FRANTZ FANON:

ARCHITECTURE OF THE FELT BODY

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PREFACE

What is colonialism? With this question in mind, I discussed, listened, and debated with colleagues, friends, and others. Like in many debates, I confronted numerous pros and cons, studying colonialism and its relationship to architecture.

One of the possible positive aspects that one encounters by reading about colonialism is what some people believe is "development."[1] First of all, there are no "undeveloped" countries. As the ways of development differ, so do the timeline and forms of "development." Walter Rodney[2] has an excellent work on this statement: How Europe underdeveloped Africa.

"The term "development" and its antonym "underdevelopment" (in French *sous-développement*) were, and still are, widely used in order to distinguish those who are "developed" from those who are "underdeveloped.""

Thus, we can say with Samia Henni that those who consider themselves to have already achieved this status are automatically forced to develop the latter. So-called developed nations accord themselves the right to define and decide who is or is not developed.

There is a certain concerning form of this possible so-called development that comes along with the act of colonialism: architecture.

However, is colonial architecture indeed a development?

It is no more than a naive belief to look at a traditional native house and compare it with a building made of concrete that the colonizer built on the ruined house and assume the latter development. As we all know, architecture is not just about making buildings but a way to form people's lives. However, what does that mean? What forms are we talking about?

Let us begin by thinking about particular architectural creations. In everyday life, buildings in some cities are being removed and replaced with new constructions. No one cares; there are thousands of them.

However, you may feel deep discomfort when your tailor-made house, which you spent days with your architect to design, burns, damages, or even decays. There is a particular attachment to it, a certain sense of belonging. The reason is that the house was made for you, maybe even your grandchildren could not feel at "home" there.

Therefore, the question arises: who are we building for as architects? The lifetime of what we build depends on how well we can answer that question, and this is precisely why what is being built in colonialism can be easily replaced, and it can be removed. Moreover, colonialism, in essence, is a force to destroy what defines a nation and replace its values down to the deepest one. Colonialism is a force to destroy any sense of belonging related to the natives.

Colonialism is a violent act, and so is decolonialism. In other words, it is a foreign force that gets injected into the national values and cannot be reconciled with them. Its aim is not only to erase them from everyday natives' lives but also to make the natives replace their values, traditions, beliefs, and culture.

Therefore architecture during colonialism separates from whom we build for. It will be a question of whom we "should not" build for; this is the most fragile form of architecture, which does not bring any sense of attachment to it.

1. The term "development" is particularly used by the United Nations.
2. Walter Anthony Rodney (23 March 1942 – 13 June 1980) was a Guyanese historian, political activist and academic. His notable works include How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, first published in 1972. Rodney was assassinated in Georgetown, Guyana, in 1980 (caribbeanelections, 2019).

To expand this manifest, first, it is necessary to isolate an example of colonialism. Then if we put the example into a simple equation of what colonialism takes and what it returns, we are already closer to answering the question of why colonial architecture is replaceable.

However, every architecture production emerges from the design process. Therefore, before analyzing the architecture during any era, we need to understand the design process and the factors the architect took into account. It is possible by reading the history.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper, we study Algeria under France's colonialism as an example. The most crucial reason for choosing this example emerges from the astonishing failure of acceptance of the architecture done by French oppression during their presence in Algeria by the context.

By using a historical approach, we analyze the social events and their effects on the majority of Algerian natives. Then we focus on merly colonialism as the background of mental illness.

Therefore, Algeria unveiled chapter reveals how colonialism attempted to erase one of the most cultural symbols of Algeria, the Algerian women's important costume: the veil. Without understanding the significant position of such a costume in Algerian society, one cannot understand the violence that emerges from forcing to remove this symbol from Algerian society. In this case, the aim is not only to replace the women's appearance with the European look but also to win over the strong Algerian female society.

As the chapter "superiority of white" shows, women, in particular, had to sacrifice their self-confidence, high values, and positions to fit in with European society. However, despite all their sacrifices, they remained foreign to that society.

Architecture was one of the social transmissions during the colonial regime in Algeria that was significantly unsuccessful in merging with its context and native Algerian architecture. Therefore, the chapter on colonial architecture starts with the colonialism of land and the displacement of rural Algerians to the housing units provided by the end of the bloody conflict of Algerian independence.

Moreover, the land was forcibly taken from Algerians and divided into forbidden zones, minefields, and camps, and Algerians were "Alienated" in their own country. It was the time of creating such an architecture that we previously called "the most fragile," the architecture that did not belong to its context. During the time of colonialism, French authorities built numerous buildings, but the most problematic one, which is the focus of this dissertation, is the housing units.

Back to our initial debates, we mentioned that these buildings have no sense of attachment to them—the attachment to the people for whom this architecture was created. By talking about such feelings, another realm of human emotions opens to us and leads us to study the "felt body."

The absence of attachment -or the reason for this replaceability- can be understood by understanding the presence of the opposite.

Therefore, it brings us back to the concern of whom we are building.

Colonial people, the native who is the most alienated in their own country, constantly forced to abandon their beliefs, form of life, and values, is traumatized. We must distinguish this mental illness from madness caused by neurological dysfunctionalities. For this form of illness, we can refer to Sartre, who believed "something can always be done with what is done with us."

If a building environment wants to be replaced with the home taken from the colonized subject, it cannot be a simple concrete block that can be created in any other context. By speaking about trauma, we know that the alienated person is experiencing something more than physical suffering. This pain is related to different cognition of the human body; they are "surfaceless." Thus the architecture that wants to answer this matter must be rewritten: we must learn how to design based on emotions, pain, loss, sorrow, alienation, and mental illness.

Therefore, architecture is not just an answer to our physical body but to what we will learn as a felt body. The architecture we will create for the felt body is a part of what Bollnow calls "experienced space," or it can shape an experienced space.

In this space, we can distinguish between a home and a house. We belong to our homes, not to our houses, although it is possible to turn a house into a home.

We stepped into a new realm of our existence that does not think of human beings as individuals but what is related to the felt body is the effect of specific actions related to man and his environment that he is a part of the atmosphere.

Here, without even going further, the creation of architecture is getting more complex. However, we must not forget that with all these complexities, the subjects we are trying to create an architecture are the alienated, colonized people suffering from their relationship to their world.

However, fortunately, we are not alone in this task. The felt body, amongst all the incredible capacities, can save and record events from the past along with emotions, and we call that memory. They are holistic, derived from our senses, but at the same time, they are independent of them.

Krueger explains that even though our memories separate themselves from our emotions over time, they are always functionally controlled by them.

Consistently, they are more or less intertwined with something emotional that fills in the 'gaps' of our entire experience and provides the 'background' of anything that might stand out (Krueger, 1928).

That is an atmospheric background in which the memory can surface. During the therapy session of a traumatized person, the therapist tries to relink the patient to such a background in which he could shed light on the patient's memories and find the trauma, which is the sick connection between the patient and his world or his living environment, then utilize this trauma in a healthy circulation that emerges from the patient's past. However, it is also directly connected to the present.

It is essential to address the difference between memory, remembrance, and imagination functionality. In the form of illness that is caused due to the broken relationship between oneself and society, we cannot rely only on imagination. According to Frantz Fanon, the imagination, the imaginary, is only possible when reality belongs to us.

Therefore, the relationship between man, reality, and the world must be fixed first. This is where memory comes to our aid.

Choosing Frantz Fanon as an essential character of this paper comes not only from his vital role in Algerian society's mental health under France's colonial oppression but also from his deep understanding of the relationship between man and his homeland, roots and society.

The chapter on Blida-Joinville psychiatric hospital shows the results of colonialism on society's mental health and Fanon's extraordinary studies on healing the broken relationship between man, Algerian people in this case, and their "home(s)."

Fanon's profound studies on the patients, Algerian men, and European women during the bloody conflict between France and Algeria led to the particular methods of ergotherapy through which patients were able to create a new relationship with society that was the reason for their mental illness.

What Fanon created for the patients as a gardening method is the product of the process of understanding the felt body, using the patient's past and achieving the memories, and then returning them to healthy circulation. This method is what we need to achieve in architecture as well. However, where is the architect in this equation?

The architect is the therapist who needs to be entirely present in achieving the memory of the felt body. We should discuss what we mean by memories in more detail. Suppose we imagine ourselves as architects designing the residential units during the Algerian war of independence, even after that, to some extent. To design for such people, we must understand their needs. Once again, we are not talking about physical needs.

When Bollnow writes that a home is where man is at "ease" or the sacred place that protects him from the foreign, he is not only talking about the physical threats outside one's living environment.

Nevertheless, he is inviting us to think about what can bring "ease" to man and, therefore, to create a space with such a feeling.

Therefore we must first consider what the people we are designing for recall as a "home." We need to reform our understanding of habitation.

Alternatively, habitation is not just the answer to the body's physical needs but to finding the questions, needs, traumas, comforts, and other embodied emotions of the felt body and the ability to answer them employing architecture.

We could see this fine architecture which is the reconstruction of emotions in *The Whispering of Ghosts 2018*, a short film by Mohamed Bourouissa[1], who is reconstructing a garden for one of the ex-patients of Blida-Joinville hospital.

The work of Mohamed Bourouissa leads us to the comparison between ergotherapy and the architectural design process that enables us to recognize that architecture is indeed a method of ergotherapy.

Now, the answer to why colonial architecture is replaceable is more apparent. As soon as certain colonialism is over, the architecture that remains is nothing more than shells without meaning.

This form of architecture manifests its failure to shape people's lives instead of being in harmony with them.

However, even outside of colonialism, architectural design is primarily a matter of quantity and resources in today's modern world. Consequently, this paper does not refer to a single historical period but to our modern architecture as a whole.

1. Born in 1978 in Blida (Algeria), Mohammed Bourouissa currently lives and works in Paris (France). Mohamed Bourouissa describes contemporary society implicitly by its contours (Bourouissa, 2021).

SECTION ONE
ALGERIA UNDER FRENCH COLONIAL OPPERESSION

Colonialism is a violent force. The colonialism of Algeria is a great example to study different violent layers of colonialism. Although this violence relentlessly affected all generations under the presence of the French colonial administration in Algeria, it reached its maximum during the Algerian War of Independence from November 1954 to 1962.

 Even though the term "war" started to be used only after 37 years of the ceasefire in 1962, the casualties of this bloody conflict are extensive.

It can be argued that colonialism in Algeria had a direct connection to the history of the French Republic and the development of the bourgeoisie in France. While the bourgeoisie was establishing itself in France, the goal of the French military authorities was to ensure French supremacy in Algeria and to take advantage of France's economic interests overseas. The transformation of France into a capitalist country increased the need for land and new outlets for industrial products. A decree issued in 1863 gave the French army the right to assimilate Algerian territories. For the French, however, assimilation meant the expropriation of land, which is the point that capitalism in France led to colonialism. However, it was not the bourgeoisie class that formed the colonial army in Algeria, but the social outcasts, the lumpenproletariats, as Marx calls them.

This lumpenproletariat class was deployed in Algeria to build the colonial structure. The land needed was forcibly taken from the Algerian natives, leading to Algeria's great famine and disposal. By dispossessing the natives and giving their lands to the settlers, the lumpenproletariat class became a new bourgeois class, and a new lumpenproletariat class had been created, the natives. This class of the lumpenproletariat in Algeria is the peasants and farmers.

The dreadful famine in Algeria created a difficult living situation for Algerians. The search for food, forced emigration to Tunisia and Morocco, and living in regroupment camps are just some consequences of this violence.

This violence not only appropriated the lands but also tried to change the Algerian people's cultural values radically. In the following chapters, we will mention some forms of this violence.

During the Algerian War of Independence, the veil played a crucial role. If we want to start with a summary of the veil as a national costume, we can read how Frantz Fanon addressed it:

> The way people clothe themselves, together with the traditions of dress and finery that custom implies, constitutes the most distinctive form of a society's uniqueness, that is to say, the one that is the most immediately perceptible. Within the general pattern of a given costume, there are always modifications of detail, innovations which in highly developed societies are the mark of fashion. Nevertheless, the effect as a whole remains homogeneous. (Fanon, 1959, 35)

Fanon points out the veils as a distinctive aspect of Arab society, as a factor that is immediately visible and noticeable when someone from outside, like a tourist, enters the Arab society. The veil cannot be categorized as a traditional way of clothing. Because it is only related to people in a specific society; therefore, while the masculine grab has modifications, the veil represents the uniformity that defines Algerian female society, a uniform that does not tolerate variation or change (Fanon, 1959, 36).

During the early 1930s, the French administration in Algeria committed to destroying the Algerian originality. Undoubtedly, a critical view of the conflict formed against the veil as the status of Algerian women. The formula was, "Let us win over the women, and the rest will follow" (Fanon. 1959, 37). This formula was formed on the matriline essence of Algerian society.

Speaking of the veil as any other revolutionary factor in colonial Algeria without mentioning the efforts of Frantz Fanon is almost impossible. In the first chapter of his *Sociologie d'une Révolution*, Fanon claims that French colonial officials in Algeria engaged in a war against the veil from the early 1930s.

Based on his analysis, French colonial officials assumed the veil was the barrier between the Algerian colonized society and French colonial society, which led them to believe that governing in Algeria was only complete when they conquered women, which concluded in the removal of the veil.

The enormous role of Algerian women as mothers, grandmothers, and the "old woman" was so crucial that the colonial administration had to define a precise political doctrine: We must conquer the women first if we want to destroy the Algerian society and its ability to resist. We must find them behind the veil, where they hide, and within the houses, where the men keep them hidden (Fanon, 1959, 37-38).

They pictured the Algerian women as an object that men dehumanized and "kept" out of reach. The colonial administration invested significant capital in the battle against the veil when it became clear that woman was indeed the core of Algerian society.

Consequently, many Algerian women did not stop wearing the veil to clarify that they would define the terms of their emancipation – instead of being forcefully liberated by the French colonizers.

Several unveiling forces occurred a year after the end of the Battle of Algiers.

Female freedom fighters transferred explosives underneath the traditional white Haik, a dress from Ottoman Algeria during that time. The army detected this strategy, leading to the unveiling and choosing of European dress for the females, allowing them to pass through French checkpoints unnoticed. Therefore, by unveiling the women, the French army sought to invade both female society and the battle against the Algerian nation.

During the Algerian War for Independence, the presence of the veil, or its absence, helped women become highly effective guerilla fighters.

The appearance change in Algerian female society is both physical and mental; it influences how her body moves, her thoughts, and her perception of herself. Algerian women were contestants in men's plans over nationalist combat by joining the movement. Through this, they gained a new identity within Algeria to increase the possibility of reconsidering women's issues after the revolution for official policy.

During the revolution, female fighters coped with a degree of adequate or soft power regardless of whether their status would change after the revolution or not. Women created a tangible approval and implicit attitude toward their new identities and carved out new identities for themselves.

In 1958, numerous "unveiling" ceremonies were held across Algeria. The French military officers unveiled several Algerian women to prove they were now bonding with their French "sisters." These strategies created a liberation campaign demonstrating how Muslim women embraced European values and resigned from the independence struggle. They also happened during a political and financial struggle for France to maintain its colony in North Africa, which caused its financial turmoil.

The Algerian women who accepted to refuse the veil were "welcome" in European society and thus surrounded by a new atmosphere. These women were a great object of victory for the French administration, and they were the doors that French forces were opening to the deep parts of Algerian society structure. However, refusing the veil as a strong cultural costume meant approving the new school that the colonizer brought to Algerian society. It was a sign of defeat or changing the cultural and historical habits towards the new ones that the oppression and power brought to their society.

Veil for Algerian women is the way to be present in the social public. It is another perception of beauty for females, the sense of beauty accompanied by mystery. At the same time, Algerian women use the veil to stop the sexual look toward themselves that encountering the opposite sex can cause. The veil, in their beliefs, is the way to show men that this woman does not look at herself or perceive herself as a giving object. When it comes to Algerian women, European men hold different opinions; many believe Algerian men hide such beauty and they must reveal it, while others cannot understand the reason for wearing the veil. However, Both of these beliefs led to the unveiling.

In Algeria Unveiled, Fanon addresses the veil as an essential tool for resisting colonial hegemony. Regarding the female body as the same as the land, Fanon asserts that the act of unveiling an Algerian woman is like prostituting Algeria:

> Every veil that fell, every body that became liberated from the traditional embrace of the Haik, every face that offered itself to the bold and impatient glance of the occupier, was a negative expression of the fact that Algeria was beginning to deny herself and was accepting the rape of the colonizer. (Fanon, 1959, 42)

He declares that unveiling was a form of torture against women in Algeria. The French colony systematically targeted the veil as a reminder of pre-colonial culture and took steps toward eradication.

On the other hand, European women believe that no one would hide their natural beauty. They compare how European women reveal their decorated hair and use the best fashion to show their bodies and how the Algerian women rather hide their faces and body. On another level, they believe that veil is just confusing and misleading.

Here one can understand how different the perspective of the presence of a woman in the society is for a French and an Algerian woman. The veil is a significant difference, but there are other contrasts between the two. Because of the significant position of the veil in the social and cultural beliefs of the Algerian nation, any change to it cannot be done without violence.

Therefore, removing the veil is the appropriation of the social position of women. If any alteration is willing to happen on the veil, it must come from the women of the society and their inner structural beliefs; no foreign force can do it.

Fig. 1 Showing Algerian women wearing veil.

During the presence of the French army in Algeria, architecture, amongst other social elements, underwent significant modifications. The French government built an enormous amount of buildings in Algeria under different strategies and plans.

This chapter explicitly studies a few examples of these architectural changes and modifications. The purpose of this chapter is first to address that, despite the shared beliefs, not every architecture is considered development. Moreover, we will address how the Algerian context never profoundly accepted this architecture.

During this bloody conflict, the French civil and military authorities drastically altered the Algerian environment, modified and reorganized Algerian urban and habitation territories, and forced rural Algerian people to move, relocate, and abandon their homes and lands. Following government orders, certain areas were evacuated in order to allow the colonial government direct access and control over the population, land, and territories, as well as establish European settlements in Algeria.

France considered Algeria a part of its Tenth Military Region, administered similarly to other French metropolitan areas (Henni, 2017, 8).

This chapter does not claim to be a comprehensive account of the architectural modifications, destructions, and constructions carried out during the period of France's colonization of Algeria. Instead, the goal is a practice of understanding the role that architecture played in changing the life, mental health, and culture of the Algerian nation during the presence of the French colonial regime in Algeria.

The term architecture in this dissertation is used for not only the building and physical constructions but the broad sense of the term, such as the living environment, territory, land, and property.

This chapter is based on *Architecture of Counterrevolution: The French Army in Northern Algeria*, written by Samia Henni who is a writer, historian, educator, and curator and has extensive research on the history of architecture.

She believes that in contrast to research into architecture built in times of peace, research into architecture resulting from and forming part of the conduct of war and conflict is most often concerned with the ethical, political, and psychological implications of such designed spaces, buildings, territories, mechanisms, as well as their architects in the sense of the originator, creator, initiator, and inventor (Henni, 2017, 17). The examples chosen for this chapter have fundamental similarities.

As we proceed and gain more understanding of atmospheric spaces, we begin to understand more the design failures of the buildings created by French governments, especially those designed as residential units and "homes."

Therefore, we will understand why in many colonializations, if not all, architecture, above other things, fails to replace or to get involved with the native context. The colonized world is a world without mediation between the colonizer and the colonized.

Let us begin with a quote form Franz Fanon:

> The colonist's sector is a sector built to last, all stone and steel. It is a sector of lights and
> paved roads, where the trash cans constantly overflow with strange and wonderful garbage,
> undreamed of leftovers.
> The violence which governed the ordering of the colonial world, which tirelessly punctuat-
> ed the destruction of the indigenous social fabric, and demolished unchecked the systems
> of reference of the country's economy, lifestyles, and modes of dress. (Fanon, 1961, 4)

First, Fanon argues that there will be no "equality" in colonial architecture, and this is because the colonial sector must always be superior to the colonized sector. Secondly, colonial architecture cannot comprehend the social differences and expectations of native societies; therefore, this architecture does not belong to the natives or its context.

Starting from 1863, with the growing number of French military forces in Algeria, the possession of the land increased. After a period of several years, Michel Rocard, a member of the Socialist Party and former Prime Minister from 1988 to 1991, denounced the outrageous conditions of the colonial regroupment camps where more than half of the villagers, including children, were parked. The 1959 media scandal resulted in a flood of photographs, figures, and descriptions that documented the forced resettlement of Algerian civilians on a massive scale (Henni, 2017, 20-21).

Millions of rural Algerians were displaced and forced to relocate to the regroupment camps. French government lost count of the exact number of civilians who had unwillingly been brought to these camps over the several years since the possession of the land started. "One estimate for 1960 counted 2,157,000 persons" (P. Bourdieu, A. Sayad, 1966).

A 1961 evaluation concluded that "at least 2,350,000 people had been concentrated into military-controlled settlements, while an additional 1,175,000 individuals had been forced to leave their original homes due to constant and violent military operations, resulting in the displacement of over 2.5 million individuals (Cornaton, 1998, 122-123).

Although another figure for 15 February 1962 reported that 3,740 camps de regroupment had been built in French Algeria since the outbreak of the Algerian 1954. According to Sami Henni's findings, the first camps in Algeria were, in fact, created immediately after the outbreak of the Algerian Revolution (Henni, 2017, 21).

The explanation for the aims of these camps given by Jacques Soutelle and Robert Lacoste claimed that Algeria was under-administered and that in 1848 territorial departmentalization no longer matched the large population[1]. "Thus, a new territorial reorganization was necessary to address the population's urgent administrative needs" (Henni, 2017, 25).

Lacoste drew particular attention to the departments of Hauts-Plateaux, where the Aurès mountains are located. He argued that the problem of this area is that the small rural populations occupied vast underdeveloped areas.

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1. According to Samia Henni, Algeria was incorporated into France (departmentalization) in 1848 as the three departments of Algiers, Oran, and Constantine.

In reality, the Aurès mountains were one of the most uncontrollable areas for French authorities. In fact, the strategies applied in these areas are to oversee the rural population's activities and stop the moral and material support of Algerian militants and liberation fighters.

One of the problems of French authorities in controlling this area was its rugged topography and harsh climate. Due to their enduring resistance to French colonization, the Algerian Berber-speaking Shawiya people of Aurès were a constant source of unrest for the French authorities. In fact, in 1849, 1858, 1859, 1879, and again between 1916 and 1920, the Shawiya population of the vast Aurès region rebelled against the French (Henni, 2017, 30-31).

Fig. 2 French paratroopers on patrol in the Aurès massif, stopped a caravan and questioned Algerian peasants, on November 12, 1954.

According to Bouchène, the French military air force dropped thousands of warning leaflets in November 1954 over the main valleys in the Aurès, urging the inhabitants to evacuate the region within two days in order to prevent the bombardment, which actually occurred, constituting the war's first aerial bombing and the first forced displacement of civilians[1].

This forced evacuation resulted in half of the population of fourteen villages in the north of the Aurès had left their homes. Nevertheless, this displacement continued.

Fig. 3 French forced displacement of the Algerian population in Catinat El Alia, Region of Constantine, Algeria, June 1957.

Fig. 4 Forcibly displaced people building shelters in the *camp de regroupement* of Taher El Achouet in Constantine, July 1957.

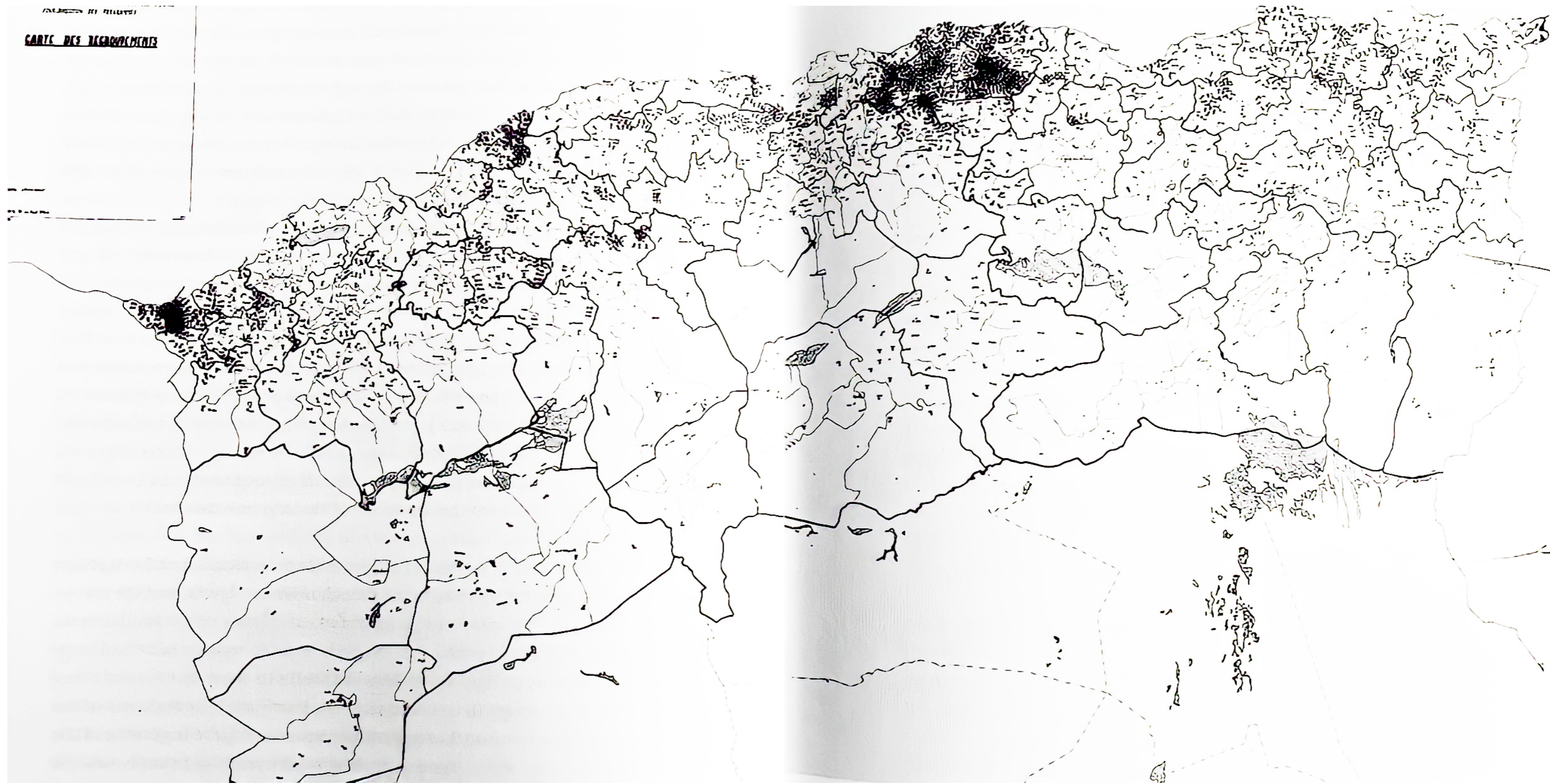1. Bouchène et al., Histoire de l'Algérie, 480.

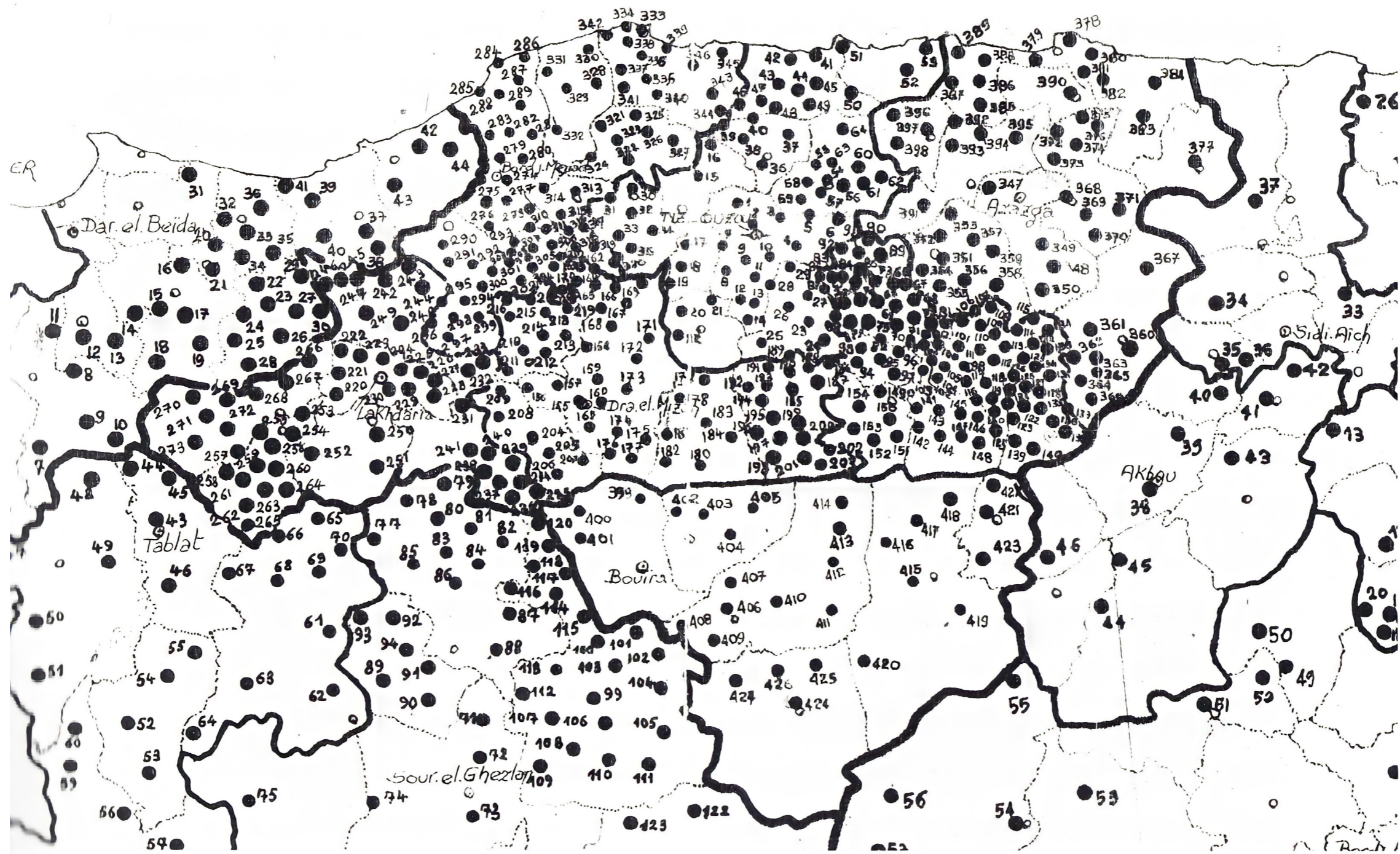Fig. 5 Map of the *regroupment camps* in Northern Algeria, 1962.

Fig. 6 Details of the map of the *regroupment camps* in Northern Algeria, 1962.

From 1955 to 1958, the French colonial regime created new regions, districts, and municipalities. At the same time, a military territorial "zoning" was designed to bring the entire Algeria under various checkpoints, watchtowers, military posts, and fences. The Algerian lands were divided into three different categories by the French army forces:

1. *Zones opérationnelles* (Zones of operations): Officers were ordered to utilize any possible means to restore national security.

2. *Zone de pacification* (Pacification zones): The army employed action "psychological actions" against civilians, who were coercively administered, supervised, and indoctrinated, as well as being induced to collaborate with the army (Henni, 2017, 26).

3. *Zones interdites* (Forbidden zones): These areas that, by order of the French army, had to be entirely evacuated by humans, animals, and any living beings. In the prohibited regions, the French army had free-fire areas for the military, which destroyed numerous villages. As mentioned before, Aurès territory was one of them from which the civilians were forced to relocate to the regroupment camps.

Under such restricted control, everyone was a suspect in the eyes of the French army. The result of this thinking was considering the Algerian people-mostly the farmers- terrorists. The men, women, and children forced to relocate from their homes were the ones that the French colonial regime called the regrouped.

In order to maintain law and order in the camps, the French colonial authorities frequently employed a gridiron plan. Clearly, the plains were the ideal location for these grid plans since they were far from the remote mountainous terrain.

The camps were quickly accessible due to a wide, leaner main road that crossed the flat land. A large square and a military headquarters were located in its central area; the involuntarily relocated populations were disturbed by the main entrance and the military posts (Henni, 2017, 30).

Moreover, Figure 7 shows that the regroupment camps were surrounded by barbed wire, fences, and watchtowers. The plan of defense of the SAS of Laperrine clearly shows that barbed wires systematically surrounded the entire area. In this case, the camp named village is positioned in the middle, and two watchtowers guard it in addition to the barbed wires.

Without technical or architectural knowledge, the camps were constructed by SAS or Specialized Administrative Sections, assigned civilian and military tasks. In the words of Samia Henni, every SAS was responsible for the population of two to three Algerian villages. They evacuated the village population and directed them to the camps. The ways of evacuation and the quality of the camp constructions were different in every SAS.

By studying the SAS archives, Samia Henni notes that "most of the huts in the regroupment area managed by the SAS of Bordj-M'raou, which monitored the daily lives of 1,346 people, were made of straw and had only one main opening. The SAS considered five individuals as traders who were able to build a house constructed of durable materials with thatched roofs.

According to another SAS (of Hammam-Zaid) that administered fifty-nine families -that is, 415 people, including 70 children under the age of five and 138 teenagers between the ages of five and fifteen, The houses were primitive. Only five shacks were built of lasting construction materials and covered with tiles; the other shelters were roughly seven by four meters; these were meant to house families comprising an average of seven people (Henni, 2017, 64).

Fig. 7 The construction of the forbidden zones and the defensive line called Ligne Morice along the Algerian border with Tunisia, October 1959.

Additionally, a much larger program was investigated to multiply the number of camps by a factor of five since "Algerian families had similar structures and lifestyles." In contrast to what the French colonial regime was proposing in the press, the situation of most of the camps was devastating.

The majority of people in the Arrondissement of Guelma had been piled up in damaged barracks or housed in tents. Some families were resettled in "improved huts" whose construction was carried out as long as the municipality provided the credits.[1]

Fig. 8 Forcibly displaced people building shelters in the *camp de regroupement* of Taher El Achouet in Constantine, 1957.

Fig. 9 Forcibly displaced people building shelters in the *camp de regroupement* of Taher El Achouet in Constantine, 1957.

1. FRA NOM 933/154. Département de Bône, Arrondissement de Guelma, 1 September 1958.

Fig. 10 Forcibly displaced people building shelters in the *camp de regroupement* of Taher El Achouet in Constantine, 1957.

Fig. 11 *Cheraïa Regrouping Center* under construction

LE PLAN CHALLE : LES ZONES INTERDITES

ESPAGNE

Mer
Méditerranée

Alger

Legend:

Zonas interdites
(zones de contrôle militaire
renforcé et champs de tir)

Barrages

Les lignes blanches épaisses
correspondent aux limites des 3 corps
d'armée d'Oran, Alger et Constantine.

Les lignes blanches plus fines
correspondent aux limites de zones.

100 km

Source : SHAT 1H 1933/D3

MAROC

TUNISIE

Place names (western sheet): Oran, Nemours, Beni-Saf, Aïn-Témouchent, Mostaganem, Arzew, Perrégaux, Mascara, Palikao, Sidi Bel Abbès, Tlemcen, Oujda, Marnia, Sebdou, Télagh, Saïda, Franda, Géryville, Aïn Sefra, Cassaigne, Oued Chélif, Orléansville, Inkermann, Relizane, Tiaret, Vialar, Oued Chélif, Fort Cazelet, Chott Chergui, Laghouat, Afflou, Ténès, Cherchell, Tipaza, Blida, Duperré, Meliana, Médéa, Affreville, Berrouaghia, Ténist el Hâad, Boghari

Place names (eastern sheet): Dellys, Tizi Ouzou, Azazga, Bougie, Djidjelli, El Milia, Collo, Philippeville, Bône, La Calle, Le Tarf, Bordj Menaïel, Dra el Mizan, Sidi Aïch, Kerrata, Milo, Constantine, Guelma, Souk Ahras, Palestro, Fort National, Aboïa, Lafayette, Sétif, Oued el..., Sedrata, Tablat, Bouira, Bordj Bou Arreridj, Saint Arnaud, Aïn M'lila, Clairefontaine, Aïn Beïda, Aumale, Sidi Aïssa, M'Sila, Corneille, Batna, Khenchela, Tébessa, Chott el-Hodna, Barika, Arris, Bou Saâda, Biskra, Djelfa, Chott Melrhir, El Oued, Touggourt, Ghardaïa
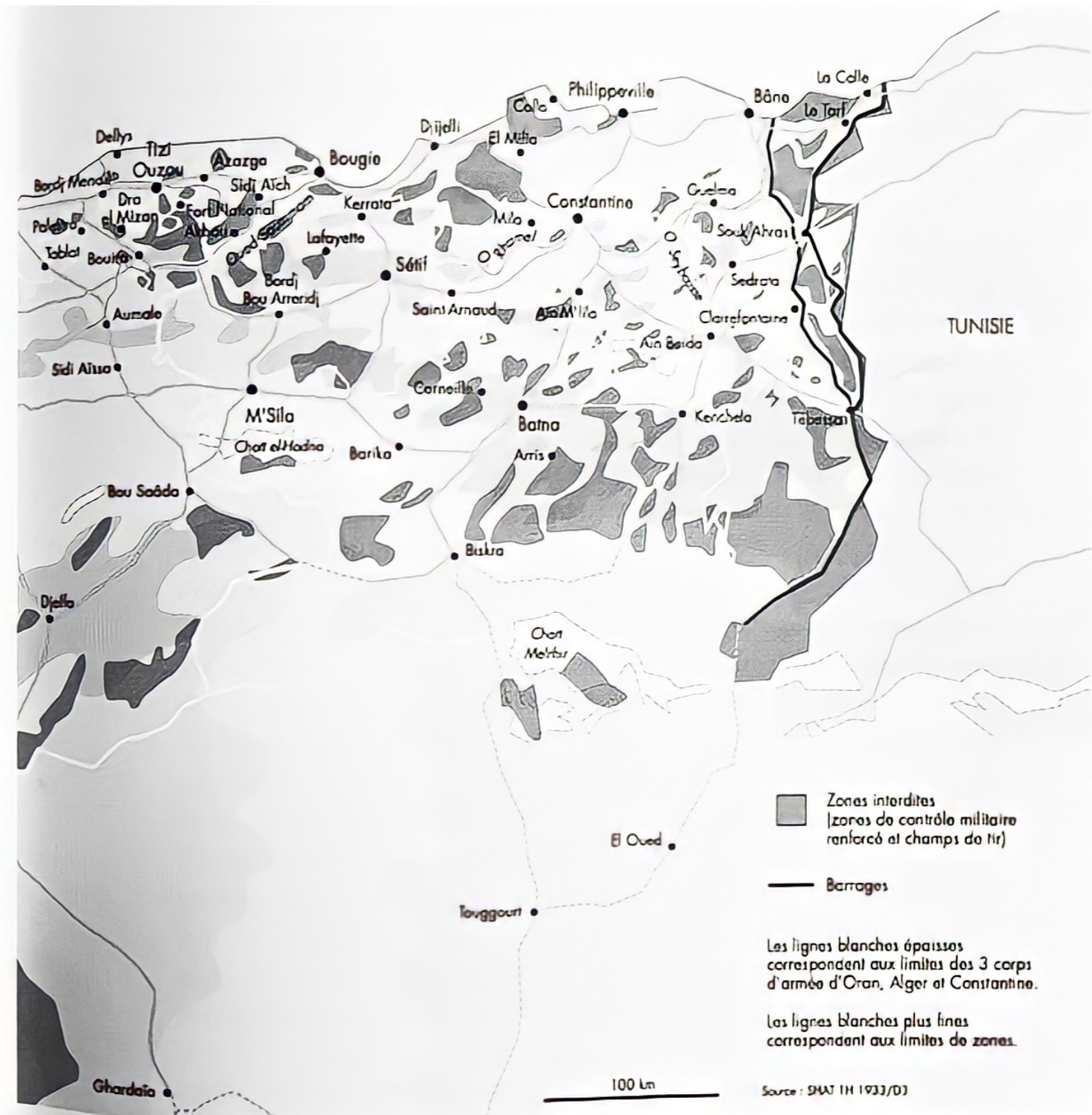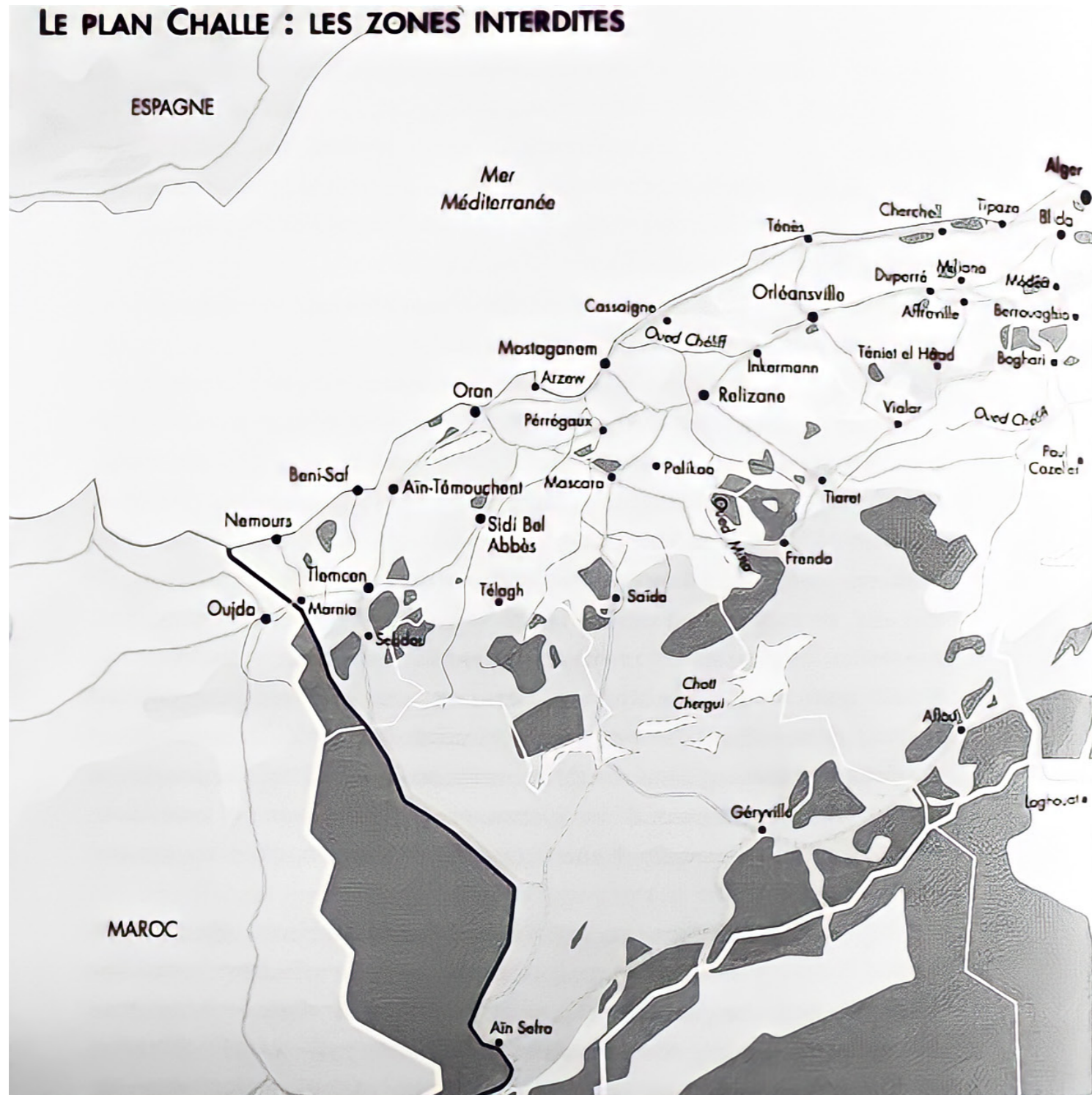
Fig. 12 Forbidden zones and the Plan Challe propr to July 1959.

The quality of the camps was reduced with the growing number of civilians that were brought to the camps.

In Herbillon camp, three thousand people were relocated, and families were distributed in tents or huts. Only fifty families were waiting to be transferred to one of the newly built rural dwellings, *une cité d'habitat rural de 50 logements*(a rural housing settlement of fifty dwellings).

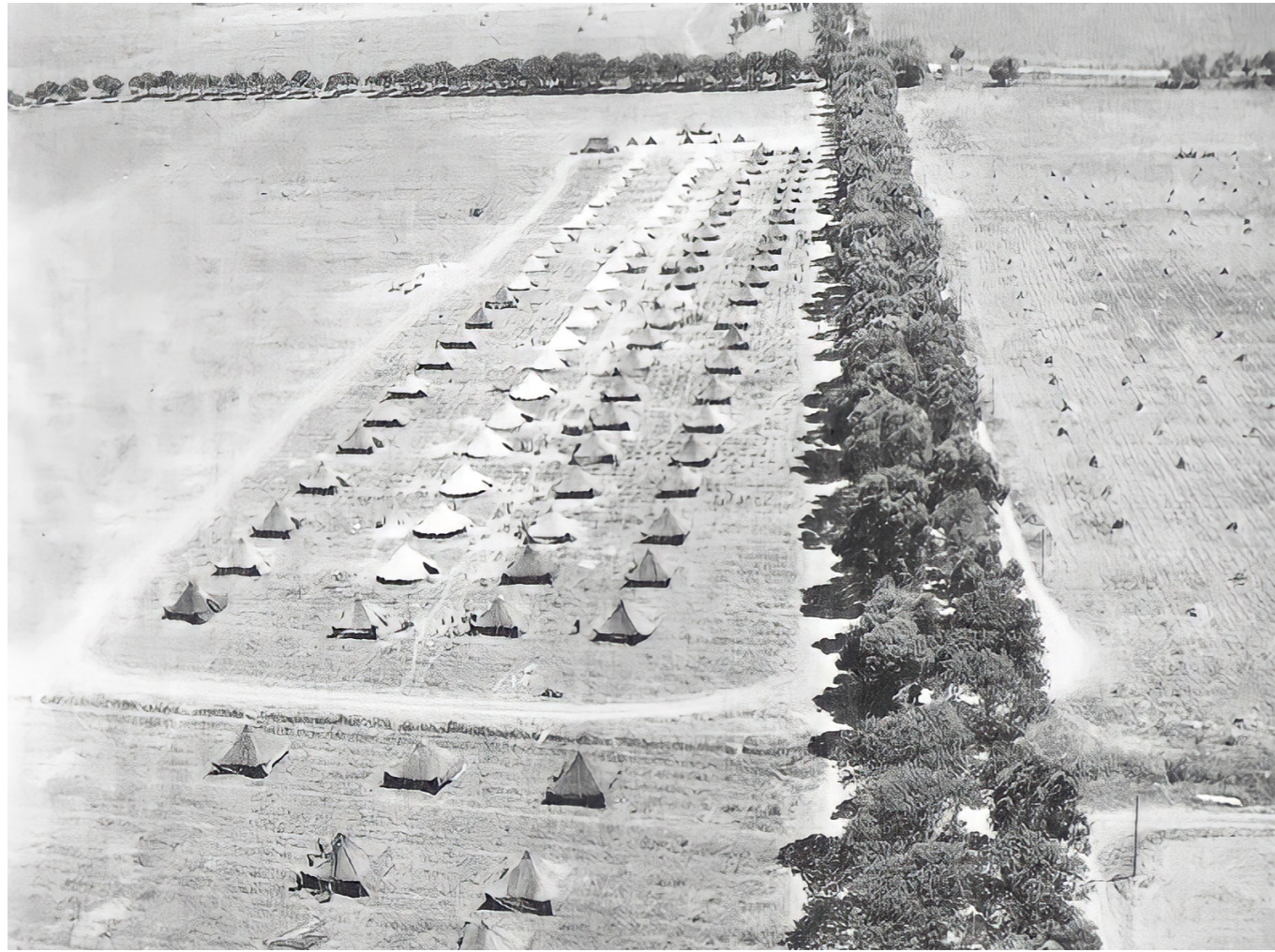In addition, one hundred families would be relocated to *cité de regroupement of a hundred metal-framed dwellings[1]*.

By reading this evidence, one can understand the quality of life, hygiene conditions, and the living situation of hundreds of people who were forced to argue over square meters.

A study by Samia Henni indicates that only 145 families were located in a series of dwellings constructed by the Rural Housing and Reconstruction Commission (CRHR)[1] out of thousands of people living in the camps (Henni, 2017, 64).
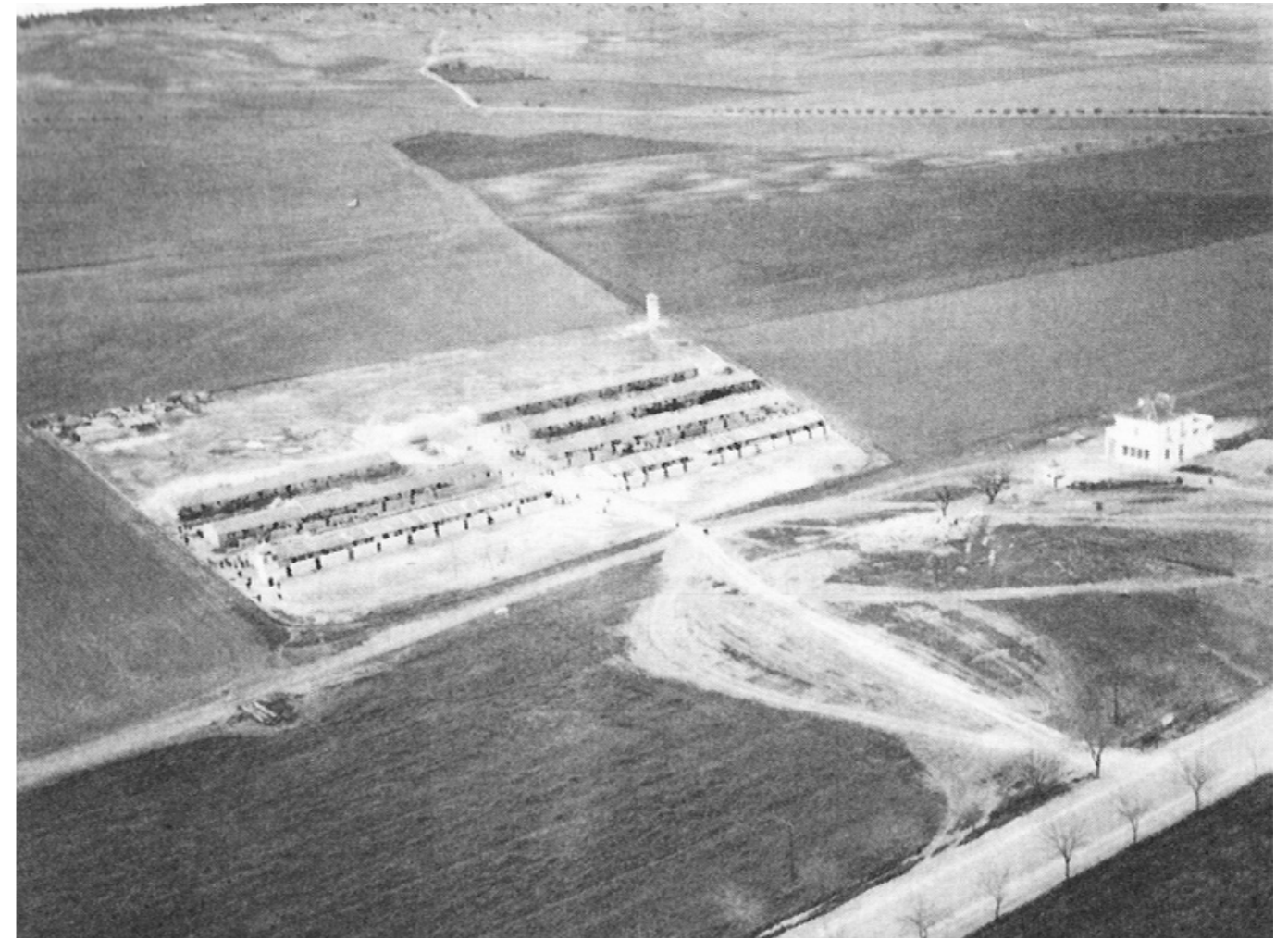

Fig. 13 *Camp de regroupment* in Taher El Achouet, Region of Constantine, Algeria, July 1957.

Fig. 14 *Camp de regroupment* in Boulet, Region of Oran, Algeria, February 1958.

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1. FRA NOM 933/154. Département de Bône, Centre de Regroupment - Herbillon, 22 August 1958.

1. FR ANOM 933/154. Département de Bône, Affaires Algériennes, SAS de Barral, 22 August.

Fig. 15 *Camp de regroupment* in Taliouine, Valley of Qued Isser, Region of Algiers, Algeria, September 1959.

Fig. 16 *Camp de regroupment* in Cheria, Algeria, May 1959.

The CRHR was established in French colonial Algeria in the aftermath of the destructive earthquake in the colonial town of Orléansville (today, Chlef) on 9 September 1954. Based on the information from Louis Gas, the head of CRHR, the earthquake caused more than fifteen hundred fatalities and six thousand injuries.

Sixty-five thousand residences were ruined, including twenty-five thousand "normal" buildings and forty thousand "traditional" constructions. According to Gas, establishing the CRHR was to "improve the traditional dwellings of the rural population in Algeria" (Henni, 2017, 65-66).

In this case, the consequence of the natural disaster was the new open door for the French colonial regime to establish the new constructions. In this case, the main reason for regrouping the civilians was the people who were forced to relocate and the refugees who lost their homes and residences in the earthquake. Thus, people had no choice but to take shelter to survive the earthquake and the colonial regime's constant threats.

Figures 17 a-c show that the typical plan of CRHR was a one-floor unit dwelling with two general spaces, indoor and a courtyard which is a necessary element for Algerian lives.

The dimension of these dwellings is listed below; it must be noted that a typical Algerian family had a minimum of five family members during that time.

Courtyard: Maximum 30 square meters

Indoor spaces:

- Main room: Maximum 14 square meters
- Chamber (smaller room): Maximum 7 square meters
- Kitchen: Maximum 3 square meters
- Restroom and shower: Less than 2 square meters (Henni, 2017, 65-66).
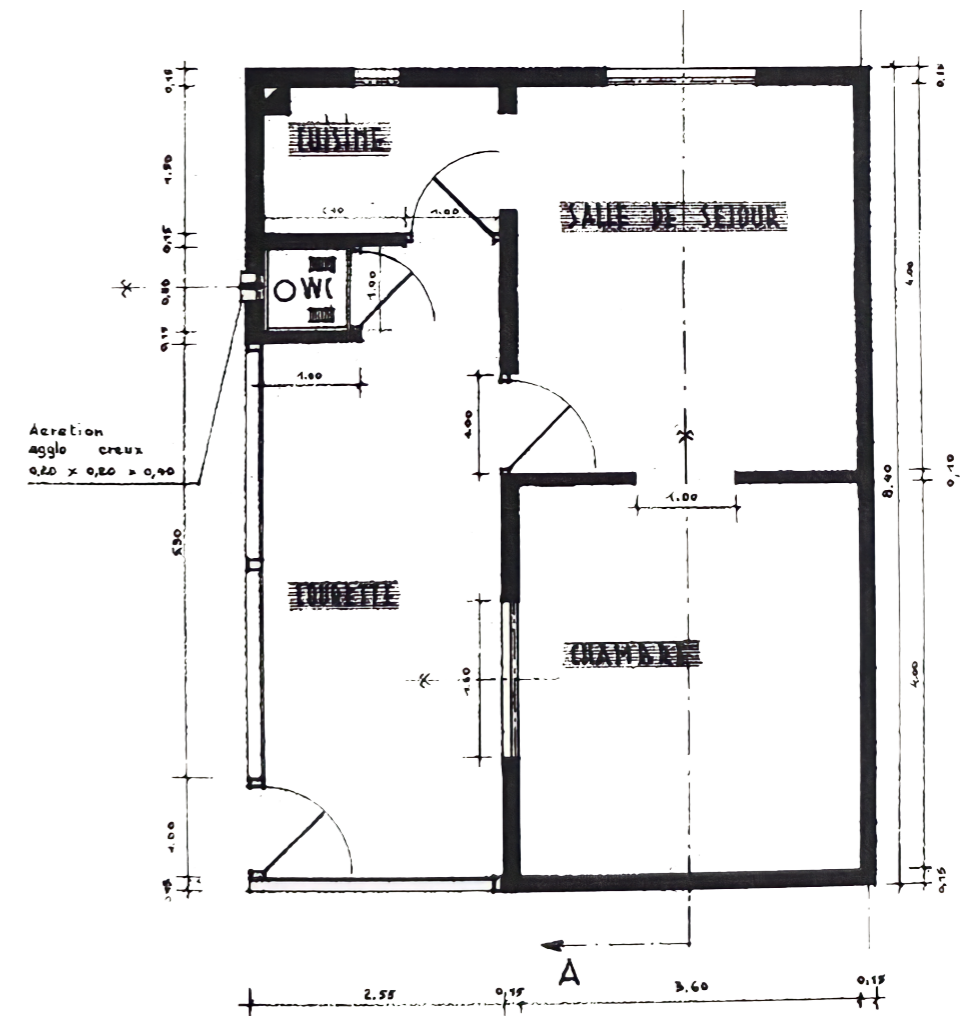

Fig. 17a One of the three housing types designed by the CRHR for Algerian population in the aftermath of the erathquake that hit Orléansville (today Chlef) in 1954.
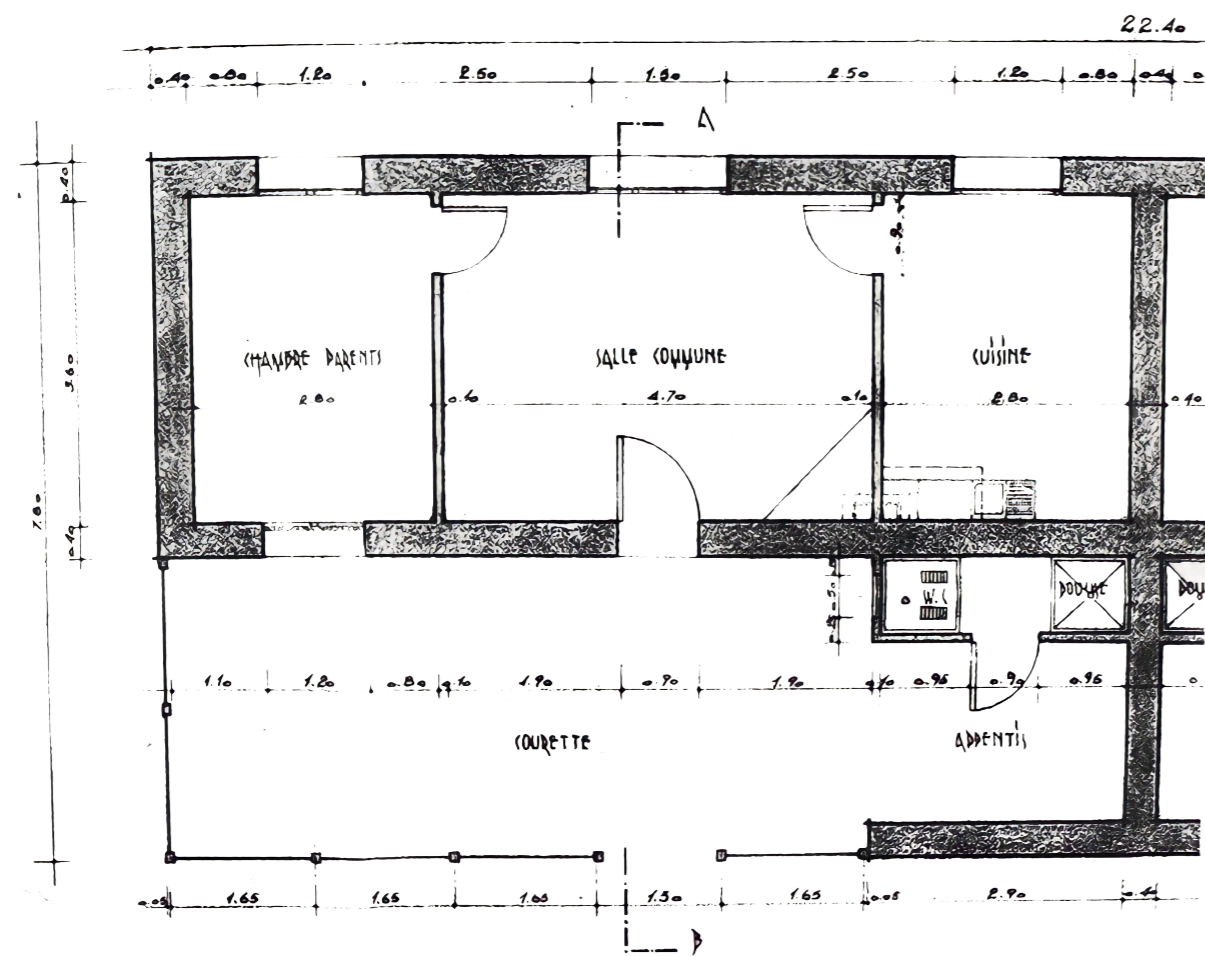
Fig. 17b One of the three housing types designed by the CRHR for Algerian population in the aftermath of the erathquake that hit Orléansville (today Chlef) in 1954.
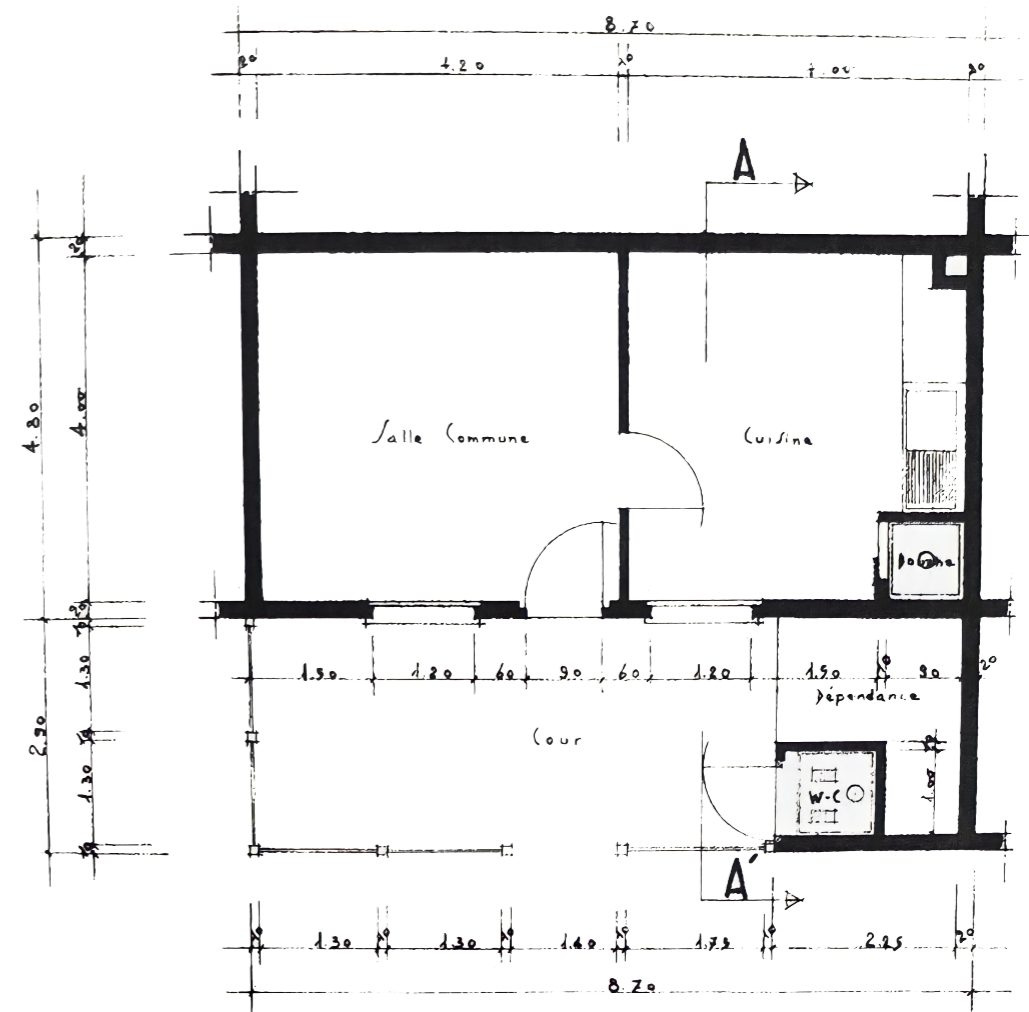

Fig. 17c One of the three housing types designed by the CRHR for Algerian population in the aftermath of the erathquake that hit Orléansville (today Chlef) in 1954.

The housing unit was juxtaposed with another identical one, and the latter shifted in such a way that three indoor spaces always surrounded the courtyard of the former (Henni, 2017, 66).

Figures 18 a-b are study diagrams showing the housing units' correct orientation. In Islamic architecture, generally, the reason for locating the courtyard in the center surrounded by indoor spaces is the aim of privacy. Several daily activities, primarily by women, took place in the central courtyard, which demands no direct visual access outside the house.
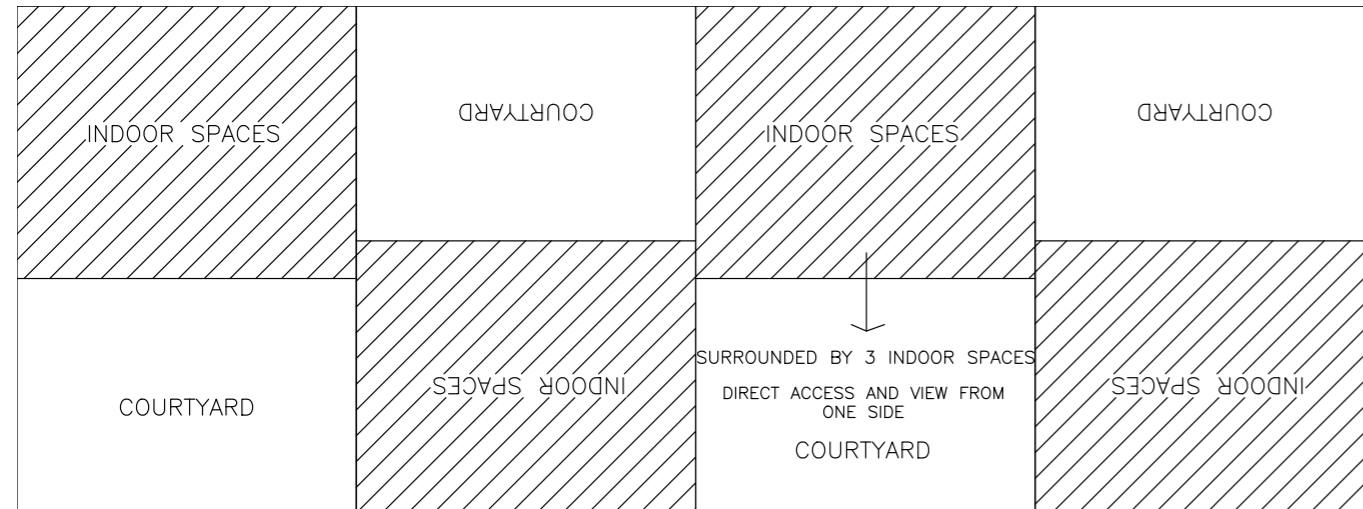
Secondly, it is essential to solve the temperature problem in indoor spaces, which is a fundamental aspect of traditional housing units in warm climates. The air descends into the courtyard from above, which is the center point of the space and is surrounded by indoor spaces with wide openings toward the yard. Then it crosses from the vegetation or the small water body located in the courtyard, and fresh, cool air goes into the indoor spaces.

However, according to the figures 19-20, the housing units were built without considering shifting the courtyards' position. The result was that privacy for the families did not provide. Moreover, these figures indicated that the SAS officers did not construct the units themselves; instead, the forcibly relocated Algerians did so.

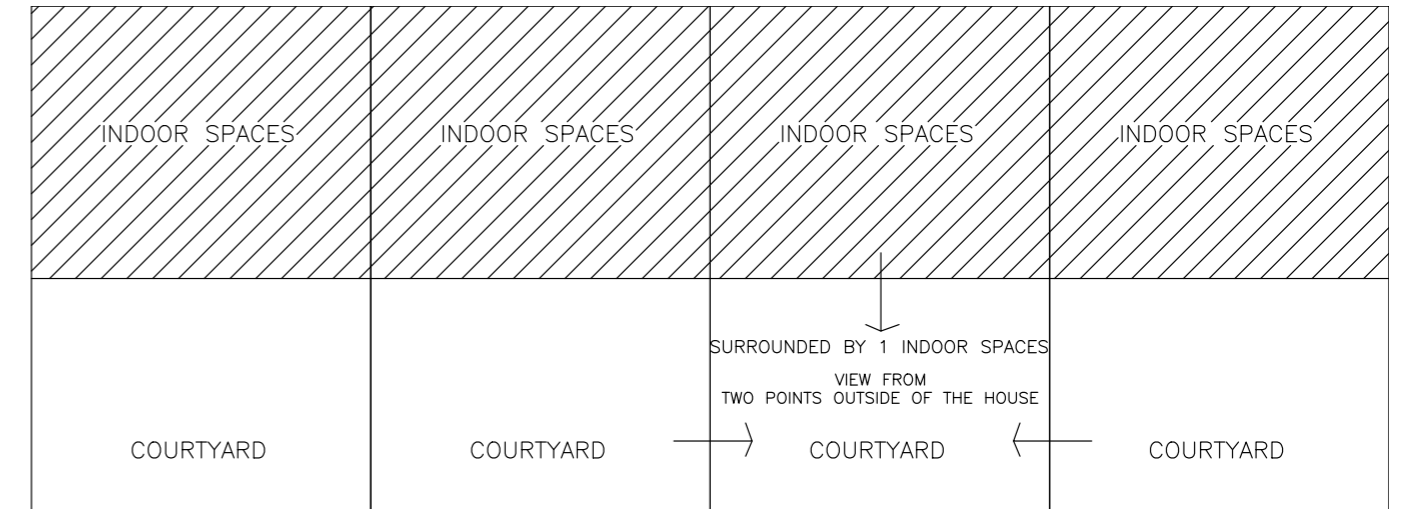Fig. 18a The diagram of the housing units orientations by CRHR - Planning.

Fig. 18b The diagram of the housing units orientations by CRHR - Built version.

After the aftermath of the 1959 media scandal in France, the colonial government proposed a plan for the possible improvement of the camps. The documents show that five different settlement typologies were being built in the camps. Henni stated that these typologies were "1. Gourbies, 2. Improved gourbis, 3. Dwellings built by the municipality or the army, with support of emergency credits or other means, 4. Dwellings that were built by the CRHR and 5. Tents" (Henni, 2017, 67).

Although in the French language, *gourbi* means a "Shack," according to Samia Henni, "in Algerian Arabic language *gourbi* signifies a one-floor house made of a local adobe and built by the inhabitant. Algerian villages were largely composed of gourbis (lump clay houses of different sizes and shapes), which blended harmoniously into the natural surroundings.

By the end of the nineteenth century, many administrators, travelers, novelists, and others were using this term to describe the "miserable" living conditions in Algerian rural areas under the French colonial regime. Hence, the shacks with miserable conditions were called gourbi and were in the categories of dwellings provided by French authorities for the Algerian people.

In May 1956, following the nomination of Maurice Papon[1], he stated that the regroupment camps should be divided into two distinct groups. In temporary or refugee camps, accommodations were provided by tents or gourbis; in permanent camps, inhabitants were expected to sustain themselves through their labor. According to an estimate of 1 April 1959, in Constantine alone, 370,111 people had been subjected to massive regroupments, 141, 714 of whom were classified under temporary and 228,397 under permanent.[2]

Fig. 19 Excerpts from the journaux de marches et opèrations of the SAS of Bouinan, Algeria, 1959; the MO were daily chronicles of the military operations and activities.

Fig. 20 Excerpts from the journaux de marches et opèrations of the SAS of Bouinan, Algeria, 1959; the MO were daily chronicles of the military operations and activities.

1. Papon was a French civil servant who would be convicted of crimes against humanity on 2 April 1998 at the Assizes Court in Bordeaux for his complicity in the deportation of Jews while serving as General Secretary of the Gironde Prefecture (Bordeaux Region) under the Vichy regime of 1940 to 1944 (Henni, 2017, 86-87).
2. SHAT 1 H 2576 D 1. Regroupements de population, situation au 1 Avril 1959.
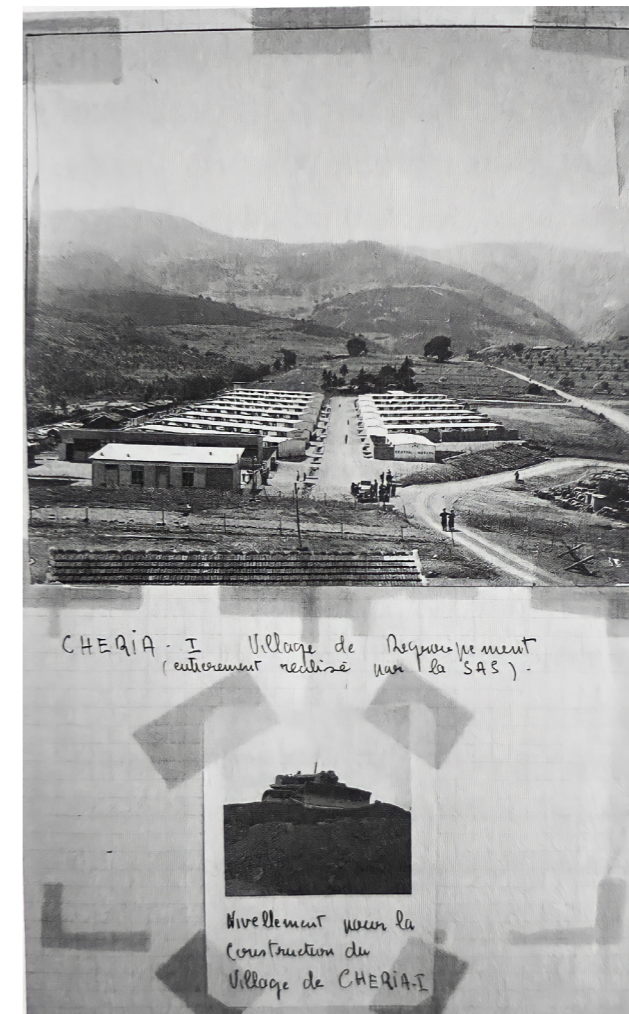
Fig. 21 Excerpts from the journaux de marches et opèrations of the SAS of Bouinan, Algeria, 1959; the MO were daily chronicles of the military operations and activities.

Although this outlined the prospective future of the regroupment in terms of a seemingly clear distinction between temporary and permanent camps remained hypothetical, or at least only theoretical. Nevertheless, the notable aspect of constructing the camps, especially the permanent ones, was the message that the French army would remain in Algeria.

The manipulation of Algerian land and natives continued after General Charles de Gaulle returned to power. On July 1958, he announced that the French regime in Algeria would carry out a new "renewal" plan. He promised that by the end of the same year, the number of housing units would be doubled, and all the new industrial plans would be provided by "necessary resources" that Algeria has, as he visited Algerian oilfields in Sahara.

According to Samia Henni, these actions were not limited to extracting the oil but also testing France's first nuclear bomb in Sahara. The French authorities would subsequently detonate their first atomic bomb,

> "*Gerboise Bleue*" (Blue Jerboa- after a tiny jumping desert rodent), in the Algerian Sahara on 13 February 1960; the second, "*Gerboise Blanche*" (White Jerboa), on 1 April 1960; the third, "*Gerboise Rouge*" (Red Jerboa), on 27 December 1960; and the fourth, "*Gerboise Verte*" (Green Jerboa), on 25 April 1961. These test explosions occurred even after Algerian independence in 1962, continuing until 1966. (Henni, 2017, 102)

De Gaulle addressed his multilayered five-year reform plan. Among the many aspects of this extensive plan was the enrollment of two-thirds of girls and boys in schools, the provision of 250,000 hectares of new land for Muslim farmers, and the construction of housing for one million people. De Gaulle's plan brought a new era of colonialism to Algeria.

With a general understanding, one must think that de Gaulle's plans had positive aspects for Algeria in industrial, social, and educational ways. However, deep research can only explain the expanded destruction brought by his plans in Algeria.

The promise of providing better infrastructures in Algeria was only possible, as he clearly addressed, by extracting the oils from Algerian Sahara. It is not difficult to understand that the extracted oil was used not only for the Algerian development of infrastructures and life but also for French interests.

The lands offered to Algerian farmers were exchanged for the forcibly taken from them before relocating them to the regroupment camps.

De Gaulle's school programming was another way for school boys and girls to reinforce colonial thinking. Algerian were forced to work on their lands to afford colonial life improvements. In addition to constant military control by the French authorities, Algerians also suffered from rapid and forced capitalist industrialization.

Upon announcing on 3 October 1958 that one million people would be housing in Algeria for five years, de Gaulle aimed to simultaneously establish a French housing market in Algeria under French colonialism and a large-scale construction industry in Algeria. In his view, the construction of roughly 220,000 urban dwellings and 110,000 rural dwellings from 1959 to 196342 was an "imperative economic process" and one of the most pressing political endeavors.

According to Samia Henni, "The mass-housing projects belonged to the category of "financial and technical cooperation" (Henni, 2017, 112).

This resulted in what seemed to be a "social action" aimed at Algerians under French colonial rule became technical cooperation and economic leverage for a French stake in independent Algeria. In Algeria, thousands of dwellings were built by the French during the War of Independence, but their exact number remains unknown. Henni's research on a document entitled "*L'habitat Algérien au terme de la troisième année du Plan de Constantine, les perspectives pour 1962*" (Housing in Algeria at the End of the Third Year of the Plan de Constantine: Perspectives for 1962), shows that quantitative surveys for two housing categories, namely rural and urban dwellings.

> During the first three years of the plan, the objective had been to build 45,000 rural dwellings and 85,000 urban dwellings; the actual numbers.
> However, involved the completion of 38,000 rural dwellings and 69,181 urban dwellings by the end of 1961. (Henni, 2017, 112)

The construction of thousands of dwellings by the French authorities has overwhelmingly transformed the lives of Algerians, not only through the economic leverages mentioned before but also through the architectural process, from design to construction in Algerian cities and rural areas.

The role of CSATC (or High Council of Territorial Development and Construction) to "transform" Algerians and confirm a "new" Algeria: the *Commission de 'habitat et de l'urbanisme* (Commission of Housing and Urbanism) and the *Commission des zones rurales* (Commission of Rural Zones)[1], clearly indicates the statement above. René Mayer, the General Secretary of the Plan de Constantine, announced a series of housing problems in Algeria; for him, above all, it was a matter of quantity.[2]

The other problem, according to Mayer, was a shortage of architects, especially young architects in Algeria. Mayer proposed a solution to produce schemes of repeatedly same-block apartments according to people's salaries and social classes. In a public talk, Mayer stated, "Algerian people are aware that they must pay a "normal" price to become owners or tenants of decent accommodations."

Pierre Padovani, deputy director of the *Société coopérative musulmane algérienne d'habitation et d'accession à la petite propriété* (Algeria-based Muslim Cooperative Society of Housing and Access to Minor Property) and founder of the *Union des coopératives de construction d'Oranie* (Union of Construction Cooperatives in the Oran Region) stated that "in many of the housing projects," in Kouba [in the Algiers Region], in Saint-Denis-du-Sig [in the Oran Region], and elsewhere, the population is about one-third Europeans and two-thirds Muslims, and they live fraternally side by side. [3]

What he was announcing was a typical housing formula also for the colonized people of Algeria of the "Muslims."

According to him, Muslims can "live in a European-type building. He stated this argument as an answer to what he called the "Muslim Problem." Alternatively, the incapability of Muslim habitations to find a housing formula.

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1. The other commissions included the Commission de population et emploi (Commission of Population and Employment), Commission des zones industrielles et urbaines (Commission of Industrial and Urban Zones), and the Commission des équipements généraux (Commission of General Equipment) (Henni, 2017, 123).

2. Mayer, "Enquête sur l'habitat en Algérie I," 3.

3. Padovani, "Enquête sur l'habitat en Algérie II," 13.

According to Samia Henni, Padovani and his initial team had commissioned the design of the first housing settlement from the ATBAT [Atelier des bâtisseurs, Builders Workshop] office in Paris. The result was The four-story Nid d'abeilles (beehive) suburban housing building at the Place du Général Korte (today Place des Frères Messaoudi) in Oran and the same typology in Diar El Ourida in Blida and the Diar Sidi Yassine in Sidi-Bel-Abbès (figs 22 a-c).
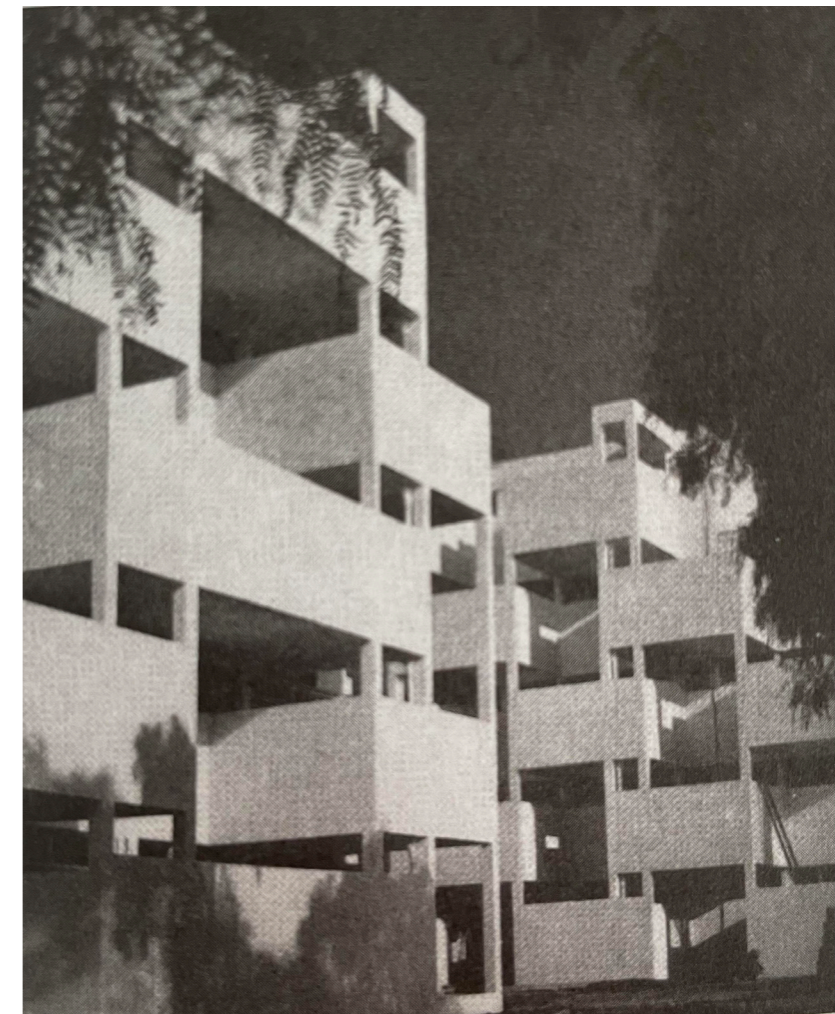

Fig. 22a Housing at Place du Général Korte in Oran built by *Société coopérative musulmane algérienne d'habitation et d'accession à la petite propriété* of Oran. From "*Enquête sur l'habitat en Algérie. II. Etude sur l'habitat musulman actuel*" in *Annales de l'Institut Technique du Bâtiment et des Travaux Publics*, no. 135–36 (March 1959), 11.

Although the design attempted to conform to some "norms of Muslim housing," it proved to be a failure. Upon hearing residents of the new housing blocks complaining loudly about specific spatial configurations and elements, Padovani realized the developers had miscalculated the type of buildings. These included the height of the walls of the private enclosed patio, the position, and dimensions of the windows, the open-air ovens, and the lack of storage space for essential kitchen appliances (Henni, 2017, 119).
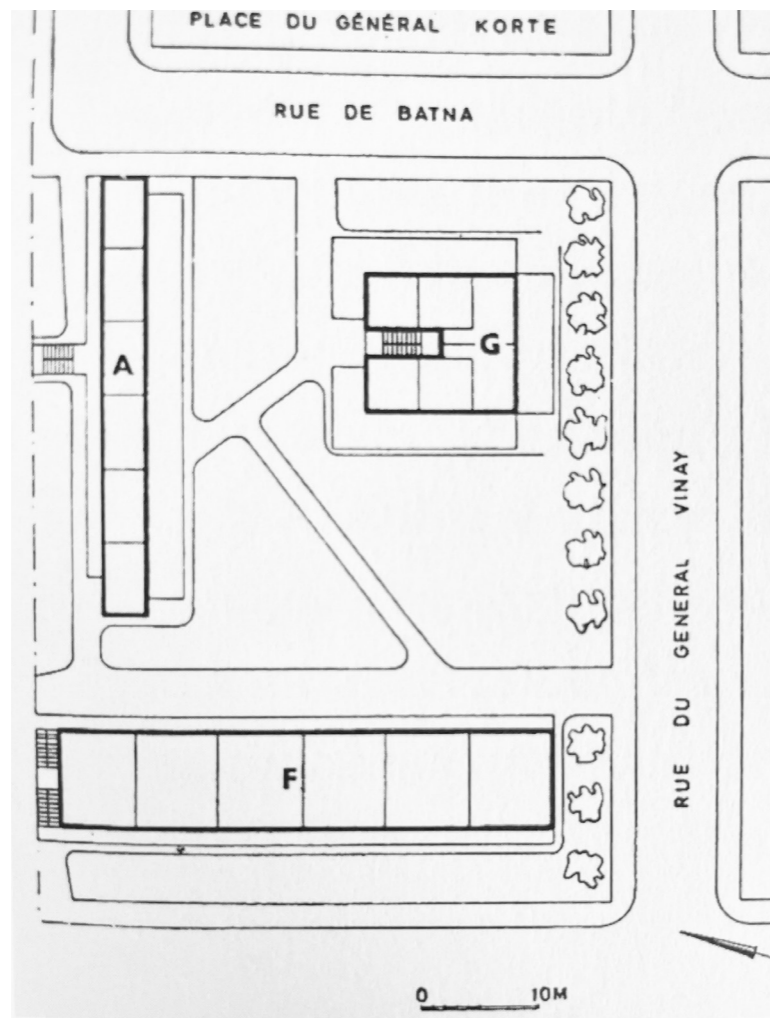
Fig. 22b General plan, housing at Place du Général Korte in Oran. Architects: Mauri, Pons, together with ATBAT-Afrique (architects: Candilis, Woods; engineers: Piot and Bodiansky). Developer: *Société coopérative musulmane algérienne d'habitation et d'accession à la petite propriété* of Oran. From L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, no. 60 (June 1955), 5.

Fig. 22c Plans, housing at Place du Général Korte in Oran. From L'Architecture d'aujourd'hui, no. 60 (June 1955), 5.

Consequently, Padovani and his team decided to change the failed formula and, this time, try to achieve a typology for a dwelling that suits both Muslims and Europeans.

The reference was the LOGECO [from Logement economique et familial, or Low-Cost and Family Dwellings] (fig. 23 a-b).

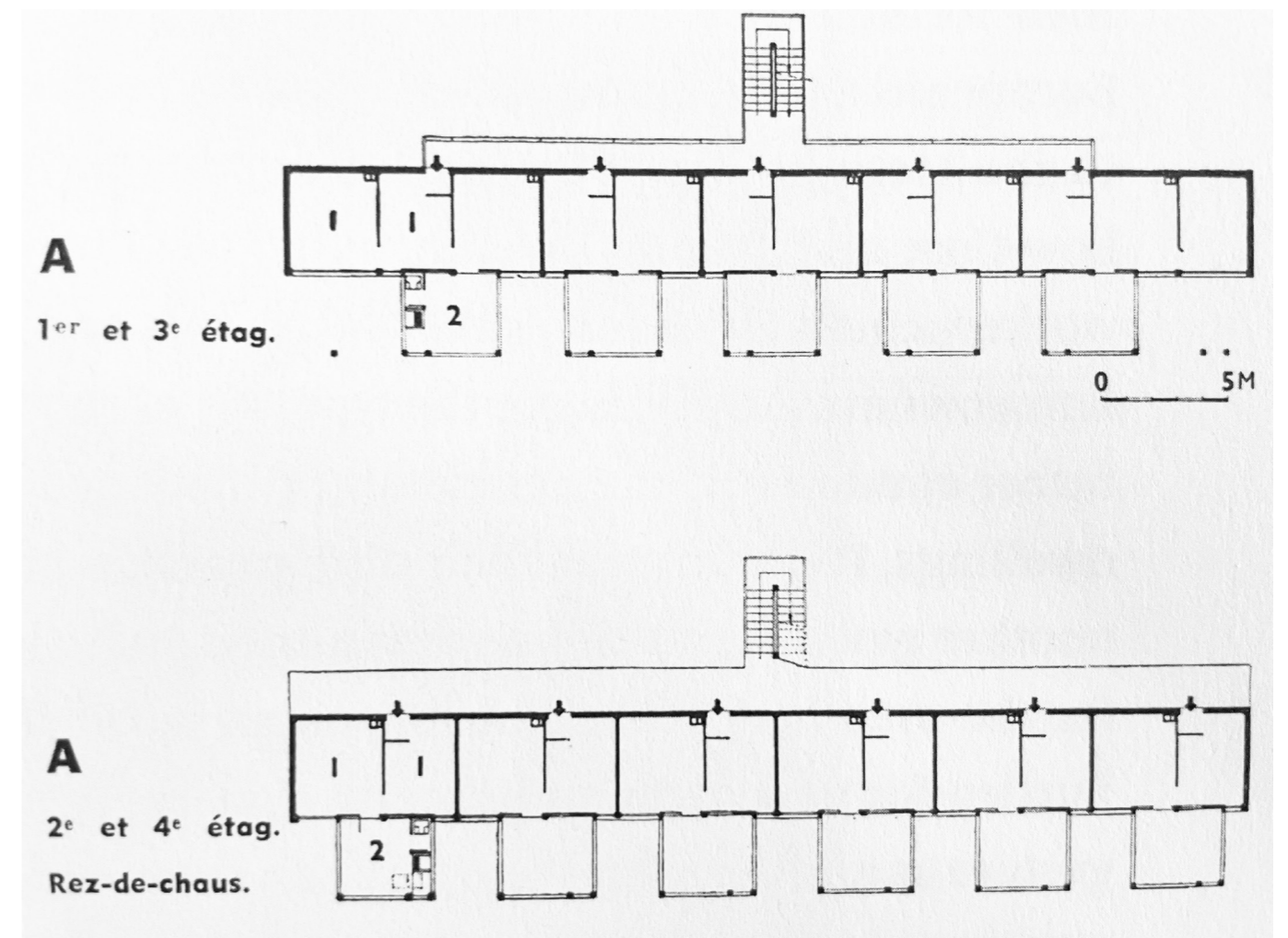One could interpret this gesture as intended to treat Algerian colonized populations, the European working class in Algeria, and the French working class in France as one unique, analogous social class. Three overwhelmingly different classes had significantly different incomes, circumstances, legal statuses, and family compositions (to name a few socioeconomic aspects), which were exceptionally, even colossally, disparate (Henni, 2017, 120). The salary in Algeria was one-fifth of the salary for the same social class in France.

However, the housing prices were relatively similar. According to Padovani "this [new] formula has a monthly reimbursement of seven to eight thousand francs, while in the previous formula it was enough to deposit 2,500 to 3,500 francs per month to become a homeowner."[1]

Fig. 23a LOGECO Mer et soleil (Sea and Sun) in Hussein-Dey, Algiers.

Fig. 23b LOGECO Mer et soleil (Sea and Sun) in Hussein-Dey, Algiers.

1. Ibid.

Based on Samia Henni's findings, this protocol was applied to many regions of Algeria, including the *bi-donvilles* (shantytowns).

One can understand the result of this program easily by thinking about the percentage of the Algerian population that was able to pay such a price for a house, and the rest would have to continue to live under the previously mentioned condition. We will extend the different typologies in the following pages.

The point of architecture, and housing specifically, turned to what Padovani pointed out "in reality, it is no longer about Muslim habitation: it is simply about housing, housing for the greatest number because, as we all know, a particular type of housing engenders segregation, which has long been condemned." [1]

Not only the matter of quantity, but housing projects turned into a market considering profitability for the French government.

De Gaulle's five-year socio-economic development plan for Algeria promised 220,000 urban housing units. In order to be able to construct this massive number, French authorities categorized the building typologies. Here, for the sake of clarity, we must refer to Samia Henni directly:

> The difference was essentially based on the per unit cost of construction, which ranged from 7,000 to 70,000 new French francs (NF; i.e., between €10,500 and €105,000).[2]
>
> Most of these units- nearly 93 percent- were in the range of NF7,000 to NF22,000 (€10,500 to €33,000): a very low-cost standard.
>
> The distribution of the four types was as follows:
>
> 1. 7 percent "superior" or "normal" housing, whose construction costs were to vary between NF50,000 and NF70,000.
>
> 2. 30 percent of the LOGECO, as mentioned earlier, housing and HLMs, whose per-unit building costs were not to exceed NF22,000 for a living area of roughly 50 square meters.
>
> 3. 33 percent *logement million* consisted of small apartments of roughly 40 square meters that were expected to cost NF13,000 each.
>
> 4. 30 percent newly designed *habitat semi-urbain* (semi-urban dwellings deemed neither exclusively urban nor rural), which involved an even smaller living area and cheaper expenses: roughly 30 square meters, costing a mere NF7,000 each.[3] (Henni, 2017, 127)

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1. Padovani, "Enquête sur l'habitat en Algérie. II. Etude sur l'habitat musulman actuel, conférence prononcée le 11 décembre 1958 par M. Padovani sous la présidence de M. Lathuillière," [Mais, à la vérité, il ne s'agit plus d'habitat musulman, il s'agit simplement d'habitat, et d'habitat pour le plus grand nombre car nous savons tous que l'habitat de type particulier est ségrégatif et condamné depuis longtemps."]

2. The French New Franc (Nouveau Franc, NF) was introduced in January 1960 in response to devaluation in the 1940s and 1950s. One NF was equal to one hundred former francs (Francs, F). In 1963, the NF was again called the Franc (F). In 1999 the Franc was replaced by the Euro, at the rate of F6.55957 to €1 (Henni, 2017, 147).

3. 1. FRANOM81F/433. L'Habitat dans le Plan de Constantine. As in other cases mentioned earlier, the appellation of the first category often differed: it was sometimes called de luxe (luxurious), or "semi-luxurious," or de standing plus élevé (higher standard). In terms of price, the LOGECO and HLM classique were sometimes expected to range between NF20,000 and NF30,000 NF. Moreover, certain documents reported the costs in NE, while others in old francs (Henni, 2017, 147).

The superior and typical housing units (in this sense, first-class housing) were identical to the HLMs built in postwar France; these units had been designed primarily for European colonists, including bureaucrats in French public institutions.

As a comparison, the LOGECO (second-class) housing was intended for working-class Europeans and Algerians, while the *logement million* (third-class) and semi-urban housing (fourth-class) was designed exclusively for the urban Algerian population. Furthermore, a particular housing category was designed exclusively for Algerians under French colonial rule: the *habitat semi-urbain* (Henni, 2017, 127-128).

The Algiers Group of the *Société des architectes modernes* (SAM, or Society of Modern Architects) was founded in 1932.

> Members of the Algiers Group included Lathuillière, Seller, and the winner of the Civic Foyer competition, Léon Claro. The SAM asked all of its adherents "to build on the principles of modern aesthetics, excluding any pastiche and any reproduction of ancient styles, whenever they are not prevented by absolute necessity. (Henni, 2017, 112)

At the time of the Society of Modern Architects, two opposite schools of thought were involved in creating architecture that could not be compromised. First, was it necessary to conceive and build dwellings that would satisfy the current lifestyle of the Algerian population? Second, would it instead be better to envisage the adaptation of Algerians' modes of living to the French colonial lifestyle through European-type housing?

Some French representatives believed that if Algerians were to live in European-style dwellings, it would generate new needs that would not be compatible with their salaries. These opposite beliefs, in which the latter was predominant, shaped most concepts of architectural design thinking in colonial Algeria.

La maison indigène du centenaire (Indigenous House of the Centenary) was one of the products of ongoing public debates on the types of housing in which Algerians- or, as they were called, the indigènes ("indigenous" or "native" people)-were expected to live (Henni, 2017, 131).

Another example was the "Indigenous" housing project in Algiers by François Bienvenu. According to him, the problem of the resettlement of the indigenous population should be the priority, the critical problem on which everything else depends: sanitation, circulation, development, and embellishment.

However, by the time of Algerian independence in 1962, the French colonial administration had not only demonstratively failed to resolve these questions but also failed to prevent the housing crisis, which may well have provoked the further expansion of shantytowns.

The architecture of Bienvenue argued that the customary and lifestyle requirements of Algerian natives must be addressed more. However, the school applied to the major architectural works was aligned with Lathuillière, who demonstrated that "it would be an error to push respect for their [Algerian] customs to the point of trying to recall, by form and disposition, ancient buildings."[1]

Lathuillière's objectives exactly emerged from the colonial thoughts; his goal was to group all populations of Algeria: Arabs, Berbers, Turks, Mozabites, and other communities, only with the reason that all of them were Muslims.

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1. Marcel Lathuillière and Albert Seiller, "Le problème de l'habitat indigène en Algérie," L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui, no. 3 (March 1936): 22.

According to him, this similarity was enough to design a common housing typology for all natives. However, this new typology must be according to European standards and lifestyles.

> New constructions will have to be careful about satisfying old customs, and should guide
> some habits in order to pave the way for a gradual assimilation to Europeans mores.
> (Lathuillière & Seiller, 1936, 22)

The French colonial regime, however, acknowledged in 1955-1956 that assimilation similar to Lathuillière was not feasible because it assumed that every Algerian, and primarily Muslim Arabs or Berbers, would be transformed, through some sort of magic wand, into Frenchmen of the Métropole, particularly in terms of religion, customs, and language[1] (Henni, 2017, 133-134).

It should be noted that the French authorities, civil and military, have not abandoned their belief in the power of an imposed assimilation and have used aggressive means to coerce colonies (called French subjects) to adopt French ideals. Therefore, colonialism in all forms, including architecture, continued to push people toward alienation.

The other category was the semi-urban housing category, designed to house Algerian families whose French authorities considered them neither urban nor rural but rather "not yet urban" or "in the process of becoming urban" (Henni, 2017, 141).

They were housing units of reduced size and low cost (and therefore diminished comfort). Semi-urban dwellings were designed for Algerian employees in the agricultural sector; local administrative agents; salaried workers in semi-public sectors such as railroads, post offices, and telecommunication services; and artisans and shopkeepers in tertiary sectors.[2]

The French authorities assumed that neither urban nor rural families were not prepared to move into modern high-rise buildings since they were unaccustomed to higher standards; therefore, French authorities considered a gradual "development" for these people. However, in reality, this decision was made because of their low salaries.

French authorities claimed that the design of semi-urban housing was derived from the needs of Algerian women to the natural light and usage of the courtyard.

However, the housing units' facilities remained unfinished since electricity and gas were only supplied if there was access to a public distribution network (Henni, 2017, 142).

The range of housing types included a "*2 pièces principales*," a two-room unit with a living area of between twenty-four and twenty-seven square meters; a "*3 pièces principales*," a three-room unit of thirty-one to thirty-four square meters; and a "*4 pièces principales*," a four-room unit of thirty-eight to forty-one square meters.

The minimum surface area of the main bedroom was to be nine square meters, whereas the second or third bedrooms had to be seven square meters.

The living room and the incorporated kitchen had to fit within a minimum space of eleven square meters. (Henni, 2017, 142-144)

Fig. 24 Semi-urban dwellings published in the brochure released by the Housing Service of the General Delegation of the French Government in Algeria.

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1. Soustelle, L'espérance trahie (1958-1961), 284. ["Suppose que tous les habitants de l'Algérie, et au premier chef les Musulmans arabes ou berbères, soient transformés, par on ne sait trop quel coup de baguette magique, en Français de la métropole, en particulier quant à la religion, aux mœurs, au langage."] Soustelle condemned assimilation in order to advocate intégration.

2. CHSP. 1 DV 34. Délégation Générale du Gouvernement en Algérie, Direction des Travaux Publics et de la Construction et des Transports, Service de l'Habitat, Logement Semi-Urbain, p.1. ["Le logement semi-urbain se situe dans la gamme des types actuellement construits en Algérie à un niveau des plus modestes. Au dessus, l'on trouve la cité d'assistance temporaire, au dessus, les logement modernes "million", "Logéco" et "normaux", analogues à ceux que l'on trouve en métropole."]

The salle d'eau (a room devoted to bathing and laundering) was to be a minimum of two square meters, while the restroom was to be located outside the living space and without any direct contact with the other rooms.

The units were to comprise an internal courtyard of a minimum surface area of sixteen square meters, enclosed not by the walls of the rooms of the units, but by fences that were to be equivalent to reeds attached to wooden poles. (Henni, 2017, 144)
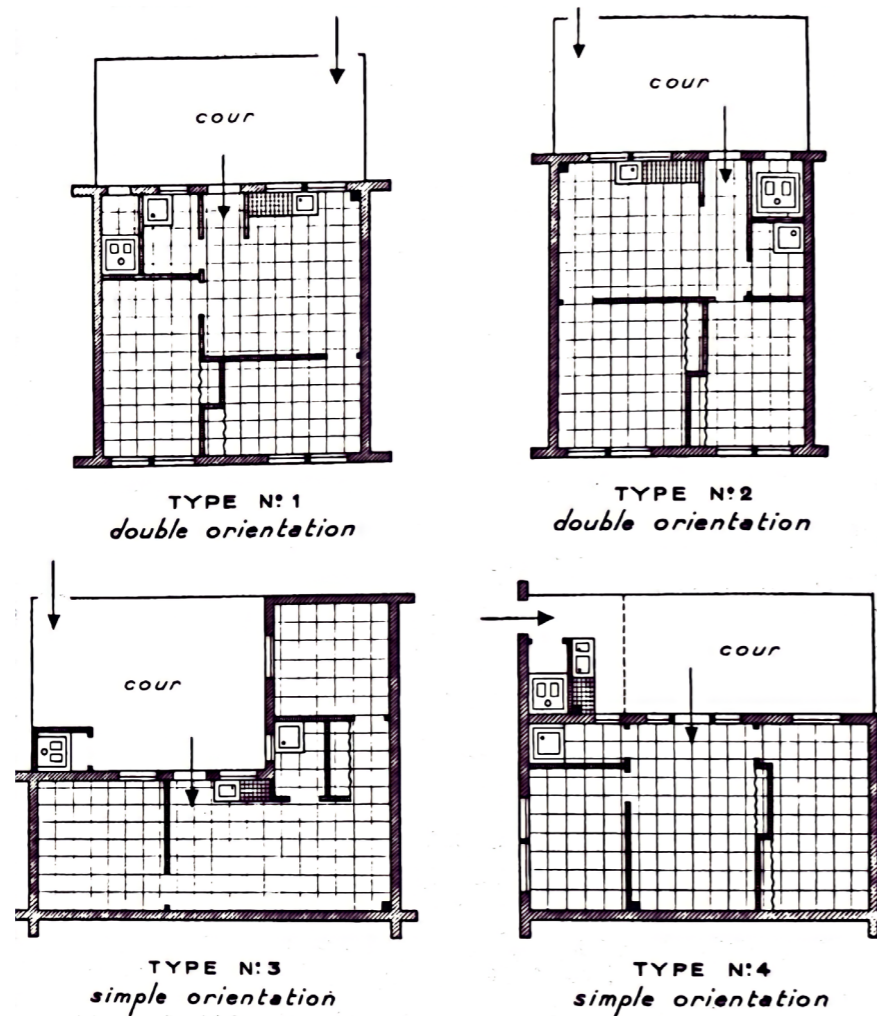

Fig. 25 Semi-urban dwellings published in the brochure released by the Housing Service of the General Delegation of the French Government in Algeria.

French colonial regime and architects built thousands of buildings in Algeria which we can not mention for the sake of time. However, the policies of the architecture during this time can be summarized as follows:

First and foremost, the design of the housing units directly follows the financial situation of the tenets, natives. Therefore, comfort defines in this structure, meaning that the basic facilities such as water, electricity, and heating could be cut off from the dwellings if needed. Thus, instead of a cultural product, architecture served as a financial interest for the colonial regime.

Second, as we mentioned before, in the conflict between applying the Algerian lifestyle for their own housing units or design according to European -in this case, French- standards, the latter always proceeded. Therefore, privacy was among many factors that Algerian natives lost in colonial architecture.

Third, by choosing the European architecture standards and following schools such as SAM, the relationship between architecture and its concept diminished.

Fourth, by following directions similar to Lathuillière, Algerians were forced to live not only with different natives but with Frenchs. To clarify how problematic this is, we must first address that despite the mutual religion, Algerians have different lifestyles. Some of them were farmers, and the others had semi-office posts. There cannot be one general form of architecture to serve both lifestyles simultaneously. Then we must also study the damages extensive damages that the French colonial regime produced for Algerians during its presence in Algeria. We highlighted some of those concerning the veil, and we continue to study the consequences of colonial oppression on the mental health of Algerians.

Therefore, one might consider Lathuillière's propositions, or any similar ones, as the symbol of equality, but we must consider that in the colonial context, there is no equality possible. Thus, forcing the natives to share what they needed to call "home" with the members of the society whose presence was claimed as "foreign" for them was no more than taking away their security. Nevertheless, we can acknowledge that this form of architecture never belonged to its context and society.

In this regard, we continue to examine colonial oppression's casualties, but this time not on the land or the culture, but on the natives' mental health, and then clarify the form of architecture that might serve the needs of these people who were the majority in Algeria at the time of the Algerian War of Independence.

SECTION TWO
FRANTZ FANON STUDIES

Frantz Fanon was born in Martinique on July 20, 1925. When we study Fanon, we must remember that he understood the human being as a multisensory being. At the same time, coming from an African background, he deeply understood colonialism and addressed the matter of Violence in the most profound form of a colonized society (Sartre, 1961, 9).

Based on his interests, Fanon had been engaged with human bodies since he was young, and the distinguishing between the cadaver and human beings was clear to him early on.

When he was about 18 years old, he served in the second world war (1943) to defend his mother country France. Some might say that the reason is patriotism, but the actual reason was to uphold his ideals about justice and freedom. In other words, he could not let the degradation and indignity ease. Later the same principles made Fanon stand against France in Algerian Colonialism (Haddour, 2020). This profound Fighting with degradation and indignity led Fanon's way to Europe and Algeria. After the war, in 1946, Fanon returned to France and began a medical degree at the University of Lyon. In addition to his degree, he studied philosophy, politics, and psychoanalysis with the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty, reading Marx, Sartre, Freud, and Lacan.

It must be noted that Fanon did not just train as a clinical psychiatrist but also as a forensic psychiatrist. His passion for psychiatry led him to switch to psychiatry before completing his medical degree. He joined Lyon's psychiatry department, headed by Professor Jean Dechaume, a specialist in neurology who was fascinated by psychosurgery. At that time, the psychiatric department took a very organic approach to neuropsychiatry. Neuropsychiatry was not yet recognized, and most psychiatrists had little interest in psychoanalytic investigation or methods. The department's approach was very 'biological,' and anxiety was treated with shock therapy, intravenous succinyl injections, and prolonged hospitalizations for most cases (Razanajo, 1996, 500).

At this time and under Dechaume's supervision, Fanon submitted his doctoral thesis. The committee did not accept his dissertation-*Black Skin, White Masks*- thus, two weeks later, he submitted another dissertation on Friedreich's ataxia (FRDA). The inherited disorder affects the spinal cord and paralyzes the patient but does not affect cognitive capacities, and the patient is conscious. Fanon questioned how therapists treat patients with traditional and ordinary methods in both his dissertations. He argued that treating the patients as "physical objects" and neglecting human relationships only led them to dehumanization and would cause them more suffering (Gordon, 2018).

Fanon argued that the relationship between the physician and the patient is not a relationship between the physician and a "thing," a "physical object." Therefore, a genuine way of treatment must be established. Fanon argues that a person who goes to a therapist is not necessarily ill but sometimes traumatized. Until the doctor diagnoses him, he will become a patient. The cause of the trauma of these patients are racism, sexism, or simply what Fanon knew as degradation and what Lewis Gordon believes as "the experience of political impotence." The *Black Skin, White Mask* was born with Fanon's ideals not just to respect human beings but to want them to respect themselves and how this respect towards human beings can help a nation to fight degradation.

The reason for that is not just about how one deals with the ugliness of society but also defines the notion of a human being in colonial society. Because what a colonial society does, is, first and foremost, to ensure that the indigenous, the native, believes the term human being is not legitimate for him.

Second, to manipulate the term freedom.

In Frantz Fanon's view, it is essential to reviving the meaning of human beings and raising the awareness that questions of human existence and human relations belong to the past and the present. Also, it belongs to those who will inherit our values and thus belongs to the future. In the Wretched of the Earth, Colonial War, and Mental disorders, he writes:

"Colonialism forces the people it dominates to ask themselves the question constantly: In reality, who am I?" What these people are deep down asking of themselves is that: am I a human being? This is the question related to freedom and the relationship between freedom and perception of what it means to be a human being.

Third, colonial society decides how people act, talk, and think about everything. Therefore, Fanon argues that one cannot justify one's practice with justifications in colonial society (Gordon, 2020).

Alternatively, he argues that one in a colonial society cannot prove if his practices, his science, or human science is justified and legitimate enough. He points out that science cannot be immune in a society that colonizes how people think. How can therapists, philosophers, and other scholars be sure that their science and knowledge are not colonialized?

Therefore, therapists must decolonize the knowledge they are using to treat patients, as these methods and knowledge are part of the colonial system.

This chapter is a subclass of Fanon and his studies because Fanon's Studies and practices are directly connected to his Political views and generally his ideas about society.

The violence that Fanon talks about has multi layers. Fanon was a physician, philosopher, psychiatrist, and soldier who went to the second world war to fight for France. There he was, witnessing the horror caused by war and the Nazis.

However, back in Algeria, Fanon saw the ugliness of the side he was fighting for in the context of French colonial society. Therefore, he was a witness to violence on both sides. Nazis, whom the French army was fighting with, and the violence and indignities caused by the French army in Algeria. Nevertheless, despite all his studies and background, Fanon understood these deep layers because he was in direct contact with the product of colonial society: mentally ill natives.

However, Fanon realized that the reason for the Algerian mental illness was legitimate enough to cause the trauma.

What Fanon began to look at from the very beginning was to distinguish neurological or physical illness and mental illness clearly. As mentioned in the last chapter, by submitting his dissertation on Friedrich ataxia, he examined the patients whose neurological conditions were degenerative; however, mental illness was not the case for those patients. Thus he empirically distinguished mental illness from neurological illness.

Therefore, the native Algerians suffering from colonial violence such as torture, rape, and degradation could not be treated with the same methods as patients with neurological problems.

The description of the term colonialism is a discussion that this paper, for clarity, can only talk about briefly. Nevertheless, one must understand colonialism deeply to be aware of its damage to human health. Colonialism, in essence, is an active force that lives in the way of thinking and penetrates people's beliefs and values. Fanon argues that the colonial system brings illness not only to the colonized but, in some cases, to the colonizer himself.

Fanon argues that colonial society fundamentally brings another form of mental illness to the colonizer by giving him the right of appropriation, which is malignant narcissism.

Therefore, both colonized and colonizer must be considered traumatized subjects in a colonial system.

In many cultures, the color of death is black. Although in his writings, Fanon refers to death as white. In some African cultures, people wear white during funerals or for someone's death. Therefore for Fanon, there is no superiority of white over black or vice versa.

We must mention this passage because it is essential to point out Fanon's thoughts about that part of the society who were forced to replace their most important values with the ones that were undoubtedly unknown to them. The ones who needed courage more than others to fight this war without losing themselves and their dignity: The Algerian women.

Fanon understands the crucial role of women in the Algerian colonial. He exemplifies a story of a woman of color trying to fit in a white society that is not accepting her as a black woman. Therefore she is forced to change everything that identifies her to be welcomed in the new society. This woman confronts strong feelings, such as a lack of love, self-confidence and her disregarded position in her family.

This woman sincerely believed that she could not have an equal position as a white woman, neither in society nor in her couple's life.

This woman not only tries to fit in a new society, but the factors that shape her attraction towards another person are seeking to fill this inequality. Thus she forces herself to be in a relationship with a white man. This woman accepted that to fit into a new society, it is not enough to shape appearance factors with the new standards; one must also reshape her ideals with new factors. "I loved him because he had blue eyes, blond hair, and light skin" (Fanon, 1952, 29).

Fanon addresses that this woman needed her husband to regain her position in colonial society. She did not demand anything of this marriage, only "A bit of whiteness in her life" (Fanon, 1952, 29).

The woman feels inadequate in society, and therefore she gets traumatized. Fanon argues that despite all her efforts, this lady could not even bear the looks and attitudes of white society towards black people. At this point, Fanon points out two different points of conflict in a colonial context.

> It would seem proper that for her, white and black represent the two poles of a world, two poles in perpetual conflict: a genuinely Manichean concept of the world; the word has been spoken, it must be remembered—white or black, that is the question.
>
> I am white: that is to say that I possess beauty and virtue, which have never been black. I am the color of the daylight.
>
> I am black: I am the incarnation of a complete fusion with the world, an intuitive understanding of the earth, and abandonment of my ego in the heart of the cosmos, and no white man, no matter how intelligent he may be, can ever understand Louis Armstrong and the music of the Congo.
>
> If I am black, it is not the result of a curse, but it is because, having offered my skin, I have absorbed all the cosmic effluvia.
>
> I am truly a ray of sunlight under the earth. (Fanon, 1952, 31)

After posing the chapter on Algeria unveiled, by reading this chapter, we understand that unveiling women in a colonial society do not only refer to their appearance. Even if the woman agrees with a new costume, the colonial society never accepts her as an equal position to the woman who originally belonged to the colonial society. However, this matter does not concern only women.

By reading the chapter *the Man of Color and the White Woman* (Fanon, 1952, 45-60), Fanon describes that the feeling of dehumanization governs both native men and women. Therefore during colonialism, it is impossible to keep the values of both societies; in a battlefield of colonization, only one force can stay, and the other must be removed.

Consequently, the colonial force tries to deeply marginalize the natives and their values and empower the feeling of need for the colonizer's presence.

THE COLONIZED AND THE COLONIZER

In *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon addresses that colonialism essentially destroys humanism, and therefore humanism cannot come without decolonization. However, as colonialism goes to the deep layers of society, decolonization must act similarly. In the last chapter, becoming white, we became aware that colonialism tries to reshape the life and ideals of the natives. Therefore, any action to remove colonialism must be a creative process, even though it is always a "violent phenomenon" (Fanon, 1961, 35).

It is violent because the native that was colonized must, at this point, unlearn what the colonizer forced him to believe as social values. The values that the native believes without them, he is inadequate for society. The colonizing thoughts were injected into all society members, e.g., police officers, doctors, psychiatrists, engineers, and architects.

> The colonized world is a world divided in two. The dividing line, the border, is represented by the barracks and the police stations. In the Colonies, the official, legitimate agent, the spokesperson for the colonizer and the regime of oppression, is the police officer or the soldier. No matter what, the colonized, however, with all the credits, will remain an outsider because the native sector is not complementary to the European sector.
> No conciliation is possible, and one is superfluous. (Fanon, 1961, 3-4)

In this conflict, not bringing decolonization means maintaining the violence happening in society, not just on the surface but in the deep layers of it. That means witnessing the ill-replacement of the native values with what the colonizer brings to the native's land.

Therefore, it is necessary first to understand the society layers infected with colonial thoughts, then try to remove colonialism from all the layers.

Because colonialism is not just the physical presence of the colonial regime in a country or territory; as long as the colonial thoughts, ideas and values stand in society, colonialism governs there. Fanon addresses that in t*he Wretched of the Earth*:

> To dislocate the colonial world does not mean there will be a right way between the two sectors once the borders have been eliminated.
> To destroy the colonial world means nothing less than demolishing the colonist's sector, burying it deep within the earth, or banishing it from the territory. (Fanon, 1961, 6)

VIOLENCE AND DISORDERS

In the Wretched of the Earth, Fanon radically describes his experiences as a psychiatrist at Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital.

In the chapter Colonial war and mental disorders, he documents his encounters with patients suffering from mental disorders which arise from the war of national liberation (Fanon, 1961, 181).

In this book, Fanon argues that there is not only one concrete relation between violence and mental disorders.

For Fanon, colonial society manufactured and produced mental illness. According to previous chapters, we can think of a primary and essential question that comes with the colonized traumatized subject: "Who am I in reality?" (Fanon, 1961, 182).

In the context of such a "total war," Fanon is aware of the casualties for the Algerian people, not just physical damage to lands and properties, but to their bodies and minds. These are the casualties that remain with people after the ceasefire of colonial war.

Aware of these effects both in colonized and colonizer, Fanon treated Algerian and French men and women. He wrote down a few cases out of many that he treated when he was in Algeria. According to him, despite the patients' backgrounds from where they come, their mental disorders resulted from the colonial atmosphere in which they lived.

> The events giving rise to the disorder are chiefly the bloodthirsty the pitiless atmosphere,
> the generalization of inhuman practices, and the firm impression people have of being
> caught up in a veritable Apocalypse. (Fanon, 1961, 183)

Fanon believes that despite the severe and long-lasting psychological damage, the patients could look normal to anyone rather than a psychiatrist. However, he believes that despite the usual look, these patients were suffering.

By pointing out the example of his ex-patient in Africa (Fanon, 1961, 184), who, still years after the end of the colonial war, was experiencing suicidal thoughts and severe anxiety attacks, Fanon highlights that these symptoms would not disappear with the ceasefire of colonial war. Instead, like any other mental illness, these patients require psychological therapies.

Fanon documented different series of patients, including Algerians and Europeans, showing severe reactive disorders in this chapter.

Series A: Algerians and Europeans with apparent symptoms of mental disorders of the reactionary types (Fanon, 1961, 185-198).

Series B: Patients whose event giving rise to the illness is, in the first place, the atmosphere of total war which reigns in Algeria (Fanon, 1961, 189-207).

Series C: Affective-intellectual modifications and mental disorders after torture (Fanon, 1961, 208-216).

Series D: Psycho-somatic disorders (Fanon, 1961, 216-219).

Although reading all the cases is necessary to understand the significant and vast mental health damage caused by the colonial war, we only study Series B as it the relevance to the topic of this dissertation to understand the forms of mental illnesses caused by the atmosphere of colonial Algeria.

Series B, Case1. The murder by two young Algerians thirteen and fourteen years old respectively of their European playmate:

"We had been asked to give expert medical advice in a legal matter. Two young Algerians, thirteen and fourteen years old, pupils in a primary school, were accused of killing one of their European schoolmates. The crime was reconstructed, and photos were added to the record. One of the children could be seen holding the victim while the other struck him with a knife. We had long conversations with them. We here reproduce the most characteristic of their remarks:

a) The boy, thirteen years old:

"We were not a bit cross with him. Every Thursday, we used to go and play with catapults together on the hill above the village. He was a good friend of ours. He used to go to school anymore because he wanted to be a mason like his father. We decided to kill him one day because the Europeans want to kill all the Arabs. We cannot kill big people. But we could kill ones like him because he was the same age as us. We did not know how to kill him. We wanted to throw him into a ditch, but he would only have been hurt. So we got the knife from home, and we killed him."

"But why did you pick on him?"

"Because he used to play with us. Another boy would not have gone up the hill with us."

"And yet you were pals?"

"Well then, why do they want to kill us? His father is in the militia and said we ought to have our throats cut."

"But he did not say anything to you?"

"Him? No."

"You know he is dead now."

"Yes."

"What does being dead mean?"

"When it is all finished, you go to heaven."

"Was it you that killed him?"

"Yes."

"Does having killed somebody worries you?"

"No, since they want to kill us, so..."

"Do you mind being in prison?"

"No."

b) The boy, fourteen years old:

This young defendant was in marked contrast to his school fellow. He was already almost a man and an adult in his muscular control, appearance, and the content of his replies. He did not deny having killed either. Why had he killed? He did not reply to the question but asked me if I had ever seen a European in prison.

Had a European ever been arrested and sent to prison after the murder of an Algerian? I replied that in fact, I had never seen any Europeans in prison.

"And yet there are Algerians killed every day, are not there?"

"Yes."

"So why are only Algerians found in the prisons? Can you explain that to me?"

"No. But tell me why you killed this boy who was your friend."

"I'll tell you why. You have heard tell of the Rivet business?" *

"Yes."

"Two of my family were killed then. At home, they said that the French had sworn to kill us all, one after the other. And did they arrest a single Frenchman for all those Algerians who were killed?"

"I do not know."

"Well, nobody at all was arrested. I wanted to take to the mountains, but I was too young. So X— and I said we would kill a European."

"Why?"

"In your opinion, what should we have done?"

"I do not know. But you are a child, and what is happening concerns grown-up people."

"But they kill children too ..."

"That is no reason for killing your friend."

"Well, kill him, I did. Now you can do what you like."

"Had your friend done anything to harm you?"

"Not a thing."

"Well?"

"Well, there you are..." (Fanon, 1961, 199-201)

This example clarifies how the colonial system produces violence in all parts and all aspects of society.

Fanon addresses two viewpoints:

1. By mentioning this example, Fanon shows that these people are so sullied by violence that being in prison for murder does not bother a young boy. Colonial violence targets all members of society, regardless of age or gender.

2. In this example, there is no defined and specific force over the boy who murdered his playmate; instead, he imagines that the Europeans will inevitably kill him because the atmosphere of colonial society led him to believe that. At this point, colonialism takes over the imagination as well.

From the standpoint of colonial society, everything the settler and colonizer have is just. For the colonizer, the possession of the land and the resources and benefits are legitimate. So, if the standpoint is that the colonizer and the system are just, every change in that system would be unjust or wrong, meaning every fight or resistance would be wrong in its essence.

This right, this malignant narcissism, which is given to the settler by the colonial system, enforces this belief to the native that nothing belongs to him by right; instead, everything belongs to the settler. If changing the system considers violent, then what considers non-violent would be not letting the colonial system remain intact, trying to accept it, or staying silent and obeying. That means witnessing constant ongoing violence.

Fanon argues that as long as the native wants to change the colonial system, the colonial regime's perspective considers this act violent. The only condition in which the settler accepts the native as non-violent is when the native accepts the system. However, arguably, witnessing the constant violence and not acting against it also considers violence.

Nevertheless, Fanon was aware that violence degraded people. Thus, he devoted his works to the society suffering from this degradation.

During Algerian colonialism by the French regime, the dominant school of psychiatry was the school of Algiers. This school believed that Algerians were born criminals and were inherently violent (Haddour, 2020).

Psychiatrists in Algeria were under the influence of Moreau, who wrote a text on mental illness in 1843-45. In this text, Moreau argues that the strange phenomena in the orient resulted from climatic conditions and cultural factors. According to him, It is a common occurrence in the orient to suffer from madness, and he explained this by climate and cultural factors; Islam was one of the factors. He argues that Muslims do not have a mental illness because of their cognitive constitutions.

Moreau believed that Algerians do not suffer from any mental illness issue because they are not mentally present. They are not as developed as Westerners, and their societies are not as complex as in the west; therefore, they cannot manifest mental health issues (Haddour, 2020).

On the contrary, Fanon argues that a person fighting with degradation, who understands the dysfunctionality of society, is present. This person truly is healthy with his cognitive system, although mentally ill, and his healthy cognitive system causes this illness. Because he feels, thinks, analyzes, and suffers from the disorders rising from the atmosphere in which he lives. In the next chapter, we will discuss this concept as a felt body present for all human beings.

Therefore the suffering that comes from the felt body cannot be neglected due to climate or cultural factors. These mentally ill patients, in fact, are not passive subjects to what is happening around them, to their atmosphere, but actively affect and get affected by their society. However, this society has nothing for them but harms.

When Algeria was colonized, 176 surgeons accompanied the army which conquered Algeria in 1830, and these surgeons played a crucial role in France's so-called civilization mission. Most of them believed that Arabs were born with violence.

They liken Arabs to Berbers, arguing that Arabs, because of their religions and ethnicity, are beyond the bounds of civilization. They even believed that climate was an important factor in determining race and that the idea of race is linked to the moral hygiene of the indigenous people. These doctors mobilized to Algeria as military personnel and established a clear correlation between race and disease (Haddour, 2020).

In contrast to their methods and beliefs, Fanon argues that there should not be one general way to treat mentally ill patients without paying attention to the cause of the illness. Fanon's discussion on medicine criticizes the medical establishments, nurses, doctors, and the general way of patient treatments.

He highlighted the situation of the patients brought to the hospitals with clear signs of torture and argued that doctors, nurses, and chemists were complicit with the colonial institution. Because either they are torturing the cases or do not report the cases coming to the hospitals.

From the start of his work at Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital, he established a new way of treatment for the patients, arguing that the indigenous people would become violent under the violent consequences of colonialism and that no one is born with violence.

The experience of Frantz Fanon in Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital, today called Frantz Fanon hospital, is multi-layered.

However, to understand his works at the hospital and how he came to the time-changing psychological therapy methods, it is essential to go back to Fanon's history in Psychiatry and the prominent figures that influenced him and his thoughts.

In 1951, Fanon started to study with François Tosquelles, becoming a resident at the psychiatric hospital in Saint-Alban-sur-Limagnole, a rural area about two hundred kilometers southwest of Lyon. The relationship between Fanon and Tosquelles is described as a commitment and a crucial yet critical one (Cherki, 2006, 20). In Tosquelles' view, Frantz Fanon's influence is rooted in the memories of the people and society he lived in.

"Fanon had never really left us; he continued to be present in our memory in the same way he had filled the space around him. He questioned his interlocutors in body and voice" (quoted in Cherki, 2006, 20).

Tosquelles was one of the founders of institutional psychotherapy and sociotherapy. As a critical, humanistic form of psychotherapy, sociotherapy is based on the idea that a patient's self-liberation can only be achieved in a social environment. Therefore, its mission was the reintegration of patients into the community. By so doing, it prioritized the social needs of patients while attempting to break down their medicalization and objectification (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 131).

For Tosquelles, the Psychiatric hospitals were not the solution for treating the mental illness but a part of the problem. According to him, hospitals are sick organisms designed to pacify patients and turn them into tamed recipients of medical care. Most medical therapies were simply by-products of this will to control and supervise (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 131).

Sociotherapy had to come with a different attitude toward mentally ill patients than the practice of excluding them by separating them from society (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 131).

The general argument of institutional psychotherapy is that a patient who is mentally ill cannot get healed in a room that is separated from society. Indeed, the isolated doctor's room can negatively reverse the patient's healing process.

Instead, the institution as a part of the healing process and the atmosphere of psychotherapy must be disalienated. Providing treatment to patients and humanizing mental institutions were seen as aspects of the same process to create a new society in the hospital. By reforming social relations, treating patients as human beings and social beings, and removing institutional hierarchies and rigid roles, this goal could be achieved, which would lead to patients feeling more like a "self" rather than isolated and an "object" that needs external control (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 132).

Born in Catalonia in 1912, Tosquelles passed his bachelor's degree at fifteen and enrolled in Barcelona University's medical school. For Tosquelles, individual and social liberation and psychiatry and politics were intimately connected. While at university, he studied Marx and Freud.

During the Spanish Civil War, he joined the *anti-Stalinist Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (*Workers' Party of Marxist Unification). He later became the head of the Republican Army's psychiatric services. Sentenced to death by Franco's regime, he left Spain for France and created a refuge for traumatized resistance fighters at Saint-Alban (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 132).

When Fanon started his residency at Saint-Alban hospital under the supervision of Tosquelles, the method of institutional psychotherapy was in its first steps. According to Adam Shatz, it was in Saint-Alban that Fanon experienced his first procedure in which the patient was involved in his own recovery (Shatz, 2017, 5).

What has to be noted here is that Fanon and Tosquelles were practicing the therapy ideas that, for them, were totally in relation to their political ideas. As for them, medicine and politics were not separate fields. In their view, sociotherapy was directly connected to all societal changes and events.

For Tosquelles, Institutional therapy was a product of his experiences of claiming liberation, and he transformed it into trying to achieve liberation inside the psychiatric hospitals. Tosquelles' ideas were to transform hospitals into facilities that can create humanized relationships with patients.

He was looking for treatment behaviors from the staff that was not based on the practices of the common method of psychiatric hospitals. Tosquelles was looking to redefine the position of the patients in the hospital as "guests" that, with the help of the hospital staff, could work out therapies in a caring and supportive environment. Fanon later took this idea to Blida-Joinville Hospital (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 133).

Three asylums/hospitals were built in Tunis, Morocco, and Algeria as a result of the Tunis conference in 1921. It took more than two decades since the Tunis conference to build The Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital in Algeria, where Frantz Fanon worked as the *chef de service.*

Blida is located about thirty miles southwest of Algiers, at the base of the Atlas Mountains. By the 1950s, the Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital had become the largest psychiatric hospital in North Africa, with over 2,000 patients (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 133).

Frantz Fanon started to work in Blida-Jonville hospital as the chef de service in November 1953. A year before the beginning of the Algerian Revolution, all kinds of violence, including torture, rape, and deportation, were normalized. In Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital, Fanon treated the French officers who tortured the Algerians and the natives who dealt with traumas after being tortured by the French colonial regime. At that time, the hospital was a true reflection of Algerian society under the oppression of French colonization. Muslims were separated from Europeans, French people from Algerians, blacks from whites, and men from women.

The architectural typology of the hospital was two separate blocks, and each block contained isolated wards. The hospital was designed to have 1200 beds. However, by the time of Fanon's arrival, it hosted 2500 beds that showed a clear image of the mental health status of people during the colonial war.

After he arrived in Blida-Jonville, Fanon published an article with four other doctors. The title of the article was "*Aspects actuels de l'assistance mentale en Algérie*" (Aspects of psychiatric care in Algeria today), and it was published in 1955 (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 133).

The article first argued the poor quality of staff behaviors and the lack of connection between staff and patients. Second, it pointed to the difficulties for patients' families to visit them due to the location of the hospital, which was far from the city.

In fact, the hospital itself was utterly isolated due to its position. Third, it addressed how the overcrowded situation of the hospital affected the quality of treatments.

However, they also mentioned the effects of religion and gender relations on women's discharge rates:

> Islamic law, which permits instantaneous divorce and remarriage, is a source of insurmountable difficulties. After having been repudiated, women who are cured remain in the hospital for months before they can be returned to the care of family, which, in the absence of precise information, must be sought without possible recourse to medico-social services. (Fanon, Dequeker, Lacaton, Micucci, and Ramée, 1955, 11-18)

Fanon was aware of cultural and social factors and their effects on mental illness; thus, it was crucial to consider them for any further analysis. Fanon's goal was to humanize the hospital environment and to align it with what he was practicing in Saint-Alban with Tosquelles.

So his first actions made the patients living conditions better: a patient newspaper, a Moorish café, film screenings, and trips to the sea were established for the patients according to Fanon's Institutional therapy ideals. (Gibson & Beneduce, 2017, 134).

Under Fanon's care were 165 European women and 220 Muslim men. When he started working in Blida-Joinville, the dominant therapy method was approaches of the Algiers School, so Fanon immediately instituted some changes.

Even if not all of Fanon's ideals were implemented, he worked to rebuild the relationship between patients and hospital staff with respect and care. With that in mind, he developed cultural and social programs inside the hospital.

One of the initial therapy methods that he used both for Algerian and European women was the method of TAT, which we will describe in the following pages.

However, after applying general methods of social therapy generally in the hospital, he criticized his approach by writing an article, *Sociotherapy on a Muslim Men's Ward,* coauthored with his intern Jacques Azoulay in October 1954.

In this article, Fanon highlights his trials of applying social therapy methods in Muslim men's Wards and how it became inevitable for him to develop and reshape the general methods based on the context of Muslim men's wards.
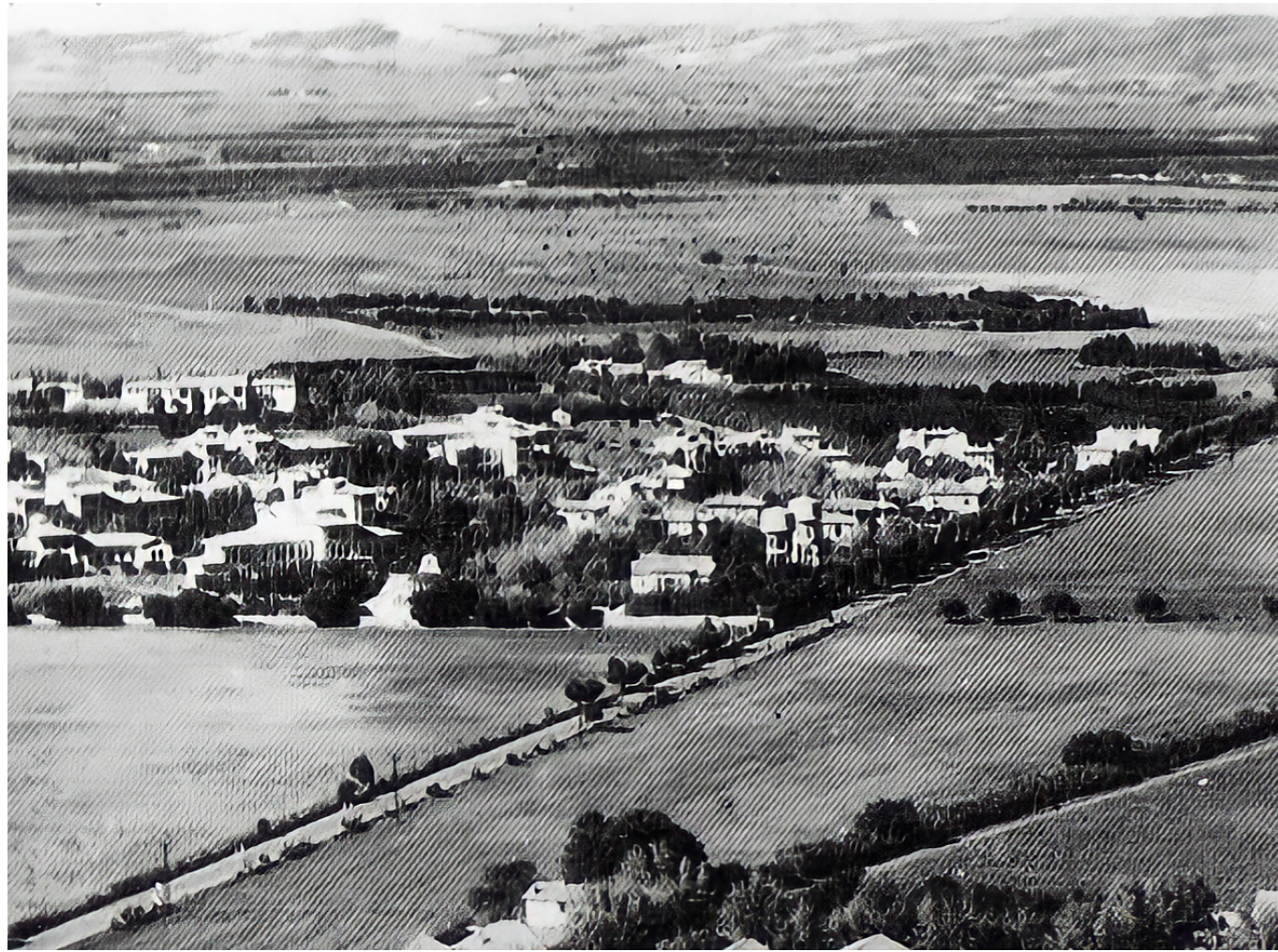
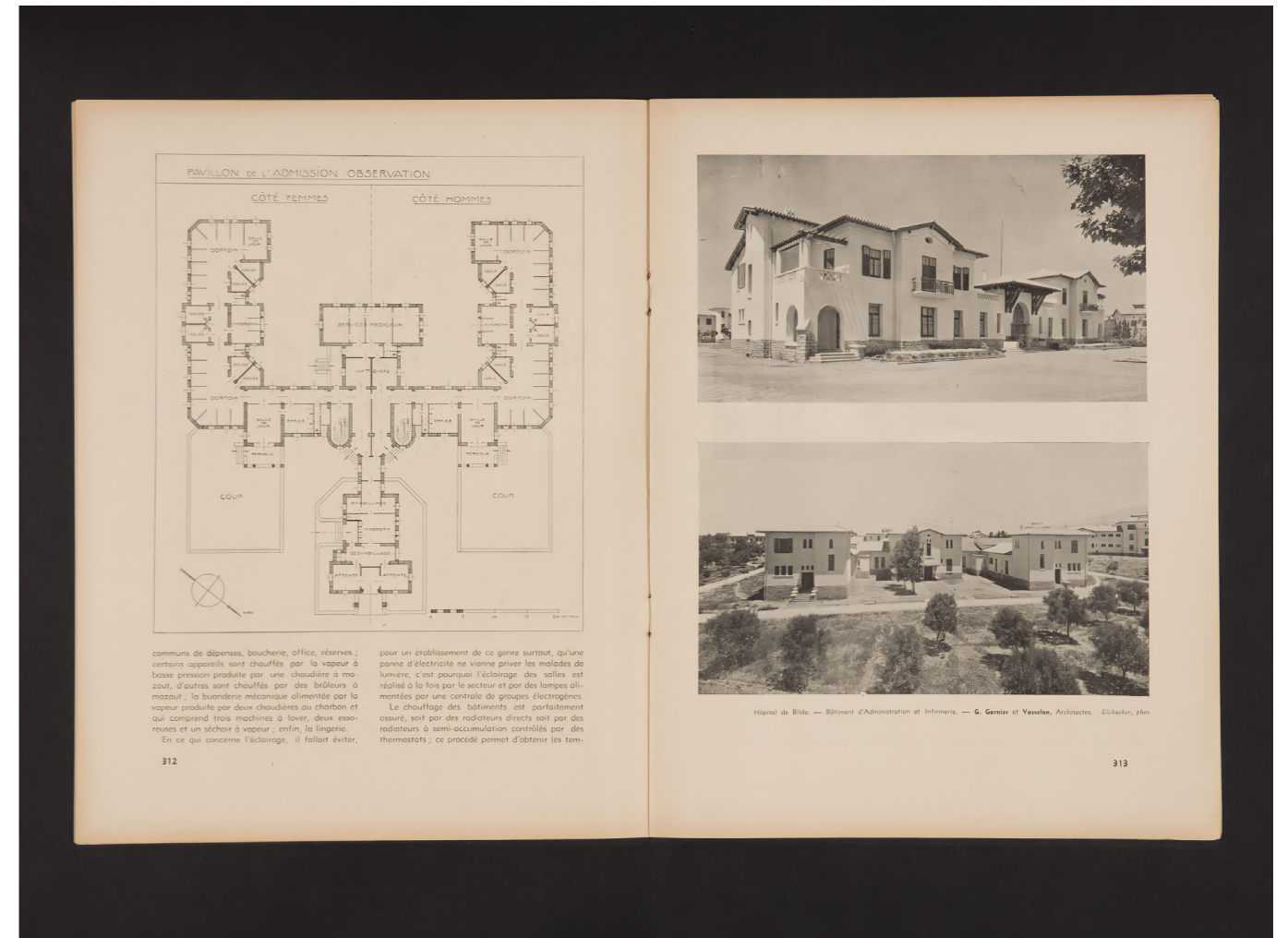Fig. 26 The context of Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital.

Fig. 27 Plan and typology of Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital.

Fig. 28 Entrance of Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital 1933.

Fig. 29 Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital.

Fig. 30a The roads and accessibilities to Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital around 1953.
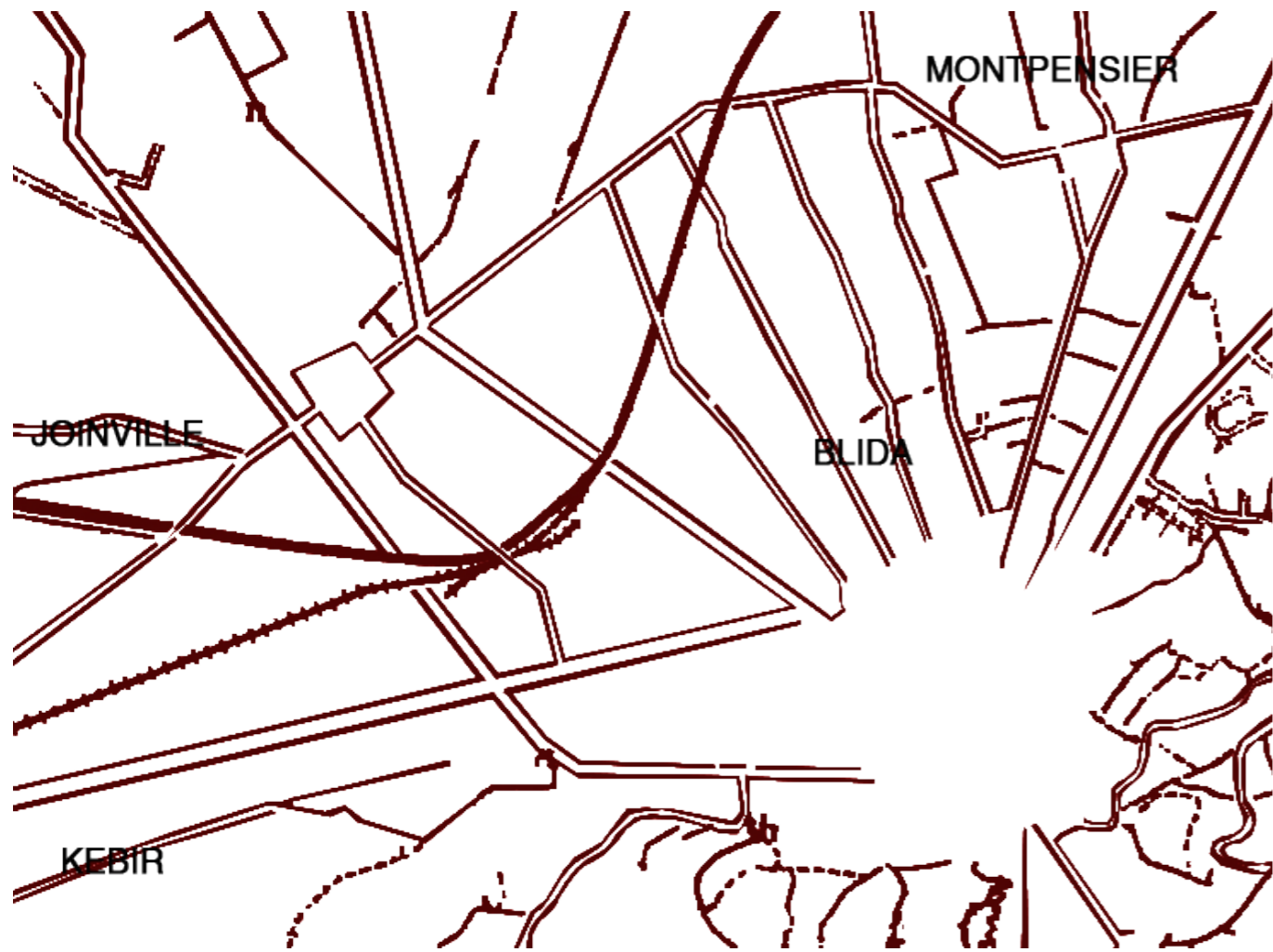
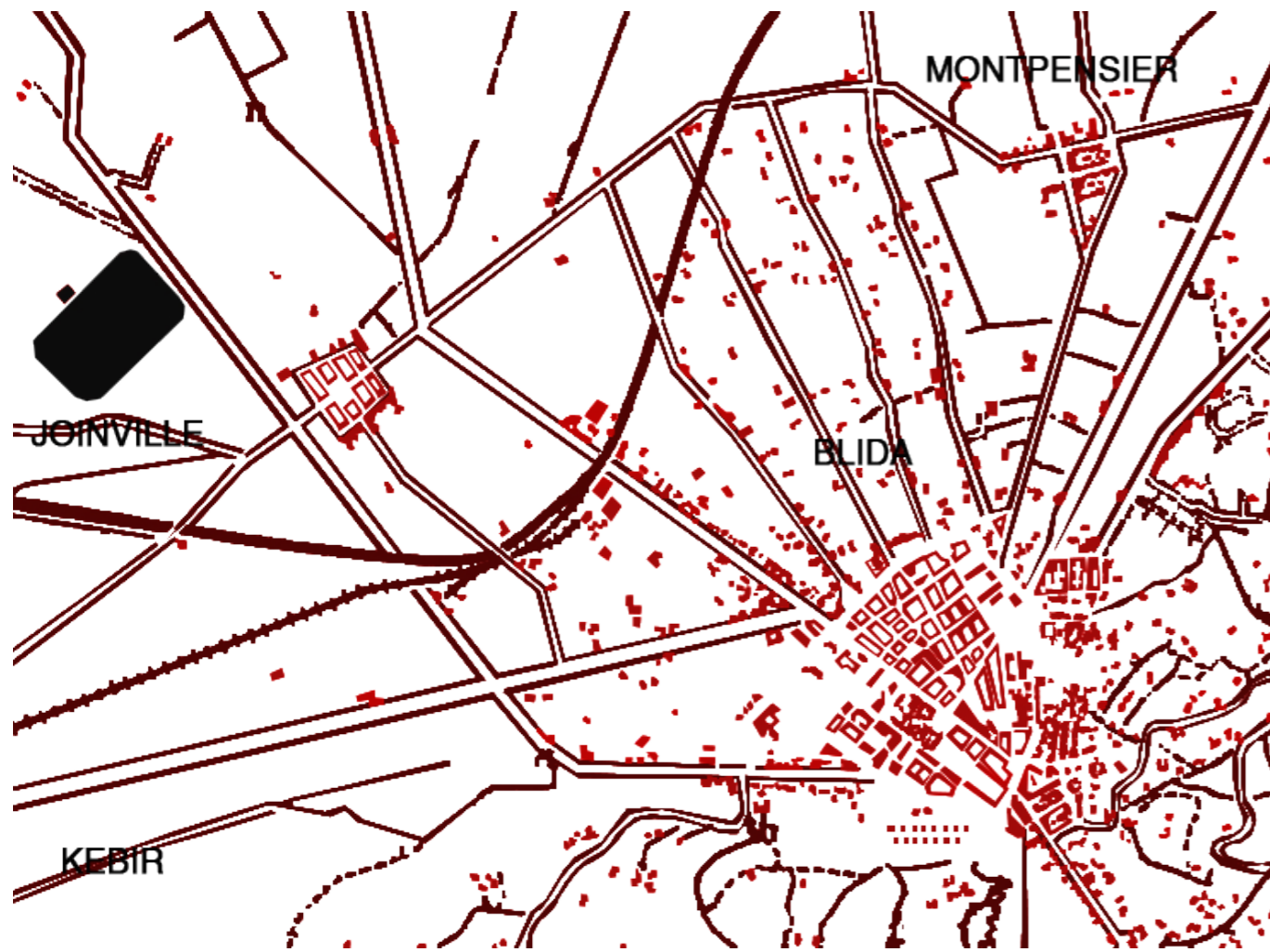Fig. 30b The roads and accessibilities to Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital 2021.

Fig. 30c The roads and accessibilities to Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital and the city context aound 1953.

Fig. 30d Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital in relation to the city context around 1953 shows that the hospital was totally isolated from the city context.

One of the critical practices that Fanon with Charles Geronimi applied in Blida-Joinville was the method of TAT. They studied the results on European women and Muslim women wards. The TAT method is a system that includes 31 picture cards, each one showing a figure, an event, or a theme.

The purpose of this method is to let the patient create a story or world based on what they perceive on the card. In this test, the content and connotations of the images were derived from their cultural context. There was a difference between the results of TAT practice among European and Muslim women.

The perception was fully and immediately realized with the European woman. In contrast, Muslim women adopted a fundamentally different attitude. In this regard, she was engaged in an extensive, laborious, and tenacious process of deciphering and analyzing.

Fanon and Geronimi noted during their sessions with Muslim women that despite their effort to point out every identifiable object in an image, no narrative was associated with the images. There was no storyline or core to the answers.

In the case of Muslim women, Fanon and Geronimi stated that it was impossible to discern what Dana calls perceptual organization. Rather than describing the action, the answers focused on the objects or elements in the cards. Despite their efforts, Muslim women patients could not expand the questions to what was depicted in the cards (Fanon & Geronimi, 1956, 429).

Card 3 BM (obs. 4): I do not know if it is a boy or a girl. I think it is a girl. I do not know what she is doing. I am not sure what to say. I don't understand. Perhaps he is sick. He has a headache. I am tired (she sighs). (Fanon & Geronimi, 1956, 429)

Fig. 31 Picture 3BM. Observation: This is considered to be one of the most important pictures, especially for depressed patients, as it deals with themes of aggression, impulsive control, guilt and depression. For instance, If a patient describes the ambiguous object as a gun, it's highly likely that the person might harm oneself (Intra-agression) or another person (Extra-Aggression)[1]

1. Shrestha, 2017.

Card 11 (obs. 7) (Rit.): 'You would say it is the sea, but it is blue or green, and there it is black. It is not the sea. Perhaps it is a village (turns the card around and back), or it looks like a plane or a boat, but it is none of these things. I do not understand.

You would say it is a serpent? It looks like a person (stones).

(The card is the right way up.) It looks like persons, but you cannot make them out properly (stones). (Fanon & Geronimi, 1956, 429)

The crosses of the cemetery (card 15) are described as couch grass brushes, as dog houses. 'Blindingly obvious' elements, such as the sun of card 17 GF, the gun of card 8 BM, are not perceived.

At the level of the test's organization, where situations that appear to be conflicting and the character's ambiguous attitudes generally arouse the involvement of the ego, we obtained poor, indigent replies of no significance. (Fanon & Geronimi, 1956, 429)

Fig. 32 Picture 11. Observation: This is a vague image, so it acts as a good test for imaginative abilities and assessing the skills involved in integration irregular nad poorly refined stimuli.[1]

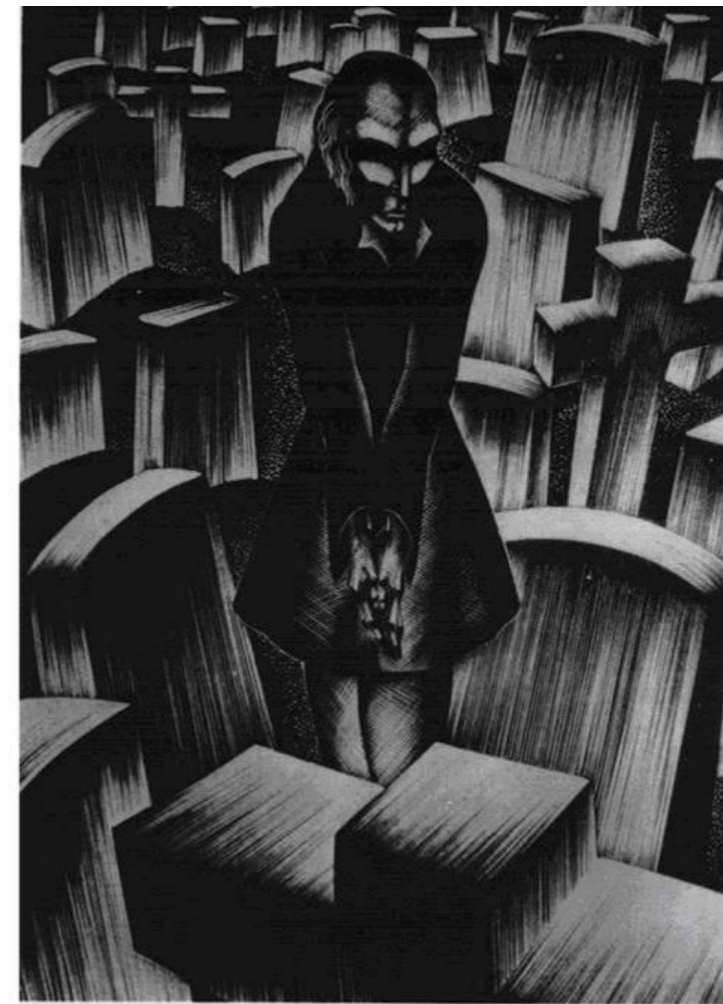Fig. 33 Picture 15. Observation: This card leads the subject to tell the story about death and reveals information about his/her attitude towards death and the process of dying. The story could be aggressive, violent or calm and quiet, depending on the subject. Another possibility is the display of anger towards the dead person because of the feelings of abandonment.[1]
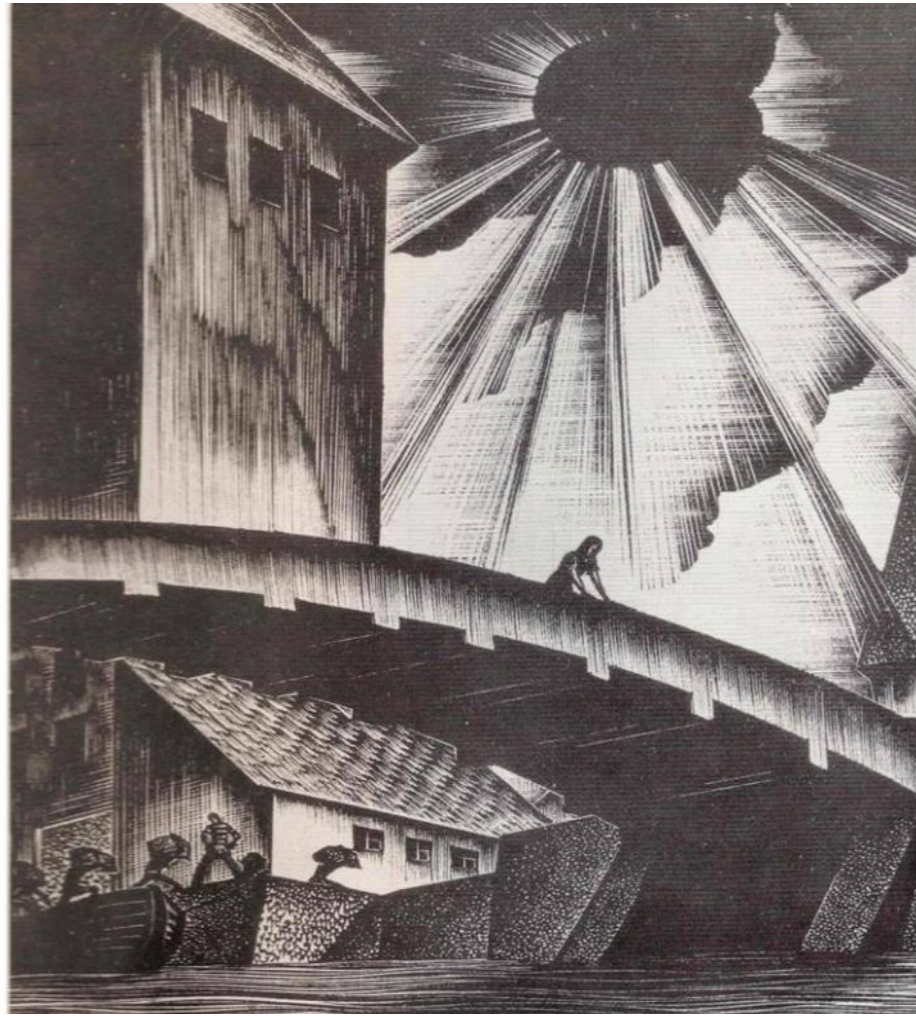
1. Shrestha, 2017

1. Shrestha, 2017

Fig. 34 Picture 17 GF. The story related to the card reveals attitudes or feelings toward the impending arrival or recent separation with a loved one. This card is also effective in case of suicidal patients.[1]

The lack of "living the card experience" became apparent as Fanon investigated the results in more detail. Several elements were unperceived by patients, and they were unable to describe their storylines accurately. In the words of Fanon and Geronimi, the primary cause of these errors is an absence of correlation between the perception stimuli offered to our subjects, correlated to their personality, and the expectations of a precise, demanding, and in a sense, the spasmed[1] cultural world (Fanon & Geronimi, 1956, 430). Thus, they understood that there was an inadequacy in the methods for testing on Muslim women. There should have been a focus on the dynamism flowing within Maghrebin society, the lived experience of the surrounding European world, and the marginalization of Muslims, which leads to disinterest, scotomization, and the cultural truth. If the TAT's purpose was to develop patients' imagination and creativity through meaningful storytelling, based on Fanon's writings, this purpose never has been achieved with Muslim women.

There were indeed fundamental problems. Indeed, Fanon had to look for what was concealed behind that absence of imagination and refusal of fiction. In Muslim societies, especially during the time Fanon was working in Algeria, one had to distinguish between what is not present but can be created by the power of perception and imagination versus asking a Muslim what is not real. In Islamic culture, the latter can be misunderstood as a Sin.

Another primary problem of using the TAT methods in the context of Algerian Muslim women was not considering their real-world situation. As Fanon and Geronimi described:

> In actual fact, that attitude can be explained by the very logic of the imaginary. Imaginary life cannot be isolated from real life: the concrete, objective world constantly fuels, enables, legitimates, and founds the imaginary. Imaginary consciousness is certainly unreal, but it drinks from the concrete world.
> The imagination, the imaginary, is only possible to the extent that the reality belongs to us.
> (Fanon & Geronimi, 1956, 431)

Based on their statement, two aspects that caused the problematic results of the test can be highlighted:
First, the images on the cards are inspired by Western patterns.
The theme presented to the patients is unknown to them because they do not feel mutual feelings between the world presented to them on the card and their social patterns; therefore, the Muslim woman is unable to elaborate on any imaginary existence.
However, based on further experiences, Fanon recognized that the imagination of Muslim women experiencing the TAT test could extend and develop when given a white card due to the removal of foreign cultural fetters.
Their stories were rich and varied without being restricted by an exclusionary world.
Secondly, these patients are the people that are the most alienated in their own country.
In every step, colonization takes in their territories, the world surrounding them pushes them to the margins. This world thus becomes unknown to them, and the foundation of the thought that can help the imagination to expand and take place is destroyed.

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1. Shrestha, 2017

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1. This physical metaphor of a cultural convulsion or spasm (un monde culturel précis, exigeant, en un certain sens spasmé) appears in Fanon's books each time he analyses the colonial relation to culture and its real effects.

Thus, a general method, TAT, in this case, cannot be successful for individuals with different backgrounds and values. The next chapter, *Social Therapy in a Ward of Muslim Men: Methodological Difficulties*, confirms this statement.

SOCIAL THERAPY IN A WARD OF MUSLIM MEN: METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES FRANTZ FANON AND JAQUES AZOULAY, BLIDA-JOINVILLE PSYCHIATRIC HOSPITAL, OCTOBER 1954

The experiment of social therapy in Muslim men's wards was crucial for Fanon. He believes that much of the research outcome was possible due to the situation of the wards, the division between Muslims and Europeans, and men and women. In fact, he used this separation to develop his studies and face his methods' errors in different contexts.

Fanon was responsible for one hundred and sixty-five European women and two hundred and twenty Muslim men in different wards. By the time Fanon arrived at the hospital, each doctor was responsible for six hundred patients. Therefore, they found any attempt to align their services with a social therapeutic perspective impossible. However, the arrival of a fifth doctor relieved these four colleagues of four hundred patients, and only then did the possibility of performing actual social therapy arise.

From the beginning, he had the methods that he practiced under Tosquelles at Saint-Alban in mind, and his ideals were to adjust the Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital with the methods of sociotherapy.

> At Saint-Alban, we had observed a type of organization that, overall and in detail, we thought measured up to a maximal type of sociotherapy in the current conditions of psychiatric care in France. So we took our ward as a point of departure that would, in a sense, serve as an experimental milieu. We sought to implement bi-weekly ward meetings, staff meetings, newspaper meetings, and bi-monthly celebrations. In our ward of European women, results appeared before long. In the first month, the meetings became an integral part of the ward's life. (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 354)

He knows this method is only possible when the relationship between the hospital, including hospital staff, nurses and doctors, and the patients are disalienated. Thus, he fully engaged all the hospital staff in his methods for creating the required atmosphere of sociotherapy.

With the help of all hospital staff, they introduced different celebrations, such as gathering for Christmas, and they involved all the patients.

The small steps to improve the relationship between the patients and nurses or doctors. On the other hand, socializing the patients in such an atmosphere led them to participate among others and not be isolated. Then he introduced more social activities. "Alongside the Celebrations Committee tasked with organizing the recreational evenings, there is a Film Committee and a Record Collection Committee" (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 356).

With the concept of socializing the hospital environment, he introduced Ergotherapy methods for patient activities, such as a knitting workshop led by a nurse in which several patients work together on making a single article and embroidering serviettes, tablecloths, and a dressmaking workshop tasked with making frocks. His idea was to involve the patients in various activities so that "the patient can no longer live [her] madness without dealing with all that which surrounds her" (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 357).

The result of these activities was increasing positively in the European women's wards. For them, Social life shortly became less distressing and normalized. However, These quick and relatively easy successes only underscored the utter failure of the same methods when used in the wards of Muslim men.

At this point, he faces his error in the methods he was generalizing and applying to all the wards without considering gender and all background differences.

From the beginning, they knew that connecting with Muslim men wards was different from what they experienced with European women. As Azoulay mentions, they were aware of the difficulties that might be caused during the work with Muslim patients. The first problem occurred when, after all the preparations for meeting with the patient, the relationship development faced a severe problem due to the most critical communication mean, language.

> Right away, contact was difficult to establish because we did not speak the same language. We thought we could overcome the obstacle by selecting from among the Muslim nurses an intelligent, voluble interpreter, to whom we took care to explain in detail what we were looking to achieve (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 357).

Despite all the efforts, they could not gain the necessary attention from the patients. After that, with the help of the nurses, they changed the face of the activity and tried to get them interested through discussions and encouraging them to participate in games or listen to songs. The games suggested and played were hide and seek, cards and dominos.

The atmosphere was felt better, but they still could not engage all the patients thoroughly with these activities. Then the reports from the patients who willingly participated in the games showed a significant decrease, and they preferred "listening to Oriental music on the radio" (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 359).

The following social activity was organizing choir and theatre, which they failed as the others before. The concept that Fanon had in mind for the disalienation of the relationship between the patient and the hospital staff was facing difficulties due to the problems of constructing a mutual connection between nurses, doctors, and patients. Fanon and his team initially suspected the failure was due to the unqualified nurses and undevoted personnel, as they believed what was possible in European wards must work in Muslim wards as well. The film sessions were organized for Muslim men's wards. However, the Muslim men refused to participate in the sessions willingly.

At this point, Fanon faced his failure to set ergotherapy in the Muslim men's wards. Despite various types of workshops and social activities, non of them could consider therapeutical because patients were mainly forced to participate.

In some cases, based on many attempts to suicide by the patients, with different means, the nurses and other staff returned to their previous manner with the patients to the time before Fanon's trials of humanizing the relationship between the patient and the hospital staff, such as isolating him, tieing him up or other manners which were not aligned with Fanon's approach for the hospital atmosphere.

As one of the last occupational therapy activities, Fanon and his team trained a nurse who worked with patients to make raffia.

The patients, however, were only willing to assist their comrades in developing the outside areas using spades and pickaxes. The situation of Muslim men as patients -who had been in the hospital for so many years - may seem normal to many psychiatrists during the bloody war in Algeria during the French colonial regime, when they were subjected to mental and physical torture. However, Fanon modified his ways of ergotherapy to find the correct method of institutional psychotherapy for Algerian Muslim men.

So, after a few months, the contrast was striking: on the European side, the journal was published weekly, theatrical evenings were held regularly, and agitation had disappeared. The atmosphere had become therapeutic. By contrast, in the ward of Muslim men, we came up against the same difficulties: a considerable number of patients were still tied-up, and despite multiple attempts, no improvement had come about. Furthermore, little by little, it became clear that it was not a matter of coincidence, laziness, or bad will: we had taken the wrong course and needed to research the profound reasons for our failure to exit the deadlock.

During this time, we studied our ward extensively, the patients who resided there, and their backgrounds. We had naively taken our division as a whole and believed we had adapted to this Muslim society the frames of a particular Western society at a limited period of its technological evolution. (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 362).

By evaluating the results of Muslim men's wards, Fanon understood that first, western-inspired social therapy could not be implemented in a ward of mentally ill Muslim men. The reason for that is that each ward's attitude is different, which can be understood only by deep research about the patients of each ward. Second, "it was essential to move from the biological level to the institutional one, from natural to cultural existence" (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 363).

Fanon understands that the reason for success in the European women's ward was that the methods of sociotherapy and ergotherapy were aligned with European women's cultural roots and social structures.

> Socio-therapy would only be possible to the extent that social morphology and sociability forms were considered. What were Muslim society's biological, moral, aesthetic, cognitive, and religious values? How did the native react from the affective, emotional point of view? What forms of sociability rendered possible the multiple attitudes of this Muslim? (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 364)

It is necessary to deeply research a society's cultural, social, and ethical beliefs to understand them and their behaviors, reactions, and possible understandings of the methods they would receive. Due to the cultural and social differences, one activity can consider meaningful and therapeutical in one ward and taken not seriously or even offending in the other wards.

The importance of this task is more severe when the society that one is studying is the mentally- ill patients. In that case, one should understand the roots and values of these patients deeply before trying to adjust them with new therapy methods. It is a method of therapy that must be flexible enough to have the ability to adjust itself to different cultural and social varieties.

Undoubtedly, identifying what caused a problem is crucial to solving it. Creating a therapeutic atmosphere is only possible when one understands what the patients consider therapeutic. Every activity that takes action inside this atmosphere must be aligned with their values.

Otherwise, the psychiatrist creates another system of oppression that cause more pain and suffering for the patients. The next chapter summarizes Fanon and Azoulay's findings on the social structure of Muslim men of Algeria and how they transformed these social structures into an ergotherapy method.

According to Fanon and Azoulay, traditional Muslim society is theocratic in spirit. For Muslims, religion is more than a rule of life that strictly regulates the individual and the group. Religion is impregnated into social life in Muslim countries, secularity is not considered, and it combines rights, morality, science, and philosophy. A family's life is steered by the father, in his absence, by the oldest brother or uncle. It should be noted that the family is very ramified, with some douars sharing the same surname.

As a result, it tends to be associated with the clan, Which is the case for Algeria's actual natural group of Muslims.

Moreover, it is necessary to emphasize the region's ethnic diversity since Kabyles comprise a significant minority among Arabs. Despite their common Muslim religion, the two groups are distinct due to their linguistic, cultural, and traditional differences. Mountainous regions are inhabited by the Kabyles, who are of Berber origin, and due to their location on the hilltops, their villages are the focus of the tribal organization.

Generally, Arabs live in cities and on the plains, along with farmers, traders, small artisans, and traders.

In Muslim men's wards in Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital, out of two hundred and twenty patients, one hundred and forty-eight are Arabs, sixty-six Kabyles, and six Chaouis, Moroccans, and Mozabites. It is crucial to mention the usual living conditions of Muslim patients, which explain their behaviors in the wards.

With the cultural and historical background studies, Fanon tried to understand the broken link between the people and their society. His focus was to repair the person's relationship as an individual or "self" to his society as a group.

Before the French conquest, the land belonged to the collective, and wealth was associated with usable land, arable land, and, consequently, possessing a yoke or a plow. The owners of these items were the actual property owners. French colonialism led to the transformation and appropriation of land, wealth, and ownership. The old collective property was subdivided between new colonial owners.

The members of the old tribe led a poor life, but it knew no proletarians. In Colonial Algeria, despite a minority of large land owners, whether European or Muslim, there were still many small proprietors, the fellahs, who were unable to survive by farming a small patch of land with primitive techniques, even though these patches are still an object of envy for the ones that lost the land altogether.

As a result, these people became destitute, their social bond with tribal collective personality weakened, and they began hiring out their labor as khammès or day laborers. Therefore, the once homogeneous society is dissociating between small proprietors and shepherds, sharecroppers, or day laborers.

Furthermore, due to the extension of modern farming techniques to large properties, a mass of unemployed farm workers whose hunger drew them to the towns was noticeable.

A lack of industrialization, however, forces them into the state of the proletariat - and even the sub-proletariat - further exacerbating the social disarray. Additionally, it is noteworthy that a large number of Berbers travel to France for an indeterminate period to find work if they are unable to find one at home or to supplement their meager earnings.

The Algerian people, particularly the rural farmers, had to abandon their homes and lands. Their most vital aspect of daily life and their primary source of income had to be handed over to the colonial force. They were unwittingly confined to regroupment camps, and their lands were converted into forbidden areas, military zones, minefields, or firing ranges. They were forced to work on their own lands, which at this time, as by order of the colonial regime, were about to transform into new regions for more regroupment camps or other alienated architecture.

By studying the wards, Fanon and Azoulay understood that out of two hundred and twenty patients, thirty-five were fellahs, that is to say, individuals with a piece of land that they cultivate themselves. Seventy-six were agricultural workers, sharecroppers, or day laborers. Seventy-eight were workers (bakers, painters), five intellectuals, and twenty-six were without profession (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 366). Nevertheless, these figures need to be interpreted.

The number of workers, seventy-eight out of two hundred and twenty, is relatively high. According to Fanon and Azoulay, the patients often were individuals who had been torn from their homes and had managed to find some manual labor in the city. Finally, only twenty out of the seventy-eight 'workers' were specialized in some way (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 367).

As he was studying the errors caused while setting the social therapy in the Muslim men's wards, another problematic factor was language.

The Algerian people with whom Fanon and his team were working spoke Kabylian and Arabic; many could not understand French properly. So the conversation between the doctor and the patient was only possible with the interpreter's presence.

As Fanon argues, a considerable part of the understanding that doctor gains from the session with the patient are how the patient describes her/his feeling, what words he/she uses to describe the feeling, the pain, the fear, or the joy that she/he is experiencing.

The process is only possible if the interpreter can translate every word the patient describes. A process that did not happen, and the interpreter's presence interfered with the patient and doctor's pure and direct experience.

> The interpreter does not only bother the patient, and the doctor, especially the psychiatrist, makes his diagnosis through language. Language's gestures and verbal components cannot be perceived synchronously here.
> While the face is expressive and the gestures profuse, it is necessary to wait until the patient has stopped talking in order to grasp the meaning. (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 368)

After abstracting the patient's conversation, the interpreter still refers to the topic of the land in the patient's conversation, which indicates the importance of the topic of land in the patient's discussions, even when the interpreter abstracted what the patient was saying.

Another problem that Fanon faced during his practices with Muslim men was what he referred to Merleau-Ponty as "to speak a language is to bear the weight of a culture."[1]

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1. In Peau noire, masques blancs, Fanon simply wrote, with the reference to Merleau-Ponty: "To speak a langauge is to take on a world, a culture" (*Black Skin, White Masks*, p. 25).

This issue is multilayered. Firstly, the difficulty of understanding the patient's preferred words and what they mean in the context of their culture. Many words change their meaning when translated into another language.

As he compares the situation to the European women's wards, the topics that come with the dialogs when two people, rather patient or doctor or regular speakers with mutual language, can have are easier to follow and expand.

Due to the Algerians'Algerians' position with the French colonial regime, the French language may be perceived negatively by the Algerians. Even in their unconsciousness, patients may feel that the doctor or hospital staff are not interacting with them equally.

Accordingly, their mind may be permanently anchored to the position of the colonized and the colonizer. We discussed earlier that what might seem normal and joyful in one culture might be unbearable or unfavorable in another.

Understandably, celebrating outside the family or religious events seems abstract to a Muslim; moreover, the contents of the festivals and celebrations must be according to their beliefs. For this reason, Fanon and Azoulay were informed that none of the activities, games, or social events provided for European women's wards are applicable to Muslim men's wards. Therefore, it would have been necessary to take inspiration from reality for organizing daily evening meetings.

When it comes to writing or reading, one must remember that during Fanon'sFanon's works in Algeria, culture was more oral than written, and teaching was mainly carried out through speech (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 370). Instead of expecting the patients to read the books and participate in the hospital's monthly publications, one should use the Algerian culture as a model for how reading and listening are practiced. That was done by a storyteller who goes from village to village spreading news and stories from folklore.

As a result of taking into consideration all these aspects and cultural differences and reassessing the activities that he and his team provided for the Muslim men's wards, Fanon was required to reexamine the methods of ergotherapy that he had developed based on his practices with Tosquelles in Saint-Alban.

According to Fanon, arranging a patient' "readaptation" in a heavily industrialized western country is simple. This "readaptation" is much more challenging for Algerian Muslims, who live in a framework that is still feudal in many ways. There is no specialization for a man; he works the land (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 371).

Outside the major urban centers, he can sometimes perform rather rudimentary handicraft work. However, he dislikes working with wool or raffia because it is considered a feminine craft: women produce baskets and mats.

Fanon's new method of ergotherapy, designed especially for Algerian Muslim men, demonstrates how deeply he understood the cultural link between patients and their needs.

It proves therapeutically beneficial to these mentally ill patients to repair these broken links through valid social activities. In the case of men, it is essential to distinguish between the most general dispositions and those firmly rooted in a patient's personality. Thus, Fanon developed the method of ergotherapy through gardening in the hospital, where each patient was responsible for planting and tending the garden. This method was tested with patients who were delusional and patients with catatonia.

All you need to do is give them a shovel or a pickaxe to get them to work and start digging up the earth and hoeing without pushing them to do so. These peasants are close to the land; they are one with it.

Moreover, if you succeed in getting them hooked on a particular patch of land, in getting them interested in the yield gained from farming, then work will genuinely be a factor of re-equilibration; such ergotherapy can be embedded within a specific social activity. (Fanon & Azoulay, 1954, 371)

Fig. 35 Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital in 2017.

he mad person is 'foreign' to society. As a result, society decides to eliminate this "anarchic element" (Fanon, 1959, 517).

For this reason, the patient is declined, and he feels rejected. We proved this claim through the previous chapters that this rejection is even more profound inside the colonial social structure.

In colonial society, the native is rejected due to his "madness." However, this madness originates from society. Due to this "madness," society calls upon the psychiatrist in order to reintegrate the patient back into society. "The psychiatrist is the auxiliary of the police, the protector of society. Therefore, The doctor occupies a position between society and the patient" (Fanon, 1959, 517-518).

According to Fanon, the doctor's responsibility is to relink the patient back to society in such a way that the patient is not a peril to himself and his social environment. However, in a colonial society, the hostile is not the native but the colonizer. Therefore, the colonial society that caused the madness cannot be confronted nonviolently by the natives.

The acceptance or rejection of the colonial society for natives brings violence, trauma, and madness. Alternatively, to say with Fanon, the madness is the loss of freedom. As a result, returning to society may regenerate the madness, even when the patient is considered cured, after their release from the psychiatric hospital. Although, based on institutional psychotherapy and sociotherapy, it is impossible to isolate a patient from society.

It is undeniable that society plays a role in the development of a person's personality beginning in childhood. Therefore the importance of the interaction between one and society is inevitable. For one to become socialized, he must respond to his social milieu and accept that it influences him. Therefore, in a case of mental illness in a colonial context, the society can be created inside the hospital itself, which is sociotherapy.

By creating a society, we create an environment where ergotherapy can thrive. In fact, this form of creation is not physical; It is "atmospherical."

In Fanon's experiences, we confronted atmosphere several times and how his works were based on redefining the hospital's atmosphere and humanizing it.

Consequently, it is imperative to examine this concept in depth when claiming that Fanon's gardening ergotherapy was atmospheric.

SECTION THREE
RELINKING OF MAN TO HIS FELT BODY

We mentioned the word "atmosphere" above. Before proceeding with how humans relate to the atmosphere, we must clarify this notion.

This dissertation does not intend to offer a comprehensive explanation of the atmosphere. However, in order to clarify our understanding, we must study this extensive context associated with our concept.

The term comes from the Greek (ἀτμός=vapour and σφαῖρα=sphere).

In meteorology, it refers to the gaseous envelope surrounding the earth. The term was first used metaphorically in the eighteenth century to describe "the conditions under which real or imagined life might flourish.

Talking about the atmosphere is more related to how we perceive space rather than what we perceive (Francesetti & Griffero, 2019, 1).

However, speaking of "atmosphere" does not simply mean focusing on human emotions; in fact, "atmosphere" also implies an affective quality of (lived and non-geometrical) space. The general concept is that an atmosphere is an emotional space that involves one's body conceived more as felt (*Leib*) than as physical (*Körper*): therefore, an atmospheric approach emphasizes the body that we feel rather than the body that we see in the mirror, and we can only describe its atmospheric resonances from our first-person perspective (Griffero & Tedeschini, 2019, 2).

Therefore, while studying the atmosphere, man is not the one who is merely physically present but the one that experiences different feelings: the inner self.

We design buildings and cities in architecture and urban planning, affecting how "well" or "bad" people live. However, rather than referring to the building's construction status, we refer to the atmosphere of the living environment. Architecture and urban planning affect more than just people's living standards; people's sense of "attachment" to specific spaces acknowledges that.

"In general, it appears that good architecture fundamentally should offer a possibility of attunement, that is, a space of appearance consonant with people's actions and habits." (Pérez-Gómez, 2016).

To understand the atmosphere, one has to feel "something more" than just perceptions with the five senses, although this feeling can be triggered by multi-sensory outputs from the five senses as well.

The relation between one and the atmosphere he experiences is so strong that particular psychopathology[1] attempts to explain the clinical encounter more effectively through an atmosphere diagnosis, in which meanings transcend objective signs and symptoms are assessed in-depth (or even aesthetically)(Griffero & Tedeschini, 2019, 2). We will study this field shortly.

In summary, the notion of the atmosphere is applied in the humanities as a heuristic device to empirically research effects whenever an invisible effect seems to be disproportionately compared with its visible causes. It is crucial to pay attention to the vague and qualitative "something more" that one experiences—that is, when one should distinguish the expressive qualia and phenomenal nuances of appearing reality rather than its complex material reality. (Griffero & Tedeschini, 2019, 15).

The anti-reductionist (new) phenomenology of the felt body (*Leib*) developed by Hermann Schmitz considers feelings as atmospheres.

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1. Cf. Fuchs (2000, 2013), Musikther (2005), Debus and Posner (2007), Sonntag (2013), Costa et al. (2014), Ratcliffe (2013), Francesetti (2015), Paduanello (2015–2016), Francesetti and Griffero (2019), Griffero (2019a).

As a result, atmospheres exist discontinuously as quasi-things and authoritatively fill certain surfaceless spatial situations (Griffero & Tedeschini, 2019, 2).

Within the realm of atmosphere, we can describe the feelings we mentioned before, such as safety, alienation, or at home.

A HOME OR A HOUSE?

As humans, we take the space given to us for granted, and we live so naturally in this space that we do not give it a second thought. However, to understand terms such as "alienation" and "dislocation," we must understand how one lives and experiences the space.

We discussed the above terms in the chapter *The Colonial Architecture* concerning land, property, territory, and material forms.

Subsequently, we studied atmospherical ergotherapy for alienated patients by Frantz Fanon. In order to gain a deeper understanding of his works, we must develop these concepts further.

To begin, we can compare space to the concept of time in order to gain a better understanding of its quality. Similarly, mathematical time measured with a clock differs from the time we experience-sometimes time flies, and sometimes it goes slowly- geometric space is different from the space in which we live or what we call the experienced space. According to Bollnow, the mathematical space is based on its primary quality; "homogeneity" (Bollnow, 1963, 44).

In a mathematical space, all points are equal. Due to the lack of origins of the coordinates and for reasons of practicality, one can make any point as required in the origin of a coordinate system employing a simple shift. In other words, the quality of the position that a human being occupies in this space can be taken as an origin, and it is possible to alter this origin infinite times.

In the same way, no direction is considered superior to another. By employing a simple turn, any direction in space can be made into an axis of a chosen coordinate system (Bollnow, 1963, 18).

Human presence can be a part of the mathematical space, but it does not alter its essence since the mathematical space is predefined.

These characters contrast with what Fanon referred to as a space that cannot be isolated from the subjects experiencing it. This means that the space's quality is determined by how the subjects experience it. Therefore, that space's essence is dependent on the subjects' presence.

Therefore, we must distinguish mathematical space from "experienced space." Bollnow believes that the experienced space has a "distinct center" and "distinct axes" which are directly connected to the human body. In opposition to the mathematical space, the areas and locations of this space do not have pre-structured quality. This quality can be changed based on the experience in the space; the relationship between humans and this space alters the quality of the experienced space.

What one experiences in this space defines the quality of this space, and thus it is not stable. The experienced space given to humans is a closed space that can extend infinitely with experiences.

> Experienced space is not an area of neutral values. It is related to human beings by vital relationships, both supportive and obstructive in nature. (Bollnow, 1963, 19)

Thus, how to categorize this space is the result of the experiences that happen in this space by humans, and one cannot separate one from the other. Alternatively, as Minkowski[1] argues, we live our social and personal lives within the experienced space.

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1. Minkowski, Le temps vecu, p. 367 [p. 400].

According to Minkowski, "space cannot be reduced to geometric relations, relations which we establish as if, reduced to the simple role of curious spectators or scientists" (Minkowski, 1933, 367) .

The experienced space is a meaningful space with different meanings. These meanings are not stable but constantly changing based on the different locations of this space; as Bollnow believes, this space changes for the individual according to his specific state of mind (Bollnow, 1963, 21).

Nevertheless, it is essential to distinguish the characteristics of this space. To begin with, we must clarify this space's zero or the focal point. This zero point for Bollnow is "home."

Interestingly, Bollnow suggests that we must ask what makes the zero point so significant that it is man's deepest fulfillment to return to it. Moreover, in this way, we will find that a spatially expanded individual area replaces the mere unexpanded middle point with quite specific characteristics of its own. To which we 'return home and where we feel at home (Bollnow, 1963, 80).

Again, this zero point is not an axis like what we define in mathematical space, but the quality of human experiences shapes this point.

One must distinguish between this "home" and the location in time or his "present location." The former is where one can be at "ease." It is his constant resting point, where he comes back to, even if he goes on a mission. It is where he "belongs," the space in which human beings are rooted, and "in which he is rooted in space" (Bollnow, 1963, 119).

Home is not perceived as a physical location but rather as the central element of all spatial relationships (Bollnow, 1963, 56). Therefore, "home" is a place that is familiar to every human being.

The importance of "home" becomes more apparent when we think about it as a point from which one "derives" and willingly returns. Upon losing this home, man is at risk of becoming "uprooted" and homeless on earth since he has no special ties to any particular place (Bollnow, 1963, 120).

However, what lies outside this intimate space, is "foreign"; This is the opposite of home. Foreign is "strange." "Foreign' is always the 'other,' whatever contradicts our nature, disturbs us, and shocks us out of our sense of security.

> However, this foreign does not have to be some spatially distant realm; it reveals itself in its power to overcome us because it invades us even in our most sheltered areas.
> Even in one's own house, strange people and powers may intrude, and even our own lives may become strange to us. (Bollnow, 1963, 89)

When this "foreign" invades "home," one is alienated, the feeling of intimacy is taken away from him. There is a fascinating relationship between Bollnow's use of the word "Elend" and Fanon's title for the book, The Wretched of the Earth.

> The word 'Elend', which originally meant exile, where someone must go when driven out of his homeland, also means misery or wretchedness. (Bollnow, 1963, 88)

Continuing in the chapter *Distance[1]*, Bollnow addresses when we are no longer 'at home' in our homes, when our homes are foreign to us, when we have been denied direct access to the renewal of our own nature in this unsatisfying state of self-alienation, the image of our lost home appears in the distance. Then we realize that we have lost our way. Longing for the distance is a desire to return to our lost origins when life was still genuine (Bollnow, 1963, 92).

As a result, Bollnow argues that "home" is more about a state of mind and emotions rather than a physical location. One may not feel "at home" in their home or country; therefore, he feels alienated.

Nevertheless, the question is whether a man can recreate his home after it has been lost or taken from him. Bollnow contends that the fulfillment of man's nature depends upon the existence of such a center. Therefore, man must find a center for his space once more. He will create this center, consciously established within him, and defend it against external threats; therefore, he will not take it for granted (Bollnow, 1963, 92, 120).

What is a house in this context? "House" is where man dwells; he lives. This house can be a "home" for him. For Bollnow, dwelling requires a particular space where man grounds himself with special effort (Bollnow, 1963, 123).

However, for man to count this dwelling space as his home, he needs to feel at ease there; thus, this dwelling space must provide "security." Man must feel secure in this space from the outside, from the foreign. In order to protect himself against perils and strangers, man seeks a familiar space. Alternatively, as Zutt describes: "When the foreign approaches in a hostile and threatening manner, one seeks protection and security in the place where one finds familiar peace"[2] (Zutt, 1953, 184) ; this familiar space is home.

It is essential to find not only physical[3] but the aesthetical aspects that can bring "ease" or "security" to the man who now has merely a house but not a "home."

Undoubtedly, this "sacred" space does not summarize in an artificial built by man, such as a building, but one can find this ease in nature, on a mountain peak, or inside a cave. To understand "safety" and "ease," we need to clarify the type of relationships between man and space or formulate an answer to Bollnow's question of "how space belongs to the nature of man?" (Bollnow, 1963, 254).

Nevertheless, Bollnow suggests that there is another viewpoint that explores this more deeply. Depending on whether we feel bound to a particular place as the one we belong to or if we are lost in it, the way we experience being in a particular space can be very different. It is possible to feel lost or sheltered in space, in unity with it, or unfamiliar with it. Therefore, there are different forms of being in a space and, thus, variations of the relationship with space (Bollnow, 1963, 256).

The creation of "home" thus becomes a decisive role for humankind. Therefore outward ownership of one's residence is not sufficient to provide a sense of security; rather, one's inner relationship with it fulfills this purpose.

Saint-Exupery, in his Citadelle, the 'city in the desert, notes that "the meaning of things changes according to the meaning of their home" (Saint-Exupery, 1948, 36).

It is, therefore, legible to say that the meaning of home as an experience space is different based on each individual's inner feelings. It can therefore be said that a home is an atmosphere.

Previously, while talking about the atmosphere we mentioned that atmosphere is related not to our physical body but to our felt body, the eelings such as being at ease or safety can be describe accordingly to this felt body. As a result, more attention must be paid to the felt body.

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1. Bollnow, O. F., 1963, Human space, p. 91-92.

2. Translation taken from Bollnow, O. F., 2011, Human space.

3. In the following pages of Human Space, Bollnow studies the characters of the house as doors, windows, and even their impact on how a man feels when experiencing them. The focus of this dissertation is not the objective characters of the house but rather the "atmosphere" in that man finds himself at ease when confronting it.

The categories of space distinguished by Bollnow have been examined so far. This allows us to differentiate between mathematical and "experienced space." Starting with Greek Geometry, Schmitz introduces both geometrically measureable spaces as well as spaces that are "surfaceless." Sound is an example of the latter. The signals regarding direction and distance related to the acoustic source are not the focus, but rather the space generated by rhythmic and tonal suggestions of motion generated by sounds such as stinging noise, fading echo, rise and decline of volume, pressure, and gyration, all of which can leap from the sound to people dancing and marching (Schmitz, 2016, 64).

What Schmitz calls surfaceless spaces are the ones we know of their lack of mathematical dimensions. Thus, we need to study them in different ways.

We must, however, ask why it is essential to study these spaces. We all agree that we, as human beings experience spaces as we are "in" them or as we go "through" them. Even though the quality of these spaces is different, we should not be lost in them, and we should not take the atmosphere coming with them as an unknown factor or if it is something completely unrelated to our present.

We experience these atmospheres mostly with our bodies, touch, see, and smell, creating an image resulting from these senses in our memories. Nevertheless, we need to go beyond that, and then we can address the experience of surfaceless spaces.

> The two most important types of surfaceless spaces are the space of the felt body and the space of emotions as atmospheres. The felt body refers to the "epitome of anything that a human being can feel as belonging to himself in the region—not always within the boundaries—of his body, without resorting to the five senses—taste, sight, touch, smell, and sound—and the perceptual body schema (i.e., the habitual perception of one's own body) gained through sensual experiences, especially through those of sight and touch. (Schmitz, 2016, 66)

The emotions, such as pain and feel like sorrow, along with the "embodied stirrings" and "embodied movements," all belong to the felt body. Still, one can experience them with one's physical body. "In the case of [embodied] stirrings of the felt body, we come across atmospheres for the first time" (Schmitz, 2016, 67).

Therefore, clarifying the relationship between the atmosphere and the felt body is necessary.

> An atmosphere is a complete or partial, in any case, a comprehensive occupation of a surfaceless space in the range of that which is experienced as present. I speak of "occupation" instead of "satisfaction" in order also to allow an atmosphere of emptiness. By saying "comprehensive," I want to point out that not plain single spots are occupied, but rather outspread fields that give room to quite a several spots. (Schmitz, 2016, 68)

Here, we can discuss the atmosphere of emotions. Although by taking the weather as an example, we can acknowledge that not all the atmospheres are emotional, Schmitz believes that the atmosphere of emotions belongs to the surfaceless space and claims to feel it.

He gives us an example of joy related to the freshness and actions that come with them.

However, the difference between the emotional and not emotional atmosphere "lies in how emotions are conceived by the felt body" (Schmitz, 2016, 70).

The human body, as well as animals, has the ability to turn emotions into actions. We should not mistakenly think of only the reaction that our body gives to the perils or dangers, such as quickly taking off our hand when close to the fire and we feel the burn.

> Since there are emotions that one never sees or hears, not even through visualization, while they, nevertheless, noticeably grip the felt body as in the case of being overwhelmed by an emotion of happiness or if drowned in depression or despair without any obvious reason. (Schmitz, 1977)

Human beings can transfer the atmosphere into the locational space or, saying, with Schmitz, "fabricate his very own emotional space by using the emotions made available to him in spaces" (Schmitz, 2016, 74). Thousands of years ago, cave dwellers began their journey toward villages and then into cities by listening to their physical needs and avoiding dangers, such as staying warm during the cold winter months or sleeping in a bed to have the best resting position for their bones, muscles, and other organs. We came to the concept of habitation by taking our needs into account.

In modern life, architecture mostly looks for these needs and shapes the building. It might be a matter of climate, the quantity, the density of the cities, the topography of the land, and in better cases, taking the living factors of the inhabitants, such as the disability of a family member or their choice of color into design account.

In master planning, we design one typology, and by building it in sequence, we produce the residential complex or urban units. Arguably, rather than letting architecture shape their lives, people must shape their lives into architecture.

Thus, this type of architecture asks people with different backgrounds, lifestyles, thoughts, choices, and "feelings" to use the same typology as a "house." Here we go back to Schmitz's critics of what we assume is a habitation.

> Habitation is more than the mere satisfaction of basic physical needs by walls that keep one safe from wind and weather; it is the art of capturing and cultivating those atmospheres that are emotions in order to enable one to bring his embodied condition into harmony with them. (Schmitz, 1977, 258–308)

Alternatively, to read it with different words, habitation is not just the answer to the body's physical needs but to finding the questions, needs, traumas, comforts, and other embodied emotions of the felt body and the ability to answer them by means or architecture.

Since it has shown that these atmospheres are designed to claim the space of felt presence with surfaceless occupation completely, such a space first needs to be localized for habitation to prevent the atmospheres from slipping away from human disposal. This purpose is met by establishing an enclosure that distinguishes between the home and that which is outside of it, nevertheless belonging to it as a contrast.

Habitation is the culture of emotions in an enclosed space. (Schmitz, 1977, 258–308)

This description does not only apply to what we call "home." However, that might be the finest form of it, but to all architectural creations and even urban plannings, in which human beings are directly involved.

In a similar but more harmless manner, the use of suggestions of motion and synesthetic characters on suitably designed objects leads to the shaping of atmospheres of emotions in the enclosed space of a home and to bringing the inhabitants and(or) visitors into harmony with these atmospheres. (Schmitz, 2016, 75)

In the architectural debate, a specific notion of atmosphere that considers the affective engagement employing the felt body has been introduced by Gernot Böhme, who has provided the first systematic elaboration of the topic (De Matteis, 2020, 2).

The experience of architectural space is fundamentally atmospheric, directly engaging different perceptions. Therefore, buildings are no longer described as visual art objects but as affording emotional involvement possibilities (Griffero 2019, 100), and the design process becomes an "aesthetic work" (De Matteis, 2020, 2).

To create such an atmosphere, nowadays, architecture considers factors such as different materials and their feelings, the presence or lack of natural light, and employing of sound or air. However, instead of creating a stage for the users and presenting the created atmosphere, the architectural design must be a form of "emotional reconstruction"[1] (De Matteis, 2020, 2). The former can be only the starting point for the latter.

For architecture to be in harmony with its users, especially in our focus area, where the users are mentally ill patients, architectural work needs to be shaped by their previous spatial experiences, and the body's emotional experience should guide the design process.

However, according to Schmitz, some emotional parts of the felt body remain in-depth and inaccessible, leaving the architects with no design materials. Nonetheless, one of the ways to reach out to the buried emotions and feelings is through recovering the past events, "memory."

MEMORY AND ATMOSPHERE

Before starting this chapter, we shall once more remember the works of Frantz Fanon in Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital and his main goal to recreate the relationship between the patients and their society through different methods of ergotherapy, especially gardening.

So far, we have acknowledged that one reason for the gardening method that made this method distinguishable was the harmony of the method, and patients felt body emotions and previous spatial experiences, such as farming. Here, we must, therefore, analyze the process of this relinking. One of the factors is remembrance through the felt body and memory.

Memory is generally understood to be accessible through phenomenological analysis, and new phenomenology can shed light on how memory operates. Furthermore, it is shown that atmospheres play a role both as content and as a trait of these processes (Griffero & Tedeschini, 2019, 5).

In "Atmospheres and Memory," Steffen Kluck examines the atmospheric qualities of memory and remembrance and inquires what kind of atmospheres are involved with states of remembrance. Kluck's main focus of the examination is Marcel Proust's and his detailed description of remembrance.

This study is essential due to the significant connection between emotions and memories. By speaking of emotions, one must think beyond just categorizing the emotions into "positive," "negative," or "neutral," as the realm of emotions is much more comprehensive. We already mentioned a part of this complexity concerning the felt body. Kluck, however, believes that emotions approach as atmospheres (Kluck, 2019, 192) Alternatively, according to Hermann Schmitz, there are holistic-atmospheric emotions that cannot be simply divided between the conscious subject and his encountering objects (Schmitz, 1969, 99).

One of the most famous descriptions of memory comes from Marcel Proust's *À la recherche du temps perdu*, when the protagonist remembers an episode of childhood memories with a familiar taste.

"The past is hidden somewhere outside the realm, beyond the reach of intellect […]" (Proust, 1913, 49-50).

Therefore, it is legible to say that two kinds of memories can be distinguished "intellectual, intentional memory on the one hand and random, passive memory on the other, with only the latter being vital and wholesome (Kluck, 2019, 193).

In Proust's writing, the protagonist addresses that he is not a causer of the memory; he is only the "transmitter," So the memory and its product for him was "unavailable" till the moment it happened. Proust believes that the occurrence and content of the actual memory are independent of the subject.

In his feelings, though, that is the experience for which Proust's introspective perspective likely aims, highly dynamic processes take place.

The protagonist is gripped by the memory immediately and in a way that is understandable to him, without the necessity of an accompanying physical manifestation. Although the gripping aspect of the event is characterized by its full dynamics, it is also characteristic of the gripping aspect to appear emotional and atmospheric (Kluck, 2019, 194).

The atmospherical and emotional part of the memory appears when the protagonist says, "exquisite pleasure" arises, "filling me with a precious essence" (Proust, 1913, 51).

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1. Peter Zumthor's architecture claims to be in line with this notion.

Here, he can not put the feelings that he is experiencing in merely "positive," "bad," or such categories, but what he is experiencing is what we call "something more," and here, in his case is when he confronts with the concrete memory of his childhood.

This form of memory is not intellectual or intentional, like when someone tries to remember an event. It is the memory itself that happens, and as Proust says, it is a "real state in whose presence the other states of consciousness vanished" (Proust, 1913, 51).

The memory is now a space that grasps the man and extends around him. Thus, we can follow Proust's definition of memory as a:

> partially unavailable, not intentionally causable incident that bodily grips a human, dis-
> plays itself through perceptible bodily dynamics, possesses atmospheric qualities, possibly
> features a distinct qualitative intensity, and initially appears holistic while only bringing
> along details as implicit components that first need to be explicated. (Proust, 1913)

Thus, man cannot recover these memories willingly and deliberately. Alternatively, Bollnow pointed out that A search for lost time [...] cannot be intentionally enforced by one's own will [...] The content of this memory can be expressed through the commonality of this indefinite mood that assembles the variety of ambient circumstances into a unified whole at any particular moment in one's life (Bollnow, 1956).

If we acknowledge that memories approach one as an atmosphere and emotions, we can admit that the felt body is engaged during the process of remembrance and memory.

However, we can distinguish between the atmosphere and its relationship to emotions and a simple felt space based on how Schmitz describes it:

> feature distinguishing emotions from different atmospheres within the space of felt pres-
> ence that is not emotions [...] lies in the way the grip evolves: If the grip is real, the one be-
> ing gripped first has to solidarize with the emotion, integrating it into his own vital drive.
> Only then can he undertake a personal way of dealing with the emotion by giving in to or
> resisting it. [...]
> This provisory frailness of the one being gripped concerning his emotion is missing entire-
> ly in case of the totally poured out atmospheres that are not emotions. (Schmitz, 2014, 37)

At this point, We know that one cannot recover a memory deliberately, but is this notion also valid for the atmosphere? Schmitz believes "not atmospheres themselves, but only the conditions for their occurrence can be "created"—thus one can only try to capture them by setting up the most suitable circumstances" (Schmitz, 2003, 243–261).

Therefore, by following Schmitz, we find a clear contact between atmosphere and memory. By taking the memory as an atmosphere, we should be able to wish for its occurrence.

Although one can try to be gripped by sorrow, joy, or other similar feelings in some particular circum-stances, but "he cannot actually enforce it" (Kluck, 2019, 201).

Alternatively, as Bollnow believes, "So there are [...] certain insights that a human, regardless of how much effort he puts into it, cannot enforce intentionally, but that only 'dawn' on him under certain suffi-cient circumstances" (Bollnow, 1956).

However, we must address the difference between memory and remembrance.

Remembrance is related to such past events that our brain has the availability to remember them willingly or according to Schmitz, "Remembrance differs from memories [...] in that its contents can usually be mobilized arbitrarily while memories require that they simply come to mind" (Schmitz, 1998).

Now we can conclude with how Kreuger summarizes the relationship between memory, emotions, and atmosphere:

> In a passage of time, memories first separate themselves from a diffuse directionality of
> emotions and then. Secondly, they always remain functionally controlled by it; by any
> means, they consistently stay more or less closely embedded in something emotional that
> fills the 'gaps' of the entire contents of experience and provides the 'background' for any-
> thing that possibly stands out. (Krueger, 1928, 20-21)

Therefore, some memories always remain dependent on a "mood-based" or "atmospheric background." Let us here debate the quality of "intellectual" or "Intentional" memory and "passive" memory, on the other hand. Intellectual memory allows an individual to recall past events freely; as a result, his brain is forming as memory has already passed through his filters, or he has the power to influence them even if he is unaware.

For instance, when one tries to remember a joyful ceremony, the brain shapes the events that he founds joyful. So he can collect the sequences of many events that took place at that time. However, the "true" memory, as Proust's protagonist calls it, is "more intense." They occur to man as a whole that man is help-less to shape or control them, or he cannot collect certain moments or episodes between them.

Thus "the content of the remembrance is more neutral than the material of the memory; it does not rely so much on subjectivity for its bearer" (Schmitz, 1998).

Let us discuss the method of TAT as one of the methods Fanon used in Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital once more.

Each cart shown to patients tries to fundamentally trigger the narrative in which one can expand him/herself and therefore "remembers" the memories that he or she is lingering on with. In a more successful outcome, it might be possible that the narrative gets used as an atmosphere where these patients' hidden memories may surface, whether they are connected to their trauma or not.

The importance of this narrative, as an atmospheric background is the reason the doctor or the nurse asked patients to describe what they see in each cart, not just name or point out the single elements illus-trated on the cards.

> The socioculturally shaped structures of meaning and signification of memories cannot be
> understood without paying attention to their often storylike form. To a large degree, mem-
> ories are part of the narrative mode of human thinking. (Kölbl & Straub, 2010)

It is now clear to us that if one is seeking to connect to such an atmosphere to work as a context for not just remembrance but the occurrence of memories, one must pay attention to many details. In this case, one of the many subtle elements for grasping such an atmosphere is undoubtedly the personal history of the subjects involved, the patient.

Nevertheless, for any memory occurrence, one's personal history has a significant place, as we know some memories remain dependent on the particular atmospheric background.

The concept of memory is interestingly extensive, although here, we must focus on memory as a visualizer of the felt body, the content, and the possible situation for the occurrence of the memory. Therefore, of all the complexities, we must know how to utilize the memory if it has been recovered.

However, we acknowledge that specific memories will be buried until their right time of occurrence, independent of our will to recover them.

THE RESONANCE OF SUFFERING

As we gain a greater understanding of the quality of memory and its rarity, we must ask what we should do with the feelings and emotions buried deep within the layers of the felt body that have now been brought to light. It is necessary to be aware of not only the procedure of occurrence of the memory but also the awareness of the resonance moment if we are to use the content of the memory and the emotions of the felt body as a material of the design process.

We must begin by returning to Fanon's approach, where he approved that the legible use of memory as a means of ergotherapy would be able to solve the deepest traumas.

Today's methods of clinical psychotherapy and psychiatry acknowledge that for diagnosing a patient, it is impossible to neglect the richness of the data produced by one's felt body or personal experiences. Therefore, diagnosing oneself as an isolated being is undoubtedly denying the man's relationship as the inner self and the atmosphere he is living in.

With the knowledge we have gained so far, by studying the notion of atmosphere, we can easily understand the failure of the method that studies a human being separately from his atmosphere. It is by this atmosphere that man finds his experienced space. If, as we agreed, man is unrepeatable from the atmosphere, how is it possible that his felt body is not affected by that? Therefore, all the emotions and feelings of the felt body, all the joy, suffering, and trauma that one experiences, have to be studied in relation to an atmosphere that he has experienced.

Consequently, one method of overcoming the approach of considering man as an isolated being is to observe how subjects interact with one another and their environment and how artificial it is to separate them from each other and the environment in which they live: an isolated individual does not exist.

In fact, Gestalt Therapy has been characterized by such a position (Perls et al., 1951).

Common sense believes that only certain things exist in our living environment: in our world. In his book, *Technic and Magic: The Reconstruction of Reality,* philosopher Federico Campagna believes that if we change the ground of this common sense, the world will also change with it.

Therefore, there is not one world, but he speaks of "world-makings" as an activity that civilizations have done for many years. According to Campagna, the world is a beautiful order of our perception from the unordered. It is a cosmos that humankind has to create to be able to survive. Therefore, homogeneity is given to human beings, from which by ordering the perceptions and making the connections between them, human beings can create their worlds (Campagna, 2021).

In this act of world-making, people who have similar perceptions, or by making "rules," can synchronize with mutual perceptions, make civilizations. There are different ways of perception; therefore, there are different civilizations.

The allowance of the presence of certain elements within this world emerges from the perceptions of the makers. Thus certain civilizations believe in the presence of ghosts, gods, and energies. However, Campagna believes that metaphysically, all created worlds are equally legitimate. We cannot judge these worlds ethically or logically because the notions as such only come after the creation of the world, not from the prior.

This act of world-making, although, does not always relate to a vast, extensive creation, but as Campagna believes, human beings go through the world ending(s) many times: one example of that is the "transmitting from the childhood to adolescence" (Campagna, 2021). Therefore, the world's end is when specific rules and orders will not work anymore.

In the modern world today, one of the certain parameters that almost all civilizations agreed on is that the people who want to live in a certain physical area, such as a city or country, have to live under the rules that are enacted by the vast majority of the populations, these are what we call "law."

Therefore people with no mutual form of world-making cannot live together, as these ways of creating may interfere with each other.

Going back to the notion of atmosphere, we know that the atmosphere approached us as known and unknown, familiar and foreign, and it is the whole, yet to be defined. Thus, if we extend Campagna's act of world-making, we could say that the atmosphere is the same homogeneity form, from which, by ordering our perceptions in a tangible way for us, we make our world. It is essential to acknowledge that this world-making also involves our felt bodies.

In this context, we could understand the psychotic experience:

> People who have psychotic experiences live in the atmospheric, in the glowing hot crucible
> from which subject and world struggle to emerge without managing to. The drama here
> lies in the anguish of a separate world that fails to be constituted and the lack of a language
> to convey the experience in communicable terms.
> The artistic and poetic capacity of those with psychotic experiences also lies in the intense
> struggle between the unspeakable and the urge to speak: madness is thus seen here as the
> unfortunate companion of poetry. (Béguin, 1939)

Therefore, we could say that mental illness generally emerges from the lack of ability to find an accurate perception of the homogeneous or the struggle to create a world from an atmosphere. Therefore, it raises the absence of a mutual, sharable language.

Alternatively, the mentally ill patients rather struggling with making a world essentially, or the world they have created is different from other members of their society. According to the law, they need treatments to synchronize with the other members.

Now, circling back to the concept of remembering and memories, especially for patients experiencing mental illness, we understand that the content of the memory is indeed the experience of the felt body but a hint of how one who is suffering, struggles to create his world.

Therefore the form of the memory brought to the therapy session is directly connected to what one bears. "To suffer, from the Latin *sufferre* (from *sub,* "from below," and *ferre*, "to bear") means to bear upon oneself" (Francesetti, 2019, 228).

However, our initial question still needs to be answered. Now, we are aware that the significance of memory lies not only in its rarity but also in its potential as a therapeutic tool. How can we use it as a medium, as Fanon did with gardening ergotherapy?

According to Francesetti, in therapy, bringing to light this deepest emotional parts is not simply reiterating past events without meaning, but rather by utilizing present opportunities to bring to light an unformulated, hence unassimilated, experience that has never been articulated in any relationship and has remained unformulated as an absence in the flesh of the patient, persisting to the present (Francesetti, 2019, 229). Reaching out to memories aims to re-use them in a way that emerges from the past or offers a tangible way of making a new world.

To put it another way, a mentally ill patient is the one who, due to the lack of mutual language, cannot create a world from the holistic atmosphere given to him, or the world that he created is essentially different from the people with whom he is sharing a living space.

Through the passing of time, this trauma, in the form of pain and suffering, becomes a memory that lingers on in his felt body, out of reach. By creating a bridge, the therapist recovers a background that leads the patient to the initial atmosphere from which the memory can surface. The moment the memory is available, the therapist repairs the chain of suffering by helping the patient find a new way of world-making: a new language close to common sense.
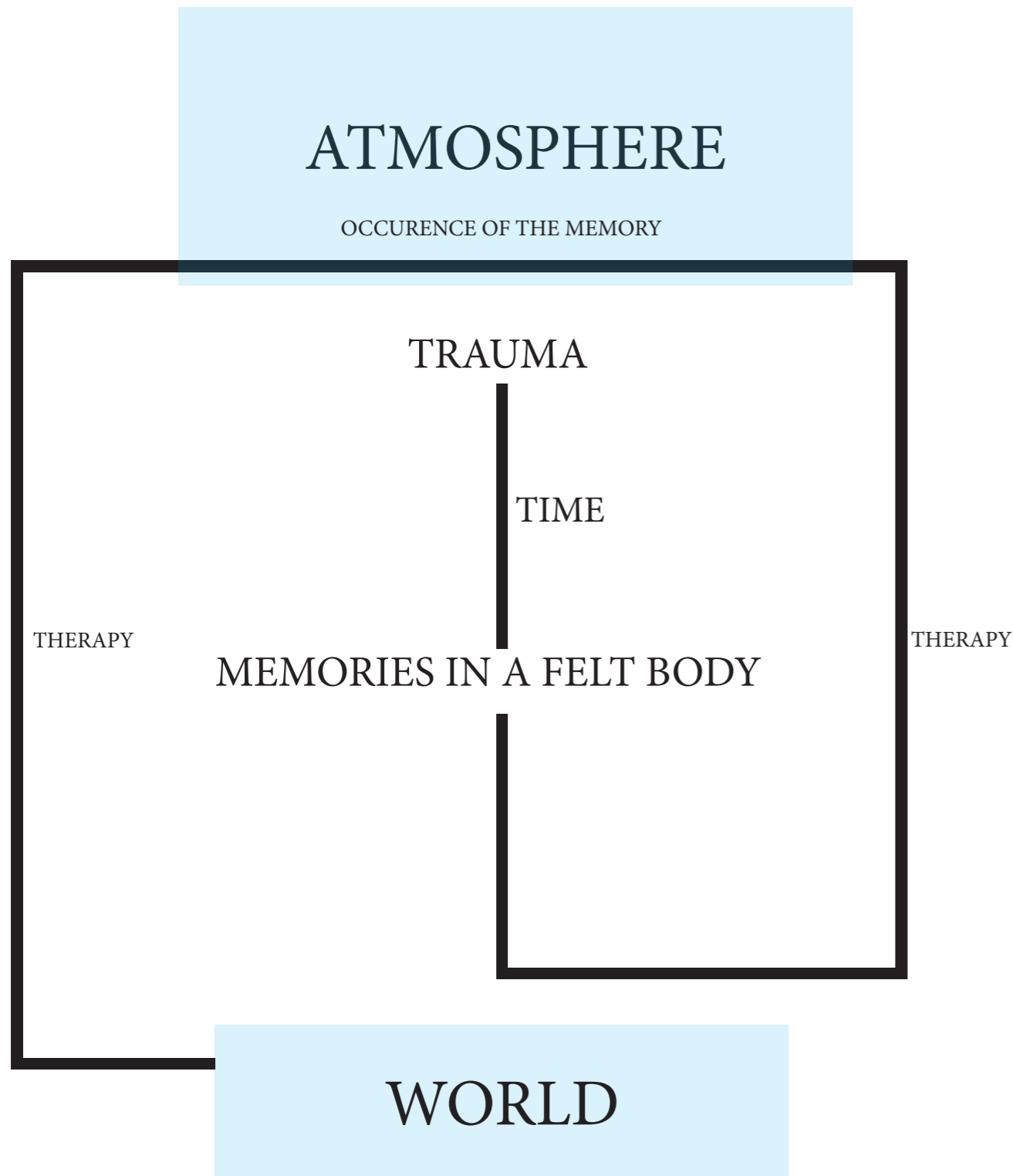
ATMOSPHERE

OCCURENCE OF THE MEMORY

TRAUMA

TIME

THERAPY

MEMORIES IN A FELT BODY

THERAPY

WORLD

Fig. 36 According to Campagna's theory, the diagram describes the relationship between the patient and therapist.

In his film, *The Whispering of Ghosts 2018*, Mohamed Bourouissa directly contacts one of the patients from Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital, Bourlem Mohamed, who came after Fanon and was influenced by Fanon's sociotherapies heritage. Bourlem Mohamed was a Fellagha (a freedom fighter in the anti-colonial Algerian War).

In 1969, when he was under therapy in Blida-Joinville, he started to work on the gardening area that Fanon, for the first time, established in the hospital.

Bourouissa talks to Mohamed inside the hospital and asks him to describe his activities from when he was a patient. The relationship between Bourlem Mohamed and Bourouissa goes beyond questions when he starts to talk about his life while taking steps in the hospital yard.

While telling this story, Mohamed mentions the time he was tortured to almost death and starts laughing. "This remembrance was unbearable for him," Bourouissa says; thus, he took refuge in his laughings. However, along with the pain, Mohamed remembers his relationship with the plants he worked on in the hospital. "He had an opposite relationship with the plans with what he had with the society," Bourouissa mentioned (Bourouissa, 2022). Employing the ergotherapy method, he reformed his pain and trauma into his garden.

"I put him as my teacher," Bourouissa continues, then he recovers his garden or at least the garden he remembers as a 3D model, this time with Bourouissa's help. Inspired by this model, Bourouissa built the Resilience Garden in Liverpool Biennial.

There are various layers in this short video that one can think of by watching it over time. We might as well point out the fascinating aspects of Bourouissa's work concerning our concept.

Therefore, we must discuss the work of Bourouissa based on the form of architectural production that we studied in this dissertation. We started by claiming that architecture must be the reconstruction of emotions. The emotions lingering in the felt body may be accessible through the memories, and for memories to occur, we need the most appropriate circumstances.

Therefore, the architectural process starts with an atmosphere that already grasps the felt body.

Bourlem remembers the pain he experienced while in the hospital atmosphere again. For him, being at the hospital once more is the atmosphere through which he recovers his memories, approaching him as emotions. Then Bourouissa uses Bourlem's memories to create his garden. During this dynamic process of resonance and remembering, Bourouissa creates a form of architecture that we mentioned before as an "aesthetical work."

Although the work of Bourouissa is an echo of Bourlem's natural garden, the architecture is the original garden is a product of a felt body in its most legitimate form.

Therefore, the architect's role and the design process's form are more apparent now. If we go back to the position of the therapist and the patient and compare it to the position of Bourlem Mohamed and Bourouissa, the similarity becomes more clear.

As a farmer whose land is taken from him, Bourlem Mohamed's architecture, a practice that is the product of his felt body, is the garden where he can set order to all its elements.

To conclude, the design process is a dynamic action between the architect and one whose design is formed from his emotions. Each time that memory occurs, the architect must use it as a material for design. Consequently, the result would be an exclusive form profoundly connected to the person and his felt body.

Fig. 37 Resilience Garden, 2018, Liverpool Biennal.

CONCLUSION

Starting from the different forms of violence and social disorders, we acknowledged that architecture, like any other cultural creation, is affected by social events. The responsibility of architecture is arguably more than other social and cultural artifacts. The reason for that, as we mentioned in the dissertation, is that architecture, especially during times of war, must provide safety and ease. Moreover, it shaped the dwelling space where man must feel sheltered from the foreign.

We must now read Fanon's works in Blida-Joinville Psychiatric Hospital once again. However, this dissertation acknowledges that for the sake of time and clarity of the concept, it is only possible to study all of the ergotherapy methods that Fanon employed in Blida-Joinville hospital.

Like Fanon's personality, his works on society, psychotherapy, and politics are complex, and one can study his works in several different ways.

Nevertheless, this dissertation proposes a new viewpoint on Fanon's ergotherapy in Blida-Joinville as it relates to architectural creation as an aesthetical work. Undoubtedly, this knowledge is a drop in the ocean, however, it may shed light on Fanon's valuable works from a different perspective.

In our study, we criticized the generalizing of the architectural design process, which we use to design mass and general planning in our modern architecture.

We demonstrated that architecture is fragile and easily replaceable without considering the needs, emotions, traumas, and other requests of the felt body. Therefore, we must consider architecture as something other than merely a physical creation.

Furthermore, in line with Zumthor and Böhme, we addressed that architecture must be the reconstruction of emotions. To reach out to these emotions, we must go beyond just our physical bodies and look up to the felt body in which the definitions such as safety, ease, and home lie. One way to connect to these emotions is by using the memory in a narrative form.

Let us conclude the study by comparing this form of the architecture design process and ergotherapy.

As mentioned before, sociotherapy, known today as institutional psychotherapy, creates a therapeutical space for socially and clinically alienated patients by getting them involved in group activities.

As a result of engaging with this atmosphere, the felt body has the potential to remember emotions and traumas and utilize them in a new cycle of sociotherapy. Alternatively, in other words, the atmosphere in which sociotherapy positions the patient is the context in which he can recover his emotions, feelings, and trauma.

However, we already acknowledged that despite a strong effort from one's self, his therapist, or others, some memories and emotional feelings remain out of reach. Therefore, we must accept that neither architecture nor other forms of cultural production can create a space entirely shaped by the needs of the felt body.

Even though each step that we take towards such a design process, the architecture carries more sense of belonging to it. On the other hand, when architecture moves toward economic interest and becomes a problem of quantity and physical construction, it is inevitably replaceable and removable.

In this regard, we understand fully why colonial architecture, despite all its possible physical "developments," remains foreign to its context. For the native who dwells in this architecture, it is, at most, a house, not a home. As a result, the architecture did not reconstruct the zero point that represents man's deepest

fulfillment and to which he returns because it lacks a sense of attachment.

Nevertheless, if we consider architecture as an aesthetic creation, the design process should be viewed as a dynamic process between the architect and the person who will live the design, similar to the relationship between a therapist and a patient. Therefore, the modern debate on atmospheric architecture, in which the usage of a particular material, the presence or absence of natural light, creates a space for dwellers, is not enough to name it the architecture of the felt body. However, it can be a starting point from which the dynamic design process starts.

By showing the conflict in a soccer game between Algeria and France years after the Algerian liberation, Bourouissa reminds us that trauma lingering on in the (felt)body or the "open wounds" is not solely about the past but lingers deep in our felt bodies and awaits to stand out in a triggering atmosphere, whether in the past, present of the future.

First, according to this concept, we can reinforce our claim regarding the instability of colonial architecture. By knowing that, we acknowledge that the felt body rejects what it is in profound conflict with during time.

Second, what this dissertation is proposing relates to more than just a particular historical time. If we expand the concept of the architecture of the felt body, we begin to think about different answers to our contemporary architecture's problematical question. Such as considering an old building to be renovated, left as a ruin, or turned into a new construction site. The factor for these decisions cannot be generalized. Furthermore, finally, we should reconsider the whole concept of general planning in which authentic residential units are produced in high quantities and occupied by persons with different lifestyles and backgrounds.

We must abandon our dreams and say farewell to our old beliefs and former friendshis, we must make a new start, develop a new way of thinking and endeavor to create a new man. (Fanon, 1961)

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Fig. 5 Courtesy of Michel Cornaton.

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Fig. 18 a-b Farnoosh Namaziyan.

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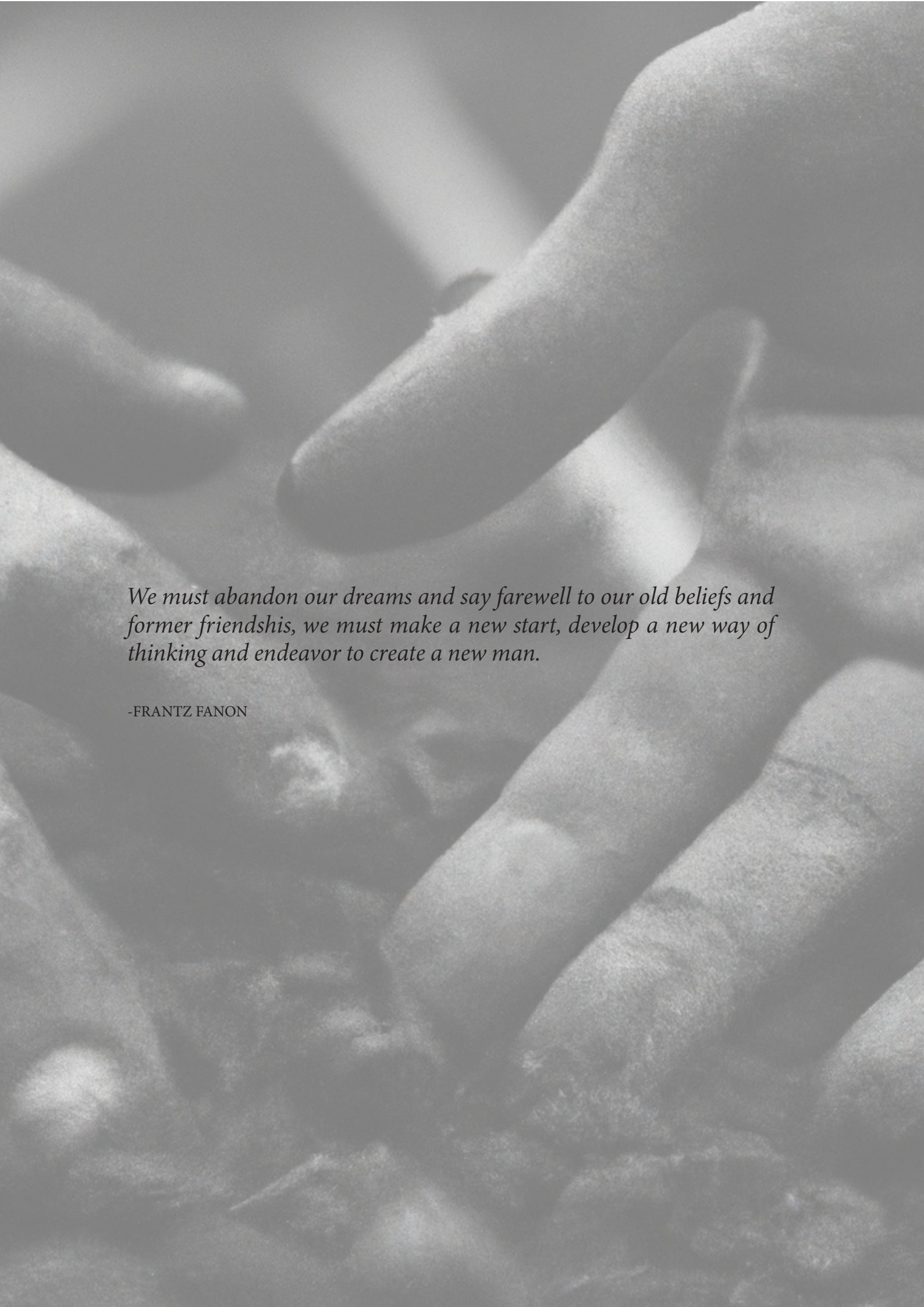
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-FRANTZ FANON