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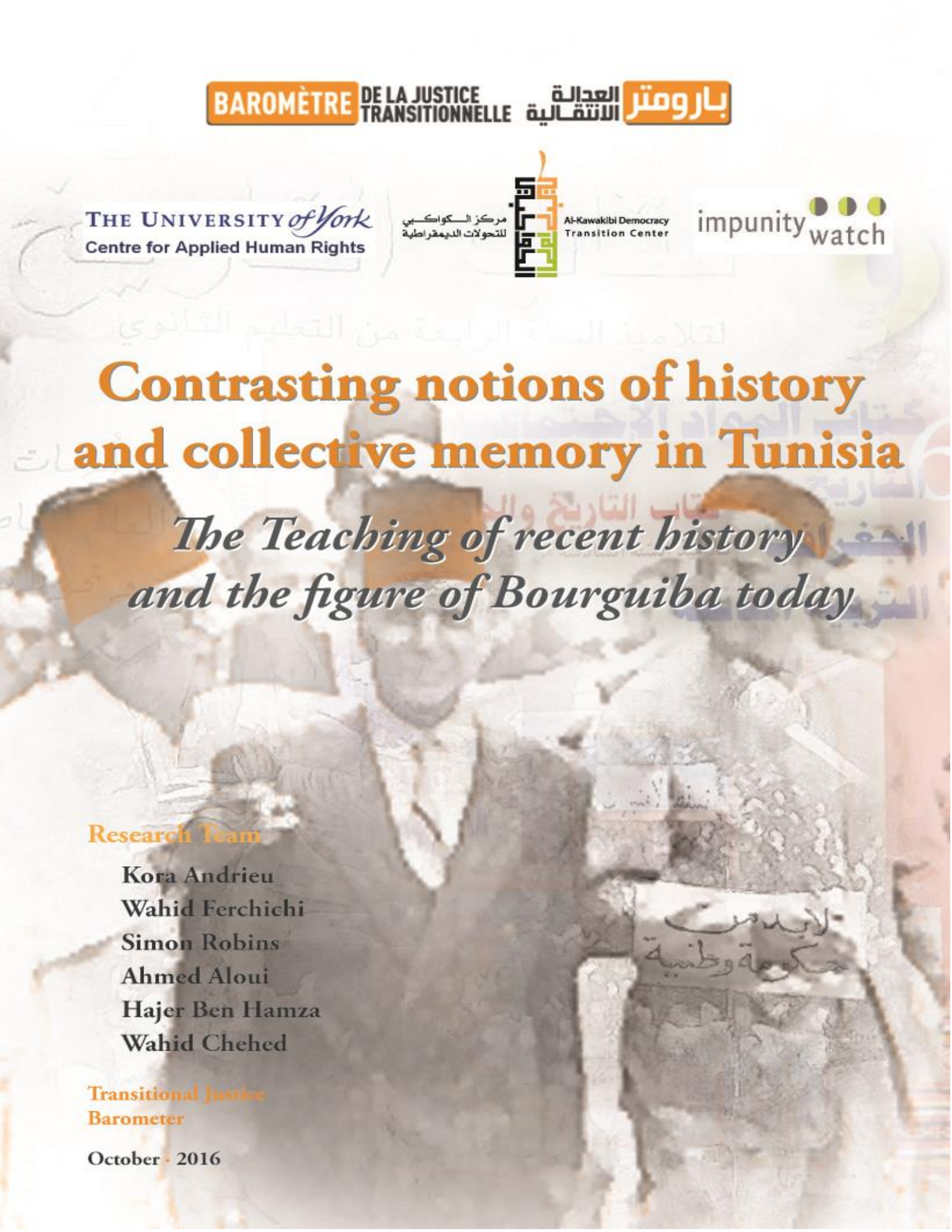
impunity watch

Contrasting notions of history and collective memory in Tunisia

The Teaching of recent history and the figure of Bourguiba today



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Transitional Justice Barometer

October · 2016

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THE UNIVERSITY of York
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Al Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center

impunity watch

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Preface

The “Transitional Justice Barometer” continues to support the process of transitional justice in Tunisia, through a research work that involves Tunisian experts from “Al-Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center”, and international experts from the “University of York” (England) and “Impunity Watch” (Netherlands).

The Barometer, jointly with its partners, has chosen to focus this third study on “**memorialization”** and “**collective memory”**, being important elements in the process of transitional justice that the Tunisian experience has not addressed yet. The study is entitled “***History and Collective Memory in Tunisia : Contrasted Notions. Teaching Recent History and the Figure of Bourguiba Today*.”**

As part of this qualitative research, interviews were conducted with 45 experts and teachers of history and civic education in the Governorates of Sousse (Center-East) and Gafsa (Saouth-West). With this third study having been carried out, the six regions of the country are now covered by the Transitional Justice Barometer project.

The study places special focus on Habib Bourguiba, a pivotal figure in the modern history of Tunisia. It examines the textbooks used in the teaching of history and assesses their impact on collective memory. The study ends with a number of conclusions and recommendations that seek to contribute to the reform of the teaching of history and civic education, supposed to be one of the outputs of the transitional justice process.

To conclude, the “Transitional Justice Barometer” wishes to thank all the interviewed teachers and experts for having contributed to the success of this research work. On its part, “Al-Kawakibi Democracy Transition Center” wishes to thank its partners, the “University of York” and “Impunity Watch”, for the valuable expertise they have transferred to Tunisian researchers.

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Table of Contents

Preface 5
Table of Contents 7

Executive summary 9
Part I: Memory and transition: What role for education? 10
1. The notion of collective memory and its ambiguities 10
2. The relationship between history and memory: The impossibility of neutrality? 11
3. Collective memory and democratic pluralism: memories of minorities and of the transition's 'losers' 13
4. Human rights, history and collective memory 17

The international level 17
The national level 17

5. Memory and memorialisation 18
6. The role of education in transitional justice 20

History textbooks: between policy and pedagogy 21
Teachers 23
The importance of debate 25

Part II: The (re)invention of the past in Tunisia: a political strategy? 27
7. The figure of Bourguiba 27

A legacy of reforms 27
An authoritarian tendency 28
A return to the frontline 29
The 'return of Bourguiba'? 30
The figure of Bourguiba in politics: a mixed picture 31
Towards a reconciliation of interpretations of memory? 34

8. Bourguiba in history textbooks 35

A chronological approach 36
A largely descriptive approach 40
A selective approach 46

Part III: Improving the teaching of history - some recommendations for teachers 50
9. Recommendations Relevant to the Teaching of History 50

Additions to Teaching Materials 50
Teaching Methodologies 52
A Framework of Reform 54

10. Recommendations concerning the process of memory 55

What Memory to Preserve? 55
Memorialization processes 56
What memorialisation tools to use? 58
Memory and Culture 59
11. Memory, History and Transitional Justice 60
12. Summary of recommendations 61
Appendix 1. Research Methodology 62
Demographics of respondents 62
Sousse 63
Gafsa 63
Supporting associations and partners 64
Bibliography 65
French language Bibliography 66
Arabic Bibliography 68
Appendix 2. List of persons interviewed 70
Appendix 3. Questionnaire for teachers 71
Appendix 4. The textbooks 73
History textbook for students in the 6th year of primary school 73
List of authors 74
Table of contents 75
History textbook for students in the 9th year of primary school 76
Front page 76
Author list 77
Table of contents 78
History textbook for student in the 4th year of secondary school 79
Table of contents 81

> History is one of the few compulsory subjects in education systems around the world, reflecting both the capacity of the teaching of history to exert influence on students and the importance of history for societies and governments.[1]

Executive summary

This study aims to analyse the experience and perception of teachers of history and civic education in the regions of Gafsa and Sousse, concerning recent historical 'facts', how their teaching has evolved, as well as evaluating more broadly the impact of history education on the memory and training of students.

Using a series of semi-structured interviews, the study permits an understanding of how teachers themselves assess the current content of history textbooks, the amendments that have been made to them, and their views on the methodology of teaching, particularly about the figure of the ex-President of the Republic, Habib Bourguiba, the principle - and most controversial – figure in Tunisia's recent history. Informed by a detailed analysis of the main textbooks, the study brings together recommendations and suggestions for teachers to improve the teaching of recent history and to make it compatible with recent historical memory in Tunisia, after the January 14th revolution. In the light of these discussions, the complex web of history and memory, and the tensions between them, are analysed.

History textbooks appear, through the prism of this reading, as having a fundamental social and political role, and therefore being subject to significant contestation.

[1] Special Rapporteur for cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on the writing and teaching of history, United Nations General Assembly, August 9, 2013, A / 68/296, p. 18.

Part I: Memory and transition: What role for education?

1. The notion of collective memory and its ambiguities

Memory can be defined as a mental anchor of lived or received experiences. It is socially determined, and it influences in large part the commitment of individuals, groups and cultures to their ways of life or their ideals. Memory is malleable, and influenced by time, and therefore must be located in its socio-historical context.

Collective memorialization initiatives, in turn, aim to commemorate an often confrontational past event or to enhance its understanding in society. They include the construction of sites of memory (monuments, museums, plaques), ceremonies or traditional rituals, theatre and musical performances, educational activities, sensitisation, the teaching of history, and the recording and preservation of archives. These initiatives are essential to building a nation, and form part of what the sociologist Benedict Anderson calls 'imagined communities'.[2]

The links between individual memory and collective memory are complex, and have been the subject of extensive research, at the crossroads of philosophy, sociology, and psychology. Indeed, the notion of 'collective memory' may seem shocking at first, because memory means, a priori, an intimate and personal structure of the individual psyche. And indeed, collective memory is inseparable from the texture of an individual and lived history. Here we find the different 'levels' of memory identified by sociologist Maurice Halbwachs:[3] individual memory, social memory - linked to a group, and finally national memory. According to him, in effect collective thinking is not separate and independent, since "the collective spirit only exists and is only realized in individual consciousness."[4] The purpose of sites of memory is precisely to allow these different levels to engage, to mix history and memory to enable the blending of individual, lived memory and national memory. The idea of 'lived' memory reinforces this understanding of memory as performative, as the product of a particular activity. Memory is therefore something you do, not something you have.[5] It is constructed from a confrontation with the past, from the various understandings of the latter in a society: memorials, in particular, aim to concretise such memory. This is also what distinguishes history from memory: history claims to be beyond lived experience.

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[2] Hass, V. and Jodelet, La mémoire, ses aspects sociaux et collectifs, in N. ROUSSIAU, Manuel de psychologie sociale. Paris: Editions In Press, 2000, pp. 121-134.

[3] Halbwachs, M., *On Collective Memory.* Edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992. .

[4] Ibid.

[5] Wood, Nancy, *Vectors of Memory: Legacies of Trauma in Postwar Europe*, 1999. Oxford: Berg.

Collective memory can therefore be thought of as the result of these interactions between individuals and institutions. It requires what Halbwachs called "social frameworks",[6] embodied according to historian Pierre Nora in "places of memory" that allow it to take root.[7] To remember implies, according to Halbwachs, to attach oneself to a particular physical place to give meaning to the construction of collective memories. Without this form of recognition and social sanction, memory of trauma risks disappearing with the passing of the generations who carry it.[8]

In a sense, history as an academic discipline is one of these social settings, among others: a social incarnation of memory that gives it flesh and ensures its preservation in time. The teaching of history is one of the main vectors of memory.

2. The relationship between history and memory: The impossibility of neutrality?

One objective of this study is to help deepen our understanding of the links and interaction between the teaching of history, especially recent history that is often subject to greater contestation, and the general process of remembrance of the past in Tunisia.

At first glance, the two terms may indeed seem opposed to each other. History is an academic discipline based on the objectivity of research and which seeks to meet rigorous methodological criteria. Memory appeals to the subjectivity of a lived experience, of an individual, family, group or community. History is only one of many determinants of collective memory, which also draws from other sources, such as community or familial stories, culture and public commemorations (holidays, remembrance ceremonies etc). Unlike history, memory is inherently emotional, it is related to the identity and values of a group. According to Pierre Nora, history must therefore not commemorate the past, as memory does, but rather analyse *how* the past is remembered. By its claim to objectivity, history helps to highlight the selectivity of memory, and prevent its possible politicization.

Yet even history is subject to conflicting interpretations: by proving facts or endorsing them through court decisions, historical analysis remains fundamentally partial. The interpretation of historical facts is an infinite task: who was wrong, who was right, according to which perspective one can understand a fact or a historical figure. These discussions are even more sensitive in

[6] Halbwachs, M., *On Collective Memory.* Edited and translated by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1992.
[7] Nora, P., Entre Mémoire et Histoire, in *Les lieux de mémoires*, NORA P. (eds), Volume I, Paris, Gallimard, 1984, p. XVII-XLII
[8] Nora, P., L'ère de la commémoration, in P. NORA (Ed). *Les lieux de mémoires*, Volume III. Paris, Gallimard, 1993, pp. 997-1012.

societies deeply divided after a violent conflict, or in the complex times of political transition. Historians themselves, and also - as shown here in our interviews – teachers, are often caught in the lens of their own experiences, their personal, community or family memories affecting their understanding of the past. Our interviews show that teachers are constantly making efforts to distinguish between what they believe, what they think, and what they teach from textbook supplied by the State. A history teacher in Sousse testified to the difficulty of presuming such objectivity: "I'm not neutral, I cannot be in the face of extremism and racism" (MC13), he says, seeming to emphasize the challenges to the principle of tolerance in a liberal democracy.

Other teachers also confirm explicitly that they are not neutral, such as a civics teacher in Sousse who says: "It is clear, one is no longer objective since 2011, everyone does what he pleases while the teacher is required to be neutral" (MC17). In Gafsa, a history teacher thinks that "you have to be neutral in the treatment of collective memory; the woman who transported food to the fighters in the mountains must have her rights. As for Bourguiba, he practiced his convictions" (MC06). Another teacher said:

> After the revolution everyone wants to write the story in his own way, and I often say that writing history should be objective and neutral. We cannot under any circumstances take collective memory and popular heritage as a source for writing history. Up to today one teaches about Bourguiba from the 1930s up to 1956. Bourguiba should be taught as a whole, and he must be present in history according to his contributions. Bourguiba is a leader that led the country to independence. I teach this about Bourguiba in spite of the fact that at some point, before the revolution, I was against him, but I always separate my judgment on Bourguiba as a citizen of Gafsa, and history. (MC45).

The historical narrative is therefore always influenced by the historian and by the teacher, by the training they have received, their skill level, or the medium in which they work. If this subjective dimension cannot completely be ignored, it is important that the historian or teacher is aware of this bias and the impact of his memory on his discourse.

Moreover, although to appreciate the past sometimes requires distance and time, this distance between traumatic events and their historical appropriation and commemoration could be the time necessary for a generation (e.g. that of direct witnesses and participants) to disappear, or that necessary to dispel fears. A form of appeasement is, in any case, necessary given the risk that divisions and wounds reopen within the scope of these discussions. Some countries like Rwanda or Bosnia and Herzegovina have thus opted not to teach recent history in schools, because it appears to them impossible to agree on a shared narrative of the past. This solution however seems undesirable because in the time of Internet and social networks, younger generations will always find somewhere to learn, and will probably encounter historical discourses that might be false, hateful or excessively biased.

The teaching of history in schools, even of the recent past, remains the best way to encourage critical thinking in pupils and students in the face of such exclusionary discourses and to promote, within the limits of democratic tolerance, a healthy debate about the past and its interpretation. A teacher in Sousse believes: "I have to learn the knowledge but also have a sensitivity to aesthetics… We must focus on the oral," he adds, emphasising that, "popular poetry" (MC13) in particular can be a way to generate these emotions. A Gafsa teacher agrees:

> Interactivity is important but it takes time, you have to lighten some lessons and focus on writing and interaction with the student in order to have his opinion, and not get lost in an information flow... We must try to avoid tiring the students but we also must make them understand the role of intellectuals and the contribution of philosophies of the Enlightenment and the Arab elite, classical literature, journalistic and associational activity, the education sector... The student must not remain stuck to the book but should develop his own culture: it is his teacher who must help him in his readings... The role of the course is the awakening of the student to all news and to encourage him to ask questions, then he can enrich his own readings. (MC04)

A more lively and interactive approach to teaching, soliciting individual memories and narratives, would be a way to overcome the rigid split between history and memory. It is also a way to go beyond the official historical discourse, which sometimes marginalises the memories of minority groups.

3. Collective memory and democratic pluralism: memories of minorities and of the transition's 'losers'

Memorial initiatives in times of transition can be highly beneficial for building democracy, but they also carry significant risks. Vigilance is thus required. Indeed, some memorialisation initiatives, and generally any discourse around the past, can generate or maintain divisions within a society, leading to a form of victimization, feelings of injustice and marginalisation, or even a desire for revenge. This is particularly the case when certain memories are silenced, excluded from official discourse of a State, to the benefit of a mythical and unilateral understanding of the past. Marginalized groups are victimized twice: once by the violation of their rights, and a second time by the exclusion of their memories from official discourse, which further impacts their lack of recognition.

A history teacher in Sousse thinks it necessary to revive the direct testimonies of survivors to integrate their memory in the corpus of history:

> We must change the methodology of teaching history, promoting collective memory and transcribing memories. My father is an activist, he left high school several times to give his testimony, but these militants have been ignored for a long time. The students are unaware of who Tahar Sfar is.[9] It's necessary to organize festivals, commemorations, solicit testimonies... The names of streets are often focused on foreigners, which distorts national identity especially when several personalities of the national movement are not recognized. Sometimes it is limited to the names of members of the Destour party but not of martyrs of the revolution. (MC23).

In Gafsa, a history teacher regrets:

> The last Bey,10 Lamine, is taught, as are Moncef Bey and Mohamed Sadok Bey,[11] but the others are unknown... This period of 250 years, which marks the reign of the Husseinite dynasty (1705-1957) is important, but to sum it up in 4 or 5 pages is insufficient. As a teacher, through my reading I have got to know the details of this time. There are Beys who served Tunisia, it is necessary to be objective... We must teach all the details of Ben Youssef and Thaalbi as well; history is summarized from 1934 until 1956 and only covers Bourguiba: it is an injustice to the country because it is the beginning of reforms, which were then taken forward in the future. We must recognize the role of Bourguiba but also mention other activists... The role of the UGTT is not even mentioned, it is limited to its date of creation and one or two of its functions, but not the real fight that it experienced with the party before 1946. It's as if the writers of textbooks wanted to limit the role of Farhat Hached[12] in history to benefit Bourguiba: maybe it is intentional? Instead I had to start with Mohammed Ali Hammi[13] in the 1920s, and then Farhat Hached in 1930, to understand the beginning of trade union activities in a separate lesson. (MC01)

These particular memories, which disagree with the 'official' and dominant version of history, are still too often overlooked. Indeed, the past of a state is generally regarded by governments as an important resource for building values, and it is characteristic of authoritarian governments to control the official way the past is told and presented. This 'politics of memory' is a manipulation of history for partisan purposes: the use of collective myths to establish legitimacy and political support led entire communities to see themselves erased by false portrayals and

[9] Tahar Sfar, activist and leader in the Neo Destour Party, was part of its first executive office when it was created on March 2, 1934.

[10] The Beys of Tunis were the monarchs of Tunisia from 1705, when the Husainid dynasty acceded to the throne, until 1957, when the monarchy was abolished.

[11] History textbooks are limited to presenting only some of the Beys of Tunis: Lamine Bey, the last Bey was deposed by Bourguiba and the National Constituent Assembly in 1957; Moncef Bey, a nationalist who opposed the Vichy regime was deposed and deported, died in exile in 1943, and buried in Tunisia in a popular funeral. Sadok Bey is the King who gave Tunisia its first modern constitution in 1861.

[12] Farhat Hached (فرحات حشاد) (2 February 1914 - 5 December 1952) was a Tunisian trades unionist and one of the leaders of the pro-independence Tunisian national movement, along with Habib Bourguiba and Salah ben Youssef. He was assassinated by the French intelligence services.

[13] Mohamed Ali Hammi, Tunisian trade unionist, founded the first Tunisian trade union centre in 1924.

stereotypes.[14] Collective memory then becomes the product of social contestation[15] and new cycles of violence may reappear.

In this sense, memory and history are intrinsically linked to politics: history is always reinterpreted to serve the objectives of power, even in democratic societies. One can thus interpret the strong presence of the heroic past of France through the many plaques commemorating the victims of two world wars found at the entrance of almost every village of the country, while the war in Algeria is still largely ignored. It is clear that history serves to shape communities and national identity beyond religious, ethnic, political or regional divisions. Thus, it helps to strengthen the legitimacy of power. Often, this process of legitimation through this 'politics of memory' implies a certain distortion, or an embellishment of the facts: dark episodes tend to be minimized, overlooked or justified. Historical discourse sees itself homogenized and simplified to serve this national goal.

This approach is problematic in the context of public history education, because it shrinks the possibility of debate and reduces critical thinking and nuance. A history teacher in Sousse says, to the contrary, that one needs a:

> Constructive methodology where the student himself makes the deduction, but the reality is different because my colleagues use a unilateral methodology, where the teacher is the sole possessor of knowledge because of his training. The student prefers summaries; he remains passive, so it is for the teacher to find a balance. (MC14).

In Gafsa, teachers emphasize the importance of entrusting students with a more proactive role as "the student needs to see and to discover new things, it is fun to colour a map while dictation is heavy... Before, we proceeded by dictation, whereas now there are new methods using computers, through a series of videos conforming to the duration of the course. It allows a better understanding: this is the digital age" says a teacher (MC03), highlighting new opportunities offered by these technologies.

Giving students a more active role would help reduce the risk of the political use of history, which often tends to a form of homogenisation: perspectives and diverse interpretations are reduced, the most complex events are simplified to excess. This is particularly problematic in the context of a democratic transition, because pluralism and debate are the specific characteristics of liberal democracy and should not be threatened under any circumstances.

[14] Hass, V., Les enjeux de la transmission : les risques de la mémoire partisane et de l`instrumentalisation de l'histoire, Carnets du GRePS, 1, 2009.

[15] Ben Alaya, D., La réappropriation d'éléments de l'Histoire sur Facebook dans un contexte tunisien post-révolutionnaire, *Educacao e Cultura Contemporanea*, vol. 11, 24, 2014, pp. 21-33.

The political manipulation of school history textbooks can take several forms: the selection of facts, discourses that suggest conclusions to be privileged, the choice of the context in which certain people or groups are described, dissemination of stereotypes about people or specific groups, using photographs designed to communicate specific messages, or the use of established language that leaves no room for doubt and excludes debate or dilemmas.[16] A teacher in Gafsa says that in the textbooks used in his class there is:

> A focus on the Destour party, that of Bourguiba. The old Destour of Thaalb is taught from the 1920s and 1930s up to the separation, but after that there are references to almost nothing more, except through minor notes. Bourguiba is the dominant character *par excellence* in the lessons, while Mahmoud Matri[17] is barely referenced. Personally I quote other political figures such as Mahmoud Matri, just to give balance to the lessons and so that the student has a more or less coherent and balanced idea of the history of his country. Especially during that time, there was not only Bourguiba: there were other personalities with him and it is necessary to cite them.

Teachers are tempted to fill in themselves the failures they perceive in the historical narrative conveyed in textbooks. Their training is thus essential. A delicate balance must be found between a multitude of particular memories and the mythologizing of a unified national past. Ignored memories must be able to be added to this liberal memory without leading to an overly extreme cacophony of memories that threaten once again the social fabric. To maintain compliance with democratic principles, one should therefore be able to demystify the recent past to represent it no longer monolithically, but pluralistically. The question is, in particular, how this position can be translated in school textbooks.

In the absence of such an opening in the debate, particular memories that diverge from the 'official' and dominant version of history are ignored. Collective memory is therefore a selective choice of personalities and events from the past. Minority memories, those that are not found in this cohesive narrative conveyed by the State, may thus disappear along with those who carry them. Indeed, history is also a way to preserve the memory of certain events beyond the disappearance of the groups who directly possess those memories. According to Halbwachs, to perpetuate itself, collective memory needs a group which remembers collectively: a nation, an ethnic, cultural, religious group, or even a family. The collectivity of the group influences its ability to remember: a group with fluid contours, or whose identity is strictly imposed only from the outside, lacks this unique sense of belonging. In these cases, it may prove more difficult to perpetuate the memories of their marginalization. If the state does not perpetuate their memory

[16] Special Rapporteur to report in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on the writing and teaching of history, the United Nations General Assembly, August 9, 2013, A / 68/296, pp . 19-20.

[17] Mahmoud El Materi, doctor, nationalist and activist who founded the Neo Destour Party with Habib Bourguiba in 1934 and chaired the executive bureau of the party.

through official commemorations or through the teaching of history, it is likely that they will end up disappearing.

Education plays a key role in the recognition of victimized groups and marginalized memories, and is an important tool in the context of transitional justice.

4. Human rights, history and collective memory

These various issues related to memory and to teaching are parts of a clear legal framework: international, regional and national.

The international level

This framework includes in particular the right of all to access their cultural heritage, including on the basis of Article 15(1)(a) of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), and the right of all to education, as stated in Article 13 of the ICESCR and Articles 28 and 29 of the Convention on the rights of the child. We can also mention the right of access to information and knowledge and dissemination, based on the right to freedom of expression, as enshrined in Article 19 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and that includes the freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas. Access to knowledge and scientific information is another dimension of the right of all to benefit from scientific progress, as set out in section 15(1)(b) of the ICESCR.

The national level

All rights related to education, culture, history, and to children's rights are enshrined in the Tunisian Constitution of 27 January 2014, which also recognizes the importance of historical events and the participation of the people in forging their history and their State. Similarly, the law on transitional justice is the basis for future work on memorialization, which states this as the main task of the Truth and Dignity Commission (TDC, Instance Vérité et Dignité), which created a special sub-committee for the purpose.

Furthermore, the Tunisian Constitution has given a special place to recent history. It establishes the basic principles to fight against the return to an authoritarian or dictatorial regime and recognizes a set of rights related to education and teaching, while focusing on the most sensitive social groups: children and the disabled.

The Tunisian law on transitional justice[18] cites in its Article 1 its purpose to "preserve and archive collective memory". Section 5 of the Act proposes that: "The preservation of national memory is a right guaranteed to all generations of Tunisians and Tunisia, and an obligation borne

[18] Law No. 2013-53 of 24 December 2013 on the establishment of transitional justice.

by the State and all institutions that fall under its tutelage, to learn from it and commemorate the victims." The main body responsible for Transitional Justice, the Truth and Dignity Commission (TDC) recommends taking all measures it deems necessary to preserve national memory on the victims of violations. It may also set up activities required for this purpose (Article 44, Law No. 2013-53). Finally, at the end of its work, the TDC "entrusts all of its documents and records to the National Archives or to a preservation institution of national memory created for this purpose".

For teachers interviewed, the TDC is at the heart of this law on transitional justice as it falls under the competence of the Commission to "uncover the truth objectively" (MC25). "An academic and scholarly rewriting is necessary that reflects the importance of historical political personalities" (MC33). According to a history teacher in Gafsa, "The TDC must correct history to achieve its objective to ensure fairness for everyone. The preservation of collective memory is not about one person but concerns civil society, through an international approach ... We must not lose and constrain national history, memory that brings the people together can only protect against extremism and ensure our love for the country" (MC09). Another teacher in Gafsa believes that, "We need legal procedures, such as laws permitting access to the archive. The TDC should be encouraged and above all free from any media harassment or political exploitation to do its job under proper conditions" (MC40).

Teachers, however, believe that such a mission requires transparency, objectivity and neutrality, but some fear that it may already no longer be possible due to the interference of politicians and "the diversion of the TDC" that many deplored.

5. Memory and memorialisation

States emerging from conflict or repression are increasingly called upon to engage in the implementation of active memorial policies, to honour the memory of victims, recognize the violations of human rights, and provide guarantees of non-repetition.[19]

Thus, since the 1980s, the creation of memorials has become synonymous with public and official recognition of human rights violations: it is a duty of gratitude to the victims, a necessity to prevent further violence and seeks to redefine mutual co-existence in the same country. Sites of memory, or public commemorations, are a representation of a specific event, whatever the period in which it occurred (war, conflict, massive and serious violations of human rights) or of the persons concerned by such events (including soldiers, fighters, victims, leaders or political activists and activists of civil society).[20] It therefore drives a form of social unification of

[19] Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on memory processes, *op. cit.*, p. 4.
[20] Bickford, Louis , 'Memory works / memory works', in *Transitional Justice, Culture and Society / Beyond Outreach*, ed. Clara Ramirez-Barat, New York, Council of Social Research, 2014.

memory in the public space. Expressions of public memory take very different forms: actual sites of violations (concentration camps, torture and detention centres, places of massacres, gravesites), representative sites (monuments bearing the names of victims, changing the names of streets, squares, or infrastructure, museums, memoirs), or activities (public apologies, reburial, tours, shows, exhibitions, etc.) All of these modes can be mobilized as part of the teaching of history, including "through books, art, theatre plays," attests one teacher in Sousse:

> We need movies and songs for all the figures of the country. People are not interested in men of culture. There is not even a festival for Abu Kacem Chebbi[21] whom we study in our last school years; there is none for Saliha, Naima, and Oulaya.[22] Culture is a mechanism for the preservation of collective memory: Europeans have understood this. (MC13)

In Gafsa, a history teacher gives great importance to:

> Documentation, transcription, academic preservation by creating specialized institutions, the preservation of oral heritage (cultural, media, education activities)… Cultural activities, around political figures like Farhat Hached to generate among students the desire to learn about the history of activists, because now the student is empty. I wish that one would focus on the *fellagas*,[23] the relationship between the unions and the party, armed resistance, union activity... It must respect diversity in the creation of history. (MC24)

Since the 1980s, there has been a frenzy of memorial activity, with a proliferation of phenomena memorializing the past,[24] which appear increasingly related to the recognition of the victims and national reconciliation.[25] There is talk of the 'work' or 'duty' of memory, as a means of struggle against injustice or denial, and to promote reconciliation. This has been codified in the Durban Declaration - adopted on September 8, 2001 after the World Conference against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance - in which states stressed:

> It is essential to remember the crimes and injustices of the past, regardless of the place and the time when they occurred, to unequivocally condemn the tragedies caused by racism and to tell the historical truth to achieve […] reconciliation and the building of societies based on justice, equality and solidarity.[26]

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[21] A great Tunisian poet (1909-1934). Part of his famous poem *Iradatou Hayet al* (Wanting to live) has been integrated into the Tunisian national anthem.

[22] Famous Tunisian singers of the 20th century.

[23] The term fellaga or fellagha (Arabic: الفلاقة) is used to denote a Tunisian or Algerian fighter in the struggle for independence from French domination.

[24] Miguel A. Marin Luna, "The Evolution and Present Status of the Laws of Wars" Reports of Course of the International Law Academy, vol. 92, 1957, p. 652.

[25] Robins, S., "Challenging the Therapeutic Ethic: a Victim-Centered Evaluation of the Transitional Justice Process in East Timor ", *International Journal of Transitional Justice* , Vol. 6. No. 1 (March 2012), pp. 85-105.

[26] Gensburger, S. and Lavabre, M.-C. "Entre devoir de mémoire et abus de mémoire : la sociologie de la mémoire comme tierce opposition », in *Histoire, Mémoire et Epistémologie*. Autour de Paul Ricoeur, Bertrand Müller, éd. Lausanne, Ed. Payot, 2004.

6. The role of education in transitional justice

In his report devoted to the writing and teaching of history, the Special Rapporteur of the United Nations on Cultural Rights drew attention to the fact that:

> In the teaching of history, an important distinction must be made between, on the one hand, the teaching at primary and secondary level, where the state has important responsibilities to put in place appropriate curricula and minimum levels of education and, secondly, higher education, where academic freedom must be guaranteed and the state should not seek to influence programmes.[27]

Yet the teaching of history is often driven by political aims and influenced by cultural specificities in each society, thus helping to build the identity of a nation. Education has a particularity, compared to other 'mechanisms' of transitional justice, in that it touches all generations: both those emerging from conflict or who have directly experienced the dictatorship, and those who follow them.

The revision of school curricula is a particularly important issue for the new government, which emerged after a major political transition, because it gives him the opportunity to offer a new narrative of the recent past, which will help build the legitimacy of the nascent state. A teacher in Gafsa criticizes the supplied textbooks, arguing that:

> Their production quality is mediocre, the book comes apart after two weeks. There are plenty of mistakes: for example the date of April 9, 1938 is the celebration of the martyrs, in the book it says it was the day 22 people died, but this is false, they were many more. I remarked on this to the inspector.[28] The content is acceptable, it is rich in documents, but it must be improved. (MC04)

In Sousse one finds the same view, as shown by a history teacher:

> The textbook is the realization of a state policy that puts the student in his African and Arab environment. Students now ignore the details for ideological or political reasons. There is a real problem because we seek to develop thinking, but with these ideological limits we will not create a collective memory and identity, because one needs a memorial to do that. We must give the story its true value; I am for

[27] The Special Rapporteur to report in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on the writing and teaching of history, the United Nations General Assembly, August 9, 2013, A / 68/296, p.15.

[28] The events of April 8th and 9th 1938 mark the first major event of the Neo Destour. Party, where leaders called for demonstrations against colonisation and to request a Tunisian Government and a Parliament. The protests gathered thousands of people in Tunis and other cities. They were marked with a hundred dead and wounded, the arrest of politburo members of the Neo Destour, their banishment and the prohibition of the party newspaper. After Independence, 9th April was proclaimed National Day of Martyrs.

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> organizing courses around such themes with comparisons of different constitutions in the world, the stories of wars and revolutions. (MC16).

The teaching of history should strengthen the critical thinking capacities of the younger generation, while building democratic citizenship. It is with this goal in mind that many truth commissions include among their final recommendations the reform of history teaching and the addition of civic or human rights education in the curricula.

History textbooks: between policy and pedagogy

History textbooks thereby acquire a fundamental social and political role, and will therefore be subject to significant political contestation. The selection procedure for history textbooks is particularly sensitive: in some cases, the State may indeed be tempted to select only works highlighting the 'official' version of the past through public grants or by buying in quantity a single textbook for public schools. Understanding the process of drafting and selecting history textbooks is therefore a good way of understanding their politicized nature.

Indeed, history textbooks, enjoying a very limited space, are always obliged to make difficult choices from among many historical facts, and are compelled to present them in a simplified way, especially in the primary grades. A history teacher regrets that while the text book "uses different materials (speeches, maps, texts),

> Above all the texts are too long, the student loses concentration... We must adopt acertain logic to the teaching of the history of Tunisia in the 20s, 30s and 40s, the world wars, then colonialism, independence…. The student loses the thread of ideas, you need a logic for better results. It would be interesting to study the history of Tunisia before that of the rest of the world. (MC02)

A history teacher in Gafsa believes that: "the programme is not updated to discuss the independence of Tunisia, you must recognize the role of martyrs, it does not suffice to talk of the for the status of 'combatants'. You should also add the recent facts of the revolution" (MC03), he added, regretting that this is not yet the case. Textbooks thus appear as though necessarily partial and biased: they cannot, by definition, and by the very limits of their material support, report all points of views and all of history.

Textbooks are therefore potentially dangerous tools, permitting the dissemination of messages of hate or political ideologies that divide, as they cater to a young audience that is more vulnerable by definition. This manipulation can result also from selectivity in the choice of facts, by spreading ethnic and racial stereotypes, by forgetting decisive events or dark elements, or

through oversimplification. Using a language that denies nuance, these books can sometimes leave no room for doubt and debate, therefore undermining democracy.

There are several ways for teachers to guard against the politicization of their teaching. Preserving the possibility for them to freely use alternative textbooks or supplementary teaching materials, is a way to ensure that students and pupils can learn about other aspects of the history they are taught. A history teacher in Sousse said:

> One does not have to be glued to the book, except for baccalaureate students to avoid conflicts between teachers, especially where there is competition... Teachers do not have the means to go elsewhere, we must reform. The new methodology depends in practice on the interactivity of the student: personally I adopt such an approach. It is necessary to review the book, take time and involve specialists beyond the inspectors and university professors. The quality of the textbook must be improved, which depends on resources, it is necessary to invest in this area for a better future (MC 13)

Pedagogy, teacher training, and the use of alternative teaching methods, are among the ways of minimising these risks, as well as ensuring the freedom of teachers to choose their teaching methodology. A history teacher in Sousse says that he:

> Must respect the curriculum but there is a freedom to use all sources to enrich it. The interactivity of new technology allows us a certain dynamic in understanding information. I have the textbook and I use other digital sources. The textbook has been overtaken: we must update it since it is frozen, it is not motivating and dynamic enough; for the student it seems superficial. The textbook that is used is old, dating from 2003. There were changes made in 2007 but it is not enough. I therefore use new technologies. (TM14)

A civics teacher in Gafsa says she uses "as support, the Constitution. It is necessary to be up to date; I sometimes use an article to enrich things but due to a lack of time I cannot find the ability to teach everything. I teach the material one hour per week – it is not enough," she regrets. (MC06)

Furthermore, the use of the news and of oral history by those who teach history is an interesting pedagogical tool, which allows students to discuss the past and encourages them to take a critical approach when observing the facts. Visits, as a class, to sites of memory, participation in ceremonies of remembrance or watching movies, are similar examples. In some transitional contexts, the revision of old textbooks which conveyed distorted visions of the past and hate messages can be difficult in the short term and is likely to generate strong opposition: the use of these alternative methods may then be especially interesting. In particular, a multidisciplinary,

interdisciplinary approach, offering a pluralist view of history can be beneficial, as recommended by UNESCO to contribute to "overcoming" the dominant version of history.[29]

Finally, the work of truth commissions also constitutes in itself a fundamental teaching tool,[30] which can be an important resource for teachers. As such, it is important to include them early in the process of transitional justice. Indeed, the recommendations of truth commissions constitute a major turning point in that they help civil society organizations to maintain the need for memorialization and history teaching on the agenda. These recommendations often limit the policy space of governments that, were it otherwise, might be tempted to destroy the places of remembering, and thereby erase the memories attached to them.[31]

In 2004 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Sierra Leone published, in collaboration with UNICEF, a version of its final report for children and adolescents, to which more than 100 children directly participated in the design. Similarly, a large number of truth commissions have recommended that detention facilities are transformed into places of memory or, failing that, that memorials be erected in remembrance. This is true of the Commission of Inquiry in Chad[32] (that operated between 1990 and 1992), of the Equity and Reconciliation Commission of Morocco, the Salvadorian Truth Commission,[33] and of the Guatemalan Commission for Historical Clarification.

Some teachers interviewed have emphasised certain forms of memorialisation that they consider a just tribute to different national, regional and local personalities, from the areas of politics, trade unions, culture, arts and others. A teacher from Gafsa recalls that: "it is the role of civil society through study centres to preserve memory, or through a museum. The ceremonies are a joke, but a statue, why not: it's already been done for Abdelaziz Akermi,[34] for example." (MC02) Other teachers prefer museums; and notably regional museums, as well as the creation of festivals and days of memory. These are some potential avenues for the TDC to follow.

Teachers

Teachers clearly have an essential role in the process of transitional justice. Their level of qualification and skills, their ability to innovate and find creative teaching methods to fill or to

[29] Special Rapporteur in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on the writing and teaching of history, the United Nations General Assembly, August 9, 2013, A / 68/296, p . 22.

[30] De Greiff, Pablo 'On Making the Invisible Visible', in Ramirez-Barat, Clara (Ed.),*Transitional Justice, Culture and Society*, New York: ICTJ, 2014.

[31] Special Rapporteur to report in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on memory processes, the United Nations General Assembly, 23 January 2014, A / HRC / 25/49, p. 11.

[32] Abakar, Mahamat Hassan, *Chronique d'une enquête criminelle nationale. Le cas du régime de Hissène Habré*, 1982-1990, Paris, l'Harmattan, 2006, pp. 110-111.

[33] Special Rapporteur to report in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, *op. cit.*

[34] Abdelaziz Akermi is a militant figure in the Gafsa region, which lobbied against French colonization and refused to disarm after the internal self-government in 1955. He was accused by the regime of Bourguiba for having plotted against the regime, was sentenced to death with other activists and personalities, and executed in January 1963.

complement existing textbooks, are key: textbooks and their content should only be a basis, leaving them a good margin of manoeuvre and interpretation. Classrooms should be opened to discussions on controversial issues of the past. A history teacher in Gafsa underlined the "importance of teacher training without forgetting to follow the programme, but also to know how enrich it." (MC09) A civics teacher in Sousse added, however, that: "teachers have no desire to look beyond the book: this is a generation that has no taste for history, even though, for me, it is more important than mathematics. But I see it among my colleagues: they no longer love their students, it is no longer a vocation for them, but only a source of income." (MC17)

Thus, education, training and capacity building of teachers are at the heart of historic memory work in times of political transition. They will largely determine the degree of innovation that teachers will be able to bring to the learning process, and the extent to which they may use creativity and critical thinking to overcome the shortcomings of textbooks and teaching materials they have to use.[35]

For instance, a history teacher in Sousse explains how he uses video to complement his textbooks: "Sometimes there are 18 materials for the same course, it's necessary to choose the material to study otherwise the lessons will be incomprehensible. There are several materials in the textbook, we must keep the best. I have several videos on the topics of history that are more comprehensible to the student." (MC23) Also in Sousse, a history teacher was concerned over what is perceived as a lack of academic support:

> There is a certain freedom in the handling of information, the current book contains materials that are sometimes insufficient, we try to copy others = with what means we have or through the students… I have a computer but not a projector, the inspector nevertheless forces us to use the new technology. (MC18)

A Gafsa teacher feels the same:

> There are also several course materials that exceed the expected duration of the lesson; materials must be targeted to have better results. I think the size of the book sometimes exceeds 400 pages, for commercial reasons - because the remuneration of the producer of the book depends on the number of pages. While in reality the interests of the student should prevail over that of the producer... The teachers who produce the book receive the money, but it is often cut and pasted from the Internet. (MC01)

[35] Special Rapporteur to report in the field of cultural rights, Farida Shaheed, on the writing and teaching of history, *op. cit*., p. 21.

Teachers must therefore be integrated early in the process of transitional justice, including in the drafting of new history textbooks because, to a large extent, the success of its mechanisms, for future generations depends also on their work. Teachers are of course subject to the partiality of their own subjective memory, and their vision of the past will undoubtedly be shaped by their identities and their own experiences. This cannot be erased: it is important however to raise awareness of this risk so that, conscious of their own subjectivity, teachers are better equipped to aim for objectivity.

The importance of debate

In order for teachers to actively contribute to transitional justice, the vertical picture of teaching as a top-down transmission of knowledge should be abandoned in favour of a more egalitarian vision centred on critical discussion and participatory debates. The goal of history lessons, more than the dogmatic and unilateral transmission of unquestioned knowledge, is to spark the imaginative emotion of the students, and to encourage their independence of thought so that they become autonomous and enlightened citizens. Deliberation and disagreement are indeed at the heart of democratic life: it is essential to transmit these values at the earliest stage, and to develop the ability in children to question assumptions and to peacefully resolve disagreements. As a retired teacher in Sousse suggests:

> It is necessary to give the student the opportunity to be trained to research and analyse materials in order to help him prepare the course. Finding out is difficult, the student is not a recording tool. We must help him grow, teach him to search for information, to not stick to his notes... The development of ideas and critical knowledge from the youngest age is important... The world is undergoing economic change, we need a participatory democracy, everything will change with the teaching of history, mathematics, humanities... We must prepare the student for productivity, management, and for a new way of living. (MC16)

Another teacher of history in Gafsa said that “Interactivity… is the new pedagogy demanded by inspectors.” (MC11) Indeed, "this is the participatory method. It is the student who builds the lesson and brings out the information. As teacher, you present the material and you allow the student the opportunity to enrich the lesson by himself. It is a teaching methodology that has proved its success and has been used for a long time." (MC29)

In Sousse, the majority of teachers expressed criticism of the old, ‘top-down’ method:

> Many people limit themselves to obtaining the degree, while it is much more complicated than that, the development of critical thinking and knowledge from a young age is important. A student owning a computer is different from one living in a remote area. Our children are more effective with the use of computers today (MC16).

This adaptation of teaching methodology is not always easy, especially when it comes to controversial, highly emotional or very recent subjects such as mass human rights violations or regime change. Class discussions can then become very lively. Teachers therefore need to create safe spaces for dialogue, to encourage positive discussion and teach children the value of mutual respect in disagreement. Learning to become a citizen is, indeed, to know one's history and values, but also - and primarily - behavioural learning, i.e. to develop capacities to participate, deliberate, listen and accept to peacefully disagree.

Part II: The (re)invention of the past in Tunisia: a political strategy?

7. The figure of Bourguiba

Recent work on the history of Tunisia covers a major part of the period concerned by the transitional justice process. Indeed, the 2013 law concerns the period from 1 July 1955 to 31 December 2013, which is characterized by a key personality of the recent history of Tunisia: former President Habib Bourguiba (1903 -2000). A major figure in the political, social, cultural, and economic history of contemporary Tunisia, Bourguiba is also a controversial figure. As a politician at the origin of major social reforms, he also represents an authoritarianism that crushed all forms of opposition, and allowed very few freedoms. His return to the current political scene is undeniable: following the Tunisian revolution of January 14 2011, in the avenue that bears his name, monumental statues of him have returned to the cities of Tunis (June 2016) and Sousse (August 2016), while some of his closest advisers and supporters formed new coalitions in the current political landscape. All these factors have prompted the Barometer research team to choose the figure of Bourguiba, at the heart of the process of transitional justice, as the object of this third study.

For the majority of commentators and historians, and within Tunisian national memory itself, Bourguiba remains a key figure in the recent history of Tunisia, and seems to have marked the entire period from 1927 to 1987 and even beyond. To many, he is still the main character of the national struggle against French colonisation, the leader of great social reforms in Tunisia, the liberator of women. His legacy runs deep.

A legacy of reforms

Politically, Bourguiba was the instigator of the abolition of the monarchy of the Beys, and the establishment of a republican regime after the country's independence. He unified the national justice system under civilian rule by abolishing the religious courts. Socially, his project to 'liberate' Tunisian women through the promulgation of the Personal Status Code has led to a radical change in society, which continues up to today and represents, in many respects, a model in the Arab world. A teacher of civics in Sousse thinks that Bourguiba is:

> A leader, he is our de Gaulle. As the first President of the Republic he was excellent. He introduced free education, while today studying is no longer free: everything costs money. I must say that it is he who permitted the emancipation of women, my father today is open but maybe at the time of the Beys he would not have been so. (MC17)

However, the teacher also acknowledges that "President Bourguiba is a human being: he has both good sides and down sides." Also in Sousse, another history teacher thinks:

> Of course, opponents of Bourguiba understood that Tunisian society cannot reject Bourguiba: this is noticeable in the media up to now... The study of the personality Bourguiba is important because he is a leader and a great figure of the 20th century, a great speaker. Tunisia is modern, it has distanced itself from extremism and Bourguiba was able to make the link between heritage and modernism. There are those who do not like Bourguiba, there is a conflict around his personality." (MC23)

In Gafsa, a history teacher added, recalling his own memory:

> There is a generation that lived through the protectorate and that respects Bourguiba. During the 1987 coup, people cried because Bourguiba was gone, this was the case for my father and my mother-in-law, who is herself a teacher. The educated generation of 1970 has a grudge against Bourguiba but there are among them rational people who respect him because he had a role in the modernization of Tunisia. The disaster is the current generation who cannot even form an opinion on Bourguiba: they speak of the 'dictator Bourguiba' and his 'victims' but they are ignorant and themselves the victims of an ideological conflict. It is an unconscious reaction in favour of a political position. (MC09)

A teacher of civics testified:

> I speak especially for the women of my region who thank Bourguiba for their situation today. His modern and liberating ideas allowed us to be free as women, to study and to work. Unlike young women now, who are willing to stay at home and do nothing, Bourguiba convinced us women of the importance of freedom and self-esteem. (MC27)

Bourguiba also made education the real engine of social change by making public education free and compulsory, and by creating public schools throughout the territory of the Republic. On the economic front, Bourguiba tried to provide the country with a specific business model, having experimented with several options, including the nationalisation of agricultural land in a collectivist manner, the creation of national economic enterprises, cooperativism, and controlled liberalism.

An authoritarian tendency

Despite these significant advances, Bourguiba also established an authoritarian regime that excluded the opposition from all sides (left, liberal, Arab nationalist, Islamist), including divergent voices within his regime: the prohibition of political parties, tight control of national organizations, establishing a presidential regime, the life presidency and elimination of opponents. A civics teacher in Sousse believed that: "his fault is that he was badly supported, with some exceptions... He should have given up power in 1970 with his brain disease: there was still some freedom then, but everything was lost with the idea of life presidency, but I don't think

it was his idea, it was his entourage who wanted to hold onto power. I experienced the Congress of Monastir,[36] after which there were only mistakes." (MC17)

Economically, the different experiments have led to a fragile national economy and had a very negative social impact. For many Tunisians during this period, purchasing power remained very low, while unemployment and job insecurity increased, leading to tragic events like those of 1978[37] and 1984.[38]

The balance sheet of the first president of Tunisia therefore remains uneven, ambivalent, and in the absence of any comprehensive historical or memory work, his image in personal or collective memory will remain mixed and ambiguous.[39]

A return to the frontline

Since the victory of Nidaa Tounes and the election of Beji Caid Essebsi in 2014, and following the formation of the new coalition government in early 2015, the transitional justice process has become more complex and threatened. A new government of 'national unity' formed after the election, contained members of the Islamist Ennahda and of Nidaa Tounes, who had focused its campaign on the theme of anti-Islamism - claiming its 'Destourien' heritage, as well as many representatives of the former ruling party of Ben Ali, the RCD.

This unusual combination was justified by the need to avoid an 'Egyptian scenario' and by the fight against jihadist terrorism, but it had complex effects, including on the invention of a new national narrative. This new configuration seems to have prompted the political elite to want to 'turn the page' on the past, and therefore stop supporting a TDC perceived as outdated, and tied to a bygone political era, that of the Troïka.

The 2010-2011 revolution has therefore gradually become absent from the public space, and still not really commemorated. Meanwhile, the security forces (police, National Guard, military) fighting against terrorism, are becoming the new and only 'martyrs' and are being awarded commemorative plaques in the city centre. Forgetting the past thus appears to be a guarantor of

[36] The principle of life presidency was decided by the party at the Congress of Monastir. It was later integrated into the text of the Constitution on 18 March 1975.

[37] On 26 January 1978, Black Thursday, a general strike called by the UGTT turned deadly, with 51 officially dead. The state of emergency was established. See: Chouikha, L. and Gobe, E., *Histoire de la Tunisie depuis l'indépendance,* La Découverte, p. 110.

[38] Following the raising of the prices of cereals and bread, on December 27, 1983, riots broke out across the country. The Government declared a state of emergency on January 3, 1984 and imposed a curfew while positioning tanks in the streets of the capital. Price rises were cancelled and an official death toll of 70 dead given.

[39] Entelis, J. P., 'L'héritage contradictoire de Bourguiba. Modernisation et intolérance politique' in Camau, M. and Geisser, V., (ed.), *Habib Bourguiba, La trace et l'héritage*, Paris/Aix en Provence, Karthala, «Science politique comparative», 2004, pp. 223-247.

stability in Tunisia: the recent past is reinvented, sometimes in a nostalgic manner. This process of erasure is facilitated by the slowness of real history teaching reform and memorialization.

The 'return of Bourguiba'?

Disappointments generated during the expeditious funeral of Bourguiba have, according to historian Kmar Bendana, fuelled the 'flame of memory' in Tunisians, and started to create the 'myth of Bourguiba'. Ben Ali, anxious to get rid of anyone who could have competed with him, deprived Tunisian of a national grieving for their deceased leader. A university history teacher in Sousse believes that:

> The problem is that Tunisians reason by analogy: they compare the situation of the country during the Bourguiba era with the situation today. For example, they compare the photos of Bourguiba next to Kennedy, while Marzouki could only meet with a simple minister when travelling to the United States. There is a form of nostalgia, especially given the depressing state of the country at all levels. This is encouraging the return of Bourguiba. (MC16)

In this context even the vocabulary of Bourguiba, his quotations and references are more and more current in the public space including, paradoxically, among his fiercest opponents.[40] There is no nuance: Bourguiba is presented either as an untouchable hero or as an entirely negative dictator. This inability to achieve an honest and full review of his person seems to be the result of a memory that is still 'warm', and of the lack of any real historiographical work on the subject.

As a consequence, there is still no consensual narrative on his policies or his private life. The Habib Bourguiba Museum, inaugurated on April 6, 2013 in his former residence in Monastir, helps nourish a Bourguiba 'myth' built around un-nuanced clichés with no historiographical work and never mentioning the dark side of his character, despite the significant work carried out recently shedding light on the systematic persecution of his opponents (Youssefistes,[41] leftists, Islamists, the military...), his tumultuous relationship with the UGTT, his crushing of the *Zaytouna*, the main religious institution, his dark role during the evacuation of French soldiers in Bizerte, the proclamation of life presidency, or his refusal to open up the Neo-Destour party. Within this one-sided story, maintained by both his supporters and detractors, Bourguiba appears alternately as the heir of Atatürk, the 'father' of the Code of Personal Status, the pro-American Francophile who struggled against the Ramadan fast for economic reasons, the 'builder of the modern state', the 'liberator of women' or the 'enemy of religion'. These various stereotypes deserve to be questioned critically in the light of Bourguiba's actual political engagement, because they also affect national memory. This work must begin in the classroom.

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[40] See Bendana, Kmar, «Relire les biographies de Bourguiba : Vie d'un homme ou naissance d'une nation ? », Maghreb et Sciences Sociales, 2005, pp. 106-118. For a biography of Bourguiba see: Belhassen S. and Bessis, S., 1988-1989, *Bourguiba*, Paris, Editions Jeune Afrique, 2 vol..

[41] *Youseffiste* is a label for those who supported Salah Ben Youssef, the major rival to Bourguiba in the national movement of independence.

Two recent highly political decisions reflect this resurgence of the memory and policies of the former President. The first of these is the return of the equestrian statue of Bourguiba to the avenue in Tunis that bears his name, a decision welcomed by a history teacher in Gafsa as a sign of national pride:

> I am against destroying a whole phase of our history. It is a period of which we must be proud. In Europe, people respect their history. It is necessary to teach all these stages and to preserve our memory. There are ancient monuments in Europe that are preserved, why all this hatred towards our history? We are now nostalgic for Bourguiba and we have restored his statue that was removed in 1987. Why all these contradictions? All this needs to be taught and respected, away from self-hatred. (MC02)

The second decision is the obligation for teachers to devote an hour to Bourguiba on April 6, to mark the anniversary of his death. According to Kmar Bendana, the reasons behind it are clear: the departure of Ben Ali and the difficulties of the post-revolution period have created a sense of remorse and nostalgia for him, at a time characterised by a cruel lack of leadership. The Bourguiba years have deeply and structurally marked Tunisia, however one evaluates these impacts today: education and public health, and the recognition of the human rights of women led to a transformation that swept the domestic sphere, which survives up to today. Mobilizing the legacy of '*bourguibism'* today is a way to appeal to these nostalgic feelings of a strong leader and a strong state, among Tunisians, and to gain political credit over 'Islamists' depicted as incompetent.

The resurgence of Salafism and religious extremism after the revolution has put again the question of women's rights at the heart of ideological and political debates, including during the drafting of the Constitution. Bourguiba has therefore grown as a reference to and unique actor in Tunisia's 'modernity' and reformism, but also as a shield against Islamist attempts to reshape society.

The figure of Bourguiba in politics: a mixed picture

For some politicians, Bourguiba remains a key figure, the 'founding father' of the Tunisian nation despite his failures and mistakes.[42] To his opponents, however, it is the image of a dictator who still marks their memory. Bourguiba is thus both a character embodying modernism and an authoritarian figure that missed his country's democratic turn, and therefore bears responsibility for the advent of Ben Ali. He is even in the eyes of some, in particular among Islamists, a dictator who attempted to permanently transform the configuration of society by eradicating certain trends, including religious ones, which he considered 'backward'. To them, the recent

[42] See in particular Belkhoja, T., *Les Trois Décennies de Bourguiba*, Paris, Arcanteres/Publisud, 1999. Essebsi, B., *Habib Bourguiba, le Bon Grain et l'Ivraie*, Tunis, Sud Editions, 2009. Charfi, M., Les ministres de Bourguiba, Paris, l'Harmattan, 1989. Chedli, A., *Bourguiba, Tel Que je l'ai Connu : la Transition Bourguiba/Ben Ali*, Tunis, Impression SIMPACT, 2011. Klibi, C. H., *Habib Bourguiba, Radioscopie d'un Règne*, Tunis Déméter, 2012. Mestiri, A., *Un Témoignage pour l'Histoire*, Tunis, Sud Editions, 2011. Mzali, M., *Un Premier Ministre de Bourguiba Témoigne*, Sud-Editions- Tunis, 2010.

reinstallation of the statue of Bourguiba at the heart of Tunis is hard to accept, and symbolizes the failure of the transitional justice process.

These two interpretations of his character remain meaningful and continue to deeply divide the political landscape of post-revolution Tunisia, as well as the three large blocks that compose it: the modernist Destour, the conservative Islamists, and the trade unionist left. Rejecting or claiming to represent the figure of Bourguiba today thus remains very much the compass of Tunisian political life.

For the modernist Destour, the figure of Bourguiba is the main policy reference: all political movements tend to the 'Destourien' tendency and they consider the former head of State as the spiritual father and the first source of inspiration for their political project. According to a civic education teacher in Sousse, "the older generation and young people are pro-Bourguiba; he is a leader until now, the error of Ben Ali is to have negatively affected the image of Bourguiba, and people resented that. We need a psychologist to analyze this reaction." (MC17)

These different movements that make up "the Destourien family"[43] do not deny the shortcomings, failures and mistakes of Bourguiba. They present themselves as "neo-Bourguibiens" combining the modernist project and the legacy of Bourguiba but adapting it to democracy, a missing element of his regime which, after the revolution, has become an inevitable claim. This 'Bourguiba' movement is widely embodied today by the political party Nidaa Tounes (Call of Tunisia), created by a former minister under Bourguiba, Beji Caid Essebsi. Nidaa Tounes built its legitimacy and credibility during the 2014 elections by claiming to be the inheritor of Bourguiba's memory and work, in a 'new and improved' version. A teacher of civic education in Sousse thought, however, that the current 'Bourguiba renaissance' is not only the result of the rhetoric of President Essebsi. Indeed, "'Bajbouj'[44] has been playing with the image of Bourguiba (through the wearing of glasses, for example) but that image, unfortunately, has nothing to do with Bourguiba. President Bourguiba was a visionary, Ben Ali was an idiot, the current president is looking for a solution for the current state of the country, that is his choice: he must bear it." (MC17)

This strategy obviously succeeded: Nidaa Tounes won a majority of seats in Parliament, and its candidate, Beji Caid Essebsi, was elected President of the Republic. The *Zaim* (the leader) Habib Bourguiba thereby became a true political model and slowly started to be rehabilitated in Tunisian collective memory and the public space, where the numerous squares and avenues

[43] Notably Nidaa Tounes, but also Al Moubadara and Machrou Toune. The Destourien movement refers to the Constitutional Liberal Party (الحزب الحر الدستوري, al-Ḥizb al-Ḥurr ad-Dustūrī), most commonly known as *Destour*, founded in 1920 to fight French colonial control. The term Destour is usually translated as 'constitutional', and referred to the Tunisian Constitution of 1863, the first in the Arab world.

[44] A nickname commonly given to President Beji Caid Essebsi.

bearing his name have never changed. This comeback is strongly symbolized by the 'physical' return of his statue to the Avenue bearing his name in the centre of Tunis, on 1st June 2016, after being taken down by Ben Ali in 1987. The fact that so many avenues and squares in Tunisia carry the name of Bourguiba is also a powerful symbol of his pre-eminence in the memorial field, and the persisting inability to really question his legacy.

For Islamists,[45] who paid the price of repression under Bourguiba,[46] the former Head of State is a purely dictatorial figure that destroyed Tunisian religious identity and wiped out the other strong man of the struggle for independence and the pan-Arabist tendency, Salah Ben Youssef. Bourguiba remains in their eyes the incarnation of a Western project, secular and counter to the Arab-Muslim roots of Tunisia. He is criticized for having suppressed the religious institution of Zaytouna and religious instruction, but also for the abolition of polygamy, the legalization of adoption, divorce, and even abortion. This national project profoundly contradicts the Islamist and conservative project based on the Sharia.

But while Bourguiba has long remained an enemy for the Islamist tendency, the recent rapprochement between Nidaa Tounes and Ennahda has allowed a more moderate discourse on the period of Bourguiba, and even a rehabilitation of his name among the religious side of Tunisian politics. It is therefore revealing that the return of the statue of the leader to downtown Tunis has not raised large protests among Ennahda party members, although it may have shocked its deeper base, which was more deeply impacted by the repression committed by the former president.

To the left[47] ***and trade unionists***,[48] also repeatedly victims of the Bourguiba regime, he is an ambivalent figure, a dictator but one who nevertheless shared certain of their aspirations, including the socialist dimension of its ideology (collectivist ambitions, educational reforms, access to health and freedom for women). In spite of these similarities, the Tunisian left largely suffered from this regime that repeatedly cracked down on them alongside the Islamists.

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[45] On the links between Bourguiba and Islam, see: Fregosi, F. , 'Bourguiba et la régulation institutionnelle de l'Islam. Les contours audacieux d'un gallicanisme à la tunisienne', in Camau, M. et Geisser, V. (Eds.), *Habib Bourguiba, La trace et l'Héritage, op. cit*., pp. 79-99. Hafisa, N., 'Bourguiba et le Code du Statut Personnel: Réflexions sur le recours à l'Ijtihad', in Camau, M. et Geisser, V. (Eds.) Habib Bourguiba, *La Trace et l'Héritage, op. cit*., pp. 69-78. Hajji, L*., Bourguiba et l'Islam. Le politique et le religieux*, Tunis, Sud Editions, 2011.

[46] See in this regard: Dhifallah, M., 'Les violations des droits des Islamistes: les détenus du mouvement de la tendance islamiste/Ennahdha, 1981-1992', in *Les violations des droits de l'Homme en Tunisie*, 1956-2013, Publications de la Coordination Nationale Indépendante de Justice Transitionnelle, Tunis, 2014, pp. 183-200 (in Arabic) ; Kchaou, S., 'Les violations des droits des islamistes en Tunisie: témoignages de victimes', in *Les violations des droits de l'Homme en Tunisie, 1956-2013, op. cit.,* pp. 201-214.

[47] On human rights violations against leftists: Belhedi. A., 'Les violations des droits de la gauche tunisienne d'après les procès 1968-1979, in *Les Violations des Droits de l'Homme en Tunisie, 1956-2013, op. cit*., pp. 109-124 (in Arabic); Marist, H., 'Les violations exercées sur la gauche tunisienne 1980-2010', in *ibid*., pp. 125-144 (in Arabic); and Bougerra, A., *De l'histoire de la gauche Tunisienne: le Mouvement Perspectives - 1963-1975*, éd. Cérès, Tunis, 1993.

[48] Ben Hmida, A., 'Les violations des droits des syndicalistes 1965-1978', in Les Violations des Droits de l'Homme en Tunisie, 1956-2013, op. cit., pp. 223-228; Saadaoui, F., 'Les violations des droits des syndicalistes - 1980-1985', in Ibid.

Perspectivists[49] in particular, emerged as a threat in the eyes of the ex-President, and were the object of a violent and organised repression, which still remains at the margins of history textbooks today. A history teacher in Gafsa confirms: "The role of the UGTT (the main trade union) is not mentioned in textbooks, it is limited to its date of creation and one or two of its functions, but nothing on the fight it had with the party before 1946. One would think that the people who wrote the textbooks wanted to limit the role of Farhat Hached[50] in history to preserve the legacy of Bourguiba: maybe it is intentional". A teacher in Sousse suggests the teaching of a separate lesson devoted entirely to learning the history of the labour movement. "The course materials are limited as regards the trade union experience: there are only 3 or 4 materials for classes, and since most of them do not concern political activity, I am often obliged to look elsewhere, because the documentation we have is limited. I wonder why that is? Some victims of the 1978 events[51] are also missing from textbooks. We must tell things as they are, we must love our country and do everything possible for its good; it is an obligation for all citizens." (MC01)

Towards a reconciliation of interpretations of memory?

These ambivalent interpretations reflect the ambivalence of Bourguiba himself. They can be considered as powerful characteristic of a democratic society based on pluralism and peaceful debate, and as such they should not be erased. The goal of transitional justice, in fact, is not necessarily to lead to a single and consensual narrative of the past, or to promote a unified conception of the role and place of Bourguiba in the country's history. Instead, resisting the unifying temptations of political power in authoritarian regimes, the recognition of the ambiguities, discrepancies and complexities of this plural memory is at the heart of the democratic exercise, and key to a successful transition. A plurality of interpretations and a diversity of views are indeed the sign of a truly open democracy. Some controversies may even strengthen social solidarity within such a democracy: the very act of entering into discursive conflict with an opponent, in effect, creates relationships where there had not been one before. It signals an agreement to peacefully disagree.

The reconciliation that transitional justice seeks could be generated naturally by such peaceful conflicts of interpretation and social disagreement, particularly through the work of the TDC, and be reflected in textbooks and in the public space more generally. The purpose of transitional justice should not be to extract from memory everything that drives debate: transitional justice is not intended to provide a monolithic narrative of the past, nor to turn the page on what happened in pronouncing a final verdict on it. It is, rather, to establish the legitimate foundations for a democratic, pluralistic and healthy debate; a framework in which freedom of expression is preserved within the limits of democratic tolerance, and where these different interpretations are

[49] Members of the "Perspective" group, a leftist movement severely repressed in the 1970s. See: *Le Mouvement Perspective, 1963-1975*, ed. Ceres, Tunis, 1993.

[50] While some textbooks do mention trade union leader and national hero Farhat Hached, they tend to overlook the major role of the UGTT in the national struggle for independence.

[51] The events of 26 January 1978, during the first general strike driven by the UGTT since independence, led to a hundred deaths, but are still not mentioned or explained in history textbooks. .

openly acknowledged. Classrooms, textbooks, and of course teachers, are at the front lines of this important exercise.

8. Bourguiba in history textbooks

Tunisian history textbooks which dedicate passages to the former President are the following: the history textbook for the 6th year of primary school,[52] that for the 9th year of primary school and that for the 4th year of secondary education, which is the year of the baccalauréat in the Tunisian schooling system.[53] Careful analysis of these three books, which date from 2014, 2015 and 2013 respectively, reveal that they do not devote a specific chapter to Bourguiba as such, but that he appears in different lessons, in particular in the ones on the struggle for independence and statebuilding after 1956. It is revealing that history textbooks have not been subject to a revision of their contents after the 2011 revolution: therefore, they contain nothing on the period of Ben Ali. The national educational centre, the public establishment responsible for creating and revising textbooks, has not yet audited new history textbooks and only reissues the same ones each year. A major revision of both the content and methodology of the history textbooks used in Tunisian classrooms is thus a necessity.

A history teacher in Sousse believes that: “There is nothing dedicated to Bourguiba’s personality but some passages reflecting the activities of the Destour party before and after 1934. The presentation of Bourguiba and his activities occurs throughout this lesson." (MC21) Another history teacher in Sousse states that “there is no course dedicated to Bourguiba, he is quoted in the framework of the national movement in the late 1930s. The study of historical eras is, however, always based on Bourguiba. Students can understand these events through such a well-known political figure. To begin from a different figure would require more explanation." (MC14) Similarly, in Gafsa a teacher thinks that “there is no course dedicated to Bourguiba: he appears in the lesson that chronicles the events of the 1930s and his contribution to the development of the Personal Status Code and in the liberation movement of women, although Tahar Hadad was a true pioneer in regard to women's status." (MC05)

The three textbooks adopt a chronological approach.[54] They deal with several events and characters, considering their role and various involvements in the national movement struggle against French colonialism and in building the independent state.

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[52] Basic education in Tunisia covers nine years of education and is compulsory and free, up to the age of 16.

[53] History textbook for students of the 6th year of basic education, Tunis, National Centre for Education, 2014. History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, National Center for Education, 2015. History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, National Centre for Education, 2013.

[54] The manual for the 9th year of basic education follows the following structure:

- The national movement in the 1920s, pp. 15-23;
- The national movement in the 1930s, pp. 24- 32;

A chronological approach

The recent history of Tunisia is presented in the three textbooks from the mid-nineteenth century, beginning with the adoption of the Fundamental Pact in 1857, the promulgation of the Constitution of 1861, the reforms initiated by Prime Minister Kheireddine and French colonisation (1881). Then the textbooks begin to discuss the fight against colonisation, where the figure of Bourguiba first appears. A teacher in Gafsa confirms that he teaches:

> The national movement, the union movement in the late 1920s, then the rise of the Neo-Destour party in the 1930s, the creation of the Union of Workers and the relationship with colonisation. The Second World War is an important point but is given no value in the programme. (MC05)

In Sousse, it was confirmed that this approach tends to eclipse many facts at the expense of the history of the national movement. It also contributes to influencing the account given of Bourguiba.

> It must be said that the third programme is reserved for the national movement, and as a result the programme covers world history (the First World War, the Bolshevik revolution, the 1929 crisis, authoritarian regimes, the Cold War, the independence of the colonies, the Palestinian case and the independence of the countries of the Maghreb)." (MC23)

The Tunisian Youth Movement (Achabab Attounsi):[55] This stage covers the 1900s and was marked by the tragic Jellaz Cemetery events (1911)[56] and the tram boycott (1912).[57] The leaders of this movement are clearly mentioned in the textbooks: Ali Bach Hamba, Bechir Sfar, Abdejjalil Zaouch and Abdelaziz Thaalbi. The book recounts the claims of this movement and the publication of their newspaper, *The Tunisian*. Pictures of the pioneers of the national

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- The national movement from 1945 to 1956, pp. 81-90;
- Tunisia 1956, 1987, pp. 91-100.

The history textbook for students in the 4th year of secondary education has the following structure:

- Tunisia during 1920, pp. 98-117 ;
- Tunisia during the 1930, pp. 118- 137;
- Tunisia during World War II, pp. 138-151;
- Tunisia from 1945 to 1956: the independence process, pp. 252-271;
- The national construction and modernization of society pp. 272-285;
- Evolution of the political system in Tunisia and experiences of development from 1956 to 1987, pp. 286-302.

[55] This phase appears in three textbooks as follows: History textbook for students of the 6th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2014, pp.46-48; History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2015, pp. 15- 17; History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp. 98-103.

[56] The events of Jelaz cemetery, the largest in Tunisia, on 7 November 1911, took place following a decision of the Tunis municipality to classify the cemetery as a public good, allowing all Muslims to bury their dead. The people of Tunis gathered outside the cemetery to protest the decision. The crowd developed into clashes between residents and the French army, causing many deaths and injuries. See Ben Haj Yahya (J) and Marzouki (M), The Battle of Jellaz, Tunis, STD 1974, pp. 185 et seq. (in Arabic).

[57] The events of the tramway date from February 8, 1912. Prompted by the Tunisian Youth Movement, Tunis residents boycotted the tramway for several days. Following these events the French authorities arrested seven leaders of the Movement of Young Tunisians and ordered the exile of Abdelaziz Thaalbi and Ali Bach Hanba. See, History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp. 15-16.

movement are presented as well as the first cover of *The Tunisian*, dated February 7, 1907. This movement organized the first demonstrations against the Protectorate, demanding Tunisians' rights to freedom, dignity and social services. It therefore constitutes a very important page in the history of the national movement, but remains little detailed in textbooks.

The 1920s and the birth of the Liberal Constitutional Party:[58] this passage is devoted to the birth of the Destour (*Al Hizb al hor addoustouri*), and is marked by the evolution of the Young Tunisian movement and the creation of the first purely Tunisian party in 1920.[59] A history teacher in Gafsa stresses that he teaches "the national movement in Tunisia in the 1920s with the party of Neo-Destour and the first trade union activity." (MC09) The three books recount the demands of the party through the different Tunisian delegations that came to Paris to present their nationalist demands following the declaration of American President Woodrow Wilson on the right to self-determination. These lessons include pictures of these delegations, and focus on the person of the leader of the Destour, Abdelaaziz Thaalbi and his book *Tunisia Martyr*, published in French, in Paris, in 1919.

The 1930s and 'the advent' of Bourguiba:[60] Bourguiba appears first in the three textbooks in lessons dedicated to the national movement in the 1930s. A history teacher in Gafsa states that:

> Bourguiba's personality is taught as part of the national movement more precisely, after the 1932 Congress at Kasr Hellal. We start by talking of Bourguiba at the expense of Thaalbi but he is the party leader, a sophisticated personality who followed modern studies abroad. He is a lawyer who knows very well how to communicate with citizens... It's necessary that the period of 1933 to 1946 is reserved for Bourguiba in our academic programmes. (MC01)

Linking Bourguiba so closely to the national movement reinforces his heroic memory in the collective imagination. A Gafsa teacher also says: "There are three lessons that address Bourguiba, 40% of the events in the programme relate to his role through the Neo-Destour party from the Kasr Hallel Congress and the meeting on Rue Djbel. Other political figures (Monji Slim, Salah Ben Youssef) and institutions (UGTT, the UTICA...) are secondary." (MC09)

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[58] This step appears in three books as follows: History textbook for students of the 6th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2014, pp.49-52: History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2015, pp.17-22; History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp.104-106.

[59] The Communist Party had been authorized in 1919 and brought together Tunisians, French, Italians and Maltese. In the wake of the discovery of a plot to assassinate President Bourguiba, the publications of the Communist Party were suspended. In 1963, the party was prohibited by an administrative decision and one of its members prosecuted by the authorities. Fourteen militants were sentenced to death in September 1968, along with Perspective members. The PCT was again allowed to resume its activities from 1981. See: Bouguerra, A. *De l'Histoire de la Gauche Tunisienne : le Mouvement Perspectives. 1963-1975*, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.

[60] This step appears in three books as follows: History textbook for students of the 6 th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2014, pp.53-56; History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2015, pp.24-32; History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp.118-137.

A Destour party member since 1927, Bourguiba left the movement in 1934 to found a new Constitutional Liberal Party, or Neo-Destour. The textbooks emphasize the differences between the old and the new parties: Bourguiba and his companions demanded independence for the first time, and advocated for more radical modes of action beyond peaceful negotiations. Textbooks put forward an image of Bourguiba as a nationalist and as an activist, close to the poorest social classes. The congress marking the creation of the Neo-Destour held in Ksar Hellal, a small village in the Sahel in what is now the governorate of Monastir and the birthplace of Bourguiba, holds a central place. From that moment on, Bourguiba is presented in textbooks as 'the leader' of the national movement. The three books give the names and photos of other members and activists of the national movement (especially Mahmoud Matri, Bahri Guiga Tahar Sfar, Mohamed Bourguiba, or Ali Balhaouan), but without too many details about their background or their contribution. All in all, Bourguiba appears to be almost alone in the struggle for independence in the Neo-Destour.

The 1940s, politics and the union:[61] The three textbooks present the 1940s as the years of the hardening of the authoritarian apparatus of the French protectorate regime, with the imposition of martial law, the World War, the Vichy government and the German presence in Tunisia. Bourguiba appears in the textbooks as an active and fearless leader who was arrested and imprisoned many times in Tunisia, Algeria and France. Other activists are mentioned, but always at the margin. A history teacher in Gafsa says:

> President Bourguiba is a dominant figure... We need a re-reading of history, as we speak of certain figures at the expense of others, like Farhat Hached or Ben Youssef... President Bourguiba occupies a prominent place in the school textbooks as an important personality. We mustn't deny it…. President Bourguiba is dominant in most courses, he is the key. We are not talking about Taher Hadad or the others, historiography exists in the book but it's very short, which causes a fundamental imbalance... There is no sense of criticism in the treatment of information... It's necessary to add a passage to explain the nature of the national resistance movement; there are leaders like Lazhar Chraiti who do not figure anywhere. Textbooks need a real lesson on the national resistance movement. (MC12)

But the image of Bourguiba is also that of a man who wanted to rally all nationalist forces to form a united front against the protectorate, as demonstrated by the Congress of August 23, 1946 (*Mootamar Laylat al Kadr*) comprising members of the Destour and trade unionists. The photo accompanying comments in the three books is one of Bourguiba and Farhat Hached, the union leader, during a protest in 1949.

[61] This step appears in three books as follows: History textbook for students of the 6th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2014, pp.57-58; History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2015, pp. 81-83 .History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp.138-149.

The 1950s and 'the road to independence':[62] The three textbooks adopt the same expression to describe the 1950s, describing these years as 'the culmination' of the militancy of Bourguiba and his companions. Different textbooks thus recount the image of a pragmatic politician who accepted internal autonomy while continuing to push for the full independence of Tunisia, with a limited French military presence and gradual evacuation of its army. Bourguiba appears here as a clever political strategist, laying a complaint with the UN Security Council against France after the assault on Sakiet Sidi Youssef on February 8, 1958.[63] The 1950s also represent an opportunity for textbooks to mention other leaders of the national movement, such as Salah Ben Youssef, Habib Thameur, Mongi Slim, Hedi Chaker, or Hedi Nouira. These, however, are kept at the margins. (MC03) In Sousse, a history teacher seems to find this pre-eminence of Bourguiba over other leading national movement figures as being normal, and says: "At the baccalaureate level, there are four courses on the national movement. I would say that a fifth of the course is dedicated to Bourguiba... Bourguiba is the leader of the party: he is therefore more present compared to other activists. It is a leader who led the country to independence." (MC26)

The years of power: Bourguiba the reformer (1956-1987):[64] The three textbooks call this period 'The construction of the State and modernization of society'. These years are devoted to the leader himself: his role in the abolition of the monarchy, the promulgation of the Constitution of 1st June 1959, the nationalisation of agricultural land, the creation of national administrations (the army, police the national guard, the Central Bank, public enterprises). At the social level, the three manuals emphasize the major reforms conducted, including the adoption of the personal status code, the unification of the justice system and the abolition of Islamic courts, but also the introduction of free and compulsory primary education for boys and girls. The books, including that for the 4th year of secondary school, relate the experience of collectivism and its failure with a rather critical eye. This posture, which differs from the generally neutral attitude of textbooks, could be justified by the fact that Bourguiba himself acknowledged the failure of collectivism and put all its responsibility on his Secretary of State for Planning, Ahmed Ben Salah. In Gafsa, a civic education teacher recognizes the benefits of Bourguiba: "Bourguiba is seen as a modernising figure, most people like him... I like Bourguiba, he is not an authoritarian, he wanted to put an end to the tribal system, and to unify the nation. The personal status code and free education are his achievements, afterwards there were some drifts to retain power." (MC07) This view is shared in Sousse, where a civic education teacher considers herself "Bourguiba's daughter: I have benefited from free education and I taught everywhere, even in Kasserine in

[62] This step appears in three books as follows: History textbook for students of the 6 th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2014, pp.59-60; History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2015, pp. 84-90; History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp.252-271.

[63] On February 8, 1958, an air raid by the Frech army on a small Tunisian town on the border with Algeria killed more than a hundred persons. The victims were civilians, and included students. The French army purported to be hunting members of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) to justify the attack.

[64] This step appears in three books as follows: History textbook for students of the 6th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2014, pp.62-66; History textbook for students of the 9th year of basic education, Tunis, CNP, 2015, pp.92-101; History textbook for students of the 4th year of secondary education, Tunis, CNP, 2013, pp.272-285.

1960. There was a good level there, I am a nationalist through school, school visits, without mentioning TV spots of Semlali and Mourali[65] from which we learned the importance of hygiene, but now the school is far from that reality." (MC17) A teacher of civic education in Sousse rather puts focus on the need to question:

> The sanctity and untouchable character of the Bourguiba period, we must teach about the conflict between Bourguiba and Ben Youssef objectively, because it is the opportunity to create a balance. This conflict is important in some regions (Bizerte in particular), we must show the diversity of opinions. The experience of cooperatives, the feminist movement and its influence on the Neo-Destour party, the contribution of women to the national movement... There are many eras that should be taught objectively. (MC 16)

A largely descriptive approach

In general, despite this tendency to glorify Bourguiba in certain periods, the approach of the textbooks is mostly descriptive, less analytical and not leaving much room for criticism of the role and the direction of the former Head of State. Some episodes of his career, which deserve critical analysis, are absent.

The relationship between the old and the Neo Destour: the conflict between Bourguiba and his companion Thaalbi, and the office of the old Destour requires a critical analysis of the circumstances and fate of relations between the two leaders, which had a strong impact and sometimes even led to the use of violence.[66] According to a history teacher in Sousse, "the difficulty concerns the national story because there are some details and so many figures. There is a lack of content, it is quite superficial and too focused on Bourguiba. Thaalbi and several other political figures are ignored." (MC23) A history teacher in Gafsa meanwhile thinks:

> The conflict between Bourguiba with a section of the party and some of the national unions who supported Salah Ben Youssef is marginalized. We must teach all the details of Ben Youssef and Thaalbi also, history is summarized from 1934 until 1956 and only covers Bourguiba: it is an injustice to the country because it is the beginning of reform for the future. We must recognize the role of Bourguiba but also speak other activists. (MC01)

The relationship between Bourguiba and Salah Ben Youssef:[67] The textbooks mention only the role of Salah Ben Youssef in the struggle for internal autonomy (1955) by calling it a "one step

[65] Names of Tunisian comedians who were very popular in the early 1980s through had small TV cartoons criticizing some social aspects of Tunisian life (lack of citizenship, lack of respect for others, queuing at the counters, hygiene, pollution, etc.)

[66] See Thaalbi. A., *Naissance du Mouvement National*, preface by Kmar Bendana. Tunis, Editions Carthaginoiseries, 2014..

[67] On the Ben Youssef - Bourguiba conflict, see: Sagheir, Alaya, A., Les violations dans le conflit Bourguiba-Ben Youssef, in *Les Violations des Droits de l'Homme en Tunisie, 1956-2013*, *op. cit*; Sagheir, Alaya, A., The Youssefistes and release of Maghreb, Tunis, The Maghreb Press, 2007. (in Arabic) ; Khilfi, O., *L'assassinat de Salah Ben Youssef,* Tunis, Editions MC,

forward and two steps back" policy, but without detailing the reasons behind this position or the conflict that opposed him to Bourguiba and led to clashes between members of the two clans, up to the murder of Ben Youssef in Frankfurt in 1961.[68] Indeed, the three history books do not relate the facts of this '*Fitna*' (discord, in the words of Bourguiba),[69] or even the fact that Ben Youssef was assassinated in obscure circumstances, unlike the murders of Farhat Hached in 1952 and of Hedi Chaker in 1953. This 'pedagogical discrimination' probably goes back to a political position: if the murders of the two leaders Hached and Chaker was probably the responsibility of the French, on the contrary the Bourguiba regime and the *Zaim* (leader) himself were implicated in the assassination of Ben Youssef. This responsibility, of course, is not mentioned. In Sousse, a teacher thinks that: "these political figures are the most dominant in history (Bourguiba and Hached), the books should be revised to add Salah Ben Youssef as he was running things at the time of the exile of Bourguiba and later there was a conflict on how to manage the party." (MC26)

In Gafsa, a teacher believes that students generally do not recognise themselves in the story conveyed by textbooks:

> When I speak of the history of Tunisia at the undergraduate level, including Salah Ben Youssef and his conflict with Bourguiba, students are always convinced that Bourguiba is the authoritarian while Ben Youssef was the victim. This is not the opinion of everyone... Students do not adhere to certain choices made by Bourguiba, but I try to talk about this objectively. (MC05)

She adds, highlighting the difficulties of achieving such objectivity in teaching:

> There are several interpretations of history, there are those who speak of this conflict and question the role of Bourguiba in the murder of Ben Youssef…I must say that Ben Youssef was a victim of Bourguiba, who contributed to his murder. He was afraid, that is why he decided to take power. I cannot tell them my personal opinion, but I discuss both views and it is for them to draw a conclusion. (MC05)

The episode of the fellagas:[70] The complex relationship between Bourguiba and the *fellagas* (popular fighters against French colonization) are not mentioned in the textbooks. A teacher in Gafsa thus recalls that: "National history... does not touch the student because it deals with

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2005 ; Ouerda, M., 'The Roots of the Youssefiste Movement', in Maghrebine Journal of History, No. 71-72, May 1993, pp. 479-563 (in Arabic). See also, the letter sent by Salah Ben Youssef to Béhi Ladgham, in Ladgham, B., *Correspondances 1952-1956*, Tunis, CERES Editions, pp. 285-288; and Turki, A., The Youssefiste movement in Southern Tunisia, PhD Thesis, (in Arabic).

[68] Khilfi, O., *L'assassinat de Salah Ben Youssef*, *op. cit*., and Chouikha, L. and Gobe. E., *Histoire de la Tunisie depuis l'Indépendance, op. cit*., pp. 12-15.

[69] Quoted by Camau, M. and Greisser, V., Le syndrome autoritaire. Politique en Tunisie de Bourguiba à Ben Ali, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po, 2003, p.108.

[70] On the popular resistance movements, see : Abdallah, T., The Tunisian National Movement, New Nationalist People Regard, Sousse, editions, Dar Al Maaraf, 1990 (in Arabic); Sagheir Alaya A., , Popular resistance in Tunisia during the 1950s : Rise of the cities, fellagas the yousséfistes, Tunis, 2000 (in Arabic) ; Faurie, P-M., From the Fellaguisme Youssefisme, CHEAM Notes, January 21, 1958.

leaders. The movement of *fellagas,* which lasted from 1952 to 1954 and had 3000 members, is quite impressive, however, it is not taught!" (TM99). In Sousse, a history teacher thinks:

> The national conscience of Tunisians and its development deserve an overall reading of history. I'm not against Bourguiba, he loved his country but he is not the only one. Resistance was not limited to 1952: there are *fellagas* who have given so much for independence. A new form of resistance started in 1952. We must integrate these political figures in the programmes and show that Lazhar Chraiti[71] was executed by Bourguiba. There is an obscure side of Bourguiba that we keep hiding. I wanted to work on this issue but my research director refused. (MC34)

Textbooks do not contain any photos of these fighters when they were fighting against the French army before independence. Some of these fighters had indeed been accused of being 'Yousséfistes', and opposed to the work of the Constituent Assembly in 1956. Many of them were sentenced to death[72] but this tragic story still remains absent from textbooks.

Bourguiba and the monarchy: Links between Bourguiba and the monarchy are not discussed in the textbooks either. These are limited to recounting the episode of King Moncef Bey (the martyr king),[73] calling him a 'nationalist Bey' and inserting the photo of his popular funeral,[74] referring to the abolition of the monarchy and the proclamation of the Republic on 25 July 1957 without any critical analysis of this act, that could be considered a coup. The episode of the abolition of the monarchy and the confiscation of the property of the Crown and the fate meted out to the family members of the Bey deserve more critical attention. A teacher in Gafsa acknowledges: "I have a problem with Bourguiba and the picture that is shared. The man did so much for the country but Bourguiba not only betrayed Salah Ben Youssef, he was also not fair to the families and relatives of the Beys." (TM41) Still in Gafsa, a history teacher stresses the importance of re-centring teaching about the history of Tunisia as a whole:

> The last Bey - Lamine Bey - is taught, as well as Moncef Bey and Mohamed Sadok Bey, but the other ones remain unknown. The secondary programme covers only part of the story, teaching the period from 1574[75] until 1881.[76] This period of 250 years, which corresponds to the Housseinite dynasty (1705-1957) is important: to summarise it in 4 or 5 pages is insufficient. (MC01)

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[71] Lazhar Chraiti is a great figure of the Gafsa region, activist and fighter of the French Protectorate, who refused to disarm after 1955 and was charged with conspiracy. He was tried and sentenced to death in January 1963.

[72] Sagheir Alaya A., , Popular resistance in Tunisia during the 1950s : Rise of the cities, fellagas the yousséfistes, Tunis, 2000 (in Arabic); Faurie, P-M., From the Fellaguisme Youssefisme, CHEAM Notes, January 21, 1958.

[73] See Khilfi, O.,
Moncef Bey. Roi Martyr, Tunis, MC Editions, 2006.

[74] The history textbook for the 4th year of secondary school spends part of lesson 8 on Tunisia during World War II, the King Moncef Bey and a paragraph dedictaed to the movement "moncéfiste". See pp. 142-145.

[75] Date of the annexation of Tunisia to the Ottoman Empire.

[76] Date of the beginning of the French protectorate.

Bourguiba and the labour movement:[77] The various history textbooks only treat the trade union movement in a very general manner and in three eras: the period of creation of the first Tunisian union with Mohamed Ali Hammi in 1924; the revival of the labour movement in 1940 with Belgacem Gnaoui;[78] and the creation of the UGTT in 1946 by Farhat Hached. However the relationship between Bourguiba and Ahmed Tlili,[79] and even that between Bourguiba and Habib Achour,[80] the episodes of conflict and confrontation during the 1970s and early 1980s (including Black Thursday on January 26, 1978) are not recounted. In the cases where they are mentioned, as in the 4th year textbook for the secondary level, they are not the subject of any real critical analysis. A history teacher in Gafsa emphasises that: "Trade union activity had disturbed the party and, especially at the time of Belgacem Legnaoui, they wanted to stop this activity. We must not forget the role of the UGTT against France: the union's meetings were a lot more successful than the political meetings." (MC01) Similarly, a history teacher in Sousse said: "The bombing by World War II aircraft, the activities of the UGTT, the creation of infrastructure and services after independence. They all must be sketched out. I understood history at university only, because it is more detailed, it is necessary to give more time to the teaching of history because it helps to understand many things." (MC22)

Bourguiba and the coup attempts:[81] The many coup attempts against Bourguiba and his regime, which guided its policy towards a hardening and greater security control, and justified unjust political sentences and often even the death penalty[82] are neither mentioned nor discussed in history textbooks. Tunisia has experienced several coup attempts, as understood by a history teacher in Gafsa who emphasizes the multiplicity of interpretations of the same facts:

> Events in Gafsa in 1980[83] are important, there are several collective memories about them. According to those in power it was a coup, while the militants speak of revolution, and for others still, it was an attack... The central power in Tunis was afraid of these events, it is still not possible until after the revolution to write books

[77] For the relationship between the trade unions and Bourguiba, see Hadded, S., "The labour movement between autonomy and dependence", in: Violations of human rights in Tunisia, 1956-2013, *op. cit*., pp. 239-252 (in Arabic).

[78] See Gnawa, B., *Memoirs of a national* union, Tunis, National Institute for the History of the National Movement, 1998 (in Arabic).

[79] As the Secretary General of the UGTT (between 1956 and 1963), Ahmed Tlili sent a famous letter to Habib Bourguiba in January 1966 to let him know that the regime deviated from the path of democracy and that the dissolution of political parties and the formal interdiction to create new ones was a serious mistake. In response, Ahmed Tlili was forced into exile in July 1965, but the regime continued to pursue and harass him until his death in Paris on 25 June 1967. See: Fondation Ahmed Tlili pour la culture démocratique, *Ahmed Tlili pionnier de la culture démocratique*, Tunis, Appolonia Editions, 2013.

[80] Calling for the first general strike since independence the UGTT, led by Habib Achour was accused by the regime for being responsible of the deaths during the"Black Thursday" (26 January 1978). Habib Achour was arrested and sentenced to prison with many other of trade unionists, and released in 1980-1981. Habib Achour was even placed under house arrest and accused of collusion with Colonel Gaddafi in Libya. See Choukha, L. and Gobe. E., *Histoire de la Tunisie depuis l'indépendance*, *op.cit*., pp. 33-41.

[81] See Tabbabi, H. Violations during the attempted coup of 1962, in *Violations of human rights in Tunisia, 1956-2013, op. cit.*, pp. 67-86 (in Arabic).

[82] Toumi, M., *La Tunisie de Bourguiba à Ben Ali*, Paris, PUF, 1989, p. 51.

[83] On 26 and 27 January 1980 a commando raid supported by Libya attacked the city of Gafsa. The Tunisian army took back the city on 3 February.

> on the subject. Personally, to me this event is an attack and a sign of cooperation with foreign countries against the state. But opinions vary according to the position of each: memory is the conflict between divergent positions on history." (TM09)

A history teacher in Gafsa continues:

> Bourguiba rarely visited Gafsa. In the 1980s there was an attempted coup led by Mergheni and Ezzdine Cherfi and supported by Qaddafi at the time, who even armed them... Knowing that the people of Gafsa hated Bourguiba, they believed the coup leaders would be welcomed by the citizens there… They are regarded as rebels and not as traitors. Hedi Nouira suggested bombing the whole city... However, these events and incidents are not mentioned in our textbooks, not to mention the bread riots of 1984, which are not included in the books either." (MC28)

'***The War of Bizerte'***:[84] History textbooks describe the war in Bizerte as the event that led to the evacuation of the last French soldier, and present it as a total victory for Tunisia. They fail to present how the Bizerte events also reflect the manipulative character of Bourguiba and his determination to sacrifice young Tunisians to intimidate and entrap the French army and build his own legitimacy. A history teacher in Gafsa considers that "Bourguiba proceeded to put in place the pillars of the new modern Tunisia, after that there were the events of Ramada of Bizerte." (MC02) A teacher in Gafsa recognizes on his part that there is:

> A focus on personalities, anyone consulting the modern history of Tunisia notices the dominant presence of Bourguiba, it looks like he is the only actor of history and marginalizes the rest, including the war of evacuation of Bizerte that was driven primarily by people of the interior such as Gafsa.[85] (MC39)

Economic choices and the failure of collectivism:[86] History textbooks integrate a lesson on collectivism in the chapter on state construction and the modernization of society, without any critical assessment of this experience, particularly of its dire human and social consequences. Having accepted the policy of agricultural cooperatives proposed by the Secretary of State for Planning, Ahmed Ben Salah, the former president is never presented as responsible for the failure of this experiment. Bourguiba made Ahmed Ben Salah the sole scapegoat for it, by sending him to the Supreme Court for high treason and imposing a sentence of 10 years of hard labour, demonstrating, once again, all the ambiguity of his character. This very important

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[84] See Khilfi, O., *Bizerte: The War of Bourguiba*, Tunis, MC Editions, 2006 (in Arabic).

[85] Textbooks cite the tragic events of the 'Bizerte War' but do not mention anything about the mobilization campaign which was conducted in the regions, and the thousands of young civilians who had been encouraged to participate in demonstrations against the French military base in Bizerte and in Menzel Bourguiba. No emphasis is placed on their identity, the number of civilians, or their regional origins.

[86] For a view of economic experiences during the period of Bourguiba, see: Ayari. M.-B., *Le Système de Développement Tunisien: Vue Rétrospective - les années 1962-1986*, Tunis, CPU; Ben Romdhane, M., "Mutations économiques et sociales et mouvement ouvrier en Tunisie de 1956 à 1980", *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord 1983,* Paris, CNRS éditions, 1984, pp. 259-284; Moalla, M., *De l'indépendance à la révolution, système politique et développement économique en Tunisie*, Tunis, Sud Editions Tunis, 2011.

episode in the political history of Tunisia deserves to be narrated as such, and analysed with a critical and more nuanced approach in textbooks. A history teacher in Sousse stressed, mixing his own family memory with the country's national history:

> There are several events, but the most important to me is the revolution of the farmers against the system of co-operatives. At the time, my father was involved in these events, whose consequences were dramatic. Farmers were arrested. Governor Ahmed Ben Lalouna intervened to set them free: that episode has left a strong legacy in the Sahel. (MC25)

Also in Sousse, a history teacher confirms that: "the system of cooperatives and its impact on farmers in Msaken and traders in Sousse was striking, but there is no analysis in our textbooks of this experience." (MC36) This absence, along with the disappearances of the generation that bore the marks of this dark episode in Tunisian history, may lead to the disappearing of it in collective memory.

Bourguiba and basic freedoms:[87] Textbooks, when treating reforms introduced by the former head of State, emphasize the freedom of women and education that he brought to the country, demonstrating his modernist and open nature. His repressive and authoritarian policies, that has led to a "guardianship of society by the State",[88] and whose consequences are still profound today, are silenced. This neglect includes his refusal of all form of opposition outside his party, or even inside it, the dissolution of political parties and the prohibition to create new ones, the enacting of a draconian law on associations and demonstrations, but also the strict control of the press, the absence of freedom of expression, or the abusive arrest and trial of any opponent or dissident voice (students, trade unionists, radical leftists and non-Arab nationalists, Islamists and even dissidents within his own party). This unilateral vision of the former President put forward by history textbook appears to be shared by many teachers, however, especially in Sousse: "Bourguiba is a Middle Eastern authoritarian who was attached to power, he is not the exception in Arab history. We must not forget that he was a modernist, he made mistakes certainly, but there were mainly benefits from Bourguiba's policy." (MC16) For a history teacher in Gafsa, however: "Bourguiba is the image of the intellectual, the image of the leader, but above all that of the authoritarian." (TM04)

Most teachers agreed on the fact that the regime of Bourguiba was not in favour of democracy and freedoms, while acknowledging the positive sides of his legacy. Indeed, a teacher in Sousse says:

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[87] For violations of rights and freedoms during the period of Bourguiba, see in particular: Belhassen, S., "Les legs bourguibiens de la repression", in Camau, M. and Geisser, V. (eds.) *Habib Bourguiba, La trace et l'héritage*, *op. cit.*, pp. 391-404 ; Borsali, N., *Bourguiba à l`épreuve de la démocratie 1956-1963*, Tunis, 2ème édition, 2012 ; Dhifallah, M., "Les procès politiques en Tunisie 1956-1987", in *Justice et Législation en Tunisie Bourguibienne et dans les Pays Arabes*, Fondation Temimi, Tunis, 2004, pp. 159-178; Redissi, H., "L'autoritarisme de Bourguiba: Continuités et Ruptures", in Camau, M. and Geisser, V. (eds.) Ibid., pp. 129-222.

[88] Chouikha, L. and Gobe, E., *Histoire de la Tunisie depuis l'indépendance*, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

> As a student, I had some reproach. In hindsight, I would say Bourguiba has not worked for democracy and freedom of expression. The coup of Ben Ali set up a new politics of policing. I wish Tunisians could live in peace and progress. (MC21)

A selective approach

Minority memories, including memories of the victims of Bourguiba, thus seem largely forgotten in the national narrative conveyed in school textbooks. The revolution does not seem to have driven any major change in this view, and no significant reform appears to have been generated to offer a more balanced approach. This absence is detrimental to the training of students, and a major obstacle in the realization of the right to truth as a guarantee of non-repetition. History textbooks are also still too descriptive and very uncritical, reflecting an out-dated methodology of teaching a unilateral form history, and claiming a form of objectivity that occurs at the expense of divergent discourses.

In this regard, it is important to remember that textbooks are the work of public structures; they are centrally controlled by the National Pedagogical Centre, which is a public institution under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. In this sense, they also reflect the official public selection and are therefore linked to political dynamics. In this context, the choice of themes, events, characters, and narratives conveyed by them is guided by political decisions. A Sousse history teacher confirms that: "Students know the details, memory is selective for ideological reasons, it is limited to the positive, it is narcissistic... we need new teaching methods that diffuse a sense of critique and of culture, we must study history in both its good and bad sides." (MC16). In that regards, the three history textbooks studied here remain highly selective and limited in several ways, as detailed below.

A focus on political history and political events at the expense of other dimensions of history, including social, cultural, artistic, literary or scientific. Apart from certain developments related to the impact of World War Two on the population and the worsening state of poverty, textbooks are silent on such areas. The ethnic, linguistic, cultural or religious diversity of Tunisia is not presented, nor are Jewish, Berber or black minorities. The social effects of the policies of Bourguiba, particularly in areas within or under the effect of collectivization, are not presented. A Sousse history teacher regrets that: "The political side of history is linked to the union, the role of associations and society is secondary. In 1930, there was the literary movement of Tahet Essour and Rachidia.[89] I try to focus myself on these issues in class, but due to lack of time I cannot cover everything. The study of poverty in the protectorate is exciting... it was a good theme, but one had to squeeze it in." (MC13)

[89] The Rachidia is the first Tunisian institution for the preservation and dissemination of Tunisian music, the first music conservatory, named after Prince Rashid Bey, a music lover. Founded in 1933, the Rachidia continues up to this day to preserve and spread this traditional music, bringing together the best musicians, composers, and singer.

The textbooks do not present the movements, currents, great works, cultural, artistic or literary events which have marked Tunisian collective memory. Thus, nothing appears through these lessons on the birth of Tunisian theatre, on its first film, on the appearance of the first modern novel, on artistic schools such as the 'School of Tunis'[90] or artists' movements like *Jamaat Taht Essour* ('group under the ramparts').[91] As a consequence, the purely political history portrayed in textbooks appears far removed from real life, from the everyday and the evolution of Tunisian society: it seems abstract and risks losing the attention of students. The links between history and the present are not sufficiently explored. This absence is detrimental to the teaching itself, since these liveliest aspects of history could help to attract the interest of students. A teacher of history in Sousse thus proposes to use other alternative materials such as "books, art, theatre; we need movies and songs to illustrate all the figures of the country". (MC13)

In terms of gender, history textbooks, while praising the Personal Status Code and the major reforms introduced by Bourguiba, cite very few female characters in Tunisian history, except for Bchira Ben Mrad and Radhia Hadded.[92] The textbooks devote very little space to the development of the Tunisian feminist movement in general,[93] to the effects of different policies on women, or on the relationships between men and women. A history teacher in Gafsa recognises that "the history of associations with the creation of the Khaldounia[94] and the Islamic Union of Women headed by Bechira Ben Mrad is ignored by students." (MC01)

An emphasis on certain political figures: The three textbooks studied here neglect many figures who have played a prominent role in the recent history of Tunisia. Concentrated on political life and events, they neglect literary, artistic and scientific figures (such as the Tunisians who first exercised the professions usually reserved for the French colonizers - the first doctors, pharmacists, lawyers, judges, or general of the Tunisian army). Great figures of the political opposition (members of the Tunisian Communist party, Perspectives activists, members of the Tunisian Workers - *Al amel attounsi* - movement, and Arab nationalists) are also absent. This partiality nourishes the political myth of a state without a party, maintained by Bourguiba

[90] This is an artistic movement of Tunisian sculptors plastic artists, who, from 1940, tried to set up their own artistic movement in Tunisia. Painters such as Moses Levy, Jules Lellouche and Antonio Corpora, formed the 'Group of Four' in 1936. After World War II, other artists joined to form the 'Group of Ten' in 1947. They discussed, exchanged views and innovative ideas on art in Tunisia, and broke with the colonial art movements. Many of them were students or professors at the Tunis Institute of Fine Arts. See: Bouzid, D., *L'Ecole de Tunis*, Tunis, Alif Editions de la Méditerranée, 1995.

[91] An informal group of poets, writers, musicians, and journalists who during World War II met under the ramparts of the city of Tunis, particularly in the suburbs of Bab Souika. The movement marked artistic, literary and journalistic Tunisia. See Dhaouadi, R., and Lahmar, M. 'Ali Douagi, artiste de Ghalba et la troupe de Taht Essour', Le Caire, éd. Organisation générale égyptienne du livre, 2004, pp. 134-14 ; and Di Folco, Ph., *Le goût de Tunis*, Paris, éd. Mercure de France, 2007, p. 90.

[92] Bchira Ben Mrad and Radhia Hadded were activists and feminists and National Assembly members who presided over the National Union of Tunisian Women.

[93] There is only a single photo of a women's demonstration in Sfax (in January 1952) at page 256 of the manual of the 4th year of secondary education.

[94] The Khaldounia was a scholarly association created in the early 20th century, a circle of different intellectuals of the era and from all fields: scientific, literary, theological. It organised discussions and book presentations.

himself, and it contributes, again, to place these memories at the margin of the national or 'official' narrative.

Other key players are quoted only incidentally or as accessories, without providing their full biography and without their most remarkable activities. This omission concerns all the figures of the Tunisian Youth Movement (Ali Bach Hamba, Tahar Sfar, Abdejlil Zaouch…)[95] but also Mohamed Ali Hammi, Mahmoud El Materi,[96] Mongi Slim, Hedi Chaker, Habib Achour, Hedi Nouira, Behi Ladgham, and other equally important figures in Tunisian collective memory. As confirmed by a history teacher in Gafsa:

> All events revolve around references to Bourguiba, without citing his countrymen such as Mongi Slim and others. Farhat Hached is only rarely mentionned. However, after Ben Ali came to power, all glorifying terms used to refer to Bourguiba, such as the 'supreme militant', the 'leader' or the 'Zaim', were removed. But generally Bourguiba remains the dominant figure in all lessons, and his name is the most repeated throughout. (MC28)

***A concentration on political events in Tunis at the expense of regional and local history*:** Very few regional events are reported in the textbooks, which focus mainly on Tunis and the Sahel without highlighting the local histories of the regions. Apart from the Kasr Hellal Congress which gave birth to the New Destour Party, and the presentation of the list of leaders of some fellagas in the regions, textbooks remain very poor in terms of history beyond the capital, indirectly contributing to the symbolic marginalization of these areas.[97] The specific history, culture, society and identity of the various regions of the country are not highlighted, further fuelling the partition of Tunisia, especially between the coast and the interior; a division that Bourguiba himself – a native of Monastir - had contributed to entrench. Even the maps used in the books seem discriminatory, forgetting to mention some cities: for instance, the map illustrating the evacuation of the French army only mentions Bizerte (1962), Sakiet Sidi Youssef (1958) and Ramada (1958).[98] In Gafsa, a history teacher thinks: "the role Gafsa in the armed resistance and the trade union movement in the mining area is substantial, but also in the theatrical movement or the scouts. The city of Gafsa had known in 1980 an attack by extremist groups" (MC04), but these events are absent from textbooks and do not appear on any maps.

In Sousse also, teachers asked to see their own regional history acknowledged, including "that of "activists of the national movement from the *Sahel"* (MC18), or "events in Sousse during the

[95] See Sfar, T., *Le Journal d'un Exilé*, Tunis, Editions Bouslama, 1960; Abid, K.H., *Tahar Sfar 1903-1942*, Tunis, National Institute for the history of the National Movement, 2006 (in Arabic).
[96] El Matri, M., *Itinéraire d'un Militant 1926-1942*, Tunis, Cérès, 1992.
[97] See in this regard the second report of the Transitional Justice Barometer: The Transitional Justice Barometer (2016) "The "victim zone" and collective reparations in Tunisia: Ain Draham and Sidi Makhlouf: "So rich and yet so poor", Research report: Tunis.
[98] Textbook of history for students of the 6th year of basic education, CNP, 2014, p. 63.

revolution against the authority of the colonizer over the production of olive oil and its impact on traders, or the consequences of the Second World War on the city of Sousse... ". Indeed:

> The city of Sousse is not a political city, apart from the 26 January movement and the bread riots, it has always been quiet. The people here loved Bourguiba and after the revolution there was a return to Bourguibism, but it all depends on the era. It is a port city that does not seek to oppose central power, except in 1984 during the bread riots, Sousse was in the centre, but the anger comes mainly from other cities and from trades unions. There were martyrs... The UGTT has to organize events commemorating them... Events like these must be preserved, historians must transcribe the story, but for citizens it is necessary to preserve their memory in the names of streets, through days dedicated to such or such person or figures." (MC15)

These testimonies and requests for more recognition of a regional history that remains at the margins clearly show the complex relationships of history and collective memory, as teachers appear to be struggling with their own particular memories.

Part III: Improving the teaching of history - some recommendations for teachers

9. Recommendations Relevant to the Teaching of History

Additions to Teaching Materials

Teachers interviewed put the emphasis on the importance of integrating certain historical elements (events, people, facts) into textbooks for teaching recent history and which are not now included. They also stressed the need to correct certain aspects, revise textbooks in a more nuanced and critical way, and open them to a diversity of viewpoints.

1. Teach recent history and put the emphasis on transitions that Tunisia has known

The Bourguiba and Ben Ali periods are examples of political transition, which, according to the teachers met, could contribute to better understanding the current period and how to grasp it. Both after the Bey and the Bourguiba regime, Tunisia went through major political and social changes, and some form of transitional justice (or injustice). In fact, according to a history teacher from Gafsa: "It is time to teach recent history accurately and in detail, the period of the presidencies of Bourguiba and Ben Ali." (MC28) This teaching could also cover, according to a history teacher in Sousse, the revolution and post-revolutionary periods. In the end, a civics teacher in Gafsa thinks the “student has the right to understand what is happening now and compare it to past transitions.” (TM29) Structuring lessons on recent history around these previous transitions, after the Bey and after Bourguiba, would help better understand the current political transition in the post-revolution period, and to put it into a wider perspective.

2. Teach elements of history and memory that are hitherto ignored or marginalised

Teachers of history from the two cities (Gafsa and Sousse) are very aware of the flaws of current textbooks, which are omitting many historical, cultural, or social elements. The examples cited are numerous: activists and fighters for independence are not treated and where they are included, they are never presented as important characters, always remaining in the shadow of Bourguiba, the sole ‘Father of independence’. This is particularly the case for Mosbah Jarbou, Lazhar Chraeit, Bechir Ben Sdira or Sassi Lassouad and Mahjoub Ben Ali. Additional to these forgotten militants, textbooks also marginalize the role of the UGTT, of civil society, and political parties other than the Destour, such as the PSC and RCD. By neglecting these other stories, the ‘official story’ conveyed by history textbooks remains too unilateral. It neglects minority memories, and thus does not contribute to the reconciliation process.

3. Teach local and regional history

In Gafsa in particular, teachers recommend a greater recognition of local and regional history through its inclusion in textbooks. Teachers note the general absence and marginalisation of local

and regional events, characters, and memories from the 'official' national story conveyed in textbooks, which is selective, simplistic and discriminatory. Some even speak of a *hogra*[99] or subaltern history, as is the case, for instance, of "the Enfidha events of 1950 in which a pregnant woman was killed". A teacher from Sousse calls for the "commemoration of the death of this martyr, and we must do the same thing in the different regions of the country". The same teacher invites us "to work on the reinterpretation of national history and local memory to develop collective memory." (MC 16) Only the full recognition and integration of regional memories can build the national story. Their continuous neglect, to the contrary, contributes to the marginalisation of these regions and constitutes a structural and continuous violation. Their integration into the national narrative could therefore be considered a symbolic form of reparation.

4. Highlight historical tensions and different interpretations of history

Both nuance and critical analysis by students must be better promoted to fight against any political exploitation of the past. The majority of teachers interviewed stressed the overly descriptive treatment of certain events, including key periods of crisis and the character of Bourguiba himself, an approach which does not encourage debate or critical thinking among students. In particular, some teachers called for more critical and analytical treatment of the conflict between Bourguiba and Ben Youssef, in order to better recognize the role of the latter in the struggle for independence – a long time demand of the Islamists. A history teacher in Gafsa expressed his desire for a better teaching of "the fragmentation of the Neo-Destour party and the conflict between Bourguiba and Ben Youssef, the causes of these problems, the details of the conference of Ksar Hallel." Indeed, for this teacher, "history must be rational, but the truth is that it is written by the strongest. Besides, there are still some books that are published anonymously for fear of revealing the errors of Bourguiba. It is necessary to speak to the new generation to understand what is required for the future."

In Sousse a teacher suggests teaching: "the conflict between Bourguiba and Ben Youssef objectively, because it's the opportunity to create a balance. You have to show the diversity of interpretations: the experience of collectivism, the feminist movement and its influence on the neo-Destour party, the contribution of women to the national movement... There are several periods that should be taught objectively." (MC15) A number of interviewees called for the removal of the 'sanctity' of certain historical figures, and especially of Habib Bourguiba.

5. Teach history beyond the political

The hegemony of political history in recent history courses is problematic, according to the teachers interviewed who favour the teaching of the cultural, artistic, scientific or social figures that are also part of the history of the country. As summarized by a history teacher in Sousse,

[99] Tunisian expression designating discrimination based on social, regional, tribal origin, or colour.

"too much politics has killed culture in the modern history of this country." (MC46) A history teacher in Gafsa called for "a focus on social and cultural history, that is to say on the artistic side" (MC03) of national memory. Similarly, a civic education teacher in Gafsa emphasizes the obligation to "pay more attention to the cultural, intellectual, architectural" side of history. The celebration of the men and women of culture, art and literature is essential by reason of the fact that "culture is a mechanism of preservation of collective memory" (MC17). Teachers interviewed cited a set of personalities including artists (such as singers Habiba Msika, Saliha, Oulaya, Naiama…), men and women of letters (Abul Kacem Chebbi…) and even cultural institutions (the Khaldounia, Taht Essour, Rachidia…), that they wish were part of their country's history.

Teaching Methodologies

A consensus seems to emerge from the collection of interviews on the need to change the dominant methodology of teaching recent history in order to further promote critical thinking and debate among students, by using alternative techniques that are more participative and interactive.

1. The teacher at the heart of the reform

The selection, quality and training of teachers are essential a successful teaching of history. Indeed, for the interviewees, good scientific and educational training of teachers guarantees the quality of education itself. According to a civic education teacher interviewed in Sousse:

> The key is good teacher training. Poor training in the Ben Ali era contributed to mediocrity, and the students now are in our image. Before, the teacher was our idol, now it is the footballer: the teacher is no longer a model. (MC 17)

This legacy of past mistakes must be reversed, and teachers should work to build a better reputation for themselves. According to a history teacher in Sousse: "there are several ignorant teachers... this is evident in the high rate of absenteeism. Very few work 18 hours, this is the maximum... However to give a respectable course, one must prepare the material. My teacher taught in Arabic, instantly translating French books to impress us. He was a figure of the Destour party", (MC37) she remembers, speaking of a different time.

2. Set new goals for the teaching of history

Many teachers regret the image of the teaching of history as being nothing more than the dictation of a course to learn by heart, to recite and transcribe faithfully to get good marks. This image has highly affected the discipline, encouraging students to lose interest, and depriving history of its civic vocation, its discursive and critical nature. The teachers interviewed emphasized the need to develop in the student, through the teaching of history, the capacities of critical analysis and critical thinking. A history teacher in Gafsa thinks that "there is a need for a participatory methodology based on criticism and analysis. History will educate new generations

of citizens and provide the means to understand what is happening around them. It has to transmit a spirit of critical thinking". (MC28) The objective, according to a history teacher in Gafsa, is therefore to train a "conscious student, one that is able to really think and find solutions to concrete problems," (MC41): i.e., a citizen.

In terms of content, history lessons should better appeal to universal values and arouse the proud national identity of the students, "rooting in the mind and behaviour of the student the importance of citizenship, tolerance, and openness to others" (MC43) This goal is served by a set of universal values that tend to "ground in the student human values, fairness, justice, freedom." (MC43) The teaching of history is thus a laboratory to learn the true meaning of citizenship, of belonging and of national identity, without any exclusion and without rejecting of the other and of difference. In Gafsa a history teacher considers that "it is necessary to instil in the student the values of the homeland, the importance of respecting the flag, because it is the symbol of the activism of several martyrs of the past. We must raise awareness of the importance of respecting the public good." (MC02)

History and civic education are therefore intrinsically linked. Adding new updated lessons on the history of the recent event (the 2008 Gafsa uprising, the 2011 revolution, the work of the Constituent Assembly, recent elections, etc.) are all ways to build more bridges between disciplines while highlighting the historical continuities between past and present, and gaining more engagement and interest among students. It is also a way to make education seem more alive. This effort would strengthen further "the sense of belonging, the feeling of pride and identity, away from politics" (MC21), and it may also guard against the extremism and religious fanaticism that feeds terrorism. According to a history teacher in Gafsa, "It is necessary to teach the methodology of the historians: sources, ways of analysis, milestones, critical thinking, the understanding of the root causes and effects of an event." This is a way to fight against unilateral thinking, and thus to “protect students against extremism.” (MC09)

The teaching of' history thereby appears as having objectives close to those of transitional justice itself, particularly around guarantees of non-repetition and protecting against the return of dictatorship. Very aware of this dimension that could guide the course of history, teachers interviewed consider that "to teach history is indeed to see past mistakes and not to repeat them. It is developing a sense of responsibility: having a retrospective view makes it possible to link what happened then and what is going to come in the future." (MC40)

3. Adopt new methods of teaching history

Teachers emphasized the need for ‘new pedagogies’ better suited to the objectives of the teaching of history, and the use of alternative support such as "drama, role plays, research, excursions and visits." (MC40) Another history teacher in Gafsa insists on: "a new approach far from any conventional chronological mode of teaching." (TM09) To make this work,

interviewees agree on the adoption of interactive, participatory methods and courses to better interest the student, and to put an end to the frozen image and abstraction of history. The proposals concerning these new methods are many and varied. Some put the emphasis on field visits, e.g. a history teacher in Gafsa: "Visits are of great importance, it is a discovery for students, but due to a lack of financial means, such travels are no longer possible. So the students only study the theory of history." (MC05) A Sousse history teacher stresses that trying "to undertake initiatives with students with guided tours of museums remains a liability. Students take part using their own means." (MC13)

Enriching the course with audio-visual media is also an interesting and interactive teaching method: "To see a documentary can be a great way to assimilate information, while now the student receives information only to pass an exam." (MC05) Moreover, "education through images allows an objective reading of history. The teacher's role is to enable students to be objective and to teach using Tunisian films, for example a testimony of the life of the Beys. The image can be a tool to understand history. Film clubs are beneficial to the student." (MC15) To facilitate an interactive and participatory education, several of the interviewed teachers suggest creating or supporting such clubs in schools. "Clubs can be beneficial for the student to assimilate the principles and encourage him to appreciate the material being taught." (MC18) Therefore, "art teachers must organize clubs" (MC37 and MC12) However, this approach raises the issue of the lack of time and financial availability of teachers. One solution would be "to organize activities on Wednesday afternoons and hope to find time for them." (MC08) Whatever method is adopted, what is essential for teachers interviewed is to engage in more debate and to promote the interactivity of students, “new methodologies in a participatory approach” (MC27). A history teacher in Sousse underlines that: "Dictation makes no sense, especially when everything is within reach of the Internet... There must be a class discussion guided by the teacher... Student involvement can help learning." (MC36) A civics teacher in Gafsa confirms that it "needs a project in which students participate, researching collective memory, visiting libraries, consulting historical works and the Internet according to the means of high school, or making theatre pieces." (TM06)

A Framework of Reform

The results of interviews emphasize the need for a participatory and scientific reform of the teaching content, carried out under the responsibility of the Tunisian state. "There is a need for a gathering of intellectual elites and of civil society to achieve reforms effectively. It takes teamwork to move forward... but it takes compromise for the truth to be revealed. Because the camouflage from the state may affect citizens, we must tell the truth and be honest." (MC02) The teaching of history is intrinsically linked to the right to truth and the unfolding of transitional justice and its quality, especially concerning recent history, depends on the effective performance of this difficult process. The research of the Truth and Dignity Commission in particular, the individual and structural responsibilities it is mandated to establish, its historical interpretation of the context of serious violations of human rights, should inspire a deep reform of history

textbook content. “There is a need to institutionalize the preservation of memory, it is up to the state to do his, not civil society." (MC41) Another teacher believes that "an independent and neutral Commission" (MC06), as the TDC, should be in charge of this work, which should in any case be conducted by specialists. Thus, a history teacher in Gafsa thinks that: "it is necessary to involve historians and researchers to undertake this work of reform, in coordination with those leading transitional justice who are collecting complaints from victims. Historians must work on documents and testimonies to reveal the hidden truth" (TM04) and finally integrate minority memories and the views of victims into the national narrative.

10. Recommendations concerning the process of memory

Teachers interviewed in Sousse and Gafsa saw a very important role for the conservation of memory in general. This objective was clearly formulated and synthesized by a history teacher in Gafsa, who thinks that "memory that brings people together can protect us against extremism and build love for our country." (MC09) Teachers feel that some memory elements must be particularly preserved, and that transitional justice has a role to play in this conservation process.

What Memory to Preserve?

Teachers emphasize the need to preserve, in particular, neglected or marginalised elements of memory in the collective history told in textbooks. This refers to the idea of Maurice Halbwachs, who fears that memory unrecognised in the public space is at risk of disappearing.

1. Preserve the memory of local figures or those less known from the regions

In particular, local and regional figures who actively participated in the independence struggle and seem forgotten in the national narrative should, according to teachers, be better recognized in history lessons. This implies also mentioning Bourguiba less. "We must know the figures of history and the history of regions such as Kairouan, or Mahdia" emphasizes one teacher (MC33), also indicating that such recognition of history can play a role in the symbolic reparation of these regions. "The contribution of the regions to the struggle for independence, the lesser known figures from the region... must be given their true value to not be forgotten." (MC14) Embedding the memories of these regional activists of the revolution and their ‘martyrs’ would also be a way of giving the areas their rightful place in the narrative of independence and the struggle for freedom at the national level, after years of marginalization.

2. Preserve the memory of groups

Those interviewed put the emphasis on the need to preserve the memory not only of individuals, but also of groups or institutions who strongly contributed to this fight for independence and freedom, both during the period of French colonization and after. For instance, the teachers interviewed mentioned the *fellagas*, the labour movement, political parties, but also the martyrs and wounded of the revolution. A history teacher in Sousse calls in particular for a "focus on the

fellagas and the relationship between the trades unions and the Destour party, as well as the armed resistance." (MC24)

3. Preserve everyday memory, the memory of 'ordinary' people

Typically, history tends to only preserve the memory of 'great men', most often the victors of the past, or of exceptional events. Many of the teachers interviewed, however, expressed a desire for a more humanised and embedded form of history, presented from an anthropological perspective, focusing in particular on local events and real characters strongly rooted in their area (e.g. teachers, doctors…), symbols of work and rigor who could, as such, be an inspiration for students. A history teacher in Sousse thus considers that it is necessary to: "focus on oral history... history owned by families or institutions." (MC25) There are many levels of entanglement between history and memory. A history teacher in Sousse refers to the Bedouin heritage of some Tunisian families and regrets its absence from official history: "There is a manner of speaking, some proverbs we use that are quite interesting, because this rural heritage is specific," (MC22) she emphasises.

Memorialization processes

1. The necessary establishment of truth

For all those interviewed, the history teaching reform and memorialization process requires, first, the complete establishment of the truth. Indeed, "one must reveal the truth to preserve memory. We must archive the truth and preserve it through specialized centres. This can only take place after reconciliation and prosecution." (MC26) The reform of history teaching and textbooks thus naturally follows the process of transitional justice.

2. Documentation and archiving

Establishing the truth requires a long-term process of documenting, archiving, classifying, and analysing the various statements and testimonies, oral or written, which give it its textures. This is at the heart of the work of the TDC, and it is therefore only natural that this memory, including that of victims, is integrated within the national history and transcribed in future textbooks. Testimonies could contribute to giving history its real "texture". "The transcription, the collection of evidence through questionnaires, in order to write a piece of history... Such initiatives encourage future research by establishing a direct contact with history, which strengthens citizenship." (MC32) But history is also that of the witnesses. Indeed "We must make recordings of those people that are still alive in order to preserve our narrative memory." (MC41)

Yet such an effort also requires political will, something which still seems to be lacking. "We need to preserve memories by archiving the documentation, there are so many lost documents;

we must digitalise them." (MC04) The teacher adds that it is "it is necessary to write and to register facts to preserve our memory. We could make documentaries", he suggests. When the State does not act, this initiative is often left to local civil society actors, as is the case, according to another teacher, with regards to the preservation of the heritage of the medina of Gafsa (MC27).

3. Institutional cooperation

Even where it is an official process on-going however, memorialization is not only something for the state to implement. This work also involves broad coordination between the TDC and various public stakeholders. In this context, a history teacher in Gafsa suggests: “Coordination is required between the Ministries of Education, Culture, of Interior, the national archives and the TDC in order to tell the story of the past to the next generation. Tunisia was a French colony, there are people who experienced the events of the Second World War and have known injustice during the times that followed: they do not want compensation, but recognition." (MC01)

Civil society organisations can contribute to these efforts, but they remain limited due to financial issues: "I was the president of the Association of young researchers of history at the time," recalls a teacher from Sousse, "I wanted to have a local office for the association, a library with the archives of Sousse and a cultural centre to preserve collective memory, to invite educated people and listen to their stories, as part of a club... It has remained a dream because culture is no longer the priority of people, but I still have hope." (MC22) These associations involved in the preservation of memory should be better supported, particularly at a regional level, "We must preserve history and archive it. The association for memory targets these events and makes transcriptions of the testimonies," (MC25) says a teacher in Sousse. He further adds that there are:

> Several people interested... an association has collected documents, photos. The association for local history and memory in Kalaa Sghira worked on an exhibition and a documentary about the centennial of Bourguiba’s school, and a workshop presented the teaching tools from 1960. There was a presentation of canteen equipment, pens, textbooks, class photos, it is a way of engaging with students... It was a great initiative to get together with senior citizens and remember our history... It’s a way of preserving collective memory. There are personal photo albums that are in the hands of several people, and that should be preserved through local associations. (MC30)

Halfway between the private and the public, both personal and collective, the preservation of memory is, indeed, everyone's business. Regional, individual, familial or group memories are all elements that, together, constitute the various figures of the history of Tunisia.

What memorialisation tools to use?

Teachers interviewed expressed a preference for the promotion of museums as vectors for the circulation of collective memory, but without forgetting other forms of memorialization such as festivals, public ceremonies, and monuments.

4. Create school museums

Many teachers complain that students are unaware of the living issue of history and think, according to them, only of getting a good grade out of their course. Creating a 'school museum' to promote the culture of students and to motivate them to learn more concretely the history of their country, including through the collection of oral testimony or the exhibition of objects from the past, could be an interesting way to generate such interest: "It's necessary to create school museums to learn from the physical traces of history" (MC33). "Preserving local memory is a first step towards regional and maybe even national remembrance. We can start by preserving our local folk songs and gradually we will work each time on a new theme", suggests one teacher (MC39). This use of physical memorial support or material 'traces' seems particularly promising for rethinking the teaching methodology of history in Tunisia.

5. Regional and local museums

However, several historical elements outlined in current museums should be updated according to history teachers. In Gafsa, we suggest to "establish museums that are not limited to prehistory but also include recent history, the way people were dressing or eating at the time of Bourguiba or of the Bey. Last year, there was an exhibition of old photographs of Lakhdher Souid.[100] We must protect these photos of agricultural and mining tools: they are specific to the mining region." (MC08) Another history teacher in Gafsa suggested that we should not be limited to the "usual" history of Gafsa, including that of phosphate mining, but seek to highlight other, less known characteristics of the region, for instance by "setting up a regional museum as part of a cultural heritage preservation policy. Since the discovery of phosphate in Gafsa nothing has changed, there is a museum, but it is dedicated to the history of phosphate, while the region is rich in other aspects as well. There in an ancient Roman site at Snad. We need to create a museum that covers the whole history of the region, including its tribal nature." (MC01) The preservation of cultural and anthropological memory, but also that of recent history - such as the revolt of 2008 - is also among the proposals of the interviewees.

6. Festivals and memorial days

A civic education teacher in Gafsa found that recording the living heritage of the region, including folk songs, could be enhanced through festivals and national days of remembrance. "For example Lazhar Dhaoui's song on the bread riots is currently returning to our collective

[100] Reference to an exhibition of photos of Lakhdar Souid held in Gafsa in 2015. These pictures reflect the heritage of the Gafsa region, including the tools used in daily life and scenes of life.

memory: fortunately it was recorded, as a way to preserve it. Recording helps to preserve ou memory. And why not install national days to celebrate our cultural memory and our heritage?" (MC29)

7. Sites of memory

A history teacher in Gafsa gives more importance to statues and monuments as historical symbols of recognition and credits this effort mostly to civil society: "It is the role of civil society, through study centers or a museum to preserve memory." (MC02)

Memory and Culture

The interviewed teachers emphasize in particular the duty to preserve the artistic and cultural memory of the country, stressing the need to integrate popular culture into the curriculum, and of creating more local festivals supported and funded by the Ministry of Culture.

1. Preserve cultural memory

Culture is essential for the preservation of memory: "Through books, art, theatre plays... We need movies and songs to celebrate all the figures of the country. Men of culture are not very interesting for history and historians... Culture is a preservation mechanism of collective memory." (MC17)

2. Integrate popular culture into school curricula

Many teachers think that popular culture should be part of this new curriculum: "The integration of the themes celebrated by popular poets in school curricula is important." (MC34). "It demands a lot of effort and the establishment of heritage protection cells. On Facebook, there are several groups interested in such an effort: this must be supported by other activities on the grounds that are beneficial to the student and citizen: a play, the study of traditions, folk songs... The Ministry of Culture should encourage festivals to integrate these activities… People prefer their traditional heritage and the popular poets to mainstream culture. Their integration into the school curricula is therefore very important." (MC34) "We can talk of the story of Ben Ali Ghdehom through popular poetry. The oral is important as a living memory that still exists, and it is necessary to support it." (MC15) “The course allows us to use old concepts in order to know our intangible heritage (popular poems, for example)." (MC13)

3. Ensure a memory component in festivals

The Ministry of Culture has a role to play in the preservation of popular culture and heritage of memory, including through the organization of festivals: indeed, "the Ministry of Culture should require festivals to integrate these activities." (MC34)

11. Memory, History and Transitional Justice

Recognizing the importance of the process of transitional justice and its links to history and memory, teachers interviewed repeatedly presented their recommendations for a better integration of history and memory, emphasising the role of the TDC, but also academic research, the need to better preserve collective memory and historical work.

1. The work of memory and transitional justice

Compliance with the principles of transparency, neutrality and objectivity appears as key to the success of memorialization within transitional justice mechanisms, especially the TDC, although some teachers also stressed the challenges of maintaining such impartiality. The complex tangle of history and memory, individual or collective, naturally influences the reading of objective facts. Thus, "there must be transparency for this process to succeed. I am for the prosecution and the judgement of people who have committed violations. Reconciliation will follow naturally." (MC27) Indeed, it is only “when such mechanisms respect the principles of objectivity and neutrality that such reconciliation will be possible."(MC27) In the area of memory and history research, in particular, it is important to fight against any attempt to politically exploit or manipulate facts.

2. Role of the TDC

Many teachers believe that the responsibility for implementing transitional justice in Tunisia rests first with the TDC. A history teacher in Sousse hopes that the TDC will be objective in its work and that it will formulate specific recommendations for educational reform based on its research. "The TDC must reveal the truth objectively. An academic and scholarly rewriting of the past is necessary, reflecting the importance of some of the historical or political figures." (MC25) This reform will be to the benefit of the victims, whose memory is still absent from the main narrative conveyed in textbooks: "There are many victims (individuals, groups and regions), one must reveal the truth about them and recognize the injustice that was done. The TDC can help to ease tensions and to rewrite history objectively, thereby promoting reconciliation, tolerance." (MC33) The TDC is however not without its critics, some saying that it "should ensure rights, but those have been hijacked." (MC32) Others emphasize the need to respect the stages of transitional justice in order to achieve reconciliation and to preserve memory objectively: "We must reveal the truth, then initiate criminal prosecutions and arrive at reconciliation: these are the procedures to preserve our memory." (MC43) "The TDC must correct the interpretation of history to achieve its aim, in order to ensure fairness and recognition to everyone." (MC09) The work of the TDC therefore constitutes an important basis for future historical research.

3. An academic rewriting of history

The objective rewriting of history remains the most frequent demand of teachers in both regions, demonstrating the inadequacy of current research: "We need an academic and scholarly

rewriting, to demonstrate the importance of other politicians historically," (MC25) and thus to better reflects Tunisian collective memory itself, in all its complexities.

12. Summary of recommendations

1. Teach recent history and focus on the transitions experienced by Tunisia, including the revolution and the period of Ben Ali;

2. Teach elements of historical memory hitherto ignored or marginalized, especially in the fight for independence and the oppression of figures opposed to Bourguiba;

3. Teach local and regional histories, and not only national;

4. Highlight the historical tensions and different interpretations of history by promoting nuance and critical analysis by students, to fight against any political exploitation of the past;

5. Teach history other than the political, including the social, cultural and economic history;

6. Put the teacher at the heart of reform, by promoting training and by making him a key figure in history.

7. Set new goals for the teaching of history, including the formation of civic and critical thinking, and encourage discussion, participation and debate in class;

8. Adopt new methods of teaching history, including mobilizing new technologies or using oral testimonies and 'lived' history;

9. Preserve the memory of lesser known local or regional events or people, to break with the centralization of Tunisian history, and to contribute to challenging the symbolic marginalisation of these regions, including through the creation of museums and festivals of remembrance in these areas;

10. Preserve the memory of groups and institutions, not just that of individuals;

11. Preserve everyday memory, the memory of 'ordinary' people, of daily and popular culture, and use that living memory to support the understanding of contemporary history;

12. Actively link the teaching of history to the transitional justice process, in particular the search for truth, and involve teachers early on in the development and dissemination of the work of the TDC in this area;

13. Cooperate with the associations of civil society on the ground and relevant state institutions to promote a new understanding of history, including through the writing of reformed textbooks.

Appendix 1. Research Methodology

A qualitative approach was used to explore this theme with two separate groups of teachers of history and civics:

- One group corresponds to a rather privileged sphere of Tunisian society in a region historically associated with Bourguibism: the Sahel, and specifically the city of Sousse;
- The other corresponds to a more economically marginalized category of the country, subjected to delayed development and marked by various social challenges: the Southwest, specifically the city of Gafsa.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with teachers in these two regions, who do not necessarily constitute 'victims' directly but are rather the main actors in the transmission of knowledge, particularly of history and civic education, and are therefore also involved in the process of transitional justice. Rather than specific questionnaires, the study benefitted from longer and more flexible interviews, recalling a form of oral history of those interviewed.

The choice of this population as the object of our field enquiry was guided by several reasons:

- College and secondary teachers are a major vector of transmission of knowledge in the field of history and collective memory;
- Teachers have direct contact with future generations and can affect their perception of historical elements and their individual and collective memory;
- The evaluation of programmes by teachers is very important in the context of a 'reconsideration' of memory and an eventual 'rewriting of history' associated with the process of transitional justice;
- Teaching history does not mean a wholly detached, perfect objectivity. Indeed, taught history reflects some 'personalisation' of historical elements by the teachers. It is therefore important to evaluate this interaction between 'official history' and the personal memory of the teacher.

To facilitate access to the inhabitants of the areas studied, initial contact with members of civil society was made during the first exploratory visits, to act as intermediary for contacts and appointments with teachers of history and civic education in these areas.

The sample of respondents was prepared by the method of *snowball sampling* that facilitates access to future respondents from existing ones.

Demographics of respondents

In all, 46 teachers from both regions were surveyed for this study. The average duration of interviews was 45 minutes and all interviews were recorded with the oral consent of the respondents, who however asked that they remain anonymous. The names were coded for analysis. All interviews were conducted in Tunisian dialect and audio recordings were

transcribed and translated into French, thus constituting a raw database for analysis. The method of inductive analysis was conducted in this study using the iterative coding of data based on the frequency of terms, for selecting on the basis of the passages relevant citations for the subject.

Sousse

A total of 23 teachers were interviewed in Sousse: 16 men and 4 women who teach history and two men and one woman who teach civic education in high schools in Sousse. Among these teachers, some are active and are aged between 40 and 57 years, while others are retired and aged between 60 and 72 years. The fieldwork was conducted from June 3 to 8 and 20 to 22 2016 and the institutions visited in Sousse were: pilot school Sousse, Ezzaouia school, Sousse Museum, Sousse Ezzahra high school, and Hammam Sousse high school.

In this study, research data on education in Sousse was used to give the following data[101,102] for the year 2015 to 2016 (excluding pilot high schools and technical schools):

For primary education:

- Number of schools : 180
- Number of students : 67181 including 32283 girls
- Number of teachers : 3487 including 2492 women

For preparatory and secondary education:

- Number of colleges : 37
- Number of secondary schools : 26
- Number of mixed schools (preparatory and secondary) : 5
- Number of teachers (secondary schools and colleges) : 4181 including 2,400 women
- Number of college students : 28,730 including 14,485 girls
- Number of secondary school students : 25,059 including 14,686 girls
- Number of civic education teachers (secondary schools and colleges) : 143 including 91 women
- Number of history teachers (secondary schools and colleges): 259 including 104 women

Gafsa

23 teachers were interviewed in Gafsa, namely 1 men and 3 women who teach history and 2 men and 4 women who teach civic education colleges Gafsa. Some teachers are active and aged between 40 and 57 years old while others are retired and aged between 60 and 72 years.

[101] For higher education and according to data on the official website of the town of Sousse (http://www.commune-sousse.gov.tn/fr/chiffre.php) the results are as follows :number of faculties 3; number of senior high schools: 11 ; number of top schools are :3 ; number of students: 34,500.

[102] The Directorate General for Research, Planning and Information Systems of the Ministry of Education, "School Statistics of Sousse region" May 2016, in Arabic.

The fieldwork was conducted from 17 to 24 May 2016 and the establishments visited in Gafsa were: Ibn Rached high school, Hmida Wahhada College, Houcine Bouzayene high school Chabeb College, El Houda primary school, Ibn Sina high school.

In this study, research data on education in Gafsa was used to give the followingdata[103,104] for the year 2015 to 2016 (excluding pilot high schools and technical schools) :

For primary education:

- Number of schools : 186
- Number of students : 33,507 including 16,130 girls
- Number of teachers : 2476 including 1159 women

For preparatory and secondary education:

- Number of colleges : 23
- Number of secondary schools : 20
- Number of mixed schools (preparatory and secondary) : 18
- Number of teachers (secondary schools and colleges) : 2983 including 1306 women
- Number of college students : 16164 including 7860 girls
- Number of secondary school students : 16,076 including 9446 girls
- Number of civic education teachers (secondary schools and colleges) : 95, including 45 women
- Number of history teachers (secondary schools and colleges) : 202 including 63 women

Supporting associations and partners

During the study, the association 'Gafsa Citizens', expressed their need to produce a documentary and organize an exhibition on the Affairs of the Protectorate in the Gafsa region. The Barometer proposed to support technically and logistically this association to produce its documentary and organise its dissemination.

[103] For higher education and accorrding to the concerned institution, 2014, in "Governorate of Gafsa in 2014 figures ,"the Ministry of Development, Investment and International Cooperation, South Development Office, pp.53- 56, there were the following results: the number of establishments: 8 institutes and faculty, the number of teachers: 1123, the number of graduates 2373, the number of students : 9728.

[104] The Directorate General for Research, Planning and Information Systems of the Ministry of Education, "School Statistics of Sousse region" May 2016 (in Arabic). .

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Appendix 2. List of persons interviewed

MC 1	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 2	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 3	F	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 4	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 5	F	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 6	F	civic education	Gafsa
MC 7	F	civic education	Gafsa
MC 8	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 9	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 10	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 11	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 12	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 13	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 14	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 15	M	civic education	Sousse
MC 16	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 17	F	civic education	Sousse
MC 18	F	history teacher	Sousse
MC 19	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 20	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 21	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 22	F	history teacher	Sousse
MC 23	M	history teacher	Sousse

MC 24	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 25	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 26	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 27	F	civic education	Gafsa
MC 28	F	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 29	F	civic education	Gafsa
MC 30	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 31	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 32	F	history teacher	Sousse
MC 33	M	Teacher	Sousse
MC 34	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 35	M	Teacher	Sousse
MC 36	F	history teacher	Sousse
MC 37	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 38	M	civic education	Sousse
MC 39	M	Teacher	Gafsa
MC 40	M	Teacher	Gafsa
MC 41	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 42	M	Teacher	Gafsa
MC 43	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 44	M	history teacher	Sousse
MC 45	M	history teacher	Gafsa
MC 46	M	history teacher	Gafsa

Appendix 3. Questionnaire for teachers

I. General information

1.1. Last name / First Name
1.2 Age
1.3 Sex
1.4 Geographical origin (Governorate, delegation, city)
1.5 Main source of income and income level
1.6 Education, graduation and graduation date
1.7 Are you a member of an association or union?
1.8 Do you or did you exercise a political activity? What?

II. Teaching activities

2.1 What is the subject you are teaching and what classes?
2.2 What textbook do you use manual? Why? What do you think of it?
2.3 Have you always used this textbook or have you changed recently? Why?
2.4 Do you teach your students recent history? How far will you go back?
2.5 Recent history programmes: Are there elements that seem more difficult to teach than others? Why? What is the reaction of students to these elements?

III. History and memory

3.1 What do you consider the dominant narrative of recent history as currently taught? (
3.2 Has there been a history of change since the revolution? If yes what?
3.3 Do you think that the historical narrative conveyed by textbooks is in line with individual and family memory of your students?
3.4 What are the historic elements that have particularly marked your area? How are these commemorated today?

IV. Bourguiba's place in history and collective memory

4.1 Do you dedicate courses to former President Bourguiba? If so, what place does he occupy in relation to other elements?
4.2 What is the dominant narrative that you pass on ito students?
4.3 Doe sthis historical narrative reflect your own memories and your perception of Bourguiba? If not, how? Why?
4.4 How is Bourguiba generally perceived in your area? Are there different views and interpretations of his legacy? Why?
4.5 What is the dominant memory of this period today in your area? What are the most salient points that emerge (events, accomplishments, critiques ...) ?
4.6 How is it that memory constructed and maintained today (ceremonies, commemorations, street name ...) in your area?
4.7 Do you think the revolution has changed this dominant perception? If so, how?

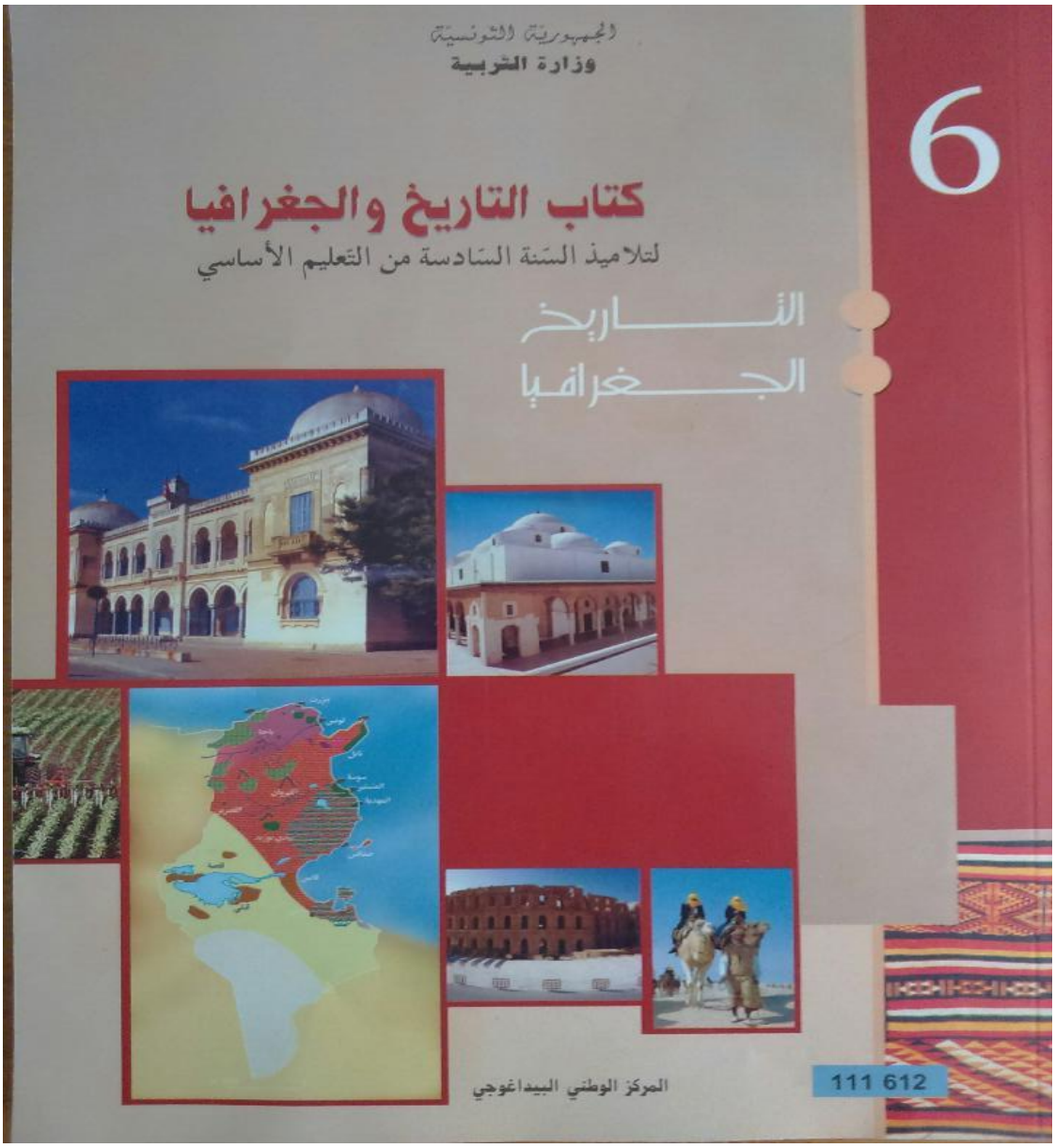
V. **Recommendations**

5.1 According to you what are the recent elements of history that need to be better taught or taught differently?
5.2 Do you think it is possible to reconcile the memories and conflicts of historical interpretation around the figure of Bourguiba? If yes, how?

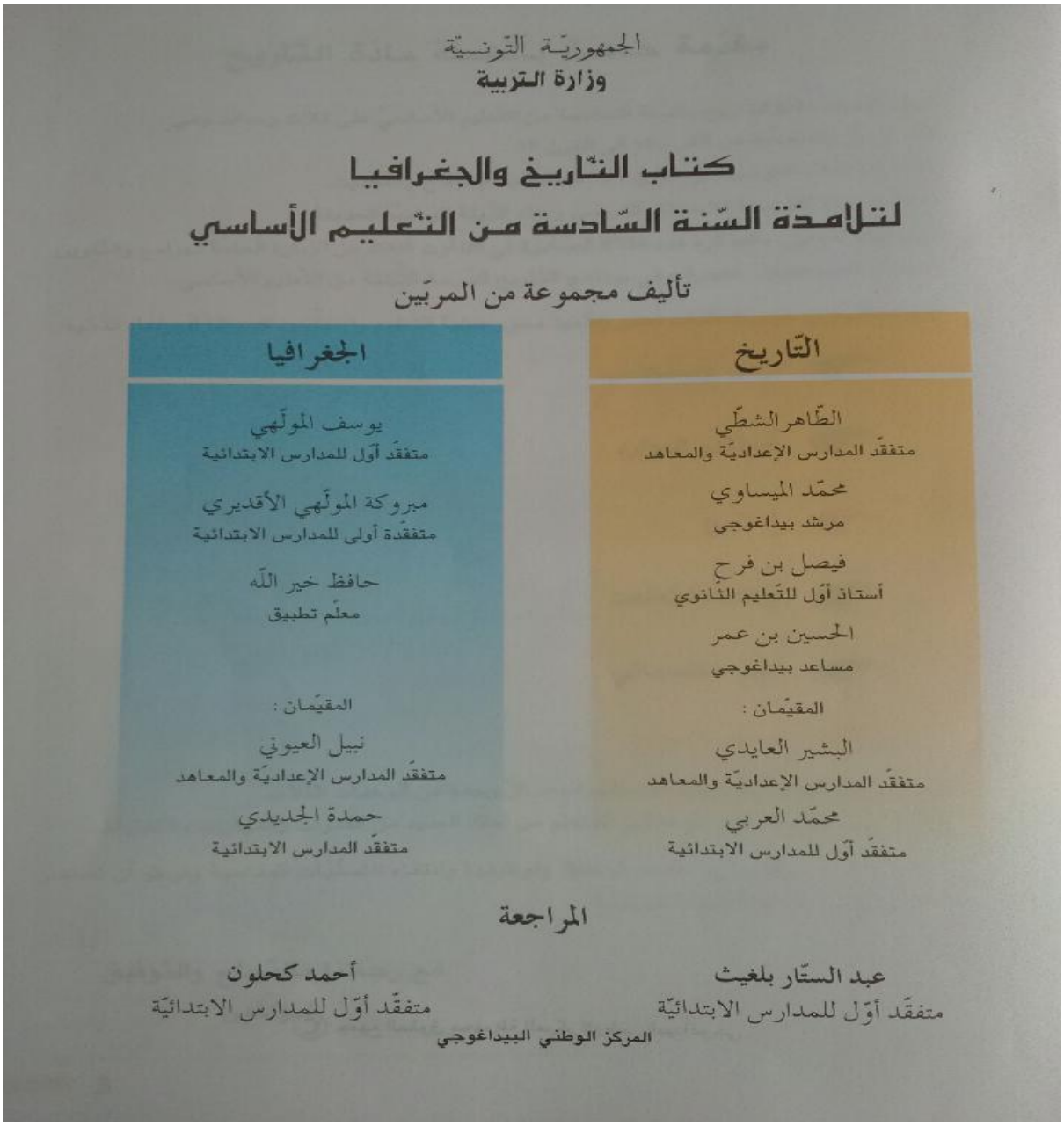
5.3 Do transitional justice mechanisms, including the TDC, have a role in this process of reconciliation of memories and stories ?
5.4 What other actions (commemoration project, public debates...) would be possible ?

Appendix 4. The textbooks

History textbook for students in the 6th year of primary school



List of authors



الجمهوريّة التونسيّة
وزارة التربية

كتاب التّاريخ والجغرافيا
لتلامذة السّنة السّادسة من التّعليم الأساسي

تأليف مجموعة من المربّين

التّاريخ

الطّاهر الشطّي
متفقّد المدارس الإعداديّة والمعاهد

محمّد الميساوي
مرشد بيداغوجي

فيصل بن فرح
أستاذ أوّل للتّعليم الثّانوي

الحسين بن عمر
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محمّد العربي
متفقّد أوّل للمدارس الابتدائية

الجغرافيا

يوسف المولّهي
متفقّد أوّل للمدارس الابتدائية

مبروكة المولّهي الأقديري
متفقّدة أولى للمدارس الابتدائية

حافظ خير اللّه
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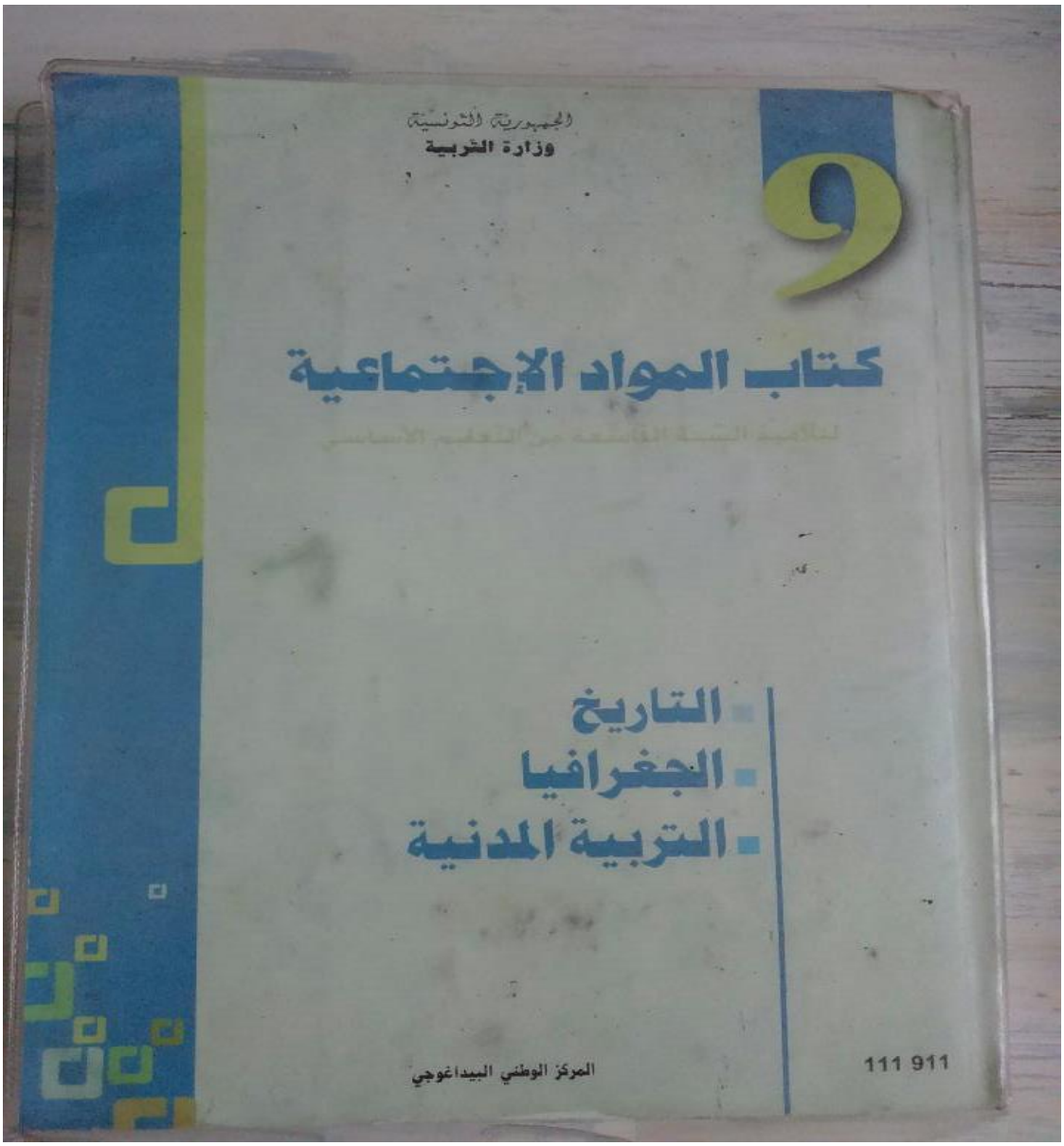
المركز الوطني البيداغوجي

فهرس الكتاب : مادة التاريخ

الوحدة	عنوان الوحدة	رقم الدرس	عنوان الدرس	الصفحة
1	تونس والمغرب من القرن 16 إلى القرن 18	الأوّل	الصّراع العثماني الإسباني على البلاد التونسيّة وانتصاب العثمانيين بتونس	5
		الثّاني	الهجرة الأندلسية إلى البلاد التّونسيّة ونتائجها	11
		الثّالث	البلاد التّونسيّة في عهد حمّودة باشا الحسيني	16
			وضعيّة إدماجيّة	20
2	أزمة البلاد التّونسيّة في القرن 19 ومحاولات الإصلاح	الرّابع	مظاهر الأزمة في البلاد التّونسيّة في القرن التّاسع عشر	22
		الخامس	إصلاحات أحمد باي العسكريّة والاجتماعيّة	28
		السادس	الإصلاحات السّياسيّة : عهد الأمان ودستور 1861	31
		السّابع	إصلاحات خير الدّين باشا	34
			وضعيّة إدماجيّة	37
3	المقاومة التّونسيّة للاحتلال الفرنسي وبناء الدّولة الوطنيّة الحديثة	الثّامن	انتصاب الحماية الفرنسيّة بتونس وردود الفعل الأولى	39
		التّاسع	الهيمنة الإستعماريّة الفرنسيّة على البلاد التّونسيّة	43
		العاشر	الحركة الوطنيّة التّونسيّة إلى أحداث 9 أفريل 1938 : حركة الشّباب التّونسي	46
		الحادي عشر	الحزب الحرّ الدّستوري التّونسي : البرنامج والنّشاط	49
		الثّاني عشر	الحزب الحرّ الدّستوري التّونسي الجديد وتجذّر حركة النّضال الوطني	53
		الثّالث عشر	الحركة الوطنيّة التّونسيّة والمسيرة نحو الاستقلال من 1939 إلى 1956	57
			وضعيّة إدماجيّة	61
		الرّابع عشر	بناء الدّولة الوطنيّة وتحديث المجتمع من 1956 إلى 1987	62
			وضعيّة إدماجيّة	66

Table of contents

History textbook for students in the 9th year of primary school



Front page

الجمهورية التونسية
وزارة التربية
كتاب المواد الاجتماعيّة
لتلاميذ السّنة التاسعة من التعليم الأساسي
التاريخ
الجغرافيا
التربية المدنيّة
المؤلفون
محمّد محسن التليلي
متفقّد أوّل للمدارس الإعداديّة والمعاهد
نور الدّين بن صالح
متفقّد المدارس الإعداديّة والمعاهد
رياض الزغل
أستاذ أوّل فوق الرّتبة للتّعليم الثانوي
إنجاز الخرائط والرسوم
رياض بوعزيز
عبد الرزاق الحامدي
متفقّد المدارس الإعداديّة والمعاهد
علياء المكي شعبوني
متفقّدة المدارس الإعداديّة والمعاهد
نعيمة الأجنف بوعفيف
أستاذة أولى للتّعليم الثانوي
إنجاز الخرائط والرسوم
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فهرس عام

وحدة التّاريخ

المحور الأول : تونس والعالم من الحرب العالمية الأولى إلى الحرب العالمية الثانية	5
الدّرس الأوّل : الحرب العالمية الأولى: الأسباب وأبرز النتائج	6
الدّرس الثّاني : الحركة الوطنية التونسية في العشرينات	15
الدّرس الثّالث : الحركة الوطنية التونسية في الثلاثينات	24
الدّرس الرّابع : أسباب الحرب العالمية الثانيّة	33
الدّرس الخامس : نتائج الحرب العالمية الثانيّة	42
نشاط تقييمي	49
المحور الثاني : العالم بعد الحرب العالمية الثانية	50
الدّرس السادس : الحرب الباردة	51
الدّرس السابع : تحرر الشعوب المستعمرة	59
الدّرس الثامن : القضيّة الفلسطينية	67
نشاط تقييمي	79
المحور الثالث : استقلال بلدان المغرب ا لعربي	80
الدرس التاسع : الحركة الوطني التونسية من 1945 إلى1956	81
الدّرس العاشر : تونس من 1956–1987	91
الدّرس الحادي عشر : الحركة الوطنية الجزائرية	101
الدّرس الثاني عشر : الحركة الوطنية المغربية	112
الدّرس االثالث عشر: الحركة الوطنية الليبيّة	123
نشاط تقييمي	131

Table of contents

History textbook for student in the 4th year of secondary school

Front page

الجمهوريّة التّونسيّة
وزارة التّربية
كتاب التّاريخ
لتلاميذ السنة الرابعة من التعليم الثانوي
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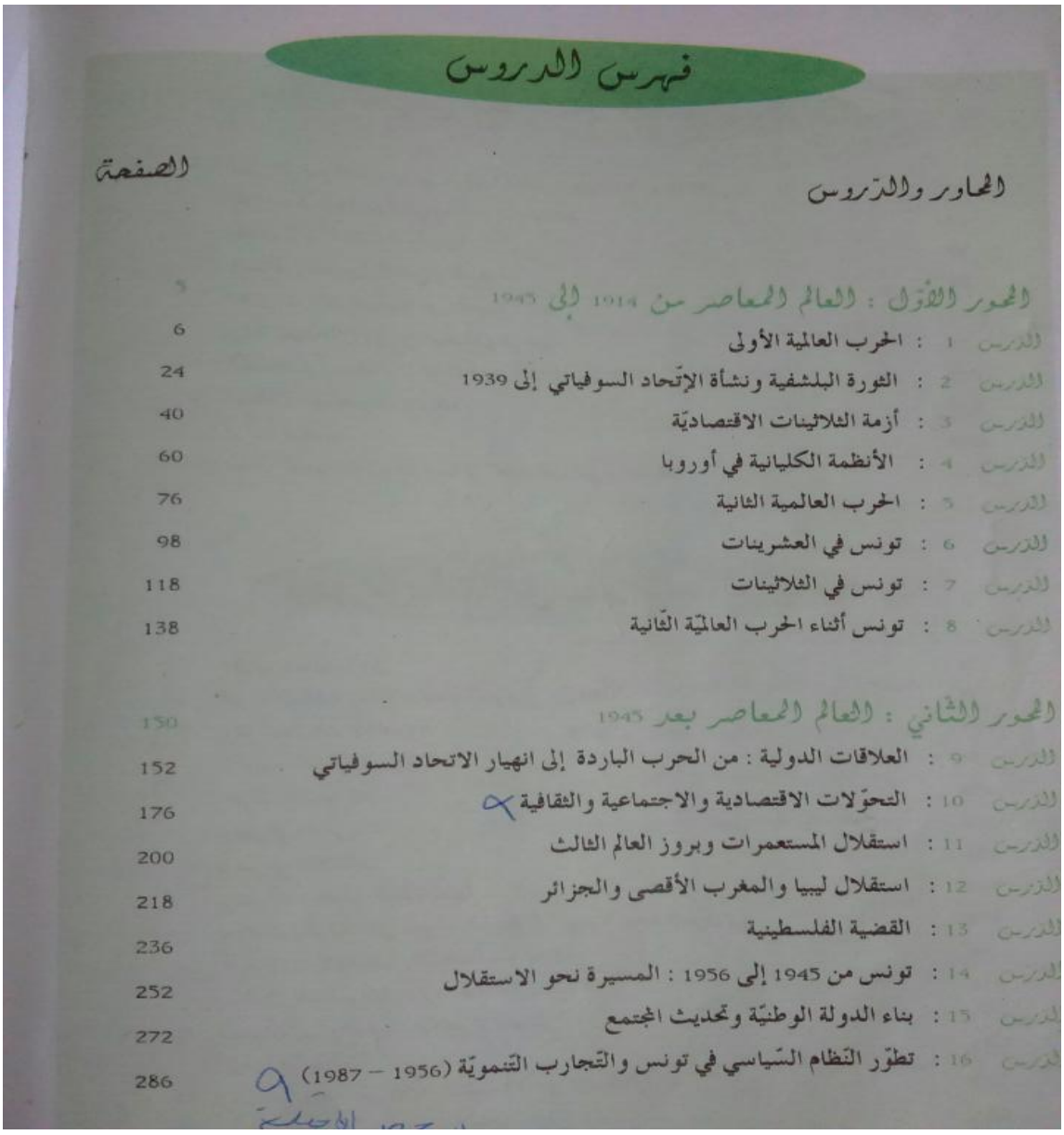

فهرس الدروس

المحاور والدروس	الصفحة
المحور الأوّل : العالم المعاصر من 1914 إلى 1945	5
الدرس 1 : الحرب العالمية الأولى	6
الدرس 2 : الثورة البلشفية ونشأة الإتّحاد السوفياتي إلى 1939	24
الدرس 3 : أزمة الثلاثينات الاقتصاديّة	40
الدرس 4 : الأنظمة الكليانية في أوروبا	60
الدرس 5 : الحرب العالمية الثانية	76
الدرس 6 : تونس في العشرينات	98
الدرس 7 : تونس في الثلاثينات	118
الدرس 8 : تونس أثناء الحرب العالميّة الثّانية	138
المحور الثاني : العالم المعاصر بعد 1945	150
الدرس 9 : العلاقات الدولية : من الحرب الباردة إلى انهيار الاتحاد السوفياتي	152
الدرس 10 : التحوّلات الاقتصادية والاجتماعية والثقافية	176
الدرس 11 : استقلال المستعمرات وبروز العالم الثالث	200
الدرس 12 : استقلال ليبيا والمغرب الأقصى والجزائر	218
الدرس 13 : القضية الفلسطينية	236
الدرس 14 : تونس من 1945 إلى 1956 : المسيرة نحو الاستقلال	252
الدرس 15 : بناء الدولة الوطنيّة وتحديث المجتمع	272
الدرس 16 : تطوّر النّظام السّياسي في تونس والتّجارب التّنمويّة (1956 – 1987)	286

Table of contents