Popular Postcolonial Masculinities: Gangsters and Soldiers in Maghrebi-French Cinema

Hastie, A.

1 **Popular Postcolonial Masculinities: Gangsters and Soldiers in Maghrebi-**

2 **French Cinema**

3 **Abstract**

4   This article explores the relationship between popular Hollywood and postcolonial

5   masculinities, through the Maghrebi-French films *Days of Glory* (2006) and *Outside*

6   *the Law* (2010). I focus on how the films foreground the place of Maghrebi-French

7   men in France and French history, at the expense of women, by mimicking more

8   popular and universally familiar versions of masculinity: namely, the gangster and the

9   soldier. What does it mean when Fanon's (1961) 'new Algerian man' meets *Saving*

10 *Private Ryan* (1998) and *The Godfather* (1972)? This question is answered through

11 readings of the films that take into account the films' specific (anti)colonial histories

12 and postcolonial presents, and their cultural intermediation between seemingly

13 disparate gender and race paradigms. By exploring the ways in which these films

14 reimagine French colonial histories of World War Two and the Algerian War of

15 Independence, this article raises questions about the synchronistic appropriation of film

16 genre that allows for subordinated and racialised masculinities to be both empowered

17 by, and disruptive of, hegemonic forms of masculinity. Popular, in relation to cinema,

18 is understood as commercial and accessible (Bergfelder, 2015; Faulkner, 2016), and

19 thought of as a kind of 'taste' (Bourdieu, 1984) that appeals to broader publics with the

20 cultural capital to engage with it, whilst the postcolonial, normally circulated in cinema

21 networks associated with 'art' and the 'auteur', is characterized by financial and artistic

22 independence, experimentation and niche audience markets. This article, through

23 reading these films' construction and contestation of masculinities, analyses the

24 productive tensions that emerge between popularly entertaining men and postcolonial

25 political men, and asks how bringing them together might challenge dominant

26 masculine forms, and disrupt boundaries between popular culture and the postcolonial

27 more broadly.

28 Keywords: postcolonial; masculinity; maghrebi-french cinema; popular; film

29

30

31

32

33

Introduction

In Rachid Bouchareb's gangster-inspired anti-colonial epic *Outside the Law* (2010), eldest son Messaoud confesses his guilt to his mother. Kneeling at her deathbed in Nanterre, Paris, he reflects on what he has become through his role in the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962):

> I've killed people. A lot of people. With these hands. I strangled them. Mother… I strangled them. I was forced to do it. God is my witness. To give my son a better life. I did it all for him. I did it all for him. And, since then, I only know death. I only know death, Mother. Forgive me, Mother.

The close-up of Messaoud's increasingly anguished face, his missing eye hidden by the darkness on one side of the shot, encourages audience empathy with him, with both the dark and the light, the handsome and the ugly, sides of his face that complicate his violence and his masculinity. This contrast signals towards Messaoud's transformation in the film: from respected former soldier in the light, to troubled gangster in the dark. The masculinities at stake in the film are thus neither one nor the other, but represent a transformation of specific (post)colonial masculinities at the intersection with popular masculinist cinematic genre.

Therefore, this article interrogates the ways in which *Outside the Law* (2010), as well as Bouchareb's earlier combat-inspired *Days of Glory* (2006), draw upon and combine Hollywood masculine types with the specific production of masculinities in (post)colonial France and Algeria. Through detailed insights into two particular characters, one from each film, this article will demonstrate that Maghrebi-French men on screen embody and reject in various ways hegemonic masculinities within the colonial and anti-colonial spaces of the films. This paper therefore interrogates the ways in which the films actively deploy and re-appropriate popular masculinist film genre, shedding new light onto critical postcolonial relationships pertaining to tropes such as colonial violence, anti-colonialism, Mother country, rites of passage, father figures and infantilisation.

In doing so, I put forward the idea of popular postcolonial masculinities, drawing on and contributing to recent scholarship on what has been termed 'hybrid masculinities' (Coles, 2009; Arxer, 2011; Bridges, 2014; Bridges and Pascoe, 2014), which observes and cautions against the tendency of hegemonic masculinities to selectively appropriate marginalised gendered identities. In order to expand upon this literature, I propose that by drawing on

68 critical postcolonial notions of hybridity and masculinity (Fanon, 1961; Bhabha, 1984; Said,

69 1994), it is possible to consider a more productive hybrid masculinity, through which

70 racialised masculinities are negotiated in colonial spaces of violence and shared experiences

71 of war. Articulated using the 'imperial language' (Said, 1994) of popular Hollywood cinema,

72 the marginalised postcolonial masculinities that are at the heart of beur cinema in France

73 represent a potential challenge to the white man's authority over history and masculinity. By

74 postcolonialising popular masculinities in this way, this article contributes more broadly

75 towards exposing the contradictions and conflicts in hegemonic masculinity, and the unequal

76 gendered and racialised structures of power that enable dominance over women and other

77 categories of subordinated men.

78

79 **Beur to Blockbuster**

80   Set during World War Two, *Days of Glory* (2006) follows Algerian and Moroccan

81 infantrymen from recruitment in North Africa onto the battlefields of Italy and France,

82 centring the contributions made to the war effort by Arabs and Berbers fighting in Général de

83 Gaulle's Free French Army. They fight a battle on two fronts however, combating not only

84 the Nazi war machine, but colonial racism and discrimination within their own army.

85 Bouchareb's sequel, American gangster-inspired *Outside the Law* (2010), tells the story of

86 the Algerian War of Independence (1954-1962) from the perspective of three immigrant

87 brothers in Paris, each of whom fight and resist the French in their own way. It must also be

88 noted, that Bouchareb uses the same actors in both films, with Roschdy Zem (Messaoud),

89 Jamel Debbouze (Said), and Sami Bouajila (Abdelkader) playing characters with the same

90 names in *Days of Glory* (2006) and *Outside the Law* (2010). Furthermore, director Rachid

91 Bouchareb has more recently looked to the USA commercially and aesthetically, foraying

92 directly into Hollywood with a trilogy of films: *Just like a Woman* (2012), starring Sienna

93 Miller; *Two Men in Town* (2014) starring Forest Whitaker and Harvey Keitel; and *Belleville*

94 *Cop* (2018) starring French actor Omar Sy.

95   Whilst it is well-established that Hollywood's cultural hegemony means that people

96 all over the world are familiar with American films (Lukinbeal, 2004), and therefore use

97 them as points of reference, France and French cinema have since the end of World War Two

98 consciously resisted its reach (Buchsbaum, 2017), favouring their own unique cinematic style

99 characterised by the auteur, art and transgression (Beugnet, 2007). However, director Rachid

100 Bouchareb's appropriation of Hollywood conventions within his recent films *Days of Glory*

101 (2006) and *Outside the Law* (2010), as well as their relative international success, reflects an

102   important aesthetic, commercial and cultural shift in French, as well as beur and Maghrebi-

103   French, cinemas.

104   Coined in the 1980s, the term beur was deployed by young Arab men in France to

105   refer to their interstitial position between France and North Africa, and to foster a new

106   generational subjectivity that demanded to be recognised. This fed into the creation of a body

107   of films concerned with articulating self-expression and community, whilst challenging rigid

108   notions of French Republicanism and national identity. By the 1990s, beur cinema had

109   established itself 'as a cinema of community identification' (Bloom, 1999: 472). As Tarr

110   (2005: 3) has argued, 'films by and about beurs offer a touchstone for measuring the extent to

111   which universalist Republican assumptions about Frenchness can be challenged and

112   particular forms of multiculturalism envisaged and valued'. Beur cinema therefore became

113   increasingly adept at dealing with, and countering dominant notions of and issues pertaining

114   to, delinquency, coming of age, generational conflict and masculinity (Bloom, 1999).

115   Departing from the first-generation protagonists and miserablist style which characterised

116   1970s émigré film (Higbee, 2013), beur cinema began to draw on popular French genres such

117   as comedy, creating "desirable and streetwise male characters" (Tarr, 2005) in order to reach

118   a more diverse "crossover" French audience. In making commercially viable films and

119   achieving popularity beyond minority-ethnic audiences, one of the key challenges for beur

120   filmmakers was the 'delicate negotiation... in exposing the negative treatment of Maghrebi-

121   French youth, without adopting an excessively hostile stance towards a French society in

122   which, ultimately, they have a stake' (Higbee, 2013: 11). Therefore, the aim of beur cinema

123   was not necessarily to 'empower the beur' but rather, by the 1990s, to appeal to the 'liberal-

124   critical conscience' (Tarr, 1993: 342). Moving towards a more Hollywood-influenced

125   mainstream, epitomised by Bouchareb's most recent films, is unusual for filmmakers in

126   France, and is therefore significant in a number of ways, as the cultural histories and

127   conventions of Hollywood permeate how colonial histories are remembered, allowing

128   neglected stories a wider reach, and offering possibilities for how new postcolonial

129   relationships and masculinities are envisaged in the popular sphere.

130   It is also important to consider that Bouchareb's films *Days of Glory* (2006) and

131   *Outside the Law* (2010) were released amidst growing tensions in the French banlieues. The

132   language used by the Interior Minister at the time of the 2005 riots, Nicolas Sarkozy, and just

133   prior to the release of *Days of Glory* (2006), referred to rioters as 'racaille' (scum), and called

134   for the banlieues to be 'cleaned with a power hose' to rid them of the 'gangrene' that was

135   mostly non-white and 'violent' young men (Mucchielli, 2009; Hussey, 2014). In October

4

136   2005, the death of two young boys in a Parisian suburb after being chased by police, sparked

137   these riots across French cities. The boys hid in an electricity substation after 'instinctively'

138   fleeing police on the way home from a football match, and were accidentally electrocuted to

139   death. Three weeks of violence (Mucchielli, 2009) ensued in protest at the deaths, in which

140   images of burning cars and buildings, and young men of the banlieue clashing with police,

141   consistently rolled on television screens in France and beyond. Dubbed the 'French Intifada'

142   (Hussey, 2014), media narratives intersected with Islamophobic discourses, conflating young

143   male anger with Islamic 'uprising'.

144   Whilst responding to negative discourses around beur masculinity, Maghrebi-French

145   filmmakers have done very little to combat the dominance of male protagonists in

146   (post)colonial stories. Rather, filmmakers have sought ways to reshape the image of the beur

147   male in France. As Tarr (1995; 2004; 2005) points out in her work on masculinities in beur

148   cinema, there is a perceived need amongst beur and Maghrebi-French male filmmakers to

149   tread carefully in representing disempowered masculinity, that seeks to make beur men more

150   culturally visible in French society. In short, this means finding ways to present versions of

151   beur and Arab masculinity that will be acceptable for White French audiences. Therefore, in

152   situating these men in their historical and cinematic contexts, the films *Days of Glory* (2006)

153   and *Outside the Law* (2010) can be seen to historicise the aforementioned troubled

154   relationship between the French Republic and its male beur youth, and in drawing on

155   Hollywood masculine types to do so, they represent a shift in cinematic approach to make

156   beur men more visible, in new ways. The films therefore engage in cultural re-appropriation,

157   the strategic process of which the next section addresses by engaging literature on hegemonic

158   masculinities and Hollywood genre, and by taking this forward through postcolonial insights

159   into recent research on 'hybrid masculinities'.

160

161   **Popular Postcolonial Masculinities**

162   Masculinities are unfixed, unstable and contested across different spaces and temporalities.

163   This has been well established within studies that consider gendered identities as socially and

164   culturally constituted (Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 1996; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005;

165   Horschelmann and van Hoven, 2005; Gorman-Murray and Hopkins, 2014). Connell's (1995)

166   influential concept of 'hegemonic masculinity' places emphasis on the actual patterns of

167   practices amongst men, that ultimately foster sustained male dominance over women, whilst

168   also highlighting the key sexual, class and ethnic differences of 'multiple masculinities'.

169   Consequently, hegemonic masculinity has to defend, and compete for, its position of

170 dominance, in order to impose itself and create 'subordinate' men, as well as 'subordinated'
171 women. Therefore, hegemonic masculinity relies not only on its subordination of women, but
172 on hierarchical relationships with other men, with the 'global normative' (Connell, 1995)
173 constructed as white, middle class and heterosexual.

174 Cinematic representations of masculinity, particularly through Hollywood, have of
175 course been important in creating and framing the ways in which these discourses are made
176 powerful, and through which expectations and conventions of 'real masculinity' (Aitken and
177 Lukinbeal, 1997) are shaped. Two of the most dominant and enduring 'versions' of
178 masculinity in the cinema have been the 'gangster' (Spicer, 2003; Gardaphé, 2006) and the
179 'soldier' (Eberwein, 2007; Donald and MacDonald, 2011), epitomized by films such as *The*
180 *Godfather* (1972), *Once Upon a Time in America* (1984), *The Big Red One* (1980) and
181 *Saving Private Ryan* (1998). These masculine types are not only presented as 'ideal models'
182 for 'real men', but models to be re-appropriated and subverted by subordinated masculinities,
183 producing new 'hybrid masculinities'.

184 Before I examine the literature on hybrid masculinities, let us consider how traits of
185 hegemonic masculinity identified by Connell (1995) and through film (Clarke, 2006), such as
186 leadership, heroism, bravery and brotherhood are positioned as normative in Hollywood
187 cinema. 'Authentic' sequences in combat films for example, work to naturalise ideologies
188 such as masculinity in an environment of war (Gates, 2005), often through narrative
189 strategies such as the father-son relationship, and acts of violence as part of the coming of age
190 ritual, through which masculinity is able to reproduce itself without the presence of women.
191 The narrative of masculinist films, particularly combat and gangster genres, offer
192 opportunities for anxieties about masculinity to be resolved. This is achieved through
193 performances of strength and virility (Aitken and Lukinbeal, 1998) which work to assuage
194 fears of instability and weakness. Whilst these genres and their masculinist archetypes are
195 fluid, adapting in different social and political contexts, they have largely retained their
196 whiteness over time. Therefore, whilst *Days of Glory* (2006) and *Outside the Law* (2010)
197 reproduce, and crucially mimic, hegemonic gender norms in their narratives, they work to
198 reveal the gendered white normativity of Hollywood masculinities.

199 Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) recognised the need to consider hegemonic
200 masculinity's continual state of change, and of particular interest in this article, the ways in
201 which subordinated or marginalised masculinities can 'influence and challenge dominant
202 forms' (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). In light of this critique, scholars have responded
203 in conceptualising 'hybrid masculinities' (Arxer, 2011; Bridges, 2014; Bridges and Pascoe,

204   2014), highlighting the gendered and sexualized power dynamics between men, through

205   which hegemonic masculinities are transformed, and ultimately empowered, through the

206   'selective incorporation' of elements from subordinated and marginalised masculinities, as

207   well as perceived feminine (Messerschmidt, 2010) and non-white (Hughey, 2012) identity

208   traits. Scholars have largely observed these patterns amongst mostly heterosexual, middle-

209   class white men, in which their privilege allows them to be 'flexible' with their identities

210   (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). For example, Bridges (2014) addresses how heterosexual men

211   defined aspects of their identities as 'gay', in order to distance themselves from the less

212   desirable aspects of masculinity, whilst retaining 'a "masculine" distance from

213   homosexuality' (Bridges, 2014: 59). The hybrid masculinities scholarship thus far, therefore

214   argues that hegemonic masculinities largely perpetuate and reproduce gender inequality

215   (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014), actually increasing domination over others through the

216   appropriation of alternative masculinities (Arxer, 2011).

217   Through readings of the films *Days of Glory* (2006) and *Outside the Law* (2010), this

218   article reveals the possibilities for cultural *re-*appropriation, in which historically

219   marginalised men and masculinities draw upon and adapt traits and codes associated with

220   hegemonic masculinities. Coles (2009) similarly emphasises the need to examine the

221   contestations between men, paying attention to the ways in which subordinated men find

222   ways to subvert and challenge their marginalised position in drawing on, and assuming,

223   dominance. In contributing to this emerging trend of masculinities scholarship, Maghrebi-

224   French masculinities are shown to be articulated and constituted through discourses of race,

225   in colonial spaces, and in relation to hegemonic white masculinities, exemplified

226   cinematically by Hollywood male genre types, namely the gangster and the soldier.

227   Drawing on the notion of the 'hybrid' in relation to masculinities in Maghrebi-French

228   films demands a consideration of the postcolonial. Issues of mimicry, syncretism and

229   (re)appropriation occupy central tensions at the heart of the films examined in this article. As

230   a key concept in postcolonial studies, the notion of hybridity is generally used to describe the

231   'mixing' of people and cultures, which for Bhabha (1984) resists fixity and signals to the

232   fluidity of identity, culture and nation, producing subjectivities that are 'neither one nor the

233   other', but 'something new' and 'in-between'. Edward Said (1994) similarly argues that in

234   resisting forms of cultural imperialism, the decolonising writer 're-experiences, adopts, re-

235   uses and re-lives' in order to both self-assert and challenge the myth of purity. In the case of

236   Maghrebi-French cinema, using, exploring and playing with genre results in the potential

237   deterritorialisation of French identity, avoiding definitive categorisation and resisting the

238 demands of assimilation, using the language of the powerful (in this case film genre) to have

239 their voices heard.

240   Furthermore, as its critics have noted (Brah and Coombes, 2000), the concept of

241 hybrid formations between cultures often relies on the perceived pre-existence of two distinct

242 and therefore 'essentialised' cultures, hybridised only upon encounter with one another. It is

243 therefore crucial that any engagement with it must be considered in its particular

244 environment, in which the circumstances of its cultural formation, and its effects, are

245 specifically addressed. In their mimicry of Hollywood gangster and combat masculinities,

246 Bouchareb's films attest to the possibility of a strategic mimicry of popular masculinistic film

247 genre which, in Bhabha's (1984: 127) words, represent the potential of both 'resemblance

248 and menace'. This is to say that the masculinities in the films can be seen as the same, 'but

249 not quite', which necessitates asking whether they succeed in disrupting and perhaps

250 uncovering colonial and/or hegemonic structures, or whether they invert them, in a

251 resemblance that is suggestive of the colonised man internalising his colonial inferiority.

252 Bouchareb's films can be seen as a menacing intervention, posing a threat to the almost

253 exclusively white masculinist identity of popular gangster and combat cinema and the

254 hegemonic masculinities they imaginatively shape.

255

256 ### *Outside the Law's* (2010) Anti-Colonialist Gangster

257

258   Violence is a cleansing force. It frees the native from his inferiority complex and from his despair

259   and inaction; it makes him fearless and restores his self-respect

260   (Fanon, 1961: 94).

261

262 Both the gangster and the anti-colonialist fighter are defined by their positions within

263 contested social environments, where criminal activity and violence are crucial to the pursuit

264 of transgressive and empowering versions of masculinity (Fanon, 1961; Gardaphé, 2006). As

265 a genre centred on men, the gangster film predictably relegates women, and negotiates

266 masculinity almost exclusively between men in an environment of 'masculine testing'

267 (Krutnik, 2006). It is important to note that the Hollywood gangster genre here differs from

268 'gangsta' or 'hood' films (Masood, 1996), through which stories are told specifically of the

269 African-American 'urban' experience. The Hollywood gangster film on the other hand,

270 particularly associated with Italian-American 'mafia' (see Gardaphé, 2006), typically focuses

271 on a somewhat tragic outlaw with whom audiences are encouraged to identify, and

272 characterised narratively by the gangster's gradual rise and sharp fall in his transgressive

273 pursuit of wealth and status, and in his conflict with authority. Whilst its archetypal traits

274 have adapted over time, and in different social and political contexts, these narrative

275 conventions remain popular, as do the genre's classical iconographic features, such as the use

276 of very dark colours and low-level lighting in the mise-en-scene, as well as its use of urban

277 settings, and props such as formal clothing, money and cars (Gardaphé, 2006; Krutnik, 2006).

278 Key to the constitution of masculinity in *Outside the Law* (2010) is the specific reframing and

279 resignification of racialised anti-colonial masculinities through the lens of popular American

280 gangster genre. For the three Algerian brothers in the film, Abdelkader the intellectual leader

281 of the National Liberation Front (FLN), Said the pimp and boxing promoter, and Messaoud

282 the military commander turned anti-colonialist fighter, their different roles within the film

283 demonstrate the malleability of postcolonial masculinity when re-framed through popular

284 gangster genre. Focusing specifically on Messaoud Souni, I will argue that the film works to

285 re-signify the political justifications for anti-colonialist violence, and therefore imaginatively

286 reshape postcolonial masculinity.

287   Prior to becoming an FLN 'gangster', Messaoud serves as a soldier in the French

288 Army in its war to retain Indochina, rising to the rank of Commander. A humiliating defeat

289 for the French, Vietnamese independence in 1954 signalled the beginning of the end for the

290 French Empire (Stora, 2004) and, in the film, forces Messaoud to return to his family, not in

291 Algeria but to their new home in the Nanterre bidonville (shantytown), just outside Paris,

292 France. Injured and captured by the Viet Minh, Messaoud is reunited with his mother and

293 brothers, arriving at the family home in his military uniform and brandishing a severe wound

294 where his left eye once was. His younger brother Said is impressed by his uniform, medals

295 and the phallic insignia, as he casually shrugs off 'just the war', maintaining a tough persona

296 in public. His mother, feeling insecure and unprotected by her youngest son, the 'bandit' Said

297 from whom she refuses to accept money, his presence back in her life re-fortifies the family

298 unit. Inside the 'temporary' hut the family call home, Messaoud and his mother are framed

299 sitting at the table in a static shot, in which the camera does not move around or cut away,

300 remaining continuously on mother and son, reflecting the apparent stability and security

301 brought to the domestic space by Messaoud. She gently instructs him to fulfil his role as a

302 father and husband, and to retain the expected gender norms regardless of the social

303 disruption and displacement brought by war and exile. In addition to commenting on the

304 masculine roles being fashioned out for the Algerian man, it is also important to highlight, in

305 line with Donadey's (2016) critique of the film, in that instead of representing the many

306 Algerian women who fought and participated in the War of Independence (see Vince, 2015),

307 the mother is reduced to the upholder of traditions, and enforcer of fixed gender roles.

308   However, despite his mother's efforts to preserve the traditional family unit, and thus

309 maintain Messaoud's normative position as provider and protector, their geographical and

310 cultural displacement heightened by the violent conflict with the French threatens this

311 particular route to securing his masculine identity. MacMaster (2012: 36) highlights this

312 'crisis for Algerian male virility', caused by the 'temporary' destabilisation of traditional

313 gender roles brought on by the scale and ferocity of the violence. These challenges do not

314 prevent Messaoud from marrying Zohra, nor do they prevent him becoming a father, as

315 Zohra bears him a son shortly after their marriage. His commitment to the FLN and his other

316 brother Abdelkader, who leads the fight in France, does however impede on his abilities to

317 maintain a relationship with his wife and new born son. The first intrusion of the violence of

318 the war can be seen at their wedding, in which the police raid the bidonville, prompting an

319 angry outburst from Messaoud. Most telling with regards to the tension between family and

320 masculine virility however, is Abdelkader's rallying of male support for his cause after the

321 police attack them. He appeals directly to the men of the bidonville, deliberately tapping into

322 their anxieties about being able to 'defend their women and children' from the French. He

323 succeeds, and the following day scores of men sign up to the FLN pledging to pay the

324 revolutionary tax and to join the fight.

325   Fighting is not simply a way of defending and restoring the conservative values of the

326 family, and the masculine role of protector that is dependent on its stability, but for Fanon

327 (1961) it is fundamental to recovering the male identity diminished by colonialism, and

328 battered in the protracted battle against it. Violent resistance is therefore inevitable, and it

329 does not simply emerge from a rational desire for nationhood, but from the male body itself

330 and 'the tonicity of the muscles' (Seshadri-Crooks, 2002: 91). In order to maintain focus on

331 this Fanon-inspired dilemma Messaoud's brother Abdelkader emotionlessly dictates to him

332 that there is no room for family in this war, contradicting his earlier rallying cry to the fragile

333 virility of impoverished Algerian men.

334   As a gangster genre film, or as a film that heavily draws on its classic style,

335 iconography and conventions, this tension for Messaoud between family and the fight is

336 important for the 'identity-challenging loss' (Gardaphé, 2006) he suffers. In one of the

337 earliest lines from the ultimate cinema gangster, Don Vito Corleone, in *The Godfather* (1972)

338 declares: 'A man who doesn't spend time with his family can never be a real man'. This

339 sense of loss, specifically emasculation or as Fanon (1961) more radically interprets it,

340 'castration', is recognised as a momentum that propels both the anti-colonialist's

341 transformation from 'victim to sheer force of power' (Seshadri-Crooks, 2002), and the

342 gangsters strive for power and control over their lives. Messaoud's identity-challenging loss

343 is felt indirectly. It is caused primarily by the constraints and pressures put on him by the

344 FLN itself, particularly its leader, his brother Abdelkader. Therefore, *Outside the Law's*

345 (2010) account of emasculation, and reinvented anti-colonial masculinity, paints a picture in

346 which men are prevented from fulfilling normative masculine roles in society, because of an

347 honour-bound duty to their brothers-in-arms. This 'temporary' barrier to his virile role as

348 masculine protector, must be, according to Fanonian conceptions of the 'new Algerian man',

349 and the conventions of the gangster genre, overcome at all costs by Messaoud.

350   The gendered concerns that characterise Messaoud situate him, and *Outside the Law*

351 (2010) more generally, within a broader cultural paradigm of masculinities, working to

352 disavow persistent sexual anxieties that are pronounced in colonial Algeria, and one that

353 finds parallels in the real-world context of the contemporary banlieue described earlier. What

354 Fanon (1961) describes as the 'muscular tension' fostered by the 'native man's' emasculation

355 and masculinised humiliation, though caused directly in this case by his own comrades, must

356 be 'released' via 'expressive action' (Seshadri-Crooks, 2002). To resist this call to arms

357 would result in further 'cowardice and dishonour' (Nagel, 1998). It is precisely cowardice

358 and dishonour that Messaoud is being asked to root out of the Algerian community, as he

359 directs his violence not only towards the French, but also towards those Algerian men who

360 are not fully committed to the cause of Independence. The 'libidinal core' of anti-colonial

361 violence and resistance thus breaks down the conventional codes of morality, legitimated by

362 the assault of colonialism on the 'gendered norms of the body' (Seshadri-Crooks, 2002).

363 Returning to Messaoud then, if, as Don Corleone suggests, he 'can't be a real man' because

364 he 'doesn't spend time with his family', how is he to remedy this deficiency? As an anti-

365 colonialist Algerian 'gangster' characterised by his 'humble origins and stylish dress',

366 wielding his power with 'sexuality and guns', and situated in a 'racially charged context'

367 (Gardaphé, 2006), Messaoud, in the second half of the film, appears in scenes characterised

368 by hyper-masculine and spectacular displays of violence to the point of excess.

369   Messaoud's public displays of violence are not only motivated by a libidinal charge to

370 assuage internal angst about his male identity, but also by a basic loyalty to his brother

371 Abdelkader, by desires to avenge the colonialist violence done to his family, and perhaps in

372 his most important departure from the classic gangster, to achieve independence for his

373 country and therefore secure the future of his young son. The saturation of his sequences of

374 gun fights with gangster iconography then, in this particular postcolonial context of the

375 Algerian War of Independence, is inseparable from the power dynamics of the relationship

376 between coloniser and colonised. Crucially in this case, the French police in *Outside the Law*

377 (2010) are not typical American cops, but are specifically empowered by the right-wing-

378 influenced and government-sanctioned terrorist organisation The Red Hand, who are charged

379 with eliminating and terrorising the FLN in Paris.

380   It is the combination of these multiple justifications that drags Messaoud into a spiral

381 of violence and leads him to confess his guilt to his mother, as described at the beginning of

382 this article. The family matriarch serves solely to support her sons, and in the sequence in

383 which her eldest son Messaoud confesses to her, she is a silent and forgiving repository used

384 to justify his violent actions. This confession scene fills with symbolic meaning his exposure

385 and framing in the spectacular gun fights. Stylistically, the 'light' in which Messaoud was

386 shrouded in the earlier scenes when still wearing his military uniform contrasts with the

387 'dark' sequences of gangster violence that follow.

388   Nowhere is his performance more excessive than in the final shootout of the film.

389 After smuggling automatic weapons into France from West Germany, the police are informed

390 of the FLN's location and move to ambush Messaoud and the other FLN fighters.

391 Overwhelmed by their numbers and firepower, many of the FLN fighters are killed or forced

392 to retreat, leaving Messaoud to stand up to the police largely by himself with nothing but a

393 handgun. Standing in between two period Simca cars pockmarked by bullet holes, framed

394 again in the dark of night, yet faintly illuminated by the glow of car headlights, Messaoud

395 looks stylishly like a Hollywood gangster, and typically strong and brave, traits associated

396 with both gangster and anti-colonial masculinities. Remaining true to the gangster narrative

397 proves to be Messaoud's downfall, since he is shot on retreating with Abdelkader and dies in

398 the car of his brother Said who has come to their rescue, uttering 'tell Mother, my wife and

399 my son. Tell them to forgive me'.

400   Messaoud's death however, unlike a gangster's death which typically results from his

401 self-indulgent life-style and individualistic rise to power, is an act of selfless sacrifice to

402 protect his brother, and as he himself insists on several occasions, a Free Algeria for his only

403 son. We can therefore locate *Outside the Law's* (2010) representation of violence, through the

404 particular character of Messaoud, at the nexus of anti-colonialism and Algerian nationalism,

405 and their relation to a masculinistic identity-formation that is inspired by the American

406 gangster genre. Whilst such a framing of violence in the film works to contextualise and

407 empower the beur youth of the contemporary French banlieues, it further functions to situate

408 both that contemporary unrest and French-Algerian colonial history within a popular genre

409 that has historically reflected anxieties about, and transformations of, masculinities

410 (Gardaphé, 2006). The film mimics traits of the American gangster film in ways that

411 transform Messaoud, deflecting his violent trajectory in relation to male identities informed

412 by the American gangster genre, and through which it is possible to distinguish the different

413 political justifications for and complexities of anti-colonialist violence. Therefore, the film's

414 play on genre is suggestive of the possibilities of a different kind of 'hybrid masculinity' that

415 speaks back to power. Appropriating the most dominant and enduring cultural traits of

416 American gangster cinema, and incorporating elements of Fanon's political thinking that

417 empower marginalised men, Bouchareb's *Outside the Law* (2010) shines a light on neglected

418 colonial histories.

419

420 ### *Days of Glory's* (2006) Infantilised Colonial Soldier

421

422   The soldier hero has proved to be one of the most durable and powerful forms of idealised

423   masculinity within Western cultural traditions since the time of the Ancient Greeks

424   (Dawson, 1994: 1).

425

426 If, in *Outside the Law* (2010), Messaoud's overbearing masculinity, supported by his anti-

427 colonialist stance and gangster framing, is never really put into question, in *Days of Glory*

428 (2006), Said's subdued masculinity is constantly threatened and so much derided that he must

429 set out to prove his identity as a man from the very start. For Jamel Debbouze's small and

430 boyish character, the army and the battlefield function as spaces of transition for his

431 masculinity, a process of initiation in which he is hoping to climb the social ladder and grow

432 from being in Said's words, a boy of 'total poverty' in Algeria, to becoming a man of status

433 in France. For the other characters in the film, these spaces present different opportunities

434 and challenges for masculine identity as aspiring colonel, Abdelkader, views the Army not

435 just as a chance to prove himself worthy as a Frenchmen, but rather naively as a vehicle for

436 racial equality amongst men, whilst tough marksman, Messaoud, finds love with a white

437 French woman and envisions France as a place he can call home. Therefore, the combat

438 genre conventions serve different roles for different characters in the film, and take on new

439 meaning in this specifically (post)colonial milieu. The transformative possibilities of the

440 Army and the battlefield as 'rite of passage' however, are not realised for Said, and his

441 journey is largely one of failure of passage, of not-yet becoming a man. Owing to his failed

13

442 transformation, Said occupies an ambiguous role in the film's narrative, situated between the
443 colonial discourses on the feminised and infantilised Algerian, often manifesting in his
444 relationship with his pied-noir Sergeant, and the anti-militaristic embodiment of the innocent
445 and boyish soldier of World War Two.

446   Academic research on soldier masculinities (Dawson, 1994; Eberwein, 2007; Donald
447 and McDonald, 2011) has suggested that war texts of different kinds tend to represent the
448 same conventionally 'manly and unmanly behaviours', codes and values that serve to develop
449 and influence masculinities. For Dawson (1994), for example, soldier 'heroes' take shape
450 imaginatively through what he refers to as 'adventures' of war, in which 'military virtues'
451 such as aggression, strength, courage and endurance are pictured as easily attainable. For
452 centuries, young men fascinated by war have been consuming and sharing stories and images
453 of war, 'through which their own masculinity could be imaginatively secured' (Dawson,
454 1994: 4). Traditional gendered types have been socially constructed, not just in films, and
455 largely produced to encourage emulation. They have been set against unconventional
456 gendered types, which must be avoided, and contrast strongly with the 'ideal' types. In times
457 of war, the Army serves as an 'initiation rite' (Mahdi et al, 1987), through which young men
458 can learn and become 'manly' or fail to learn and remain 'unmanly' (Donald and McDonald,
459 2011), resulting in a 'failed' masculinity, subsequently equated with femininity.

460   However, the systems of gendering that are at stake in *Days of Glory* (2006) and
461 *Outside the Law* (2010) are inflected by racialised regimes of power. Situated in its specific
462 colonial context, and released in France at a time of perceived crisis for beur masculinities,
463 *Days of Glory* (2006) opens up the possibility of interrogating more closely the constitution
464 of beur and Maghrebi-French masculinities at the crossroads of colonialism and World War
465 Two, and in relation to hegemonic masculinities, in this case represented through Said's
466 father-son relationship with his white pied-noir Sergeant. This has implications for the
467 conceptualisation of hybrid masculinities, as the cinematic synthesis of gendered colonial
468 discourses and popular combat genre in *Days of Glory* (2006) reframes emasculated and
469 victimised men, endowing the colonial soldier (see Smith, 2004; Maghraoui, 2014) with the
470 power to resist and eradicate colonial dependency.

471   The opening scene of *Days of Glory* (2006) sets up the narrative as one of masculine
472 opportunity, as the local caïd walks through Said's small Algerian hometown encouraging the
473 men to reach out to France and enlist in the Free French Army to 'liberate her'. The Army,
474 and the War, are opportunities for the boys to become men, the Saviours of a Mother in
475 distress: France. Some scholars have noted the film's representation of the soldiers voluntary

476 enlisting, as opposed to 'conscription' (Hargreaves, 2007; Coly, 2008; Higbee, 2013),

477 criticising the film for its omission of 'the forced and often violent mobilisation of colonial

478 African troops' (Coly, 2008: 98). This forced and violent conscription, however, does not

479 have to conceal the equally interesting phenomenon of voluntary enlisting, that Bouchareb

480 chose to highlight in *Days of Glory* (2006) but which critics have been quite reticent to

481 explore so far. By showing the colonial soldiers who enlisted and, more specifically, by

482 focusing on a handful of personal stories of men who 'wanted' to fight for France,

483 Bouchareb's narrative of the Algerian soldier conscientiously eschews the stereotype of the

484 emasculated victim.

485   Responding to the call-to-arms comes Said, framed solitarily in a darkened alleyway

486 separate from the long line of eager men that follow the caïd. Demonstrating his isolation

487 from the male group, he walks slowly without any real conviction towards the off-screen

488 group of men who can be heard in the distance, when he is overtaken by a young and eager

489 boy rushing keenly to join the commotion. Here, already, there is a question asked not just

490 about his masculinity and his 'manliness', which might have been expressed through a macho

491 performance of brave and enthusiastic enlistment, but of his maturity and adulthood as the

492 young boy sweeps past him. This sense of infantilisation is further emphasised as his mother

493 calls him back, pleading with him not to go to war, concerned that he will not return safely to

494 her. His response, 'don't worry about me, mother. I can manage', signals his conscious desire

495 to 'become a man' by going to war, to prove not just his manliness but his successful

496 transition to adulthood, to independence from his mother as a man of status in France. This

497 introduction to the character sets up the expectation that Said is going to struggle in the

498 theatre of war, and resonates with many narratives that audiences are accustomed to in

499 Western and Hollywood cinemas about the plight of young, boyish and untrained men being

500 sent off to die on the battlefields of Europe. However, the tragic futility of young men

501 fighting wars abroad takes on different meanings here, as the transition from childhood to

502 adulthood is inflected by French colonialism, the ensuing emasculation of the Algerian man,

503 and his determination to reclaim and reassert his independent masculinity.

504   The first stage of Said's transition from mummy's boy to soldier man is a test of his

505 'manliness' at a training camp in Italy, in which the film's ensemble cast is first brought

506 together. Whilst the groups' marksman, Messaoud, demonstrates his phallic strength with the

507 expert use of a rifle, Said makes a disastrous attempt to take the grenade hanging from his

508 shirt as instructed by his Sergeant, Martinez, since he detonates it in the process. As Martinez

509 throws the grenade away at a safe distance before it explodes, then hits Said in the groin with

15

the butt of his gun, Said retains a naïve and boyish look on his face. His failure to simply handle a small grenade is juxtaposed with the calm and controlled handling of the huge weapon fired by Messaoud, who passes the test of his soldier masculinity with flying colours, whilst Said fails miserably. Nonetheless, the 'test of masculine endurance' (Donald and MacDonald, 2011) in general, will occur not in training but on their first battle. Taking cover from machine-gun fire, the platoon led by pied-noir Sergeant Martinez are pinned down behind a rock. After exchanging a look with his Sergeant, Said takes the grenade, the weapon that threatened his masculinity in training, bites the pin out and successfully kills the German machine-gunner, enabling the men to progress and win the battle. Under the watchful eye of his new father-figure Martinez, Said begins to overcome that particular threat to his soldier masculinity: the inability to wield a weapon. His demonstration of masculine endurance leads him to become Martinez's man-servant, or 'ordonnance'. I will come back later to the importance of this relationship, between colonised man Said and pied-noir Sergeant Martinez, to explain how Said constructs or de-constructs his masculinity vis-à-vis Martinez.

The soldiers' reward for their victory in Italy is to 'go home', to France. In Provence, the men celebrate with local people, and Said ends up boasting of his part in their victorious battle to a young White French woman. The brief conversation of Said and the French woman is framed in a series of reverse high and low angle shots that position the French woman above Said, perched on the back of a truck. Whilst the high-angle shot frames Said beneath the white woman, emphasising his relatively small size and accentuating the power relations between the two of them, Said is heard to brag about his heroic killing of the machine-gunning Germans. As he goes on telling her, 'I free a country, it's my country', she grabs his hand, looks into his eyes with a smile on her face, and responds flirtatiously, 'your country's all you like?'. However, he completely misses the sexual innuendo, and replies formally, 'Inch'Allah, we'll beat Germany. Thank you very much'. As he takes leave of her, she looks, quite understandably, disappointed and even rejected. This mise-en-scène of Said reveals that power relations and racialised hierarchies are constructed along axes of gender and sexuality (see Sinha, 1995; and Puar, 2007). In combat films, it is expected that men, particularly when liberating a place or coming 'home', will be seen chasing women. Said's awkward exchange with the woman, by uncovering the racial power dynamics at play, contradicts orientalist discourses on Arab and Muslim masculinities which are represented as sexually deviant and preying on white women (see Shaheen, 2001). The 'failed' encounter does, however, pose a further threat to Said's dream of soldier hero, with all his virility,

543 strength and heterosexuality. The issue is not that he *cannot* win a woman, but that he lacks

544 the *desire* to do so.

545   This brings me back to the way in which Said's masculinity is constructed and de-

546 constructed, not by his interactions with women, but rather by his relationship with Sergeant

547 Martinez. Sedgwick's (1985) influential work on what she calls 'homosocial desire' posits

548 that men develop supportive bonds with one another that reinforce their masculinity, through

549 their shared desire for a woman. Since there is no such woman between them, their close

550 relationship earns Said the nickname of Aicha from his peers, as they mock him for being the

551 Sergeant's pet. As with the 'Motherland' herself, Said could be said to represent the

552 feminised object in their relationship.

553   Despite the taunts, Said remains close to Martinez. Still, as his earlier interaction with

554 the French woman anticipates, Said's relationship with his pied-noir superior is also far from

555 being placed on equal terms, and develops to reveal feelings of fear and revulsion. It becomes

556 clear that the masculinity of White settler (or 'pied noir') Martinez is involved in and

557 dependent on the subordination of other men (see Sinha, 1995), since it is built on a

558 differentiation from the Arab man. This clear dichotomy between White and Arab is put into

559 question as Said discovers a photograph of Martinez' Arab mother in the Sergeant's shirt

560 pocket. Martinez brands him as 'scum', which resonates with the rhetoric that Interior

561 Minister Sarkozy used for the 2005 riots. Martinez is not only made vulnerable by this

562 racialised 'dirtiness', but also by an impingement on his masculinity, which materialises itself

563 as Said tries to forge a homosocial bond through their Arab mothers. In forcing Martinez to

564 confront his 'métissage', he is violently rejected by him, and told he will be killed should his

565 Arab mother be mentioned again. Said has not only failed, according to the norms of genre,

566 in his encounter with a French woman, but also failed in creating a successful homosocial

567 bond through which he could have made his masculinity more secure.

568   Martinez's reaction to anxieties inherent to his White settler masculinity may also be

569 an ominous sign of his decline. *Days of Glory* (2006) is haunted by the spectre of the

570 Algerian War of Independence, following which hundreds of thousands of pied-noirs left

571 Algeria for France (see Eldridge, 2010). Whilst there is not the scope in this article to fully

572 explore pied-noir masculinities, it is clear that Martinez holds some importance in Said's

573 personal battle for independence. This is demonstrated as the regiment is later ambushed in

574 The Vosges mountains in North-East France, with Sergeant Martinez being critically injured

575 in the attack, and carried over to his last battlefield by the other men. Said visits him on his

576 deathbed in Alsace where the regiment await reinforcements, and declares solemnly: 'I hope

577 you die'. After this catharsis, and having learnt from their previous dispute when Martinez

578 rejected Said's attempt at connecting through their shared ethnic heritage, it is possible for

579 Said to break free from his master, and take his place alongside his brothers-in-arms in the

580 final spectacle of the film. During his last battle, he successfully wields weaponry and fights

581 like his comrades. In an expressive montage, he is pictured clutching and aiming his gun like

582 the other men, his phallic weaponry attesting to his manliness in the spectacle of war.

583   At the very end, however, Said, concerned with Sergeant Martinez' welfare, and

584 fearing for his own life, dodges bullets and bombs to reach the room where Martinez lies

585 dying. Having rushed to his bedside while the firefight with the German Army is still going

586 on, he wilfully spends his final moments alongside his Sergeant. In this futile bid to rescue

587 Martinez and carry him outside the house, they are both killed by a rocket-launcher fired at

588 close-range, and the pair is left lying side-by-side, their hands almost touching. Said's

589 returning to his racist Sergeant undoes the work he has accomplished to prove his worth on

590 this last battlefield, and make his masculinity comply with what is expected from him in a

591 combat genre film. Still, on the plus side, he shows a tenderness towards another man, which

592 is permitted in such homosocial arrangements (Sedgwick, 1985), and it is this homosocial

593 affection that effectively binds pied-noir and Algerian masculinities. At that point in history,

594 the infantilised Algerian man, represented by Said, fails to free himself from his reliance on

595 his master.

596   Bouchareb's *Days of Glory* (2006) appropriates the masculine tropes of the combat

597 film genre in order to comment upon the ways in which colonialism is gendered. While the

598 colonising master ends up developing a dependency on his freed slave, the colonised man

599 seems to remain momentarily unable to disavow threats to his masculinity and sexuality, and

600 to free himself completely. Said's is not only a story about 'failed' masculinity. It is a

601 complex narrative representing the 'unmanly' man who will succeed in leading, but falls

602 short of being completely independent or, in other words, fails in 'not leaving behind' the

603 colonising master. Said's masculinity is distinct from the masculinities present in

604 conventional combat films, and is tied up to its (post)colonial context. From the viewpoint of

605 the White coloniser, the codes and values emerging from this type of narrative are to be

606 avoided rather than emulated (Donald and MacDonald, 2011). Said's masculinity has not yet

607 broken its chains, but the White settler has now become dependent on its ultimate freedom

608 for the survival of his own.

609

Conclusion

Decolonization is quite simply the replacing of a certain 'species' of men by another 'species' of men (Fanon, 1961: 35).

This article has argued that subordinated Maghrebi-French men, situated in-between historical colonial environments and contemporary racialised contexts, are transformed by incorporating traits of dominant and hegemonic masculinities. It has been argued that in drawing on Hollywood gangster and combat genres, which have since their inception been repositories for post-war angst about the 'crisis of masculinity', the men of the films attempt to endow themselves with power and resist victimisation. Therefore, Bouchareb's films, *Days of Glory* (2006) and *Outside the Law* (2010) are able to foreground the place of Maghrebi-French men in France and beyond by mimicking more popular versions of masculinity. By paying attention to the potentially productive and transgressive ways in which representations of racialised masculinities can be empowered through the re-appropriation and subversion of typically-masculine film genres, I contribute to a more expansive understanding of 'hybrid masculinities' (Bridges and Pascoe, 2014), the geographies of which are revealed to be imaginatively produced and contested. In combining recent scholarship on masculinities (Arxer, 2011; Bridges, 2014; Bridges and Pascoe, 2014; Gorman-Murray and Hopkins, 2014) with geographies of film (Aitken and Lukinbeal, 1998; Lukinbeal, 2004) and postcolonialism (Bhabha, 1984; Said, 1994), this article demonstrates how paradigms of gender and race are shaped, exposed and challenged in place, and marginalised identities cinematically constructed in multifaceted cultural exchanges through shared, though unequal, historical experiences.

Specifically, Messaoud's masculinism in *Outside the Law* (2010) illustrates how an anti-colonialism concerned with the rehabilitation of Algerian masculinity can be given new life in merging with American gangster film and pursuing some transgressive versions of masculinity. Said's masculine identity in *Days of Glory* (2006) is situated within tales of World War Two and Hollywood combat films, spaces of transition where boys become men. These transitional spaces are used to foreground how popular narratives of war actually show the different ways in which colonialism is gendered. *Days of Glory* (2006) deploys the common 'rite of passage' trope of the combat film, transforming it into a postcolonial 'rite of passage' for the eradication of colonial dependency and the birth of a better 'species' of men.

Largely departing from the standard depiction of the disempowered (and victimised) men of the banlieue, Bouchareb's *Days of Glory* (2006) and *Outside the Law* (2010) cloak their Muslim men in the white dress of Hollywood genre types, with meaningful differences linked to the colonial contexts in which they are framed. Tarr (2005) has suggested that beur cinema, when making beur men 'more visible', has always avoided the construction of masculinities that could be perceived as threatening by predominantly White audiences. Bouchareb's mainstream movies continue to 'tread carefully' in this sense, the masculinistic identity-formation of his male Algerian characters infusing the marginalised and emasculated Algerian man with the virility and strength traditionally associated with the White hegemonic men of gangs and armies. By reframing his male characters in recognisable ways however, Bouchareb's 'popular' cinema remains disruptive and subversive, and the postcolonial masculinities he creates move closer to the centre, displacing the White man's monopoly on history and hegemonic masculinities (Connell, 1995; Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). Masculinities are produced in relation to one another, through cultural and cinematic negotiations of simultaneously conflicting and interrelated paradigms of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Bridges and Pascoe, 2014). This article has further illustrated that the intercultural 'merging' or 'fusion' that makes these new masculinities possible on the big screen contributes to conceptions of hegemonic yet hybrid masculinities – to the conception, in short, of a freer species of men.

References

Aitken, Stuart., and Lukinbeal, Chris. (1997) "Disassociated masculinities and geographies of the road", in Cohan, S., and Hark, I. R. (eds) *The Road Movie Book*. London: Routledge.

Aitken, Stuart., and Lukinbeal, Chris. (1998) "Of Heroes, Fools and Fisher Kings: Cinematic Representations of Street Myths and Hysterical Males in the Films of Terry Gilliam", in Fyfe, Nicholas. (ed) *Images of the Streets: Planning, Identity, and Control in Public Space*. New York: Routledge.

Arxer, Steven. (2011) "Hybrid masculine power: Reconceptualizing the relationship between homosociality and hegemonic masculinity". *Humanity & Society*, 35, 4: 390-422.

Ashcroft, Bill., Griffiths, Gareth., and Tiffin, Helen., (2002) *The empire writes back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures*. London: Routledge (2nd ed).

Beugnet, Martine. (2007) *Cinema and sensation: French film and the art of transgression*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Bhabha, Homi. (1984) "Of mimicry and man: The ambivalence of colonial discourse". *October*, 28: 125-133.

Brah, Avtar. and Coombes, Annie. (eds) (2000) *Hybridity and its discontents: Politics, science, culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bridges, Tristan. (2014). "A very 'gay' straight? Hybrid masculinities, sexual aesthetics, and the changing relationship between masculinity and homophobia". *Gender & Society*, 28, 1: 58-82.

Bridges, Tristan. and Pascoe, C.J. (2014) "Hybrid masculinities: New directions in the sociology of men and masculinities". *Sociology Compass*, 8, 3: 246-258.

Buchsbaum, Jonathan. (2017) *Exception Taken: How France Has Defied Hollywood's New World Order*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Cole, Joshua. (2010) "Massacres and their historians: recent histories of State Violence in France and Algeria in the Twentieth Century", *French Politics and Society*, 28, 1: 106-126.

Coles, Tony. (2009) "Negotiating the field of masculinity: The production and reproduction of multiple dominant masculinities". *Men and masculinities*, 12, 1: 30-44.

Coly, Ayo. (2008) "Memory, History, Forgetting: a review of Rachid Bouchareb's Indigenes (2006)", *Transition*, 98: 150-155.

Connell, Raewyn.W. (1995) *Masculinities*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Connell, Raewyn.W. and Messerschmidt, James.W. (2005) "Hegemonic masculinity: rethinking the concept". *Gender & society*, 19, 6: 829-859.

Dawson, Graham. (1994) *Soldier heroes: British adventure, empire and the imagining of masculinities*. Oxon: Routledge.

Donadey, Anne. (2016) "Gender, genre and intertextuality in Rachid Bouchareb's Hors la loi". *Studies in French cinema*, 16, 1: 48-60.

Donald, Ralph., and MacDonald, Karen. (2011) *Reel men at war: masculinity and the American war film*. Maryland: Scarecrow Press.

Eberwein, Robert. (2007). *Armed Forces: Masculinity and Sexuality in the American War Film*. New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press.

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

730

731 Fanon, Frantz. (1961)[2001] *The Wretched of the Earth.* Transl, Farrington, C. London:
732 Penguin

733

734 Gardaphé, Fred. L. (2006) *From wiseguys to wise men: The gangster and Italian American*
735 *masculinities*. London: Routledge.

736

737 Gibson, James. W. (1994). *Warrior dreams: Violence and manhood in post-Vietnam*
738 *America*. New York: Hill and Wang.

739

740 Gorman-Murray, Andrew. and Hopkins, Peter. (eds) (2014) *Masculinities and Place*. Oxon:
741 Routledge.

742

743 Hargreaves, Alec. G. (2007) "Indigènes: a sign of the times". *Research in African*
744 *Literatures*, 38, 4: 204-216.

745

746 Higbee, Will. (2013) *Post-beur cinema: North African émigré and Maghrebi-French*
747 *filmmaking in France since 2000*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

748

749 Hörschelmann, Kathrin. and van Hoven, Bettina. (eds) (2005) *Spaces of masculinities*. Oxon:
750 Routledge.

751

752 Hughey, Matthew. W. (2012) "Black Guys and White Guise: The Discursive Construction of
753 White Masculinity". *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 41, 1: 95-124.

754

755 Hussey, Andrew. (2014) *The French Intifada: the long war between France and its Arabs*.
756 London: Granta.

757

758 Kimmel, Michael. (1996) *Manhood in America: A cultural history*. Oxford: Oxford
759 University Press.

760

761 Krutnik, Frank. (2006) *In a Lonely Street: Film Noir, Genre, Masculinity*. London and New
762 York: Routledge.

763

764 Lukinbeal, Chris. (2004) "The map that precedes the territory: An introduction to essays in
765 cinematic geography". *GeoJournal*, 59, 4: 247-251.

766

767 MacMaster, Neil. (2012). *Burning the Veil: The Algerian War and the 'Emancipation' of*
768 *Muslim Women, 1954–62*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

769

770 Maghraoui, Driss. (2014) "The goumiers in the Second World War: history and colonial
771 representation". *The Journal of North African Studies*, 19, 4: 571-586.

772

773 Mahdi, Louise. C., Foster, Steven., and Little, Meredith. (eds) (1987) *Betwixt and Between:*
774 *Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation*. Illinois: Open Court Publishing.

775

776 Massood, Paula. J. (1996) "Mapping the Hood: The Genealogy of City Space in 'Boyz N the
777 Hood' and 'Menace II Society'. *Cinema Journal*, 35, 2: 85-97.

778

779 Messerschmidt, James. W. (2010) *Hegemonic Masculinities and Camouflaged Politics*.
780 Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
781
782 Mucchielli, Laurent. (2009) "Autumn 2005: A review of the most important riot in the
783 history of French contemporary society". *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35, 5:
784 731-751.
785
786 Nagel, Joane. (1998) "Masculinity and nationalism: gender and sexuality in the making of
787 nations". *Ethnic and racial studies*, 21, 2: 242-269.
788
789 Puar, Jasbir. (2007) *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. London: Duke
790 University Press.
791
792 Rosello, Mireille. (1997) "French Bidonvilles in the 1960s: Urban & individual
793 initiatives". *Culture, Theory and Critique*, 40, 1: 97-110.
794
795 Said, Edward. W. (1994) *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Vintage.
796
797 Sedgwick, Eve. K. (1985) *Between men: English literature and male homosocial desire*. New
798 York: Columbia University Press.
799
800 Seshadri-Crooks, Kalpana. (2002) "I am a Master: Terrorism, Masculinity, and Political
801 Violence in Frantz Fanon". *Parallax*, 8, 2: 84-98.
802
803 Shaheen, Jack. (2001) *Reel Bad Arabs: How Hollywood Vilifies a People*. Canada: Olive
804 Branch Press.
805
806 Sinha, Mrinalini. (1995) *Colonial Masculinity: The 'Manly Englishman' and the Effeminate
807 Bengali' in the Late Nineteenth Century*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
808
809 Smith, Richard. (2004) *Jamaican Volunteers in the First World War: Race, Masculinity and
810 the Development of National Consciousness*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
811
812 Spicer, Andrew. (2003) Typical Men: The Representation of Masculinity in Popular British
813 Cinema. London: I.B. Tauris.
814
815 Stora, Benjamin. (2004) *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*. New York: Cornell University
816 Press.
817
818 Tarr, Carrie. (1995) "Beurz N the Hood: The articulation of Beur and French identities in Thé
819 au harem d'Archimède and Hexagone". *Modern & Contemporary France*, 3, 4: 415-425.
820
821 Tarr, Carrie. (2004) "Masculinity and exclusion in post-1995 beur and 'banlieue' films". In
822 Powrie, P., Davies, A., and Babington, B. (eds.) *The trouble with men: masculinities in
823 European and Hollywood cinema*. London: Wallflower Press.
824
825 Tarr, Carrie. (2005) *Reframing difference: Beur and banlieue filmmaking in France*.
826 Manchester: Manchester University Press.
827

828 Tarr, Carrie. (2014). "Looking at Muslims: the visibility of Islam in contemporary French
829 cinema" *Patterns of Prejudice*, 48, 5: 516-533.
830
831 Vince, Natalya. (2015) *Our Fighting Sisters: Nation, Memory and Gender in Algeria, 1954-*
832 *2012*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
833