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Spencer D. Segalla, *The Moroccan Soul. French Education, Colonial Ethnology, and Muslim Resistance, 1912-1956*. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 2010. xiv + 318 pp. Notes, bibliography and index. \$55.00 (cl). ISBN 978-0-8032-1778-2.

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There exists a well-established if controversial connection between education, colonisation and cultural hegemony. In the republican French context, the tenor of education has often been considered as inseparable from historical processes of extension and consolidation of the nation-state, from the dissemination of state ideology, and as a quasi-colonial force.[1] Education in the French overseas empire constituted the front line of the *mission civilisatrice* and remained paradoxical for precisely that reason. The oft-stated aim of assimilating the colonized into the civilisation of the colonizer implied the erosion of the very opposition on which the colonial edifice depended. It is from this point of departure that Spencer Segalla begins his admirable study of the Moroccan manifestations of French education. He offers a timely and sophisticated exploration of this fundamental aspect of colonialism and, given the volume of recent scholarship on Algeria, Vietnam, the Francophone Caribbean and Pacific and West and Equatorial Africa, makes a strong and effective case for the consideration of Morocco as an equal player in the ensemble cast of the French colonial drama.

The Moroccan Soul begins with the paradox of assimilation--described by Segalla as a "phantom" for metropolitan republicans and the "bogeyman" of conservative colonialists (p. 10)--and with the towering figure of Resident-General Hubert Lyautey who, as an admiring Edith Wharton suggested, can be seen as largely and personally responsible for the *mise en valeur* of Morocco, including the early development of colonial education.[2] But Segalla's account, focusing on the three strands of the institutional history of French education in Morocco, the varied career of educational administrator Georges Hardy, and Muslim opposition and resistance to the French is compelling precisely because of the challenges that it offers and the nuance that it brings to familiar debates over colonial assimilation. In Morocco, as elsewhere in the French overseas empire, compromise and accommodation between the colonial state and indigenous elites soon became the norm. Lyautey had hoped that the new *collèges musulmans* would offer an education "safely rooted in Moroccan and Muslim tradition." Indigenous elites, on the other hand, sought a more Western-style education that would equip young Moroccans with the skills needed to access French social and economic hierarchies. After extensive debate, the re-orientation of the *collèges* towards a predominantly French-language curriculum and a measure of equivalence with the French baccalaureate appears to have represented a modest victory for the latter (pp. 40-47). Such tensions were symptomatic of the political uncertainty that characterised the early years of the protectorate. Nonetheless, Segalla does accept Lyautey's continued sincerity and his acknowledgement of Muslim education as a priority for the colonial state (pp. 55-56), not least because of his appointment of Georges Hardy as director of education in late 1919.

Like Lyautey, Hardy favoured an education that was adapted to the specific needs--as he saw them--of Moroccan Muslims, to the ethnic and cultural specificities of Morocco, and that privileged gradual and limited assimilation over fast and "dangerous" change. Hardy had cut his administrative teeth in French West Africa, where his collaborators and opponents included leading colonial administrators, Senegalese *originaires* and *évolués* like Blaise Diagne, as well as the leading ethnologist and director of the École coloniale, Maurice Delafosse. Like Delafosse, Hardy evolved a racial ideology somewhere between white supremacism and universalism and a belief in a partially

adapted education that he brought with him and developed after his arrival in Rabat (pp. 74-76). Hardy resisted the radical racialist approach advocated by the *Compagnons de l'université nouvelle* but nevertheless planned curricula around his understanding of an essential Moroccan soul (*âme*) that was at once Europe's inferior and yet, paradoxically, an antidote to the decadence of republican France that Lyautey and others held responsible for the calamity of the First World War (pp. 94-101). Hardy's tenure in Morocco ended unhappily (leaving with Lyautey at the time of the Rif War), by which time the racial underpinning of his policies had hardened and his belief in assimilation dwindled. He later reappeared in wartime Algiers as an important figure in the Vichy regime and maintained his public interest in colonial education well into the 1950s. Segalla crafts a rich and fascinating portrait of the vicissitudes of Hardy's career in Morocco and elsewhere, and in doing so, makes substantial contributions both to the historiography of decolonization and to the notion that France overseas comprised a vast and diverse, but intimately interrelated network of colonial possessions.

A major concern of the volume is to reassess the relationship between colonial knowledge and power as it played out in the context of Moroccan education. Hardy's view of Moroccans as "mnemonically gifted but creatively deficient and poor at abstract reasoning" was part of a broader strategy of defining, delimiting and fixing the Moroccan soul in its otherness to Europe (p. 130). Segalla charts the intricate workings of this kind of ethno-psychological knowledge and its actualization in institutions like the *Institut des hautes études marocaines*. A focus on agriculture and tradition in education relied on familiar stereotypes and sought to re-cast or re-root indigenous society as a predominantly rural workforce in the service of the colonizer.^[3] Thus, Moroccan Muslims were subjected to "a restrictive pedagogy," heavily influenced by colonial ethnological discourse (p. 113). But colonial Morocco remained a diverse and complex society in which attempts to construct a simple France/Morocco opposition were obliged to contend with the existence of significant groups of what Segalla refers to as "other Others", particularly Moroccan Jews and Berbers (p. 53). Here, *The Moroccan Soul* makes an important contribution to the literature on the Kabyle Myth in Algeria and wider French efforts to manage and utilise the ethnic and cultural diversity of the colonial world.^[4] Further, to Segalla's credit, oppositions and tensions within the metropolitan self are thoroughly attended to. Lyautey's Moroccan project, we are reminded, was as much concerned with rediscovering "the ideal of the European male who through vigorous colonizing action had shed his soft metropolitan habits" as it was with asserting Europe's *a priori* supremacy over Africa (p. xi).

The third strand of Segalla's narrative focuses on Muslim opposition and resistance to French educational policy and, increasingly, on the role of colonial schools as "nests" of nationalism. Though Hardy's successors continued to advance a broadly similar pedagogical line, pressures for change, both internal and external, were impossible to ignore by the early 1930s. The final three chapters of *The Moroccan Soul* deal with elite demands, the positions of teachers and former students, and with developments up to and after 1944, when Roger Thabault, inspiration to Eugen Weber, was appointed Director of Public Instruction in Morocco.^[5] Segalla argues that much of the Moroccan elite showed signs of having internalised elements of colonialist discourse whilst simultaneously rejecting colonialism itself. There was, he continues, a paradoxical partial dovetailing of the aims of colonialists and nationalists. As he put it, "nationalists adopted the colonizers' belief that state-sponsored education could and should maintain authentic Moroccan culture and at the same time provide the skills necessary for the economic development of the country...Muslim critics accepted Hardy's notion that education ought to be tied to the ethno-cultural characteristics of the students" (p. 227). The longevity of some of Hardy's ideas is particularly striking, even after independence in the 1950s and the efforts of Moroccan nationalists to disentangle colonial from indigenous culture. And many of the ambiguities of contemporary Moroccan nationalism are discernible in the difficulties faced by Lyautey and Hardy. The search for an always-elusive ethno-cultural Moroccan soul and the existence and visibility of marginal though important communities of "other Others" were concerns that animated colonizers and nationalists in similar, if not identical ways.

The Moroccan Soul is a significant addition to the historiography and a credit to the University of Nebraska Press's burgeoning series on France, empire and decolonization. Segalla has produced a thorough and readable account of his subject. He breaks new ground in making the case for colonial

education as the centrepiece of France's *mission civilisatrice* and in charting the rise of Moroccan nationalism, and has equally important things to say about Morocco's contribution to what Jonathan Gosnell has called 'the politics of Frenchness'.^[6] If anything, the voices of students and teachers could have been brought to the fore in a more substantial and dramatic way. Nonetheless, this is an impressive volume. Segalla provides a broad survey of the relevant historiography of the French overseas empire (particularly in the opening chapters) and, where appropriate, situates his work in the context of key theoretical players like Homi Bhabha and Edward Said. In all of these respects, *The Moroccan Soul* will offer much to both undergraduate and graduate audiences. It should command the attention of all historians of empire and historians of education, and anyone interested in the modern construction and reconstruction of French and Moroccan identities.

NOTES

[1] Eugen Weber's *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1976) is the classic statement of these historical processes as they occurred in the early years of the Third Republic. On cultural hegemony and colonisation, see especially Pierre Bourdieu and Jean-Claude Passeron, *La Reproduction: éléments pour une théorie du système d'enseignement* (Paris: Minit, 1970) and Frantz Fanon, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (Paris: Maspero, 1952).

[2] Edith Wharton, *In Morocco* (New York: Scribner's, 1920).

[3] In other contexts, see Eric Jennings, *Vichy in the Tropics: Pétain's National Revolution in Madagascar, Guadeloupe, and Indochina, 1940-1944* (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 2001), chapter 3 and Herman Lebovics, *True France: the Wars Over Cultural Identity, 1900-1945* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), chapter 3.

[4] Jacques Berque, *Structures sociales du Haut-Atlas* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955); Patricia Lorcin, *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria* (London: Tauris, 1995); Alain Mahé, *Histoire de la Grande Kabylie XIXe-XXe siècles* (Paris: Bouchène, 2001); George Trumbull IV, *An Empire of Facts: Colonial Power, Cultural Knowledge, and Islam in Algeria, 1870-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

[5] Roger Thabault, *Mon village : ses hommes, ses routes, son école* (Paris: Delagrave, 1944).

[6] Jonathan Gosnell, *The Politics of Frenchness in Colonial Algeria, 1930-1954* (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2002).

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