『アラブ・ナショナリズムと国家形成:マグリブの事例』調査研究報告書，日本貿易振興機構アジア経済研究所, 2019 年.

第 1 章

Maghrib Experiences in Arab Nationalism Studies:
Literature Review

Shoko WATANABE
Area Studies Center, IDE-JETRO, Japan

PRELIMINARY STUDY NOT FOR CITATION OR QUOTATION

Abstract
This paper reviews studies on modern Arab nationalism with a special focus on case studies of Maghribian countries (i.e., Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco). As the majority of studies concerning Arab nationalism published in English have been built on Mashriqian historical cases, Arab nationalism has been understood as having a secular, supra-state identity as opposed to a religious identity (e.g., Muslim identity) on the one hand, and territorial nationalism based on loyalty to individual nation-states (e.g., Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and Palestinian nationalism) on the other hand. However, Maghribian experiences provide us with more complex realities regarding the history of Arab nationalism. Studying Arab nationalism with particular attention to long-ignored regional features allows us to understand different variations of the Arab nationalist movement, which should be considered as a multiform, multifunctional, and globally interactive phenomenon.

Keywords
Maghrib, Nationalism, Arab, Islam

Introduction
The purpose of this paper is to investigate the features of modern nationalism in the Maghrib compared with other parts of the Arab world by analyzing studies on this and related subjects, published in both English and French. First, we will review the development of Arab nationalism studies in the context of nationalism studies in general. Second, we will summarize the characteristics of Maghribian nationalism by

referring to some recent important publications. Finally, we will examine a possible way to study Maghribian nationalism by taking global historical contexts into consideration. We will pay particular attention to the contribution of Maghrib studies to rethinking some conventional assumptions concerning Arab nationalism.

1. Arab Nationalism Studies within Studies of Modern Nationalism

Naturally, the development of Western studies on nationalism in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) has been linked to that of nationalism studies in general. As summarized in Gershoni and Jankowski's book of reference on Arab nationalism (Gershoni and Jankowski 1997, Chapter 1), the development in the 1980s of theories of nationalism from socioeconomic viewpoints affected scholars' methodologies when dealing with nationalism in the MENA region. Contrary to the understanding that nationalism was a "primordial" identity observed in all communities throughout every historical era, these academics emphasized the modern nature of nationalism. They supposed that a nation possesses exclusive national territory, common national languages, a common culture shared by its citizens, and a set of modern state institutions.[1] In this "modernist" approach, a nation-state is defined as a space for a united economy, culture, and polity reserved for its homogenized people. The socioeconomic developments of modern times, such as the generalization of technology used to measure space and time, the appearance of printed media, the implementation of state-sponsored school systems, and increasing literacy rates all have contributed to the modern consciousness of nationhood (Anderson 1983; Gellner 1983; Smith 1998, Chapter 1). Even from the modernist viewpoint, which considers the development of nationalism as a modern phenomenon, a nation's pre-modern history and its "traditional" symbols are re-discovered by nationalists and are mobilized to form a myth of the nation as existing from time immemorial, being both continuous and everlasting (Smith 1986; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992, 6–7). Inspired by scholarly works of the modernist framework, studies on nationalism in the MENA region moved from the classical approach focusing on ideas and thought (e.g., Nuseibeh 1956; Haim 1962; Hourani 1962) to one investigating the roles of media, education, industrialization, social stratification, urbanization, and the movement of populations (Gershoni and Jankowski 1997, 13).

Another theoretical development that affected MENA studies concerns the

---

[1] Smith (1998) summarizes the modernist approaches to nationalism, as well as criticisms against these approaches and alternatives.

criticism against nationalism being defined as being a secular notion and the integration of religious nationalism within the variety of nationalist thoughts. In the 1960s, nationalism tended to be understood as a secular idea invented to be a substitute for traditional religion, to play the same role for social mobilization, and to urge the people to sacrifice themselves for the nation.[2] More recent authors have considered religions as compatible with modern nationalism, even as being cultural components of nationalism (Smith 1986; 2003; Juergensmeyer 1993). Nevertheless, some authors have insisted on categorizing Islam as an exception. Hastings, for example, advanced that Christianity, especially post-Reformation Christianity, has had a history in shaping nation-states, while Islam has opposed forming nation-states as it pushed religion-based political unity and disavowed linguistic diversity among Muslims (Hastings 1997, 200). Some specialists of the MENA region, too, emphasized the particularity of Islamic political thinking and its incompatibility with modern nationalism (Vatikiotis 1991; Gellner 1997, 84). Contrary to these views, other scholars have affirmed that Islam has been an important cultural component of Arab nationalism (Khalidi 1997; Tibi 1997).

The theoretical question which arises from this debate is how we can interpret the concurrent emergence of secular, religious, regional, and transregional ideas for a possible unity or solidarity in this crucial period of the 19th-20th centuries. For Gershoni and Jankowski, Muslim identity, Arabism, loyalty to individual states, and other modern political ideologies have participated in discursive competition over the history of nations (Gershoni and Jankowski 1997, xviii–xix). We should mention that some scholars studying the MENA region tended to emphasize hostility and conflicts, rather than coexistence and interaction, among the different historical narratives of nations. For example, the early 20th century Islamic reformism and Islamism as its successor were interpreted as inherently antithetical to secular nationalism by some authors, even by those who closely studied Islamic thought (Cleveland 1985, 162; Gellner 1997, 84; Kerr 1966, 221–3; Roy 1992; Vatikiotis 1991). Contrary to this point of view, Burgat, a scholar of post-colonial Islamic movements, understood Islamism to be part of a cultural decolonization process, the final step following the political and economic independence of Muslim countries (Burgat 2007, 77). Thus, Islamism attempted to revise an existing form of nationalism, even though it was not incompatible with nationalism. These conflicting interpretations on Islam and nationalism stem from the situation of post-independence MENA where the master

---

[2] See commentary from Smith (1998, 97–98) and Durkheim (1976, 206–214) on the cultic rituals of the French Revolution as the reference of Smith's argument.

narrative of nation building, constructed by postcolonial elites, has been challenged by popular social movements represented here by Islamist movements. In Tunisia, for instance, the postcolonial Islamist movement contested the country's master narrative of history, which was shaped by the secularist elite who received a bilingual (French-Arab) education. The leader of the elite was the first president of the country, Habib Bourguiba (1903–2000). On the one hand, in the master narrative, Bourguiba is considered the founding father of the modern Tunisian nation because of his belief in modernism. On the other hand, one promoter of the Islamist narrative is Rashid al-Ghannushi (1941–), a graduate of al-Zaytuna, the country's preeminent religious institute, which ended its history as an independent institution under Bourguiba in 1958. Al-Ghannushi claimed that the pro-French secularist state elites who seized power upon the country's independence violently suppressed the traditional identities of Tunisian society, which had been Arabic and Islamic and were constructed around al-Zaytuna institutions.[3] In this Tunisian context, both the secularist elites and the Islamists created narratives which contradicted one another.

I argue that despite the conflicting relationships among discourses, scholars should avoid anachronism and cautiously distance themselves from taking any side with these narratives. This critical attitude is especially important when scholars examine the historical process of emergence and the reshaping of different political ideas of the period when no one could tell which one of them would become the "master" narrative of nationalism in the future. For these historians, focusing also on the interaction and coexistence among the narratives, not only their conflicts, would be useful for analyzing the intellectual dynamism of the age of nationalism. Thus, several authors have dealt with the historical relationships among Islamic thought, Arab nationalism, and individual nationalism by considering the intellectual contexts of the period, and by challenging the existing understanding of the ideological content and historical development of these tendencies (Abdalla 1999; Gershoni and Jankowski 1997; Hudson 1999; Tibi 1997).

The coexistence of plural approaches to a nation was not only limited to the Arab world but is a global phenomenon. Studying anti-imperial movements during the interwar period, Michael Gaebel advanced that "pan-visions" could be a part of nationalist imaginations shaped by a particular historical context, along with "smaller" nationalisms:

---

[3] Interview conducted by François Burgat in 1992. See Burgat (2007, 48–60).

4

In my view, the fact that the nations that interwar anti-imperialists imagined did not always coincide with the postcolonial states emerging in the twenty years after 1945 is not a good enough reason not to treat these discourses as nationalist. […] Moreover, the larger units (extending beyond the existing nation-states of 1970) that interwar anti-imperialists imagined usually derived from visions of distinct cultural spheres or civilizations—as in "the Islamic world"—that in their discursive construction resembled cultural nationalisms. From the angle of their proponents, pan-visions were at any rate perfectly compatible, sometimes even mutually constitutive, with the "small" nationalisms of, say, Algeria or Senegal. The importance of pan-Islamism, pan-Africanism, *latinoamericanismo,* and pan-Asianism does not contradict the existence of nationalism. (Goebel 2015, 251–252)

These theoretical developments suggest that we should doubt some of the conventional assumptions of Arab nationalism, especially the assumptions that: 1) Arab nationalism is a secular ideology and movement; and that 2) there is a hierarchical relationship between *Qawmiyya*, the feeling of being part of a larger Arab folk, and *Waṭaniyya*, the attachment to individual nation-states. The first assumption, which already existed by the 1960s, was vulgarized by media images of the conflicts between Arab states and Islamic opposition movements after the 1970s. The second assumption is based on the idea advanced by Arab unity preachers in the 1960s such as Michel ʿAflaq, who insisted on the priority of *Qawmiyya* over *Waṭaniyya* (Baram 1983, 191; Wein 2017, 132). In both cases, scholarly discussions on these assumptions have been built upon historical experiences in the Mashriq, while in the Maghrib the concept of Arab unity has developed in very different historical contexts. Studying experiences in the Maghrib contributes to rethinking the relevance of these conventional hypotheses and understanding Arab nationalism in a new way. Below, we will examine some particular features of Maghribian nationalism, with a special focus on its possible contributions to Arab nationalism studies.

2. Features of Nationalism in the Maghrib Compared with Other Parts of the Arab World

2-1. Islamo-Arabism or Identification of Nationalism with Religious Belongingness

Shaped by the Muslim-majority society's cultural context, Arab nationalism can hardly be considered as incompatible with religious culture. While in France, secular

republican nationalism sought to replace Catholic ethics by promoting public schools to rival the Church's school system (Larkin 1995, Chapter 8), this antinomy between anticlerical nationalism and religion cannot always be applied to other cases. In the MENA region, Arab nationalist leaders utilized Islamic rhetoric and symbols as key cultural elements of the nation (Wein 2017, 9–15), both in the Mashriq and the Maghrib.

However, some differences separate the relationship between religions and nationalism in the Mashriq from that of the Maghrib. On the one hand, in the Mashriqian context, Arab peoples, regardless of their religious beliefs, were involved in the conceptualization of an Arab nation to distinguish their own cultural identity from the legacy of the Ottoman Empire (Tibi 1997, Chapter 5). On the other hand, because the French occupation of the Maghrib started in 1830, it was not a question for Maghribian countries to get rid of Ottoman political influences to achieve their own national consciousness. Confronting Catholic missionaries and French republican political ideals, Islam remained the pivotal inspiration for Maghribian nationalism. Bassam Tibi, the author of a reference book on the Arab nationalism movement launched by Satiʿ al-Husri (1880–1968), emphasized that unlike Mashriq countries, the Maghrib did not owe its decolonization as much to Arab nationalism as it did to Islam (Tibi 1997, 19). In reality, many Maghribian nationalists understood that Islam and Arabism (*ʿurūba*) were inseparable components of their nationalism. The connection between the two identity components is symbolized in a word "Islamo-arabité," used by the French historian Meynier working on the Algerian National Liberation Front (Meynier 2002, 220–222). However, this Islamo-Arabism can hardly be understood as a mere reflection of social reality, because the Maghrib also has native religious minorities who engaged in shaping nationalist thoughts, including local Jews and Ibadi Muslims.

Before European rule, Maghribian Jews lived together with Muslims, sharing similar local customs and habits, although they did not enjoy the same social conditions as Muslims due to their status of *dhimmī* (protected non-Muslims) and sometimes tensions appeared between religious communities (Boum 2013, Chapter 2). After occupation, the colonial administration intervened into the Muslim-Jewish relationship. In the Algerian context, colonial policy attempted to integrate local Jews into settlers' communities, affording them French citizenship by the Crémieux Decree in 1870 (Lorcin 1995, 172). The ambiguity of the French policy toward Algerian Jews was revealed once the Vichy regime abolished the Decree during the period from 1940 to

1943. Facing this situation, some Jews tried to join Muslims in the Algerian nationalist movement, but this tentative alliance did not succeed due to divided opinions within the Jewish community between Algerian nationalism, Zionism, Communism, and loyalty to France (Le Foll Luciani 2015). Although Jewish militants who participated in the Algerian national liberation movement could obtain Algerian nationality, the 1963 code of nationality defined original Algerians as having had Muslim status during the colonial period (Le Foll Luciani 2015). In Tunisian and Moroccan protectorates, Jews lived as Tunisian or Moroccan subjects, respectively. However, both in Algeria and the protectorate countries (Tunisia and Morocco), the Jewish population was significantly diminished in number due to the countries' independence based on Arab-Muslim national identities, and the Jewish diaspora following Arab-Israeli conflicts.

Consequently, the history of Jews, especially rural Jews in the Maghrib has been ignored by postcolonial Maghribian historiography, as post-independence historians tried to object to ideological and racial biases within French colonial discourses, which opposed comparing the Jew to the Arab by considering only the former as able to be assimilated by the French (Boum 2011, 76). Another nationalist discourse, which appeared in postcolonial Morocco, emphasizes interreligious harmony by presenting syncretic ceremonies (e.g., the participation by Muslims in Jewish saint pilgrimages) as a national phenomenon which encompasses religious differences (Kosansky 2011). In both cases, nationalist discourse deals with the presence of the Jewish community by assimilating it into their pre-established framework, without necessarily addressing the Jewish voices themselves.

Ibadi Muslims are another minority group in the Maghrib, where the majority of Muslims belongs to the Sunni schools of religious law (mainly Maliki and Hanafi *madhhab*s). Although they are Muslims like the majority of the population, Ibadi communities living in Libya, southern Algeria, and Tunisia's Djerba Island have particular historical experiences, due to their *madhhab* and the global networks of Ibadism. The situation might raise possible tensions between communitarianism based on Ibadi *madhhab* and national consciousness as an Algerian, Tunisian, or Libyan. In this context, Ibadi people's vigorous engagement in Islamic reformism and the pan-Arab solidarity movement beginning in the early 20th century symbolizes the dynamic relationships between regionalism, religious sectarianism, and nationalism.

In Algeria, where the Mzab Valley hosts an important part of the Ibadi

population with Amazigh (Berber) background, Mzabis once enjoyed having an autonomous status even after French occupation of Algeria, due to the 1853 convention between Mzabi notables and the French army. Although this convention was trampled on when the Mzab Valley was occupied by the French in 1882, this convention of autonomy has served as a point of reference that the political aspirations of Mzabi people would focus on (Ghazal 2010, 40; Jomier 2012). Logically, this idea that Mzab was a protectorate within Algeria, which basically was under direct French colonial rule, might separate the Mzabi people's political claims from other Algerians (Ghazal 2015, 52). In this situation, however, Islamic reformism which emphasized the solidarity of all Muslims of different *madhhab*s succeeded in channeling Mzabi public opinion into Algerian nationalism. A Mzabi religious leader named Shaykh Bayyud participated in the Algerian Assembly election in 1947 claiming that the Mzabi Ibadi population should deal with the issues of Algeria as a whole. This marked an important political turning point for Mzabis before the independence of Algeria (Jomier 2012).

The commitment of the Mzabi people to transnational Arab identity also suggested an alternative path to solving the antagonism between communitarianism and nationalism. The Ibadi intellectual revival movement (*nahḍa*) involved Ibadis in Mzab, Zanzibar, and Oman, and existed beyond geographical boundaries. These regions were connected through letter exchanges, material patronage toward prominent scholars, and the circulation of books and newspapers (Ghazal 2010, Chapter 3). The Ibadi diaspora who studied in Tunis, Cairo, and Mecca were engaged in Islamic reformist ideology, hoping to overcome *madhhabi* differences and contribute to global Arab nationalism (Ghazal 2010, 92–98). As Ghazal suggested, the intellectual trajectories of Mzabi students in Tunis in the 1920s represented different ideological tendencies—from Mzabi particularism to Algerian nationalism and even to pan-Maghrebi nationalism—according to "the fluid relationship between local, national, regional identities" (Ghazal 2015, 48).

These studies suggest how religions played crucial roles in forming one's political identity in the colonial Maghrib. This is partly because French colonial policies imposed and made use of religious categorizations as arts of cultural differentiation, political segregation, and institutional control for native peoples. The role of religious identity in the construction of nationhood was also reinforced by religious movements, especially the Islamic reform movement, which contributed to some minority groups joining anti-colonial movements.

2-2. Complexity of the Arab Reality of the Nation

While Mashriqian intellectual movements such as *al-Nahḍa* (revival or awaking) movement in 19th century Lebanon or Arab nationalism in 20th century Egypt have focused on the attachment to the Arab language and culture as the most important identity marker, the Arab nature of the nations in the Maghrib has hardly been taken for granted by its inhabitants. The Maghribian populations include an important portion of Imazighen, or Berber people, especially in Algeria and Morocco, as well as in Tunisia. Moreover, during the colonial periods, European settlers came to the Maghrib not only from France and Spain, but also from Italy, Malta, and other parts of Europe to shape a mixed community with their own group consciousness. Thus, in Algeria at the end of the 19th century, Europeans who called themselves "Algerians" differentiated themselves from the Metropolitan French (Ageron 1979, 131–133). In the colonial context, these European settlers enjoyed political and economic advantages due to their nationalities, in contrast with the native populations who lived under discriminative juridical control (the regime called "indigénat," established in Algeria at the end of the 19th century and abolished only gradually after WWII) and more severe economic conditions. These realities were translated into complex attitudes toward Arabism by the nationalist movements in the Maghrib.

Especially in Morocco and Algeria, nationalist engagement with the Arab identity as a national identity was clearly a reaction to colonial policies which tried to separate particular segments of the population (Jews, Berbers, and educated Muslim elites) for assimilation by the French. The Moroccan nationalists, who opposed the Berber Dahir in 1930, claimed that because of the Islamic and Arab nature of the Moroccan nation, it could not be divided into Arabs and Berbers.[4] In Algeria, the Association of Algerian Muslim ʿUlamaʾ also emphasized the historical bonds between Berbers and Arabs in Algeria, considering that the two intermingled into a single united people after Islam arrived in the region (McDougall 2006, 193–204). In both cases, the (cultural) nationalists regarded Islam, Arab culture, and language as core identity markers, without which a culturally united nation could not be imagined. In this context, anyone focusing on the particularities of Berber culture prior to the Arab majority risked being accused of conforming to colonial divide-and-rule policies. This dialogical

---

[4] Following the Berber Dahir of 1930, nationalists claimed in their memorandum to the Sultan the creation of a unified Muslim judiciary for both Berbers and Arabs, and the designation of Arabic as the national language (Pennell 2000, 213; Wyrtzen 2015, 148).

relationship between colonial and nationalist narratives of national cultures and identities suggests a process of re-adapting or re-shaping ideas, such as civilization, race, and the public role or religion, which came across in the European literature on the colonized societies. Several authors working on colonial ethnology in Morocco (Burke 2014; Wyrtzen 2015) have revealed that although the European literature on colonized societies was based on prejudices and asymmetrical power relationships, the local nationalists themselves unconsciously incorporated part of the Western scientific discourse when they challenged it, or translated it into locally acceptable forms, so as to work out their own discourse which framed the nation-building project. In this interim report, Shinoda's chapter deals with this subject and analyzes the invention of historical narratives in Morocco.[5]

Despite emphasis on Muslim and Arab identities by the nationalists, some European settlers committed themselves to nationalist movements. In Algeria, some "pied-noirs," or European settlers in Algeria, supported the National Liberation Front during the Algerian war for independence (1954–1962). The National Liberation Front recognized these engaged European fighters as Algerians as they supported its fight for freedom, while the status of "European minority" in independent Algeria remained a sensitive question. In the end, the question of national culture and citizenship did not result in a definite conclusion after the massive departure of Europeans for France or elsewhere following Algerian independence (Meynier 2002, 252–253). In chapter 3 of this report, Kim discusses the presence of Europeans in colonial Tunisia and their possible involvement in the country's most important socioeconomic structural shift in the 20th century.[6] This long-term relationship among Europeans in the Maghrib, the process of industrialization and urbanization of the region, and the development of nationalism, including economic nationalism, constitute other interesting subjects of study.

Even for the "Arab" majority population, whose mother tongues were variations of Maghribian Arabic dialects, the Arab nature of their nation has hardly been understood as a simple reflection of reality. In Algeria, for example, the literacy rate of the Arabic language was low during the colonial period, due to colonial policies which mostly excluded the language from the public school system. McDougall argued that the aspiration for Arabism by young Algerians during the colonial period contributed

---

[5] See Shinoda's chapter (chapter 2) in this report.
[6] See Kim's chapter (chapter 3) in this report.

more to forming a local (Algerian) nationalism than to confirming the unified sense of the global Arab community, which questions the conventional understanding of *Qawmiyya* and *Waṭaniyya* as separate conceptions (McDougall 2011). Discussing the attitudes toward local Arabic dialects of the Association of Algerian ʿUlamaʾ, Courreye concluded that the ʿUlamaʾ did not regard Arabism as a cultural monolith, but as the whole of these regional varieties which included both the standardized language and its dialectal branches (Courreye 2016). In Morocco, too, the nationalists were aware of the artificial aspects of their social engineering policies to promote the standard Arabic language and Salafi understandings of Islam among the masses as exclusive national identity markers, but they made the bold decision to carry them out to oppose colonial divide-and-rule policies (Ait Mous 2016).

These studies show that the understanding of a belongingness to the broader Arab world in the Maghrib has been flexible and context-dependent, and that the relationship between this global Arab consciousness and loyalty to a particular nation (of Algeria, Tunisia, or Morocco) has never been fixed in clearly hierarchical orders.

2-3. The Maghrib Identity in Global Contexts
Albert Memmi argued that the unfortunate feature of late-born countries is to dream more about broader supranational identities to connect themselves to more obvious glory, rather than nationalism of a new-born, small country (Memmi 2004). However, as Breuilly stated, pan-African and pan-Arab nationalism, which served as "intellectual forerunners of territorial nationalism," seem to have faded away once individual nation-states were established (Breuilly 1994, 281–287). When we consider the history of pan-Maghrib nationalism as a geographical, political, and cultural unit, whose most noticeable achievement was the establishment of the Arab Maghreb Union (1989), we should ask the following questions: what was the relationship between pan-Maghrib nationalism and other regional identities (pan-Arab, pan-African, and Mediterranean identities)? How important of a role has pan-Maghrib nationalism been in the formation of individual territorial nationalisms in the Maghrib?

Egypt has played a leading role in the political Arab nationalism movement, as it hosted the Arab League in 1945 and attempted to mediate the Palestinian problem. It was this role of the hegemonic Arab state and the shared idea about the centrality of Egypt in the Arab world that enabled Egypt to reconcile supra-state Arab nationalism (*Qawmiyya*) and its territorial nationalism (*Waṭaniyya*) (Gershoni and Jankowski 1995).

In contrast to Egypt, Maghribian territorial nationalism has had more complex relationships with Arab nationalism. Most Maghribian reformists of the 20th century shared the feeling of being marginal in both the Mediterranean and Arab worlds, and this very sentiment of marginality has shaped their national consciousness. In the 1930s, young Maghribian nationalists who attended annual meetings of the Association of Muslim Students of North-Africa in France (Association des étudiants musulmans nord-africains en France; AEMNA) regarded Mashriq countries such as Egypt, Turkey, Iran, and Syria, as more "advanced" than their nations because those countries had succeeded in importing Western technologies, creating modern state institutions, and either surviving as independent countries or getting rid of foreign rule after a relatively short period. Maghribian countries, on the other hand, had failed in these reforms and surrendered to Western colonizers.[7]

The Maghribian solidarity movement has aimed to create a politically equal and fraternal relationship among Maghrib countries, while its actors looked to Europe and some Mashriq countries for models to follow. This was because they sought an image of the Maghrib as a comparable geographical and cultural unit. The pan-Islam movement beginning in the 19th century, global anti-imperialist activities following WWI, as well as pan-Arab solidarity movements, which became institutionalized in the 1940s, all contributed to shaping pan-Maghrib movements. By analyzing the articulation of pan-Maghrib ideas within historical contexts, we can also investigate Maghribian Arab nationalism as a part of a global movement.

3. Conclusion

Case studies on Maghribian nationalism reveal that we should doubt certain premises of Arab nationalism that have been taken for granted in classical studies. These premises are the hierarchical relationship between *Qawmiyya* and *Waṭaniyya*, and the secularist nature of Arab nationalism. In this paper, we developed a criticism against these premises by utilizing Maghrib experiences. This approach should contribute to the creation of a new framework for analyzing both Maghrib and Mashriq cases. Studying Arab nationalism with a particular focus on long-ignored regional features allows us to understand different variations of the Arab nationalist movement, which should be considered as a multiform, multifunctional, and globally interactive phenomenon.

---

[7] On AEMNA, see existing studies including Ageron (1983) and Pervillé (2004 [1984]).

References

Abdalla, Ahmed. 1999. "The Egyptian National Identity and pan-Arabism: Variations and Generations." In *Cosmopolitanism, Identity and Authenticity in the Middle East*, ed. R. Meijer, 171–181. Richmond: Curzon.

Ageron, Charles-Robert. 1979. *Histoire de l'Algérie contemporaine,* Tome II. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

---. 1983. "L'Association des étudiants musulmans nord-africains en France durant l'entre-deux-guerres. Contribution à l'étude des nationalismes maghrébins." *Revue française d'histoire d'outre-mer* vol. 70, no. 258/259: 25–56.

Ait Mous, Fadma. 2016. "The Moroccan nationalist movement: From local to national networks." In *Global and Local in Algeria and Morocco: The World, the State and the Village,* James McDougall and Robert P Parks eds. 107–122. London and New York: Routledge.

Anderson, Benedict. 1983. *Imagined Communities.* London: Verso.

Boum, Aomar. 2011. "Southern Moroccan Jewry between the Colonial Manufacture of Knowledge and the Postcolonial Historiographical Silence." In *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa,* Emily Benichou Gottreich and Daniel J. Schroeter eds. 73–92. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

---. 2013. *Memories of Absence: How Muslims Remember Jews in Morocco.* Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Breuilly, John. 1994. *Nationalism and the State*, 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Burgat, François. 2007. *L'islamism en face*. Paris: La Découverte.

Burke, Edmond, III. 2014. *The Ethnographic State: France and the Invention of Moroccan Islam.* California: University of California Press.

Clevelant, William. 1985. *Islam against the West: Shakib Arslan and the Campagne for Islamic Nationalism.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Courreye, Charlotte. 2016. "Une défense de la langue arabe dialectale dans un journal de l'Association des Oulémas algériens en 1936: Démontrer l'unicité de la langue arabe par la richesse de ses parlers." *Arabica* 63: 494–531.

Durkheim, Emile. 1976. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, translated by Joseph Swain, second edition. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Gellner, Ernest. 1983. *Nations and Nationalism.* Oxford: Blackwell.

---. 1997. *Nationalism.* New York: New York University Press.

Gershoni, Israel and James Jankowski. 1995. *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930–*

1945. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gershoni, Israel and James Jankowski, eds. 1997. *Rethinking Nationalism in the Arab Middle East.* NewYork: Columbia University Press.

Ghazal, Amal. 2010. *Islamic Reform and Arab Nationalism: Expanding the Crescent from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, 1880s–1930s.* New York: Routledge.

---. 2015. "Tensions of Nationalism: The Mzabi Student Missions in Tunis and the Politics of Anticolonialism." *International journal of Middle East Studies* 47(1): 47–63.

Haim, Silvia G. ed. 1962. *Arab Nationalism: An Anthology.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Hastings, Adrian. 1997. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger eds. 1992. *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hourani, Albert. 1962. *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1789–1939.* London: Oxford University Press.

Hudson, Michael C. ed. 1999. *Middle East Dilemma: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Jomier, Augustin. 2015. *Un réformisme islamique dans l'Algérie coloniale: Oulémas ibadites et société du Mzab, c. 1880–c.1970.* PhD thesis in History. Université du Mains, France.

Juergensmeyer, Mark. 1993. *The New Cold War?: Religious Nationalism Confronts the Secular State.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kerr, Malcolm H. 1966. *Islamic Reform: The Political and Legal Theories of Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Khalidi, Rashid. 1997. *Palestinian Identity: the Construction of Modern National Consciousness.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Kosansky, Oren. 2011. "The Real Morocco Itself: Jewish Saint Pilgrimage, Hybridity, and the Idea of the Moroccan Naiton." In *Jewish Culture and Society in North Africa,* Emily Benichou Gottreich and Daniel J. Schroeter eds. 341–360. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Larkin, Maurice. 1995. *Religion, Politics and Preferment in France since 1890: La Bell Epoque and Its Legacy.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Le Foll Luciani, Pierre-Jean. 2015. "Les juifs d'Algérie face aux nationalités française et algérienne, 1940–1963." *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la méditerranéé* 137: 115–132.

Lorcin, Patricia M. 1995. *Imperial Identities: Stereotyping, Prejudice and Race in Colonial Algeria.* London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

McDougall, James. 2006. *History and the Culture of Nationalism in Algeria.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

---. 2011. "Dream of Exile, Promise of Home: Language, Education, and Arabism in Algeria." *International journal of Middle East Studies* 43(2): 251–70.

Memmi, Albert. 2004. *Portrait du décolonisé.* Paris: Gallilard.

Meynier, Gilbert. 2002. *Histoire intérieure du FLN, 1954-1962.* Paris: Fayard.

Nuseibeh, Hazem Zaki. 1956. *The Ideas of Arab Nationalism.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Pennell, C. R. 2000. *Morocco since 1830: A History.* London: Hurst.

Pervillé, Guy. 2004[1984]. *Les étudiants algériens de l'université française, 1880–1962.* Algiers: Casbah Éditions.

Roy, Olivier.1992. *L'écheque de l'Islam politique.* Paris: Seuil.

Smith, Anthony D. 1986. *The Ethnic Origins of Nations.* Oxford: Blackwelll.

---. 1998. *Nationalism and Modernism.* London and New York: Routeledge.

---. 2003. *Chosen Peoples.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tibi, Bassam. 1997. *Arab Nationalism: Between Islam and the Nation-State,* 3rd edition. Hampshire and London: Macmillan.

Vatikiotis, P. J. 1991. *Islam and the State.* London: Routledge.

Wein, Peter. 2017. *Arab Nationalism: The Politics of History and Culture in the Modern Middle East.* London and New York: Routledge.

Wyrtzen, Jonathan. 2015. *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity.* Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.