

ATILIM UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER’S PROGRAMME

**THE THEORY OF UNEVEN AND COMBINED DEVELOPMENT AND THE
CONSEQUENCES OF FRENCH CULTURAL COLONIALISM: THE CASE
OF ALGERIAN FRANCOPHONE LITERATURE**

Master’s Thesis

Gamze ÇİÇEK

Ankara-2022

ATILIM UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS MASTER’S PROGRAMME

**THE THEORY OF UNEVEN AND COMBINED DEVELOPMENT
AND THE CONSEQUENCES OF FRENCH CULTURAL
COLONIALISM: THE CASE OF ALGERIAN FRANCOPHONE
LITERATURE**

Master’s Thesis

Gamze ÇİÇEK

Thesis Advisor
Prof. Dr. Faruk YALVAÇ

Ankara-2022

ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

This is to certify that this thesis titled “The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development and the Consequences of French Cultural Colonialism: The Case of Algerian Francophone Literature” and prepared by Gamze ÇİÇEK meets with the committee’s approval unanimously/by a majority vote as Master’s Thesis in the field of International Relations following the successful defense conducted on 19/10/2022.

Asst. Prof. Dr. Duygu DERSAN ORHAN (Chair)

Prof. Dr. Faruk YALVAÇ (Advisor)

Asst. Prof. Dr. Adnan GÜZEL (Member)

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Şule TUZLUKAYA

Director

ETHICS DECLARATION

I hereby declare that;

- I prepared this thesis in accordance with Atılım University Graduate School of Social Sciences Thesis Writing Directive,
- I prepared this thesis within the framework of academic and ethics rules,
- I presented all information, documents, evaluations and findings in accordance with scientific ethical and moral principles,
- I cited all sources to which I made reference in my thesis,
- The work of art in this thesis is original,

I hereby acknowledge all possible loss of rights in case of a contrary circumstance. (in case of any circumstance contradicting with my declaration)

19.10.2022

Gamze ÇİÇEK



Dedicated to my beloved son Uğur Ege DOĞAN

ÖZ

ÇİÇEK, Gamze. Eşitsiz ve Bileşik Gelişme Teorisi ve Fransız Kültürel Sömürgeciliğinin Sonuçları: Cezayir Frankofon Edebiyatı Örneği, Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara, 2022.

Bu çalışmanın amacı Fransız kültürel sömürgeciliğinin sonuçlarını Eşitsiz ve Bileşik Gelişme Teorisi kapsamında Cezayir Frankofon edebiyatından seçilen örnekler eşliğinde incelemektir. Cezayir Frankofon Literatürü kapsamında Albert Camus'ya ait *The Stranger* isimli roman ve Yasmina Khadra'ya ait *What The Day Owes The Night* isimli roman analiz edilmiştir. Bu romanlarda Fransız Sömürgeciliğinin kültürel boyutu temel alınarak sömürgeciliğin Cezayir halkında ne tür etkiler bıraktığı, toplumsal yapının nasıl etkilendiği, sömürgeciliğin sosyo-kültürel sonuçları ve izleri Eşitsiz ve Bileşik Gelişme Teorisinin dinamikleri doğrultusunda tartışılacaktır. Çalışmada Albert Camus'un tercih edilme sebebi, sömürgeciliğin ilk yıllarında edebiyatta olan sömürgecilik sansürünün etkisiyle toplumsal yapının bir pied-noir gözünden nasıl tarif edildiğini incelemektir. Yasmina Khadra'nın bu çalışmada tercih edilme sebebi ise, bir sömürülen gözünden sömürge dönemi, bağımsızlık süreci ve sonrasında Cezayir toplumunun yapısının ne durumda olduğunu analiz etmektir. Bu tez Fransız Cezayir'inde görülen sömürge politikalarının sonucunda oluşan yabancılaştırma, ötekileştirme ve kimlik arayışı kavramlarını kapsamaktadır. Çalışma Frankofon literatürünü edebiyatın değişim dönemlerine göre ayırarak incelemektedir. Tezde sömürgeciliğin ilk basamağı Dünya Sistemleri yaklaşımı kapsamında, sömürgeciliğin sonuçlarını ele alan ana basamağı ise Eşitsiz ve Bileşik Gelişme Teorisi kapsamında incelenmiştir. Çalışmada Cezayir toplumunda ötekileştirilme, yabancılaştırma, kimlik arayışı gözlemlenmiş ve bu gözlemlerin bağımsızlık sonrasında da hala devam ettiği sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Kültürel asimilasyonun 132 yıl sürmesi sonucu sosyo-kültürel anlamda Cezayir halkının derinden etkilendiği ve hala kendini bulamadığı, toplumsal yapının ve kültürün kendi içinde de bölündüğü ve kimlik arayışının hala devam ettiği görülmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Uluslararası İlişkiler Teorisi, Eşitsiz ve Bileşik Gelişme Teorisi, Fransız Sömürgeciliği, Albert Camus, Yasmina Khadra.

ABSTRACT

ÇİÇEK, Gamze. The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development and The Consequences of French Cultural Colonialism: The Case of Algerian Francophone Literature, Master's Thesis, Ankara, 2022.

This thesis aims to examine the results of French cultural colonialism within the framework of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development, with the cases selected from Algerian Francophone Literature. The novel *The Stranger* by Albert Camus and the novel *What The Day Owes The Night* by Yasmina Khadra are discussed as the cases studies. The thesis looks for socio-cultural changes in Algeria through colonialism, and it examines how the socio-cultural structure of Algeria is affected by cultural assimilation. The reason for choosing Albert Camus's *The Stranger* in the study is to examine how the social structure is described from the perspective of a pied-noir with the effect of colonial censorship in literature in the first years of colonialism. The reason why Yasmina Khadra's *What The Day Owes The Night* is chosen in this study is to analyze the structure of Algerian society during and after the colonial period from the perspective of an exploited. This thesis engages with the concepts of alienation, othering, and identity conflict that the Algerian people experienced both during and after the colonial period and analyzes the consequences of the colonial policies in the context of Francophone Literature. The analysis of the literature is done with respect to three periods of this literature. The first stage of colonialism was examined within the framework of the World Systems perspective. However, the consequences of colonialism are analyzed with respect to the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. In line with the novels examined in this study, it is concluded that Algerian society is still alienated from itself and in search of an identity.

Keywords: International Relations Theory, Uneven and Combined Development, French Colonialism, Albert Camus, Yasmina Khadra.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my sincere thanks to my thesis advisor Prof. Dr. Faruk YALVAÇ for sharing his profound knowledge with me. Throughout the thesis process, he encouraged me and gave me great support to focus on my study. His assistance and patience have been inestimable and reassuring for me from the beginning of my thesis process. It was a great chance and honor for me to be his student and study with such an intellectual academician. I shall also thank the excellent and genuine academicians of Atılım University in the Department of International Relations for enlightening me throughout my master's degree program.

I would like to thank my mother Serap ÇİÇEK with my whole heart for giving me great support for making time for my son during my thesis process. Moreover, I'm heartily thankful to my office coordinator Asst. Prof. Dr. D. Hakan UTKU for his moral support whenever I need it. He believed in me and gave me great encouragement in my most stressful times, helping me feel safe with his tolerance and humility. He made sure that I move forward with confident steps. I have always been proud and continue to be honored to work with him. I'm also indebted to Asst. Prof. Dr. Adnan GÜZEL who read my thesis and gave me valuable feedback.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleague R.A. Burcu ALTUNOĞLU for her support and I appreciate my sister Bilge KILIÇ and my friend Dr. Mustafa JABER for sharing their valuable experiences with me throughout my thesis process. This thesis is dedicated to my beloved son Uğur Ege DOĞAN.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ÖZ.....	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
INDEX OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: UNEVEN AND COMBINED DEVELOPMENT AND WORLD SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE IN LITERATURE	7
1.1. Uneven and Combined Development and World Systems Perspective in Literature	7
1.2. An Analysis of North African Litterature According to The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development.....	13
1.3. The Emergence of Colonialism in Algeria: Cultural Aspect	20
1.4. Cultural Assimilation and Identity Issue: French, Arab, Barber, or Who am I?	22
CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ALGERIA.....	29
2.1. Early Algeria: Religious and Socio-Cultural Structure of Algeria	29
2.2. Colonial Period: French Invasion	29
2.2.1. From French colonial policy to the independence: types of colonial violence.....	30
2.2.1.1. French colonial policy: structural violence.....	30
2.2.1.2. Constantinois massacres (Setif and Guelma): physical violence.....	33
2.2.1.3. From the birth of Algerian nationalism to the war of independence: 1945-1962	34
2.2.1.3.1. Political and military violence	35
2.3. Algerian Foreign Diplomacy From Past to Post-Independence.....	38

CHAPTER 3: IMPORTANCE OF FRENCH LANGUAGE AND ALGERIAN FRANCOPHONE LITERATURE	47
3.1. French Education Policy and French Language in Algeria	47
3.2. La Francophonie, Fran��afrique: Organization International de la Francophonie (OIF,1970)	51
3.3. Algerian Francophone Literature and It's Transformation	53
3.3.1. 1830-1945 period	56
3.3.1.1. Pieds-noirs	57
3.3.1.2. Albert Camus	59
3.3.1.3. Analysis of Albert Camus' The Stranger	61
3.3.2. 1945-1962 period: political tensions in literature and Algerianism	73
3.3.3. 1962, the post- independence period and its reflections on literature	77
3.3.3.1. Yasmina Khadra	80
3.3.3.2. Analysis of Yasmina Khadra's What The Day Owes The Night	81
CONCLUSION	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	105
ANNEX-1	114
ANNEX-2	115
TURNITIN REPORT	116
RESUME.....	122

INDEX OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ALN: Armée de la Libération National

AML: Amis du Manifeste et de la Liberté

COIN: Conduct of Counterinsurgency Operations

FIS: Front Islamique du Salut

FLN: Front de Libération National

IR: International Relations

MTLD: Mouvement pour le Triomphe des Libertés Démocratiques

OAS: Organization de l'Armée Secret

OIF: Organization International de la Francophonie

PCA: Algerian Communist Party

PCF: French Communist Party

PPA: Parti du Peuple Algerien

UDMA: The Union Démocratique du Manifeste Algérien

UPA: L'Union Populaire Algerian

INTRODUCTION

This thesis analyzes the consequences of French Cultural Colonialism in Algeria within the framework of Uneven and Combined Development by studying the cases in Algerian Francophone literature from the beginning of the French colonialism to the Post- Independence period of Algeria. The purpose of this study is to highlight the culture-bound aspects and themes such as alienation, identity confusion, and class conflicts that are reflected in Francophone literature from the eyes of witnesses by discussing some novels which can be classified under the title of colonial and post-colonial themes.

Algeria is chosen as a case study since the identity, culture, and history of the Algerian people have been considered to be devastated by French colonization, so this thesis is designed as qualitative research utilizing a case study method. It is essential to analyze the country in terms of socio-cultural aspects and reveal how the socio-cultural structure could have deteriorated and the severe outcomes of the unheeded human values for the purpose of national interests. According to many Algerian leaders such as President Abdelaziz Bouteflika¹ and Muhammed El Korso, France not only annihilated the Algerian people in May 1945 but also slaughtered the Algerian identity, language, and customs. Assuming that the French language and Francophone literature have still a great impact on Algeria, it would be examined whether the consequences of cultural assimilation are irreversible. Hence, socio-cultural conflicts and identity issues with alienation will be studied in the Francophone literature.

This thesis argues that while political and economic transformations have concrete and amendable consequences in exploited countries after independence, cultural assimilation such as the imposition of the French language and French culture, ignoring the identity of people causes irremediable consequences in terms of humiliation of identity and normalized brutality in Algeria.

The scope of this study is to examine the socio-cultural conflict, and identity confusion in Algeria and explore the long-term changes in Algerian socio-cultural structure by analyzing the cases in Francophone literature from the colonial period to

¹ Aybüke Rabia Halil, "The Relations Between Algeria And France In The Shadow Of Colonial Legacy: A New Page Possible?" *Bölgesel Araştırmalar Dergisi* 5, no.2 (December 2021): 703.

the post-colonial period. In order to conduct this study, literature research concerning cultural colonialism, types of colonial violence in Algeria, identity issues, the early history of Algeria, colonialism, the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development in literature, and the World Systems perspective has been carried out.

This thesis takes the World System perspective as a starting point for long-term cultural changes and conflicts in the periphery and brings forth the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development as a result of the world capitalist system. Despite the World System Theory being associated with economic power at first blush, political and economic power should not be differentiated from cultural interaction.

The World Capitalist System resulted in the spread of the idea of nationalism, handled with the French Revolution of 1789, and the core-periphery relationship to enhance the welfare of the nations. Therefore, in line with these Eurocentric principles, superpowers have imposed their values on the periphery by describing their values as omnipresent values. Contrary to an endeavor to form a single culture in the World-capitalist system, the cultural differences of the nations have caused anti-imperialist movements. In this sense, anti-imperialist movements changed the direction of the functioning of the world system.

Immanuel Wallerstein stresses the presence of typical cultures of nations and cultural distinctions. He assumes that cultures are preserved within national borders by keeping their differences. Thus, he does not cite a uniform culture that has emerged in the instant. Partnerships, associations, and projects within the global economy will lead cultures to simulate each other and combine over time. This concern gave rise to the cultural and historical deterioration of the periphery countries in a soft way in the long term. At this point, the world system is faced with the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development which came forth by Trotsky was developed by Justin Rosenberg. Justin Rosenberg clarifies the theory within the concept of ‘temporal’ and ‘spatial’ dimensions of the quantitative of multicultural societies. He emphasizes the importance of the term ‘interaction’ beside the materialist approach of the World System Theory. According to Rosenberg, the problem of the World Systems perspective emerges due to the ignorance of international dynamics. Since the colonized country consists of more than one culture, language, and historical background, she took action against the deterioration of the society and resorted to violence to retrieve her identity and culture. Nations that have

looted in economic aspects were also devoid of civil rights. Furthermore, the discrimination on ethnicity, color, and religion, which were promoted by the great powers to discourage the unity of society, led the violence in the colonial countries. This circumstance brought forth identity confusion, starvation, and war as well as worsening the underdeveloped countries.

To understand the background of the social structure and identity conflict of the Algerian society, Uneven and Combined Development within the World Systems perspective and its connections with other theories and their combination such as colonialism, post-colonialism, globalization, modernization, imperialism, capitalism, and existentialism will be examined with the assumptions of scholars such as Immanuel Wallerstein, Justin Rosenberg, Jean-Paul Sartre, Frantz Fanon, Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, and Albert Camus.

The methodology will be the textual analysis of the two novels to explore the consequences of French cultural colonialism in the eyes of the people who have witnessed the process. So, the novels have been chosen by paying attention to their period which reveals the social structure of Algeria under French domination. One of the authors is the colonizer, the other one is colonized, and they are intentionally selected according to their identity. On the other hand, in order to make an objective comparison of the consequences of French cultural colonialism according to the colonizer and the colonized who have lived together in the same country, two novels that describe Algerian society, reflecting the colonial period and its sociological results will be analyzed. The first one is *The Stranger* written from the eyes of Albert Camus, the colonizer. The second one is *What The Day Owes The Night* written by Yasmina Khadra, a colonized. These works aim to reveal the uneven and combined society and announce to the world a bilingual, multicultural social structure of Algeria and the mentality of the Algerian people in the colonial and post-colonial periods.

The book *The Stranger*, issued in 1942, is Albert Camus' most famous novel. This work received the Nobel Prize in 1957 and includes the themes of absurdism and existentialism together. As the name of the book denotes the alienation theme and structure of the society in those years, the book reveals the mentality and the disorder of the people in search of identity in Algeria. The subject of the book is the rejection of all social values and the demonstration of apathy and indifference, with plain but impressive language.

Yasmina Khadra's book *What The Day Owes The Night*, on the other hand, describes in all detail both the colonial period and the post-colonial period, starting from the 1930s to today's Algeria. To be able to analyze this book, it is very important to examine the history of Algeria. For this reason, in this thesis, the early history of Algeria and the types of colonial violence during French domination are also examined. Yasmina Khadra who has witnessed the structural, political, and military violence of French colonial policy and lived through all the periods of French colonial rule, shows that 3 different social classes live together in Algeria: the exploiter, the exploited, and the Algerian intellectual group. Having witnessed the feelings and experiences of these social classes, the narrator starts his life as a poor exploited native. However, he was adopted by an intellectual family and moves on the social ladder. He gets involved in the intellectual group and adapted to live together with the colonizers. This novel describes the structures and life perspectives of all three social groups starting from the colonial period. The author painfully reveals the cultural aspects of post-colonial effects on these three social groups coming from different cultural structures by clarifying what has happened and how they survived during the colonial period and afterward. Thus, this novel has an important place in this thesis, which examines the consequences of French cultural exploitation.

This thesis primarily focuses on the answers to the questions such as: What has happened, what has been achieved, and what has been changed in Algeria in cultural aspect before and after their independence when the Francophone literature is analyzed. In order to find the answers to these questions, the study tries to find the colonial practices and their cultural effects on the society in literature, starting from the history of French Algeria. It also looks for answers to many supplementary questions to make a fair analysis.

1. How was the imposition of French values in Algeria managed?
2. Did the way of French value imposition through literature lead to a change in Algeria? If this was the case, to what extent did Algerian Francophone literature shape itself?
3. How did the literature transformation take shape within the concept of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development and World Systems perspective?

4. Was cultural domination a soft way of assimilation imposed by France? Was it successful? If this was the case, to what extent has French culture affected the Algerian cultural structure?

5. Was French colonization also a slaughter against people's identities and cultures? If so, how did she do that?

6. What is the role of French education policy in assimilation? What are the effects of the French language in Algeria?

This thesis is composed of mainly five chapters. The first chapter under the title of Introduction illustrates the scope and purpose of the study, the main argument, the importance of the research, the literature review, supplementary questions, method, and methodology of the study.

The second chapter deals with the theoretical background of the study. This chapter tends to a broad picture of International Relations Theories with their reflections on World Literature and North African Literature. It associates the study with the World Systems perspective as a start point by combining it with different IR studies and mainly focuses on the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. The same chapter also consists of information on the main themes of the thesis such as cultural assimilation and identity terms.

The third chapter focus on the historical background of Algeria. Since the French colonizers claim that Algeria has never been a nation and has always been under the domination of other nations, it is important to examine the early history of Algeria to better analyze the structure of the country and the Algerian society. The chapter also includes the history of the French colonial period, and French colonial policy including the types of colonial violence in Algeria to be able to determine the elements that affect the social structure of the society and analyze the consequences of colonialism sociologically. In addition, since the Algerian War of Independence can be considered a political victory against France by the support of the external forces, and international associations, a summary of the foreign diplomacy of Algeria is issued.

The fourth chapter sheds light on Algerian Francophone literature by analyzing the literature in three periods which reveal the different features of Algerian Francophone literature and pay attention to the importance of French language in

Algeria. The same chapter consists of the analysis of two novels within the scope of cultural studies including the social structure of Algeria and the identity conflict of the society. The first section of the Algerian Francophone literature reflects the early period of French colonialism between 1830-1945 under the strict control of French domination. The novel *The Stranger* is analyzed as related to the first section. In the second section of the literature, more nationalist subjects including political and military violence can be found in newspapers and articles rather than in literary works concerning socio-cultural elements of the society. Hence, the thesis does not include an analysis of a novel as related to the second section of the Algerian Francophone literature. The third section is about the post-independence period concerning social criticism. The novel *What The Day Owes The Night* is analyzed as related to the third section of the Algerian Francophone literature. The socio-cultural structure and the different levels of development of the societies in Algeria can be observable in these novels.

The fifth and the last chapter concludes the remarks and the reality of the Algerian society under French domination and the cultural consequences of the assimilation policy. It reveals the irremediable consequences of cultural assimilation that affect the future of Algeria. The chapter put forward the answers to the questions of what has happened, what has been achieved, and what has been changed in Algeria in cultural aspects before and after their independence when the Francophone literature is analyzed.

CHAPTER 1: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: UNEVEN AND COMBINED DEVELOPMENT AND WORLD SYSTEMS PERSPECTIVE IN LITERATURE

1.1. Uneven and Combined Development and World Systems Perspective in Literature

World literature is a term to express the sum of nationwide literature in the world and the accessibility of national studies to the far-reaching world. In the past, world literature referred fundamentally to the works of European literature²; However, today world literature is progressively seen in an international field reaching extensive universal works in a diversity of translations.

Referring to Moretti's analysis, literature renders a reflection of human beings' perception of the world and it differs due to the cultural structures and histories of the community in which the time, place, economic and political conditions are effective together.³ When examining the determinants of the literature, one of the prominent items that come to mind is language. In this case, the question of whether literary studies define a country, or a language has arisen such as the question of whether French Literature describes France or the literary studies written in French. If French literature included only studies in French, it would be necessary to ignore books and works written in different languages by the French. If the works written in French have belonged only to France, it raises the question of whether the novels written in many French-speaking countries like in Algeria should also be counted as French literature. In this context, it is still a matter of debate whether it is possible to talk about world literature.⁴ Because the literature is not stable and it has been affected by many factors such as language, place, time, culture, etc. In this case, it is necessary to specify the determinants such as by whom, where, and when the works were written, and the ethnic origin, the identity of the author, and the cultural values of the country and/or individuals. In addition, agents such as postcolonial and poststructuralist studies should not be forgotten. Although the way what is reflected by literary studies has been discussed since the 1900s, it could not be explained with a single theory. For example,

²“World Literature,” Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, last modified April 10, 2022, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_literature.

³ Sharae Oeckard, et al., *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature* (Warwick Research Collective) (Cambridge: Liverpool University Press, 2015), 1-58.

⁴ Ibid.

Postcolonial studies lead individuals to make comparisons in world literature by including the theory of globalization. To make comparisons in literature, it is important to be multilingual and to translate correctly. If the culture of the author, the frame in which he/she looks at life, and what he/she wants to express are interpreted from the perspective of the translator, the interpretation may prevent a correct comparison. So, the uneven conditions as a result of the capitalist world system, cultural differences, and unequal social lives can be considered as core values of world literature study. Hence, it is important to analyze the core values within the framework of The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. According to Hirst and Thompson, internationalization strategy in the economy causes the dominance of the global world economy, the spread of production, and marketing around the world. Thus, by affecting the social lives of countries with transnationalism, it causes the removal of national borders and the adaptation or the similarity of cultures. In short, it is possible to talk about the existence of an integrated world with each other, but not a single world. In line with this, the existence of an unequal but tried-to-be combined world can be investigated within the scope of 'The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development'. Justin Rosenberg used the concepts of 'temporal and spatial dimensions' in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development dialectically. He says that the developmental stage changes and differs according to time and place.⁵ While Trotsky describes the developmental dialectic as interaction without identity, Rosenberg points out that identity has certain boundaries and that there are many different societies in the world. While Trotsky revealed the universal inequality law that constitutes the combined development law against the deficiencies of the modernization theory, Justin Rosenberg develops this approach by adding the concept of 'place', which is the missing aspect, to the theory. In underdeveloped countries, both national and international inequalities increase with the formation of a combined structure in the international arena and so external socio-economic pressure occurs due to the whip of external necessity. With this discussion, Rosenberg reveals the shortcomings of the theory of globalization, suggesting that society interacts both within itself and in the international arena and that this situation should be evaluated within the framework of temporal and spatial dimensions. Rosenberg also states that

⁵ Alexander Anievas, et al., *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée* (New York: Rowman&Littlefield International, 2016), 17-21.

both materialist and sociological inequality coexist.⁶ For this reason, Rosenberg argues that in addition to the materialist approach of World Systems, the social development process should be re-evaluated by considering its interactive nature. In this case, the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development reveals the functional deficiencies of the capitalist World system, although it is not as deep as the World system. The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development studies the social-material whiplash of inequality in multiple societies.⁷ As Moretti mentioned in his book *Conjectures*, while trying to create a single world with internationalization strategies according to World System Theory, the existence of a capitalist system has created core and periphery relations and resulted in a combined and unequal world.⁸ This relationship has led to the study of inequalities, not the differences. Moretti emphasizes that world literature is a problem, not an object to be investigated. He states that a hypothesis should be developed to solve the problem. Casanova hypothesizes that the literary world is partly independent of everyday life and politics.⁹ However, one aim of the world systems theories is to try to create a monopoly by providing cultural imperialism and the international division of labor. Therefore, in this research, the cases in the literature will be examined based on the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development within the scope of the world systems. In Karl Marx's work titled *Capital*, the change in the structure of societies is expressed as cultural imperialism. The concept of the cultural industry, which was put forward by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, important names of the Frankfurt School, has a great impact in this context. The introduction, dissemination, and standardization of new products to the societies caused the loss of the local characteristics of the society.¹⁰ Capitalism, which affects the smallest building block of society, has been effective in the long-term and permanent change of socio-cultural structure, even in its uniformization. According to Claudio Lomnitz, in the capitalist system, modernity comes to all parts of the world, to villages and cities, to underdeveloped and developed countries at the same time. The simultaneous modernity then creates a social disorder. The purpose of capitalism is to grow and

⁶Alexander Anievas, et al., *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée* (New York: Rowman&Littlefield International, 2016), 17-21.

⁷ Ueli Staeger, "Uneven and Combined Development & World Systems Analysis: A Combined Approach," *University of London (January 2014)*: 1-6.

⁸ Oeckard et al., *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature* (Warwick Research Collective), 1-58.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Oeckard et al., *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature* (Warwick Research Collective), 1-58.

expand; Therefore, it is a continuous production for developed countries. For this reason, towns are sacrificed for the development of cities, and colonial states are sacrificed for the progress of metropolitan countries. At the same time, underdeveloped or developing countries skip the stages by combining their structures with the capitalist mode of production. In this case, a simultaneous disorder and uneven development occur as the world is uneven and has different kinds of combined societies as a result of interaction with each other.

In order to find the place of the ‘Uneven and Combined Development’ within the ‘World Systems perspective’, first, it is necessary to correctly understand what both theories mean in the international area and their similar and different aspects.

Immanuel Wallerstein has an important place in world-system analysis. According to Wallerstein, there is a division of labor in countries drawn into the capitalist system.¹¹ The main theme is how the resources are distributed and who gets the biggest share. During the relationship among the center, periphery, and semi-periphery, raw materials are taken from the periphery and produced with modern technology by the center and sold to the periphery and semi-periphery. However, the center faces the problem of exceeding of production and unemployment.¹² Semi-periphery countries are both the exploited and the exploiting countries. Hence, the most important tool of the world system is the market. The system is spread all over the world through capitalism. The countries interact with each other to coexist. While the center appears as an owner of profit share and producer, the periphery is important in terms of providing raw materials to the center. The semi-periphery gains importance in the workforce. World-system analysis consists of six important dynamics: production, labor, welfare, social cohesion, knowledge, and the interstate system.¹³ The problems posed by the World System, on the other hand, led to the birth of a new theory: The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. Justin Rosenberg, who was inspired by Trotsky gained an important place by developing the Uneven and Combined Development approach. According to him, the balance of power that exists in the World System is not concerned with the inequalities of the international system.

¹¹ Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 30-32.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ George Modelski and William R. Thompson, “The Long and the Short of Global Politics in the Twenty-first Century: An Evolutionary Approach,” *International Studies Review* 1, no. 2 (1999): 114-116.

While the balance of power has a significant place in the World Systems perspective, the dynamics of the international system come forth in Uneven and Combined Development. According to Trotsky, uneven development arises from different societies that live together. Since the development level of each society has historically been different in the economic and cultural fields¹⁴, the continuous development brought by capitalism causes unequal development at both the national and international levels.¹⁵ According to Rosenberg, the level of development of societies is related to their social structures.¹⁶ Combined development, on the other side, results from the compulsory interaction of different societies with each other.¹⁷ Thus, modernized and backward societies live together.¹⁸ In this case, the world system only deals with development in the international arena, while uneven and combined development examines both national and international dimensions. An example of this situation can be the existence of traditional peasant production while there is industrial production in a country that keeps up with the capitalism brought by the world system. In this case, he emphasizes that a part of the society will tend to constantly develop and benefit from modern technology in order to adapt it to the modern world system, while another part will remain behind by continuing the traditional methods; Thus, it reveals that there will be inequality at both international and national level. While the world system has a systemic structure, the unequal society and social aspects of the countries come to the fore in uneven and combined development.

Uneven and Combined Development, which developed under the leadership of Engels, Lenin, and Trotsky, examines the writings of Marx and reveals the importance of culture and society in the world systems led by capitalism. As it was put forward with the examples of Russia in 1905 and China in 1925, the theory emphasized that the ruling class dominates the means of production such as factories and technology, and tries to integrate individuals with different structures and knowledge from every part of the society into the capitalist structure. The Theory of Uneven and Combined

¹⁴ Ian D. Thatcher, "Uneven and Combined Development," *Revolutionary Russia* 4, no. 2 (1991): 237-238.

¹⁵ Marcel van der Linden, "The 'Law' of Uneven and Combined Development: Some Underdeveloped Thoughts," *Historical Materialism* 15 (2007):147-148.

¹⁶ Faruk Yalvaç, "Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramında Anarşi Söylemi," *International Relations/Uluslararası İlişkiler* 8, no. 29 (2011), 85-88.

¹⁷ Michael Löwy, *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development: The Theory of Permanent Revolution* (Haymarket Books, 2010).

¹⁸ George Edward Novack, *Understanding History; Marxist Essays* (Pathfinder Press New York, 1972), 135-155.

Development has risen concern about the combined societies from different economic levels and different cultural structures and working under the domination of the ruling class in the capitalist system. In this case, economic and cultural structures should be evaluated together both at the national and international levels. According to Mahmood Mamdani, during the colonial period, the western states implemented new modes of production with the capitalist system: they supported the land and factory owners and brought everyone from all classes of society with different cultural and educational levels together. For example, the problems related to politics, economy, and socio-cultural structures emerged in Algeria following French colonialism in North Africa. Algeria, where the people became poorer with the capitalist system, hosted societies from different ethnicities and cultures. They were exposed to the innovations simultaneously and lived together with the imposition of the western education system and culture. Western families from European Regions were brought to Algeria and became landowners. Algerians who obtained French citizenship gained the right to immigrate to France. These different societies were obliged to live together under unequal conditions in the capitalist system.¹⁹ At the same time, a long-term cultural change has been created by applying the French education system to Algerian children from an early age. Thus, it has been tried to be purified from its core values in linguistic, religious, and socio-cultural fields by cultural assimilation.²⁰ Thus, a combined but unequal structure was created.

Although it is possible to see the World System Theory from the 16th century, we can see it as an endless development that intensified especially with the colonial period. The modern world system has spread and continues to spread unequally as a result of the colonialism increasing with the desire to find and conquer new markets with the strategies of continuous production, marketing, and dissemination with Wallerstein's concept of commodifying everything.

In this study, the effects, Dynamics, and symptoms of Uneven and Combined Development will be analyzed, and the reflections on the socio-cultural confusions experienced by the Algerian people due to the French cultural colonization will commune with the theory. Nicolas Brown states that even though European modernity and African literature share the same world history, the same methodologies cannot be

¹⁹ Cihan Daban, *Dekolonizasyon Süreci ve Sonrası Afrika* (İstanbul: Açılım, 2017), 61.

²⁰ Ibid, 89.

applied to every literature to make a correct sense of both. He does not relate this situation to the history of literature or world history but argues that it depends on the relationship of literature with history. Hence, Uneven and Combined Development will be explored in literary works with cultural effects regarding the time, place, language, identity, culture, locality, alienation, history, and experiences, and the consequences of the World Systems perspective. Hence, the literature can be considered as a combined approach of World Systems and Uneven and Combined Development.

1.2. An Analysis of North African Literature According to The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development

The North African literature usually reflects the different traditions and experiences of the Maghreb region such as Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria where the Arab, French, and Berber cultures are intertwined. The region that has been under the French colony for many years is affected by French culture. Due to the influence of Arab culture in the region before colonization, the influence of Egypt and Sudan is also significant in North African literature.

Considering that North African countries have been fed on the slogan ‘common language, common religion, and common history,’ it significantly contributed to North African literature. North African literature, usually written in French and Arabic, includes topics such as colonialism, the search for identity, assimilation and alienation, political conflicts, the place of women in Islamic culture, and violence.

Despite having different, broad, and comprehensive definitions, histories, genres, and national characteristics, North African literature, namely the literary works produced by Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, can contain a wide variety of features that contain a coherent literary culture that allows the world to call them Moorish. North African Literature generally deals with issues such as the nationalist struggle for independence and opposition to colonial rule, the constant tension between tradition and modernity, othering, the search for identity, the search for native literary forms of expression, and social and political participation. The development of modern Arabic literature in North Africa is intricately linked to colonialism. This bond found a strong place in poetry and theater to express itself in the early stages of the national independence struggle. This struggle took its place in all genres of post-independence

literature, as the colonial experiences of North Africans remained fresh in the collective memory and literary consciousness. The intellectual, physical, cultural, and linguistic remnants of French imperialism continue to influence North African literature through texts of richness and complexity. The search for identity has been a common and important theme drawing ethnic, religious, social, linguistic, and ideological boundaries in North African literature. The Arabic literature in the post-independence period reflected national discourses on politics. However, an important feature of North African literature is that literary expressions have acquired a native style of their own.

If the leading authors of North African literature are examined, women writers such as Assia Djebar, Nawal El Saadawi, and Fatima Mernissi draw attention.²¹ They have received international recognition related to their studies on women in the Islamic Arab world but many of them have been punished by their governments for telling their experiences. In addition, Algerian writers such as Abdulkader Alloula and Taher Djaout were executed by the government as the cause of their critiques.²² An Egyptian writer named Naguib Mahfouz is the first and the only Muslim Arab author to receive the Nobel Prize.

In North African Literature, it is possible to observe both the effect of colonialism that had been going on for years in the region and the cultural and political locality. The novels are far from analogous, and they are written in different styles and techniques that combine national and transnational content.²³ Geographically different forms and meanings, different regions, and places can be observed in North African literature. North African Arab writers were also influenced by Egyptian and Syrian writers who share the same language, religious and literary heritage with them. They have also made national campaigns both in the fight against European imperialism and in social, political, and cultural reforms. Hence, North African literature, which has achieved both locality and universality and gained an important place in world literature, can be examined according to the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development.

²¹ Umar Oluwatoyin, "The Place of North African Literature in African Literary Canon." *Greener Journal of Language and Literature Research* 6, no.1 (June 2020): 1-10. <https://gjournals.org/GJLLR>

²² Ibid.

²³ Karima Laachir, "The Literary World of the North African Taghribā: Novelization, Locatedness and World Literature," *Journal of World Literature*, no. 4 (2019): 188–214.

According to David Damrosch, world literature is incomparable, and it is positioned due to the environment, methods, and fustian. It does not contain only universal flavors.²⁴ According to Goethe, world literature expresses the translation of national works into world languages. Nonetheless, it does not aim to have a centrist perception brought by the world systems.²⁵ This perception can be expressed as the sum of different languages and different cultures, although the translation of the original language reveals the problems of changing the perception. Casanova, on the other hand, tries to define world literature with writers and nations based on the concepts of literary market and nation. Although he thought of Europe as marketing its own culture to the world, he coined the term Third World Literature.²⁶ In this case, it would be difficult to make sense of the contribution of Third World Literature to developed countries. On the other side, Damrosch explains that world literature is a combination of local and universal dimensions and that it emerges with the interaction of one or more cultures. At this stage, one of the priority issues is the cultural area. Therefore, first of all, the local and regional structure of North Africa should be understood, and then the common cultural networks that formed before, during, and after colonialism should be examined. Damrosch interprets world literature as multicultural, polyphonic, multi-temporal, and historical. Although North African literature has gone through a pan-Arabic period with a common language, common culture, and common history, it is homogeneous. North African Literature shows historical and political differences due to factors such as time, place, regional nationalism, assimilations, and cultural interactions during and after colonization which is the dialectics of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. For example, in Arabic scripts describing the Banu Hilal tribe in the tenth century, the word emigration/exile is an expression describing the displacement of immigrants from Arab Territories to North Africa in search of better living conditions. Looking at the following years, the word migration was explained differently by writers in different positions at different times. For instance, Algerian writer Pan-Arabic advocate Waciny Laredj in his work *Almond Blossoms: The Exile of Saleh Ben Amer the Bachelor* published in 1983, and the leftist Egyptian Majid Toubia in his work *The*

²⁴ Laachir, "The Literary World," 188–214.

²⁵ Deniz Gündoğan İbrişim, "Dünya Edebiyatı Kavramına Kısa Bir Bakış," accessed May 1, 2022, <https://oggito.com/icerikler/dunya-edebiyati-kavramina-kisa-bir-bakis/11677>.

²⁶ Pascale Casanova, "Literature, Nation, and Politics," *The World of Republic of Letters*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Migration of Banī Ḥaṭḥūt published in the 1980s gave meaning to the words migration/exile by reflecting the colonial and postcolonial history of their country. However, the Moroccan Abdelrahim Lahbib in his work titled *The Journey of al-‘Abdi* published in 2013 unites Morocco, the Middle East, Africa, and Europe in a social, political, and literary sense and takes it to a transnational level.²⁷ While Laredj and Toubia mostly focus on the heroism of Banu Hilal and the disappointments of the people caused by the post-colonial states, Lahbib mentions a cleric who feels himself a stranger in his own country, traveling to Cairo, Mecca, and Medina, in search of Islamic culture and ummah in other countries after the European colonization. These works use Banu Hilal as a metaphor, emphasizing the alienation and estrangement issues of their time. Laredj relates the poverty of Banu Hilal to the conditions of contemporary Algeria. Laredj and Toubia describe the alienation of the people in their lands, while Lahbib describes the people's feeling of a foreigner in their lands which led them to emigrate to other Islamic countries. The histories and identities of the people in the novels are described aesthetically. For example, while Laredj discusses the migration of Banu Hilal's tribe to North Africa in his work *Almond Blossoms: the Exile of Saleh Ben Amer the Bachelor*, he also tells the character of Saleh to marry a barber girl and have children, thus the locals gradually become Arabized in the region. Emphasizing the unification of Barber and Arab identities, the author also criticizes the identity race between Barbers and Arabs, implying the importance of their unity against the brutality and oppression of their rulers coming from the past to present.²⁸ In addition to Arabic, many French expressions are also found in the work. As it is understood, the subjects that attract attention when examining North African novels are mostly cultural, political, and historical. For this reason, instead of monopolizing world literature on the world system according to European and USA-centered literary values, it is possible to talk about unequal and interacting world literature by providing a regional understanding of the national and transnational values in North African literature within the concept of Uneven and Combined Development.

In order to understand and analyze North African literature, it is necessary to examine how the history and structure of the region have been shaped. Writers such as Fanon, Sartre, and Memmi emphasize the colonial trauma of North African society

²⁷ Laachir, "The Literary World," 188–214.

²⁸ Laachir, "The Literary World," 188–214.

and the violence it brings. They state that the exploited are subject to military, physical, and cultural violence and exist as societies established on the basis of war. They also emphasize that they are prone to exploitation because they are underdeveloped. Considering French Algeria, in Fanon's *Wretched of the Earth* and Memmi's *Colonizer and the Colonized*, there are two different societies in North Africa: natives and French colons. Although it is open to debate whether French colonialism culturally developed or assimilated North Africa, these two different societies faced each other in the struggle for independence due to the discrimination, and material and moral pressures brought by colonialism.

The violence inherent in French Algerian society can be defined as the struggle between the colonizer and the colonized. The starting point of this struggle can be accepted as the settlement of Europeans, also called *pieds-noirs*, in Algeria. It can be seen as one of the biggest triggers of the independence idea that cause the colonized to enter a land war against the colonizer's activities. These activities can be listed as follows: establishing the colonizer's economic dominance and political authority in the society, despising the natives as second-class citizens in their own land (such as relieving the natives' right to vote), damaging the cultural structures of the natives such as identity and local language, supporting material and moral privileges for the colonizer. Hence, this thesis searches for these activities in the novels and tries to define the Algerian society and experiences of colonization.

Albert Camus' novel *The Stranger* can be taken as a defining example of a society of colonization period. Camus himself, as *pied-noir*, accepts that both communities practice violence and condemns this situation. In order to solve the problem of violence, he defines the assimilation of the indigenous society under the name of modernization and development by accustoming the natives to the French culture. In the novel *Algerian White*, Djebbar as an advocate of modernization ignores or does not touch on many of the issues that cause conflict because the author has to solve violence with a one-sided perception of a western eye, far from the perception of a colonized. The author has to dissemble her exact feelings due to the time period and pass over the economic, material, cultural, and physical violence on the locals in her own land. Instead of finding and solving the root of the problem, the main issues that cause the violence to continue, she seeks a solution with the theory of modernization. However, while evaluating the Algerian authors and their works, it is

necessary to pay attention to the place and time in which the authors put their works. Because in the first years of colonialism, the suppression policy applied to literature in Algeria, and it prevented the publication of anti-colonial articles. Only works that describe the weaknesses of the region from the colonialist's point of view and that have been revealed without any reference to colonial policies were allowed to be published. Most Algerian authors could have the opportunity to share their experiences and the violence in the country during their struggle for independence. Therefore, it would be wrong to evaluate the North African artifacts without the dynamics of the Uneven and Combined Development theory. In order to better analyze this point of view, Albert Camus' *The Stranger* and Yasmina Khadra's *What The Day Owes The Night* will be analyzed in Chapter 3.

According to the core-periphery model introduced by the World System Theory, the basic methods of colonialism in the 19th century could be defined as military violence, land occupation, and economic violence. According to Amin and Wallerstein, the economic role of the natives shaped the indigenous society in the region. Western society's attempt to establish authority and the disenfranchisement of indigenous society are important factors that shape society in colonial countries. In order to highlight this case in Algeria, the French colonial period and the dynamics of the situation will be examined within the cases in Algerian Francophone literature.

According to the modernizers, there must be a transfer from the Western society, which is considered to be the elite class, to the local society of the underdeveloped, which is considered to be poor. So that the development can be achieved. Studies carried out under the name of modernization in colonial societies reveal inequality between those who have and those who do not. Thus, the local community, which remains backward in the field of technology and production, suffers both material and moral losses. Modern Economic Development can create inequality not only between the developed and the underdeveloped but also within the local community itself. In this case, the contradiction in the modernization theory emerges. As the world is uneven and combined, the world system supports the understanding that developed countries can intervene economically and politically in underdeveloped countries for modernization. Then, Colonialism with military intervention in the 19th century is imposed in a more innocent manner in contemporary eras with the capitalist

system under the name of the world system and modernization.²⁹ For example, the USA's invasion of Iraq in 2003 under the name of modernization reminds French Algeria's fierce war for independence and the cultural and economic brutality of the period, which is no longer supported by the West.

The center-periphery model, which is frequently used by famous thinkers such as Immanuel Wallerstein, Samir Amin, and Fernand Braudel, mostly concentrated on the political, economic, and historical structure. However, the importance of history and culture is also very important to examine as the exploiters and the exploited, that is, the combination of the West and the East. It would be more accurate to talk about an uneven and combined world, which is formed by exposing to the same modes of production on the countries, which are not at the same level of development economically, politically, culturally. The world system integrates the world as the center and the periphery. The periphery provides raw materials, cheap labor to the center. The center takes these raw materials and markets them to the world for consumption. The periphery that imports the marketed products, buys its own labor. Thus, the world system is created. While the West develops more rapidly in the economic field, the periphery that produces raw materials with labor becomes poorer. By making commercial and economic agreements, the West burdens the East with debt via banks, associations, companies. It is the Center that profits and develops from this situation. Thus, an unequal and combined model of the world system is created. Fernand Braudel, on the other hand, characterizes the center-periphery model in the world system as interdependent and thinks that the world system is built and maintained on inequality with the dominant character of the West on the periphery.³⁰ He emphasizes that the center was enriched and developed with colonialism, that the West became a center thanks to the colonized, and explains that the cheap labor in the periphery contributed greatly to this process. For this reason, even though many years have passed since their independence, the exploited still remain as the Third World country, and economic stability is prevented thanks to the agreements and loans made by the West with the East for modernization. Hence, this process ensures the continuity of the world's inequality. Thus, while developed countries are getting richer, the colonized countries are hoping for foreign investments.

²⁹ Perri Giovannucci, *Literature and Development in North Africa* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 32.

³⁰ Giovannucci, *Literature and Development in North Africa*, 34.

1.3. The Emergence of Colonialism in Algeria: Cultural Aspect

Algeria was an eligible region for France who wanted dominance in the Mediterranean. The French, who entered the country in the 1830s, used many methods in the colonization of Algeria for 132 years. From the beginning of the invasion, the Algerian people were tried to be assimilated socially, politically, culturally, and economically. In addition to the economic and commercial repression, which is the main purpose of colonialism, by making a radical change, the French government made a policy of Frenchizing Algeria, France gave French citizenship to the Algerian people for cultural assimilation in order to change the habitude of the society and changed the spoken language and the language of education. It is between 1848-1870 that colonialism began to be felt deeply by the local people. The most important period when the colonization policy was felt painfully by Algerians was just after the construction of the Second Republic in France. After the formation of the second republic, in 1848 Algeria was declared as a part of France. The Constituent Assembly was established, the Europeans and the settlers living in Algeria, namely the colons, were given the right to vote except the locals. The period when Algerians, who were seen as second-class citizens, started to feel like foreigners in their own country.³²

France ruled Algeria between 1830 and 1870 with an organization called 'Arab Offices', a military administration that put the French colonial policies into practice by suppressing the people. Later, Algeria was subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior in Paris. In this process, one of the most effective and deep-rooted methods in the Frenchization of Algeria was the Europeans settlement in Algeria and the privileges granted to them.³³ While the number of Europeans in Algeria was around 3 thousand in the first years of the occupation with the immigration policy, it reached 104 thousand in 1845.³⁴ In 1848, by the February Revolution which resulted in the establishment of the II. Republic in France, the majority of those who were unemployed in the revolution were sent to Algeria.³⁵ With the permission of immigrants to own land outside the country, Europeans of French, Italian and Spanish

³² Charles-Robert Ageron, *Modern Algeria: A History from 1830 to the Present*, trans. Michael Brett (London: C. Hurst & Company, 1991), 9-47.

³³ Uluslararası Hak İhlalleri İzleme Merkezi, *Yirminci Yüzyılda BM Güvenlik Konseyi Daimi Temsilcisi 5 Devletin İşlediği Soykırım ve Katliamlar* (İstanbul: UHİM, 2012), 75.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Tuncay Karakaçan, "Cezayir'de Fransız İşgali 1830-1871" (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2004), 111-124.

origin, who settled in Algeria from Europe, seized the houses and lands of the natives, especially in the cities of Constantine, Algeria, and Oran, in the coastal areas where fertile lands are found and trade is important.³⁶ Thus, the local people were tried to be impoverished. At the same time, France, which needed cheap labor, sent some Algerians to France and made them work at low wages.³⁷ Most of the land that Europeans took from the Algerian people was the fertile land of the local farmers. Natives whose lands were taken began to move to deserted areas. Due to the unsuitable conditions such as the inadequacy of the irrigation area in the regions where they moved, agricultural production also decreased considerably and production was started in line with the needs of France. This situation made Algeria unable to meet its own needs. At that time, a group of wealthy French ranchers and companies such as 'Compagnie Algerienne' and 'Societe Genevoise' were taking over the economy in Algeria.³⁸ In this way, the uneven and combined society was formed.

The most important move of French colonialism was to eliminate the basic dynamics that held society together. For this reason, the people were tried to be removed from their religious and moral values. France implemented her assimilation policy by granting French citizenship to Algerians. Firstly, she started to declare the educated, qualified, and French-speaking Algerians French citizens. They were assigned to some duties in the military and civil service with low wages. Continuing the policy of incentives, Jews in Algeria were granted French citizenship in 1870 with the 'Cremieux Decree'. Following this, due to Algerian loyalty to France in World War I, France declared all Algerian people French citizens on the condition that they renounce Islamic law. The French were aware that Algerians were resistant to assimilation. The only way to assimilate them was to familiarize them with French culture insidiously and make them forget the Islamic culture. Algerians would either be accepted as French citizens by adopting French culture or have no identity.³⁹ Mosques and other religious centers were closed; some of them were converted into churches or used as military headquarters of the colonial powers. Islam and

³⁶Thomas Willing Balch, "French Colonization in North Africa," *American Political Science Review* 3, no. 4 (November 1909): 539-551.

³⁷ Uluslararası Hak İhlalleri İzleme Merkezi, *Yirminci Yüzyılda BM Güvenlik Konseyi Daimi Temsilcisi 5 Devletin İşlediği Soykırım ve Katliamlar* (İstanbul: UHİM, 2012), 75.

³⁸ Uluslararası Hak İhlalleri İzleme Merkezi, *Yirminci Yüzyılda BM Güvenlik Konseyi Daimi Temsilcisi 5 Devletin İşlediği Soykırım ve Katliamlar* (İstanbul: UHİM, 2012), 75.

³⁹ Samuel Kalman, "Colonial Violence," *Historical Reflections* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 1-7.

Arabism/Berberism, which are the two dominant elements that make up the identity of the people of the region, were tried to be forgotten and Christian French culture was tried to be spread instead.⁴⁰

By changing the curriculum in education, an understanding of education desired by the colonial mentality was placed. Arabic education was banned. French was made the language of instruction, the official and the spoken language. The French language was taught to all children from such a young age. So the assimilation would be transferred to new generations and would make them adopt the French culture as a natural process. It was also important that French became a daily spoken language in all political, economic, and commercial fields. In this way, the locals living in Kabyle would learn French and use French Money.⁴¹

Foundations, which are the financial resources of educational institutions and places of worship, were also seized. Newspaper publication in the local language was not allowed. As a result of the policies implemented, 80% of the country's population was illiterate. This situation made it difficult for the Algerian people to raise their awareness and resist the occupation. So the gap between locals and colons was widened and the the country had faced the problem of unequal and combined development in international and national level.

1.4. Cultural Assimilation and Identity Issue in French Algeria: French, Arab, Barber, or Who am I?

Culture, according to the dictionary of the Turkish Language Institution, is the sum of all the material and spiritual values created in the historical and social development process and the tools used in creating and transmitting them to the next generations, showing the extent of human dominance over their natural and social environment.⁴² Culture, while forming the whole ethnic structure of societies in general, both define the society and contain many social and sociological qualities such as language, religion, clothing, food, art, literature, history, which enable to distinguish one from the other. The importance of culture has been emphasized in the definition of the nation made by Atatürk during the transformation of the Republic of Turkey

⁴⁰ Uluslararası Hak İhlalleri İzleme Merkezi, *Yirminci Yüzyılda BM Güvenlik Konseyi Daimi Temsilcisi 5 Devletin İşlediği Soykırım ve Katliamlar* (İstanbul: UHİM, 2012), 75.

⁴¹ Kalman, "Colonial Violence," 1-7.

⁴² "Kültür," Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri, accessed January 15, 2022, <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>.

into a nation-state since 1923, with the expression "nation combines the language, culture and the desire to live together in the future, in short, defined as cultural unity".⁴³ Smith argues that the feature that holds society together is culture, and the cornerstone of nation-building is the culture of the society that continues from history to the present. The culture of the society, namely its language, religion, norms, institutions, publishing, and education system, constitutes the identity of the country.⁴⁴

In world political history, the 19th century has witnessed colonialism in general. After the Industrial Revolution, many European countries that developed and became rich economically started the colonial process due to the search for raw materials and markets. Africa has been exploited by many countries, such as France and England, with strategies like identifying target countries, seizing lands, establishing dominance, and transforming the local society, and making it dependent. It is possible to see the traces of cultural imperialism in the literature due to the efforts to establish long-term domination in French colonialism.

The Algerian region recognized Islam in the 7th century and became Muslim. The society in general consists of tribes in many different cultural structures such as Aġlebis, Tamimis, Fatimids, Ziris, Zeyyanis, Hafsi, nomads called barbers, and groups dealing with agriculture. In the 16th century, Algeria came under the auspices of the Ottoman Empire and lived under the Ottoman rule for three hundred years without any problem.⁴⁵ The Millet system, which was started being implemented in the conquered lands with the expansion policy by the Ottoman Empire, was based on the fact that each society lived with its own language, religion, and culture, and at the same time, the strict formal rules of the Ottoman Empire were followed. The beliefs and cultures of the societies were generally respected and violence was avoided. The natives of the conquered lands preserved their identities by keeping their own cultures alive, and most of them became rich by trading.

In 1830, Algeria was exposed to French colonialism with the intervention of France. Algerian lands were exploited by the French for 132 years in this process and declared as French lands. Algerian local people have been exposed to military,

⁴³ Haktan Birsel, "A Cultural and Identification Assimilation Example on the Ottoman-Algerian Strategic Ground of Imperial France (Letter of Saint Charles De Faucould)," *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, no. 29 (August 2013): 43-56.

⁴⁴ Tim Edensor, *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life* (New York: Berg, 2002), 1-30.

⁴⁵ Birsel, "A Cultural and Identification Assimilation," 43-56.

cultural, and economic violence. France, which followed a policy of Frenchization and Christianization, sent many missionaries to the region and made plans to transform the Algerian people in terms of identity and culture.⁴⁶ Through the missionaries, it is seen that the structure of the local society first deteriorated, and then the steps of establishing a new culture were followed. One of the best examples of this case is a letter sent by Saint Charles De Faucould to René Bazin, President of the French Academy of Sciences, in 1907.⁴⁷ The main subject of the letter is to advise what to do, and how to behave in order to assimilate the local people in terms of culture and identity to stay in Algeria for a long time. The letter in question was published in Bulletin 5 of the Catholic Bureau in 1917. He writes that he did his missionary duty with love and compassion in order to raise pro-French people in Algeria and that he tried to increase people's dependence on France by trying to gain trust. Also, talking about the structure of society, Faucould predicts that with the arrival of wealth and production in the region, learning, and training of French culture by Algerians, learning business, even taking part in the army, they will become stronger over time. When they get stronger, they will oppose France and struggle for independence. Because he states that they are still deeply Muslim. He states that the Algerian people will not become French as long as they remain Muslims. In order to internalize the religion, language, and culture of the French in the long term, he advises the assimilation of the local people through marriage by establishing a physical bond between two societies. For this reason, he recommends the implementation of the policy of Christianizing the local people.

Military colonialism is only the first step in establishing the hegemony of the colonizer. This is also an expensive method and does not provide much benefit for the colonizer in the long run. For this reason, many other strategies have been put forward to get the colonies to accept their situation and to be loyal to the colonists. Establishing language dominance is one of the important strategies. For the colonizer, the replacement of the language of the colonized country with her own language provides her to expand and consolidate her place. Changing the language of a country, alienating the colonized from her mother tongue, and imposing the colonizer's language may mean replacing the existence of the local people with the existence of

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Birsell, "A Cultural and Identification Assimilation," 43-56.

colons in the country. For Edmund Spencer, the language of the society means the identity of the people and loyalty to the country; thus, it may be possible to change the identity of the conquered by forcing her to learn the language of the conqueror.

According to William E. Connolly, identity is related to being different from others. Identity is formed by the acceptance of a set of culturally recognized differences to secure itself, by preserving the differences between itself and the others and accepting a set of common values, and making it a way of life. The process of creating or transforming identity is realized through culture.⁴⁸ In this context, the framework of the basic questions is colonialism including the matters such as othering, the conflict between the language of the colonizer and the national language, identity crisis, cultural conflict, and problems of belonging. For example, Albert Memmi saw the marriage with a French woman as an escape route to avoid being exploited and defined his marriage as marrying the Europe.⁴⁹ Memmi also stated that the society, which is afraid of change, excludes itself to protect its identity. After emigrating to France, he could not even define to where he belonged.⁵⁰

After 1950, many writers such as Yacine Katep, Assia Djebar, Maïssa Bey, Albert Camus, Jean Sénac, Leila Sebbar, Yasmina Khadra produced works in French describing French Algeria. These works concern the language of the colonizer and the clash of cultures, identity crisis, the structure of uneven and combined society. While doing this, they did not hesitate to criticize not only the others but also their own people. They compared the society in which many different cultures, languages, and religions live together. In particular, they compared the role of women in Europe with the place of women in Islamic countries, revealed the admired sides of the West, and also revealed the policy of oppression and alienation against the natives. Traces of multiculturalism and assimilation, and thus the search for identity, are frequently encountered in works in which individual identities and national identities are reflected together. For example, Albert Camus wrote about a society consisting of intertwined cultures as if he were making a absurd discovery with his work *The Stranger*. In addition, Assia Djebar was caught in the middle of a cultural dilemma with her works

⁴⁸ William E. Connolly, *Identity Difference* (London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 1-16.

⁴⁹ Gary Wilder and Albert Memmi, "Irreconcilable Differences," *Indiana University Press*, no.71 (1996): 158-177.

⁵⁰ Wilder et al., "Irreconcilable Differences," 158-177.

L'Amour, *La Fantasia* and *La Disparition de la Langue Française* and drew attention to the role of women in different positions in both societies. She expressed her losses, longings, and gains as a result of the compulsory usage of the French language. Leila Sebbar, on the other hand, described political issues and brutality in her work *The Seine was Red*. Yasmina Khadra, on the other side, wrote both the violence and the search for the identity of a man torn between two cultures with his work *What The Day Owes The Night*. Jean Sénac, then again, was born from a Spanish mother, but since he did not know who his father was, he questioned himself whether he was French, Arab, Spanish or who he was, expressing his feelings by writing poems. All these works bring the problem of identity to the fore.⁵¹ In French Algeria, where Arab-Islamic identity is ignored, Arabic is banned, only French is taught, French culture is infused with French as the official language, writers often avoid acquiring a fixed identity. Djébar, for example, does not reject French. Because French seems not to match the meaning of any emotional word in the writer's life. According to her, Arabic is the language she yearns for. French is discriminatory.⁵² French words addressed to Algerians may be perceived as repulsive and coercive because they contain insults, orders, or threats of colonizers.⁵³ This negative effect of the French on Algerians changed when the Algerian press started to use the French in the struggle for independence. French, which was previously denied as the language of the invader, was used to announce all the events that took place in Algeria to the world, and thus it was stripped of its cursed character. The situation that enabled the spread of French among the people was the struggle of the Algerians against the French.⁵⁴ Speaking Arabic before 1954, rejecting French as the language of cultural imperialism, is a form and a tool of self-differentiation, and national existence. The atmosphere of conflict in August 1956 renders Arabic unholy and French cursed. The new language of the nation can now make itself heard to the whole world in many branches.⁵⁵ In the struggle for independence, Algerians reached wider masses and expressed Algeria's righteousness

⁵¹ Rabah Aissaoui and Claire Eldridge, *Algeria Revisited: History, Culture and Identity* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 97-118.

⁵² Işıl Pehlivanoglu, "Assia Djébar'ın *L'amour*, *La Fantasia* ve *La Disparition De La Langue Française* Başlıklı Romanlarında Sömürgecilik Ekseninde Dil ve Kimlik" (Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2010), 36-43.

⁵³ Albert Memmi, *The Colonizer and the Colonized* (London: Earthscan Publications, 2003), 134-162.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

more easily thanks to the French broadcasts they made both in writing and orally through the radios.

According to Ernest Gellner, to ensure common loyalty to the policies and norms of the state, the desired norms are imposed through education and training, with the policies determined by the experts in the reformation of the nation and identity.⁵⁶ The education system in France of Algeria also served this purpose. The French culture has been imposed in French in schools from an early age. However, the education system in Algeria has further increased the cultural difference between indigenous people and Europeans. Because in 1944, 8 out of 9 Arabs were illiterate because Arabic was banned. According to Benedict Anderson, one of the most important roles in establishing culture is the invention of the press.⁵⁷ A common point of view in a society can be created with magazines, newspapers, and publications.⁵⁸ For this reason, Arabic magazines and publications were also banned in French Algeria. Towards 1950, only one or two newspapers were published in Arabic. Arabic was made an unwritten language. For this reason, policies such as the usage of French money in exchange, speaking French as the official and commercial language, and marriage of the natives to French women were applied for the local people who could not be educated.

Djebar, who looks at the cultural life in Algeria from the window of women, also mentions the buildings destroyed by the French in *La Disparition de la Langue Française*. The French colonial rule destroyed the most beautiful palaces in Algeria and the rare Ottoman mosques all over the city. This is not just an attack on the structures but perceived as an attack on all the values of the Algerian people. In terms of French colonial policy, the translation of Algeria's official language from Arabic to French creates the greatest pressure on the identity and culture of the locals. In the novels *L'Amour*, *La Fantasia* and *La Disparition de la Langue Française*, the presence of East-West cultures in the same environment and the oppressive attitude of the colonial administration led to identity confusion and questioning of cultural differences on the Algerian people. This questioning was initiated by Algerians who were acquired French citizenship and educated in French and immigrated to France through marriage. Although they were assimilated, they learned the importance of the

⁵⁶ Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), 57.

⁵⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London: Verso, 1983), 36.

⁵⁸ Edensor, *National Identity*, 1-30.

concepts of nation and identity in France, and they felt the lack of them in their daily lives with their longing for their own self. Following the questioning, the relations between France and Algeria, which developed on the axis of inequality, and injustice, turned into mutual conflicts.



CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF ALGERIA

2.1. Early Algeria: Religious and Socio-Cultural Structure of Algeria

The early history of Algeria is analogous to the past of North African countries such as Morocco and Tunisia⁶⁰. In the 6th century B.C., the beachfront of the region was conquered by Carthage. Nonetheless, the Kabyle and Aures Mountains in the region were under the governance of nomad barbers. The antique term of the region was Numidia, which signifies nomad in Greek. In the 4th century B.C., the Romans inhabited the north of the region, but barbers still controlled the Kabyle and Aures Mountains.

In the 6th century A.D., the Vandals and the 7th century Arabs settled in the region. The barbers slowly began to turn into Muslims and lived quietly with Arabs until the 11th century. El-Djezir (Algiers) was settled in the district on the ruins of the Roman city. Algerians, who pirated during the 16th century, fought against Spain, and survived under the power of the Turks for almost two centuries.⁶¹

2.2. Colonial Period: French Invasion

In the early period of the 17th century, Constantinople acquired its independence but embraced the Turkish system. She had a ruler, known as the Algerian Dey, a cabinet, and an army. Constantinople was incorporated into 4 regions. The center of Constantinople would be Algiers and her ruler would govern the region from the center. Constantine was found in the east, Tittery in the center, and the city of Oran in the west. The region was internationally recognized, and she agreed with France in 1793 to expand trade and lodge a new regime. However, in the 1800s France had economic problems with Algeria that had endured for 10 years. France proclaimed that the amount of grain provided by Algeria was insufficient, so France would pay less than agreed. Hence, Dey Hussein struck the French consul as the cause of the low payment that led to the humiliation of French Leader Charles X. Citing the humiliation of the French Leader, France attacked Algeria in 1830 and captured Algiers on June 14, 1830. Following the French attack, Dey Hussein left the country.⁶² Although there

⁶⁰ Lorna Hahn, "Algeria's Historical Background," in *North Africa: Nationalism to Nationhood* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1960), 132-141.

⁶¹ Şinasi Sönmez, "Cezayir Bağımsızlık Hareketinin Türk Basınına Yansımaları (1954-1962)," *ZKÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 6, no.12 (2010):289-318.

⁶² Hahn, "Algeria's Historical Background," 132-141.

was no ruler in the region, Algeria revolted against the French till 1847 under the supervision of Saladin and Abdelkader. However, they could not prevail to defend the country against French attacks. In 1834, France affirmed that she annexed Algeria, figuring that there was no nation in the region before, and Algeria was previously dominated by the Ottomans and was now under the control of France. So, Algeria was declared French territory.

From 1830 to 1871, Algeria was repressed by France. A French administrator was positioned in Algeria named General Governor. Louis Napoleon intended to assimilate Algerians by initiating the concept of French citizenship in Algeria. The two major means of assimilation were the widespread use of the French language and the destruction of Arab Berber culture and its replacement by French culture. The natives who had adopted the Islamic law now would be governed by French law. Unlike the French protectorship found in Morocco and Tunisia, France sought to engage in colonial activities in Algeria. Therefore, while Moroccan and Tunisian citizens voluntarily accepted French domination, Algerians opposed colonialism.

2.2.1. French colonial policy in Algeria: types of colonial violence: structural violence, physical violence (setif and guelma) and military violence (terrorism in Algeria between 1955-1962)

2.2.1.1. French colonial policy: structural violence

France executed her assimilation strategy by conferring French citizenship to Algerians. In the first step, she began to announce the intellectual, talented, and French-speaking Algerians as French citizens. They were appointed to some tasks in the army and civil service with insufficient salaries. Resuming the policy of adhortation, Jews in Algeria were given French citizenship in 1870 with the 'Cremieux Decree'. Considering the Algerian loyalty to France in World War I, France proclaimed all Algerian people as French citizens on the condition that they left Islamic law. The French were conscious that Algerians were unsuspicious to assimilation. The best method to assimilate them was to accustom The Algerians to French culture insidiously. To achieve the assimilation plan, France would transform the language of the region, generalize the French education system, and regularize the French culture. The French language was instructed to all youths from a young age. Thus, the French culture would be transmitted to further generations and the Algerians

would be prepared to embrace the French culture in a natural process. French needed to become an everyday spoken language in all the fields such as political, economic, and commercial fields. In this path, the residents living in Kabyle were obliged to use the French language and money. The most satisfactory way for the long-term French colony in Algeria was to operate structural and symbolic violence against Algerians. This kind of violence included the discrimination of 'indigénants' by relieving them of civil rights and coercing them to tie with France by transforming their social structure and breaking their economy by low revenue. The colonizers had set their jaws for all ways of assimilation, racism, and violence. According to French sight, impoverished Algerians would enjoy profiting from the education proposed by the French, and they could be assimilated to have a position in administration by losing the vision of Islamic law.

The number of French residents in Algeria and the French birth rate were so quiet. Hence, France strived to increase the number of Europeans in Algeria by carrying European families with low income not only from France but also from further European nations to Algeria with the assurance of a more satisfactory life.⁶³ French, Italians, and Spaniards were brought to Algeria to hold the fruitful land of Algeria and they were all announced as French citizens in 1889. France would also form certain organizations to impose French values as ideal values.

Algeria was a dissimilar case from Morocco and Tunisia. In Morocco and Tunisia, the people had their own status. However, Algerians would either be granted French citizenship by embracing French culture or have no identity. Discovering that the citizenship point was a colonial strategy, Algerians established 'Party Jeune Algerian' in 1912 and pressed for the abolishment of unevenness against Muslims. Although their needs weren't met, Algerians helped France in World War I. In return for their help to France in World War I, French citizenship was awarded to all Algerians in 1919, and Muslims had the opportunity to be members of the Municipal Council and the Financial Delegation. Despite the views of the Muslims being negligible for France, a so-called favor was accomplished for Algerians. Following this favor, the privileges among the natives were unfolded. Young people from impoverished families could be recovered from poverty by getting French education and expected to have an easier life. On the other side, intellectual Algerians acquired

⁶³ Balch, "French Colonization in North Africa," 539-551.

national awareness and interrogated their identity. Furthermore, Algerian intellectuals had now sufficient knowledge about France and acquired certain duties in the army and civil service. For example, born in Setif in 1899, Ferhat Abbas studied pharmacy in France following his support for France in World War I. Despite the fact that he was known as an ideal French Muslim by France, Abbas desired to assist impoverished Muslims and suggested abandoning the provision of personal status to gain citizenship. In 1931, Abbas published a leaflet that called up the existence of Algerian identity.⁶⁴ He highlighted that Algerians could modernize if they were emancipated from politics and the economy. He noted that Algerians had an Algerian identity, and civil rights should be given to the Muslims. During the period of Maurice Violette, the Governor of the Province in 1937, civil rights for Muslims were offered with the 'Violette Project'. However, the project wasn't implemented due to the veto of colons, and Muslims awakened up against the assimilation policy. The UPA which was founded in 1938, supported dependence on France by awarding civil rights to the Muslim population. However, an organization called the Society of Algerian Ulemas, which resisted this idea, started to propagate the dependence on France and published journals, and founded Islamic schools to increase the awareness of Algerian Nationalism, prevent assimilation, and battle for independence.⁶⁵

In 1924, with the ideology of Algerianism, a political party called 'L'Etoile Nord Africain' was founded in Paris. The party took action with the feelings of Algerian nationalism. Even though the salaries were low, the first Algerian nationalist party granted jobs to poor Algerians. The leader of the party, Messali Hadj tried to convince Muslims for independence. However, Messali Hadj had been jailed in 1929 for 4 years the cause of his nationalist movements. In 1937 he founded PPA and was sentenced again in 1939. Concurrently with his nationalist movements, he had already brought the people together with the idea of independence.

The Second World War is the turning point for the Algerian nationality: United Nations Charter was accepted and signed by 50 countries including France in 1945. This charter supported the respect for equality and self-determination of the countries. The socialists and the communists were in majority in the French Parliament. In 1946, following the acceptance of the United Nations Charter, the parliament accepted

⁶⁴ Hahn, "Algeria's Historical Background," 132-141.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 142-153.

equality without noticing any religion, language, or ethnicity, and the abolishment of the dual electoral system, forced labor. However, the charter rules had never been enforced for Algerians. To counteract this prejudice, Algerians received the privilege of representation in the National Assembly. Meanwhile, many Algerian parties were established in France. In 1947, although the Algerian National Assembly was established, the inequality in the assembly was unresolvable, because one European vote was equal to 9 Muslim votes⁶⁶. The foundation of the Algerian parliament was a tool to silence the Algerians.

2.2.1.2. Constantinois massacres (Setif and Guelma): physical violence

Affected by the United Nations and the fall of the Nazis, approximately 10.000 Algerian people collected to felicitate the Victory of Europe in Setif on May 8, 1945.⁶⁷ Nonetheless, General Governor Chataigneau called the police support to the area and ordered to move down the banner written: "Libérer Messali Hadj". The police, who attacked the insistent group, killed a native. The celebration turned into a brutal attack between the Algerians who demand equality and pieds-noirs who supported the Algerian dependence on France. The French police and armed civilians shot unarmed natives and killed the Algerians. In return for the French attack, the Algerians attacked the Europeans with knives. 28 Europeans died in Setif in the attack. A while later, natives embarked on brutal protests in Guelma. 80% of the population in Guelma was Muslims. A group of natives bringing today's Algerian flag was murdered by the French police. The following day, locals from all over the region assembled in Guelma to attack European territories. Chataigneau ordered an army to the region, and French airstrikes attacked Algerians. Pieds-noirs went on attacking unarmed natives. Between 8 and 14 May, 41 tons of French bombs and rifles brought forth the mass execution of Algerians. The British Consul General, who was in the region on May 23, noted that the General Governor would concede that 1,500 Algerians were killed, but the real number of deaths was around 30,000.⁶⁸ 80% of the Algerian adult population whose ages were between 15 and 45 was annihilated. Thousands of Algerians died in the

⁶⁶ Peter Hudis, "The Engaged Philosopher: The FLN and the Algerian Revolution," in *Frantz Fanon* (London: Pluto Press, 2015), 69-91.

⁶⁷ Matt Rosen, "Those Who Aren't Counted," in *Diseases of the Head* (Punctum Books, 2020), 113-160.

⁶⁸ Allison Drew, "For an Algerian National Front: Unity and Division in The Liberation Struggle," in *We Are No Longer in France* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2014), 145-174.

conflict of which almost 100 colons died.⁶⁹ The region stayed under the armed French soldiers, and any Algerian found in the street was put in prison unquestioningly. Hence, the confinement of approximately 5,560 Algerians led to the spread of Algerian nationalist sentiments in the jail.

Algeria had been instantly tied to the French Internal Affairs with ‘Code Indigénat’ in 1881. To hide the importance of the violent incident from Minister of the Interior Adrien Tixier, around 500 corpses of buried natives were taken to a European bakery and roasted.⁷⁰ The French government argued that the brutal violence was accomplished for the good of the individuals to keep social stability and to prevent more destructive battles.⁷¹ According to John Ruedy, this violent incident was planned to discourage Algerian nationalists. Nationalists hereby would understand that they could not openly request freedom. Algerians, who embraced the understanding of jihad, were also impressed by the struggles of Italy and Poland. In the revolt, the Messali was declared guilty by France and ordered his punishment. Boukourt clarified this event as an anti-imperialist revolt, while Albert Camus, a pied-noir, defined it as a revolt against economic and political inequality. Camus stressed that Arabs were unemployed and starved and claimed that civil rights should be provided to Muslims to preserve the peace. Ouzegane believed that it was an anti-fascist protest. Fajon, on the other hand, underlined the necessity of social and political reforms. A group of socialist and communist people endorsed the unity of Algeria and France under the name of ‘Nouvelle France’.

2.2.1.3. From the birth of Algerian nationalism to the war of independence: 1945-1962

Following the principles of the UN Charter, many Algerian political parties under the names of AML, PCA, PPA, UDMA, and MTL D were founded between 1944 and 1951, and they searched for their identities in different ways and appealed for equality. Whereas the names of the political parties varied, the leaders typically stayed the same. The political parties occasionally band together for independence. However, they could not succeed in their ambitions because of their individual passion to be a

⁶⁹ Sönmez, “Cezayir Bağımsızlık Hareketinin Türk Basınına Yansımaları,” 289-318.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Rosen, “*Those Who Aren’t Counted*,” 113-160.

frontier person of independence. Regardless, they all struggled for Algerian independence until the establishment of the FLN in 1954.

The PCA, under the impression of Stalin, stressed that the Algerian people did not have any intention of independence, but desired equal rights and Algerian identity. Additively, the party expressed that for the wealth of the locals, Algeria should be developed through industrialization and agriculture.⁷² In spite that PCA leader Ouzegane articulated his opposition to nationalism, he supported the Algerian exertion for acceptance of Algerian identity by publishing articles in the newspaper called *Liberté*. The articles were generally on the significance of popularizing madrasahs and Arab-Berber culture. In time, Ouzegane expressed his opinion about the interdependence of Algeria. According to him, Algeria should be independent in its internal affairs and depend on France in its foreign affairs, and he issued a journal in Arabic called *El Djezaïr*. PCA attempted to circulate the independence notion and raise awareness for nationalism by organizing conferences and briefings and publishing articles. The party emphasized that there was a financial gap between Europeans and Algerians in Algeria and Algerians were unemployed, and starving, while the colons were in wealthier conditions. When PCA shared the independence idea, the party members were jailed by the French government in the 1950s. Most of the political party members requested to get amnesty for those detained for political reasons.

MDTL, the other political party, focused on Muslim Brotherhood. Discovering that their request for freedom could never be solved peacefully in the political sphere, the political parties, inspired by the model of Vietnam, requested the Algerian society to unite for the struggle for independence. Under the impact of the Zionist actions, a group of youth that searched for national identity, led to the establishment of the future North African Union, Maghreb, by underlining a common language and common history of Muslim countries in North Africa.⁷³

2.2.1.3.1. Political and military violence

FLN which was founded by a coalition of small groups in 1954, overcame the rival parties. The head of the socialist party, Ahmed Ben Bella arranged the party with a single objective, and he moderated the struggle for Algerian independence in 1962.

⁷² Drew, "For an Algerian National Front," 145-174.

⁷³Lorna Hahn, "Roots of Algerian Nationalism," in *North Africa: Nationalism to Nationhood* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1960), 142-153.

FLN noted that the aim of the party was to struggle against colonization and fight for independence. The party united the Algerian people for a brutal war declaring that peaceful means for independence were impossible because the French had harsh attitudes toward the Algerian people. The party was accepted as the forefront of the revolution and its members started to bomb Algiers on 1 November 1954.⁷⁴ The disruption led to the riots in Betna and Aures, and it resulted in the detention of many politicians. The Algerians were lack of an army and ammunition; so the natives started to fight with handmade bombs and rifles, which were insufficient for a war. Unable to prevent the expansion of rebellions and the unification of the Algerian society, France carried armed troops to Algeria in 1956 under the authority of General Governor Robert Lacoste. France announced martial law which increased the colonial savagery of the attack. The confinement of Algerian leaders and the violent actions of France prompted the brutality of FLN members.

FLN recruited the natives from Kabyle, Aures, Constantine, Oran, and Algiers, and provided them with military training and ammunition from Egypt and Syria. With the support of Morocco and Tunisia, armed Algerians found the accommodation to arrange the war. In reaction, France started to persecute the revolutionists. So, France executed one of the severe criminalities against humanity of the 20th century with the torments in Algeria's struggle.⁷⁵ The rebellions officially began in 1955. In Philippeville, following the murder of 123 civilians by FLN, the French started to fire against the Algerians, killing about 12,000 natives including innocent people. France abrogated the Algerian Assembly and had the dominion in her hand. At the same time Fanon, a physician, provided medical treatment for the wounded Algerian soldiers in the hospital. Fanon also advocated the battle for independence politically by publishing articles. In 1956, the FLN declared that the party formed an army called ALN by holding a secret meeting in Soummam for the war of independence. The aim was to establish a democratic and social country and provide equality for everyone regardless of their religion and ethnic identity. Therefore, all the Algerians would unite against the colonizer. As a result, Abane and Fanon, prominent leaders of the FLN, were exiled

⁷⁴ Peter Krause, "The Algerian National Movement: The Long, Bloody March to Hegemony," in *Rebel Power* (London: Cornell University Press, 2017), 100-130.

⁷⁵ Hudis, "The Engaged Philosopher," 69-91.

to Tunisia by French leaders in 1957 and the colonizer increased the violence and started to attack the civilian population and execute the natives by torturing.

In 1956, 400000 French soldiers received full authorization to operate COIN (Conduct of Counterinsurgency Operations) tactics and 2 FLN members were killed by guillotine. COIN forces utilized many tactics such as suppression, capture, execution, and mass murder. FLN, on the other side, decided to start terrorist attacks on the civilians in Algiers to draw the attention of international organizations. ALN bombed French civilians and administrators in Algiers until 1957. The communication and transportation services in the region ceased. The French Army performed vast executions with the Parachute Division. Nearly 24,000 Algerians were arrested and tormented to get information about the FLN's plans. About 3000 detainees disappeared. Electric shocks, strangulation, and abuses of women that humiliated the Algerian people were one of the torments used by France. Meanwhile, France collected around 150,000 Muslims for her army and trained them to operate the COIN tactics on Algerians.⁷⁶ The French separated the region into four areas towards the end of 1957 and put the areas under strict control. The people were collected in “zone interdites” for defending. The word ‘zone interdites’ means ‘the forbidden area’ in English. These areas were constructed to stay safe against the ALN attack. Most Algerians settled in camps living in pain and suffering from starvation and deprivation. To prevent external support for FLN, the French wired electricity and laid mine-paved fences on the frontier of Tunisia and Morocco. Although France lessened the capability of the FLN in 1958, she was subjected to insults and severe critics from the United Nations, the Arab world, the United States, and Great Britain due to the imposed torture of the Algerian people. While FLN established an Algerian Provisional Government in Tunisia which was recognized internationally, the colonizers, on the other side, noted that the government buildings were arrogated by French authority in Algiers the cause of the non-stop conflict. With the awareness of a civil war in France, Charles De Gaulle was called to create a new administration in France. Under Gaulle's command, French soldiers bombed FLN supporters in the region. The cause of the increasing reactions from the international area, Gaulle proposed autonomy to Algeria in 1959. However, the FLN rejected the referendum and continued the struggle for independence. After

⁷⁶ Christopher Paul et al. “Algerian Independence, 1954–1962 Case Outcome: COIN Loss,” in *Paths to Victory* (California: Rand Corporation, 2013), 75-93.

1959, the struggle spread up and the French government was also in turmoil between the advocates of Gaulle and those who opposed Gaulle's withdrawal. The people gathered in France to protest French attacks in Algeria by building barricades and marching into government buildings. The French soldiers took part on Gaulle's side and quelled the continuance of the riot. After a year, a terrorist organization was established under the name of OAS and committed radical terrorist activities. The organization attacked Muslims and French people both in France and Algeria and provoked ethnic turmoil. By assassinating the leaders and Generals, the organization also increased its violence through bloody terror. Hence, the FLN and the French government arranged a referendum for Algerian independence in a secret meeting and discussed the lands of Algeria and Sahara and the protection of the rights of the colons in Algeria. Algeria's independence was accepted with the referendum held in July 1962. The war of independence resulted in the deaths of 17,500 French soldiers and 1,000,000 Muslims. Despite the fact that FLN seemed unsuccessful in the battle at first, the Algerians gained independence through terrorism and attracted the international arena politically against the violence of France. So, the victory of Algerians in the struggle for independence can be resumed as the political defeat of France.

2.3. Algerian Foreign Diplomacy From Past to Post-Independence

It is predicted that the first organization in Algeria was the colonies formed by Phoenician traders. The most important of these colonies are founded in 814 BC., such as the colony of Carthage, which was formed by the indigenous people called Emazig with military power. Cities such as Annaba and Skikda were founded by this colony. The Carthaginian colony grew in cooperation with the colonies and applied an imperialist method by dominating the region. The colony ruled the region with disturbing attitudes such as slavery, tyranny, and taxation. With the Punic War, the influence of the Carthaginian Empire was replaced by the Roman Empire. Following the conflict between Carthage and Masilian colonies, the winner of the Punic War II was Hannibal, the king of Massilia. He declared the foundation of the Kingdom of Numidia in North Africa.

The Numidian Kingdom, which started to get stronger, was defeated in the Punic War III by the Roman Empire. The Numidian Kingdom, which began to

disintegrate in 88 B.C., was replaced by the Roman Empire and the Kingdom of Mauritania. The history of colonization in the region started with the establishment of the province called 'Africa Nova' by Julius Caesar in 46 BC.

In 25 B.C., Morocco and Algeria were under the influence of the Kingdom of Mauritania. The Algerian region was ruled by the Romans under the name of Mauretania Caesariensis until the 5th century. During this period, oppression and assimilation policies were implemented on the people in the region by the Romans. Hence, the problems began in terms of political, ethnic, religious, and social elements.

In 429, Algeria was occupied by the Vandals. In 646, while the conflict began between Byzantium and the people of the region, Hz. Omar and Hz. Osman were organized several expeditions to the region where the local people met with Islam. During the Umayyad period, Islamic domination was achieved in Algeria and the state followed a discriminatory policy between the Arabs and the non-Arabs. The first impressions of the division of society were seen in this process. The people, disturbed by the discrimination, started rebellions against inequality. In 758, an important period began with the Rustami State, in which Algerian history showed independent diplomacy. The identity of the Rustami State consists of the Ibadis-Emazigs. The Rustami State period ended with the Fatimid State seizing the region. During this period, there were migrations from Arab regions to North Africa. Banu Hilal tribe was also one of the most important tribes that migrated to the region.

Cooperation with the Spaniards prepared the ground for the Spanish occupation of the region. Since Fernando and Isabel, who ruled the Spanish Political Union, made a religious and ethnic distinction in the occupied regions, the local people migrated from North Africa to the coast of the Mediterranean. During this period, the people of the region started piracy with the logic of jihad against European ships. Spain, which was disturbed by piracy, attacked the North African lands many times to seize the trade routes and captured the port cities. The weak people, on the other hand, requested the help of the Ottoman Empire from Selim I through Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha. In 1519, Algeria turned into Ottoman lands and Barbaros Hayrettin Pasha was declared "Sultan Algeria". Algeria was acting semi-independently under the Ottoman rule, and she was able to make commercial agreements with other states. The Algerians lived their own culture. Algeria, which was under Ottoman rule, continued piracy and developed relations with France by making an agreement within the scope of maritime trade.

Many commercial agreements were made between the two countries. As part of the maritime trade agreements, Algeria received taxes from the states. With the capitulations provided by the Ottoman Empire to France, close relations started with the first agreement made with the Algerian Dey in 1619. After the discussion between Algerian Dey Hüseyin and the French Consul in 1827, the de-facto French occupation in Algeria started in 1830. The Ottoman Empire, on the other hand, could not prevent this occupation as it was economically and militarily weak at that time. In this period, the Algerians, who could not achieve unity both militarily and socially, surrendered to France. At that time, the society consisted of Emazig and Arab tribes, and could not get along with each other among themselves. The French, on the other hand, applied the policy of colonial rule with both cultural and military pressures.

Until World War I, Abdulkadir established diplomatic relations with countries such as Morocco, England, and the USA to resist against French Occupation, but he was not very successful. During the First World War, the Algerian people had to join the war on the side of the French and suffered many losses. Their participation in World War I can be said to have been a guide for Algerians. She learned concepts such as establishing a party and defending her rights during the war. The declaration of support for the colonized people after the Russian Revolution and the international acceptance of concepts such as self-determination gave hope to Algerians.⁷⁷ After the First World War, the Algerian people started nationalist resistance with the advantage of contacting the world. At first, an organization called ‘Jeune Algeriens’ was established, which envisaged living under France through reform.⁷⁸ However, the French colonial administration succeeded in pacifying the political organizations for a while by following a harsh policy against the resistance. The declaration of Algeria's independence for the first time in the international arena was carried out by Ahmed Messali Hadj, leader of the communist party Etoile Nord-Africaine, in the “League of Struggle Against Imperialism, Colonial Oppression and for National Independence” held in Brussels in 1927.⁷⁹ In 1936, parties named Etoile Nord Africaine (Algeria), Neo-Destour (Tunisia) and Acron Marocaine (Morocco) established a committee to act jointly in the resistances against imperialism.⁸⁰ They planned to act as a unity on a

⁷⁷ Mehmet Nam, “İşgalden İstiklale Cezayir,” *Tarih Dergisi* 55 (2013): 167.

⁷⁸ Martin Evans, *Algeria: France's Undeclared War* (London: Oxford University Press, 2012), 43.

⁷⁹ Ali Maskan, *Korsanlıktan Sıyasa İslam'a Cezayir'de Siyasal ve Toplumsal Değişim* (Ankara, Hitabevi Yayınları, 2014), 63.

⁸⁰ Peter Dunwoodie, *Writing French Algeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 26.

common point by bringing religion to the fore. Diplomatic relations were established with Ethiopia, which resisted Italy. The Palestinian struggle against Zionism was taken as an example.⁸¹ World War II, on the other hand, has an important place in the independence of Algeria. At that time, the French defender, Algerian Ferhat Abbas, took action due to the pressures of France. He changed his mind and tried to make his voice heard to the public through various publications. One of the most important of these publications is *Algerian Manifesto*. With this Manifesto, he stated that the Algerian people should determine their own destiny.⁸² As a result, the military and cultural pressure of France brought all Algerian politicians together on a common point: independence. On November 1, 1954, a party called FLN (National Liberation Front) was established, giving importance to foreign policy, and adopting the policy of internationalizing the Algerian Independence issue.⁸³ With the Bandung Conference held in Indonesia in April 1955, the FLN announced their struggle for independence to the world. Having established an army called the ‘Armée de Liberation National’ (ALN), the FLN received support from Morocco and Tunisia, which gained independence in 1956, in arms supply, shelter, food, and other coordination issues. FLN established the Algerian Provisional government in North African countries.⁸⁴

Egypt is one of the countries that played an important role in the resistance by supporting the Algerian War of Independence. The Provisional Government of the Republic of Algeria was established in Cairo in 1958 and Egyptian President Gamal Abdunnasser played a role in the internationalization of the struggle.⁸⁵ The Egypt trained Algerian military. Lebanon, China, North Vietnam, Indonesia, and North Korea are among the first states to recognize the interim government.⁸⁶ The Algiers Question, which was discussed at the United Nations General Assembly in 1955, 1958 and 1959, was unsuccessful as a result of the voting.⁸⁷ The Soviet Union and China, which gained strength after World War II, also supported the Algerian Independence

⁸¹ Rabah Aissaoui, “Algerian Nationalists in the French Political Arena and Beyond: The Etoile Nord-Africaine and the Parti du Peuple Algerien in Interwar France,” *The Journal of North African Studies* 15, no.1 (2010): 8-10.

⁸² Faik Bulut, *Şariat Gölgesinde Cezayir* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1994), 86.

⁸³ Mustafa Yasir Kurt, “Masinissa’dan Tebbun’a Cezayir Diplomasisi,” in *Mağrip Diplomasisi*, ed. Mürsel Bayram (İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2021), 235-289

⁸⁴ James McDougall, *The History of Algeria* (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 222.

⁸⁵ Arnold Fraleigh, “The Algerian War of Independence,” *Proceeding of the American Society of International Law at Its Annual Meeting (1921-1969)* 61 (1967): 8.

⁸⁶ Arnold Fraleigh, “The Algerian War of Independence,” *Proceeding of the American Society of International Law at Its Annual Meeting (1921-1969)* 61 (1967): 8.

⁸⁷ McDougall, *The History of Algeria*, 206.

struggle.⁸⁸ Algeria tried to follow an independent policy in foreign diplomacy in this period. Although De Gaulle, the French President, previously defended Algerian dependence on France, he realized that he had entered an irreversible path due to the Algerian problem moving to an international dimension. Following the Evian Agreement signed on March 18, 1962, a referendum was held on July 1, 1962, and Algeria gained her independence with 99.7% of the votes. So French colonialism, which lasted for 132 years, came to an end.⁸⁹ The Algerian War of Independence, one of the toughest resistances against colonialism, started in 1954 with the declaration of war by the FLN party and ended in 1962. In this process, the Algerian people, who suffered from economic and moral losses, experienced severe traumas. They were exposed to physical, cultural, material and moral pressures.

With the Evian Agreement signed on March 18, 1962, although France did not physically own Algerian lands, she maintained her dominance in Algeria in different ways. In this agreement, the existence of clauses aimed at protecting the economic and geostrategic interests of France draws attention.⁹⁰ France took over the management of hydrocarbon resources in Algeria.⁹¹ The control of the military bases was temporarily left for France and it was agreed that France would provide social and economic assistance to Algeria. David Gordon stated that despite the disappearance of French Algeria, the presence of France in Algeria continues.⁹² Algeria, which is politically independent, remained economically dependent on France when the terms of the agreement were evaluated. For this reason, the policy of nationalism made itself felt in the management of hydrocarbon sources. However, Ben Bella made an effort to eliminate the privileges given to France. For example, the Sonatrach energy company was established in 1963 and took control of the production and distribution sectors in Algeria and achieved its purpose.⁹³ Using LNG technology, the company started to export LNG to the USA and the UK with the gas liquefaction method.⁹⁴ Hydrocarbon

⁸⁸ Yahia H. Zoubir, "The Resurgence of Algeria's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century," *The Journal of North African Studies* 9, no.2 (2006): 64.

⁸⁹ Kurt, "Masinissa'dan Tebbun'a Cezayir Diplomasisi," 276.

⁹⁰ Kurt, "Masinissa'dan Tebbun'a Cezayir Diplomasisi," 276.

⁹¹ Algeria: France-Algeria Independence Agreements (Evian Agreements), *International Legal Materials* 1, no. 2 (1962), 227-228.

⁹² David C. Gordon, *The Passing of French Algeria* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), 221.

⁹³ Phillip C. Naylor, *North Africa: A History from Antiquity to the Present* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 219.

⁹⁴ Mark H. Hayes, "Algerian Gas to Europe: The Transmed Pipeline and Early Spanish Gas Import Projects," *Geopolitics of Natural Gas Study* (2004): 3.

exports have been one of the important factors driving Algeria's foreign policy. In addition, natural gas in the territory of Algeria was given to Italy and Spain through pipelines.⁹⁵

The first president of Algeria was Ahmed Ben Bella, who served in the FLN party for many years. With the Algerian Charter prepared in 1964, decisions were taken on foreign policy and diplomacy. As stated in the Charter, the party will act according to the determined principles, and the struggle against colonialism will continue. Algeria will participate in the Organizations in the Maghreb, North Africa, and the Arab World. Algeria tried to build the 'Africanism' element on the state identity. Algeria, which was culturally cut off from the African continent during the colonial period, started to strengthen her cultural and economic ties with African countries. Algeria, which received support from African countries, especially Ghana, in the struggle for independence, adopted a policy of solidarity with the African continent.

With the intense efforts of Ghana and Algeria, the Organization of African Unity was established to spread anti-imperialist rhetoric for the African continent to get rid of the colonialists. Huari Boumedyen, who came to power with a military coup in 1965, maintained the same perception in foreign policy. Abdülaziz Bouteflika, who served as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Algeria during this period, initiated efforts to be for the visibility of Algeria in world politics and to put away the French privileges.⁹⁶ For example, Algeria took part in regional and international organizations such as the G77, OPEC, and the New International Economic Order (NIEO) and hosted the G77 meeting in 1967.⁹⁷ Relations with Egypt, on the other hand, weakened due to the disagreement in the tactics applied during the Arab-Israeli Wars in 1967, and became tense as a result of Anwar Sadat's agreement with Israel.⁹⁸ Algerian foreign policy has changed with the nationalist Shadli Bincédid in 1978. Due to Islamist opposition, he was more interested in regional and local problems. During this period, "Agreement of Brotherhood and Reconciliation" was signed between Algeria and Tunisia in 1983, and in 1989, the Arab Maghreb Union was established by signing

⁹⁵ Musso, Marta "The Transmediterranean Gas Pipeline: A Political History", P.I.E-Peter (der), Les routes du pétrole/ Oil Routes, Lang S.A (2016): 141.

⁹⁶ Kurt, "Masinissa'dan Tebbun'a Cezayir Diplomasisi," 280.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Naylor, "North Africa," 220.

the Marrakech Agreement with the participation of Morocco, Algeria, Libya, Tunisia, and Mauritania.⁹⁹ Bincédid, who kept his distance from the USSR with the invasion of Afghanistan, intensified diplomatic talks with the USA and France to improve relations. This situation disturbed the opposition groups. After the uprising in October, 'Front Islamique du Salut (FIS)' was established on March 10, 1989, with an arrangement that allowed the establishment of a new party and received the support of the majority of the people. FIS demanded reform for a new constitution and election which was accepted by Bincédid.

In the municipal elections of 1990, the FIS achieved a significant success. However, the local elections of 1991 were annulled by military intervention after FIS gained the majority. A civil war arose as a result of the transition to a multi-party-political life with the amendments to the Constitution and the cancellation of the elections. At the beginning of the civil war, European countries and the USA avoided taking sides. With the growth of the civil war, France argued that the Islamist movements disrupted the regime, and that the government should be supported. However, Germany and the USA argued that it should be negotiated with the FIS because they distinguished the Islamists into two groups. The first group was those who sought a solution and the second group was those who carried out armed actions. During this period, France supported Algeria in many ways in order not to lose its dominance in the region and to prevent the Islamists from seizing Algeria, and made important attempts for the International Monetary Fund and the EU to provide economic assistance to Algeria.¹⁰⁰ Countries against the Islamist opposition, such as Tunisia and Egypt, also supported the Algerian government.¹⁰¹ These countries provided intelligence and military assistance to the Algerian government during the escalation of the civil war. With the growing civil war, Algeria lost its visibility in the international arena. The first attempt was the Catholic Community of Sant'Edigio in Rome in 1994, seeking a peaceful solution to the Algerian civil war. This community proposed a meeting with all the political parties to find a common solution. The Algerian government, who perceived this proposal as interference in its internal affairs, rejected the meeting. The new constitution prepared in 1995 could not prevent

⁹⁹ Kurt, "Masinissa'dan Tebbun'a Cezayir Diplomasisi," 284.

¹⁰⁰ Yahia Zoubir, "Algeria in Transition Reforms and Development Prospects," in *The Dialectics of Algeria's Foreign Relations, 1992 to the Present*, ed. Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M. Bougheria (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), 158.

¹⁰¹ Kurt, "Masinissa'dan Tebbun'a Cezayir Diplomasisi," 280-285.

the government from committing massacres against civilians. International organizations such as Amnesty International, UNICEF, and UNHCR condemned the massacre of civilians by the government, and UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan's mediation offer was also rejected by the Algerian government. Despite the efforts, the government rejected offers other than military support for the dissolution of the armed groups and caused the civil war to continue until the 1999 elections. In this process, Algeria continued its international cooperation and borrowed a large amount of money from the IMF.

In 1999, Abdulaziz Bouteflika was elected as the head of the state. Condemned by many countries, Algeria adopted a liberal foreign policy to repair her international image and attract foreign investors. For this reason, she hosted the OAU summit in July 1999 and was appreciated by the world in the 2000s for mediating to end the tension between Ethiopia and Eritrea. The importance given to the African continent has been revived, and cooperation has been made with the rich countries of the continent such as Nigeria and the Republic of South Africa: New Partnership for Africa's Development-NEPAD. In this period, Algeria signed an "Oil and Natural Gas Cooperation Agreement" to develop cooperation with the EU and followed a multi-faceted foreign policy far from historical hostility. At the same time, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Bouteflika signed a "Strategic Partnership Agreement" in 2001 to develop economic, political, and military relations. In 2006, Putin wrote off Algeria's \$4.7 billion debt.¹⁰² In 2019, Abdülmecid Tebbun was elected as the head of the state and displayed a harsh attitude toward France against the colonial past with the discourses of the "Africa Initiative".¹⁰³ He insists that France has committed a crime against humanity and should apologize from Algeria. By creating a new constitution, articles that would prevent France from interfering in Algerian internal affairs and paving the way for the African Union were included.¹⁰⁴ He stated that he aimed to increase the trade volume with Turkey by drawing attention to the past relations.¹⁰⁵ Tebbun stated that they will give a new impetus to their international cooperation by

¹⁰² May Barth, "The Algeria-Russia Strategic Partnership: An Assertive Geopolitical Move?" *Brussels International Center* (2019): 2-3.

¹⁰³ Kurt, "Masinissa'dan Tebbun'a Cezayir Diplomasisi," 288.

¹⁰⁴ Anadolu Ajansı, "Cezayir, yeni Anayasa ile ülkedeki Fransız Nüfuzunu kırmak istiyor," September 19, 2020.

¹⁰⁵ Anadolu Ajansı, "Cezayir Cumhurbaşkanı Tebbun: Ticaret hacmimizi 5 milyar doların üstüne çıkarma hedefinde mutabık kaldık," August 15, 2020.

establishing ‘Agence Algérienne de Coopération pour la Solidarité et le Développement’ in 2020. In this case, the foreign policy determined by the FLN and ALN entered a new era with this agency.¹⁰⁶



¹⁰⁶ Saber Blidi, “Algeria is Seeking to Recapture Lost Influence in Africa,” *The Arab Weekly* (April, 25 2020).

CHAPTER 3: IMPORTANCE OF FRENCH LANGUAGE AND ALGERIAN FRANCOPHONE LITERATURE

3.1. French Education Policy and French Language in Algeria

A language is a tool in the transmission of culture and literature and the facts of the history of different nations. Nation and language may not progress to the same degree during their development. In other words, it is not inevitable that there will be unchanging ties between nation and language in every situation. In Algeria; during its historical development, it necessitated the use of French, which is far from tradition and culture in Arab societies, and so colonialism has resulted in bilingualism.

Before the French occupation, the language of instruction was Arabic. The education system in Algeria was generally limited to teaching literacy and religious education. Education was provided by religious foundations with unlimited spending power. During the Ottoman period, Algerians adopted an Ottoman-style traditional education. Cities such as the capital Algier, Zığriye, and Tilimsan were important education centers. The education given in mosques and madrasahs continued in primary, secondary, high school, and college. There were female teacher schools under the name of ‘Darul-Mualime’.¹⁰⁷ Various professions such as sewing-embroidery, housekeeping, and economics were taught in these schools. The education was given in schools in villages and in madrasahs in cities. The Qur'an was memorized, fiqh education was given and Arabic was taught. The most important of these madrasahs were located in Algier, Constantine, and Tilimsan.

Higher education was carried out in madrasahs. According to some studies, it was stated that five thousand five hundred eighty-three students received higher education in these madrasahs during the years of occupation. After the occupation, due to the policies followed by the French, it was observed that only 296 Algerian students attended secondary education in the 1930s, and 97 students attended higher education.¹⁰⁸

After the French occupation, the colonizers, who were missionaries both in terms of identity and religion, did not support the religious schools that provided

¹⁰⁷ Sabri Hizmetli, “Osmanlı Yönetimi Döneminde Tunus ve Cezayir’in Eğitim ve Kültür Tarihine Genel Bir Bakış,” *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 32, (1991): 15-16.

¹⁰⁸ Ahmet Gedik, “XIX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Cezayir Şehrinde Sosyal ve Ticari Hayat,” (Doktora Tezi, Ege Üniversitesi, 2013), 129.

Islamic education in Algeria. According to the French, these schools were unnecessary. Hence the colonizer did not provide financial aid and closed them. The assets and lands of these schools were sold to Europeans¹⁰⁹. In this process, the number of French schools increased. The curriculum was reorganized entirely in French.

The cause of the conflicts experienced during the colonial period and the departure of Muslim teachers who wanted to escape from the oppression, the Arab Bureaus took action to revive the declining Islamic education. It was aimed that approximately three thousand children learn both Arabic and French by opening Arabic literacy courses in mosques in every city. In 1863, about two thousand courses were opened, and besides literacy, theology courses were also given. In 1865, a school was opened to train teachers to increase the number of educators. Twenty-five French and ten Muslim teachers were trained in this school. In 1857, the first Franco-Algerian College was opened in the city of Algier. Following this, these colleges were opened in the cities of Constantine and Oran, and in 1867 an art school began to provide education for Algerians. However, training for professionals such as teachers, lawyers, and notaries in madrasahs disturbed the French, and the French confiscated the property of the mosques; In the 1870s, the number of these courses decreased to thirty-six, and the schools were closed for various reasons.

The literacy rate among Muslim children decreased considerably after the 1870s. Neither the French nor the Algerians were interested in the education of European children with Algerian children in the same class. Since the number of Muslim teachers was low, French teachers were employed even in Muslim schools. In these schools, there are different practices from traditional education. For example, the time allocated to Arabic and Islamic lessons is very limited. Within a thirty-hour program, only three hours of Arabic could be seen as an elective course; other courses were entirely in French.¹¹⁰

During the colonial period, the cost for the education of European children was five times more than the money spent on the education of Muslim children¹¹¹. After 1890, Muslim children started to participate in education and training together with

¹⁰⁹ Eric. J. Hobsbawn, *Devrim Çağı: 1789–1848*, trans. Jülide Ergüder ve Alaeddin Şenel (Ankara: V Yayınları, 1989), 291-292.

¹¹⁰ Elem Eyryce, “Cezayir’in Fransız Sömürgeciliğine Karşı Yürüttüğü Bağımsızlık Mücadelesi,” (Master’s Thesis, Ege University, 2008), 115.

¹¹¹ Karakaçan, “*Cezayir’de Fransız İşgali*,” 120.

the French. The French schools have a different style of education from the traditional education given in Islamic schools. The children brought up in French schools were the children of Muslim families who accepted to be well-educated French citizens and adapted to European culture by being exposed to cultural assimilation. Thus, the French started to raise Algerians who would adopt the French culture as their own. The colonizer, moreover, created a separate class among Muslims. In addition to economic colonialism, the French implemented a very strong cultural imperialism using education and language. It can be said that they used this imperialism not only by preventing the education given in Arabic but also to divide the Algerian Muslims among themselves. The locals come from different ethnicities such as Berbers and Arabs. To persuade the Berbers, The French claimed that the Berbers were of European descent and that they should return to their own culture. The colonizers, furthermore, banned the Berbers from using Arabic. Traces of this policy are still observable among wealthy barbers.

In 1904, schools providing education in Arabic could be opened only with the permission of the governor of the French administration. However, primary education for Europeans has been compulsory since 1882. The French emphasized the importance of spoken language in order to transform Algeria into French territory and stressed that the acceptance of French as the official language of the country and forgetting Arabic was one of the most important factors for assimilation.¹¹²

In 1938, Arabic was completely banned and French was used as an official language in all areas. It has been argued that Arabic is an inadequate language and has been completely removed from the written language. Although Arabic is the mother tongue of the natives, it has been treated as a foreign language. In 1949, the French and Muslim schools were merged. In 1958, only 12% of Muslim children attended primary school and did not go beyond.

Today, Algerians use three different languages. Adopting Arabic as its official language, Algeria still uses French in state affairs and official correspondence. Arabic is used in Algeria to maintain relations with other Arab countries and to preserve Arab and Islamic cultures. There are two types of Arabic in Algeria; one is the official spoken language. The other is a dialect containing Arabic words used by the Berbers.

¹¹² Metin Parıldı, "Fransız Sömürgeciliği Döneminde Kuzey Afrika'da Arap Dili ve Edebiyatına Genel Bir Bakış," *Bilimname* 18, no.1 (2010), 117-120.

Arabic, which was banned during the colonial period, became the language of education again after Algerian independence. In 1992, English was accepted as the first foreign language in primary schools, and the dominance of French was tried to be balanced with English.

Before the French occupation, the literacy rate in Algeria was about 40%. According to the United Nations report, the literacy rate dropped to 15% after the occupation. While 7.9% of women and 29.9% of men were literate in 1966, this rate increased to 48.6% in 1985 and 72% in 2000.¹¹³ The Qur'an has a great role in education for Algerians. Adopting an Islamic culture, Algeria adopted a religious duty to read and write by obeying the command "read" stated in the Qur'an. French, which has been taught as a foreign language since the age of 8, is seen and used more primarily than Arabic, as it is still a favorite language of Berbers, in French schools. In 2008, in accordance with Article 27 of the National Education Law, education was organized as pre-school, basic education (9 years), high school education (3 years), higher education, and education up to the age of 16 was made compulsory free of charge.¹¹⁴

To sum up, France waged a war against the Arabic language and culture and she struggled for replacing them with the French language and culture to diversify Algerian national literature and culture. The Algerians were forced to learn French and benefit from the French civilization. As a result of the repressive practices, the people expressed themselves with the imposed language, namely French. The fact that the language of instruction was French and the people were forced to speak this language led to the rise of Algerian Francophone writers. Although the literature produced by these writers is in French, it contains Arabic in its soul. Folk literature, in addition, prevents the Algerian values from being completely erased and destroyed during this process. And Algerian Francophone literature which continues to exist today has given momentum to the victory of the Algerian revolution. Despite the fact that the schools providing education in Arabic were closed, Arabic education continued secretly at home and allowed the people to speak Arabic at the same time. At this point, bilingualism emerges in Algeria. Bilingualism; is defined as a person's acquisition of

¹¹³“Algeria,” Web Solutions Llc. And Its Licensors, accessed May 1, 2022, <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/19/Algeria-HISTORYBACKGROUND>

¹¹⁴ Kishore Singh, “Report of The Special Rapporteur On the Right to Education,” in *United Nations General Assembly, Human Rights Council*, June 29, 2015 (2015), 6-9.

a second language, active speaking, or learning a second language close to her mother tongue as a result of a number of reasons and different conditions. Among these, bilingualism can be considered as a situation that occurs as a result of the individual's close relations with the people of a foreign country. As a criterion for defining bilingualism, Bloomfield states that both languages should be used well. On the contrary, Haugen states that bilingualism begins at the point of putting forward meaningful expressions in the opposite language. On the other hand, Diebold states that bilingualism, in the simplest sense, begins with the contact of both languages with each other. So, the reflection of bilingualism in Algeria appears as Francophonie.

3.2. La Francophonie, Françafrigue: Organization International de la Francophonie (OIF,1970)

The words Francophone and Francophony were introduced in 1880 by the geographer Onésime Reclus and took their place in the dictionary. This term found the opportunity to become widespread in 1962 thanks to the President of Tunisia Habib Bourguiba and the President of Senegal Léopold Sédar Senghor. Francophonie means the study of the cultures of countries that speak the French language, other than France. Francophone is a term developed for those who speak or mostly use the French language.¹¹⁵

The Organization Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF) is an international organization in which French is the current language, or represented by the membership of countries and regions with a certain link to French culture, where the majority of the population speaks French. 88 states are members of the organization. Of these members, 54 are full members, 7 are partial members, and 27 are observer members. Founded in 1970, the organization uses the slogan of equality, integrativeness, and solidarity. It was initially established as a small organization consisting of only French-speaking countries, but over time it has grown and transformed into an international organization with the cooperation of member states in the fields of culture, science, economy, justice, and peace.¹¹⁶

The Charter of the Francophonie establishes the rules of the organization. The highest authority of the organization is the Francophonie Summit. The most important

¹¹⁵ Ayşe Alper, "Francophonie et Litteratures Francophones," *Gazi University* 21, no.2 (2001): 245-251.

¹¹⁶ "Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie," Wikipédia, L'encyclopédie Libre, last modified May 8, 2022, https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organisation_internationale_de_la_francophonie.

individual is the Secretary-General. The current Secretary-General is Louise Mushikiwabo. The OIF consists of the Assemblée parlementaire de la Francophonie (Francophone Parliamentary Assembly) and four agencies and adopts francophone cooperation. These agencies are: Agence Universitaire de la Francophonie (Association of Francophone Universities), TV5MONDE, Association Internationale des Maires Francophones (International Francophone Mayors Union) and Université Senghor (Senghor University) in Alexandria. The mission of the Francophonie is to promote the French language, cultural and linguistic diversity, to emphasize peace, democracy, and human rights, to support education, training, and research, and to promote economic cooperation to ensure sustainable development.¹¹⁷

The words francophone and francophonie are fairly new. The term, coined by Onésime Réclus, gained popularity in texts by Senegal's President Léopold Sédar Senghor. Habib Bourguiba, President of the Republic of Senegal and Tunisia, not only noted the existence of the Francophone population but also proposed to bring them together in a community. During the francophone states conference from Niamey to Niger in 1969, he proposed the idea of establishing the Agency for Cultural and Technical Cooperation (ACCT). "Agence de la Francophonie" with its current name was established. The first Summit was held in Versailles in 1986 with the participation of 42 delegations. Hanoï Boutros Boutros-Ghali, vice-president of Haut Conseil de l'Université Senghor, was appointed in 1997 as the first general secretary.

This organization, which reveals the existence of many countries that are not French but use the French language, consists of universities, publishing houses, and press organs that examine French culture. This situation led to the formation of the literature of French speakers. Francophone countries can be specified in three different categories: French-speaking countries such as Quebec, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Valle d'Aosta, African countries that use French as an official language, mostly colonial countries, and countries where French is the language of culture. These countries, which consist of different social structures, have tended to express their own cultures in French and to announce them to the world. The answer to one of the questions raised in the World literature discussions in Chapter Two is actually hidden here. Francophone literature answers the question of whether literary works that do

¹¹⁷ "Qui sommes-nous?" Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie, accessed February 2, 2022, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101228163453/http://www.francophonie.org/Qui-sommes-nous.html>.

not belong to France but are written in French belong to French Literature. Each work in Francophone literature has its own uniqueness. Because each country's mentality, cultural values, social structures, economic levels, and problems they face are different from each other. They are trying to announce themselves to the world and find a place in world literature. For example, a few students from Senegal founded a magazine called 'L'etudiant Noir' and published it in French, explaining that they exist with their own identities without being ashamed of their color and that they do not need to imitate Europe for civilization, and exhibitions were held in France on this subject.¹¹⁸ In this process, while Francophone countries saw French as a means of expressing themselves, the French were pleased that their language was spreading and dynamic in the world.

The development of Francophone literature, especially in the Maghreb region of Africa, accompanied the war. In Algeria, the French language was used as a very effective method of gaining their independence. With the independence of African countries in the 1960s, their literature began to develop. One of the main themes of African literature is usually the criticism of the colonial system. Other topics explain that Africans should have the same rights as Europeans, that there is no difference between people, and that they are alienated from their own country. While telling this, the writers who decorate their works with a love story also touch on the subject of marriage, traditions and customs, and identity issues.

Although the situation in Algeria was more painful than in other North African countries, Algerians who started to read and write in French often stated that they did not forget the Arab culture in their works, but that they used this language for independence.¹¹⁹ Algerians are happy to express themselves to the world with Francophone literature, therefore still use the French language despite the policy of Arabization.

3.3. Algerian- Francophone Literature and It's Transformation

As the region was dominated by many civilizations, Algerian literature was influenced by the Romans, Arabs, Spaniards, and French. Some of the most famous

¹¹⁸ Alper, "Francophonie et Litteratures Francophones," 245-251.

¹¹⁹ Ahmet Hamdi Can, "Frankofoninin Modern Cezayir Edebiyatındaki Rolü," *İstanbul Üniversitesi Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 22, no.1 (2013): 77-91.

names of Algerian authors are “Kateb Yacine, Rachid Mimouni, Mouloud Mammeri, Mouloud Feraoun, Assia Djebar, and Muhammed Dib”.

It can be thought that Algerian literature started in the Numidian period. The first known work, *The Golden Ass*, was written in Latin and its author was the philosopher Apuleius, who received a Platonist education in Athens. In the same period, the works written by Augustine of Hippo, Nonius Marcellus, and Martianus Capella can be found. In the Middle Ages, after the Arabs settled in the region, the works of Arab writers such as the works of Ahmad al-Buni, Ibn Manzur, and Ibn Khaldoun are discovered. In the Ottoman period, the works continued to be written in Arabic, and poetry came to the fore. Algeria produced very few Arabic works under the rule of France in the 19th century and she was exposed to colonial policies. Therefore, the works were written in French under the influence of the exploiter. Hence, Algerian-Francophone literature was born as a result of the prohibition of Arabic and the imposition of French. Furthermore, it became popular when the perception of the French language was accepted as the voice of the Algerian people to the world during the independence phase. The main problem in Algerian Francophone literature is no longer the French language. However, it has been questioned whether the works express the reality of Algeria. Some questions such as "Where exactly does the Francophone writer stand in this process?", "Does he really take the side of the people? Can he sense the public's problems? Could the author contribute to the struggle for independence and the re-establishment of the country?" has been put forward. All these questions set the framework for Algerian Francophone literature.

Algerian Francophone literature developed after the second world war. After the literati had a complete proficiency in French and reached the level of being able to express the realities of life in this language, they started to produce literary works in French. It is a well-known fact that they are highly proficient in this language. The only point where they can be distinguished from the French literati has been the content and style. Everything developed as desired by the colonizer, and Algerian people and intellectuals started to use French verbally and in writing. However, by the time the French language has become a tool to express the Algerian identity, value judgments, and nationality instead of erasing the identity and values. On the contrary, it enabled the writers to express their situation easier and reach wider masses. Because if the author uses Arabic in his works, he would make himself heard only by a limited group

of Arab people. Therefore, it can be said that Algerian Francophone literature is a part of the struggle for independence. It can be considered that the Algerian Francophone literature supported the Algerians for awakening the people to protect national values and breaking the silence of the Algerian people, announcing the situation to the world. This may explain why the French language still has an important place in Algeria.

The Algerian Francophone literature will be examined in 3 parts. The first part is about the beginning of French colonialism between 1830-1945. The second part is the period of increased political tensions and the violence of colonialism between the years 1945-1962. The third part is the period of independence after 1962 while the emptiness and nationalistic feelings of the people were strong. Alienation, adaptation, cultural assimilation, and identity confusions that emerged with colonialism and the turmoil in the socio-cultural perceptions of the people in the mentioned years will be examined. The changes that occurred in the socio-cultural structure of the Algerian society during the colonial period and the effects of colonialism on the identity, personality, daily life, and thoughts of the Algerian people will be discussed by examining some novels that have an important place in the Algerian Francophone literature. Famous pied-noir Albert Camus' novel named *The Stranger* and Yasmina Khadra's *What The Day Owes The Night* will be subjected.

The willingness of some people to be assimilated with some privileges and the resistance of others to change will be interpreted in parallel with its causes and consequences. Fanon states that this situation is the result of the colonizer's effort to put across the colonized culture as an inferior culture. Furthermore, France admitted that the occupied nation is unreal, and the colonized biological structure is confused and flawed¹²⁰. According to Fanon, the majority of the people preserve their pristine traditions, which are completely different from those who created the colonial situation¹²¹. On the other hand, the intellectuals are strongly devoted themselves to interiorizing the culture of the occupying power, using every opportunity to criticize their national culture or propagating by confirming the claims of occupying power.

¹²⁰ Frantz Fanon, *Yeryüzünün Lanetlileri*, trans. Şen Süer (İstanbul: Versus Kitap, 2017), 41.

¹²¹ Frantz Fanon, "Ulusal Kültürün Karşılıklı Temelleri ve Özgürlük Mücadelesi," *Conatus* 7 (November- April 2007): 175.

According to Zanaar, the closer the colonial power, the colonized and the existing institutions get, the faster the alienation process gets along.¹²² Due to this situation, double standards develop in behavior and the acceptance of the colonial mentality prevents discovering the causes of alienation. However, this situation will show itself in the form of a desire to be more attached to the elements of her own culture and to reveal her own history and culture in a rather exaggerated way after a while among colonized people. The clinging to the traditions and customs, which are tried to be forgotten with the influence of colonialism, brings a movement of rejection against the civilization and the technique of the colonizers. In this case, the Africans who experienced alienation against the characteristics of their own culture commit themselves to the nationalist movements.

The Algerian Francophone literature can be summarized as alienation and assimilation between 1830-1945, the violence of colonizers and struggle of the colonized between 1945-1962, and social criticism after 1962.

3.3.1. 1830-1945 period

French language, which is the mandatory means of expression of the literary product in Algeria, is not preferred by the authors till this language is imposed on them. Algerian writers use this language, which has become a part of themselves as a result of the historical conditions; so they used French and produced literary works in this language.

During this period, the question arises whether the literature produced in this language that does not belong to her, namely Francophone literature, is the national literature of Algeria. At this point, it is possible to say that there are writers who are on two different lines. The writers who set their heart on literature, who had the motivation to write, but who did not want to be deprived of performing this skill due to the practices of the colonial administration, and those who wrote in the French line. Because the colonial order allowed literary products to be printed and published if the content of the literary products praised the colonizer and her actions, that is, as long as it was parallel to the colonial mentality. In this case, it is possible to say that the colony

¹²² Renate Zahar, *Frantz Fanon: Sömürgecilik ve Yabancılaşma*, trans. Bayram Doktor (İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1999), 1-106.

dominates all kinds of literary works in the lands under its dominance that do not tell the truth.

In this process, Bin Sharif's publication in 1920, *Ahmed B. Mustafa, Goumier* is considered to be the first French-language novel in Algerian Francophone literature. Then, *Zehra La Femme Du Mineur*, a novel by Abdulkadir Hac Hamuv, was published in 1925. Bin Şeyh, İsa Zahir, Cemîle Devbâş (his novel *Azize*), and Zennâtî (his novel *Bûlenvâr*) are other literary figures who can serve as examples of the works of the period. But it can be said that none of these novels deal with real problems. Because these studies analyze the Algerian people almost entirely from a European perspective and look at events from a European perspective. Algerian novels between 1920 and 1950 are studies that pursue the policy of integration with France, with few exceptions such as Emir Abdulkadir (1808-1883) and Abdulhamid Badis (1889-1940), who acted with a sense of nationalism, and tried to keep the Arab language alive and protected from extinction. In order to establish a relationship between literature and society, all the dynamics, such as the colonial process that Algeria had to go through, exceptional conditions, the war on Arab literature, the imposition of the French language and culture should be considered. Although the French domination did not develop naturally but developed as a result of imposition and coercion as a result of historical conditions, the Algerian writers used this language and culture well. However, the point to be noted here is the fact that the writer's choice of French as a means of expression is not a personal preference, but a result of a social phenomenon.

3.3.1.1. Pieds-noirs

Pied-noir is the name given to the population of European origin settled in the North African countries when they were French colonies. This European population consisted primarily of the French, but also of Spaniards and Italians who became French over time. During cultural transitions and administrative reforms, North African Jews were gradually included in the pied-noir society.¹²³ The majority of North African Arabs who supported the colonizers were never considered pieds-noirs, defined as Harki, and lived separately.

¹²³ “Pieds-Noirs,” Wikipédia, L’encyclopédie Libre, last modified May 6, 2022. [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieds-noirs#:~:text=Les%20pieds%2Dnoirs%20sont%20les,et%20les%20Magr%C3%A9bins%20\(Maures\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieds-noirs#:~:text=Les%20pieds%2Dnoirs%20sont%20les,et%20les%20Magr%C3%A9bins%20(Maures))

Since Algeria was directly dependent on France during the colonial period, the concept of pied-noir has been identified with Algeria to a certain extent. The most sensitive issue in Algeria's independence process was the position of the pieds-noirs. 'Pied-noir' in French means 'black foot' in English. There are many rumors about how this name was coined. The term was considered to be used as a distinctive designation because Europeans, unlike the indigenous population, wore black boots. Another is that the pronunciation and meaning of the word 'pionier' in French, which means 'leader' in English, was changed, loaded with humor, and spread in the form of 'pied-noir'. It can be considered as an alternative possibility that it is a term used in the figurative sense of black-hearted people.

While some of the 'pieds-noirs', as traders and landowners, formed essential parts of the colonial economy, they also housed low-income, working-class Europeans who had come to North Africa in search of a better future. The ethnocultural landscape of this society was further differentiated by the somewhat incorporation of native Jews into the pieds-noirs, but Jews were always seen as a distinct faction among the pieds-noirs. There were also processes in which the current anti-Semitism movements among European pieds-noirs further sensitized and obscured the position of the Jewish section. At the same time, Arabs working under the French administration were also known as 'Harki', which means traitor, although they were once called pieds-noirs. These Arabs who sacrificed themselves for France did not enjoy the same rights as pieds-noirs, they were not given privileges such as French citizenship and the right to vote. After independence, they could not go to France because they did not have citizenship, and many of them were killed because they were traitors.

One of the most important examples of pied-noir belonging to the working class is Albert Camus, who was raised in a poor neighborhood in Algeria, known worldwide. Other famous pied-noirs include fashion designer Yves Saint-Laurent, singer Enrico Macias, and philosopher Jacques Derrida.

In 1959, the total population of pieds-noirs in Algeria was determined as 1025000. After Algeria's independence in 1962, with the acceptance of Independent Algeria by Charles de Gaulle, the pied-noir and Harki population thought that France betrayed them. Immediately after independence, there was a mass migration to France, and approximately one million people returned to France. In addition, most of the Harkis could not emigrate, and from time to time some organized civil wars. The

Harkis themselves or their families were either killed because they were seen as collaborators of France in the later periods, or they were suppressed in Algeria. A small number of them immigrated to France. The children of the Harkis are not widely accepted among the immigrant population of Arab origin who settled in France.¹²⁴ After the independence, the pied-noir society, which was excluded by the French like the Harkis, was called "stupid black-footed" by the French presidents and wanted to be deported by De Gaulle. Louis Joxe, on the other hand, argued that the pied-noir segment should remain in Algeria. De Gaulle announced that they ended their relations with the pied-noir section just after the independence of Algeria.¹²⁵

Regardless of the circumstances and the dramas experienced by the native Arabs, many pieds-noirs lived with the feeling that they were losing their homeland, and later lost it, as Albert Camus stated in some of his writings.

3.3.1.2. Albert Camus

Albert Camus was born in 1913 in the town of Mondovi, in French Algeria, in a family that had economic difficulties. His father is of French descent and his mother is Spanish. In 1914, his father died in World War I when Camus was only 1 year old. He started high school in 1923 and completed his higher education at the University of Algeria. He became ill with tuberculosis in 1930 and completed his philosophy education in 1936. Camus, who joined the French Communist Party in 1934, was expelled from the party on the accusation of being a Trotskyist. He was declared 'suspicious' because of the article he published in *Alger Républicain* magazine in 1935, which dealt with the difficult living conditions of the locals living in the Kabyle region. He is also known as the first journalist to be exiled from Algeria.¹²⁶ He reacted to the government for the imprisonment of many innocent people in 1939, and also found the violent attitudes of France against Algerians during the Setif events unfair and criticized it.¹²⁷ Following a pacifist path during World War II, Camus joined the French Resistance against the Nazis. Between 1943 and 1947, he served as the editor of a magazine called *Combat*, which was a supporter of the French resistance. He

¹²⁴ Georges-Marc Benamou, *Bir Fransız Yalanı*, trans. Sonat Ece Kaya (İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2006), 275-292.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, 297-307.

¹²⁶ Pierre Rubé and Kenneth Douglas, "Who Was Albert Camus?" *Yale French Studies*, no.25 (1960): 8-9.

¹²⁷ Lawrence D. Kritzman, "Camus's Curious Humanism or the Intellectual in Exile," *MLN French Issue* 112, no. 4 (September 1997).

started working on human rights in the 1950s, criticized the Soviet methods for being harsh, and opposed the death penalty.

Camus, who was born and grew up in Algeria, found himself in a dilemma with the start of the Algerian War of Independence in 1954. Although he used the definition of 'pied-noir' to describe Algerian-born French (himself also) which carries a negative meaning for the colonizers, he sided with France in this war. He argued that Algeria should not be independent, but an autonomous region under France, and that the French and Algerians could live together. Despite the fact that he supported France during the struggle for independence, he secretly worked to protect Algerians who were sentenced to death.¹²⁸ At the same time, Camus condemned the FLN's brutal behavior of shooting the Algerian French, and violence.¹²⁹ For this reason, he did not join any collective organizations and tried to publish his works and thoughts from a humanist perspective so that both sides would stay away from violence. Camus wrote in the French magazine *L'Express* in 1955 and 1956 to stop the violence. In 1957, Camus won the Nobel Prize for Literature and became one of the most powerful French writers of the 20th century. Camus died on January 4, 1960, as a result of a traffic accident.

Albert Camus' first work is the play *Revolt in the Asturias*, written in 1936. His first work is about the pressure of the government on Spanish miners, which resulted in the death of about 2000 people in 1934. Later, in 1937, he published his first book known as *The Wrong Side and the Right Side*. We can divide the works of Camus into three parts. The first part can be said to cover his works written between 1936 and 1944. In this section, with an impartial view that mostly deals with existentialism and absurdism, he emphasizes the harms of the totalitarian regime to human beings and humanitarian values. His works *The Stranger*, *Le Mythe de Sysiphe*, and *Caligula* can be evaluated in the first section. The second section includes his works *The Plague*, *The Rebel*, and *The Just Assassins* which consist of studies on the relationship between the riots and the politics against people in a country. In the third part, he showed a more pacifist stance and had a neutral point of view because of the contradictions he

¹²⁸“Albert Camus,” Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia, accessed April 10, 2022. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albert_Camus

¹²⁹ Albert Camus, *DeFTERler 3: Mart 1951-Aralık 1959*, trans. Ümit Moran Atlan (İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2003), 232-233.

experienced due to the Algerian independence issue; so he concentrated on love. Although existentialism is felt in the works of Albert Camus, the more stressed subject is Absurdism. One of the most striking examples in which his philosophy is reflected in his novels is called *The Stranger* and the other one is named *The Plague*. Camus explained his philosophy with the *Myth of Sisyphus* and made his readers feel dualism: a vicious circle such as birth and death, happiness and sadness, good and bad. Camus does not exhibit pessimistic behaviors in his philosophy. Although he expresses that life is meaningless and will eventually result in death, he does not oppose things that will add meaning to life and emphasizes that we should care about life.

3.3.1.3. Analysis of the Albert Camus' *The Stranger*¹³⁰

The novel *The Stranger*, published in 1942, is Albert Camus' most famous novel. This novel received the Nobel Prize in 1957. As the name of the book indicates its subject clearly, the author conveys the alienation of the Algerian society in those years, the search for identity, and the rejection of all social values in a simple but impressive language. In addition, due to the colonial pressure on literature in this period, it is forbidden to publish works containing anti-colonial discourses. In this case, it is not expected that anti-colonial discourses will be openly expressed in this novel, which was written and published in the period between 1830-1945. However, the author succeeds to convey the structure of the society and alienation in the story by using a wise and masked style despite the publication ban.

As the novel will be analyzed within the concept of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development, it is important to examine the story according to the 'temporal' and 'spatial' dimensions. The story takes place in Algeria in the first years of the French cultural colonization. So, when the story is examined in terms of its period, it coincides with the period when the French colonial pressure was felt most intensely by society and the period when the society was suppressed by colonial structural violence. Hence, the society will be examined according to its multicultural structure and the conditions of each class that composes the society. The social structure of this period in Algeria is multicultural, combined, and uneven which shows the relevance of the applied theory to the story. Society was divided into four classes which comprise the rich European landowners, the European working class, the

¹³⁰ Albert Camus, *Yabancı*, trans. Ayça Sezen (İstanbul: Can Sanat Yayınları, 1981), 11-110.

intellectual group, and the poor natives. When the structure of the society is examined, it is clearly seen that the author describes the Arabs as working class, poor and uneducated. While mentioning the French landowners, he describes the rich lifestyles and modern clothes of the colonizers. According to the novel, the colonizers go to have a good time on Sunday evenings in modern and elegant clothes, while the Arabs watch them on the roadside in oily work clothes with their children without shoes. It is noteworthy that the hero always portrays society from the window of his house alone, in an unresponsive way. In another respect, Mr. Meursault was deeply impressed by the fact that he was born in Arab lands to a Spanish woman and he did not know his father. As a result of uneven and combined development in the region, he could not find a place for himself and could not realize himself. As the novel touches upon the elements of Uneven and Combined Development, it also contains the themes of absurdism and existentialism, alienation, and identity issues together. The ignorance of social values results from the weakening of identity. Because social values are the unwritten rules of the belonged society, accepted behaviors, and cultural values that a certain community produces within itself. The individual, who does not feel himself belongs to any society in a combined and unequal society and cannot define who he is, falls into identity confusion. He does not know how to act and gets tired. He begins to reject everything, ignores social values, and becomes indifferent. Alienation begins when society in the modernization phase cannot deploy itself in its environment. The fact that the hero cannot find a religious belief to take shelter additionally causes the person to be completely lost in himself.

To better analyze the novel, it is important to summarize the story. The novel depicts a fragment from the life of Mr. Meursault, the colonizer who never knew his father. The story begins with the death of the hero's mother and ends with his trial and execution as a result of his murder. In this process, the author, who clearly conveys the feelings of the hero to the reader, tells the psychological war of the society, the war of the individuals within themselves. Mr. Meursault exhibits indifferent behavior that he ignores everything, he does not enjoy life much, he gets everything absurd that is happening around him calmly, and he is lack many emotions such as happiness and sadness, good and bad, love and hate.

The story starts with the death of Mr. Meursault's mother. His mother, whom he has not seen for a year, has died, and he goes to the nursing home for funeral

procedures. In this section, it is shown that the author's feelings and behaviors among people are indifferent to social rules. When he goes to the funeral, he defends himself in his conversation with the director of the nursing home by explaining why he does not visit his mother. He states that the nursery is too far away from his home and a visit costs him a day. Despite going to his mother's funeral, the hero refuses to see his mother for the last time because it is unnecessary for him. At the beginning of the funeral, he is busy examining his surroundings by drinking coffee with milk. He doesn't react at all to his mother's death and doesn't even show any signs of sadness. He is not very interested in the death of his mother by constantly examining the lights, greenery, and people around the funeral. Mr. Meursault, who is at the funeral as a formality, can not understand the sadness and cries of his mother's friends. He becomes uncomfortable with the reactions of the people against death. His disorder is clearly seen in the words of the hero: "The woman continued to cry. I was so surprised." and "finally she's quiet, but now I can't stand people's silence". The hero, who does not shed a single tear, could not also help thinking about his business life at the funeral. The hero could not answer to the question of the staff of the nursing home who ask about his mother's age. Furthermore, he does not wonder about his mother's age. So the reader is faced with an indifferent, insensitive, and alienated man from the family and society.

The hero, who set out for his home immediately after the funeral, states that he is very happy because he will go home and sleep. The writer, who goes swimming the next day after the funeral, meets his old colleague Marie in the sea and spends a happy day having fun with her. Then he goes to a comedy movie. At the same time, describing the dressing styles of the colonizers, the hero talks about ties, black shoes, and white shirts. He describes the Arabs with the words "lying on the ground in oily work clothes". While describing the Arabs and the colonizers, he gives clues about the structure of the combined society. With these descriptions, the reader comes across the socio-economic inequalities of each society: the rich, modern colonizers, and the poor working Arabic class. He watches the French Sunday parties from the outside and depicts the girls as "with their heads uncovered". At the same time, he comments on his life by saying "the mother is lying under the ground now, I will go back to my work, as a result, nothing has changed".

The alienation of the hero from everyone and everything also draws attention to his relations with the neighbors. It is told that an old man named Salamano constantly insults his sick dog, beats the dog, and the dog groans in pain. The hero's approach to this situation is indifferent and insensitive. He has completely isolated himself from good and bad behaviors that also concern social values such as human feelings, sadness, love, hate, friendship, and neighborliness. He feels that nothing has a purpose and that nothing makes sense, as everything ends in death. His other neighbor in the novel, Raymond, changes the life of the hero and drags the hero to death. In a conversation with Raymond, the writer expresses his thoughts on the behavior of his neighbor named Salamano towards his dog: "Raymond asked me if I found it disgusting, I answered no." His neighbor Raymond is a lecherous man and has a love affair with an Arab woman. Raymond, who is at odds with the woman, beats her until he leaves her in blood. However, he is not satisfied with this event and wants to take revenge on the woman. He asks the hero for advice on the subject. Mr. Meursault states that he does not have any idea about the subject, but does not oppose Raymond's bait proposal. On the contrary, he writes a letter on behalf of Raymond to lure the woman into a trap. In this case, putting a woman in a difficult situation means nothing to the hero. "There was no reason why I shouldn't help Raymond," the protagonist of the book explains. By stating that Raymond's friendship request will not make any difference to him, he tries to make the reader feel that neither other people nor himself means anything in his life, and expresses it as "I don't care if I have become his friend or not". At this step the alienation of the hero from everything including himself pays attention.

If his close relationship is observed, the reader meets with Marie, his girlfriend. When his girlfriend, Marie, asks him if he loves her, he responds as "I don't think that I love you", so the reader feels that he doesn't also care about the feelings of his close friend. Another example of this situation can be seen when Marie wants to marry him. The reaction of the hero towards her marriage proposal is absurd. He states that it does not matter if he marries her or not. Regarding the attitude toward the professional life of the hero, dismissiveness can be added. The carelessness of the hero can be pursued when Mr. Meursault receives a job offer to work in Paris in a better condition. The casual answer of the hero "it doesn't matter" expresses his indifference to life one more

time. Mr. Meursault makes the basis of his apathetic attitude clear to the reader that life lost its meaning when he had to drop out of school.

The point where the pace of the story increases starts with the fact that his neighbor named Raymond traps his Arab girlfriend with Meursault's letter. It surprises the reader that the hero does not call the police for the woman who is beaten in front of him. On the contrary, at Raymond's request, falsely testifies in favor of Raymond to the police, and all this makes no sense to the hero. Following this event, the life of the hero changes when Raymond, who wants to further his friendship with Mr. Meursault, wants to go to a cottage of a colonizer by sea and spend time together. At this step, the socio-economic superpower of the colonizers can be observed. They pig out on meat and enjoy themselves near the sea, while the poor Arabs are described as others. The hero, who sets out to swim and have fun in the sea with his girlfriend Marie and neighbor Raymond, is followed by a group of Arabs. This group is the relatives of the Moorish woman whom Raymond beat and wants revenge. After having fun, the hero starts swimming to cool off and came across an Arab lying on the beach with his interesting and dirty working clothes. He shoots the Arab five times without any logical reason and without an intention of killing the man. At this step, the reader understands that the hero does not have any concern about his future. Following the death of the Arab, he is arrested. During the 11-month of interrogation, he has never said anything about the feeling of remorse, nor does he show any remorseful behavior. As everything is normal for him, he often expresses that death already exists in this life, and life still goes on. He states that he perceives the arrest process as a game. It is possible to understand from this thought of the hero that he is not aware of the seriousness and meaning of killing a person. During the judicial process, the hero's indifferent behavior that lacks social values at his mother's funeral and his strange answers to questions of the lawyer draw attention. The lawyer asks the hero whether he gets sad by the death of his mother, and the lawyer gets worried when the hero answers the question of the lawyer: "All healthy people want their loved ones to die". The way the lawyer looks in the face of the hero following this answer is described with the hero's words "as if I disgusted him a little". The hero makes the reader feel that he is disturbing the people around him with these behaviors. The lawyer explains that the hero is a strange man and has indifferent attitudes away from social values by saying "There is something about his behavior that I can't make sense of". Mr.

Meursault's relaxed demeanor angered the judge in the court, and his actions at his mother's funeral came up on trial rather than the murder he committed, and everyone who participated in the funeral of his mother testifies against the hero in court one by one. The author says that for the first time he wanted to cry, saying "I felt that all these people hated me". The hero, who feels the feeling of hatred and the desire to cry for the first time, realizes that he is guilty when he is told from the eyes of others. Mr. Meursault, who was touched by the fact that a friend named Celeste testified in his favor in the court, expresses his feelings by saying, "I wanted to hug and kiss a man for the first time". The prosecutor, on the other hand, describes the hero of the novel as "he lives in the psychological darkness of a murderous spirit". On top of that, the judge says, "I've never met a heart as hard as yours.", highlighting the deplorable state of the hero. Saying that he is surprised by these statements of the prosecutor and the judge, the hero expresses that he does not regret the friendly murder because he murdered an Arab in favor of his friend. He draws attention to the fact that everything about his life was discussed by everyone except himself during the court process. He is like a stranger in his life. Everything is decided and judged related to him and his behaviors by the others. He tries to explain that he feels like a spectator in his own judicial process. The prosecutor, on the other hand, declares that the hero does not have a soul and that he is a man who is completely devoid of human feelings and devoid of moral values. The hero, who does not say a word in his judicial process is sentenced to death. He says that the thing that bothered him the most about his time in prison was his inability to smoke. He considers the decision on death as normal and expresses his inclination toward the philosophy of nihilism with the sentences "it does not matter if I died at the age of thirty or I die at the age of seventy" and "Since we are dying, it doesn't matter how and when it happens". Contrary to his indifferent behavior, the hero shouted for the first time to the priest that he was always right and realistic, and adds "What does it matter if others died or a mother's love?". The hero, who reacts with a human feeling for the first time in his life by shouting at the priest, feels happy for the first time and calmly waits for death.

From the beginning to the end of this story, it has been tried to be told that life is meaningless, tiring, and empty. A human model has been drawn like a robot in the face of the developing and combined world. Therefore, the reader is confronted with a personality in which death is considered natural, even if it is an execution. The

absence of emotions is pointed out in the story. This book, written in plain language, told with all its naturalness, makes the reader feel so clearly what the author wants to point out about life. Considering the 'time' and 'place' of the story, the structural violence imposed on the natives and the free expression of the individuals were banned. Power was in the hand of the landowners and the others are just surviving. As the hero is one of the suppressed, poor but modern man, he could not succeed to find a place for himself in the combined society. He frequently expresses the words "it changes nothing". So the reader understands the desperation and remedilessness of the mentality of a man who could not define himself. The author describes the alienation of an individual from society in the novel. The reader witnesses a combined and uneven development in a country where all level of the society is exposed to modernity at the same time.

This book can be summarized as a story of a helpless man who gives up on life by making it meaningless. In the novel, the meaninglessness of the world in modernist literature draws attention. It is possible to interpret this situation as the identity problem of the person. In addition to the disappearance of identity due to the inequalities of individuals, it also tells about the alienation that occurs in a combined society. In this regard, Rosenberg's 'time' and 'place' concept revealed the universal inequality both at the national and international level and shows the deficiencies of the modernization theory and the theory of globalization.

An individual creates an identity for himself when he synthesizes the values of the society in which he lives. Considering the social structure of Algeria at that time, it is possible to see the French, Spaniards, Italians coming from Europe, and locals living together in Algeria, which was under French occupation. The occupiers are shown superior to the local people at that time and the colons' efforts to instill the French culture into a diverse social structure as a single norm through missionary movements affect the psycho-social behaviors of the combined society. Instilling the French culture as a normal culture and creating the perception that the region's own culture is unacceptable by humiliating the locals causes the society to not understand what is right and how to implement it. A perception of nihilism and lack of identity arises in the society, in which the individuals turn into a stranger, reject the new norms and stay like spectators to what is going on around them. Starting from the philosophy of the absurd, the author makes the reader feel that the identity problem lies under

meaninglessness and social alienation. It is revealed that a person who was born in Algeria to a Spanish mother and never knew his father, could not define himself and alienated himself from the society, losing his sense of belonging. The 'time' and the 'place' factors of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development led the hero who has witnessed the inequalities and different cultures feel himself neither Algerian nor French and neither Muslim nor Christian. The hero, who gives up searching for his own identity, feels as if he is a robot. He thinks that nothing that happens in the world is meaningful and does not change anything. Because he is helpless. Beating a woman or killing a man, loving someone or marrying a person, having a good job or not, living or dying doesn't change anything for him. Because the hero has adopted himself as nothing without an identity. According to Erikson, history, past and cultural accumulation are effective in the formation of an individual's identity.¹³¹ When the individual gets to know the society, he becomes social, and if he falls into confusion, he becomes alienated. In this case, if body, soul, and social society unite, identity becomes integrated. Identity can be expressed as creating a social profile and gaining a place in society by being individualized. The person trying to take a place in society goes through a process of individualization and experiences a maturation process called self-development and realization in order to improve himself and add something to society in the modern world. The effort to find a place for himself in society and the modern world imposes a responsibility on the person. If the individual fails to realize himself, the individual begins to see himself as nothing and ignores the social rules. In this book, which consists of inner monologues, it is possible to witness that the hero frequently questions himself and his indifference. The complexity of the hero within himself and his relations with his environment effectively reveal the example of alienation. Lewis Coser argues that literature is the proof of these social events and points out the importance of literature in this process.¹³²

The concepts of identity confusion and subsequent alienation arise from the idea of existentialism. Thinking about his existence causes a person to struggle to know himself and his environment and to determine his place in a combined but uneven society. Meursault's struggle for existence in the novel results in a failure and his inability to make sense of his existence causes problems in forming an identity. He

¹³¹ Orhan Bozdemir, *Kimlik Arayışı ve Orhan Pamuk* (Ankara: Berikan yayınları, 2011), 10.

¹³² Köksal Alver, *Edebiyata Sosyolojik Bakmak*, (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2004), 90.

experiences apathy in his attitudes to social values and faces problems in his behavior towards individuals, including himself, and his bilateral relations. Mr. Meursault is expected to be charged with murder. Nevertheless, rather than the murder of an Arab, he is executed because of his indifferent attitude towards the death of his mother, and indifferent behaviors that are considered to be psychologically abnormal. Being born in a colonized Algeria as a colonizer like the French but poor like Arabs caused identity confusion for the hero. So the concept of uneven and combined development such as 'time' and 'place' of the events are so important that affect the hero. Then the question arises: If the hero was born in a society that is equal and uncombined in his own country if he lived under the same conditions as other members of the society, then would he experience this loss of identity? Would he lose his senses and feel helpless and hopeless? So in this sense, the uneven and combined development pays attention to both the national and international levels of the countries and the inequalities at both levels. Mr. Meursault, who has problems in creating identity, and making sense of existence, moves away from the responsibility of being human and makes life meaningless instead of researching its essence. In the identity search process, the individual learns about his own existence through the destruction of others; he is in an ontological grip from his birth to his death due to his failure of existence search. Expressing this in a monologue in the book, the hero states that the death of someone and the birth of others happen at the same time and that neither birth nor death changes anything like a vicious circle. In addition, Mr. Meursault expresses himself as a bystander to all the events around him during his trial. While he does not speak during the trial, his lawyer manages the process on his behalf, and the judge's and prosecutor's comments about Mr. Meursault's behaviors. Since the hero of the novel does not decide his birth, he tells that others decide his death. By adding his absurd philosophy to the fact that his disappearance is decided by others as well as his existence and that he watches this situation as a spectator. So, he becomes sure that life is meaningless to himself. Therefore, at the end of the novel, Mr. Meursault, expressing his feelings for the priest for the first time, exclaims that he is always right, that he is realistic, and that the only truth is death. Mr. Meursault has not been able to create his own identity, and he has not even been able to impersonate a false identity in which others express him in society. For example; Even his neighbor Raymond's statement that he sees the hero of the novel as a real hero man, did not affect the hero, and Mr. Meursault did not even create a false identity for himself. Likewise, the judge and prosecutor declaring Mr.

Meursault a murderer do not cause the hero to assume a bad character. Meursault is completely indifferent, in a deep psycho-social disorder. Adopting neither a real nor a false identity, Meursault is unable to balance real life and social values and is alienated from himself and the entire society. Alienation is related to the thought dimension of the individual. When the period in Algeria that the novel was written is examined, many perceptions such as capitalist attitudes, colonialism, and modernization were brought forth by the world systems and results in a multi-cultural and multi-structural society living in the same land at the same time. The socio-economic gap between different societies in the same land has gradually widened and individuals have begun to question who they are, where, and how they should stand. At this stage, the author makes the reader understand the inequalities of the society and the social structure of the country according to the uneven and combined world led by the result of the World Systems perspective. The concept of alienation, especially seen in 20th-century literary works, was drawn up by important writers such as Camus, Goethe, Kafka, Beckett, and Zola. In general, alienation in literary works is associated with the individual's feeling of being in an insecure environment, lack of self-confidence, lack of freedom, and increasing fear of existence.

The individual who cannot establish a connection between himself and society causes social cracks. Ignoring social values and human feelings results in alienation. It can be called alienation when an individual has problems with the core values of the society he lives in and remains indifferent. The word foreigner, which is expressed as "alienare" in Latin, was used in psychology to mean the mentally ill person in French as "aliene". Alienation has ceased to be only a sociological problem and has been expressed as a psycho-social problem.¹³³ Consisting of a mixed community that has had a hard time keeping up with the modernizing world systems, French Algeria under the colony is quite affected by the sociological events she has experienced inside and outside of herself and feels lonely. The concept of alienation that emerged with J.J. Rousseau was shaped by names such as Hegel, Marx, Kierkegaard, and Camus. Erikson seeks alienation in the connection between human existence and spirit, while Marx defines alienation as the result of the capitalist system. Feurbach argues that alienation arises from religion.¹³⁴ Kierkegaard, on the other hand, divides alienation

¹³³ Faruk Karaca, *Yabancılaşma ve Din* (İstanbul: Çamlıca Yay, 2014), 34.

¹³⁴ Karaca, *Yabancılaşma ve Din*, 37.

into different dimensions and examines it in 3 phases: aesthetic, ethical, and religious.¹³⁵ In the aesthetic phase of life, the person does not give importance to his family, does not spare time for work, marriage, and love; but focuses only on his desires and feeds on nothing, exhibits amoralistic attitudes towards society, and does not take responsibility.¹³⁶ It is possible to understand that the hero has trouble with the aesthetic life stage of alienation by ignoring social values such as going to the sea with his girlfriend, then watching a comedy movie after his mother's funeral, and being indifferent even to death. At this stage, it is possible to observe the aesthetical phase problems in similar cases such as Mr. Meursault's frigid answer to Marie's marriage offer as if he does not care about it, his ability to say "I don't think that I love you" towards Marie's love; however, he had a love affair the cause of his desire for Marie, his unresponsiveness to his mother's death, leaving her mother in a nursing home to refuse the responsibility of the family, his reluctant participation in his mother's funeral and not being able to make sense of any humanitarian feeling. Moreover, the hero expresses that he does not regret the 'friendly' murder he did for his friend which shows the problem of the ethical phase. In addition, during the religious life stage, which is another criterion, it is observed that Mr. Meursault does not have any religious beliefs during his meeting with the priest, and he is alienated from religion. While the person, who starts to alienate himself by experiencing confusion in the process of existence, faces psychological problems. If the problem expands in the individual, it becomes a psycho-social problem as soon as he feels that the society he lives in is also oppressive. Towards the end of the book, the prosecutor describes Mr. Meursault as a heartless murderer and the Prosecutor demands that Mr. Meursault should be publicly executed via guillotine to prevent this behavior from spreading like an epidemic in society. At this point, it is possible to feel that the problem of alienation is gradually spreading in society and that the society is also in oppressive attitudes. Camus states that in the formation of identity and self, a person creates his own essence and the important point in this formation is the individual himself and his freedom. According to the point of view of existential philosophy, the individual who lives under the pressure of his instincts realizes that the world is a place of confusion and this situation

¹³⁵ Necip Uyanık, "Kierkegaard'da Yabancılaşmanın Kökenleri," in 6. *Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmalar Kongresi*, May 13-17- 2017 (Muş: Bildiriler Kitabı-I), 260-274.

¹³⁶ Necip Uyanık, "Kierkegaard'da Yabancılaşmanın Kökenleri," in 6. *Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmalar Kongresi*, May 13-17- 2017 (Muş: Bildiriler Kitabı-I), 264.

leads the individual to its meaninglessness. This point can be seen as the intersection point of existentialism and philosophy of the absurd. In this sense, the absurd is an important discussion topic in terms of existential philosophy. Existentialism was born to get rid of the absurd state of the world from the desire of societies that lost hope after the World Wars in the 20th Century. In the face of the meaninglessness of the world, the alienated individual cannot find a way out and thus cannot escape from the absurd. In this regard, the absurd does not leave a way out for the individual. On the other hand, Existential philosophy tries to save the individual from this absurd and inextricable situation. According to existentialism, the way for an individual to avoid being absurd and alien is to struggle, thus trying to realize himself. Existentialism is an effort for self-actualization. A self-actualizing individual can get rid of the absurd, but according to Camus' philosophy of the absurd, the individual cannot get rid of the absurd no matter what he does. This is the major difference between Sartre and Camus' philosophy of existence. That's why Camus doesn't exactly describe himself as an existentialist.¹³⁷ However, existential philosophy and absurd are presented together in the book as a result of uneven and combined development.

To conclude, *The Stranger* follows the existential philosophy associated with the philosophy of the absurd within the concept of Uneven and Combined Development. The story tells the alienation process of a poor colonizer man. In this process, 3 phases in the criteria of existential philosophy are included in the book. There is alienation in terms of aesthetics, ethics, and religion. Mr. Meursault, on the other hand, is alienated from all three phases. Among the characters in the book, the magistrate represents society, the prosecutor represents the state, and the priest represents religion. The hero could not find a way out. As advocated by the absurd philosophy, he fell into a dead end and even accepted death. He has become alien to the world and himself. Mr. Meursault is a hero used to describe the society living in that period, restricted freedom, confusion, identity problems, internal and external structural struggle, meaninglessness, despair, and the thoughts of individuals against all these. In the character of Mr. Meursault, who is the mediator of Camus' own ideas, an absurd philosophy of life is formed with an existentialist perspective based on

¹³⁷ Selim Beyazyüz, "Albert Camus' Concepts of Existentialism, Alienation and Absurd Reading by Jean-Paul Sartre on the Basis of Cinema Quotations," *International Journal of Cultural and Social Studies* 6, no.1 (June 2020): 300-313.

nihilism. Metaphysical crisis, ontological meaninglessness, and indifference to life due to identity confusion alienate Mr. Meursault in a psycho-social dimension. While Meursault should be charged with murder, the court judges him for his disrespectful attitudes toward social values. Hence, he has been executed out of spite the society. The concepts of life-death and ethics-crime, good and bad are reflected in the novel with a "foreigner" oriented theme within a combined and uneven society. Camus expresses himself in such plain language that the book is seen as a source of inspiration for many works. Some of the films and songs that have been influenced by this work are *Lo Straniero* film by Luchino Visconti in 1967, *Howard the Duck* by Steve Gerber, *Killing An Arab* song by The Cure, *Talladega Nights: The Ballad of Ricky Bobby*, *Jarhead*, *Jacob's Ladder*, *Life of Pi* and Zeki Demirkubuz's *Fate* in 2001.

3.3.2. 1945-1962 period: political tensions in literature and Algerianism

The French celebration of the conquest of Algeria in 1930 gave rise to nationalist sentiments among Algerians. It can be thought that the Muslim struggle for equality turn into an Algerian struggle for independence. So, the celebration of conquest can be seen as the starting point of Algerianism. In 1926, a communist party named Etoile de Nord-Africaine (ENA) was founded, and it turned into a party fighting for Algerian independence over time under the leadership of Messali Hadj. This party had many publications in both French and Arabic by using the features of bilingualism very well and gained supporters by reaching large masses with the help of French education. The party reached the people by publishing the newspapers such as *North African Enterprise* and *The Muslim People*. In addition, by participating in the Anti-Colonial Congress held in Brussels in 1927, the party members made their voices heard in French in the League of Nations, and in 1931 they reached approximately 40,000 Algerian workers living in France. The awakening of nationalist feelings in Algeria began in 1936 and the 'Algerian People's Party (PPA)' was founded in 1937. Although many of the pioneers leading the party were imprisoned at that time, nationalist feelings began to spread and the party had already reached over 2500 members.

Leaders named Ben Badis, Tayyip El-Okbi, and Bachir El-Ibrahimi were disturbed by the gradual spread of the French language and culture, and they pioneered various activities to mobilize the Arab culture and the region to protect their own

culture.¹³⁸ So, thirteen authors who wrote works in Arabic came together and established an organization called “Association of Reforming Ulema” to produce works in Arabic. Their works have been published with the slogan "Our religion is Islam, our language is Arabic, our country is Algeria" in order to awaken the public and instill nationalist feelings among the Algerian people. The members were not very successful because they brought more religious subjects to the fore in their works. They wanted to keep the Arabic language alive by opening free madrasahs and primary schools providing education in Arabic, but these schools were closed within the scope of the laws of March 8, 1938, due to the French colonial policy. Following the situation, a group united under the leadership of Ferhat Abbas met with the French government to prevent discrimination against Muslims. Because of their religion, the Muslims could not get French citizenship and had not got the right to vote. So Ferhat Abbas proposed to close down institutions and organizations that engage in discriminatory practices and to get French citizenship and the right to vote for Muslims. With the Violette bill, Muslims working in government institutions and well-educated were given the right to vote. Messali Hadj, on the other hand, argued that this discriminative privilege is the biggest separatist movement among Muslims for Algerian Nationalism, emphasizing the necessity of awakening nationalist feelings for full independence¹³⁹.

The Colons were very uncomfortable with these offers and the French government could not fully meet Algeria's demands. As a result of the celebrations in Algeria held after the announcement of the accepted principles of independence and equality in the United Nations, Algerian society was faced with the events of Setif and Guelma, the murder of the Muslim people, and the French failure to apply the principles of equality to Algeria. Hence, all the leaders were united under a single idea: independence with the logic of one religion, one language, and unique culture. The fact that the Algerian natives were economically in a misery during the process also greatly affected the emergence of the Algerian nationalist movement. Unable to find a peaceful solution to their demands, the Algerian leaders formed an army called the ‘Armée de Liberation National’ belonging to the FLN party in 1954, and called on all Arabs to support the Algerian nationalism with the slogan of ‘common religion,

¹³⁸ Ageron, *Modern Algeria*, 93-102.

¹³⁹ Ageron, *Modern Algeria*, 93-102.

common language, common culture' and brought them to Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco, Syria to receive support from many countries.¹⁴⁰ Between March and October 1954, the ALN organized a military network in Algeria composing six military regions. The commanders of these areas and their supporters evolved as the 'internals'. Ben Bella, Mohammed Khider, and Hocine Aït Ahmed initiated the External Delegation in Cairo. Inspired by Egypt's President Gamal Abdul Nasser, their function was to accumulate international support for the uprising and obtain arms, stores, and budgets for the leaders. In October the National Liberation Front (Front de Libération Nationale, FLN) took responsibility for the political supervision of the revolution. The National Liberation Army (Armée de Libération Nationale, ALN), the FLN's military arm, was to lead the Algerian War of Independence. FLN and ALN diffused the civil-military relations, and the military stayed present throughout the end of the battle, although, the triumph would be a political one instead of military. The FLN used symbolic slogans such as 'the only hero: the people'. Nevertheless, they stayed relatively disaffected from the people during the combat. This was somewhat a result of the incapability of a class that was not powerful enough to come forth and express a reasonable and overarching accord about extreme opposition methods underneath the pressure of the colonial system. The FLN existed as a complicated institution, entailing much more than what was seen at first glance, they were qualified by anti-intellectualism and a belief that the homeland had to be freed by a fierce class of faithful radicals. At the same time, their administration fought with intra-elite ideological conflicts because FLN has both contained Liberals, Marxists as well as Islamists.¹⁴¹

In this process, it is possible to see more nationalist subjects in newspapers, articles, and statements due to the violence, war, and chaos, rather than in literary works. In this case, it is possible to talk about more articles about the living conditions and real situations rather than novels. Newspaper and magazine articles aiming to appeal to the whole public with a simpler language could be seen. The unpleasant experiences of Algerian people became the subject of many works in the novels of the following period. The important writers of this period are Muhammed Dîb and Katep Yâcine.

¹⁴⁰ Ageron, *Modern Algeria*, 93-102.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

Muhammed Dib's work *La Grande Maison*, published in 1952, took its place among the remarkable works of this period. This novel can be called a turning point because it is different from the novels which were written before. In this novel, Algerian identity is mentioned for the first time, the economic problems of the public, not the educated strata, and the realities, the difficult living conditions, and the violence that the Algerian people are exposed to. This novel also influenced later works. In the novels, *L'Incendie* published in 1954, and *Le Métier à Tisser* published in 1957, the difficult conditions of the Algerian people were told in a social realist way. In the novel *L'Incendie*, the poverty in the countryside and the problems of the farmers are described. In the novel *Le Métier à Tisser*, the troubles of the shopkeepers are expressed. During this period, Mevlud Ma'meri's *Nevmu'l-'Adli* (Justice Sleep) and Katep Yâcine's *Nedjma*, which were written in the same style, were also published.

Katep Yâcine was born in 1929 and is the son of a wealthy and educated family in Constantine. He participated in a national demonstration in 1945 (when he was 15 years old) and was imprisoned during the conflict. He started writing poetry while in prison, and after his release, he went to France with the support of Albert Camus. He published his first work, *Soliloquies*, in 1946. Returning to Algeria in 1948, the artist published the poems such as *Forge*, *Simoun*, *Soleil*, and *Terrasses* in the journal *Alger Républicain*. He traveled around the world and continued to write. In this process, he used his pseudonym, Sait Lamri.¹⁴² He published his work *La Cadavre* in Paris in 1954, and in 1956 he wrote his masterpiece *Nedjma*, which occupies an important place in the Maghreb Francophone literature. This work is named after the author's cousin, whom he fell in love with. By describing the drama in Algeria and the harsh side of Algeria in his poetry, he criticizes the brutality experienced in this poetic work, which is written in a lively language in which he reveals all his revolutionary ideas.¹⁴³ The novel *Nedjma*, reflected the unemployment, poverty, daily workers in the factories, and the insults they are exposed to, and as a result, the feelings of these people and the sense of oppression to the reader. The feelings felt, as a result of these treatments, lead the people to revolt. In addition, Katep Yâcine talked about the events of Setif and Guelma in 1945 and told how thousands of people were killed. All these

¹⁴² António Quadros Ferro, "Kateb Yacine," March 2013, <http://yacinekateb.blogspot.com/p/vida-e-obra.html>.

¹⁴³ Oluwatoyin, "The Place of North African Literature," 1-10.

writings also gave the signals of the revolution that took place on November 1, 1954, and tried to announce that the patience of the Algerian people was exhausted and they did not want to be under French rule anymore. It is also known as the only political work that could be written at that time.

3.3.3. 1962, the post- independence period and its reflections on literature

As a result of the assimilation policy of the French and the length of the colonial period (132 years), Algeria had close contact with the French language for many years and produced Francophone writers. At first, Algerian writers did not accept French as a legitimate language because it was an imposed language. However, later on, with the prohibition of Arabic, they started to use it gradually and when they realized that they were making their voices heard in the world, they used French for their own purposes. Thus, French became the written language of the anti-colonial struggle.

La Vengeance du Cheikh (The Revenge of the Sheikh) is the first short story in French, written by Mohammed Ben Rahhal in 1891. However, this early Francophone text has been interpreted as assimilationist and supporter of France by Algerians. Because at that time, it was not possible to publish anti-colonial articles and works due to the French colonial policy. By the 1950s, many writers started to work in French. Albert Memmi, Driss Chraïbi, Kâtep Yâcine, and Muhammed Dîb are among these writers. The powerful style of these writers laid the foundations of today's North African Francophone literature. In 1950, Mevlud Fir'avn gathered attention with his novel *Le Fils du Pauvre* (The Poor's Son). Because as ethnographic writers, they presented a multicolor and unfamiliar picture of daily life in the French colonies to the reader. However, the writer not only describes the poor Berber region but also states that this poverty was the direct result of French colonization. Influenced and encouraged by the revolutionary style of Albert Memmi, Algerian writers such as Katep Yacine took the lead in Algerian Francophone literature. While the novels of the 1950s were highly autobiographical, a more political genre of writing emerged in the 1960s. Algerian writers were also armed in the Algerian war of independence. It is seen that this period witnessed a literary production surrounded by revolutionary themes. For example, Mevlud Ma'meri's novel *L'Opium et le Bâton* (Afyon and Sticks), published in 1965, takes place in a small Kabiliye village. This work is a classic text about the Algerian revolution and the National Liberation Front (FLN).

Les Enfants du Nouveau Monde (Children of the New World) by Âssia Djeber is one of the important works of this period.

Since the mid-1960s, a new generation of writers has emerged in Algeria, including names such as Reşid Bucedra and Muhammed Dîb. These authors have offered various criticisms of freedom of expression and human rights, focusing on their own societies. Key themes in the literature of this period were language, identity, history, and sexuality.

In the 1970s, poetic works were at the forefront. Thus, Muhammed Dib, who was also a poet, came to the fore. In the mid-1960s, there was a new orientation in Algerian literature, especially in the genre of novels, written in French. It can be said that this movement is a literary genre with a tendency for political and social protest. Most of the works in this genre, such as Muhammad Dîb's *The King's Dance* (1968), *God from the Berber Lands* (1970), and *Hunting Expert* (1973), Murad Bûrbûn's *Muezzin* (1968), Rashid Bucedra's *Et-Tatlik* (1969) and *Slash of the Sun* (1972), Nebîl Faris' *Death of Salih Bay* (1980), were published in France. Although these novels cover different subjects, they all handled the social and political situations in Algeria with a critical eye.

Women writers began to publish works in French in 1947. Religious, social, and state-based censors prevented women writers from publishing works. This resulted in some women giving up writing or publishing under pseudonyms. Despite the ongoing debate about the use of French, women writers have continued to use French as a tool to make their voices heard. Indeed, despite the Arabization policy in the Maghreb since the 1970s, Francophone literature in the 1980s and 1990s spawned more names of both genders. Representatives of this period are names such as Nina Bouraoui, Reşid Mîmûnî, Assia Djeber and Yasmina Khadra. On the other hand, Katep Yâcine, stopped writing in French because he was against the institutionalization of Francophonie. However, he was awarded the Prix National des Lettres Award in 1986 for his contribution to Francophone literature.

Before and during French colonization, Algeria was composed of mostly nomadic Berbers and Arabs. The main and common determinant of the social structure was religion. While oral tradition was very important, Western-style education and literacy were worthless. When the French came to Algeria, they brought a very

different perspective to literature. As a colonial policy, French culture had been promoted as an ideal and valuable among natives by the French, and the colonizer engraved into their minds the superiority of French culture, language, and Christian values. Government programs also used advertisements to encourage migration from North Africa to France to replenish the workforce that had been devastated in previous years. As a result, immigrants from North Africa grew up torn between the culture of the French and the Maghreb tribes. In addition, as a result of the developments in the world (such as acceptance of the United Nations Charter), the Algerian people learned values such as freedom, equality, and fraternity. As a result, a bilingual and bicultural generation emerged. As many North African Francophone writers are the product of this dual cultural system, they have difficulty defining themselves and frequently reflect the search for identity in their works.¹⁴⁴

After the FIS (Islamic Defense Front) won the 1992 elections in Algeria, Tahir Cavut was killed in 1993. Many writers and anyone who was perceived as an intellectual were targeted. Algeria has fallen into great chaos after the elections. Journalists, writers, and teachers were killed. The artists and intellectuals were forced to leave the country. Even though FIS became a threat for Algerian writers since there were increased political and religious tensions, most of the writers continued to publish their works in a safer place. During the Algerian civil war between the army-led government and the FIS in the 1990s, Francophone writers and journalists such as Tahir Cavût and Yusuf Sebti were assassinated. Writers such as Bucedra, Djeber, Ma'meri, and Mîmûnî were forced into exile. Many exiled Francophone novelists such as Yasmina Khadra, Melike Mukaddem, and Leyla Sebbâr continued to produce their novels at a safe distance from the events in Algeria. The efforts of Francophone novelists of the 1950s, including Mevlud Fir'avn, Mevlud Ma'meri, Muhammed Dîb, Kâtep Yâcine, Âssia Djeber, and Malik Haddâd, on Algerian independence, were great. These novelists reflected their anger against alienation, the problem of identity, and colonialism in a dramatic way. Although Arabic was accepted as the official language at that time, Abdulaziz Bûteflika's first national speech in April 1999 was in French, and it is understood from this situation that the French are still influential in Algeria.

¹⁴⁴ Christen M. Allen, "Generation Differences Between North Africa Francophone Literatures: The New Stories of Immigrant in France," *Utah State University* (Utah, 2009): 9-10.

3.3.3.1. Yasmina Khadra¹⁴⁵

Algerian novelist, and former army officer, Yasmina Khadra's real name is Mohammed Mulsehûl. He was born on January 10, 1955, in Algeria. The author's mother is a nomad, and his father is a nurse. During the War of Independence, the author's father joined the army. This situation also affected the writer and Khadra was educated in military school. In this process, he realized his interest in literature and started to write with the support of his French teacher. He entered the military academy in Sherchel in 1975 and served in the Algerian army for twenty-five years.

He started to publish his first texts in the 1980s. Since his writings between 1978 and 2000 were censored by the military, he started using the pseudonym Yasmina Khadra in 1988. In an interview with *Le Monde* newspaper, he stated that this name belonged to his wife. His past military career and his critical approach to fundamentalist opposition are the main reasons for the usage of pseudonymous. He announced his real name and story in 2001 with his autobiography *L'Ecrivain* (The Author). In an interview he gave to the New York Times on April 25, 2010, he said that he wanted to answer Albert Camus, who stated that there was no Arab writing about Algeria. The author said, "I wanted to say that I am here, by writing in his language".¹⁴⁶ Khadra's first two works published under his real name are *Houria* (Huriye, 1984) and *Âmin* (Emin, 1984). In the following years, he published his novels *De L'autre Côté de la Ville* (At the Other End of the City, 1988) with his real name¹⁴⁷, in France, as well as *La Fille du Pont* (The Daughter of the Bridge, 1985) and *Le Privilege du Phénix* (The Privilege of God, 1989) in Algeria.¹⁴⁸

His book *Les Sirenes de Bagdad* (Baghdad's Sirens, 2006) is about the conflicts in Iraq. This detective novel describes the civil war and climate of terrorism, paranoia, and fear in the 1990s. In the work, he wrote the story of a shy young man who became

¹⁴⁵Turgay Gökgöz, "Frankofon Cezayir Edebiyatı'nda Yasmina Khadra ve Edebi Kişiliği," in *Uluslararası Ortadoğu Kongresi II*, 2017 (Ankara: Bildiriler Kitabı, 2017), 173-180.

¹⁴⁶Aida A. Bamia, "Yasmina Khadra," in *Biographical Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa II*, ed. Michael R. Fischbach, (New York: Thomson-Gale, 2008), 417-419.

¹⁴⁷ Emmanuel K. Akyeampong and Henry Louis Gates, ed., *Dictionary of African Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 347-348.

¹⁴⁸ Bamia, "Yasmina Khadra," 417-419.

a suicide bomber.¹⁴⁹ The novel aims to show what a hopeless person can become and what he can do.¹⁵⁰

His novel *Ce Que le Jour Doit à la Nuit* (What The Day Owes the Night) was chosen as the best book of 2008. In the work, the writer deals with the love between a French woman and an Algerian man. This study can be interpreted as a metaphor for the conflict between East and West, between the colonized and the exploiters, and between the developed and the underdeveloped. This work was also adapted into a movie by Alexandre Arcady in 2012.

L'Attentat (The Attack) has been translated into forty-two languages and won many awards in 2006. In 2011, Yasmina Khadra received the Henri Gal Grand Prize for Literature from the Académie Française for his works.¹⁵¹ Other works of the author are *Morituri* (Morituri, 1999), *Les Agneux du Seigneur* (The Lord's Lambs, 1998) and *L'Automne des Chimères* (The Broken Dreams, 1999).

3.3.3.2. Analysis of Yasmina Khadra's *What The Day Owes The Night*¹⁵²

Published in 2008, Yasmina Khadra's novel *What The Day Owes The Night* was selected as the best novel of 2008 and has received many awards such as the Prix des Libraries, Prix Découverte Figaro Magazine, France Télévisions 2008 Novel Prix, Lire Magazine the best book of the year. Yasmina Khadra wrote a book that almost witnessed history and explained the structure of the society in all detail during the period of French colonialism and independent Algeria.

Using plain and impressive language, the author makes the reader experience emotional moments as if he wants to burst the reader into tears at the end of the novel. The author describes a period in which the local people were tested in many ways such as hunger, misery, humiliation, and alienation as a result of the colonial policy in French Algeria. He explains the reason for the hostility among locals. The book reveals how the social structure deteriorated, and why both the local people and pieds-noirs experienced identity confusion before and after independence. The period when

¹⁴⁹“Les Sirènes de Bagdad,” Roman Français, Pocket, accessed May 1, 2022, <https://www.lisez.com/livre-de-poche/les-sirenes-de-bagdad/9782266204989>.

¹⁵⁰ Susanne von Schenck, “Yasmina Khadra: Bağdat'ın Sirenleri,” trans. Mustafa Tüzel, accessed February 2, 2022, http://www.dipnotkitap.net/ROMAN/Bagdatin_Sirenleri.htm.

¹⁵¹“L’Attentat,” Roman Français, Pocket, accessed May 1, 2022, <https://www.lisez.com/livre-de-poche/lattentat/9782266204972>.

¹⁵² Yasmina Khadra, *What The Day Owes The Night* (New York: Random House, 2011).

brothers killed each other, and friends who grew up together turned their backs on each other will be examined in a cause-effect relationship. This novel deals with the French colonial policy implemented in Algeria including its effects and consequences on Algerian society. It also describes in detail the social structure of Algeria under French colonialism and the post-independence period. As the Uneven and Combined Development theory discusses multicultural and combined societies, taking into account 'time' and 'place' factors at both national and international levels, the story is suitable to be analyzed within the framework of the Uneven and Combined Development approach. Since the place where the story takes place reflects Algeria, which was under French colonization, it is possible to examine societies of different cultural and economic levels, which are combined and unequal. Since the novel also reveals the consequences of colonial policies and the capitalist system, it is possible to observe the two different countries under different levels of development at the same time and in the same place within the concept of interaction in a multicultural society. France is a developed European country. She is technologically and economically advanced in the modern world. She seeks raw materials in line with its national interests. On the other side, it is also possible to see Algeria which is an underdeveloped African country that is exposed to the capitalist system at the same time as France. She is economically weak and also lacks technology and modernism. The languages, religions, cultures, levels of development, and economic independence of these two countries are different from each other. Within the scope of 'balance of power' and 'modernization' which are the elements of the World Systems, the European and Algerian societies had to live in the same place at the same time, with the so-called modernization discourse of France in Algeria. When the society of these countries is examined within the scope of the 'interaction' element, which has an important place in the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development, these two societies interacted with each other and tried to be integrated. However, since the method of integration was based on oppression, coercion, and assimilation, the natives were alienated, humiliated, and made second-class citizens in their own countries. This situation caused the local people to be divided among themselves. In order to survive, some of the indigenous people accepted assimilation and adopted the values of the exploiter. The other part, in order to protect its identity, rejected the French values and experienced economic misery. As well as the contradictions between the resisting group to assimilation and the intellectual group, the inequalities among the colonizer

and the colonized in Algeria generate feelings of hatred and grudge. The combined society will be examined with the themes of unevenness, oppression of the exploiter, economic problems, cultural differences, the concepts of alienation, conflicts, identity search, brutality, and war in this novel.

Colonizers, who saw themselves as upper identities, claimed that they brought civilization to the societies they exploited under the guise of goodwill, and wanted to legitimize the colonial movements, to de-identify and deculture the exploited societies. By imposing her own language and culture, France has made it inevitable to consolidate her cultural authority. In the study, the identity problem of Yunus, who lost himself between Yunus and Jonas, and the structure of society will be discussed according to the 'temporal' and 'spatial' elements. The social devastation of Algeria by French colonialism, the violence experienced due to economic and sociological reasons, suppression, humiliation, conflicts within the family, clash of civilizations and self-loss create hybrid generations which were shaped by dual life and multicultural social structure. At this point, the novel will be examined in the sociological and historical context of the colonial period and independent Algeria.

The main narrator of the book is Yunus, a boy named Jonas with his second identity. In the novel, from the 1930s to 2008, Yunus' tragic life is told in detail. The story begins with the drama of a family who has to move to the city to find a job after the lands of a peasant family were taken away by the French. It is observed that Yunus, who was later adopted into an intellectual family mingled with the exploiters. He is in the middle of both colonialism and civil war. Yunus can not decide who he is and on which side he should stand. Yunus is always oppressed and humiliated in society, and he survives by suppressing himself. Even when he gets older, it is mentioned about a person who still cannot define his identity in his own country. The author embellishes the novel with a love story without boring the reader.

Yasmina Khadra conveys to the reader the way how multicultural combined societies lived in different statuses at the same time in the flamboyant cities of the Mediterranean. The class differences and conflicts in society with the reasons and consequences of a big gap between the classes are told from the eyes of a witness in the book. Yasmina Khadra reveals the importance of literature, confirming the

statement of Lewis Coser, who argues that literature is the proof of history and social events.¹⁵³

The book introduces Yunus, the hero of the novel, to the reader in the first chapter. Yunus is 10 years old and he has a deaf-mute sister named Zehra who is 7 years old. The novel begins by describing the struggle of a Muslim mother and father with hunger, trying to survive through the little land they have. Yunus tells that he was born in a small poor house without electricity with his words "in the darkness of our tiny house like a coop". The first impression of the fact that they suffer from food shortages is shown by the words "the cauldron in which a soup consisting of lumps of unknown taste is boiling". Yunus begins to explain the deplorable situation of the locals in 1930 through his words: "what we lived was not a life, we were just surviving". In this episode, the 10-year-old boy, who considers death as salvation for himself, talks about the meaninglessness of life. Talking about the 1930s, Yunus tells in detail about the hunger and exhaustion of the people at that time.¹⁵⁴ He talks about the fact that they are caught in diseases, they are in misery and some people have to migrate to the city to get rid of the misery. Mentioning that they are under debt burden and their lands are mortgaged, the author tells how the field has been burned by the French just before the harvest period, and their last remaining lands are confiscated. The population living in the village has decreased considerably and the misery of the natives who moved to the city is pathetic. The family whose fields are burned has no choice but to migrate to the city of Oran.

When the cultural differences in the society are examined, the novel clearly indicates the distinctions with the examples taken from the slice of Yunus' life. Yunus mentions the place and traditions of women in the local society through these sentences "According to our custom, women should walk away when they meet a man. For a man to even look at the wife of another man out of the corner of his eye is considered the greatest insult to sacred and private things". The moment Yunus first entered the city, he expresses his first impressions about the traditions of the colonizers within these words: "Another thing that struck me was that women did not have veils and

¹⁵³ Köksal Alver, *Edebiyata Sosyolojik Bakmak*, (Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2004), 90.

¹⁵⁴ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, trans. Armağan Sarı (İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2011), 11.

chadors. They were walking around with their faces open; the old ones had a strange hat-like thing on their heads; while the younger ones were half-naked, with their long and thick hair swaying in the wind like a mane. And they were walking around undisturbed by the presence of men”. Yunus reinforces the differences in clothing and culture between the Arabs and the French through the sentences “Their faces were as red as beets”, “they had shirts and wide hats” and “the locals wore Arab gowns and torn sacks made of jute and the children are barefoot”. In the following process, he shows that the French women are alembicated, has the right to speak, and even have a dominant place in society. The dominant place of the French woman in society is described by Yunus’ girlfriend named "Isabelle". On the other hand, the insignificant place of women in Algerian society was shown by the stories of women in Jenane Jato about forced marriages (such as being married to old people or autistic shepherds) and the women's silence in choosing their partners. The story also shows an example of adopted culture by assimilated natives. The uncle of Yunus named Mahi talks to his French wife by calling him ‘my beloved half’. However, Yunus' father does not even give a voice to his Arab wife. Moreover, Yunus describes his intellectual uncle with the words "he had a three-piece dress consisting of a jacket, trousers, a waistcoat and a fez on his head". The author processes the place of women and cultural differences in the combined society.

In regard to the inequalities in society, it is possible to see various examples in the novel. Yunus, who takes the bus with his family to live in the city, states that he sees a bus for the first time in his life, and reveals the gap in the level of development between the villages and the city. He defines the people on the bus as ‘Rumi’ which means ‘the exploiters’. Seeing the city for the first time, Yunus defines the city as "I'm on a completely different planet". When he sees high-rise buildings with balconies for the first time, he expresses that he can not name what he sees. Yunus, who starts living his first days in the region of the Oran city called “Jenane Jato” with the guidance of his uncle, describes the street he lives in as “slum, dishonorable and pathetic” after seeing the magnificent, flower-covered luxury in the same city. Expressing openly that the place he lives in is filthy and starving, he describes the region as an ugly place where typhoid and dysentery epidemics occur. This chapter of the book aims to draw attention to combined societies in the same city according to their socio-economic conditions. It shows the reader that the exploiters, who are seen as top level of the

society, live a luxurious life in the most beautiful parts of the city. However, the local people are tested with misery and hunger a few streets away. In this section, the reader reveals a social structure that is uneven but tried to be combined as a result of imperialist attitudes that started in the region with colonialism. This society implies three different combined societies: Arabs who resist the colonizers in order not to lose their identity and become indifferent to life, those who join the exploiters in order not to die, and Europeans living in luxury.

The house which Isa, father of Yunus, rents for living in Jenane Jato has a single room. This room is likened to a windowless hell, a tomb, suffocating with rats and spiders, stinking of animal droppings and dampness. Realizing the magnificent structures of the city, Yunus feels humiliated in Jenane Jato. Witnessing his father's struggle to find a job, he describes the unemployment in the city with the words "a truck filled with desperate people to be worked like slaves". In addition to the fact that the locals are forced to work in hard jobs like a slave, the poverty of the indigenous people and the unemployment in Algeria which are mentioned in Chapter 2 of this thesis are shown to the reader with concrete examples.

Yunus grew up in Jenane Jato, being exposed to insults and self-deprecating words such as 'ungrateful, unkind'. By stressing the sentences "my father is chained to oars" and "the job was in the mouth of the lion", Yunus constantly expresses the unemployment, hunger, and misery in the city. He is very upset for the Arabs who are employed in heavy jobs for very low wages and the plight of his father. In this process, Isa, whose pride is hurt, takes loveless and harsh attitudes toward both his wife and children. Due to his pride being hurt, he becomes a completely different, poor, helpless, and aggressive man. To help his family financially, Yunus hunts and sells goldfinches with a friend and gives the money he earns to his father. However, his father attacks Yunus by making it a matter of pride. The harsh attitude of his father against this help scares Yunus. Yunus repeats that "doubt had taken over my being, I was not sure of anything." So he becomes afraid to do good things, so he is prepared to be an indifferent man and he is pacified by his father.

Having completely lost hope in life, Isa asks his brother Mahi to care for his son and leave Yunus with his uncle. Because Mahi can offer him a future. Yunus' life changes for the second time that day. Mahi is married to Germaine, a well-meaning, gentle 40-year-old French woman with green eyes. Mahi has now brought his nephew

to his home as his son. The French woman changes Yunus' name to Jonas. The house he lives in now as an adopted child has a garden full of flowers, and is activated in a luxury region full of well-dressed and happy children. In this house, he is raised in better conditions with the love, interest, and tolerance that he has never seen from his family. He studies pharmacy like his uncle. His intellectual uncle, who is financially strong, lives in the same neighborhood as the exploiters, and seems to have been assimilated. He has gained a place in society by taking pharmacy education. This book, in which the social differences are clearly stated, makes the reader live the history alive. At the same time, Yunus, who has never seen electricity in his life, is surprised that even the house is illuminated with light bulbs instead of a gas lamp. Differences in food culture are also revealed. Yunus, who is used to the style where the whole family eats from a single plate, is quite surprised by the fact that food is eaten on the plates that are given to each person separately. Missing his family, Yunus cannot fit himself in a place and feels restless due to the lack of sense of belonging on the first day he spends in the modern house. Yunus, who got used to living in a modern house in time became happy.

Regarding the devastation of the Algerian family structure, the author explains it with an example. Yunus learns that his grandmother is Lalla Fatna, a rich landowner of her time, and realizes that Yunus' father has five siblings. He finds out that his other uncles were either lost or killed due to colonialism, either by being assimilated, joining the army, or leaving their country. His uncle, the stepfather, named Mahi, who got sick when he was little, was healed and raised by the nuns. After high school education, Mahi studied pharmacy. While he was studying pharmacy, he met the French woman Germaine, who was studying biology, and married her. In the sentences that Mahi expresses his feelings about his brother Isa's attitudes toward him, it is possible to see that the Arabs are divided among themselves as a result of their choices, and the family structure is shaken: "According to him, I am someone who has sold his soul to the devil. In his eyes I am someone who rejected his family, married a non-Muslim heretic, sold his lands for free in order to buy a house in the city, and preferred the suit worn by Westerners to his gandura, even though I was wearing a fez on my head, I was accused by my brother for preferring fez to a turban. There will never be any positive electrification between him and me."

In regard to the concern of discrimination and alienation in society, Yunus suffers from the discrimination he has experienced since childhood, including his school years. When Yunus goes to Jenane Jato with his new clothes to visit his mother, this 11-year-old boy realizes that he has been ostracized like his uncle. His former neighbors in Jenane Jato don't approach him because of his changing clothes. He confesses that the reason for poverty and misery is not destiny, but their way of thinking and mentality. He mentions that among the French children, he has never felt that he belongs there and he is not safe, and the colonizers have never accepted him. He tells the story of French children, feeling that they have superiority over Arabs and always show Arabs as guilty when any fault is sought. Yunus, who studied in the same class with the exploiters during his school years, witnesses the insults and humiliation of an Arab boy named Abdulkadir in front of the class by his teacher for not doing his homework. The words "Arabs are lazy" said by a French student named Maurica in class make Yunus feel the deep wounds of racism and humiliation. Moreover, returning home from the street, Yunus passes in front of the tavern and sees a smelly beggar, who is expelled from the tavern, being insulted and thrown onto the pavement. When Yunus, passing by the beggar lying on the ground, sees that the beggar is his father Isa. This is the last time he sees his father. Yunus expresses himself as "I was beginning to see myself as the person at the root of all the hopelessness of the world." In these words, it is understood that Yunus grows up as a suppressed, silenced, humiliated, and hopeless individual. Yunus is so humiliated that he falls ill just after the incident. While Yunus tries to hug his father lying on the ground in front of him, Isa pushes him with his hand. The moment his father looks at him for the last time in a lamentable manner causes Yunus to see his father's dream in every street throughout his life.

As regards to the concern of suppression, Yunus, who is still a child at that time, slowly begins to witness the secret meetings held at his uncle's house to initiate nationalist movements¹⁵⁵. One day when it is the announcement time for the decision of those secret meetings, Mahi invites Yunus to the meeting. The speaker of the meeting is Messali Hadj, the national mobility leader of the period. Shortly after this meeting, Mahi is imprisoned by the French army for a week and when he is released, he is in a miserable state, swollen all over, afraid and timid. He loses his sanity and

¹⁵⁵ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 86.

becomes indifferent to everything and everyone. His wife Germaine now takes over the pharmacy business. Mahi shuts himself in his room and only reads and writes.¹⁵⁶ This situation makes the reader feel that torture was used in prisons in order to suppress nationalist movements at that time. The cause of the fear of being arrested again, Mahi is unable to stay in the city of Oran, and he settles in Rio Salado with his family. It is possible to understand from the speeches of the driver of the removal lorry on the way to Rio Salado that the people living in the region are multi-communal, a combined society with different languages and cultures. The reader learns that Yunus's first girlfriend, Lucette, is Spanish, the truck driver is Greek, and the two young people working for moving the furniture are Italian. Yunus, who loves Rio Salado, states that the region is a colonial town. He also states that the area is transformed into a city by the Spaniards and that the town was a quiet and abandoned bad place before the colonizers. Now he states that it has been developed enough to make even Oran city jealous. The region is mainly composed of Spaniards and Jews. It is famous for its vineyards and wines. At first, Yunus defines Rio Salado as a region where everyone is respected. However, the moment he sees the farming areas and smells the soil, he realizes that the modern clothes he wore did not change his essence and he never forgot his village.

By the time Yunus falls in love with Isabelle, who comes from a respected and wealthy Spanish family at that time. However, he is abandoned by Isabelle because of his Arab identity. The reader sees the traces of othering in these lines. Isabelle tells the children in the area that Yunus's name is not Jonas and he is an Arab; so she organizes the children in the neighborhood, and causes Yunus to be beaten by children for being Arab. Here, it is possible to see how the locals are isolated from their own land and get hurt in their sense of belonging by alienating from their own land. Thus, unlike his first impression of the region, Yunus begins to notice the discrimination in the combined society. He realizes that the region is not integrated as he felt at first, it belongs only to the exploiters called *pièdes-noirs*, Arabs have difficulty even going out on the street, and natives are excluded from the others.¹⁵⁷ However, Yunus succeeds to form a group of friends in Rio Salado. The only Arabian among them is Yunus (Jonas). However, he always feels the discrimination against Arabs by his friend

¹⁵⁶ Ibid.,104.

¹⁵⁷ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 122.

through the words “Arabs are just like octopuses, they need to be beaten well to soften them.”, “Arabs are lazy”. The expression of Yunus's closest friends on Arabs always hurt him and he feels excluded from others and incomplete.¹⁵⁸

Concerning the violence in society, it is possible to understand that violence has spread in the society, and the murder and defenestration of Arabs are accepted as normal. It is understood from the answer of his former neighbor Badre in Jenane Jato about the question of Yunus's lost father through the words “violence is now traveling everywhere like a coin. It seems to me that who knows where they killed him and then threw him into a ditch”. Yunus, during his visit to Oran to see his mother and sister, is devastated when he learns that the barracks, they live in have burned down and his family has left the region. Following the loss of his father, he will never find his mother and sister again. He loses everything belonging to his past. Returning to Rio Salado, Yunus has a love affair with an elder French woman named Mrs. Cazenave. However, this love affair changes his future. As the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune, Yunus falls in love with Emilié who is the daughter of Mrs. Cazenave. Furthermore, Emilié Cazenave is also in love with Yunus, and she expresses her love to Yunus many times to have a love affair; However, Yunus can never reciprocate Emilié's love because of the relationship he had before with Emilié's mother. Hence, Yunus allows her to marry his best friend, Simon. Left alone during this process, Yunus constantly goes to Oran and tracks down his mother in the past, looking for support but cannot find it. He often states that he feels alone in his own country. “The house is alienated from me by the closed shutters of the window; my child's cries were no longer echoing anywhere.” He also tells that he has become estranged from his past and childhood.

Arab Jalil, who is the servant of André, Yunus' friend, clearly shows how the exploiter humiliates the exploited. When Jalil asks Yunus for help to survive, with the words "You are one of us, but you live their life", Jalil reminds Yunus once again of whom he was and where he belongs and explains why Jalil feels like an animal. He also reveals that there is a separation among the exploiter, the intellectuals, and the locals. With Jalil's hateful and frightening glances toward Yunus, the hatred and the separation among natives can be observed. The alienation and humiliation of the Arab society and the socio-cultural inequalities cause the society to turn enemies against each other and develop a feeling of hatred. The misery of Jalil's family, their poverty,

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 138.

and being obliged to undergo humiliating treatment are told in bitter language. Arabs are left helpless, their families are dispersed, and they are devastated by hunger and unemployment. They are constantly humiliated like a second-class citizen and refugees in their own land, and they are desperately waiting for death.

Inspired by terms such as equality and freedom specified in the United Nations Charter for the overthrow of the Nazis and the Victory of Europe celebration, the book tells about the gathering of the people, from the events of Setif and Guelma in Algeria and the massacre of the indigenous people. Yunus describes the day of May 8, 1945, as a devastating nightmare.¹⁵⁹ He talks about the suppression of the Algerian independence festivities by the security forces and the spread of the conflict to the settlements and says that thousands of Muslims have been massacred. Yunus tells that with the events of Setif and Guelma, the idea of independence spread among the locals even in the most secluded villages. And he states that one day he will have to choose between these two societies. Yunus expresses himself as “I was split in two”. He can't combine the person he wants to be with the place he wants to stay. While he can't give up his luxurious life, he can never forget his true identity and stays in the middle. He says “It was me who changed. Jonas had crouched behind Yunus. My hardness began to spread into my nature. I had become a brave person. However, I, the loser was a hard-heartedness that never showed up, but it was enough to make me insensitive, and it was already growing. I couldn't stand festivities, weddings, balls, and people sitting and enjoying themselves on cafe terraces anymore. I was allergic to their purity. And I hated it!” In his words, Yunus realizes that he has changed and hardened, he is not satisfied with anything, and he begins to feel uncomfortable with the false identity he has adopted. During his visit to an Arab neighborhood in Oran, he remembers his identity and questions himself about how he has given up on them. In fact, he was searching for his true identity by questioning himself with inner monologues saying “now that Rio Salado no longer speaks the same language with me, which language should I turn to? I realized that I had been lying to myself all my life. Who was I in Rio? Jonas or Yunus?”¹⁶⁰ and “why was I always worried about getting myself a place among my friends, why did I always feel guilty when Jalil's eyes caught mine? Did they tolerate me, did I adapt to them, or did they discipline me and accept me as they

¹⁵⁹ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 174.

¹⁶⁰ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 264.

wanted? What was it that prevented me from being fully me, from having my own identity? However, I was turning my back on mine. I was a shadow.”¹⁶¹ and “in reality, I had lost my ‘face’, now a ‘mask’ I was looking for.”¹⁶² He constantly tries to find himself in his inner world in the form of internal monologues with his words.

A few months after the death of his uncle, the Algerian War of Independence starts in 1954 by FLN, bombs are detonated at unexpected moments without paying attention to civilians, criminals, and innocents. The people are massacred, and Muslims are now killing everyone mercilessly like the colonialists. Violence and hatred played a leading role in the country. Yunus is so sure that he is in the middle of the two sides, the colonizers and the colonized, that he cannot even be sure whether a life awaits him at the end of the war.¹⁶³ However, Yunus, who is forced to supply drugs to the FLN during the war, is also tortured by the French soldiers; but he is also saved by a colonizer. Yunus talks about the prohibited areas in the Aures region, the camps set up in the cities, the security strips, the bombs exploding in the street, the destroyed cities, and the civilians covered in blood.

In the book, the feelings on concerns about belonging to the country are shown in the conversation between Yunus and a colonist during the independence war process. The colonialist says that those lands were always in the hands of others and that useless lands developed thanks to colonizers, who built the railways, buildings, and cities. According to the colonizer, the French made Algeria a country, and the Arabs have no right to own it.¹⁶⁴ Unable to bear it, Yunus cried out saying "A long, long time ago, Mr. Sosa, long before your grandfather's father's father, a man was standing in that place where you were standing. His pipe, his stick, his lands, and his herds, in short, filled his heart and gave him peace. Everything that kept him alive was taken from him. And today, that man is tried to be made to believe that he is here by chance, it is said that these lands do not belong to him, and people are amazed when he rebels just because he wants to be a human being but this land does not belong to you". He was defending his essence, his identity for the first time with his words.

Yunus, who is excluded by his closest friends during the war of independence process, lost his uncle, father, and mother and could not find himself. He says that he

¹⁶¹ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 265.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 330.

¹⁶⁴ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 282.

couldn't find his identity and therefore hates even his best friends because he has always been blamed and has to apologize and never know where or who he is, and he always feels incomplete and crushed. He is also cut off from his relationship with his friends. No one wants to see him, and he is ostracized. Following this, Yunus, who turns to his own himself, goes to Muslim neighborhoods frequently and listens himself there. He emphasizes his introduction to the search for identity with the words "I declared war on myself".¹⁶⁵

Yunus, who is quite disturbed by the colonialists who have humiliated his own society for centuries, is now disturbed by his own society. Because locals start to kill people indifferently and resemble the exploiters. Hence, Yunus moves away from both sides and does not know where to go and what to do. Yunus gives the signals of alienation from society with his words "Everything was tiring, everything was repulsive." In 1962, right in the middle of the war, Yunus pursues his lover Emilié. However, he couldn't find her by walking among the bombs and he clearly states that he no longer cares about life, social status, exclusion, insults, the values of society, or any religious beliefs, and values. At this stage, three different dimensions that Kierkegaard put forward to define alienation come to mind: aesthetic, ethical, and religious. It is observed that Yunus leaves himself among the bombs by ignoring death and the values of society, making life incoherent, and losing his belief in religion. So, it is possible to say that Yunus has failed to complete all these 3 phases of Kierkegaard. He is now alienated from society.

He tells that the *piets-noirs* are also disturbed by the unbalanced attitudes of France during the war and take up arms to save themselves. Explaining the celebrations of the Algerians who gain their independence with the armistice and the bloodbath everywhere, Yunus expresses that the exploiters are forced to migrate to France with the following words: "Suitcase or Coffin", thus telling that the exploiters rush to the airports and leave the country. Hence, Yunus tells another side of the tragedy: the alienation of the colonizer from France. The reader witnesses a speech of a man who is French but was born in Algeria becomes a foreigner to France and prefers to die in Algeria.¹⁶⁶ At the end of this war, both the exploiter and the exploited were alienated from the lands where they lived or migrated. This situation is confirmed in the novel

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., 293.

¹⁶⁶ Yasmina Khadra, *Günün Geceye Borcu*, 337.

by the words of a pied-noir who is forced to migrate: "Where will I go, where will I go, huh? I have neither a child nor a relative in this world to whom I can take shelter."

Yunus, who goes to France on one of the planes that take off during the migration, finds Emilie in France and returns to his country after being rejected by her. After a while, Yunus falls in love with a woman in Algeria and gets married, and has children and grandchildren. He says that he is happy, but he always expresses himself as a part of him is missing.

When Algeria is evaluated sociologically after independence, confusion and conflict can be found in society. Disputes arise between the people, who resisted French colonial policy and assimilation, and the administration, which systematically accepted the values of the colonizer. In other words, despite independence, Algeria is exposed to a government that does not belong to her. The dilemma, which emerged as a result of colonialism, causes another dilemma among the people and the situation succeeds in dividing the Algerian society into two. Since her independence, the FLN's regime, which governs the country in terms of modernization, has faced the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) Party, which is the pioneer of Islamic mobility. The Algerian people are divided into two, those who advocate Westernization on the way to modernization and those who are Islamic reformers. The people, who had been subjected to the persecution of the Western imperialists for years, begin to divide within themselves, in other words, to become enemies to brothers and sisters.

Yunus, who goes back to France in 2008, at the age of 88, after Emilie's death, meets with his old friends in France in tears and does not even bother to answer the question of why the civil war continues in Algeria even though they take their freedom. The civil war in Algeria, on the other hand, is not defined by Fabrice as a failure, but as a painful period of self-realization and likens Algeria to a baby that has just erupted her teeth. However, the author gives the reader the answer to this question with the words in his conversation with André about memories. He says that the slave Jalil, who has worked in the service of André for years, was a commander in the Algerian army and was killed by his own nephew for the sake of Islamist terrorism in 1990. Here, the author wants to tell the reader that the Algerian people could not be united even after independence. The search for identity continued, the structure of the family was devastated, brutality and terror became a habit, and the society turned into a group of machiavellian people. The ex pied-noir says to Yunus during his visit to France,

“No, losing your homeland is not the same as losing your friends. Even at this age, when I think of those lands, my heart bleeds, I feel so bad. That's why we don't have ordinary homesickness here, we live abroad in France”. With his words, the colonizer also makes the reader feel that alienation affects the whole society including the colonizers. The novel ends with the cries of Yunus and his best friend Jean Christophe. Yunus meets with Jean at the airport in France on the way to Algeria and the two old but best friends could not help crying when they see each other after long years and could not hide their desire for the past. Yunus, at the age of 88, still asks himself “who am I?”. The night he meets with his friends in France, he remembers his whole life, he dreams of everyone and his whole past. He still doesn't know who he is or who he wants to be, not even know whom to trust. As a result, Yunus could neither be himself nor the other. He is a stranger to himself and the whole world.

According to Yalçın, as a result of the interaction of cultures, individuals who socialize in a culture other than their own, change their emotions, thoughts, and behaviors, and this is called acculturation.¹⁶⁷ As a result of acculturation, the individual is defined as the "other" by the society he lives in, even if he adapts to the imposed values such as lifestyle, social values, language, and identity. This situation prevents the individual from returning to his/her self-identity or owning the society to which he/she has adapted. The result is a lack of belonging and an identity crisis. According to Berry's acculturation model¹⁶⁸, the individual adopts the culture and habits of that society in order to adapt to the society he lives in or vice versa, he avoids them and turns to people from his own culture. With the overlap of these two situations, acculturation strategies such as integration, assimilation, isolation, and alienation emerge. Yasmina Khadra's book *What The Day Owes The Night* describes the socio-cultural consequences of French colonialism in a way that confirms Yalçın and Berry.

In conclusion, the consequences of the World Systems' understanding of colonialism, which tends to expand along with capitalism, are handled in this book. When this situation is evaluated within the framework of Uneven and Combined Development, it is desired to create a combined society in different economic situations and different statuses as a result of the capitalism spread by the World Systems and to integrate these different societies into the capitalist system at the same

¹⁶⁷ Meral Yalçın, *Gezici; Göç Psikolojisi* (Ankara: Pharmakon Yayınevi, 2017), 73.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 76.

time. Three different structures were formed in Algeria due to the different cultures and social values and socioeconomic powers. These elements did not allow the society's full or partial integration. This society consists of exploiting, being assimilated, and resisting structures. The labor sharing that Wallerstein mentioned in his world-system theory is revealed in this work. While the Arabs take on the labor force like a slave with heavy work and low income, the landowners take on the role of manager and administrator. The long-term development of this structure in an unequal society started with riots for the sake of equality and dragged the country into a bloody war. To conclude, the deficiencies of the World Systems result in the uneven and combined development.



CONCLUSION

This thesis examines the results of French cultural colonialism within the framework of the theory of Uneven and Combined Development, with the cases selected from Algerian Francophone Literature. The novel *The Stranger* written by Albert Camus and the novel *What The Day Owes The Night* written by Yasmina Khadra are discussed as case studies. The thesis covers the sociocultural changes and their effects in Algeria led by French colonialism and engages with the concepts of inequality, compulsory interaction and assimilation, alienation, and identity confusion that the Algerian people experienced both during and after the colonial period. The sociocultural consequences of the colonial policies are analyzed in the context of Francophone literature.

Algerian Francophone Literature had the aim to express and demonstrate the reality of Algerian society to the world and the struggle for independence. As a result of the assimilation policy of the French and the long duration of the colonial period, Algeria was under the influence of the French language and produced Francophone writers. At first, Algerian writers did not accept French as a legitimate language because it was an imposed language. Following the prohibition of Arabic and the usage of the French language as a compulsory language, Algerian Francophone literature developed after the Second World War and consists of works written from the perspective of the exploiter due to the French pressure in the early years of colonization. However, later on, with the prohibition of Arabic, Algerian authors started to use the French language gradually. With the start of the struggle for independence, the French language has become a tool that tries to express the identity, value judgments, and nationality of Algeria. It enabled the writers to express their own situation and reach the wider masses. They realized that they made their voices heard in the world, and used the French language for their own purposes. Thus, French became the written language of the anti-colonial struggle in Algeria.

Francophone literature is multicultural, polyphonic, multi-temporal, and historical. Algerian Francophone literature shows historical and political differences due to factors such as time, place, regional nationalism, multicultural structure, assimilations, and cultural interactions during and after colonization which is compatible with the dialectics of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development.

The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development, initially developed by Trotsky and later developed by IR scholars such as Justin Rosenberg analyses how the interaction between societies at different levels of development creates unique combinations of social and political outcomes. Accordingly, the thesis analyzes the results of French cultural colonialism and the core values of Algerian society which is exposed to assimilation within the framework of The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development. Its dynamics, on the other hand, are complementary to the deficiencies of the World Systems perspective. While the World Systems perspective tends to create a single structure through interaction, it only took into account the international level but ignored the different sociocultural structures of nations within their own borders. As a result of the compulsory interaction encountered in colonialism, multicultural societies at different levels that are unequal in many aspects have been forced to live together. Since societies at different economic, educational, religious, and linguistic levels could not reach the same level at the same time, the society has faced disintegration and alienation at the national level as well as at the international level. The Theory of Uneven and Combined Development reveals the shortcomings of the World Systems perspective. As societies interact both within themselves and in the international arena, the theory suggests that the compulsory interaction of the societies should be evaluated within the framework of temporal and spatial dimensions both at international and national levels. As French Algeria is a place of a combination of the West and the East which are not at the same level of development economically, politically, and culturally, French Algeria reflects all the elements of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development.

In order to find answers to the question "What has happened, what has been achieved, and what has been changed in Algeria in cultural aspect before and after their independence?", the Algerian Francophone literature is summarized in three periods: alienation and assimilation between 1830-1945, the violence of colonizers and struggle between 1945-1962, social criticism after 1962 the cause of the civil war. The analysis of the literature is done with respect to these three periods. This literature was shaped in line with the consequences of French colonial policies in the first period. However, the second period of this literature was shaped by the struggle process and political tensions in the country. The third period of literature was shaped by the memories of the colonization and the lost values during the colonization process. In

none of the periods in Algerian Francophone literature, the authors could express themselves freely. In its first period, it was the colonizer who prevented the freedom of expression in literature. The works written in line with the European perspective were permitted to be published. In the second period, it was the political tensions that prevented freedom of expression in literature. In this period, there were generally articles written for the Algerian struggle for independence. In order to be published, the works were expected to contribute to the struggle for independence. The third period was broken by the civil war and the Algerian government prevented the freedom of expression in this literature. Some of the authors were executed for the cause of their works by the Algerian government after independence, and most of them left the country and published their works in France. All these cases reflect the consequences of French colonialism through compulsory interaction and combined society under unequal conditions. Considering the period when Albert Camus' novel *The Stranger* was written, the literature was shaped by the colonizer's desire; so the novel doesn't contain any anti-colonial discourses. However, it reveals the consequences of the uneven and combined development within the multicultural society. The author never touches on the practices of the French cultural assimilation policy. However, the novel reveals that the social structure of French Algeria is multicultural, combined, and uneven which shows the relevance of the applied theory to the story. Society was divided into four classes which comprise the rich European landowners, the European working class, the intellectual group, and the poor natives. In regard to the structure of the society, the author describes the Arabs as working class, poor and uneducated. While mentioning the French landowners, he describes the rich lifestyles and modern clothes of the colonizers. According to the novel, the colonizers enjoy Sunday evenings in modern and elegant clothes, while the Arabs watch them on the roadside in oily working clothes and their children were without shoes. Cleverly articulating the combined and uneven structure of the society, Camus reveals that a poor Algerian-born colonizer is alienated from society as a result of his inability to realize himself, and his rejection of all social values. In another respect, the hero was deeply impressed by the fact that he was born in Arab lands to a Spanish woman and he did not know his father. As a result of uneven and combined development in the region, the hero could not find a place for himself and could not realize himself. As the novel touches upon the elements of Uneven and Combined Development, it also contains the consequences of cultural colonialism such as the

themes of alienation, and identity issues together. Considering the date he published the novel *What the Day Owes The Night*, Yasmina Khadra, on the other hand, presents the deplorable society of French Algeria and Independent Algeria in a clear language, as a history book. The author describes the social classes in Algeria that belong to different cultures and different societies at different economic levels and different stages of development. In this case, the novel published in France in 2008 clearly states the cultural differences and inequalities in a multicultural society, the misery, and humiliation of the natives, and the factors that provoked the local people over time. The social devastation of Algeria by French colonialism, the violence experienced due to economic and sociological reasons, suppression, humiliation, conflicts within the family, clash of civilizations and self-loss create hybrid generations which were shaped by dual life and multicultural social structure during the colonial and post-colonial period. As the novel is evaluated within the framework of Uneven and Combined Development, it aims to draw attention to the inequalities of the combined societies living in the same city under different socioeconomic conditions. It shows the reader that the exploiters, who are seen as the top level of society, live luxurious life in the most beautiful parts of the city. However, the local people are tested with misery, hunger, and humiliation a few streets away. The reader reveals a social structure that is uneven but tried to be combined. However, national and international inequalities prevented the integration. Hence, the structure of French Algeria implies three different combined and uneven societies: poor natives who resist the colonizers in order not to lose their identity and become indifferent to life, the intellectual group who join the exploiters in order not to die, and Europeans living in luxury. This case resulted in the identity problem of Algerian society. In the novel, the identity problem of the hero, who lost himself between Yunus and Jonas, and the structure of society was discussed according to the 'temporal' and 'spatial' elements. Moreover, the novel reveals the undeterred resistance of the Algerian people and their bloody success in gaining independence. However, Yasmina Khadra does not forget to criticize his own society. He criticizes Algerian society for using violence in the struggle for independence even though this society was opposed to violence and suffered from violence.

Uneven and combined development in Algeria started with French domination. Since France occupied Algeria, she has faced long-term Algerian resistance. Although

France controlled the rebellions in the first years of the exploitation, she gained the hatred of the indigenous people due to cultural assimilation efforts and colonial policies that would lead to the exclusion and humiliation of the natives, deprivation of human values, and civil rights. Important uprisings broke out between 1840 and 1870 in Algeria against French domination. As a result of the resistance, France realized that it would not be able to dominate Algeria easily, and she introduced structural and political violence for long-term domination. For this reason, many immigrants were brought from European states and the natives were tried to be dominated by the increased number of exploiters in the region. As the most fertile agricultural lands were given to French citizens, the economy was kept in the hands of the colonizer. The Algerian people were deprived of social and political rights, and as a result of the constant pressure on the Algerian indigenous people, the social and economic gap between the European people and the indigenous people gradually widened. France interacted with the people living in Algeria, exhibited humiliating and exclusionary acts against the natives because the colonizer imposed her own values as superior, and acted as "the pioneer of civilization and superior race" with the perception of European superiority. So, an uneven society was formed. The mandatory interaction of dissimilar societies with each other resulted in the combined development. As the Uneven and Combined Development theory discusses multicultural and combined societies within the concept of 'interaction' through the temporal and spatial dimensions, this thesis examined the uneven and combined development in French Algeria and the related themes connected to the theory. Since the development levels of Algerian and French society have been economically and sociologically different, the constant development in Algeria is carried out by capitalism and yields uneven and combined development at both the national and international levels. France was a developed European country that was technologically and economically advanced in the modern world. She sought raw materials in line with her national interests. On the other side, Algeria was an underdeveloped African country that was exposed to the capitalist system at the same time as France. She was economically weak and also lacked technology and modernism. The language, religion, culture, levels of development, and economic independence of these two countries were different from each other. In regard to the interaction element of the society in French Algeria, the colonizer and the colonized interacted with each other and tried to be integrated. However, since the method of integration was based on oppression, coercion, and cultural assimilation, the natives

were alienated, humiliated, and made second-class citizens in their own countries. This method caused the local people to be divided among themselves. In order to survive, some of the indigenous people accepted assimilation and adopted the values of the exploiter. To protect their identity, some of them rejected French values and experienced economic misery. As well as the contradictions between the resisting group and the intellectual group, the inequalities between the colonizer and the colonized in Algeria generated feelings of hatred and grudge.

In regard to the interaction element, the most significant case is the change in Algerian culture. However, one of the important aspects that make up a society and determine the identities of countries is their own cultures. The concept of culture includes language, religion, clothing, food, art, literature, and history, which enable one to distinguish from another. If these core values of the culture are damaged, the society either tries to hold on to its values more tightly or becomes alienated and questions its identity. In this case, the individual questions who he is and where he came from, and he searches for his identity.

The mother tongue of Algeria was Arabic. The education system was adopted from Ottoman Empire and was based on religion. The religion of the region was Islam and the society adopted Islamic culture. The social structure consists of two ethnicities: Barbers and Arabs. However, to derange the social structure of Algeria, the French claimed that the Barbers were of European descent and they should return to their own European culture. To transform the Algerian family structure, France encouraged the Algerians to marry French women. Many pioneers such as Abbas and Messali, who had a say in politics, married French women and acquired French citizenship. In addition, the French waged a war against the Arabic language and Islamic culture. She struggled for replacing the language with the French language and French culture to diversify the Algerian identity. As language is a tool in the transmission of culture and literature and the history of nations, Arabic was banned and Algerian society was forced to speak French. To prevent the spread of Islamic Arab culture, the French closed madrasahs and Arab schools. Thus, the French both prevented the spread of Islamic culture and enabled the spread of French culture and language. As Algerian society became a bilingual and multicultural society, they began to distance themselves from their own selves and question who they were. Algerians in search of identity could neither become fully French nor maintain Islamic culture in their own lands,

where they were treated as second-class citizens. The cause of the compulsory interaction and the ignorance of the different levels of the societies both at the national and international levels led to inequalities in French Algeria. Moreover, France not only imposed her values on Algeria during the colonization process but also created awareness of the importance of being a nation, having political representatives and citizenship, studying higher education, and having a profession. So, most of the Algerian people gained French citizenship, moved to France, studied there, and have a voice in political parties. French cultural assimilation policies and the humiliation of Algerian society, the dehumanization of the natives, and the institutionalization of racism and inequality in Algeria led to the Algerian struggle for independence. Since France refused full economic and political integration with Algeria and did not grant equal rights to Muslims, the economic, sociocultural, and political inequalities led to trouble in Algeria. Hence, Algerians sought the answer to the question "who we are". France resisted the idea of equality because of the large Algerian population. France did not want French laws to be converted into Algerian laws, as the majority in the National Assembly was Algerian. The Muslims, who suffered economically and culturally, learned about violence and understood the necessities of being a nation. Hence, natives resisted the structural and physical violence of the French colonization and demanded their independence. This resistance resulted in the independence of Algeria, which was also an inevitable result of the equality declaration of the United Nations Charter. The massacres in Setif and Guelma and the massacres of August 20, 1955, normalized physical brutality in Algeria and laid the groundwork for the bloody war. This situation also brought governmental violence in the Algerian post-colonial period.

To conclude, although cultural assimilation policies such as compulsory usage of the French language, and the transition to the French education system seem to be a soft way at first, it has turned into physical and structural violence due to social pressures that ignore human values. The policy of cultural assimilation has been managed quite effectively and deeply, given that the Algerian people are still seeking their identity today. French cultural colonialism has resulted in the alienation of Algerian society. Moreover, sociocultural, political, and economic inequality created by the colonial policy prevented the unity of natives. Having gained her independence in 1962 at the end of eight years of struggle, Algeria found herself in a civil war. One

part of the Algerian society latched on to Islamic law, while the other part of the society supported the modernization process. The gap between the society that has already assimilated by embracing the understanding of modernism, and the society that has associated its identity and culture with Islam has increased. At the same time, conflicts arose between Algerian society and its rulers. The society, which was accustomed to being suppressed and differentiated from others during the colonial period, tried to achieve all its desires through violence following the experienced brutal success of the war of independence.

As a long-term consequence of French cultural colonialism, an uneven and combined society was created. So, the Algerian social structure and economy have severely deteriorated. Hence, identity conflicts, othering, and alienation were experienced by Algerian society. The cause of the structural, political, and military violence, the society was organized for independence and achieved its goal by gaining independence and using violence. However, the Algerian people could not manage to unite after independence and still could not define their identities. Even after independence, the country struggled to establish an identity and self-realization within itself. As a result of the policy of deculturation and de-identification, Algeria, which has been exposed to civil wars after independence, is likened to a baby that has just erupted its teeth. In the process of searching for identity, Algerian people, who sometimes took refuge in Francophone culture and sometimes sought themselves in Islamic culture, tried to find themselves through civil wars. The civil war can be considered Algeria's search for identity. Although Algerian people define the French language as discriminatory at the beginning of the colonization, the French language was used as the most important step in the struggle for independence. Hence, the Algerian people have adopted the French language and still use this language at a professional level. The data found in historical sources and the analysis of the two different novels are consistent with each other, and all the findings confirm the validity of the Theory of Uneven and Combined Development.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdellaoui, Abdelkader. "L'Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie et la Situation de la Francophonie dans le Monde." *Kinesither Review* 19, no.3 (May 2019): 14-19.

Aissaoui, Rabah. "Algerian Nationalists in the French Political Arena and Beyond: The Etoile Nord-Africaine and the Parti du Peuple Algerien in Interwar France." *The Journal of North African Studies* 15, no.1 (2010).

Aissaoui, Rabah and Claire Eldridge. *Algeria Revisited: History, Culture and Identity*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017.

Ageron, Charles-Robert. *Modern Algeria: A History From 1830 to the Present*. Translated by Michael Brett. London: C. Hurst & Company, 1991.

Akyeampong, Emmanuel K. and Henry Louis Gates, ed. *Dictionary of African Biography*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Algeria: France-Algeria Independence Agreements (Evian Agreements). *International Legal Materials* 1, no. 2 (1962), 227-228.

Allen, Christen M. "Generation Differences Between North Africa Francophone Literatures: The New Stories of Immigrant in France." *Utah State University* (Utah, 2009): 9-10.

Alper, Ayşe. "Francophonie et Litteratures Francophones." *Gazi University* 21, no.2 (2001): 245-251.

Alver, Köksal. *Edebiyata Sosyolojik Bakmak*. Ankara: Hece Yayınları, 2004.

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

Anievas, Alexander, and Kamran Matin. *Historical Sociology and World History: Uneven and Combined Development over the Longue Durée*, New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2016.

Ataöv, Türkkaya. *Afrika Ulusal Kurtuluş Mücadeleleri*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1977.

Balch, Thomas Willing. "French Colonization in North Africa." *American Political Science Review* 3, no. 4 (November 1909): 539-551.

Bamia, Aida A. "Yasmina Khadra." In *Biographical Encyclopedia of the Modern Middle East and North Africa II*, edited by Michael R. Fischbach, 417-419. New York: Thomson-Gale, 2008.

Barth, May. "The Algeria-Russia Strategic Partnership: An Assertive Geopolitical Move?" *Brussels International Center* (2019): 2-3.

Benamou, Georges-Marc. *Bir Fransız Yalanı*. Translated by Sonat Ece Kaya. İstanbul: Babıali Kültür Yayıncılığı, 2006.

Beyazyüz, Selim. "Albert Camus' Concepts of Existentialism, Alienation and Absurd Reading by Jean-Paul Sartre on the Basis of Cinema Quotations." *International Journal of Cultural and Social Studies* 6, no.1 (June 2020): 300-313.

Birsel, Haktan. "A Cultural and Identification Assimilation Example on the Ottoman-Algerian Strategic Ground of Imperial France (Letter of Saint Charles De Faucould)." *SDU Faculty of Arts and Sciences Journal of Social Sciences*, no. 29 (August 2013): 43-56.

Blidi, Saber. "Algeria is Seeking to Recapture Lost Influence in Africa," *The Arab Weekly* (April, 25 2020).

Bozdemir, Orhan. *Kimlik Arayışı ve Orhan Pamuk*. Ankara: Berikan yayınları, 2011.

Bulut, Faik. *Şeriat Gölgesinde Cezayir*. İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1994.

Byrne, Jeffrey James. *Mecca of Revolution Algeria, Decolonization, and the Third World Order*. Oxford University Press, 2016.

Can, Ahmet Hamdi. "Frankofoninin Modern Cezayir Edebiyatındaki Rolü." *İstanbul Üniversitesi Şarkiyat Mecmuası* 22, no.1 (2013): 77-91.

Camară, Gabriel. "Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie (OIF), la Langue Française dans le Monde [French Language in the World]." In *Language in Society*, 368. Paris: Gallimard, 2019.

Camus, Albert. *Defterler 3: Mart 1951-Aralık 1959*. Translated by Ümit Moran Atlan. İstanbul: İthaki Yayınları, 2003.

Camus, Albert. *The Stranger*. Random House, 1992.

Camus, Albert. *Yabancı*. Translated by Ayça Sezen. İstanbul: Can Sanat Yayınları, 1981.

Casanova, Pascale. "Literature, Nation, and Politics." *The World of Republic of Letters*, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Connolly, William E. *Identity Difference*. London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.

Çomak, Hasret, Caner Sancaktar, Huriye Yıldırım Çınar. *Afrika Politikası*. İstanbul: Beta, 2017.

Daban, Cihan. *Dekolonizasyon Süreci ve Sonrası Afrika*. İstanbul: Açılım, 2017.

Drew, Allison. "For an Algerian National Front: Unity and Division in The Liberation Struggle," In *We Are No Longer in France*, 145-174. New York: Manchester University Press, 2014.

Dunwoodie Peter. *Writing French Algeria*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Edensor, Tim. *National Identity, Popular Culture and Everyday Life*. New York: Berg, 2002.

Evans, Martin. *Algeria: France's Undeclared War*. London: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Eyryce, Elem. "Cezayir'in Fransız Sömürgeciliğine Karşı Yürüttüğü Bağımsızlık Mücadelesi." Master's Thesis, Ege University, 2008.

Fanon, Frantz. "Ulusal Kültürün Karşılıklı Temelleri ve Özgürlük Mücadelesi," *Conatus* 7 (November- April 2007): 175.

Fanon, Frantz. *Yeryüzünün Lanetliler.*, Translated by Şen Süer. İstanbul: Versus Kitap, 2017.

Ferro, António Quadros. "Kateb Yasine," March, 2013, <http://yacinekateb.blogspot.com/p/vida-e-obra.html>

Flood, Maria. France. *Algeria and the Moving Image: Screening Histories of Violence*. 1963–2010.

Fraleigh, Arnold. "The Algerian War of Independence." *Proceeding of the American Society of International Law At Its Annual Meeting (1921-1969)* 61 (1967): 8.

Gedik, Ahmet. "XIX. Yüzyılın Başlarında Cezayir Şehrinde Sosyal ve Ticari Hayat," Doktora Tezi, Ege Üniversitesi, 2013.

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

Gilbert, Erik and Jonathan T. Reynolds. *Dünya Tarihinde Afrika*. Translated by Mehmet Demirkaya. İstanbul: Küre Yayınları, 2016.

Giovannucci, Perri. *Literature and Development in North Africa*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Gordon, David C. *The Passing of French Algeria*. London: Oxford University Press, 1966.

Gökgöz, Turgay. "Frankofon Cezayir Edebiyatı'nda Yasmina Khadra ve Edebi Kişiliği." In *Uluslararası Ortadoğu Kongresi II*, 2017 (Ankara: Bildiriler Kitabı, 2017), 173-180.

Grosu, Aurelia. "Institutional Governance of the Francophonie after 50 years of Existence, between Geopolitical Interest and the Challenges of Economic Development/Strategy." *Review of International Comparative Management* 21, no.3 (July 2020): 299- 318.

Hahn, Lorna. *North Africa: Nationalism to Nationhood*. Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1960.

Halil, Aybüke Rabia. "The Relations Between Algeria And France In The Shadow Of Colonial Legacy: A New Page Possible?." *Bölgesel Araştırmalar Dergisi* 5, no.2 (December 2021): 701-725.

Hayes, Mark H. "Algerian Gas to Europe: The Transmed Pipeline and Early Spanish Gas Import Projects," *Geopolitics of Natural Gas Study* (2004): 3.

Hizmetli, Sabri. "Osmanlı Yönetimi Döneminde Tunus ve Cezayir'in Eğitim ve Kültür Tarihine Genel Bir Bakış." *Ankara Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi* 32, (1991): 15-16.

Hobsbawn, Eric. J. *Devrim Çağı: 1789–1848*. Translated by Jülide Ergüder ve Alaeddin Şenel. Ankara: V Yayınları, 1989.

House, Jim, and Neil MacMaster. “*Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory.*” Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Hudis, Peter. “The Engaged Philosopher: The FLN and the Algerian Revolution.” In *Frantz Fanon*, 69-91. London: Pluto Press, 2015.

İbrişim, Deniz Gündoğan. “Dünya Edebiyatı Kavramına Kısa Bir Bakış.” Accessed May 1, 2022. <https://oggito.com/icerikler/dunya-edebiyati-kavramina-kisa-bir-bakis/11677>

Kalman, Samuel. “Colonial Violence,” *Historical Reflections* 36, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 1-7.

Karaca, Faruk. *Yabancılaşma ve Din*. İstanbul: Çamlıca Yay, 2014.

Karakaçan, Tuncay. “*Cezayir’de Fransız İşgali 1830-1871*” Master Tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi, 2004.

Khadra, Yasmina. *Günün Geceye Borcu*. Translated by Armağan Sarı. İstanbul: Kırmızı Kedi Yayınevi, 2011.

Khadra, Yasmina. *What The Day Owes The Night*. New York: Random House, 2008.

Klose, Fabian. “*Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence, The Wars of Independence in Kenya and Algeria.*” In *Pennsylvania Studies in Human Rights*, translated by Dona Geyer, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Krause, Peter. “The Algerian National Movement: The Long, Bloody March to Hegemony,” In *Rebel Power*, 100-130. London: Cornell University Press, 2017.

Kritzman, Lawrence D. “Camus's Curious Humanism or the Intellectual in Exile.” *MLN French Issue* 112, no. 4 (September 1997).

Kurt, Mustafa Yasir. “Masinissa’dan Tebbun’a Cezayir Diplomasisi,” In *Mağrip Diplomasisi*, edited by Mürsel Bayram, 235-289. İstanbul: Doğu Kütüphanesi, 2021.

Laachir, Karima. “The Literary World of the North African Taghrība: Novelization, Locatedness and World Literature.” *Journal of World Literature*, no. 4 (2019): 188–214.

Löwy, Michael. *The Politics of Combined and Uneven Development: The Theory of Permanent Revolution*. Haymarket Books, 2010.

Maskan, Ali. *Korsanlıktan Sisyasi İslam'a Cezayir'de Siyasal ve Toplumsal Değişim*. Ankara: Hitabevi Yayınları, 2014.

Massie, Justin and David Morin. "Francophonie and Peace Operations: Towards Geo-Cultural Ownership." *International Journal* 68, no.3 (2013): 479-500.

Mcdougall, James. *The History of Algeria*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Mcdougall, James. "Savage wars? Codes of violence in Algeria, 1830s – 1990s." *Third World Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (2005): 117 – 131.

Memmi, Albert. *The Colonizer and the Colonized*. London: Earthscan Publications, 2003.

Modelski, George and William R. Thompson. "The Long and the Short of Global Politics in the Twenty-first Century: An Evolutionary Approach." *International Studies Review* 1, no. 2 (1999): 114-116.

Musso, Marta. "The Transmediterranean Gas Pipeline: A Political History." *P.I.E-Peter (der), Les routes du petrole/ Oil Routes*, Lang S.A (2016): 141.

Nam, Mehmet. "İşgalden İstiklale Cezayir." *Tarih Dergisi* 55 (2013): 167.

Naylor, Phillip C. *North Africa: A History from Antiquity to the Present*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009.

Novack, George Edward. *Understanding History; Marxist Essays*. New York: Pathfinder Press, 1972. 135-155.

Nurlu, Muammer. "Batılı Kaynaklara Göre Fransız Sömürgeciliği." *Kastamonu Eğitim Dergisi* 10, no.2 (Ekim 2002): 245-58.

Oeckard, Sharae, Nicholas Lawrence, Neil Lazarus, Graeme Macdonald, Upamanyu Pablo Mukherjee, Benita Parry, and Stephen Shapiro. *Combined and Uneven Development: Towards a New Theory of World-Literature* (Warwick Research Collective), Cambridge: Liverpool University Press, 2015.

Oluwatoyin, Umar. "The Place of North African Literature in African Literary Canon." *Greener Journal of Language and Literature Research* 6, no.1 (June 2020): 1-10.

<https://gjournals.org/GJLLR>

Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie. “Qui sommes-nous?.” Accessed February 2, 2022.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20101228163453/http://www.francophonie.org/Qui-sommes-nous.html>.

Parıldı, Metin. “Fransız Sömürgeciliği Döneminde Kuzey Afrika’da Arap Dili ve Edebiyatına Genel Bir Bakış.” *Bilimname* 18, no.1 (2010), 117-120.

Paul, Christopher, Colin P. Clarke, Beth Grill and Molly Dunigan. “Algerian Independence, 1954–1962 Case Outcome: COIN Loss.” In *Paths to Victory*, 75-93. California: Rand Corporation, 2013.

Pehlivanoğlu, Işıl. “*Assia Djebar’ın L’amour, La Fantasia ve La Disparition De La Langue Française Başlıklı Romanlarında Sömürgecilik Ekseninde Dil ve Kimlik.*” Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Ankara Üniversitesi, 2010.

Phillips, John and Martin Evans. *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed*. Yale University Press, 2008.

Pocket. “Les Sirènes de Bagdad.” Roman Français. Accessed May 1, 2022.
<https://www.lisez.com/livre-de-poche/les-sirenes-de-bagdad/9782266204989>.

Pocket. “L’Attentat.” Roman Français. Accessed May 1, 2022.
<https://www.lisez.com/livre-de-poche/lattentat/9782266204972>.

Rosen, Matt. “Those Who Aren’t Counted,” In *Diseases of the Head*, 113-160. Punctum Books, 2020.

Rubé, Pierre and Kenneth Douglas. “Who Was Albert Camus?” *Yale French Studies*, no.25 (1960): 8-9.

Silverstein, Paul A. “An Excess of Truth: Violence, Conspiracy Theorizing and the Algerian Civil War.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 75, no. 4 (2002): 643-6.

Simpore, Karim. “Francophonie et Enjeux: États des Lieux et Perspectives.” *International Journal of Francophone Studies* 21, no.1&2 (2018): 101-17.

Singh, Kishore. “Report of The Special Rapporteur On The Right To Education.” In *United Nations General Assembly, Human Rights Council*, June 29, 2015.

Sönmez, Şinasi. “Cezayir Bağımsızlık Hareketinin Türk Basınına Yansımaları (1954–1962),” *ZKÜ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 6, no.12 (2010): 289-318.

Staeger, Ueli. “Uneven and Combined Development & World Systems Analysis: A Combined Approach.” *University of London (January 2014)*: 1-6.

Thatcher, Ian D. “Uneven and Combined Development.” *Revolutionary Russia* 4, no. 2 (1991): 237-238.

Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri. “Kültür.” Accessed January 15, 2022. <https://sozluk.gov.tr/>.

Uluslararası Hak İhlalleri İzleme Merkezi. *Yirminci Yüzyılda BM Güvenlik Konseyi Daimi Temsilcisi 5 Devletin İşlediği Soykırım ve Katliamlar*, no.1. İstanbul, 2012.

Uyanık, Necip. “Kierkegaard'da Yabancılaşmanın Kökenleri.” In *6. Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmalar Kongresi*, May 13-17- 2017. Muş: Bildiriler Kitabı-I, 2017.

Vambe, Maurice T. “French Genocide in Algeria: The Role of Memory in Artistic Representation of Colonial Violence in the Novel, *The Seine was Red*.” *African Identities* 10, no.3 (August 2012): 221-241.

Vambe, M.T. and A. Zegeye. “Emerging Perspectives on Genocide and Violence in Africa.” *African Identities* 10, no. 3 (August 2012): 207–10.

Van der Linden, Marcel. “The ‘Law’ of Uneven and Combined Development: Some Underdeveloped Thoughts.” *Historical Materialism* 15 (2007):147-148.

Von Schenck, Susanne. “Yasmina Khadra: Bağdat'ın Sirenleri.” Translated by Mustafa Tüzel, Accessed February 2, 2022. http://www.dipnotkitap.net/ROMAN/Bagdatin_Sirenleri.htm.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. *The World System and Africa*. Translated by Ata Mert Binicioğulları. Ankara: Aryen Yayınları, 2020.

Wallerstein, Immanuel Maurice. *World-systems Analysis: An Introduction*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Weinstein, B. “Francophonie: A Language-based Movement in World Politics.” *International Organization* 30, no.3 (1976): 485–507.

Web Solutions Llc. And Its Licensors. "Algeria." Accessed May 1. 2022.
<https://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/19/Algeria-HISTORY-BACKGROUND.html>.

Wikipédia, L'encyclopédie Libre. "Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie."
Last modified May 8, 2022.
https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organisation_internationale_de_la_francophonie.

Wikipédia, L'encyclopédie Libre. "Pieds-Noirs." Last modified May 6, 2022.
[https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieds-noirs#:~:text=Les%20pieds%2Dnoirs%20sont%20les,et%20les%20Magr%C3%A9bains%20\(Maures\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pieds-noirs#:~:text=Les%20pieds%2Dnoirs%20sont%20les,et%20les%20Magr%C3%A9bains%20(Maures)).

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia. "Albert Camus." accessed April 10, 2022.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_literature.

Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopedia. "World Literature." Last modified April 10, 2022.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_literature.

Wilder, Gary and Albert Memmi. "Irreconcilable Differences." *Indiana University Press*, no.71 (1996): 158-177.

Yalçın, Meral. *Gezici; Göç Psikolojisi*. Ankara: Pharmakon Yayınevi, 2017.

Yalvaç, Faruk. "Uluslararası İlişkiler Kuramında Anarşi Söylemi.," *International Relations/Uluslararası İlişkiler* 8, no. 29 (2011), 85-88.

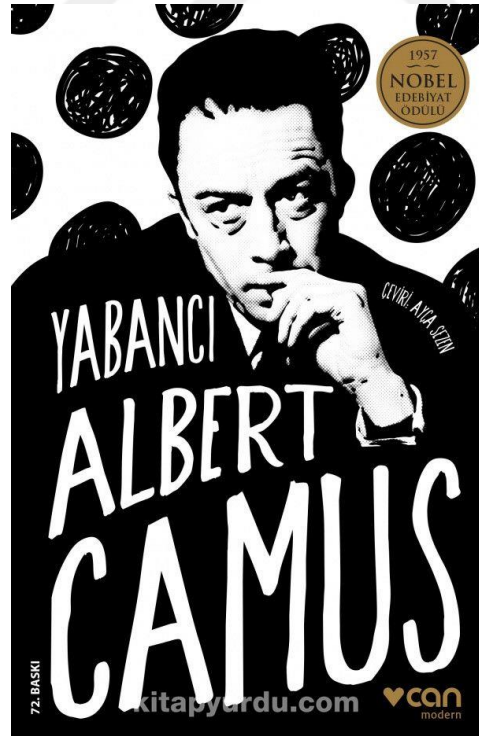
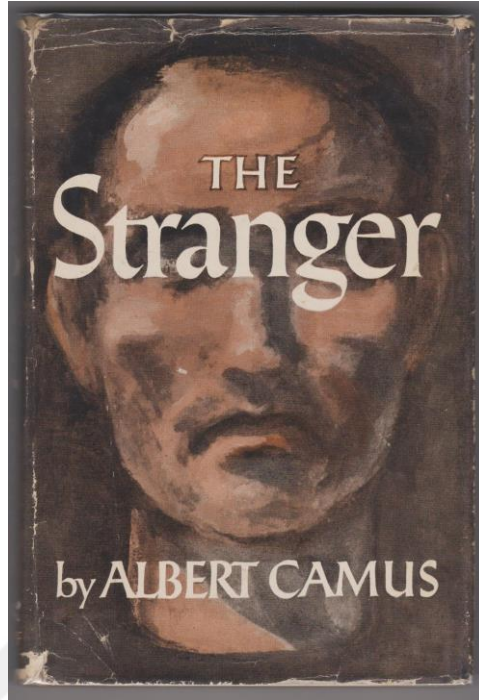
Zahar, Renate. *Frantz Fanon: Sömürgecilik ve Yabancılaşma*. Translated by Bayram Doktor. İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1999.

Zappettini, Franco. *European Identities in Discourse: A Transnational Citizens' Perspective*. London: Bloomsbury, 2019.

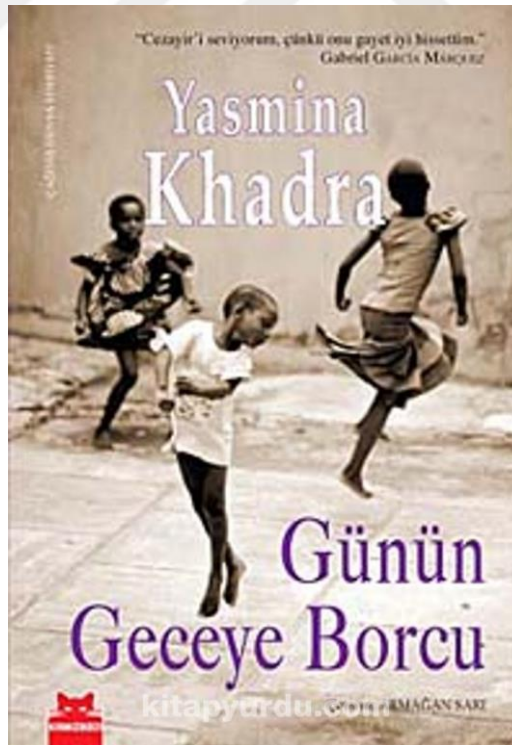
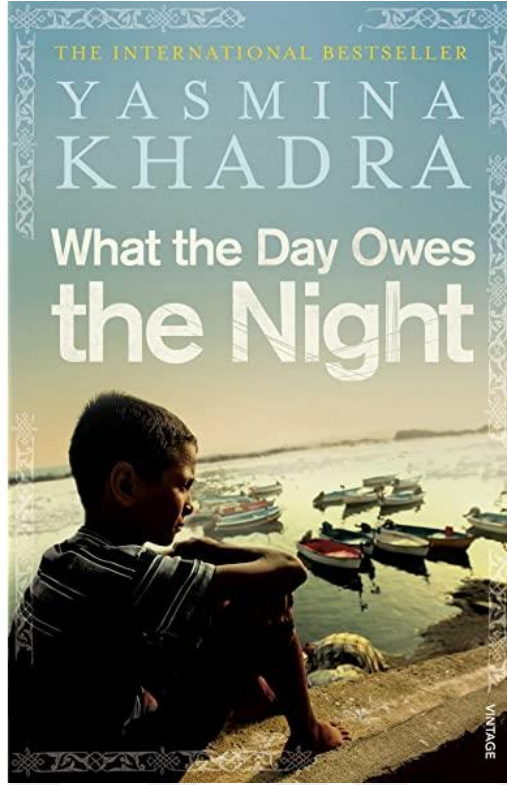
Zoubir, Yahia. "Algeria in Transition Reforms and Development Prospects." in *The Dialectics of Algeria's Foreign Relations, 1992 to the Present*, edited by Ahmed Aghrout and Redha M.Bougheria: 158. London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004.

Zoubir, Yahia H. "The Resurgence of Algeria's Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century." *The Journal of North African Studies* 9, no.2 (2006): 64.

ANNEX-1



ANNEX-2



Gamze iek

ORİJİNALLİK RAPORU

% **13**

BENZERLİK ENDEKSİ

% **11**

İNTERNET KAYNAKLARI

% **11**

YAYINLAR

% **10**

ÖĞRENCİ ÖDEVLERİ

BİRİNCİL KAYNAKLAR

1	www.whitehouseisd.org İnternet Kaynağı	%4
2	tc.copernicus.org İnternet Kaynağı	%2
3	regelwerk.grs.de İnternet Kaynağı	%2
4	content.naic.org İnternet Kaynağı	%1
5	www.ieee802.org İnternet Kaynağı	%1
6	James Christie, Nesrin Degirmencioglu. "Cultures of Uneven and Combined Development", Brill, 2019 Yayın	<%1
7	Submitted to Rutgers University, New Brunswick Öğrenci Ödevi	<%1
8	Submitted to National Economics University Öğrenci Ödevi	<%1

9	Submitted to The Kilmore International School Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
10	Submitted to Massey University Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
11	es.scribd.com İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
12	amt.copernicus.org İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
13	Submitted to Asian Institute of Technology Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
14	eprints.soton.ac.uk İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
15	Submitted to Liverpool John Moores University Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
16	Andreas Bieler, Adam David Morton. "Interlocutions with passive revolution", Thesis Eleven, 2018 Yayın	<% 1
17	ANDREAS BIELER. "The EU, Global Europe, and processes of uneven and combined development: the problem of transnational labour solidarity", Review of International Studies, 2012 Yayın	<% 1

18	garnertrucking.com İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
19	M Enieb, Mohammed Abbas Hasan Al-Jumaili, Hamid Athab Eedan Al-Jameel, A S Eltwati. "Sustainability of using reclaimed asphalt pavement: based-reviewed evidence", Journal of Physics: Conference Series, 2021 Yayın	<% 1
20	www.scribd.com İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
21	Joseph Leigh. "Geoculture and unevenness: Occidentalism in the history of uneven and combined development", Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 2020 Yayın	<% 1
22	Submitted to Queensland University of Technology Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
23	www.pmsd.org İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
24	www.umzimkhululm.gov.za İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
25	Alexander Anievas. "Confronting Eurocentrism, reductionism, and reification in International Historical Sociology: A reply", International Politics, 2016 Yayın	<% 1

26	Sharryn Kasmir, Lesley Gill. "No Smooth Surfaces: The Anthropology of Unevenness and Combination", Current Anthropology, 2018 Yayın	<% 1
27	Malm, A.. "Sea Wall Politics: Uneven and Combined Protection of the Nile Delta Coastline in the Face of Sea Level Rise", Critical Sociology, 2012. Yayın	<% 1
28	www.docstoc.com İnternet Kaynağı	<% 1
29	Submitted to Universidad del Rosario Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
30	Submitted to University of Birmingham Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1
31	"Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of Algeria", Biographies for International Security, 2014 Yayın	<% 1
32	Moeckli, Daniel, Shah, Sangeeta, Sivakumaran, Sandesh. "International Human Rights Law", International Human Rights Law, 2022 Yayın	<% 1
33	Submitted to ISPA Öğrenci Ödevi	<% 1

34

ÜSTÜN, Çiğdem. "Energy Cooperation between Import Dependent Countries: Cases of Italy and Turkey", T.C. Stratejik Araştırmalar Merkezi (SAM), 2011.

Yayın

<% 1

35

Submitted to Seoul National University

Öğrenci Ödevi

<% 1

36

İŞYAR, Ömer Göksel. "Avrasya'da devletlerin şekilleniş, yükseliş ve düşüş süreçleri: Türk ve Rus örnekleri", Uluslararası Stratejik Araştırmalar Kurumu Derneği (USAK), 2008.

Yayın

<% 1

37

Alex Callinicos, Justin Rosenberg. "Uneven and combined development: the social-relational substratum of 'the international'? An exchange of letters", Cambridge Review of International Affairs, 2008

Yayın

<% 1

38

Submitted to University of Winchester

Öğrenci Ödevi

<% 1

39

Lucía Pinilla, Ivan D. Benitez, Jessica González, Gerard Torres, Ferran Barbé, David de Gonzalo-Calvo. "Peripheral blood microRNAs and the COVID-19 patient: methodological considerations, technical challenges and practice points", RNA Biology, 2021

Yayın

<% 1

40

Submitted to University of Strathclyde
Öğrenci Ödevi

<% 1

41

BÖLÜKBAŞ ÖZGER, Özgün and ATEŞ, Davut.
"Uluslararası ilişkiler kuramında silahlı grupları
kavramlarla açıklama", Selçuk Üniversitesi,
2014.
Yayın

<% 1

42

Submitted to Far Eastern University
Öğrenci Ödevi

<% 1

43

Jeremy Solomon. "North African Star",
WorldHistoryModern, 07/28/2004
Yayın

<% 1

44

SÖNMEZ, Şinasi. "Cezayir bağımsızlık
hareketinin Türk basınına yansımaları (1954-
1962)", TUBITAK, 2010.
Yayın

<% 1

45

Submitted to costa rica tec
Öğrenci Ödevi

<% 1

Alıntıları çıkart

üzerinde

Eşleşmeleri çıkar

Kapat

Bibliyografyayı Çıkart

üzerinde

RESUME

Name and Surname: Gamze ÇİÇEK

Place and Date of Birth:

Education:

Degree	Field	University	Year
Undergraduate	Department of Foreign Language Education: French Teaching	Dokuz Eylül University	2010
Graduate	International Relations	Atılım University	2022

Work Experience:

Work Place	Position	Year
University of Turkish Aeronautical Association (UTAA)	Expert/ International Office	2016 - 2022
Ankara Medipol University	Lecturer/ Foreign Languages	2022-ongoing

Foreign Languages: French, English

E-mail:

Phone:

Date: