwhelms her.²⁸ The end of the long exodus from Oran to Paris signals her descent into depression:

My mother had it worst of all of us. [...] She got thinner, was terribly pale, and even started saying strange things. [...] She'd always talked to herself for a long time, but now she started talking to herself even when someone else was with her in the room. It's a strange thing, that; you don't know what to say.

The mother's power to make sense of the world around her has been blocked by the tumultuous social change which has taken place; in psychoanalytic terms she has been cut off from signification by the interruption of sublimation. Although an uncharacteristically light-hearted text, the novel makes some trenchant points under the cover of the self-deprecating voice of its *pied-noir* narrator. A crucial scene occurs in a Paris railway station when the mother, sitting disconsolately on her suitcase, is handed money by a passing stranger who takes her for a beggar. The shock of mistaken identity sends her into a hysterical outburst in which she indignantly refuses the assigned label, reaffirms the family's status as 'respectable people', and blames the watching crowd of metropolitans for the loss

of Algeria, but it is underscored yet more firmly by the response of an onlooker who, on being asked what is going on, replies, 'It's the Arabs'.²⁹ The repeated misrecognition constitutes a moment of double consciousness which fractures the mother's sense of self and supplants it with a public image which horrifies her: it recalls the moment in *Black Skin, White Masks* in which Fanon's black man is seen by a white child for the first time, and the devastating effect which this has upon his relation to his own body, splitting him into a triple person and alienating him from his own physicality.³⁰ The racial overtones of the mistaken identity – *pied-noir* equated with Arab – are picked up elsewhere in the book, where the narrator acknowledges their position as 'second-class French citizens', raising the ironic possibility that the *pieds-noirs*, France's archetypal colonial settlers who are still considered as colonizers and racists by sections of the metropolitan population, find themselves exposed to the kinds of discrimination habitually reserved for the colonised.³¹ The *pied-noir* becomes a conflicted site of postcolonial tensions, seeking to maintain internal cohesion based on the principles of settler colonial culture, but cast as both victim and torturer in an unstable and shifting matrix of signifiers, while the metropolitans, for whom discrimination towards the *pieds-noirs* can be justified by the outcome of the war, are situated in a society striated by new lines of division, 'living lives of privilege in the vicinity of the violence of racism'.³² The end of the war problematizes conceptions of 'Frenchness' to a degree hitherto unknown, with the mass arrival of *pieds-noirs*, *harkis* and, increasingly, Arabo-Berber immigrants, groups whose relationship to French citizenship is constructed on differing premises and which, crucially, are regarded differently by the metropolitan majority. If colonization in Algeria has officially ended, it might be argued that it has merely been displaced into the psychoanalytic realm, affecting the construction of psychic space and identity formation within the culture of the metropolis. Saint-Hamont's narrator argues

that the hostility encountered by the *rapatriés* in France is simply a confirmation of the pre-existing metropolitan repugnance towards the *Français d'Algérie*:

What we felt in the French, when we were still back home, was just a little bit of contempt for us, deeply buried. Afterwards, when we came to France, we saw that we weren't wrong. They found our accent vulgar. [...] It's so vulgar, they would say. If vulgarity is being obliged no longer to speak like my mother then yes, I am vulgar: I choose my mother.³³

In this way the grand political positioning of Camus is replayed in the domestic everyday encounters of the repatriates whereby colonial distaste is translated into petty exploitation and oppression by French service workers, for whom exorbitant taxi fares and hotel rents (Saint-Hamont 1987, 22, 39, 117) are an opportunity to settle scores with the putative 'gros colons' (colonial landowners).³⁴

Hostility towards the repatriates ranged from the quasi-official – the declaration attributed to Marseille mayor Gaston Defferre that 'We must throw the *pièds-noirs* into the sea!', and the regular stop-and-search of cars with Algerian number plates by police suspicious of OAS activity – to the everyday discrimination, banal yet insidious, taking place within French society. Didier Tronchet's graphic novel, *Là-bas* ('Over there'; 2003) presents a portrait of Alain Mercadal, a father and husband who is progressively destroyed by the experience of exile in Paris, as seen through the eyes of his young daughter. Traumatized by his inability to save a young Arab boy from an OAS attack, and fleeing FLN threats, the father arrives in Paris, assuming that his position and client contacts will translate into an important role at the company headquarters in Paris. The realisation that the company

neither recognises nor values him, and that he must beg to obtain a junior post engenders a brutal reassessment of his status, and one which is repeated through the daily petty yet hostile encounters with French society, from the 'Mercadal = Torturer' notice left on his desk (21), to the verbal references to him as 'the butcher' which so confuse his daughter, who knows him to be an insurance salesman. Striving to build a life for his young family, Mercadal buys a house on a new estate and joins the commuter rat-race, only to find himself ostracised and vilified by his new neighbours: 'The people here didn't like you. [...] They despised your accent, your patriarch's smile, that door which was always open, ready to offer an anisette aperitif whilst they slipped away... They only thought about spreading rumours'.³⁵

Mercadal's response is to retreat into the confines of domestic space, planting a physical wall of trees between his family and the outside world. He had aspired to recreating a piece of Algeria in France: as his daughter observes, his barrier succeeds in recreating the divisions and suspicions of Algeria's war. Consequently the psychological hostilities are projected inwards, resulting in compulsive repetition or 'acting-out' within the domestic sphere.³⁶ Mercadal sinks into a depressive state characterised by impotent rage, occasional violence, and a progressive withdrawal from his family: 'Every evening when you got home you filled the apartment with your sour smell, and your suppressed anger. [...] I was 18 months old now. But you didn't see me. You didn't see anything any more.'³⁷ Described as a 'little tyrant', Mercadal takes pleasure in exercising the little power that his job permits to make others suffer, while his colleagues continue to despise and ridicule him. In one memorable incident, Mercadal is literally walked over by his colleagues, who take advantage of his weakness when he collapses in a bar. The only respite is a moment of

nostalgia before Sunday lunch when, listening to the music of Gershwin and dreaming of Algiers, 'you became yourself once again'.³⁸

Mercadal struggles because, confronted with abject images of himself, he is denied the social space to express the settler values which were central to his life in Algeria; his status as patriarch within the established settler community is elided by life in Paris, leaving him with affects which cannot be sublimated and so which remain uncommunicated and festering within him. Moments of nostalgia offer the only chance to reach out to the lost image of the loved self. Furthermore, he is unable to respond to the experiences of discrimination which he suffers in France. As European settlers the *pieds-noirs* do not display differentiated racial characteristics, but their distinctive accent and *patois* are the basis of an ethnic discrimination which has much in common with the racism associated with colonial Algeria. Mercadal is unable to protest against his experiences of rejection; their meaning is foreclosed by the wider society of which they are an endemic feature so that he cannot name and so circumscribe his treatment by calling it racism because within the culture that surrounds him he always already functions as the racist, by virtue of his colonial origins. Compelled by the metropolitans around him to see himself through the prism of dominant French culture, Mercadal's experiences transform the double consciousness described by Fanon into crippling alienation. The experience of arriving and settling in France is a long process of being made aware of the inferior status that he now occupies, a status that, according to Saint-Hamont, he has always occupied without being aware of it. By force Mercadal adopts what Fanon has called an inferiority complex with regard to the white (metropolitan) man, internalizing the cruel super-ego that abjects the colonized as racialized other. Without space for it to be expressed as social meaning, anger

towards the metropolitan is turned inward and becomes directed at the self and those closest, extending in Mercadal's case to domestic violence against the family, whilst vainly continuing to seek the approval of the metropolitan group which has rejected him.

Community as communication

The situations of Saint-Hamont's mother, and Tronchet's Mercadal underscore the importance of community to the psychic well-being of the *rapatriés*. What has been lost in the departure from Algeria is not only the land, but the mode of life and values which were present there. In one of the most moving frames of Tronchet's text, Mercadal stands in front of his new house, looking in vain for neighbours with whom he might share an aperitif in recreation of Algeria's settler society, in which doors habitually stood open and domestic space flowed from family dwellings into the shared space of the community. Similarly, in Saint-Hamont's novel, the first positive indication for the mother comes with a social occasion: 'my mother was happy all the same, she had guests, like people who have a normal apartment: that cheered her up'.³⁹ Later in the novel the ties that bind *pieds-noirs* are presented with a comedy which nonetheless emphasises their importance: spying a couple from the home village in Algeria, the narrator's mother falls on them like long-lost friends, despite the fact that they preferred to shop at the rival grocer's shop rather than that of the narrator's father, and thus were unknown to the narrator. The normal circumstances under which they would have been ignored completely have been displaced by the urgent need to recreate community.

Community as an accommodating social space offers a vital intervention in melancholia. Discussing the elements necessary to idealization (which itself is required as a conduit to communication and social signification), Oliver adopts and develops Julia Kristeva's notion of the imaginary father, arguing that the latter supplies the missing link between social and psychic space: a social support for identity that operates not only in secondary narcissism but also in primary narcissism: 'Without the imaginary father, there is no bridge between drives/affects and language/representation; and, because there is no bridge between drives and words, there can be no movement between the two.'⁴⁰ Oliver's development of Kristeva's concept removes its gendered associations: she argues that what she calls a 'loving social agency' (118), or 'the accepting third' (127) must be available to legitimate each subjectivity and its access to idealization. The presence of a loving social agency allows the sublimation and discharge of affects into meaningful communication. In a culture in which a particular group is abjected and marginalised, individual subjects lacking a positive self-image are likely to internalise negative attitudes, leading to a lack of legitimacy. 'The lack of social support can lead to feelings of emptiness, incompleteness, and worthlessness; at the extreme, the lack of social support can lead to the split between words and affects that Kristeva identifies with the depressive position'.⁴¹ The absence of an affirming social space is precisely what *pied-noir* repatriates experienced in the months and years following the exodus from Algeria.

In his writings, Fanon argues consistently that resistance can renew a sense of agency and act as a counter to the effects of alienation. For the atomised repatriates, resistance begins with the beginnings of solidarity with other individuals, in whom they find sympathy and reciprocal support. For the mother in *Le Coup de sirocco*, the ability to offer

hospitality, and to visualise a mental network of relationships in which she occupies a place of respect enables her to enter a truce with the world around her, and so to begin the parallel, nonlinear processes of integrating into French culture, and mourning Algeria. The role of the 'accepting third' in restoring the melancholic individual to society suggests that the well-established proliferation of *pied-noir* organisations, further facilitated by the internet, may function as more than a forum for the exchange of memories of life in colonial Algeria; at least in the early years following repatriation, before integration was well assured, they may have served as a space of acceptance in opposition to the hostility and alienation experienced by many, and thus facilitated the *pieds-noirs'* eventual reconciliation with wider society.

Potent though they may be, solidarity and community are an insufficient remedy for some subjects. The second-hand accounts of older *pieds-noirs*, who declined and died shortly after being repatriated, referred to by Ripoll, and accounts of the high suicide rates amongst *pieds-noirs* in the years after 1962 speak to an anguish to which no solution could be found. Two novels from the *pied-noir* community, Claire Messud's *The Last Life* (1999, written in English), and Anne-Marie Langlois, *Se souvenir de Sébaïn* (2003), feature characters whose melancholia ultimately leads them to suicide. Of particular interest in *The Last Life*, an epic family saga spanning three generations and three continents, is the figure of Alexandre, aged only seventeen at the end of the war, whose story is recounted by his daughter Sagesse, the book's narrator. Although narrating in the first person, Sagesse is given omniscient status concerning her family's experiences, and so delivers a searing account of the last days of French Algeria, as Alexandre, alone except for his dying grandmother, has to face the reality that his beloved homeland also is dying, and that he

will have to join his parents in the south of France. The difficulties of obtaining passage to Marseille are made starkly obvious; to these are added the herculean task of transporting his grandmother's casket amidst the crowds, for there is no question of laying her to rest in a land that will no longer be Catholic. In an ironic twist on the FLN threat and a foreshadowing of where the experience of loss will ultimately take him, Alexandre is given the burden of both suitcase and coffin, the task assuming farcical and yet tragic overtones as it transpires that the oversized coffin will not fit as intended into the ship's cabin. A burial at sea, in the bay of Algiers, is the only option, a fitting solution which captures both the death of the homeland, and the position of the *pieds-noirs*, forever suspended between the two sides of the Mediterranean. By the time the reader has lived through these traumatic last days with Alexandre, we are scarcely surprised at his reaction to the hostility with which he is met in his new French home. Spending the summer sitting on his bed, he becomes almost catatonic, unable to countenance the world beyond his parents' house; away from Algeria he cannot breathe, and develops recurrent asthma attacks: 'In France, both literally and metaphorically, Alexandre was *dépaysé*: only the Mediterranean and the gnarled pines were familiar. [...] Speaking little, he felt, by August, that he had lost the ability to form most words: he simply could not speak. [...] He didn't want to be at all'.⁴² But if arrival in France is difficult, confrontation with his metropolitan peers is worse:

When he opened his mouth, they mocked his accent; they ridiculed his clothes; they taunted him as a freak, a racist, an African. They cursed his provenance, and his presence. They parroted their parents' politics and argued the Algerian War around him as though he were a bottle of beer. He said nothing, which only enraged them

further. [...] Then, one lunchtime, in the quiet of winter, Alexandre, like a spirit released from stone, rose up in a fury and battered one of his tormentors.⁴³

Fleeing the scene, Alexandre disappears, only to be found in an abandoned cottage having taken sleeping pills and brandy, and having almost died of pneumonia. The symbolic period of his disappearance – two nights and three days – is the same as the time spent trapped in his dying grandmother's apartment; like the passage from the old life in Algeria to the new in France, it recalls the Christian symbolism of death and resurrection, which initially appears to be confirmed by the social butterfly which emerges from the chrysalis of confinement: 'Protean. Quicksilver [...] Alexandre LaBasse, gadabout charmer'.⁴⁴ Yet it is also reminiscent of Kristeva's analysis of depression, in which a great surge of reconciliation conceals 'the often unquenched melancholy anguish of the subject who has already died once, even though miraculously resurrected'.⁴⁵ The reborn Alexandre conceals his melancholy beneath a sometimes manic brightness, and the incident is forgotten until thirty years later, apparently out of the blue, he shoots himself dead.

Despite the long interim period, the novel clearly links the two suicide attempts, which are narrated on consecutive pages, and traces their cause to the Algerian experience of loss and exile. Looking back years later, the narrator identifies the factors which created her father, of which the loss of Algeria is primary:

[...] I wonder what it was to be my father stoked with self-loathing, to observe the world through the sheen of failure: born of a failed country, a mediocre businessman trailing in his father's footsteps, an unsatisfactory spouse, the father of a son who could never grow up.⁴⁶

Alexandre's failures extended into various domains, yet the narrator feels instinctively that to save him would have required an impossible intervention in time and space, changing the course of colonial history in Algeria long before his birth. Only this could prevent him and the rest of their family from functioning, by their very existence, as a stain on the nation's past: 'great numbers of the populace [...] found our history ghastly too, an insidious pollutant in the aquarium of French honour. France's error made flesh, the *pieds-noirs*, and with them, the *harkis*, were guilty simply for existing'.⁴⁷

Internalising guilt and shame

When projected onto a minority group, the notion of being inherently flawed, condemned by one's very presence, is a powerful agent of oppression and one which is difficult to resist. While the *pieds-noirs* were guilty as charged by the metropolitan population – guilty of being colonizers, of exploiters and racists, the latter an aspect that Messud does not shy away from in her portrayal of the *pied-noir* family – for the repatriates the 'crime' was simply to have been born in a particular French *département*; now, long removed from the colonial circumstance, the question of atonement is meaningless. Elsewhere in the novel, Messud refers to the *pied-noir* crime as 'Original Sin', bringing it back to the doctrine of Algeria's eldest son, Saint Augustine, and emphasising the individual's lack of agency, constrained to pay the penalty for the sin of the fathers. Rather than guilt, which is associated with wrongdoing, the *pieds-noirs* thus receive and internalize the accusations against them as shame, the sense of being flawed, defective in their very being, a feeling familiar to the colonised through many generations. Convinced of our defectiveness, we are

ashamed and so precluded from meaningful communication; blaming ourselves for our lack of meaning, we fall into depression which in turn makes us ashamed. According to Oliver, only the agency of social forgiveness – which is meaning itself, rather than any sovereign agent of forgiveness – allows us to assert our individuality and difference with the assurance that we will be accepted back into the community.⁴⁸ By withholding social forgiveness, oppression undermines the possibility of sublimation: it forecloses positive and accepting meanings for the subject that support the transfer of affects into signification, and so weakens the sense of agency and the very subjectivity of those othered. The sense of deep-rooted failure in Alexandre occasioned by the loss of French Algeria, and the hostile reception encountered in France, were thus the catalyst for the pervasive and lasting sense of shame with which he struggled throughout his life, and which ultimately led to his suicide.

The theatre of the *pieds-noirs*, in Messud's novel, is a classical tragedy in which the act of colonisation, committed long ago, sets off an inescapable chain of consequences which continue to blight the repatriates in their post-colonial lives in France. It is in this sense that the newspaper reports Alexandre's funeral under the headline, 'A Family Doomed to Disaster'.⁴⁹ The idea that colonisation is an act which cannot be atoned for, and which causes a shame which cannot be lived with, is presented from a different angle in another novel, Anne-Marie Langlois's *Se souvenir de Sébain* (2003). An epistolary novel set between 1956 and 1963, its hero is Paul Dumourier, a second-generation settler whose father is the idealised pioneer of *piéd-noir* myth: arriving on a thoroughbred mount and speaking classical Arabic, he asked the local Bachaga for permission to farm some previously uncultivated land. Langlois's utopic account is diametrically opposed to that of Messud's

narrator, for whom 'My French ancestors [...] landed on blood-soaked soil, and nothing could undo that beginning'.⁵⁰ Although close friends with the Bachaga's Arab family, Dumourier has created a rift between them with his support for Ferhat Abbas's demands for an independent Algeria in which French settlers and Arabo-Berbers would form a single people. Ironically, for the Bachaga's family the idea of giving up the French identity and culture into which they have been educated in Paris, and for which they have fought in the World Wars, is unthinkable, and relations between the two families break down. Paul continues his father's approach to the land: despite being described as a colonial landowner (a 'gros colon'), his time and money are invested solely in Algeria, where he builds a school, medical centre and training workshop for his workers. However, as the war progresses and atrocities mount, Paul's certainties are shaken: 'I am no longer French, nor *pied-noir*, and not yet Algerian, as that new definition hasn't yet been extended to us'.⁵¹ Doubt quickly transforms into depression – 'I didn't manage to conquer that melancholy which little by little has settled during the last few months. [...] everything seems vain and useless' – and is swiftly followed by Paul's suicide in December 1960.⁵²

In this case, clearly the physical loss of Algeria, which took place two years later, is not the cause of Paul's melancholy, although by following the political trajectory the outcome of the war could have been foreseen. Rather, it may be argued that shame is at the root of his psychic distress because, for all the dedication shown to the Arabs and their cause, and his lack of sympathy for the political position of the *pied-noirs*, Paul remains indelibly associated with those who do not have justice on their side in the war. His daughter Marie comes to the same sinking realisation:

I read in the paper that all of the Youth Movements of France – fifty-three of them – had signed a single manifesto calling for the end of the Algerian war. I understand them and at the same time it makes me sad to think that I am on the wrong side. We want the end of this war too. Who wouldn't? But for them, we are the bad guys. And to realise that I could never be part of any of these movements if I wanted to, because I would appear like a pariah, makes me feel how much I am, despite myself, stuck in an ambiguous situation.⁵³

Despite their support for Algerian independence, Paul and Marie ultimately find themselves caught in the awkward pivot which unfolds slowly in *colon-métropole* relations over the course of the war. From a high point of solidarity with the French *patrie* during World War II, in which they saw themselves as the advocates and defenders of the indivisible Republic, the French settlers of Algeria gradually saw support for their cause dwindle until the point at which negotiations with the FLN made the eventual outcome inevitable. Overnight, it must have seemed, the motherland was no longer united in support for its overseas *départements*, its vast resources expended in their favour; suddenly, the enemy of peace was no longer the FLN, but the OAS and the *pied-noir* population who were isolated in their opposition to French government policy. The reversal was inevitably difficult to come to terms with, given that the *pied-noir* position (whether, as for the majority, in favour of French Algeria or, as in the case of Paul and Marie, in opposition to the status quo) had remained consistent throughout the war. For Paul, to be identified as the enemy, particularly when he had never shared their politics, was unbearable, and rather than experience the mis-recognition and alienation described by Fanon, he chose to end his life while his psychic space was still relatively intact.

Systems based on patriarchy or colonialism are inherently restrictive, constraining the putatively privileged even as they oppress the weak. At the end of her essay, 'Women's Time', Kristeva calls for a future in which the division between the sexes is dissolved, and murderous difference replaced with a conceptualisation which belongs to the realm of metaphysics:

This process could be summarized as an interiorization of the founding separation of the sociosymbolic contract, as an introduction of its cutting edge into the very interior of every identity whether subjective, sexual, ideological, or so forth. This in such a way that the habitual and increasingly explicit attempt to fabricate a scapegoat victim as foundress of a society or a countersociety may be replaced by the analysis of the potentialities of victim/executioner which characterize each identity, each subject, each sex.⁵⁴

However desirable this utopian vision may be, the melancholy of the *pied-noir* suggests the uncomfortable realities of the subject caught within the intersecting matrices of scapegoat, victim and executioner, as a transitional illustration of the outworkings of Kristeva's scenario in process. Scapegoated as the colonial perpetrator, even victimised, yet fatally imbricated in the colonial project of which he/she is a product, the *pied-noir* settler subject exemplifies the play of victim/torturer vectors. The sometimes fatal outcomes caution against any tendency to underestimate the violence inherent in the process.

Analysis of *pied-noir* melancholia illuminates the complexity of the relationship between imperial metropole and settler colony, one which oscillates as geopolitical events cause shifts and reversals in the flow of power. It suggests that, while settler colonial culture

outlasts the temporal bounds of the settler colony, it is subject to the domination of colonialism which, as an ideological discourse anchored within the metropolitan centre, demonstrates a considerable capacity for self-preservation, maintaining its oppressive focus even as its lens shifts from one ethnic group to another. Yet the analysis also gestures towards modes of resistance which may restore agency through the creation of (sometimes virtual) community. Illuminating the complex and contested responses of the *pied-noir* community, the study demonstrates the fluidity of the complex triangular relations which exist between settlers, metropolitans and the newly independent indigenous peoples, and serves as a reminder of the potency of colonial discourses to continue to shape the experience of subjects in the postcolonial present.

¹ Marie Cardinal, *Au pays de mes racines* (Paris: Grasset, 1980), 23. All translations are mine, unless otherwise stated.

² Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 3.

³ Jonathan K. Gosnell, *The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria, 1930–1954* (Rochester, NY: Rochester University Press, 2002), 187.

⁴ It is worth noting that while the violence of the OAS gestured towards the possibility of separation, this was never realistically achievable and was designed rather to intimidate the Paris administration into supporting the settler cause.

⁵ Due to the constraints of space, and the focus on mainland France immediately following Algerian independence, the article does not examine the shifting place of Algeria's indigenous peoples, although with the advent of mass immigration from Algeria to France there is much to be said about the ongoing relationship between the former settlers and the former colonised.

⁶ Todd Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell, 2006), 193.

⁷ Girard, René, *Violence and the sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977). Repatriation problematized this process by ensuring that, rather than being expelled, the scapegoated group became incorporated within the social body.

⁸ Françoise Lionnet, *Autobiographical Voices: Race, Gender, Self-Portraiture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 204.

⁹ Abitbol, Michel, 'Cinquième République et l'accueil des Juifs d'Afrique du Nord', in *Les Juifs de France, de la Révolution française à nos jours*, ed. Jean-Jacques Becker and Annette Wieviorka (Paris: Levi, 1998), 287–327 (302).

¹⁰ Albert Camus, 'La bonne conscience', *L'Express*, 21 October 1955.

¹¹ Claire Eldridge, 'Blurring the boundaries between perpetrators and victims: *Pied-noir* memories and the *harki* community', *Memory Studies* 3, 2 (2010): 123–136.

¹² Unsurprisingly, the majority of the members of *pied-noir* associations are first generation repatriates. While a minority of their children have actively embraced their Algerian origins, with some, including Claire Messud, writing movingly about the effects of their lost roots, the community at large has struggled to transmit its

memories to the younger generation who, having grown up in France, self-identify as French rather than *pied-noir*.

¹³ Philip Dine, *Images of the Algerian War: French Fiction and Film, 1954-1992* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1994), 148.

¹⁴ Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia* (New York: Basic, 2001).

¹⁵ Roger Célestin, *From Cannibals to Radicals: Figures and Limits of Exoticism* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 94.

¹⁶ Gabriel Conessa, *Bab-el-oued: Notre paradis perdu* (Paris : Laffont, 1970).

¹⁷ Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1991), 688.

¹⁸ Kimberley Smith, 'Mere nostalgia: notes on a progressive paratheory', *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 3, 4 (2000): 505-27 (511).

¹⁹ Sigmund Freud, 'The "Uncanny"', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Volume XVII (1917–1919), ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 217–252 (241).

²⁰ A.D. Smith, *Twilight: Los Angeles, 1992* (New York: Dramatists Play Service, Inc., 2003), 108.

²¹ Ann Cvetkovich, 'Depression is Ordinary: Public Feelings and Saidiya Hartman's *Lose Your Mother*,' special issue on Affecting Feminism, *Feminist Theory* 13, 2 (2012): 131–46 (135).

²² Sigmund Freud, 'Mourning and Melancholia', in *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud*, Volume XIV (1914–1916), ed. James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), 243–258.

²³ Clarisse Buono, *Pied-noir de père en fils* (Paris: Balland, 2004), 111.

²⁴ Kelly Oliver, *The Colonization of Psychic Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

²⁶ Julia Kristeva, *Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), 4.

²⁷ Hubert Ripoll, *Mémoire de là-bas: une psychoanalyse de l'exil* (La Tour d'Aigues: L'Aube, 2012), 48-50.

²⁸ Daniel Saint-Hamont, *Le Coup de sirocco* (Paris: Fayard, 1978).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 37.

³⁰ Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks*, trans. Charles L. Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), 112-3.

³¹ Saint-Hamont, *Le Coup de sirocco*, 222.

³² Cvetkovich, 'Depression is ordinary', 120.

³³ Saint-Hamont, *Le Coup de sirocco*, 116.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 22; 39; 117.

³⁵ Didier Tronchet and Anne Sibran, *Là-bas* (Paris: Aire Libre, 2003), 35.

³⁶ Dominick LaCapra, *History in Transit: Experience, Identity, Critical Theory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 126–28.

³⁷ Tronchet, *Là-bas*, 22.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 39.

³⁹ Saint-Hamont, *Le Coup de sirocco*, 26.

⁴⁰ Oliver, *The Colonization of Psychic Space*, 127.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

⁴² Claire Messud, *The Last Life* (London: Picador, 1999), 230; 231.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 232.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 234.

⁴⁵ Kristeva, *Black Sun*, 195.

⁴⁶ Messud, *The Last Life*, 254.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 240.

⁴⁸ Oliver, *The Colonization of Psychic Space*, 92.

⁴⁹ Messud, *The Last Life*, 325.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 324.

⁵¹ Anne-Marie Langlois, *Se souvenir de Sébain* (Paris: Belfond, 2003), 181.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 190.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 177.

⁵⁴ Julia Kristeva, 'Women's Time', trans. Alice Jardine and Harry Blake, *Signs* 7, 1 (1981): 13–35 (34).