

Dirassat & Abhath
The Arabic Journal of Human
and Social Sciences



مجلة دراسات وأبحاث
المجلة العربية في العلوم الإنسانية
والاجتماعية

EISSN: 2253-0363
ISSN : 1112-9751

Industrial Experience in Algeria from a Sociological Perspective

التجربة الصناعية في الجزائر من منظور سوسيولوجي

علي لبوخ Ali LEBBOUKH

دكتوراه علوم في علم الاجتماع جامعة تلمسان أبو بكر بلقايد

University of Abou Bekr Belkaid Tlemcen

lebboukhali.socio@gmail.com

علي صنديد Ali SENDID

طالب دكتوراه في علم الاجتماع جامعة تلمسان أبو بكر بلقايد

University of Abou Bekr Belkaid Tlemcen

alisendid@gmail.com

lebboukhali.socio@gmail.com

علي لبوخ Ali LEBBOUKH

تاريخ القبول: 2025/03/10

تاريخ الاستلام: 2025/01/25

Abstract:

In the current climate where the Algerian government prioritizes revitalizing economic growth by bolstering medium and large industrial enterprises, this article explores a crucial aspect: dissecting the primary causes of the industrial setbacks Algeria experienced during the 1970s and early 1980s. This analysis aims to extract lessons from these historical failures to prevent their recurrence. Our review of field research across industrial enterprises has led to the identification of three sociological paradigms that explain this stagnation: the modernization thesis, the acculturation thesis, and the social thesis.

Keywords: Industrial enterprise, modernization thesis, acculturation thesis, social thesis.

المخلص:

في الوقت الذي تركز فيه الدولة الجزائرية حاليا جهودها على بعث الحركة الاقتصادية من خلال دعم المؤسسات الصناعية المتوسطة والكبيرة، أردنا من خلال هذا المقال أن نسلط الضوء على نقطة مهمة جدا وهي الكشف عن أهم العوامل الكامنة وراء إخفاق التجربة الصناعية التي عرفت الجزائر خلال السبعينات ومطلع الثمانينات من القرن الماضي وذلك حتى نستفيد منها ولا نجتر نفس أخطاء الماضي، وقد توصلنا بعد الاطلاع على الأبحاث الميدانية التي أجريت حول المؤسسات الصناعية أن هناك ثلاثة أطروحات سوسيولوجية حول إشكالية التعثر وهي كالاتي: الأطروحة التحديثية، والأطروحة الثقافية، وكذا الأطروحة الاجتماعية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: المؤسسة الصناعية، الأطروحة التحديثية، الأطروحة الثقافية، الأطروحة الاجتماعية

INTRODUCTION:

The industrial enterprise in the Third World is distinct from those in developed nations; it did not emerge from the indigenous innovations of its societies. Instead, it resulted from the adoption and adaptation of development paradigms from the West. This importation has created a cultural rift between the modern corporate ethos and the traditional societal values. Algeria, a Third World nation, has wrestled with this challenge.

In response, the 1962 Tripoli program participants emphasized two critical strategies for modernization: grounding efforts in the realities and objective conditions of Algeria and eschewing the blind replication of foreign models without contextual adaptation.¹

Sociology was pivotal in advancing this strategy, as articulated by the former President Houari Boumediene, who posited that sociology should serve as "the fundamental theoretical backbone for the successful advancement of the socialist revolution." Echoing this sentiment, Rachid Bellil underscored the consensus on sociology's role in devising strategies and solutions that ensure the social and holistic emancipation of the Third World individual. In this light, the sociologist's role was redefined as that of a progressive advocate, spearheading the quest for the liberation and progress of the Third World populace.²

Today, over half a century past the initial industrial endeavors, expectations were that the industrial enterprises would have ascended from mere physical existence to a state of functional efficacy akin to their counterparts. Contrary to these expectations, these enterprises failed to withstand the

initial economic downturn they encountered in the early 1990s, precipitating persistent crises within the social fabric and communal ties.

Numerous sociologists have undertaken extensive field studies to delve into the root causes of the industrialization efforts that were anticipated to instill modern institutional practices among Algerians. The pivotal inquiries they addressed were whether the failure was attributable to societal norms and traditional culture, which might have stifled the revolutionary endeavors aimed at societal modernization; whether it stemmed from the nature of the modernization strategies employed by the leadership to inculcate a culture of modernity; or whether it was influenced by the social conditions underpinning the industrial project itself.

In response, these researchers identified a variety of underlying reasons for the stagnation, noting the imposition of traditional community practices as a prevailing logic in the operations of the industrial enterprise, despite its inherently distinct logic. The forthcoming sections will explore these three fundamental theses in detail.

1. The Modernization Thesis:

Advocates of this thesis argue that the public industrial enterprises and their workers during the period from 1968 to 1988 were pivotal to a broader project aimed at the rationalization and modernization of society. This perspective is supported by two main indicators:

Firstly, the official political rhetoric of the era, as articulated in the speeches of the Presidents during that period, consistently heralded the industrial revolution and its

societal actors. These declarations overtly characterized the public industrial enterprise as an integral state goal. Initiated in the early 1970s, besides its role in fostering social harmony, the enterprise was tasked with transitioning society from a traditional to a rational phase.

Secondly, through the internal documents and managerial discourse within the industrial enterprises, with El Hadjar as a pioneering example, the mission to modernize society was foregrounded. This initiative aimed to cultivate an 'industrial man' by transforming mentalities. This transformation involved fostering a new cultural ethos within the workforce, positioning the worker as a conduit who absorbed this emerging culture through his engagement at the enterprise. The worker was then expected to disseminate these new values within his family, community, and broader social circles. According to Ali Al-Kenz, this process was critical for the cultural evolution envisaged.³

The proponents of the modernization thesis found that despite a palpable commitment from Algeria's political hierarchy to propel society towards modernity, this shift encountered significant hurdles, primarily due to the entrenched traditional culture's resistance to change. Suleiman Mazhar, a leading Algerian social psychologist and an authoritative voice in this thesis, has extensively documented this confrontation.⁴

In his 1992 seminal work, "Tradition Against Development," Mazhar explored the dynamics of development vis-à-vis traditional structures from a conflict perspective, positing that these entities are mutually exclusive. He argued that underdevelopment stems from the ongoing struggle waged by traditional social

structures against developmental initiatives. These traditional elements persistently resist modernization efforts, despite attempts to obscure or supplant them with novel paradigms.

Mazhar asserted that traditional structures not only reinforce their foundational norms but actively thwart any changes that could precipitate their dissolution, responding vigorously to any perceived threats to their continuity.⁵

In his follow-up book, "The Failure of Political Systems in Algeria," published in 1999, Mazhar reiterated his stance, observing, "Traditional culture dominates society; its influence is unmistakable. One need only listen to its whisperings and observe its manifestations through the window to recognize its impact. Continuously overlooking and denying its influence on the organizational fabric and future functioning of society opts for a problematic present and an uncertain future."⁶

Highlighting the pernicious impact of entrenched cultural norms on the modernization trajectory, he advocated a robust confrontation against all antiquated and traditional elements. These, he argued, belong to a value system that impedes societal progress and development. Mazhar's perspective underscores an exclusive dichotomy between 'modernity' and the typical societal norms that 'development' aims to transform.⁷

In our analysis, the argument that the resistance of traditional culture is primarily responsible for the shortcomings of the modernization project in Algeria merits a reevaluation of its validity. Michel Crozier challenges the notion that resistance to

change is a significant barrier, describing it as "overstated." He supports his critique with two illustrative examples.⁸

Firstly, he discusses the French peasants of the 1950s, who were initially perceived as individualistic, uncooperative, and resistant to modernization. Contrary to these cultural stereotypes, the peasants demonstrated remarkable adaptability and cooperation, forming organizations that surpassed the efficiency of traditional labor unions. Despite these changes, they retained cultural traits linked to Catholic traditions and small property ownership.

Crozier's second example pertains to the so-called Japanese miracle. He reflects on the initial tendency to attribute Japan's post-war economic boom to unique cultural elements, a perspective he nearly endorsed.⁹ However, he realized that while Japanese organizations incorporate power dynamics, they have developed organizational methods that surpass traditional Western models. Crozier cautions against drawing sweeping conclusions about cultural constraints, suggesting that these are less deterministic than commonly believed.¹⁰

Alan Turan critiques the prevailing thesis as an ideological reflection of the ruling class, which simplifies social dynamics into a binary struggle of enlightenment (represented by the ruling class) against the obscurity of traditional society.¹¹ This reductionist view, he argues, casts society as merely a target for transformation and stands as a significant impediment to nuanced sociological analysis, being one of the most ideologically saturated representations of society.¹²

Finally, Burhan Ghalioun emphasizes the protective role of cultural resistance, akin to

an immune system safeguarding against the obliteration of identity and continuity. He asserts that culture is not whimsically malleable to intellectual trends; if it were, any thinker or charlatan could radically alter cultural structures at will, or cultures would need to overhaul their frameworks with the emergence of each new intellectual figure. This stability ensures the survival and persistence of cultural identities across the globe.¹³

2. The Acculturation Thesis:

Proponents of the Acculturation Thesis view industrialization as a pivotal initiative within the Algerian political framework aimed at cultivating a societal project to educate Algerians and transform them into modern citizens, characterized as rational producers and consumers over the medium to long term. They trace the genesis of this industrial project to the thoughts of DuBarnes, who suggested that for developing countries to bridge the industrial gap with nations that embarked on industrialization more than a century earlier, it was essential to leapfrog certain developmental stages and adopt advanced production processes immediately.

DuBarnes encapsulated this view by asserting, "Developing countries cannot aspire to catch up with countries that began industrializing more than a century ago unless they skip some stages and adopt a more modern production process from now on."¹⁴

Following this philosophy, the Algerian ruling class devised detailed plans and allocated substantial financial resources to realize these concepts through pragmatic programs. On the ground, this strategy led to the creation of several industrial centers: Annaba emerged as a hub for iron and steel,

Sidi Bel Abbes specialized in electronics, and Arzew became known for petrochemicals.

The initiative extended beyond merely establishing industrial enterprises; it also encompassed stimulating ancillary sectors, including higher education, which was charged with developing the human resources needed by these industries, and the transport sector, tasked with enhancing essential infrastructures such as roads, ports, and railways. The overarching aim was to position industrialization as a civilizing force that would reconstruct societal foundations.¹⁵

In examining the reasons behind the relative failure of these industrial endeavors, Djamel Gherid, a leading advocate of this thesis, focused on the interplay between the nature of the adopted modernization approach and its failure. Starting with the question, "Why this very relative failure when apparently all conditions were met?" Gherid embarked on a series of field studies across various industrial enterprises, including the Industrial Electronics Enterprise in Sidi Bel Abbes. He also drew comparisons with classical English industrialization and Soviet industrialization, under the premise that insights from successful models could illuminate the shortcomings of less successful ones.¹⁶

Gherid's research concluded that the strategy of rapid industrialization paired with forced acculturation resulted in friction and confrontation between the imposed form of industrialization and the existing social structures. This clash significantly impeded the industrialization process, characterized by traits that curtailed its advancement and integration within the societal framework.

Firstly, a common trait observed is that of a young worker, often with a rural or agrarian background, who retains strong ties to his original community.¹⁷ This connection leads him to resist attempts to impose certain civilizational norms forcefully, instead revaluing aspects of his traditional culture as a defensive mechanism against the divisive and fragmentary impacts of industrialization. In this milieu, religion often serves as a sanctuary for him, offering protection against the harsh realities of industrial life. Consequently, he tends to idealize his pre-industrial past, which in turn fosters a natural aversion to the present state characterized by fragmentation, misery, and arbitrariness.¹⁸

Secondly, the typical approach of this worker within the industrial enterprise starkly contrasts with that of the classical worker who is fully integrated into the industrial milieu, content with his role, and ambitious for further advancement and increased rationalization within the production system. Contrarily, the common worker seeks minimal integration with his institution. His engagement with the factory is purely instrumental; he exchanges part of his time for monetary compensation. His opposition to the factory's ethos does not stem from a conflict of interests but signifies a broader rejection of the industrial world by his traditional worldview.¹⁹

Djamel Gherid further notes that the issues with industrialization were not solely due to the imposition of industrial practices upon society or the creation of this type of common worker. Instead, these challenges were exacerbated by the broader social, cultural, and political context, which, while not overtly hostile, was marked by a significant degree of indifference.

Unlike the industrialization efforts in England and the Soviet Union, which were robustly supported by political authorities and benefited from the active cooperation of all societal institutions, including schools and even religious organizations that provided disciplined and committed workforces, Algerian industrialization lacked similar backing.²⁰ This lack of support from other sectors and the broader socio-political landscape meant that industrialization failed to garner the necessary popular support or cooperation, critically undermining its success and sustainability.²¹

Djamel Gherid describes the common worker's resistance as a rejection of the industrial world, a perspective that may seem exaggerated²². Chantal Bernard offers a nuanced view, noting that Algerian workers exhibit two types of resistance within the factory: one is defensive, embodying a negotiation for integration into the industry, and the other is innovative, aiming for a strategic position within the factory. She cites the example of skilled workers and technicians in drilling operations in the south who adapted their equipment to manage unforeseen challenges.²³

This adaptation often involved bold real-world initiatives, such as risking equipment disruption to acquire complex operational knowledge. Occasionally, this also involved workers personally modifying machinery to better serve their needs, effectively redesigning the technology for their own use.²⁴ Bernard highlights that between 1969 and 1980, 29 technological innovations were developed during the production process, suggesting that such innovations could have been more prevalent had they been actively

encouraged and recognized within the worker's status system.

3. The Social Thesis:

The Social Thesis critiques both the modernization and acculturation theses and was pioneered by several scholars, including:

A-Said Cheikhi:

Cheikhi investigates the nature of resistance, questioning whether it should be seen as a rejection of working conditions or a broader repudiation of the factory and the industry itself. He delves deeper to distinguish whether the resistance is against the social conditions under which workers live and operate, or if it reflects a cultural opposition to the industrial setting by the workers.²⁵ Through interviews, Cheikhi discovered that working in the factory does not foster a distinct worker identity, suggesting that resistance often stems not from a rejection of the factory or industry per se, but from a disconnection with these entities.²⁶ He identifies two main factors contributing to this sentiment:

- **First Factor:** Workers prioritize their daily life challenges, such as housing, health issues, scarcity, and inflation, over their jobs or the institutions they work for. They feel that their existence and their ability to meet basic needs are not linked to their work.
- **Second Factor:** Workers experience a sense of powerlessness due to the absence of opportunities to express their opinions. This lack of expressive outlets leads to a perceived absence of social utility and appreciation, particularly from management. This undervaluation is

...tied to the scarcity of opportunities for workers to showcase their initiatives, innovations, and experiences, fostering feelings of social marginalization and, consequently, disrespect or even contempt.²⁷

Said Cheikhi concludes that the reluctance of workers to enhance their productivity does not stem from opposition to the logic of production or an unwillingness to engage in productive activities. Rather, it arises because productive labor lacks social prestige in Algeria. This suggests that workers do not find personal fulfillment in their roles, nor do they view these roles as viable means to fulfill their core aspirations.

Consequently, there is a lack of ambition, hope, or perceived potential for a rewarding social future solely through productive work. Workers express that through their jobs, they will not achieve significant milestones such as acquiring "their own home," "their car," or attaining a fully recognized and integrated professional status.²⁸

B. Jilali Liabes:

Jilali Liabes supports Cheikhi's perspective, attributing the failure to the industrial institutions' continuation of the state's inherited populist policies. Liabes observed that these institutions did not focus solely on production and efficiency, or on employing the most qualified individuals, but often on nepotism. He criticizes this approach, noting that he observed unjust interventions by the guardianship authorities in the appointment of officials and a tendency to distribute positions of responsibility as favors. Liabes emphasizes, "We do not want a public institution that excessively employs, houses, feeds, treats, transports, assists, sends

children to summer camps... In essence, we desire a productive institution that is profitable and efficient."²⁹

C. Ahmed Henni:

Ahmed Henni notes the coexistence of two prevailing attitudes among those responsible for industrialization in Algeria. The first aimed at constructing a robust economy, careful to align social ties driven by the factory or production rates with broader economic logic ('le patron').

The second sought to achieve material modernity without laying the foundations for a strong economy ('le cheikh'), failing to recognize that embracing intellectual capital through industrialization necessitates a shift in cultural behavior. Henni points out that society, caught between these perspectives, charted its own course by replicating existing social ties from outside social structures within the industrial setting.³⁰

Henni further elaborates that one manifestation of this replication of traditional social ties within the factory is the management system's adherence to the logic of the 'sheikh' rather than that of the employer. He explains the distinction: an employer builds his social position through investment rather than wealth distribution, whereas a 'sheikh' derives influence from the social structures he creates with his clients within the institution.

For instance, employment practices were seen as distributing privileges among clients. This approach prioritized maintaining institutional stability and operations over production efficiency, ensuring wage continuity and the provision of special maintenance and production services. In dealing with workers, the factory owner cultivated a style of loyalty and allegiance,

discouraging workers from disrupting work, divulging factory secrets, or engaging in theft. This fostered the emergence of informal practices such as nepotism, regionalism, and the establishment of brotherhood ties and friendships, which were built on a foundation of mutual trust during the hiring process.

In addition, the distribution of material privileges by factory management was often influenced by religious motivations, such as covering expenses for Hajj and Umrah or wedding ceremonies, and even influenced decisions about promotions within the organizational hierarchy. This approach significantly expanded their social influence and shifted the focus from economic effectiveness to social capital. As for the legitimacy and symbolic status of the factory owner, it was derived from affiliations with local tribes or clans, which significantly opened avenues for accruing symbolic capital among these groups.³¹

This led to a level of bureaucracy in the Weberian sense, where the transformation of labor into added value and subsequently into capital was stalled, subjected to the whims of administrative endorsements rather than market forces or production demands. This accumulation of symbolic actions led to an accumulation of relational capital. The primary concern for the employer was managing the physical assets, rather than making strategic decisions that could enhance productivity and economic return. This cautious approach was driven by the fear of facing potential risks such as a social hierarchy that might challenge his influence or the rise of opposing ideologies.³²

Regarding the legitimacy among industrial elites, it is observed that these elites derive their status not through expertise in

economic management but through their relationships within the social fabric. Their promotions are often based not on merit or global standards of profit production and capital increase, but on local customs and practices, raising questions about the formation of an economic elite that deviates from global economic norms.

Moreover, the type of economic efficiency that has historically conferred legitimacy on the economic elite has been focused on the capacity to construct and promote the industrial project rather than managing it effectively. This form of efficiency has been measured by the quantity of infrastructure built, like factories, schools, and hospitals, rather than by the nature and volume of activities conducted within these structures.

Since the economic elite recognized that their legitimacy was not tied to their mastery of management science, nor through the production of profit or knowledge essential for effective factory management, there began a trend of neglecting returns and profits, and even the basic principles of accounting.³³

D. Mohamed Mebtoul

Mohamed Mebtoul notes that from 1974 to 1986, the political authority capitalized on significant oil revenues, which enabled the establishment of numerous structures and the employment of many workers to address economic deficits. However, with the fall in oil prices in 1986 and following the societal upheavals of October 1988, these institutions faltered, unable to sustain the growth and stability of the previous decade. This led to heightened criticism from within these institutions and from society at large, ultimately prompting the government to implement structural reforms in 1994.

In his pursuit to decipher the underlying causes of the observed inefficiencies, Mohamed Mebtoul undertook extensive field studies. His findings indicate that the wage labor model in Algeria failed to achieve production efficiency or engage workers meaningfully in the manufacturing process. According to Mebtoul, the operation of manufacturing is heavily burdened by socio-organizational conditions enforced by various power factions, perpetuating a certain administrative ethos characterized by:

- **First:** An entrenched centralization that stifles any critical assessment of the actual performance across various structures.³⁴ This centralization hinders the acknowledgment and integration of local and diverse initiatives from workers. Furthermore, it restricts managerial activities primarily to the distribution of publications, memos, and various communications emanating from what is commonly referred to as "guardianship."
- **Second:** A notable disregard by the political authority for the social well-being of workers, evident in the inadequate provision of working conditions, essential tools, and respectable wages. Instead of addressing these issues and striving for substantive changes to enhance performance, political figures often use official visits as opportunities to enhance their public image. They present the institutions in an idealized form on television, portrayed as clean, active, and flawless, a practice that merely serves to manufacture a superficial "social peace" in an authoritarian and truncated manner.³⁵

4. Conclusion:

The Algerian industrial experience represents a significant phenomenon that profoundly transformed the daily lives of individuals, particularly those directly involved with it. These transformations can be categorized into two primary aspects:

4.1 Positive Aspect:

The demands of the industrialization project, which imposed itself as a defining reality on Algerian society, led to the creation of thousands of jobs for young people. Numerous housing projects were developed to accommodate the influx of workers who had migrated in large numbers from rural areas in search of employment opportunities. Infrastructure was expanded with the construction of more roads, and diverse forms of transportation were made available.

Educational institutions, including schools, universities, and vocational training centers, were established, alongside healthcare facilities such as hospitals and clinics. Additionally, certain factories succeeded in breaking into global markets, asserting their presence through the high quality of their products.

4.2 Negative Aspect:

However, this initial positive impact was short-lived. By the early 1980s, the industrial revolution began to lose its momentum. Externally, the intensification of rural migration led to the proliferation of slums on the outskirts of cities, accompanied by rising crime rates and increasing social fragmentation. Internally, factories became mired in conflicts and experienced a sharp decline in production levels. This deterioration, which was initially expected to be a temporary phase, gradually solidified

into a persistent and enduring issue. This prompted sociological researchers to deeply investigate the underlying causes, resulting in the emergence of three key theses:

A. First Thesis:

Proponents of this thesis assert that there was a strong political will to modernize and develop Algerian society, as evidenced by President Houari Boumediene's robust emphasis on industrialization. However, they argue that the traditional culture of Algerian society posed a significant obstacle to the modernization process. This culture, according to this perspective, was imbued with negative values and attitudes that resisted progress and hindered the path to modernization.

B. Second Thesis:

The factories imported into Algeria came with their own distinct industrial culture, which was not a natural extension of Algerian society. Instead, this culture was the product of a long evolutionary process in Western societies, driven by their efforts to solve internal challenges. When introduced into Algeria, this imported culture was perceived as foreign and incompatible with the local context. This led to a near-universal rejection of the urban industrial lifestyle, particularly because the process of acculturation was imposed forcefully without allowing sufficient time for the society to adapt and assimilate it. Consequently, the attempt to replace original cultural values with foreign ones ultimately failed.

C. Third Thesis:

For many, the factory did not represent the ideal means of achieving self-realization. It is crucial to interpret "self-realization" here

not in its conventional moral sense, but rather in its sociological context, signifying the fulfillment of both material and emotional human needs. This encompasses the availability of adequate tools and resources for work, fair and respectable wages, equal opportunities for career advancement, recognition and appreciation of workers' creativity, solutions to their challenges, and the consideration of their opinions.

Only under such conditions can the factory evolve from being perceived as merely a place of transactional labor, where effort is exchanged for monetary compensation at the end of the month, to a space that truly facilitates human and professional growth. Confronted with the lack of these conditions, workers did not remain idle; instead, each devised their own strategies to achieve self-realization in ways that aligned with their individual aspirations and perceptions.

In light of the above, we emphasize that the success of economic revitalization and the advancement of industrialization in our country is contingent upon fully leveraging the valuable insights offered by these sociological studies. Additionally, it is imperative to establish multidisciplinary research units, encompassing fields such as sociology, psychology, and others, within industrial facilities. These units should be dedicated to conducting thorough and unbiased field studies, free from administrative interference, to ensure scientifically robust and meaningful outcomes.

Such initiatives would provide institutions with actionable solutions to overcome their challenges, enabling them to participate

effectively and competitively in the global industrial landscape.

4. Bibliography List:

- Alain Tourain: The Voice and The Look, Paris: Les Éditions du Seuil, 1978, Collection: Permanent Sociology, No. 1.
- Bachir Mohammed, Sociologists of Organizations and Work in Algeria: The First Generation, Dar Kenouz for Production, Publishing, and Distribution, 1st Edition, 2018, p. 27.
- Burhan Ghalioun: Assassination of the Mind, Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, Sixth Edition, 1993.
- Chantal Brnard: Worker Resistances in Industrializing Algeria, CNRS Edition, North Africa Yearbook, Vol. 21, 1984.
- Djamel Guerid: "The Common Worker: Elements for Approaching the New Face of the Algerian Industrial Worker," *Insaniyat*, Nos. 7-23, 1, 1999.
- Djamel Guerid: The Industrial Enterprise in Algeria "The Limits of Acculturation," University of Oran - CRASC - Oran, 1997.
- Fouad Nawar: The Change in Worker Culture at Trévilar (1936-2003), *Insaniyat Journal*, Nos. 29-30, 2005.
- Mezouar Belakhdar, "Social Sciences in Algeria Facing Change," *Insaniyat / Online*, Nos. 57-58, 2012.
- Ministry of Mujahideen: Basic Texts of the November Revolution, National Institution for Communication, Publishing, and Distribution. Algeria, 2008, p. 75.
- Mohamed Laifa, Mohamed Fawzi Kanaza: Post-Modernity Practices in Reproducing the Mimic: Sociology of the Algerian Institution Amidst Social Movement, *Researcher in Human and Social Sciences Journal*, Issue 35, September 2018.
- Mohamed Mebtoul, Jon Cook, Jean-Paul Grangaud, Anne Tursz: The Opinions of Algerian Doctors on Care Activities: A Fragile Professional Identity, in: *Social Sciences and Health*, Volume 16, No. 2, 1998.
- Ouardia Lebsari: Traditions and Modernization in Algeria: The Case of Family and Family Planning, *Cahiers du CREAD* No. 44, 2nd Quarter 1998.
- Philippe Durance: The Memory of the Future Interviews: Michel Crozier, September 2006.
- Saïd Chikhi: Workers Facing Work at C.V., *Cahiers du CREAD* No. 9, 1st Quarter 1987.
- Stéphane Dion: Michel Crozier and the Study of Organizations, *Quebec Society for Political Science*, Issue No. 12, Autumn 1987, p. 115.

Footnotes:

¹⁴ Fouad Nawar, "Changes in Worker Culture at Tréfilor (1936-2003)," *Insaniyat*, Nos. 29-30 | 2005, p.107.

¹⁵ Djamel Guerid, "The 'Common Worker': Elements for Approaching the New Face of the Algerian Industrial Worker," *Insaniyat*, 7-23, 1 | 1997, p.10.

¹⁶ Djamel Guerid, "The Industrial Enterprise in Algeria: The Limits of Acculturation," University of Oran - CRASC - Oran, 1997, p.120.

¹⁷ Ibid. p.16.

¹⁸ Ibid. p.17.

¹⁹ Ibid. p.18.

²⁰ Ibid. p.20.

²¹ Djamel Guerid, op. cit., p.124.

²² Ibid. p.125.

²³ Chantal Bernard, "Worker Resistance in Industrializing Algeria," CNRS Editions, *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord* 1984, Vol. 21, p.134.

²⁴ Ibid. p.143.

²⁵ Said Chikhi, "Workers Facing Work at CV," *Cahiers du CREAD* No. 9, First Trimester 1987, p.02.

²⁶ Ibid. p.02.

²⁷ Bachir Mohammed, op. cit., 1st Edition, 2018, p.58.

²⁸ Said Chikhi, op. cit., p.02.

²⁹ Bashir Mohammed, op. cit., 1st Edition, 2018, p.74.

³⁰ Mohamed Laifa, Mohamed Fawzi Kanaza, "Post-Modern Practices in Reproducing the Mimic: Sociology of the Algerian Institution in

¹ Ministry of Mujahideen: Basic Texts of the November Revolution, National Institution for Communication, Publishing and Distribution. Algeria, 2008, p.75.

² Rachid Bellil, "Domestication of Knowledge on Society: Remarks on Sociology in Algeria," CNRS Editions, *Annuaire de l'Afrique du Nord*, Volume XXIV, 1985, p.526.

³ Bachir Mohammed, *Sociology of Organizations and Work in Algeria, First Generation*, Dar Kenouz for Production, Publishing, and Distribution, 1st Edition, 2018, p.27.

⁴ Ouardia Lebsari, "Traditions and Modernization in Algeria: The Case of Family and Family Planning," *Cahiers du CREAD* No. 44, Second Trimester 1998, p.02.

⁵ Ibid. p.03.

⁶ Mezouar Belakhdar, "The Social Sciences in Algeria Facing Change," *Insaniyat / Online*, Nos. 57-58 | 2012, p.29.

⁷ Ouardia Lebsari, op. cit., p.02.

⁸ Philippe Durance, "Interviews on the Memory of Foresight: Michel Crozier," September 2006, p.13.

⁹ Stéphane Dion, "Michel Crozier and the Study of Organizations," *Société Québécoise de science politique*, No. 12, Autumn 1987, p.115.

¹⁰ Ibid. p.116.

¹¹ Alain Touraine, "The Voice and the Eye," Paris: Les Éditions du Seuil, 1978, Collection: Permanent Sociology, No. 1, p.68.

¹² Ibid. p.68.

¹³ Burhan Ghalyoun, "Assassination of Reason," Arab Institute for Studies and Publishing, Beirut, Sixth Edition, 1993, p.355.

the Context of Social Movement," Researcher Journal in Human and Social Sciences, Issue 35, September 2018, p.892.

³¹ Ibid. p.892.

³² Ibid. p.892.

³³ Ahmed Henni, "The Production of Economic Elites in Algeria," Published in Islam and Social Change, ed. Mondher Kilani, Payot, Lausanne, 1998.

³⁴ Mohamed Mebtoul, Cook Jon, Grangaud Jean-Paul, Tursz Anne, "Judgments of Algerian Physicians on Care Activity: A Fragile Professional Identity," In: Social Sciences and Health, Volume 16, No.2, 1998, p.07.

³⁵ Ibid. p.05.