



Examples of Some French Ethnographic Studies on Algerian Society During The Colonial Period (Eurasian Society As A Model)

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Abstract

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Ethnography created a source of anxiety for France when it prepared the project to occupy Algeria. The project was built on ethnographic and sociological studies carried out by men of scientific missions and travelers, in which French orientalist made great efforts to study Algerian society and get to know its various components since they first set foot on the land of Algeria. The exploratory process of the Algerian social reality by the French army was based mainly on field investigation and observations. The form of investigation dominated French ethnographic research in Algeria, and resorting to such ethnographic investigations was dictated by the urgent need for information and data about Algerian society so that the appropriate strategy could be set that would allow for total control. Finally, this study reveals the reality of French ethnographic studies in Algeria, in addition to the purpose of the huge number of these studies, most of which serve the French settlement project in Algeria.

Sömürge Döneminde Cezayir Toplumunu Üzerine Bazı Fransız Etnografik Çalışmalarından Örnekler (Model Olarak Avrasya Toplumunu)

Özet

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Etnografi,
Cezayir Toplumunu,
Fransız Etnografisi,
Fransız Ordusu

Etnografya, Cezayir'i işgal etme projesini hazırlayan Fransa için bir endişe kaynağı oluşturdu. Proje, bilim adamları ve gezginler tarafından yürütülen etnografik ve sosyolojik çalışmalar üzerine inşa edildikten sonra, Fransız oryantalistler Cezayir topraklarına ilk ayak bastıkları andan itibaren Cezayir toplumunu incelemek ve çeşitli bileşenlerini tanımak için büyük çaba sarf ettiler. Cezayir toplumsal gerçekliğinin Fransız ordusu tarafından keşif süreci esas olarak saha araştırması ve gözlemlere dayanıyordu. Bu araştırma biçimi Cezayir'deki Fransız etnografik araştırmalarına hâkim olmuştur ve bu tür etnografik araştırmalara başvurulması, Cezayir toplumu hakkında acil bilgi ve veri ihtiyacı tarafından dikte edilmiştir, böylece tam kontrol sağlayacak uygun strateji belirlenebilir. Sonuç itibarıyla bu çalışma, Cezayir'deki Fransız etnografik çalışmalarının gerçekliğini ve çoğu Cezayir'deki Fransız yerleşim projesine hizmet eden bu çalışmaların büyük miktarının amacını ortaya koymaktadır.

INTRODUCTION

European colonialism invested in the humanities, especially its branches, which some called colonial sciences, headed by the dangerous trinity: anthropology, ethnography, and ethnology. Its armies did not storm the walls of our countries until the research teams in these sciences had completed their research and placed before every officer in the Ministries of Interior and War their cognitive output in those sciences, which deeply dissected Algeria and penetrated our idle minds, our outdated mentalities and our superficial religiosity full of rituals devoid of virtues and knew all our follies, thus facilitating the work of the colonial war machine to tighten control over us and ourselves with unparalleled enthusiasm and dazzling foolishness.

1. THE PROBLEM

To what extent can French ethnographic studies in Algeria be considered to have achieved the desired goal and been able to penetrate Algerian society to integrate it into Western civilization?

2. COLONIAL SCIENCES (ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY, ETHNOGRAPHY)

2.1. Anthropology or Human Science:

It is one of the modern sciences and has several branches, of which we are concerned here with cultural anthropology, which studies human beliefs and the systems on which societal structures are based. Some enthusiasts claim that their research in this field can lead them to establish general laws about humans in society, through which an applied science can be created, similar to how European colonialism applied its principles to individuals in its colonies." In this context, he "monitors" several behavioral traits, all of which are unfortunately extremely negative, and then projects them onto all members of the society under his "anthropological" study, such as harshness of temper, limited intelligence, laziness, and fanaticism...In the end, these "flaws" are summarized in expressions of contempt and insult, such as the expressions (Bougnole and Ratton), which the Arabs (the sons of North Africa) know well and are still used against their communities in France. But the most dangerous of them is what the general population uses against each other in the form of name-calling, which anthropology exploits to ignite the fire of discord between clans and regions, and that is why we call it colonial anthropology. (Agoun, 2014)

2.1.1. Ethnology

The science of human races. It is concerned with the ethnic and racial aspects of peoples, their racial, cultural, and economic characteristics, as well as the movement and migration of peoples, their spread and distribution, their languages, customs and traditions, and even their shortcomings. (Agoun, Al-Hewar Al-Mutamadinun, 2014)

It is the science of describing races, which is a branch of anthropology, its field is the descriptive study of the ways and methods of life of a race, society, or people. During the colonial periods, this science was interested in peoples under occupation, which it placed in the category of primitiveness, and it researched their folklore, their contradictions, their sectarian and tribal warring tendencies, and issues such as revenge and name-calling or insulting phrases. Ethnography comes from two Greek words: Ethnos, meaning race, and Grapho, meaning description or image. In this context, it is worth noting the need to differentiate between anthropology, ethnology, and ethnography, as they are sciences that are concerned with humans and intersect in many aspects, and in dealing with them as a social being with a culture to the point that some people can barely differentiate between them. Many people believe that anthropology is the same as ethnology due to the overlap of their fields of study on the same subject. To clarify the differences and eliminate ambiguity, the fields and subjects of study for each discipline become evident. (Agon, Colonial Sciences, Anthropology, Ethnography, Ethnology, 2014)

Through what we have reviewed from the definitions of the three sciences, we can clarify the relationship between these three sciences. Anthropology is the complete science of man, and ethnology is the science that specializes in studying peoples, while ethnography is the description of the people themselves. However, this relationship remains in its theoretical aspect only because in many cases, especially in the field, these sciences go beyond their methods and goals, and we see them overlapping with each other. Many researchers include ethnography and ethnology as

the only stages that end with anthropology, as the scientist in the anthropological specialization often uses ethnography as a descriptive study of events and uses ethnology when describing and comparing human groups. While researchers specializing in social sciences believe that anthropology and ethnology are two sides of the same coin, meaning one science with two different names. (Carette, 1849).

3. FRENCH ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES ON ALGERIAN SOCIETY

French anthropological researchers contributed to supporting the colonial system with their theories in Algeria through studies and research that confirm the heterogeneity of Algerian society. Most of their research focused on the Berber (Amazigh) element, to the point that Gabriel Camps almost asserts that there are no peoples whose origins have been subjected to research by diligence and fabrication as much as the Berbers. (Akli, 2004) The exploratory missions came as a first stage of a pragmatic physical geographical nature, and in this regard comes the famous study of "Emile Carette" (Carette.E) on the Kabylie region, which reached forty volumes, concerned with the specificities of the Berber language, its relations with geographical diversity, and describing the demographic aspect in its social structure, specifying its distribution and density.

This outlines the objectives of these missions and studies across three axes: the scientific, which involves demarcating borders and divisions and understanding the earth's surface; the economic, which focuses on trade exchanges and labor aspects; and the socio-political, which aims to explore the political conditions and social relationships within Algerian society. (Akli, 2004) We also find the study of each of Hanoteau and Le Tourneux, which focused on the Kabylie region and its customs in 1868 before the great uprising of the leaders Al-Muqrani and Al-Haddad, and this study is considered one of the most important and largest colonial studies that Algeria knew during the colonial era, and its importance lies in two things, the first is that it aimed to describe social facts through analysis. The precise details of customs, traditions, and popular habits, then came later studies by other orientalist known for their dedication and anthropological work in the field, and the most famous of them was the French orientalist, Emile Masqueray. (Saadallah)

3.1 French orientalist Emile Masqueray

A French orientalist, historian, and sociologist, he came to Algeria in November 1872 and was appointed a professor of history and geography at the Algiers High School in the capital. At this stage, he submitted a request to Mr. Emile le Vasseur, a member of the Higher Institute of Education, to intervene on his behalf by carrying out a scientific mission to the Aures region and the Mzab Valley. His argument for this was that these regions were of great importance from a scientific point of view, and also served colonial policy on the other hand. His trips to the Berber regions were later as follows: the Aures from 1875 to March 1878, and in Mzab in 1878, and the Kabylie region in January-May 1881. (Brahim, 1998) He is considered one of the university professors who were interested in the colonial problem from its academic scientific perspective, especially in the historical period in which his studies appeared. They realistically reflect the concerns of the French administration in the field of organizing the relationship between the locals and the colonial authority, and they can be classified as one of the most important studies that constitute the academic field of study within the framework of studies. The accomplished quality about Algeria, and Emile Mascari is the person who gave more than anyone else to the academic study of Algerian society's prestige and legitimacy. He wrote a historical book in 1886 entitled (E.Daumas, 1845.)

Most of his notes in this book were taken from (Duveyrien) about the desert cities. The French orientalist Jacques Berque says about him: He had great credit in completing many of my research, due to his importance in highlighting the three Berber societies, and his examination, analysis and monographic type of them, but he did not approve of him in the convictions he mentioned in his book, especially his comparison of North African societies to ancient Italian societies.

Thanks to him, French Orientalism was able to know the social composition of the Berbers after he had lived and gotten to know them in the Aures, Kabylia, and Beni Mzab. He did everything in his power to possess Algeria for France, not by the sword or the plow, but by science, the word, and his writings. What confirms this to us is that he once wrote in the Blue Magazine in 1876 "la Revue Bleu", a political magazine, "If we want Kabylia to become

French within two generations, let us put a teacher in each tribe." (A. Bernard, 1894, Vol 38,) In comparison to the great works that Masqueray presented, his colleague Auguste Bernard wrote a long article about him in the African Magazine in which he narrated the man's history and listed his virtues. He concluded his article by saying: that Masqueray served Algeria with all his strength through his writings and his education. Masqueray believed that science and high intellectual culture would have a place and a role in Algeria... Masqueray stands on the same level as the French officers and administrators who served in Africa. Among the ethnographic studies, Émile Masqueray completed is his study of the throne of or the tribe of Oulad Daoud in the Aures, marked with: (NOTE: concernant les Oulad Daoud mont Aurè).

Masqourai traces back to Berber origins that lived on the banks of the Oujana River, where he mentioned that it is one of the mobile tribes that travel in its pace, speaks Chaoui and its origins go back to the character (Burke) whose affiliation was not specified, some of whom traced him back to Roman origins and others Jewish, while some went to consider him Arab, and he mentions that he married twice, and had 9 children from whom the branches and thighs of the tribe were formed. Masqourai mentions that the sons of Dawoud do not differ in their customs and traditions from their brothers and neighbors from the sons of Abdi, and they also have some customs taken from Judaism, as well as some celebrations borrowed from Christianity, as Masqourai noted that the sons of Dawoud put a cross tattoo on their hands, and they also have less white color compared to their brothers the sons of Abdi. (masqueray, alger,1878) Among the studies that Masqourai also conducted on the Aures is a study published in the African magazine under the title Le Djebel Chechar Jebel Chechar (currently Khenchela), In it, he discussed the history of the region and mentioned the most important tribes and clans that make up this region. We mention them in order: Béni Barbar, Oulad Sultan, Nememcha, Oulad Khiar. It is noticeable through this study of Sakray that he traced the history of the region and its tribes and clans since ancient times. He did not stop there, but he also recorded their various practices, such as medical practices. In this regard, he specifically says: They all practice the art of medicine, often successfully...

He adds: A Sheik from the Aures told me that after his arm was broken by a gunshot, he was transferred to a French hospital, where they wanted to amputate it due to the seriousness of the injury, but the sheik refused and returned to his tribe There, he went to his doctor in the region, who did a lot for him, so that he recovered very quickly without any complications, and became in good health. On this, everyone agrees that they are skilled in the art of medicine, especially surgical operations such as the skull trepanation (trépanation du crane). (Coquet, 1936).

4. THÉRÈSE RIVIÈRE AND GERMAINE TILLION'S JOURNEY TO THE AURES

4.1 Thérèse Rivière (1901-1970)

Is the sister of Georges-Henri Rivière, who was then deputy director of the Trocadero Museum of Ethnography. Thérèse Rivière is one of the first generation of professional French ethnographers. She left little writing and her career as an ethnographer was interrupted shortly after the war by illness. She was appointed head of a mission by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures and left for two years in December 1934 to the Aures, accompanied by Germaine Tillion.

She worked at the Museum of Ethnography at the Trocadero, then at the Musée de l'Homme, where she headed the "White Africa and the Orient" department. She specialized in ethnographic objects, Neolithic excavation materials, and sound recordings, and her twenty field notebooks, drawings, films, and photographs greatly contributed to the introduction of the Aures region. Since anthropologists are in dire need of ethnology to achieve their goals, which are represented by accurate scientific results, we find that the colonial authorities of Algeria allowed some researchers to study the ethnic origins of Algerian society, for the purpose of understanding and rebuilding it. Among the French women who were assigned to conduct anthropological studies on some Algerian regions were the anthropologist and ethnographer Thérèse Rivière and the ethnologist Germaine Tillion, who after the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, based in London, decided to conduct a mission in the Arris region in 1934, at the suggestion of Henri Laborit, head of the ethnology department and professor of Sudanese languages at the National School of Modern Oriental Languages and African Civilization of the Colonial School in Paris, in collaboration with the German linguist Diedrich H. Westermann from the University of Berlin.

This task was divided between the two researchers, knowing that “Thérèse” hated writing, She had decided from the beginning to specialize in technical studies and to pay attention to everything material. Therefore she conducted investigations on the techniques of crafts and social professions of the Aures people. When she noticed that “Mattia Gaudry” had addressed them in her topic “The Chaoui Woman in The Aures” and that it was unreasonable to repeat a thesis on the same subject, she headed to study a series of tools used in the daily life of the Aures accompanied by a series of photographs to be displayed later in the Museum of Man, while also commissioning Germaine Tillion to complete a thesis on the social organizations of the Berber population. (others, 2017) In her study of the region, Ghreina Abdel Nour mentions in her doctoral thesis that he found in one of the documents preserved in the French archives overseas a report that she sent to Governor General Jacques Soustelle in February 1955, in which she stated that she had devoted a section in her work, which was seized by the German police during the Nazi invasion of France, to the titles and names of the Chaouis. Regarding kinship, she mentioned in her report that the Chaouis are closer to the primitive Celts than to the Roman families. Tion tried to study the tribal and family organizations, or what is called in the Chaouis (tariqah), which means the group, or what is called in other regions (the companionship), which is the group with the same kinship that descends from the same closest ancestors.

In 1940, the Museum of Man contained 857 pieces and several thousand photographs that were returned by Therese Rivière and several hundred pieces from Germaine’s missions. As for her 1,500 photographs, she kept them at home. They recovered audio recordings and film that had been abandoned in the museum's basements and therefore unusable. As for Thérèse Rivière's photographs, Fanny Colonna used some of them in her work, as did Germaine. (Ghreina, 1962) The results of the mission were presented at the Musée de l'Homme in an exhibition entitled The Aures on 28 May 1943. Jacques Foblé was then in charge of the exhibition, at that time Thérèse was suffering from illness, and Germaine Tillion had been arrested and imprisoned in Fresnes prison before being deported to Ravensbrück where she was released in 1945. The exhibition, organized in three parts, featured many objects and photographs: the first focused on (terraced fields and collective irrigation devices) through photographs and drawings, the second on techniques (objects and photographs showing the stages of use and production), and the last on social organization (with shots of events: weddings, sowing, circumcision, etc.) (DJOGHLAL)

4.1.1 Researcher Germaine Tillion during the Liberation Revolution

She was born on May 30, 1907, in Allègre in the village of Haute-Loire in France and moved to Paris in 1919 where she continued her higher education at the Louvre School at the Sorbonne University. After 1925, she took a direction that would guide her entire life as a researcher in the humanities when she began studying ethnology. She graduated from the Institute of Ethnology in 1932 and was assigned a scientific research mission with her colleague “Thérèse Rivière” who was also recruited for this mission in the Aures of Algeria by “Marcel Mauss”, and they settled in the “Aris” region on the slopes of Mount “Lahmar Khedou”. (Sarah Frioux-Salgas et Carine PeltierCaroff, 2015)

She died on April 19, 2008, at the age of 101 in her home in Saint-Mandé. Recently, many files and wonderful works have been dedicated to this exceptional woman. Germaine Tillion trained in ethnology and orientalism under Marcel Mauss and Louis Massignon and spent a long time among the Chaouia tribes of the Aurès region from 1934 to 1940. When she returned to Paris, France during the war, she became involved in the Resistance in 1940, playing an important role in the work of what would later be called the “Museum of Man” network. She was arrested, after a conviction, in 1942, imprisoned in Fresne, and deported in October 1943 to Ravensbrück, where she lived and witnessed horror for fifteen months. After the war, she tirelessly investigated the crimes of Nazism and Stalinism and participated with David Rousset in the International Committee against the Concentration Camp System in All Its Forms. Sent on a mission to Algeria after the 1954 revolution, she pledged to combat “homelessness” by establishing social centers aimed at serving the population once the French occupation of Algeria ended.

She conducted several surveys on the status of women in the Islamic world, taught at the École Praticale d'Etudes Aéroports, where she was appointed director of studies in 1958, and led a research team on Maghrebi societies (“Oral Literature, Dialects, and Ethnology in the Arab-Berber Region”) (Augstin Barbara, 2008). She was later commissioned by the colonial authorities in Algeria to study the economic situation in Algeria and was sent by François Mitterrand immediately after her return from New York after she had been on an official mission related to the crimes of the Russian-German war to Algeria, where she was asked to go to the Aures and submit an urgent

report on the economic situation there. As the Frenchwoman who knew the region best, having traveled to the Aures in 1934 and visited its poor villages, she also recorded many observations about the poor peasants and was able to make four trips to the Ahmar Khaddou Mountains. (Christian Bromberger, 2009) During the investigation she conducted immediately after she arrived in Algeria, especially in the Aures region, she said: “When I returned to them (the Auresians) between November 1954 and February 1955, I was struck by the sudden change in their fortunes, and I did not yet express this word ‘clochardisation’.

Given Germaine Tillon’s experience in the Aures region, she was appointed by Mitterrand as a member of a special committee to investigate the economic situation in Algeria and headed to the “Aris” region of the Aures. At first glance, she was violently shocked when she discovered the extent of the decline that the standard of living had reached over the past fourteen years. This researcher gave a comprehensive presentation of what she had observed, and among the most important things mentioned in her report: “One million Muslim Algerians are completely or partially unemployed, while two million others are below the level of employment.” What is required, also, is what Germaine noticed in that winter regarding the Aurasian peasants, she said: “They were watching their herds of cattle dying due to lack of pasture, and the hungry agricultural workers were forced to eat the seeds of their grains that they were supposed to plant to grow ears of corn next year.” As a result of what was stated in that report, Alistair Horne (in his book entitled “A Brutal War for Peace”) went to the fact that Germaine Tillon attributed the reasons for the outbreak of the liberation revolution in Algeria to economic factors of poverty and hunger, and she did not indicate in her report that the inhabitants of the Auras, like the Algerian people, were inclined towards independence and freedom.

Tillon says in her book (Algeria in 1957) that social misery is one of the reasons for the outbreak of the revolution in the Auras, and she described that she found the inhabitants of the Auras in the thirties in great poverty and she met them again in the fifties and found them in great misery, so she says in this regard, as for the French presence (she means the period of her presence in the Auras in the year 1934) It was very conspicuous by its absence. There is not a single colon. There is a school without a teacher and an empty road. There is no doctor, no nurse, no missionary of civilization. There are some intentions at most, but they are not followed by actions... There are no medical courses, and this is a fact. There is no organized distribution of aspirin, but swamp fever, typhus, and typhoid fever have been destroying the region for about 15 years without the inhabitants witnessing the doctor's visit... After 15 years, here is the picture. There is no single colon or employee, but peace reigns over the region, health is improving, lice are disappearing due to swamp fever, and mosquitoes have disappeared with typhus. When a real famine (meaning the revolution) comes, not the one that hurts the stomach, but the one that kills people, employees move there to supervise the distribution of flour and rice. Is this colonialism? Yes, it is exactly that, and sometimes it is not as simple or harmless as I want it to appear to people. (Rkibi, 1994)

CONCLUSION

Finally, through this research, we conclude a set of results:

- It is noted that the studies of French orientalists, with their multiple specializations in that period, focused on three axes: race, religion, and language, and knowing them is sufficient to know the ethnic reality of society and the spectrums that constitute it, and through them, society can be directed to the direction that the occupier wants.
- The occupier concluded that military occupation must be accompanied by good knowledge of geographical characteristics, and cultural, social, and religious patterns.
- The colonial administration realized that anthropological research, due to its power to penetrate societies and analyze them accurately, was sufficient to provide what it wanted to know about the other.
- The French orientalists conducted many studies on the Berber tribes and societies and relied on other specializations, such as history, geography, and medical and physical sciences. The Berbers, more than others, received many studies, and many different theories were applied to them, including the theory of European origin

and the theory of the Mediterranean race. In the end, it can be said that it is futile to search for the original homelands of the Berbers other than the one in which they originated a long time ago.

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