University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Modern Languages

A Critical Outlook on Algerian Press Construction of Algerian Female Politicians in Electoral Campaigns (1997-2017)

by

Fatima Zahra Ahmed Sid

Thesis for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

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The discussion about gender roles and gender representation in environments such as the Algerian and the Arabic world in general needs to be expanded upon and investigated with more urgency due to the changing nature of Arabic politics. This thesis aims to investigate media representation of women in politics to determine ideological and stereotypical (re)constructions about females in general and politicians in particular to understand the nexus exists between gender, power and politics in the Algerian society. This study undertakes a critical perspective in the analysis of Arabic language press discourse concerning female politicians' representation in electoral campaigns starting at the inception of the bilateral parliamentary elections that hosted the first female candidates in the history of Algeria and pans out until the 2017 legislative elections. By this longitudinal study, I aim to track the discursive and ideological shifts in the Algerian press discourse and identify the overarching factors that shape these discourses. I have used Wodak's discourse historical approach as the main tool for the data analysis. Its socio-historical approach allows identifying patterns of change through history. The analysis reveals the existence of two main discourses governing the press discourse. The first discourse is a discourse of victimization, in which female politicians are, attributed a description of victims of terrorism, culture and institutions that prevented them from political participation, culminating in a wide lack of interest, and a large-scale use of nepotism to earn their interest. This re-imagining of the past suits the self-image as the "savior of women" which the politico military system in place since 1962 seeks to promote. This in turn have resulted in ascending doubts about female politicians' qualifications. With the introduction of a quota law, that guarantees a certain percentage of females in each party, doubts escalated further and lead to the emergence of the second

discourse, the discourse of responsibility. Another significant finding is the distinctive representation of Louiza Hanoune in constructing the representation of 'female politician model' mainly moving from gender to leadership attributes that respond to aspects of the gendered political culture in Algeria.

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Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

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I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;

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Definitions and Abbreviations

- CDA Critical Discourse Analysis
- DHA Discourse Historical Approach
- FLN National Liberation Front
- ALN National Liberation Army
- RND Democratic National Rally
- HMD Movement of Society for Peace
- ANEP Entreprise Nationale de Communication, d'Edition et de Publicite
- SOS Women in Distress-
- UNFA National Union of Algerian Women
- UFMA Union for Muslim women of Algeria
- APW Popular Assembly of Wilaya
- SFIO Section Francaise de l'internationale Ouvriere
- MTLD Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties

Chapter 1   Introduction

1.1   Background

"For women to be effectively represented in the political domain, they must first be adequately represented in the public discussion of political affairs" (Harmer, 2013, p.14)

Democracy is the ultimate goal to achieve for almost every single country, especially countries that have social restrictions that might affect the democratic path. To achieve it in any given country, we must apply it to each and every field of life. In the political arena, democracy is achieved through an equal access of male and female politicians to the most important positions in the country, decision–making positions. However, female political representation is not only a matter of political equality, but it is more about social equality. Women's low presence in politics indicates that patriarchal perceptions and the power hierarchy of gender in society is still existing and maintained. The gender inequality in the political arena, then, is a bigger problem than it seems, because it is linked to the social construction of the roles that women can play in society.

In real life, women in politics, around the globe, are numerically and qualitatively underrepresented compared to men. A plethora of studies has been conducted to reveal the reasons attributed to this underrepresentation. These studies have all agreed that female politicians would not be effectively represented in the political domain if they are fully or partially invisible from political discussions in public or if their image is constructed differently than their male counterparts. (Miller and Peake, 2013; Lawrence and Rose, 2010; Kahn, 1994; Smith, 1997; Robinston and Saint-Jean, 1991; Trimble et al., 2013).

Public discussions in this instance are the role that media by each and any of its means plays in shaping what the public thinks about politics, a role which is proved to have a huge impact in the political arena by influencing political participants' images and constructing and shaping the public opinion by injecting values, ideas and stigmas. (Trimble et al., 2013; Goodyear-Grant, 2013). The mediated construction and representation of female politicians contributes to the debate about gender hierarchy in society as it embodies judgements and assumptions of gender socialisation. Specifically, it contributes to the indulgence, (re)construction, (re)production and maintenance of gender dominant discourses about what roles women should play in society through an implicit or explicit representation of how women should speak, behave, dress, and so on or through discussion of their role in politics and consequently adhere to accepted social models of femininity and gender socialisation.

According to Kay (2007), discourses that circulate in a society, about gender roles are "state-led ideologies and policies" that are presented to us through media discourse which "in turn plays an important role in determining the extent to which gender impacts upon the opportunities, rights, entitlement and duties of male and female citizens" (Kay, 2007, p. 1). Hence, media is reinforcing particular ideologies about women's role in society and is playing a significant role in the gender hegemonic struggle.

The power of media is exercised through filtering the stories they choose to carry, reordering, reimagining and re-inscribing events, social problems, issues, and even individuals to fit with the appropriate discourses. In other words, gender representation in media results from the interconnection between different discourses negotiating gender. Discourses circulating in society about gender, the performance of gender differences as well as the performance of the represented individuals in relation to their gender, and the journalists framing and manipulation because "journalism is a human endeavour that cannot occur outside the systems of shared meanings produced by society. Gender as a system of meaning, therefore, affects both the selection and editing of news content, as well as citizens' reactions to news stories" (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 6).

Nevertheless, media does not only reflect society, but it also constructs society. Its important role empowers it to negotiate power relations and naturalise gender hierarchy. Thus, examining media discourses is the best way to uncover societal, cultural and political agendas. Bell (1988) indicated that "the media are crucial presenters of culture, politics and social life, shaping as well as reflecting how these are formed and expressed.it is important for what it reveals about society and because it also itself contributes to the character of society" (p. 64). It utilises attitudes opinions, and stereotypes circulating in society to manipulate and (re)construct people's view about a particular situation (Fairclough, 2001).

Female politicians' representation in media have been the focus of a number of studies. Researchers focused on different aspects of media representation. Starting from their visibility in media which was focusing on the quantity of their coverage to gendered stereotypes by which female politicians are framed (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Bystrom et al. 2001; Atkeson, 2003; Harmer, 2013). Feminists' focus was on the inequitable gender coverage through a comparison between men and women coverage both quantitatively and qualitatively (Parry Giles, 2014). Some research has found no difference concerning coverage like Smith (1997) and Norris (1997), however, others have concluded that there is difference regarding media attention which is primarily given to men and the use of positive stereotypes about women (Banducci, et al., 2002, Heldman et al., 2005).

Researchers accuse media of embodying gender ideologies that negatively affect female politicians despite the positive representation of women as heroes for challenging gender roles and

being important agents of change in a corrupted arena. Ross (2002) argud that these discourses represent female politicians "as women first, and then, may be, as politicians" (p. 81), which reinforces stereotypes that women are outsiders to politics. Studies investigating the effects of gendered coverage deemed it to be harmful for female politicians in several ways:

• It affects their evaluation among electors concerning their credibility and ability to run for office. Consequently, their success in elections or the maintenance of their positions are hugely influenced.

• It affects the willingness of women to run for elections as they are continuously discouraged and misrepresented in media. It may also affect the young female generation and their perception of a career in politics, due to the continuous discouragement by media depiction of current female politicians. Such discouragement may persist and even add to the underrepresentation of women in politics due to the few number of women seeking this career, which implies that there would always be a male dominance.

• Media is informed by patriarchal structure. Therefore, it will help formulate the distinction between public and private spheres. In other words, female politicians will be affected by the gendered media ideology that implies that women are not welcomed in politics as it is a male domain. That is to say, women are only outsiders who are trying to fit in positions in which they are not able to handle. This would affect female politicians' ability in dealing with the various challenges of office and concentrate on the gendered mediated news and people perceptions of their work. (Goodyear–Grant, 2013; Harmer, 2013).

1.2   Significance of the Study

The predominance of Western research about female political representation in media as well as the lack of the critical qualitative analysis calls for this research. Despite all the attention this topic attracted in the Western world, the Arab world merely watched the discussion from afar; very little to no interest was given to this area. Most studies conducted in this topic have been quantitative in nature, or descriptive qualitative. The quantitative studies focused mainly on the number of females in politics rather than their actual contribution into politics. The qualitative studies on the contrary, focused on the presence of women in politics in a holistic way and did not produce enough insight into the actual gender construction behind every day headlines and articles. Very few academics have actually researched the construction of women in the Arab media, even less went further to examine the portrayal of female politicians. (Bensalem and Majbri, 2014; Arrami, 2015). Cultural difference is one important factor among others that change the way media construct gender roles in politics. The absence of research envisaging this prolific topic in the Arab world invites studies to

be conducted in this different part of the world where Islamic religion, traditions and culture are dominating, from the countries' laws to the smallest decisions in lifestyle, which are different than what exists in the Western world. The validity of such a claim can be argued, first, by Gamson's work (1988) where he identified several factors that contribute in shaping media discourse about politics, among these, he stressed "cultural resonances" or as they are called in Benson (2004) works, "culturally available symbols and themes" (p. 277) which control the motion of media discourse and politics. Second, by outlining that gender roles within society are culturally shaped to meet the norms of that culture. Both women and men are pushed to adhere to the culture's masculinity and femininity characteristics while any violation would be punished (Cameron and Kulik, 2003; Voronova, 2014). Due to the different cultural systems, the discovered and generalised results in different nations in the Western world cannot be generalised to the Arab world, which calls for a subsequent/consequent investigation.

Furthermore, my study would aim at filling part of the absence of research in the Arab world where women are controlled by societal norms as a result of cultural traditions and laws in patriarchic nations. It is also of a great significance to the context of Algeria where it will look into the representation of female parliamentarians, female presidential and parliamentary candidates from the first electoral campaign that women joined in the history of Algeria (1997). The studies that have been carried have all been narrow in scope, usually limited to either one politician or event. However, this study is the first of its kind where five legislative election and thee presidential elections are analysed including all reports about female politicians in the Algerian parliament and their candidacy during the election. Additionally, the progress of the first female presidency candidate in the Arab world is investigated.

1.3   Motivation

Algeria has been chosen from 23 Arab countries for several contextual and personal reasons. The reasons are listed below:

Contextually, First, Algerian history is characterised by its complexity. Richardson states that "Language is used to mean things and to do things that relate not only to the immediate context of speaker-text-audience but also to the wider socio-political, cultural and historic contexts which bound the communicative act" (Richardson, 2007, p. 25). Therefore, history in addition to language have a significant role in forming the status of women and their role in society through different, internal, external, historical, social, political and economic influences.

Second, Algerian females joined forces with men before the creation of the Algerian Government and they contributed in the Algerian revolution against the French colony as political

minds as well as fighters in the battlefield, and they were part of the FLN (Front de Liberation National) that was responsible for the revolution at that time. However, they have been neglected by the government after the independence, which makes it important to investigate how they are represented after they are joining politics again.

Third, Algeria was the pioneer and the first Arab nation to have a female running for presidential elections in 2004, which makes it unique, and of a huge importance in assessing how the Algerian media has dealt with the issue. Despite women advancement not only in political participation but in other sectors in Algeria as well, the number of studies on Algerian women is still very low (Al-Shater, 2013).

Fourth, in 2008, The Algerian government introduced for the first time in an Arab country the quota system in politics where it gives women the right of holding more places in the parliament. Although it was a positive step forward, it has not been widely applied until the 2012 constitutional amendment, which promoted gender equality more than ever in the history of Algeria. The amendment suggested an increase in their access to political electoral positions such as the parliamentary seats, of which, they now make a staggering percentage of 32%. Algeria, therefore, has impressive numbers compared to the Arab world where the joint percentage of female participation in all 22 countries is 14% and within the world where the average of female participation in politics is 20%. This makes Algeria a very suitable candidate for carrying this research concerning politics, culture, society and gender roles.

Although this study was first motivated by personal factors, based mainly on my experience as an Algerian female exposed to social inequalities in my immediate environment, it was later on was shaped bsed on academic factors. Moreover, my experience parallels the wider experience of women around Algeria. Reading about gender theories, politics and media representation and the use of discourse analysis as a research method in my master's degree coupled with exposure to critical discourse analysis for the first time, in addition to reading about both the literature of women politicians' representation in media and the principles of CDA. It goes further to examine the questions and social inequalities it addresses that helped me in shaping my aims and research questions and situate my research within the field.

Personally, my interest in this particular topic stems initially from my curiosity about understanding the social structure of the Algerian society. This interest started at a young age, when I was choosing a field of study in university. I did not have the required average to apply for the field I wanted which was journalism that I was, and still very fond of. Thus, I decided to ask my family and friends if it is possible for me to join the army, marine, or the police. The answer to this simple question surprised me and was shocking to me. My family, similar to the majority of Algerian families

believe that these jobs are not meant for women, and these are male domains that should not be tampered with. They also agreed that jobs with the government like these and the ones in politics and judicial sectors are all dominated by males, and women who choose these sectors are required to give up many things to be successful, including their integrity and even their honour. On many occasions I heard, whether in the street or at home, that Louiza Hanoune, the leader of the Workers' Party is not a woman, and does not represent the Algerian woman, I even was warned not to be like her, or follow in her footsteps.

Since then, I became interested in understanding gender differences and reading about it. I benefited from my interest in journalism in choosing the topic of my master's thesis which was the discursive features of the headlines of Anglophone Algerian newspapers. While reading about discourse analysis and its interdisciplinarity to utilise it as a data analysis tool, I decided to combine the two in my PhD thesis to understand the status quo in relation to gender.- I came across critical discourse analysis and read that the social structures are imbedded in the language we use every day. Reading about the aims of critical discourse analysis opened up really exciting and innovative questions that have an impact in real life. In this research I aim to highlight gender inequality which is present through media political discourse where I am wishing to open up lines of academic debates about how these ideologies came to exst at first place and how they are maintained or (re)constructed in the Algeria society society from media lens.

1.4   Aims

This study aims to extend research on gender representation in media by looking at a new context and apply a critical perspective to the data analysis. In accordance with previous gaps, this study aims to analyse the discursive construction of the Algerian female politicians in the Algerian Arabic press within the last 20 years period (from 1997 to 2017). Specifically, it focusses on the analysis of the ideologies embodied in the press about female politicians, to examine the relation that exists between gender, power and politics in the Algerian society and seeks to understand how gender hierarchy changed over the investigated period. This will provide important information about the discursive and non-discursive historical factors that contribute in the current gender ideologies in society by providing the socio-political perspective as a context of the study. Researchers have argued, "Discourse is … language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society" (Jaworski and Coupland, 2014, p. 3). Therefore, the longitudinal study would help me assess patterns of change through the investigation

of the portrayal of women in various political events throughout the last 20 years rather than investigating one event only.

This will help me understand the origins of the ideological change because 1997 was the first presidential election where females are candidates in the history of Algeria and consequently will allow me to avoid the bias that might occur through the investigation of one political figure or one particular event that might be controlled by a particular context. The latter might not allow a thorough assessment to the actual representation and the ideologies that are collocated with Algerian female politicians. Moreover, this study will contribute to our understanding of Algerian newspapers' different conception of female politicians, and more broadly, gender roles in society as the data will be collected from two different newspapers (state-owned and private newspapers) through the analysis of the nature of ideologies that circulate in each newspaper.

The investigated period has been chosen for several reasons. First, this period saw Algeria step out of the blood-filled civil war (1991—1999) where women were mistreated, misrepresented and violated by terrorism. Second, a new deeply amended constitution in 1996 was introduced, and re-established equal rights, opportunities and entitlements for males and females alike (Article 31, 56). Finally, a bicameral parliament was created in the same year (1996) which opened more room for the inclusion in political positions and enabled women to join the elections. Hence, data collection for my research would start from 1997—the year of the creation of the Algerian parliament after the first pluralist parliamentary elections took place since independence was achieved. Data will be collected about all electoral campaigns that took place between 1997 and 2017. The latter is the year that will have the lower parliamentary elections, which are prolific to the understanding of the effects the amended quota system has on the ideological changes and the media portrayal of female politicians, after what will be the second election since the introduction of the quota system.

1.5   Research Questions

To reach these aims I seek to answer the following question,

How have Algerian female politicians been constructed in the Algerian press over the last 20 years (1997–2017)?

The following research questions will guide the research project.

a)   How female politicians are discursively represented in the Algerian press?

b)   What are the overarching socio-political factors that contribute to shape the current ideologies about female politicians?

c)   How are these ideologies (socio-political factors) embedded linguistically in the press?

d)   What are the patterns of ideological change that have been evidenced in the press during this period?

I have used critical discourse analysis as the data analysis framework, specifically, Wodak's discourse historical approach because the main objective is an exploration of the press ideologies about female politicians and explanation of the reasons for the construction and the change within the investigated period. Accordingly, identifying the factors that contribute in shaping the representation of female politicians in Algeria is crucial. Wodak (2009) explains that the critical analysis of the text requires going back to other related discursive and non-discursive practices that helped to form the discourse under investigation. I will seek to identify the wider context by investigating the different factors: historical, political, economic, social and cultural whether discursive or non-discursive that contribute to establish ideologies concerning female politicians in Algeria. The discursive analysis then will be conducted and related to the wider and the situational context, as well as the intertextual and interdiscursive practices.

1.6   Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the research and establishes the research rational, aims, research questions and significance of this research. It also provides a brief overview of the methodology conducted and the outline of the thesis.

Chapter 2 attempts to establish the literature concerning female politicians' representation in media to pin down the researched perspectives, the utilised methodologies and the results found to fit this research within the current state of knowledge and build the theory of the thesis.

Chapter 3 provides the research theoretical framework namely critical discourse analysis and the methodology utilised to collect the data. It aims to explain and justify my choices as well as illustrate the analytical procedures in dealing with the data to best answer the research questions.

Chapter 4 provides the context of the research because of the rational of the study that does not only seek to identify representation patterns and themes in Algerian media but looking for an explanation of the representation which requires tracing the history. The results of the pilot study are represented in this chapter because it is considered a practical context for the study.

Chapters 5 and 6 provide the data analysis and the discussion of the findings. Both chapters discuss the themes surrounding women in electoral campaigns and the discursive shifts during the two decades analysed (1997-2017).

Finally, Chapter 7 offers a broad conclusion of the findings of the thesis, significance, limitations and further study suggestions.

Chapter 2   Media Discourse as a Social Practice: Female Politicians' Representation in Media

2.1   Introduction

This chapter lays down the discussion of the discursive and social practices of media in relation to gender representation. It seeks to provide an explanation of the theoretical notions in building this thesis. It is divided into three different sections that complement each other to capture the nexus between gender representation and media.

The first section will provide the literature about discourse theoretical approaches and then moves to discuss media discourse as an ideological carrier that affect and manipulate the public opinion. The interpretation of the used concepts at the beginning of the research aims to eradicate ambiguity in understanding the scope of the research. The second section illustrates how media representation is very influential in constructing gender and how journalists' strategies are of a great influence on the general public. The third section offers an overview of the relationship between media and politics, and, then, it lists down its effects on political figures. Furthermore, it reviews the literature about the different research directions and findings about media representation of women in politics around the globe.

The combination of the three sections should clarify the theoretical notions surrounding media's influence in politics and gender representation situate the importance of this study and its significance in filling the gap within the literature.

2.2   Media Discourse: a Powerful Socio-Political Actor

Undeniably, media, by all their means, whether spoken, written or visual, are very influential, whether directly or indirectly; they are definitely important in everybody's life, almost as necessary as food and clothing, and certainly unavoidable due to the importance of their main function which is conveying particular information to the hearer/ reader (Creedon, 1994; Talbot, 2007). Talbot (2007) explained that "very few of us, if any, are unaffected by media discourse" (p. 3).

2.2.1   Discourse vs. Discourses

The term discourse has been approached differently by linguists and theorists which led to a resurgence of a plethora of definitions of the term. Originally, the word discourse comes from the Latin word "discursus" which denotes "conversation or speech". In modern everyday English,

discourse is synonymous with verbal interaction, talk or conversation. In the study of language, it often refers to different speech patterns and usage of language, dialects, accents and acceptable utterances, within a specific speech community. It is a subject of study of the language that is used by the members of a speech community who share similar speech conventions. Slings (1999) stated that "discourse refers to speech as addressed by one person to another" (p.35). Leech and Short maintained that "Discourse is linguistic communication seen as a transaction between speaker and hearer, as in interpersonal activity whose form is determined by its social purpose" (cited in Hawthorn, 1992, p.189 as cited in Mills, 1997, p. 4). However, it evolved with time beyond the focus on speech "to include every instance of language use" (Ansari, 2013, p. 15; Hatim and Mason, 1990).

The diversity of the use of the term in different disciplines added to its complexity and gave it several disciplinary definitions (Schifrin, 1994; Mills, 1997; Cameron, 2001, Richardson, 2007; Jaworski and Coupland, 2014). For instance, the discourse that is discussed within media studies is different from the discourse that is used in geopolitics. Nevertheless, it is even harder within the same discipline as scholars are using different definitions that suit their focus and even alter the existing ones to fit with their research analytical entities, goals and objectives (Mills, 1997).

In the area of applied linguistics, and relevant to this study discourse is used to refer to a stretch of language—spoken or written—in context (Crystal, 2010). It represents the unit of analysis that goes beyond the sentence level. It is defined as "a continuous stretch of (especially spoken) language larger than a sentence, often constituting a coherent unit such as a sermon, argument, joke, or narrative" (Crystal, 1992, p. 25). It could be a word, a phrase, a sentence, an utterance, a whole speech, conversational exchanges and written texts. In other words, it could be of any length because it fulfils a particular function.

In fact, there is no agreement among linguists about the use of the term discourse. Many researchers believe that text refers only to written language in which the sentence is its building block, and discourse refers to the spoken language that consists of utterances (Coulthard, 1985, p. 6). However, because the definitions that are given to them are similar in various studies, for example, "the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use" (Brown and Yule, 1983, p. 4), and "a text is a unit of language in use" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976, p. 1), there are those linguists who prefer to use them interchangeably. Likewise, Cook (1990) argued that whether the type of language is a "novel, a short conversation or a groan, they all have the same and equal right to be called discourse" (p. 7). Moreover, according to Ansari, discourse extends "to include every instance of language use" (Ansari, 2013, p. 15).

Similarly, in linguistics, there are two approaches to what constitute a discourse, formalism/structuralism and functionalism (Schiffrin, 1994; Cameron, 2001; Richardson, 2007). Leech

(1983) claimed that these two approaches have different views or assumptions about the sense and the general nature of language (p. 46). As a consequence, these different views will generate different definitions of discourse. Formalists define discourse as "language above the sentence level" (Cameron, 2001, p. 11; Stubbs, 1983). They are interested in the form of discourse so they are focusing on how several sentences are structured and linked together to form a meaningful construction. Specifically, their focus is on coherence, cohesion, narrative, causality and the discourse's motivation to produce the accurate meaning (Richardson, 2007). On the other hand, others are concerned with the length of discourse by trying to put an adequate definition to what constitutes the boundaries of discourse. Mills (1997) argued that "Discourse is an extended piece of text, which has some form of internal organisation coherence or cohesion" (p.9). Alternatively, discourse could be any coherent spoken or written connected language of any length related to a particular context (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mills, 1997; Crystal, 1992; Hinkel and Fotos, 2002). Hinkel and Fotos (2002) stated that "discourse in context may consist of only one or two words as in stop or no smoking. Alternatively, a piece of discourse can be hundreds of thousands of words in length, as some novels are. A typical piece of discourse is somewhere between these two extremes" (p.123).

Nevertheless, this approach has neglected the vital role of the societal knowledge in forming and shaping our understanding of particular discourses. It has missed the explanation of the different understandings of the same discourse within different societies and communities, which makes this view insufficient in giving the overview of discourse notion (Richardson, 2007, Cameron, 2001).

The functionalist view fills this gap by its scholars' interpretation of discourse. Functionalistsrely on both form and function, and investigate how they are connected. Functionalists put more emphasis on the impact of the social knowledge as well as the context in enriching and determining our interpretation of the messages we receive. They defined it as "language in use" (Brown and Yule, 1983), which emphasised the role of society in shaping our thinking and, specifically, our interpretation of the world around us and everyday messages we receive and communicate with others. They argued, "language has a certain kind of formal organisation because of the purposes it is designed to serve" (Cameron, 2001, p. 13). Thus, our discourses cannot be interpreted only by the use of grammatical forms and structures, but it goes beyond that to include our social knowledge, understanding and expectation of different contexts to form our language understanding, which makes the same discourse understood and acted upon differently within different societies. Therefore, it is very important to mention that "discourse is not pure content, not just a window on someone's mental or social world; it has to be considered as discourse, that is, a form of language with certain characteristics which are dictated by the way language and communication work" (Cameron, 2001, p. 17).

The functionalist approach is pertinent to this study and is the most adopted perspective by scholars who are investigating "what and how language communicates" within particular contexts and situations (Schiffrin, 1994; Cameron, 2001; Richardson, 2007), such as the gendered discourse of media in the Algerian political arena. Many scholars claimed that the words we are using are not exclusive or unique to us but they are the words of the community or the society we are living in. Jay Lemke (1995) stated,

> We speak with the voices of our communities, and to the extent that we have individual voices, we fashion them out of the social voices already available to us, appropriating the words of others to speak a word of our own (pp. 24-5 as cited in Cameron, 2001, p. 15)

Accordingly, the discourses we produce are actually the bulk of discourses and societal beliefs that are communicated through those discourses, which circulate within society. In other words, reality is produced, constructed and reconstructed through the discourses people use (Gee, 2014; Cameron, 2001; Richardson, 2007), the social voice and the discourses that are specific to that social group, in discussing different objects, events, and even themselves. This sociolinguistic interpretation differs from the linguists' interpretation (as previously explained) in that the discussion of discourse is singular in linguistics but plural in sociology to mean the kind of discourses that members of society have access to, specifically, the different interpretations of a particular issue that circulate in society. Foucault defined the plural form of discourse, discourses, as the "practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49 as cited in Cameron, 2001, p. 15) to illustrate it as the acceptable statements within a particular community or society Therefore, Foucault linked the structuralism view about discourse, which is "the underlying deep structure of the human mind or the human psych", with praxeology emphasising the interpretation of actions. Hence, he considered that discourse is the social structure while discursive practice as the social practice of discourse (Bührmann et al., 2007).

Because discourse is the different chunks of knowledge people acquire through time, these chunks combine with each other to form a more complex 'societal discourse' that never stops or diminishes but is continuously and eternally developed (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 35). In other words, the blend of different discourses through time is what creates the social influence of the whole combination. Moreover, discourse is not only a mere description of society or a mere truth; it is a social, cultural and political representation of the designed reality. In fact, without discourse, there is no such thing as 'social reality' because it does not only constructs it but also gives it the right circumstances to be formed. In other words, it is a 'valid material reality' (p. 45). Also, according to him, discourses are linked to power relations due to their ability to provide the values and the

meanings of the social practices and institutions with an expression that gives them the authority among the public. He argued the following:

> Truth is of the world: it is produced there by virtue of multiple constraints…. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics of truth: that is the types of discourse it harbours and causes to function as true: the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true from false statements, the way in which each is sanctioned;—the techniques and procedures that are valorised for obtaining truth: the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (1990, p. 46 as cited in Mills, 1997, p. 18).

Discourse is also perceived as a social and mental phenomenon. According to van Dijk,

> Discourse is a multidimensional social phenomenon. It is also a linguistic (verbal, grammatical) object (meaningful sequences or words or sentences), an action (such as an assertion or a threat), a form of social interaction (like a conversation), a social practice (such as a lecture), a mental representation (a meaning, a mental model, an opinion, knowledge), an interactional or a communicative event or activity (like a parliamentary debate), a cultural product (like a telenovela) or even an economic commodity that is being sold and bought (like a novel) (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 67).

Hence, a belief about a particular issue is both constructed and expressed through discourse, which in turn constructs other beliefs among the members of society through communication by acquiring, interpreting and using what is communicated in the same way people sharing the same ideologies do. Consequently, cognition, discourse and society are inter-related and complementary of each other.

Accordingly, in very simplified definitions, in this research, discourse is the oral and written texts that we use every day, like media, while discourses are "ways of seeing the world "(Sunderland, 2004, p. 6). To put it differently, discourses about gender are (re)constructed in our daily language exchanges (Sunderland, 2004, Yang, 2014).

2.2.2 Media Discourse

As a matter of fact, media discourse refers to how reality is represented in broadcast, printed and electronic media (Cotter, 2001) as they "shape, rather mirror the world" (Fowler, 1991, p. 4). Hence, they do not only present but they construct, produce and reproduce the dominant images within societies and influence people by their portrayals (Creedon, 1998). Media affect opinions and attitudes in society through the way they present people and issues because their discourse is just

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like any other type of discourse. It is not as simple as it seems. It carries ideologies, social power and identities. Hence, media "set a standard for language use" among nations (Cotter, 2001, p. 430). According to Talbot (2007), "Since discourse plays a vital role in constituting people's realities, the implications for the power and influence of media discourse are clear. Moreover, in modern democracies the media serve a vital function as a public forum" (p.3). An example of this vital function is Trevor Kavanagh, the political editor of the British newspaper The Sun, who was described by Kenneth Clarke, a former British Chancellor, as "the most powerful man in British politics" (Marr, 2009, p. 145). This huge influence of media writers and editors is also described in Curran's (2002) book Media and Power where he explained that most media editors and writers hold parliamentary positions. Therefore, media do not only provide us with topics or subjects to think about but they persuade us fussily and very carefully to think in a particular way about a certain issue (Altheide, 1997; Entman, 2007).

The realisation of the importance of media in our daily life and their power to touch every aspect of our social life by having an impact on thoughts, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour have spawned great interest (Entman, 2007). Media language has been and is still the subject of study by researchers from different disciplines, rather than just media studies. They have given continuous attention to all its forms, all the topics discussed, and tried to investigate the outcomes from different perspectives as it has a significant role in both the study of language and society. They tackled it using different frameworks and methodologies that fit the rationale of each study like using content analysis, both qualitatively and quantitatively, communication studies, semiotics, rhetoric, and discourse analysis (see Cohen, et al., 1990; Glasgow University Media Group, 1976, 1980, 1982; Krippendorff, 1980). The majority of those disciplines focus on spoken media language. Print media have also been dealt with from the same perspectives as well as other disciplines like critical discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, and stylistics (Carter, 1988; Jucker, 1992; Van Dijk, 1993).

Actually, media's critical role has led them to shift from being casual representations and shaping of events to be a more complex social institution that has a vital social, political and cultural role in society as discourse-bearing institutions do (Fairclough, 1995b, 1998; Fowler, et al., 1979; Van Dijk, 1987). In the case of Algerian media, the prominent progress of written media outlets, especially after the bloody era, known as the black decade, shows a major shift into complex social institutions. It has always been a prominent factor for orienting and maintaining ideological processes within societies and cultures (Fairclough 1989, van Dijk 1998a, 2002, 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2009). The ideological processes concerning gender construction in the Algerian political arena are further explored in the analysis chapters.

2.2.3 **Ideology**

Similar discourse analysis, ideology is a buzz term that has taken different definitions from different disciplines and uses. Its vagueness requires all researchers discussing or investigating it in their studies to explain the different theoretical meanings as well as the perspective they want to base their research on. Van Dijk (1998) explained that in his book *Ideology a Multidisciplinary Approach*, he stated 'ideology' is one of these notions that have divided Marxists and non-Marxists, as well as 'critical' scholars and 'uncritical' ones - obviously divisions that are themselves ideological" (p. 1).

The meaning of ideology I will adopt in my research, which relates ideology to the approach that sees language as a social process, is mainly taken from Fairclough (2003). He defined ideology as "representations of aspects of the world which contribute to establishing and maintaining relations of power, domination and exploitation" (p. 9). In other words, ideologies are the people and institution beliefs or views about any aspect of life, these might be about a particular event, for instance elections or a particular social group, such as women which relates to the context of this study.

Similarly, Van Dijk defined ideology "as the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group" (p. 8). Their beliefs govern their reactions, attitudes and behaviour. It acts as the endeavour of a particular reaction to a certain event. In other words, it is evaluating what is socially acceptable and what is not depending on the ideologies they perceive. Hall (1996) holds a similar view. He stated the following:

> By ideology I mean the mental frameworks - the languages, the concepts, categories, imagery of thought, and the systems of representation - which different classes and social groups deploy in order to make sense of, figure out and render intelligible the way society works. (p. 26 as cited by Van Dijk, 1998b)

Thus, mental frameworks are the backbones of any society or culture because they explain how they should function. All the members of a particular culture or a society share the same rules concerning several societal and daily life issues. Nevertheless, anything that goes out the box of those societies is considered different and may be punished by society.

Moreover, ideologies cannot be confined as world views but they can also have a great impact by influencing what we perceive to be accepted and what is not, specifically, "true or false". The impact becomes great if those beliefs are compatible with the group beliefs. To put it differently, they influence our understanding of the world by providing evident arguments and social

explanations of the ideologies they impose. Therefore, ideologies are the foundation where new ideologies are constructed.

Ideologies, in most cases, serve interests of a particular group. One of these interests is the desire of one group to have power over the other group through the implementation of ideologies that create inequality and dominance in society (Van Dijk, 1998b). Hence, ideologies are very important indicators of how the power within society circulates. They are windows of the social order because they are the processes of naturalisation of such power within society. How a group or a society establish a particular ideologies and define them to become the norm is done through several ways, one of them is discourse.

Language gains power through "the use powerful people make of it" (Weiss and Wodak, 2003, p. 14). Those who hold power are the social institutions that produce that discourse like governments and schools. Nevertheless, powerful people's use of discourse does not necessarily yield a powerful discourse. It is their access to institutions like governments that have influence on public opinion that gives it power. These institutions make their discourses reach people's minds through working on maintaining, legitimising, and institutionalizing discourse.

Discourses are claimed by Van Dijk to have an inglorious role in spreading and broadcasting ideologies. Stemming from Fairclough's perception about discourse that it constructs as well as it is constructed by the world, ideologies have an impact on the discourse product as well as they are changed through discourse. Therefore, discourse is the platform of ideology institutionalization by elites because it constructs and it is constructed by discourse.

Therefore, discourse maintains, constructs, reconstructs and transforms social ideologies, which in turn shift social attitudes and change relations of dominance through the process of "normalization" (1991; 1995; 2002; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). Public access institutions are serving the ideological reconstruction. Media institutions are theorized to be the main source of ideological neutralization through the discursive strategies they use. The continuous exposure to the ideological formations using the already provided discourses in society helps to circulate and inject these ideologies and control people's cognitive perception. Van Dijk explained, "the ideologies and the opinions of newspapers are usually not personal but social, institutional or political" (Van Dijk, 1998a, p. 22). He argued that the newspaper as a media outlet is not using its own opinions in writing about different people and events, but it is fuelled by the different social and political ideologies of different institutions to allow them to be spread to the whole society as media is designed to reach the public. Media possession of ideological power is mainly due to its role in presenting information, events and people which gives it the advantage of controlling information supply and eventually, reconstructing ideologies (1989; cited in Shoemaker and Reese, 2014, p. 186). It should be noted

here that ideologies also have an impact on the information produced, which implies that the nexus is both sided. In this research, ideology represents the (re)constructed knowledge and attitudes of media concerning female political participation.

2.3   Gender Representation in Media

2.3.1   Sex and Gender

Gender and sex are utilised by the general public interchangeably, as the terms are mistakenly considered synonymous. However, for the reasons of this thesis, gender is a socially constructed image to different sexes, which are the biological state of the human being, whether male or female (Goffman, 1976; Johnson and Repta, 2012 Talbot, 2010). It is the cultural and social meaning attributed to both sexes, where we move from addressing the kind to the social production of the kind. In other words, from male to masculine and from female to feminine. The concept is ideologically ameliorated to give different roles to both sexes in which the society is their constructor. Gender is, therefore, "a complex issue, constituents of which encompass styles of dressing, patterns of moving as well as ways of talking rather than just being limited to biological sex" (Xue, 2008, p. 54). Accordingly, sex is considered "binary" limited to male and female while gender is considered "a cultural or social construct" (Litosseliti, 2013, p. 10) that "exaggerates biological difference" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 10).

2.3.2   The Origin of Gender Theories

Gender can be explained from two theories: social learning theory (psychological theory) and social construction of gender. The social learning theory argues that gender is considered a "learned behaviour" that is acquired through observation and imitation of same sex behaviours (Brannon, 2017, p. 112). Our understanding of what does it mean to be a man and what does it mean to be a woman are learned through observed behaviours. For example, parents, siblings, friends, colleagues and neighbours have an influence in informing gender appropriate behaviours during child development. Although our immediate environment is highly influential, the social learning theory does not fully explain gender construction in a given society, despite some sociologists still believe that gender can be learned only from socialisation by means of different sources that have an influence at different levels. This influence comes from the basics like family (micro level), to a wider institutional influence like education, religion and media (macro level), it is much more inclusive to take a social constructivist view and consider gender to be constructed rather than simply socialised. In other words, it is shaped by "what people do with language as regards gender" (Sunderland, 2004,

p. 17) which means that the language or the discourse we use in everyday life is shaping gender discourses.

One of the most effective public discourses in the world is media. According to Kay (2007), discourse that circulates in a society about gender roles is "state-led ideologies and policies" that are presented to us through media discourse which "in turn, plays an important role in determining the extent to which gender impacts upon the opportunities, rights, entitlements and duties of male and female citizens" (Kay, 2007, p. 1). Media contributes to the indulgence, (re)construction, (re)production and maintenance of gender dominant discourses about what roles women should play in society through an implicit or explicit representation of how women should speak, behave, dress, and so on or through discussion of their role consequently adhere to accepted social models of femininity and gender socialisation. Hence, media is reinforcing particular ideologies about women role in society, and is playing a significant role in the gender hegemonic struggle.

2.3.3   Representation in Media

According to Dyer (2002), "How we are seen determines in part how we are treated; how we treat others is based on how we see them; such seeing comes from representation" (p. 1). Each and every society has a variety of shared traditions, beliefs and significant acts that in a way symbolize what really happens in society. These are called symbolic categories that act as filters to the "original reality" as it happens. Hall states that "representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already existing meaning, but the more active labour of making things mean" (p. 64), which illustrates the fact that representation is actually an active work of the medium to represent the factors that shape reality and/or reality itself. Therefore, representation in media is the process of transmitting reality discursively, rather than replicating the reality of a given society. "Representation is used to refer to the process of meaning production through combination of semiotic signs".

Media is to an extent dominated by powerful elite that strives to achieve hegemony in society. Threfore "the politics of signification" as Hall calls it, plays a very important role in shaping society because media representation of a certain event is usually far from being a "transparent copy of the reality". This signifies that the meanings and interpretations of events, people, ideas, and the like that are conveyed by the visualizations created and shaped by the media are constructs of norms and values to be injected in society through "signifying practice".

A very important notion to consider while dealing with representation is the prevalent correlation between representation and culture. "Cognitive concepts" and "cultural modes" are

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mostly created through the recurring representations of certain events, people and ideas in the media. "Representation", according to Hall (1997), "bifurcates into objects representation and language representation". Object representation is the representation of the outside world as we think of it, the mental images that we create in our minds to understand the patterns and systems that relate to each other and form ultimately the reality we know. However, language representation aims at understanding how discourse can "delineate" the world. Gee (2014) drew attention to the relation between the two kinds of representation in what he calls discourse and discourse, where the first one is the images we have in our minds about words, signs and sounds, and the second one is the actual words, signs and sounds.

Media outlets such as television, radio, written press and the Internet are all tools that are used as the main form of "ideological dissemination". They portray, according to Hall (2003), "the social world via images" and, therefore, create representations of the social world via these images. Media representations of ideas, events and people create certain understandings and thoughts that become later a part of our thought process and the go-to place to understand the world around us, "how the world is and why it works as it is said and shown to work" (p. 11). Thoughts about and understandings of the world as we think of them are according to Hall constructed within an ideology that allows us to "make sense" of the reality we are living. Furthermore, it helps us understand our own positioning within the given social reality. Ideologies often are "naturalised" which usually makes individuals as well as societies holding the same ideology look at certain representations that are ideologically motivated, as "given by nature" rather than being critically looked at. The aforementioned media shaped, ideologically motivated representations usually are masked and are, in a way, hidden as what we call "common sense", and this includes all sorts of representations, such as representations of race, gender and religion. Representations, therefore, fall into a system categorisation based on an idea or a certain ideology, the process of naturalising these representations demands "essential" characteristics that are usually shaped by the above-mentioned categorisations. This can be clearly seen in the matter of race for example where Western societies with a white dominance and a white ideology "naturalises its existence to such a degree that it renders itself invisible".

A plethora of researchers in the field of Media and gender studies agree that media, being a "key transmitter of representations" and one of the major sources of information in any given society, has a powerful stance in controlling as well as shaping attitudes and beliefs held (Cohen and Gardner, 1982; Ferguson, 1998). For example, Karen Ross (1992) demonstrated the influence of media representation through television on the attitudes of Whites toward non-Whites. The same can be said about the influence on the attitudes of males toward females and the roles media representations play in shaping them. A major point Ross's (1992) study concluded is the fact that

the attitudes of a majority of white people who do not have a first-hand experience with Black culture are grounded "exclusively" on media representation, which is to a great extent the case in my research where the great majority of the members of the society. In particular, the male counterparts do not have any prior contact with female politicians, and therefore, they form their attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes based on what is seen in media. The key role that media plays in the formation of attitudes appears in the power journalists have in selecting specific information to broadcast it to the public. Often, this selection is far from being random and is ideologically motivated, handpicked to suit, shape and reshape the receivers' attitudes and beliefs. Oscar Gandy (1998) for instance labeled media as "the most important shaper of the contemporary society, usurping the role previously held by the church, state and the school, as directors of public understanding, thus, becoming the primary socialising agent" (p. 24). This point is further explained by Ross and Playdon (2001):

> If most media products are inscribed with the same set of cultural assumptions (and prejudices) because their producers share the same cultural experiences, then those underlying norms and values which may well be hidden but nonetheless exist, are transmitted as an un-self-conscious truth (p. xii).

Relevant to these studies, the focus of this study is on female politicians' representation in Algerian press. It sheds light on the images constructed about these women as a result of their social and cultural representation as different to their male counterparts, and aims to investigate the stereotypical evaluations the press convey.

2.3.4 Stereotyping

This study argues that Algerian female politicians are stereotypically represented in the media in ways that conform to the stereotypical images of Algerian women. These stereotypes are conveyed as images represented by the media, therefore, do not actually represent the "social reality", but they do guide us toward a specific way of thinking about the social reality regardless of the "accuracy" of the representation.

As stated above, representation in media is ideologically shaped and most importantly open to certain categorisations. Representation also has different forms that are mainly linked to the techniques that journalists usually use to convey information. Stereotyping being one of the forms of representation has the ability to affect and shape attitudes and beliefs. However, according to Itzin (1986, p. 128; Hall, 1997, p. 257) a stereotypical representation is usually "negative, inaccurate, limited and partial", as stereotypes are by definition distorted, exaggerated or deliberately misleading representations of a person or a group of people. This is usually achieved by linking a few

essential characteristics exclusively to the specified person or group of people. Therefore, a stereotype "represents a set of ideas or a set of beliefs about people -an ideology- rather than people as they are"; it is even described as the "language of ideology". The language of ideology, being negative by nature, creates negative attitudes within audiences and functions, therefore, as "a form of propaganda". With regards to the representation of 'real men' and 'real women', the problems that are encountered, therefore, rest upon whose reality it is, what reality and according to whom (Gledhill, 1997, p. 346). In this respect, a very interesting question to ask is why do the media continue to stereotype despite the negative effects it has? The answer to this question lies according to Lester and Ross (2003) in five main reasons, which are as follows:

1. Advertisers require pictures that can be quickly and easily understood.

2. Reporters do not take the time to view things differently or explore new issues.

3. Not enough people from diverse cultural groups working within the media industry.

4. Those working in the media presume audiences will only accept certain images of a particular diverse group member.

5. Culturalism the belief that one cultural group is better or worse than another can control what is worthy of coverage. (p. 2)

Despite the noticeable change in gender roles due to the call for gender equality, women and men are still stereotyped and defined by their traditional gender roles. Media discourse is one important factor of constructing and maintaining these gender roles through neutralizing such values by immersing us every single day by all its means within those societal beliefs that we take for granted. The repetitive aspect of the media adds to the societal influence by family, friends, colleagues and institutions. However, the problem that occurs here is that it becomes an institution of maintaining and reinforcing gender inequalities and segregation. It helps in underpinning and strengthening gender stereotypes that affected discourages both sexes from properly developing their unique identities and, therefore, makes it difficult, and even impossible, for them to challenge such stereotypes that might/would affect their quality of life within society.

Courtney and Lockeretz (1971) were the pioneers in media representation investigation by the analysis of gender representations within advertisements which was widely analysed at that time in America and Europe. Advertisements were male centred by using more men than women, whether in images, videos or sound clips. Women were always portrayed as dependents to men as housewives, mothers, sisters and sex objects while it was unlikely to men to appear in non-working

positions. Moreover, products that are advertised by women are house cleaning products, body products and perfumes while men were always attributed masculine traits with authoritative positions such as managers in offices and businessmen (e.g., Furnham and Mak, 1999; Carter and Steiner, 2004; Kim and Lowry, 2005; Furnham and Li, 2008; Zhang, et al., 2009).

2.3.5 Gender Representation in the Arab World

Most studies concerning representation were European and American centred. However, few studies have been conducted lately in the Arab world. The findings were more shocking as the traditional values are deeply implied in media. In advertisements, women are portrayed as mothers, caring about the house and the children, and in very few ads, they are portrayed as mothers and a workers at the same time, but they are always portrayed as incapable of doing both jobs and that they seek outside work only to break the daily boring routine or due to economic problems rather than being convinced about the importance of work. Also, women are portrayed as creatures who are not able to think and reason. They are not able to do the work themselves so they are always relying on the husband or family. However, men are portrayed as the teachers who help women and teach them how to handle things and live. Moreover, women representation as sex objects is on the rise in the Arabic media where their beauty, sexy body, clothing and moves are used to attract as many audiences as possible (Hmidi, 2004; Atturk, 2007; Abdullah, 2013; Abdullah, 2016 Annahr, 2008; Jaber, 2015, Abdulrahman, 2006). Rasha Allam (2008) shares a similar perspective in commenting on results of the research conducted in the Arab world. She stated,

> Research on the Arab media's depiction of women has focused mainly on the mental and psychological aspects of their portrayal. The usage of women's bodies as sexual commodities or as a vehicle of sexual arousal was found to be the main negative image used in the Arab media, followed by an image of women who are in some way immoral. Other negative images included the portrayal of women as being illiterate, of limited intellectual capability, inexperienced, materialistic, opportunistic, weak, or dependent (p.3).

Nevertheless, she reported, in *Countering the Negative Image of Arab Women in the Arab Media: Toward a "Pan Arab Eye" Media Watch Project,* that a study of two Egyptian newspapers yield positive representation of women through representing them in unconventional gender roles. These newspapers reported about "social, legislative, economic, cultural, and political discrimination against women". It also brought attention to workplace sexual abuse, how women are stereotypically discriminated in several fields due to gender norms in society and the laws and legislations related to women discrimination (ibid, p.4). However, Allam (2005) argued that despite

their positive representation, the newspapers neglected reporting women discrimination in economic and decision--making positions.

In *Middle Eastern Women in the Media: A Battle Against Stereotypes Al Jazeera: A Case Study* (2008--2009), Amel al-Ariqi usedcontent analysis and critical discourse analysis to analyse the representation of women in two feature programmes, namely, 'Everywoman' in Al Jazeera English, and 'For women only' in Al Jazeera Arabic;, and the output of Aljazeera.net. The researcher concluded that despite the efforts seen in those programmes in tackling issues that help women empowerment, they are still far from achieving fair representations as their representation is stereotypical due to its exclusion of important topics that help to produce a fair reflection on the state of women in the Arab world.

The rate of research on women portrayal in the media has been very low, especially in the last 10 years. The reason behind that is the shift to studying women as parts of media institutions, the discrimination against them, their role in women empowerment and the change of stereotypical portrayal, and the challenges they face daily based on their gender (Atturk, 2007).

2.4   Female Politicians within Media

Women's studies emerged simultaneously with gender studies during the 1970s due to the values that were circulating about women. Nevertheless, almost all studies are Western based where the third world is severely under-explored. The backbone of these studies' perspective is that ideologies and stereotypes that controlled and are still controlling the society led to women's subordination and marginalisation, and on the contrary, men's dominance and authority. Nevertheless, any disrespect of such social norms and conventions is punished by members of the society.

Over the past decade, most research about the nexus between women and media emphasised the fact that women have always had a minor role within all media forms whether in the percentage and quality of media positions they hold or in their representation and portrayal in media coverage. Van Dijk (1996) compares the space provided to women within media discourses to that of minorities and immigrants while males are the dominant faces of media coverage.

In spite of all these findings and scholarly work in bringing the phenomenon into discussion, unfortunately, after 20 years of Van Dijk's statement, women are still suffering from societal marginalisation and stereotypes which exclude them, especially in some countries and provinces more than others, from several means and opportunities that are considered rights rather than privilege for all members of the society. Several surveys have been conducted to assess patterns of

gender change in different societies. According to a longitudinal study, *The Global Gender Gap Report 2016* by The World Economic Forum, which is the final result of their collaboration with Harvard University and The University of California, from 2006 to 2016, gender inequality is still evident in almost all countries in all sections as the change within the 10 years is insignificant. The estimation of the report about gender equality within the workplace, for example, would be a closure of the gap in 2096, which indicates the slow-motion societies perceive to reach gender equality.

Evidently, media play a prominent role in the marginalisation of women's status in society. It has commonly been assumed that it maintains and constructs the traditional societal beliefs about women to keep them as inferior. Pedersen (2002) commented on the relationship that exists between mass media and sports in his explanation of media as the regenerator of masculine hegemony. He argues that mass media "reproduce and reinforce the dominant ideology of gender order in society" (p. 305).

Correspondingly, the absence of females in coverage is an indicator of their subordination and unimportance in society, while the language used to portray them narrates a story of the rigid societal behaviour that relies on institutions like media to disengage them in all spheres by all sorts. The ideology of male domination and authority on all domains is the fuel of the continuous marginalisation and traditional representation.

2.4.1 Media Discourse and Politics

It is a widely held view that media are the only information source about political issues and politicians they are the only window where the public can reach them and hear about them which makes all their forms of communication purely mediated through different outlets from mass media to social media (Goodyear-Grant, 2013, p. 2). Consequently, media is believed to be very dangerous, especially for female politicians, as it has the potential to alter and control politicians' speeches, deeds and ultimately their reputations while it is the source of most people's assumptions about politics, political issues and politicians. Hence, it could play with the public minds and emotions easily as it is their daily, unavoidable, source of information.

The utmost importance and influence of media in politics and electors' orientation were not a popular and well-known claim. Numerous studies were trying to identify if there is an effect, how and why. Goodyear-Grant (2013) summarizes research revolution of media effect on politics. The first interest in this kind of research started during the First World War due to the wartime propaganda that had seen a great success among the public. Consequently, this led to an increased belief that the media hold a huge influence and exert persuasion powers to control the public beliefs

and values (Lippmann, 1922). Nevertheless, the media effect was not seen manipulative but "direct and immediate, like the effects of a hypodermic needle or a bullet" (Good-year, 2013. p. 9).

The second stage or period of media studies was from 1940s until the 1970s, when researchers considered that media effect was 'minimal' and completely discarded the paradigm that had previously suggested the media powerful effect. They believed that people already had beliefs and views of political life that were formed through socialisation. Those beliefs were stable and could not be changed or altered by media during a political campaign. Nevertheless, these already existing beliefs and people's loyalty to a particular political trend or person would be reinforced by the media, through their ability to select media messages that agreed with their beliefs, not persuaded to manipulate or change them. Therefore, this view stemmed from the main focus of the research at that time which was the stability of the political sphere which made media influential due to the stability hypothesis.

As a result of the change found by scholars in the political environment, there was a shift that led to the third and current stage or period of media influence studies. Media is seen now as "largely indirect, cumulative, and cognitive, rather than direct, immediate, and persuasive" (Good-year-Grant, 2013, p. 9). This implies that the effect of media now is seen as veiled through the techniques used that focus on changing people's perceptions and cognitive behaviours. This new trend in the media studies within politics is the result of firstly, the change of the political atmosphere that gives much adequacy to the media research. Secondly, the methodologies used in the analysis of media have seen an incredible evolution.

The political environment has extremely changed since the minimal effect period. People change their perspectives of politics when their ties with their parties become loose. This was clear through the decreased number 'partisan loyalties' people who are still loyal to their political parties_ and the increased number of voters that do not commit to their political parties, which imply that their decision–making in politics is not mainly through their 'partisanship'. This new political disorder forces the population to find other sources of information to reinforce their decision-making processes in the political sphere. The media here become very important as a way of communicating the credibility and goals of the existing political parties and politicians (Good-year-Grant, 2013, p. 9-10).

Nevertheless, that is not to say that media effect is direct and persuasive but it is, as scholars suggest, indirect that requires the scrutiny on their techniques to understand the indirect messages and the prolonged effect in society. Those techniques are very effective in the world of politics because the format, structure and style of the news produced have an important influence on the public opinion about their political choices.

2.4.2 **Female Politicians' Representation in Media**

Research on media representation of female politicians is a very famous trend within the Western world in the last few years (Hooghe, Jacobs and Claes, 2015). Women underrepresentation in politics is a prominent social problem because it is widely believed to have significant undesirable effects on women issues and problems. Male dominance in the political systems is inherently misrepresenting women and their experiences in society which consequently creates a male dominant society adhering to male-oriented rules (Philipps and Lmhoff, 1997), thus maintaining gender hierarchy and male dominance in society. The effects that the dominance of men can have on women can be exhibited by Lovenduski and Norris (1996) who explained the three most crucial effects of male dominance. The first effect is the plain advantage men have over women in valuable positions such as decision-making through policies or initiatives. The second one is the financial underinvestment in female initiatives compared to male ones. The third and most important one is that these issues are considered futile to discuss and do not need much interest from the policy agenda makers. Therefore, a plethora of researchers link this underrepresentation to the persisting gender stereotypes about the inability of women to pursue the so-called male profession or domain despite women's efforts in working to establish equality within all spheres (Ramirez et al. 1997; Fox and Lawless, 2004; Lawless 2004; Hooghe, Jacobs and Claes, 2015).

Nevertheless, Chang and Hitchon (1997) attributed this persistence to its origins, listing four factors that they have identified from the literature on women representation in the political domain. Firstly, they emphasise that socialisation plays an important role in developing females' interest to pursue a political career because it is less encouraging. Secondly, they argue that women's acceptance of these social norms which make them choose different career paths than males, obviously allows more men to achieve political positions and makes it harder to break the norms by finding women who are motivated and prepared. Specifically, women's professional preparation would create barriers toward running for political positions. Thirdly, they claim that the structure of political institutions is designed to fit men's benefits which will create an obstacle that prevents women from seeking the position. Fourthly, and more related to this study, they find that mass media has a significant role in manipulating voters' responses, which suggests that media effect is not only an obstacle for choosing the political career but even a greater obstacle to those who challenge the above-mentioned social, professional and institutional obstacles to achieve a political career.

Studies of media bias concerning the portrayal of female politicians have approached them from two different but complementary perspectives. They have assessed them quantitatively, by looking at the volume or the percentage of women's coverage in different media outlets in

comparison to their male counterparts (Aday and Devitt 2001; Bystrom et al. 2001; Heldman et al., 2000; Kahn 1994), and qualitatively, by examining the substance or the quality of the coverage itself through the analysis of the discourse means to uncover the reality of the media system in women's segregation (Khan, 1991, 1993, 1996; Chang and Hitchon, 1997; Norris, 1997; Ross, 2002,2010; Harmer, 2013).

The percentage of female's presence in media stories is very important for the development of their careers due to the fact that media are the basic information source for the public. So, the lack of the realisation of the existence of those female politicians will not only affect the current elections they are competing in but even future elections. Accordingly, this would lead to the underrepresentation of women in the political sphere; this serves a bigger agenda which is the naturalisation of female politicians as outsiders. It would also emphasise that politics is a male domain, therefore maintaining traditional gender stereotypes in society (Hooghe, Jacobs and Claes, 2015).

Over the past two decades, most studies from different scholars conducting case studies of different nations around the world revealed the heavy bias in the marginalisation of women in media by decreasing their presence. Comparative studies between men and women volume of coverage indicate that female politicians have significantly less media coverage than male politicians.

According to the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP), which is held every five years through the assessment of one-day articles of all media outlets circulating in the contributing countries, there is a critical marginalisation of women in media coverage. The first report of 1995 showed that only 17% of media reports within 71 countries were attributed to women. The following reports were not satisfactory either because the percentage remained very poor in 2005 by 21% within 78 countries, and 24% in 2010 and 2015.

In the article The Distorted Mirror: Press Coverage of Women Candidates for State-wide Office, Kahn (1994) did a comparative study between men and women's visibility, where he found that female politicians are having less media coverage compared to male politicians in the United States. Nevertheless, other Western studies have found different results, with some of them confirming that women can have more media coverage than men (Atkeson and Krebs, 2008; Smith, 1997). Yet, it is found that the high percentage of coverage heavily relied on the context of the event while the quality of the coverage is relatively negative, which could have much stronger impact.

The viability of female politicians is reduced because of the themes that media are using through discourse to represent them by diverting attention from their achievements, capacities and professional life, focusing on what makes them vulnerable in their positions, and cleverly injecting

the outsider image and making it persist. They focus on women's physical appearance, private life and issues related to femininity rather than addressing their political responsibilities. According to Trimble et al. (2013),

> Media texts are powerful cultural forms, discursively revealing and reinforcing gender stereotypes and cultural norms that construct gendered identities, and the extent to which these texts are gendered may be an important factor in discouraging qualified women from seeking political leadership positions (p. 463).

2.4.2.1   Female Politicians' Representations in Western Media

Personalization in reporting is taking an extremely hazardous next level concerning politics. Popular culture and celebrity portrayal effects are clearly seen in media portrayal of female politicians. This "candidate-centred politics" is really challenging for candidates to be treated on the basis of their professional status (Van Aelst et al., 2012, p. 204; Stanyer 2013, p. 6; Trimble et al., 2013, p. 464). Stanyer (2013) called the trend "intimization" because it aims to unveil the privacy of politicians by using the entire means of media as a window to their lives (p. 9).

Media exercise personalization on different levels. They are using the personal traits and characteristics and physical appearance of female politicians rather than focusing on their political traits that are much important to the public in their choice of political actors during elections (Van Aelst et al., 2012; Trimble et al., 2013, p. 464). Another level of personalization is the media focus on their private lives concerning their families, intimacy relationships, what they love and what they hate and everything about their lifestyle (Van Aelst et al., 2012, p. 205; Trimble et. al., 2013, p. 464). Private life and personal traits are used by media as a part of politics. So, they are politicized to serve a particular agenda within the media institution. This kind of politicization is called "personalization of private persona" where the media are using the personal life of political actors to give the audience a better comprehension, and consequently, an evaluation of their actions because these are claimed to depict their real identity (Langer, 2010, p. 61; Trimble et al., 2013, p. 464). Nevertheless, political figures or actors are found by several studies, also, guilty in this personalization as they are following the media logic by changing their styles in response to the media demands that may help them in achieving their goals (Campus 2010, p. 221; Driessens et al., 2013, p. 309; Langer, 2010, p. 6; Trimble et. al., 2013, p. 464).

The last decade has seen a shift that may seem positive but subtly very negative. Media are focusing on gendered differences, in other words, spotting light on female politicians' performance of masculine characteristics. Female politicians who show masculine traits like aggressiveness are exaggeratedly portrayed as exercising an inappropriate behaviour to their gender. Such portrayal

constructs women as breakers of social norms. This also reinforces the idea of politics to be a male domain (Banducci, et al., 2002).

The Canadian context has experienced a shift in the media portrayal of female politicians. Social attitudes and beliefs that are very conservative were depicted in the way female politicians, which were only 17 elected women to run for parliament, were portrayed from 1920 to 1970. Robinson and Saint-Jean's study (1991) argued that female politicians were represented through the traditional biological representation, so women were represented primarily as women, emphasising their gender, and secondly, a "token" in a male domain. This way of representation maintains the stereotypes about female politicians emphasising the fact that they are women who are doing some gendered activities, like child bearing and house work. So, naming them as females or women then female politicians reinforces the stereotypes that women's work is at home while politics is a male domain. Moreover, during that period, women's involvement in politics was restricted to discussing issues related to women or concerned with health and education. This has limited women qualification and involvement contrary to their male counterparts. Judy LaMarsh, the federal Cabinet Minister during the middle and late 1960's, stated, "Columnists ask me about anything and everything except about my job... My home, my cooking, my hobbies, my friends, my taste, my likes and dislikes, all became public property to a degree suffered by none of my colleagues" (as quoted in Robinson and Saint-Jean, 1991, p. 135 as cited in Iserhienrhien, 2014, p. 33).

Another point is that educational and professional background of female politicians was not referred to in their representation. So, despite both sexes equal educational or professional background, as they all have law, politics, and management backgrounds, they are always associated with 'visible biological differences' to establish their incapability in handling such responsibilities which confront with the social norms about the social roles of both sexes. This representation serves in spreading two kinds of stereotypes. The first stereotype stemming from that is their need to be identified by one of the males in the family like, 'the wife of',' the daughter of', 'the grandmother of', and so on emphasising that they have learned about politics and have a certain position in it because of their relationship with a male in the domain. The second stereotype is spotting light on their sexual behaviour and sexuality by representing them as "club women" to negatively portray them, which makes their opinions and contributions to the political sphere marginalised and totally neglected.

Between 1970s and 1990s, the Canadian media were living a transitional period, where women representation was constructed in a more positive way. Some of the stereotypes that were surrounding at this stage were women as 'one of the boys', 'championship' and 'superwomen'. These stereotypes were positively portraying women's ability to influence politics and to handle both

private and public spheres. Nevertheless, the stereotype that constructed women representation through a family member persisted to exist and was heavily used, emphasising that what women have learned to reach that point of handling the public sphere stems from their husbands' coaching (Robinson and Saint-Jean study, 1991).

Recent studies about the current time have found that women coverage is similar to their male counterparts' coverage through attributing overuse biases based on gender differences (Banducci, et al., 2003; Tremblay and Trimble, 2003; Norris, 1997). Such representation by the use of different gender subtle biases does not only maintain the image of women as outsiders but contributes to construct a social view that women who do not show masculine traits in the political arena are not news-worthy. Banducci, Everitt and Gidengil's (2003) study of the 1993 debate of Canadian leaders revealed that war metaphors are dominating the media coverage of female politicians who are socially masculine. Accordingly, female politicians who show the so--called masculine behaviour through acting aggressively or unfeminine appropriate behaviour are represented as they misbehave despite the fact that their approach or aggressive behaviour was less confrontational than their male counterparts which is considered the norm in their case. This absence of women who do not show masculine traits while the bulk of articles about female politicians who show masculine behaviour reinforces the stereotype that female politicians are deviating from social norms about the acceptable gender behaviours and gender roles.

Female politicians' visibility is balanced with their candidature share proportion. In some cases, women do even have more coverage than their male colleagues. Concerning quality, women politicians are still having unequal representation concerning several issues. Firstly, they are still represented as sex objects, wives and mothers as well as constructed by the iron maiden frame. Women's aggressive behaviour is becoming more exaggerated by the media as well as full of stereotypes about female politicians. Women's physical appearance and private lives are still treated as very important information and considered relevant to their political career while they receive more horse race coverage than their male counterparts, which maintains the stereotype of outsiders. Goodyear-Grant (2013), in her book Gendered News, conducted an in-depth investigation through content analysis of media coverage from two sources. The first source was television coverage from CBC, CTV, SRC, TVA channels. The data was collected during a study on the 2000 Canadian election. She used the press as a second source. She used the data collected by Mc Gill Media Observatory of print coverage from 2006 elections taken from Globe and Mail, National Post, Vancouver Swa, Calgary Herold, Toronto Star, La Presse, and Le Devoir. -Goodyear-Grant revealed that

> The patterns of news coverage examined in this book upholds the ideas that
> compared to their male counterparts, female candidates' looks and private lives are

disproportionately relevant to their political roles, that women are generally less viable as candidates for office and that women are very aggressive political competitors, more so than their male counterparts. All of these are misguided. (p. 186)

However, there are some events and periods where female and male politicians' representation is almost identical, like in the press news coverage of 2006 campaign. Goodyear-Grant argues that this change is due to the feminists' efforts that have erased some of the barriers on the way of women. Nonetheless, the circulating ideas and beliefs are 'sticky' and they are hard to be erased (p. 187).

In the United States, female politicians are also suffering from different presentations that accuse them to be "the other" in the political domain. During John McCain's rally in Arizona, Sara Palin's representation was too far from her political opinions or deeds. The media portrayed her on the basis of her appearance by focusing on her style (Heilemann and Halperin, 2010). The basic and most important studies in the American context are done by Kahn (1991; 1992; 1996). She found that women receive less media coverage than male politicians; their sex, marital status and appearance are overused in comparison to their male counterparts. Also, they are related to different issues and their viability is discussed in terms of their personal characteristics rather than their policy proposal and professional achievements. Brystrom et al. (2004) confirmed Khan's findings by developing the concept "newsstyle" based on her studies. They assessed how female politicians' viability is represented, negative and positive perspectives as well as how newspapers news reports refer to their sex, marital status, and appearance and if they are receiving issue or image coverage. Their findings revealed that female and male candidates receive almost equitable coverage. However, the substance of their coverage is gender biased.

Female politician media coverage in the United States was found to vary depending on the political platform. Several studies about US Senate or governor media coverage in the mid to late 1990s found that the representation of both sexes was moving toward more equal quantity and quality coverage. For instance, Smith's study (1997) of 1994 US Senate elections and Devitt's analysis (1999) of 1998 governor elections found that both sexes had undergone the same treatment by media regarding quality and quantity of coverage. Nevertheless, women received less issue related articles (Smith, 1997; Devitt, 1999).

Similar results were found by Bystrom et al. (2004), where they analysed the press coverage of 2000 and 2002 US Senate and gubernatorial races. The representation of female and male politicians was equitable. Nonetheless, female candidates' coverage was more frequently focused in

representing them in terms of their gender, marital status, family and children that could have dangerous effects on women viability.

Nevertheless, recent studies have contradicted earlier research. Several studies like Bystrom, Brown, and Fiddelke's (2012) analysis of media coverage of 2008 governors and mayors race, Hayes and Lawless' (2013) study of the newspaper coverage of US House of Representatives in 2010 and Bystrom and Hennings' (2013) US Senate newspaper coverage of 2012, all argued that women receive less coverage than their male opponents, but they have equitable representation in terms of their image and the issues covered. Specifically, they were represented through the candidate frame rather than the issue frame linking both masculine and feminine traits to associate them with leadership, competence and empathy.

Concerning women in Congress, a study by Carroll and Schreiber (1997) found that the media were portraying the 103rd Congress in the United States positively as they were considered change agents who have particular interests in women issues, health and rights, and who were trying to find solutions to real problems. Nevertheless, there was nothing in press about them putting legislations and working on other issues besides women issues, despite the fact that in real life these women had played an important role in other non-women related activities, like playing a key role in healthcare reforms and crime bills. Also, women were more covered collectively rather than individually. This study has revealed how the media are marginalising women's achievement. Despite the positive portrayal, there is a negative image about these women that this is the only field in politics where they can fit. Kahn (1991) pointed out that these stereotypes, women's heart warmth, knowledge and experience in health and education and women issues become beneficial and positive in some electoral events and places.

Despite the positive shift in the representation of women in lower office, women candidates for presidency coverage is very stereotypical and negative. Almost all the research done on the analysis of media representation of American female whether presidential candidates, Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole or vice-presidential candidates, Sarah Palin and Michele Bachman, has found that they receive unequal coverage concerning both quality and quantity. In the case of Dole's candidacy in 1991, she received less coverage than men while Clinton's 2008 Democrat campaign and Palin's campaign received more coverage than their male counterparts. However, the issues discussed were more related to their personal traits and appearance as well as their campaign strategies but less issues related coverage (Aday and Devitt, 2001; Heldman, et al., 2005; Carlin and Winfrey, 2009; Fridkin, ae al., 2012).

To reinforce their unviability in the domain, female politicians were even compared to each other in media coverage. Carlin and Winfrey's (2009) study of the media coverage of 2008 campaign

revealed that the mature image of Hillary Clinton was compared to the more youthful image of Palin. Moreover, their way of dress was heavily covered. Hillary Clinton preference of trousers-suits was negatively portrayed implying Clinton's desire to look more powerful as well as its calculating skills and ambition which portray her lack of femininity.

This exemplifies the double bind of media where both women are gender portrayed. Consequently, whether they appear feminine (the case of Palin) or lacking femininity (the case of Clinton), they are always constructed as outsiders (Carlin and Winfrey, 2009). Bachmann's lack of femininity did also exist in national network and cable television news programmes coverage of 2012 campaign. She received less coverage than her male counterparts which was mostly negative while she was mostly linked to masculine rather than feminine traits and issues (Dimitrova and Bystrom, 2013).

Similar to the findings in Canada and the United States, gender stereotypes and negative portrayal of female politicians in media persist in the UK. A critical feminist discourse analysis study investigated women's participation in politics during electoral events in newspaper coverage from 1918 to 2010 was conducted by Emily Harmer. Harmer (2013) analysed data collected for two weeks, before and after each election, except for 2012 set of data which was different because two months of articles before and after the election were scrutinized. The project aimed at tracking the representation of female political participation in the press through the analysis of coverage related to females in politics as political candidates, family member or as voters. The substance of the coverage reveals that politicians were not stereotyped to have an interest only to women's issues and women's policy, but they were gender constructed as representatives of women voters. Nevertheless, negative coverage as well as representation of their gender, marital status, appearance and age increased over time to reach its highest during 1960s and 1970s. It gradually decreased again but started increasing once again as found in 2010 data. Regarding female politicians in electoral campaigns, the representation was undeniably gendered through the marginalisation of women voices and their political activities. Their coverage was personalized and domesticated through focusing on their private lives and their roles as mothers first before being politicians. Harmer (2013) argued, "In effect women were routinely linked to the private sphere, rendering their political participation in the public domain problematic" (p. 3).

In contrast, Media coverage in New Zealand and Australia is positive as the media are very supportive of female candidates during access to politics but very harsh and negative if something goes wrong or these female politicians make a mistake. Accordingly, the media portrayal of them, especially in Australia, is like celebrities or stars that must be perfect, otherwise they will be harshly attacked (Van Acker, 2003). Female politicians are seen as the savers. Carmen Lawrence for instance,

the first female Premier of an Australian State, extremely failed because of Penny Easton affair, which was not at all a political sin. Van Acker (2003) argued that "different standards were expected of her, because she was a woman". Their motherhood, kindness and empathy are positively portrayed, assuming that the touch women characters would add to politics and are needed for better policies. Their high expectation faded with any single mistake these women commit which accordingly lead to disappointment among the public (Ross 2002; Eveline and Booth 1997; Van Acker, 2003).

Although a large body of research has been conducted to substantiate claims that media's portrayal and representation of female politicians are negative and stereotypical, which have negative impacts on politics, female politicians themselves, society perception toward female politicians and even a barrier for females from pursuing a political career (Kahn, 1996; Chang and Hitchon, 1997; Cappella and Jamieson, 1996; Gibson, et al., 2003; Ross, 1992, 2002), there are two gaps in the literature concerning female politicians' representation in media. Firstly, content analysis in Western studies is heavily used in its both dimensions, quantitative and qualitative. It is a very powerful tool in mapping out the themes that are used in media to represent female politicians as well as the style of writing. Specifically, it is very useful in exploring media representation of female politicians in the very different media outlets. Nevertheless, it is very descriptive ~~since~~because it cannot provide adequate explanations of the phenomenon under study. Also, it is limited as there would be a number of possibilities and categories that the researcher uses relying on previous research categorisation and his reading of the data, which make it impossible to deal with the data critically and read between the lines~~.~~ (Van Zoonen, 1996; Fico, Lacy and Riffe, 2005, p. 36).

There are few studies that tackled the issue from a critical perspective (Harmer, 2013) while most the ones that exit in literature are limited to a small period. Alayo (2016) in comparing media representation of Hilary Clinton to her self-representation shows that, unlike previous research, the media depiction of Hilary Clinton was mostly positive, and the analysis of the reporting verbs revealed that they are mostly positive or neutral. Nevertheless, there was negative evaluation through addressing her as inferior to her male counterparts and showing her as 'evil' through reporting discourse of others about her. Nevertheless, one of the limitations of the study, addressed by the author, is that the sample size is very small, which fails to give significant results".

A similar study by Sriwimon ~~and~~ Zilli (2017), Applying CDA as a conceptual framework for investigating gender stereotypes in political media discourse, where they have investigated the representation of the former Prime Minister Yingluck Shinawatra of Thailand, have found that she is stereotypically represented as ambitious politician who is passive, dependant and unexperienced. Nevertheless, her negative evaluation was a result of the analysis of the headlines solely However,

despite that the report is aiming to establish how CDA could be used and its limitations reduced, the report failed to yield an adequate critical discourse analysis of her representation due to the importance of the article as a hole in the interpretation of the data.

However, the problem with these studies is that they based their critical analysis on the situated context, which would provide a reasonable explanation for the studied coverage of female politicians but it would not explain the subtle reasons for the presentation. Even the change in female's politician representation through history is solely explained from the perspective of gender equality efforts by feminists and activists who played a very important role in shifting some social norms. In other words, the starting point of the previous body of research is that the reason behind the difference in media representation between male and female politicians is patriarchal hierarchy, which assumes that women are supposed to handle private sphere and the social authorised positions in the private sphere. Hence, because politics was doomed to be a male domain, any challenge of the norms encounters a negative reaction. Indeed, this is a part of the truth; gender has a powerful impact on society and our perception of ourselves and the world, but the reasons gender differences are created in different cultures are very important to be investigated too. So, rather than starting from the point that social gender roles differ and result in this kind of negative stereotypical representation, this research would take a critical stance, looking at the wider picture of media presentation and gender differences through investigating the causes of the produced representation, scrutinizing aspects of history, economy, politics, culture, and religion to provide an explanation rather than a subtle exploration of female politicians representation, which would serve to understand women status in society.

2.4.2.2 Female Politicians' Representations in Arab Media

So, rather than starting from the point that social gender roles differ and result in this kind of negative stereotypical representation, this research would take a critical stance, looking at the wider picture of media presentation and gender differences through investigating the causes of the produced representation, scrutinizing aspects of history, economy, politics, culture, and religion to provide an explanation rather than a subtle exploration of female politicians representation, which would serve to understand women status in society.

Another reason for undertaking the present study is the absence of academic research in the Arab world and Algeria in particular which I will be using as the case study of the current research. Most research works that have analysed the representation of women in different media outlets have dealt with the image discussed as general and not specific to political participation, and they were all descriptive.

According to Kawthar's (2006) report, A*rab Women and Communication: Analysis of Research Conducted between 1995-2005* (my translation), the analysis of 23 studies on women was done to depict the most used topics related to portraying women in different Arabic language media outlets. The findings showed that women in politics, as female politicians and voters, is the most discussed topic with 10.53%. Nevertheless, this highest percentage does not necessarily imply that Arab female politicians' image or representation is positive. The report claimed that lots of research results which relied only on the quantitative analysis to link the high frequency to the positive image are biased. It argued that Arabic research concerning the issue failed to develop the quantitative analysis to a qualitative one which makes it impossible to anticipate if the over discussion of this topic implies a positive or negative image.

Bader (2009) analysed the image of Jordanian women in three daily newspaper in Jordan Namely, *Al-Rai, Al-Dustour*, and *Al-Ghad* in 2007. Similar to the previous report by Kawthar (2006), the research was tackled using Quantitative Qualitative content analysis as the data analysis method. The results revealed that representation of Jordanian women is mainly positive. However, it is unbalanced as it did not mirror the real situation of Jordanian women. The focus was mainly on females from the capital city and women in urban areas with extreme absence of rural women and their everyday struggles. The study considered this result to be a deficiency/weakness in the newspapers' policy in dealing with women issues. Concerning women in politics coverage, they are found to achieve the second highest coverage especially during 2007 parliamentary elections. The qualitative analysis revealed that most of the politics related content is positive and was based on raising awareness and encouraging women to join the elections as candidates.

In a study conducted by Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies, about the evaluation of media performance during the parliamentary campaign period in 2011 elections. Despite that it is not exclusively about female participation, a very small part of the analysis discussed the portrayal of women in media but with no evaluation of its effect on parliamentary elections. The analysis concerning the women portrayal in televised media during the elections' period revealed that media explicitly ignores women role in politics during political campaigns. Their presence is very limited; only few candidate names are mentioned as well as few reports of feminist speeches. Along their exclusion from everyday coverage, their image was negatively presented as one of the channels invited one of the heads of the brotherhood party in Egypt to discussed the their view on women political participation where the interviewee attacked female parliamentarians and described them to be the source of the parliament corruption and he admitted that he does not talk to them in conferences. However, the study did not give any interpretation or evaluation of this televised interview on female political participation in the elections of 2011.

In another study by Arrami (2015) where he presented a research about Women's Image in Moroccan Media during the Electoral Campaign. The study examined the portrayal of female politicians during parliamentary election within different media outlets: television, radio, newspapers and electronic press. Despite the diversity of the data that investigated several media forms, the time frame was very limited, only 13 days from the campaign is analysed. The researcher might have found richer information if he conducted an elongated data collection that covered the hole period of election as well as the representation after the election. Moreover, the study used content analysis as the main method for the analysis of the data. The analysis revealed the limited coverage of female politicians in different studied media forms. It also revealed that they are described in relation to their gender instead of their political or social positions, the media explicitly portrays them as voting voices and link them to family and marital relationships while this is not the case with males. Arrami revealed that women are used by parties as a tool for political advertising of their parties. This is evident through their use of the positive achievement of females only during elections. Nevertheless, the media portrayed these parties use of women victories to be positive. Within the suggestion section, the study called the media to pay attention and ensure that women are the ones benefiting from the parties' discourse for an objective coverage,

Most of the research available in the Arab world concerning media representation of women is either very broad discussing the portrayal of females in different domains within different media sectors or, similar to Western studies, limited to quantifying the coverage of each domain and superficial description of the data. The only case where a research is focused in political participation of females in media, the time frame was very limited, and the analysis is mainly descriptive. No discursive or critical discursive analysis have been identified in the Arab world yet. Furthermore, the scarcity of this research in the context of Algeria, with only one research identified in the literature so far discussing the broad theme of *Women's Representations in The Algerian Print Media.* Boudaba dissertation (2010) focused on content analysis of the press clippings between 1996 and 2006 as well as questionnaires an in-depth interviews. However, due to embargo and publishing restrictions, I was not able to read the full thesis except its abstract. This is why I have decided to conduct a pilot study to investigate if there is a gender bias in Algerian press before going forward and conducting the research on female politicians' representation. The pilot will help in basing my hypothesis correctly in the context of Algeria and build part of the context of this research.

This research would fill this gap within the literature investigating the representation of female politicians within a 20 years period. It would not only rely on media outlets but on other external discursive and nondiscursive factors that contributed in shaping the current representation, as well as assessing the change within the investigated period to examine the quality of change which would provide important information about social change in the Algerian society.

2.5   Conclusion

In this chapter I have laid down the explanation of the most important concepts in my research. I have started by explaining gender and its theories. Then, I have explained how the constructivist theory sees gender to be constructed by discourse rather than simply socialised. Before I review the effect of media representation on gender, I have provided an explanation of the terms, discourse, and ideology representation and stereotyping. Additionally, I have reviewed briefly the result of some studies around the world of gender representation in media. This review shows that media stereotyping of gender is a worldwide phenomenon.

Moreover, I have explored the literature and recent scholarship concerning the analysis of media representation of female politicians to successfully situate my research and explain its significance within the field through, firstly, providing the relationship between media and politics through reviewing their stages of influence within media studies field. Secondly, I have discussed scholarly findings of female political representation in different contexts through different methodological approaches as well as different research objectives. This section helped me pin down the nexus that exists between media discourse, politics and gender and in stepping beyond the limitations and gap within the literature to justify my research goal and the rationale behind it. The next chapter will provide the analytical framework and the research design of this study.

Chapter 3   Research Methodology: Analytical Framework and Research Design

3.1   Introduction

My literature review chapter highlights how media constructs female politicians as well as the negative effects of gender hierarchy. In the following chapter, I seek to firstly identify the framework which acts as the backbone of my data analysis and secondly, provide an explanation of my data collection genre, methodology and the rationale behind my choices to fit with the present study. Critical discourse analysis framework will be used because it is the most appropriate for answering my research questions as I will discuss. In fact, analytical approaches of media outlets have seen a great shift in the theoretical and methodological approaches used. Media research observers call "qualitative turn" in social and cultural studies related to text or talk (e.g., Jankowski and Jensen, 2002). Nevertheless, this shift is a need due to the progress in research and findings that require further investigations to answer subtle questions (Richardson, 2007; Wodak and Meyer, 2009). It brings critical "interpretative, contextual and constructivist" approaches to the analysis of media. Richardson argues that the new paradigm helps to "offer interpretations of the meanings of texts rather than just quantifying textual features and deriving meaning from this; situate what is written or said in the context in which it occurs, rather than just summarising patterns or regularities in texts; and argue that textual meaning is constructed through an interaction between producer, text and consumer rather than simply being 'read off' the page by all readers in exactly the same way" (Richardson, 2007, p. 15).

Therefore, because the choice of the methodological approach must be compatible with the rationale of the project under study and to answer my research questions, CDA has been chosen not only to help me understand the representation of female politicians in the press but to provide me with the 'how and why answers'.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

3.2.1 Emergence and Development of CDA

Critical Discourse analysis is one approach to discourse analysis that has emerged as a reaction to the inadequacy of the dominant formal paradigms of the 1960s and 1970s which focused merely on descriptive linguistics and structuralist thinking that was mostly uncritical.

CDA is originally influenced by a number of branches of social theory, sociolinguistics and interactional theory. Some CDA proponents are influenced by Marxist theory concerning his critique of the dominance exercised over social class workers by the capitalists, his definition of language as the "product, producer, and reproducer of social consciousness" (Fairclough and Graham 2002, p. 201) and ideology as "the social structure of a society" (Bratton and Denham, 2014, p.110) as well as the historical dialectical method he applied.

Gramsci's notion of hegemony (1971) has also shaped critical discourse analysis. The notion indicates that power is not exercised solely by force; it is also excercised through the power of discourse that can persuade people to consensus. In contrast, Foucault pointed that the social construction process is determined by consciousness. He claims that all individuals contribute to power relations production whether they are powerful or have less power because discourse is the product of all human beings. The only difference is that those who have access to resources have the power over the discourse they want to circulate (Jäger and Maier 2009). These are some of the concepts that built the sociolinguistic and philosophical foundation of CDA.

Linguistically, it has its roots from the field of critical linguistics which was based on Halliday's systematic functional linguistic theory that Fowler et al. (1979) adopted. Their analysis goes beyond traditional sociolinguistics boundaries. They added a critical perspective to the descriptive perspective of systematic functional linguistics. Fowler et al. (1979) argued that "social groupings and relationships influence the linguistic behaviour of speakers and writers and … these socially determined patterns of language influence non-linguistic behaviour" (p. 185). Thus, they try to uncover inequalities within institutional discourses and how ideologies are implemented to impose cognitive control. In addition, Fowler (1996) pointed out to the "need to understand how these values influence texts, especially the ones that influence the public agenda, including that of the mass media" (Johnson and Enomoto, 2007, p. 118).

The field of critical linguistics had undergone huge development when Norman Fairclough, a linguist who was working on the development of Halliday's theories successfully opened the gate for an approach that revealed how social conditions could have an effect on both text production and

interpretation. He played a major role in the genesis of the term "Critical Discourse Analysis" which was first used in his edited book Critical Language Awareness (1992).

The network of CDA first emerged in 1990 at Amsterdam University after engaging in a symposium that was designed to support the field and its scholars. The field was generated from different theoretical frameworks and methodologies yet sharing similar principles and objectives that enriched its focus like "critical linguistics, critical semiotics" (Van Djik, 1995, p. 1), and "Rhetoric, Text Linguistics, Anthropology, Philosophy, Socio-Psychology, Cognitive Science, Literary Studies and Sociolinguistics, as well as in Applied Linguistics and Pragmatics" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 1). In addition to Fairclough, some of the scholars who greatly contributed to its emergence are: Wodak, who developed from interaction studies field a discourse- historical approach to CDA, Van Dijk, who developed from social psychology a socio-cognitive approach that links society language and cognition, and Chilton, who studied political discourse through semiotic theory. CDA interest and work continue to steadily develop through the number of books, journals, articles, conferences, study groups and workshops that touched all different disciplines (For further information see Wodak and Mayer, 2009).

3.2.2 General Definitions and Features of CDA

Despite the different theoretical and methodological perspectives of CDA, researchers under its umbrella work to fulfil the same objectives which are revealing and critiquing socio-political inequalities through relating the linguistic texts to a wider social context by examining their "political, economic, cultural, religious or gendered" foundations (Pasha, 2011, p. 23), and investigating the role of discourse in reconstructing, maintaining and challenging dominance and control within society (Van Dijk, 1993, p. 249).

Accordingly, CDA is defined by several scholars to be a prominent "tool" for investigating hidden ideologies that fuel and naturalise inequality in power relations between two groups through identifying the salient features of any text to decode the underlined ideologies. Specifically, it seeks to scrutinise the discursive bias through revealing subtle ideologies by examining "relationships between the text and its social conditions, ideologies and power-relations" (Wodak, 1996, p. 20). Hence, its primary purpose is to reveal how "language and discourse are used to achieve social goals and [effect] social maintenance and change" (Bloor, M. and Bloor, T, 2007, p. 2).

Therefore, CDA is not considered a single method of analysis with rigid tools and application procedures but it is an approach or a framework that resulted from different theoretical and methodological approaches and schools that address social wrongs, inequality and dominance as well as power relations in different domains.

According to Zhang and Jamil (2015), "CDA commits itself to a change in the asymmetrical social power relationship through a change in the ideological use of language in discourse" (p. 37). To put it differently, CDA looks at how patterns of discrimination and power construct and are constructed through discourse. It does not only look at grammatical structures and syntax, but it analyses them to uncover the values, ideas and ideologies beneath them. It reveals ideological constructions produced by political, social, economic, judicial and mass media elites who have the greatest impact. The reason behind that is their power and access to the public where they could produce, reproduce or resist the existence of ideologies which serve their interests and agendas through naturalising them to the public. Henry and Tator (2002) argud that critical discourse analysis is "a tool for deconstructing the ideologies of the mass media and other elite groups and for identifying and defining social, economic, and historical power-relations between dominant and subordinate groups" (p. 72).

Accordingly, critical discourse analysts are activists of social change 'with an attitude' (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). Their attitude does not only embody their unacceptance of the status quo but rather their clear mission to defend the oppressed through their academic work "from a perspective that is consistent with the best interests of dominated groups" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). CDA analysts' socio-political position in siding by the oppressed is appreciated as Van Dijk put it "CDA is biased—and proud of it" (Van Dijk, 2001, p. 96). This is done through investigating opaque power relations that result in the discrimination of a social group to reveal naturalised ideologies which would result in a social change. The reason behind their political stance is that they hold the belief that social inequalities could be noticed clearly in discourse use which is a prominent tool in transferring ideologies as well as they could be produced by discourse itself (Paffey, 2008). Consequently, CDA aim is to break down these power relations that exist in discourse and make the ideological constructions clear to the public to create positive social change.

3.2.3 Discourse, Ideology and Power Nexus

Fairclough (1995a) pointed out that the prominent objective of CDA is to "systematically explore the opaque relationship of causality and determine between a) discourse practices, events and texts, and b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes" (p. 132). This objective emphasised the interdisciplinary characteristic of CDA in looking at different phenomena from different disciplines where power exists and discourse has two sided effects.

Hence, the meaning of discourse to Fairclough among other CDA analysts is that "language is part of society and not somehow external to it… that language is a social process… and that language is a socially conditioned process, conditioned that is by other non-linguistic parts of society" (p. 22). It

is as a form of social practice where language cannot be isolated but produced and reproduced from social actions and practices to form new ones. He implied that the production of language is in harmony with society. However, discursive practices are in constant change. Specifically, language conveys particular social trends and it would constantly change and is changed by discourse. Also, one should acknowledge how they textually transfer from one genre to the other as well as the effect of that transformation. For example, ideologies about immigrants are evident in discourse and their change from one genre like general conversations to media must be acknowledged and traced.

CDA commits itself to bridge the link between micro and macro levels of analysis which form one unified whole in everyday interaction with micro level being the discourse produced or the verbal interaction and macro level to be power and dominance among social groups as well as resulting inequality. For instance, a racist speech about immigrants given by a political actor in parliament is considered the micro level because it is the discourse produced where the reproduction of negative and racist stance or the resulted legislative amendments are the macro level of that discourse.

Ideology and discourse are tightly linked as discourse is the monitor as well as the means of ideological spread and change. Discourses are bearers of ideologies. They help to shape them through and provide the needed circumstances for them to be reproduced or maintained. Hardman (2008) argued, "discourse therefore reflects the ideologies of the societies or institutions that produce it and certain uses of language can be said to serve these specific ideologies" (p. 15) through the application of different textual and grammatical methods.

Furthermore, what helps these ideologies to spread is the power exercised over discourse. Power is the dominance of a particular social group or institution over another social group(s). The powerful group has the adequate power to control minds as a result of having access to important resources like money, information, fame, standards and many more which results in public discourse control and form the type of power that the group holds. For instance, journalists have power over knowledge and information, which results in producing only information which serve the newspaper's agenda.

Nevertheless, power does not mean dominance over all other social groups and overall control. In other words, one powerful group can dominate one or more groups. It could have power only in specific situations or particular social domains. Controlled or dominated groups may repel and resist the power enforced on them as they may adhere and accept that power and even become naturalised as a part of social life like gender inequality and racism. This kind of blind acceptance and naturalisation is what Gramsci calls hegemony, which complies with the constant power naturalisation through different channels like legislations, education and media discourse, which is

ideological and manipulative rather than coercive. The groups who have power over the most influential discourse in society or public discourse can easily naturalise ideology which will take the form of hegemony (Van Dijk, 1993).

Williams' (1977) elaboration of Gramsci's concept of hegemony defined it as a lived system of meanings and values–constitutive and constituting–which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in the society, a sense of the absolute because of an experienced reality beyond which it is very difficult for most members of the society to move, in most areas of their lives. It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a 'culture', but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes (p. 110).

Hegemony's power lies in its long-lasting characteristic which makes it a form of ideology that is naturalised to be accepted as the norm. This makes it difficult to be resisted because it does not only manipulate people's understandings of concepts by persuading them to accept dominance but also makes it justified, legalised, and beneficial, even if it puts its interest first and is acting against their interests claiming that it is for general interest, and most of all, their only reality that they do not question (Arrighi, 2005, Chang, 2012). Therefore, hegemony is "the ascendancy of [a power], not only in the economic sphere, but through all social, political and ideological spheres, and its ability thereby to persuade [others] to see the world in terms favourable to its own ascendancy" (Scruton, 2007, p. 295 as cited in Chang, 2012, p. 2).

Succinctly, CDA aims to identify the hidden ideological formations behind the lexical and grammatical choices of discourse, to uncover the power relations and explicitly expose naturalised ideologies to answer the who and how questions, who controls discourse, or specifically, who have access to public discourse and how versions of reality are created to serve dominants' agenda and manipulate the public opinion (Huckin, 2012; Van Dijk, 1993). Hence, critical discourse analysts as McGroger (2003) illustrated citing Foucault (2000), are seeking "to illuminate ways in which the dominant forces in a society construct versions of reality that favour their interests. By unmasking such practices, CDA scholars aim to support the victims of such oppression and encourage them to resist and transform their lives" (p. 2).

3.3   Media Discourse within CDA

As previously discussed in chapter one, media discourse is a very powerful kind of institutional discourse. Its power over public discourse makes it prone to centripetal and centrifugal power pressures that enforce them to adhere to discourse conventions of that institution. Talbot, Atkinson and Atkinson (2003, p.5) stated that "any text, any use of language, represents the world in particular

ways, whether these serve the vested interests of a multinational corporation, the perspectives of an independent publication, or an individual journalist".

The way media is produced encourages media discourse to be analysed within critical discourse analysis scheme differently. The most salient difference is the fact that media discourse is a non-discursive event that is discursively explained to reach the audience. Therefore, it requires the selection of linguistic and stylistic features in forming the story, unlike a presidential speech, for instance, where everything could be recorded and reported the way it is. So, it mediates between the event itself and the receivers.

There is a huge interest among critical discourse analysts about media discourse mainly due to the urge to find the 'who' and 'how' answers. Fowler (1991) described media to be a constructive social institution rather than a neutral one that publish "ideas" rather than "facts" because they have power over the decision of what events deserve to be news. Bignell (1997) also explained that "news discourse reports only a selection of facts. What is reported is the selection of facts assumed to be significant" (p. 88). Media linguistic choices in the representation of these events empower them to control information and knowledge because they bear ideological notions. According to Fowler (1991), "each particular form of linguistic express in a text—wording, syntactic option, etc.–has its reason. Differences in expressions carry ideological distinction and thus differences in representation" (p. 4).

Fowler also pointed out that the press is using the "consensual theory of society" (Fowler, 1991, p.1) to make readers feel involved by including them using the expression "us" whereas this is constructed by the press to pass their ideologies to the group through inclusion. However, due to the importance of profit for the press, the news media is producing a capitalist ideology where it appeals to the elites' agendas. Fairclough (1995a) asserted that media organisations are really powerful in reproducing dominant ideologies through the impossible differentiation between the journalist's view about the news story (primary discourse) and the reported speech of individuals or organizations (secondary discourse). The reason is that journalists' use of discursive strategies can lead them to reproduce ideologies and affect the intended ideological meaning of the reported speech. In fact, media can (re)construct ideologies and identities about the story objects and individuals through a stereotypical representation that contributes to shaping society (see Chapter 1). Therefore, "The analysis of how the media represent the world and attribute these identities is part of the wider political goal of CDA" (Hardman, 2008, p. 26).

Richardson (2007) argued that "CDA maintains that social practices and the discursive practices of the production of journalism exist as a dialectical (i.e. a two-way) relationship" (p. 45). He clarifies the nature of the dialectical relationship that exists between social practices and the

consumption of journalistic texts where readers' social and cultural beliefs shape the way they decode the text while the same text also helps in shaping their beliefs and knowledge.

Moreover, according to Matheson (2005), "the power of media mainly lies in the forms of representation they reflect for the purpose of perpetuating wider social structures, generally being supposed to reflect an objective reality" (p. 142). Accordingly, because of the power of media in manipulating facts and representations of the world and its adherence to ideological orientations, CDA works on unveiling the discursive practices where ideological formations are embedded. As Chiluwa (2011) stated, "Ideological work of media language includes how individuals or groups, identities and relations are represented" (p. 197). In this regard, this study employs a critical discourse analysis of media discourse to explore the representation of Algerian female politicians through investigating underlying ideological perceptions.

3.4   Analytical Framework

Because CDA is not a single method but a framework where several analytical methods exist as well as different tools can be employed in regard to the aim of research, the researcher should make the choices about what research tools fit with the nature of the data and the questions to be investigated.

Fairclough's version of critical discourse analysis that he developed from critical linguistics theories considers discourse to be one form of social practice as it produces an action and is produced as a result of an action. From its name, Fairclough's three-dimensional approach looks at the text from three complimentary levels to successfully uncover ideologies and power relations within the text: textual analysis, process analysis and societal analysis. The textual analysis in critical discourse analysis is more advanced to include not only analysis of grammatical features, which is the case in critical linguistics but it extends beyond that to include all levels of linguistic analysis. In other words, in addition to modality, transitivity and lexical meaning, it also includes coherence, cohesion, turn-taking, topic control and many more. Accordingly, its textual analysis is based on adequate theory rather than intuition (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

Process analysis is the analysis of discursive practices. Fairclough asserted the importance of interpreting the text in relation to its producers by unpacking the message conveyed. The analyst at this stage puts emphasis on the interaction between the text production, distribution and consumption. Accordingly, this level involves identifying how textual analysis is controlled by journalistic practices that bring another dimension of meaning to the data analysed. Interpretations about how these analysed discursive practices carry larger social structures are also being made (Fairclough, 1989).

The next level of analysis is the social dimension that establishes the relationships between the "text and social structures" (Fairclough, 1995a, p. 117). According to Fairclough, social practices "may be at different levels of abstraction from the particular event: It may involve its more immediate situational context, the wider context of institutional practices the event is embedded within, or the yet wider frame of the society and culture" (1995a, p. 62). This stage goes beyond the discursive practices to involve non- discursive contextual clues. Specifically, the data will be related to its wider social context. Social, cultural, political, historical and economic factors that helped to shape the context of the data and the data production would be explained (Fairclough, 2004). It provides an analysis and explanation of the role of embedded power relations in (re)constructing and serving inequality between social actors as well as establishing the possibility of resistance or social change.

Van Dijk's analytical stages (1993) in his socio-cognitive approach are generally similar to Fairclough's three levels. He argued through the discourse-cognition-society triangle that media discourse analysis should be firstly analysed textually where both the structure and its effects on the message communicated are foregrounded and secondly the production and comprehension of the text should be cognitively analysed, which would provide it the economic and social context. Van Dijk criticised the traditional discourse analysts who analysed discourse through immediate constituent and did not take into account social and cognitive context. He argued their analysis to be superficial and not being able to provide an interpretation of discourse social functions. This approach emphasises the role of cognition in producing and reproducing truth on society, deriving from the idea that cognition processes are not unique to individuals but they have other social dimensions. Moreover, Van Dijk believed that media discourse translates only the voices of elites while powerless groups are voiceless (Van Dijk, 1993). Van Dijk (2009) provided a detailed step toward critical analysis by providing several tools that help cut down discourse to analytical parts to powerfully analyse it.

Topics, macrostructures or global meanings are the information you get about the content of the text or they could be defined simply as the basic theme surrounding the text. This could be achieved through titles, abstracts or other forms depending on the type of the text. This part would be helpful for my study as finding the topics discussed is the first step toward data categorisation and down sampling.

This analysis moves from the denotative to the connotative meaning. They are a major part in ideology production through their cognitive effects in forming interpretations that influence people's attitudes toward a particular event. Nevertheless, one should not neglect the implicit meaning by focusing not only on what is said or exist in a text but on what does not exist but is implied within the speech/text. Implicitness is effective in changing people's mental models. This part is crucial in media analysis because of the control that media users and journalists have through their ownership of

"mental models…about the world". Van Dijk provided a very effective image about implicitness; he exemplifies the text with "an iceberg of information". What appears as a "tip" is the written information, while what is beneath is all the ideologies, which rely on media users' knowledge and their mental models, which are stated without saying (Van Dijk, 1991, pp. 181—83; Van Dijk, 2009).

Nevertheless, Fairclough (1995b) criticised the stability of Van Dijk's approach as it investigates news reports only from one perspective which is the "dominations and racist ideologies" and "backgrounds the diversity and heterogeneity of practices" (Fairclough, 1995b, p. 30). This is a fair critique because there is a diversity in the way news media makers work despite the bulk of similarities which make the examined news making practices not necessarily linked to the racist ideologies produced, without mentioning that they may be subject to change.

Besides Fairclough and Van Dijk's approaches, Wodak's discourse– historical approach provides not only link of the text to its actual context but also an interpretation of the development of this discourse historically. Discourse in DHA is "context-dependent linguistic practices that are located within fields of social action" while history is also considered an important aspect in shaping personal, subjective understanding of social inequalities (Glynos et al., 2009, p. 18). In other words, it looks at the nature of the text in one position and relates to its original context as well as assessing patterns of change to that discourse throughout history. Originally, it was mainly used to analyse antisemitism and racism issues by tracking the history of arguments and phrases (see, for example, Wodak, 1995; van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999).

In this approach, research relies on studying original texts from the past that are collected and studied or used in several ethnographic studies and tries to compare them to contemporary emerging data from news political discourses through the use of intertextuality, interdiscursivity as well as non-discursive socio-political practices.

The reason behind the use of such rich context in analysing discourses is, as Wodak (1996) explained it, the analysis of discourse would not provide relevant, valuable information without relating it to the historical and social backgrounds where it was created. Hence, Wodak summarised the analysis to the following discursive strategies:

Nomination: looking at the discursive construction social actors, events, phenomena or actions.

Predication: analysing the discursive characterisation of these social actors and events.

Argumentation: examining justifications and arguments through topoi and fallacy devices.

Discourse representation, perspectivization or framing: locating writer/speaker opinions to the whole text/talk.

Mitigation and intensification: amending the illocutionary force according to their epistemic or deontic status (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p.93).

Because my research is not solely about the representation of female politicians from gender perspective but it is about tracing the grounds that form the current representations of these females in power and the change through a 20 years' period of investigation, the analytical framework used in this study is mostly based on discourse historical approach. Nevertheless, some features of the Fairclough's three-dimensional approach will be adopted. The two approaches are compatible in terms of matching and mixing some of their tools to fit with the research questions and the rationale behind the analysis of the data. The reason behind that is that they share a common aim of conducting an interdisciplinary research from a critical perspective to investigate unequal opaque power relations and ideologies within the investigated discourse.

This choice will help me, first, in providing useful operational questions to deal with the collected newspaper articles. Second, the use of the discourse historical approach will enable me to investigate the data on micro and macro levels of analysis and to trace the historical, political, economic, social and cultural factors that helped in shaping and forming ideologies about them through investigating and using "intertextual and interdiscursive relationships between utterances, texts, genres, and discourses, as well as extra-linguistic social/sociological variables, the history of an organisation or institution, and situational frames" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 90). Also, it allows me to track the changes in media discourse as "network of social practice" (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 164), specifically, to track and assess the ideological changes through the discursive formations and explain the reasons and endeavours of ideological change or resistance. Therefore, the change of discourse would be assessed from the socio-political change perspective. The textual analysis will be based on: Wodak and Reisigl's (2001) model in *Discourse and Discrimination: Rhetoric of Racism and Antisemitism*, a book in which they analysed racial discourse. Female politicians' representation in media and the sexist language used against them is a form of discriminatory discourse similar to racism discourse where women are discursively disadvantaged. This model is evidently useful in gender discrimination as it was adapted by in one study with focus on gender discrimination in political discourse by Atanga (2010) in her book *Gender, Discourse and Power in the Cameroonian Parliament*.

However, the taxonomy of reference will be based on the following frameworks:

- Wodak and Reisigl (2001), where they have borrowed some referential strategies from Van Leeuwen's social actor model (1997) that is based on Halliday's functional grammar and made some ameliorations to fit with the aims and data of their project. Due to the socio-semantic nature of the basic approach of Van Leeuwen, it accepts to be applied on other languages than English and eventually allow to investigate the strategic use in Arabic newspapers reports.

- Van Leeuwen Social Actor Network (2008), which provides some referential strategies that are linked to gender and not found in Reisigl and Wodak's approach (2008)

Moreover, because of the nature of the discourse genre chosen (newspapers) as Richardson puts it "newspaper journalism is *not* the same as any other discourse genre", Fairclough's approach will be used in harmony with it for the same reason of utilizing the discursive practices in the explanation of the production, consumption and distribution of data. In other words, unlike other discourse genres, newspapers' discourse is unique in nature and requires special techniques. Because the chosen newspapers have differing political orientations, with *Al-khabar* being a private newspaper and *Annasr* being a government newspaper, Fairclouigh's approach will help me unleash the interdiscursive relationships between the produced representations and the government and other powerful institutions that have either direct or indirect effect on these newspapers. This might provide us with important answers about who and why female politicians are constructed in that particular way in Algerian press.

Accordingly, Wodak's analysis questions (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 93) will be adapted and ameliorated with Fairclough's approach through the analysis process to provide the following operational questions that guide the data analysis:

1. How are female politicians named and referred to linguistically?

2. How are their actions referred to linguistically?

- Are the verbs in the active or the passive form?

- What meanings do these verbs imply?

3. What metaphors are used to represent them?

4. What traits, characteristics and features are attributed to these female politicians?

- E.g., (tender, passive, emotional= femininity), (harsh, aggressive= comply with masculinity) or (heroine, iron women= supernatural).

5. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?

6. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed? (I can differentiate here between both newspapers' perspectives).

7. What are the other related texts, genres and non-discursive practices circulated in society that might affect the production and consumption of this certain text?

- E.g., Context= both situational, and historical, socio-political and cultural context.

- Interdiscursivity

8. Are the respective utterances overtly articulated? Are they intensified or mitigated?

- Does the media state it directly or make it sound more/less intense that it actually is?

9. What are the discursive changes throughout the investigated period?

- Mapping and quantifying the discursive changes.

10. What patterns of ideological change that appears accordingly?

3.5 Data Collection

3.5.1 Data Sources

Because of the importance of media in reconstructing and tracing social change (as discussed above), the data utilised in this research are newspapers articles that are gathered from two Algerian newspapers. Newspapers have been used instead of other media outlets for reasons related to the media news itself and for the following reasons related to the context of the study. Firstly, newspapers articles are easily found as they are collected from Algerian national library archive which make them a valid data for analysis at all times. Secondly, newspapers have the opportunity to represent reality more than other outlets of media discourse. Hardman (2008) argued, "newspapers, as a print medium, are reliant upon the representation of reality and the news actors through linguistic choices, in a way that broadcast media are not" (p. 48). Thirdly, newspapers' diverse sections and titles as well as their distribution process give them the advantage to access large audience. Fourthly, unlike broadcast media which is played only once, a newspapers audience can have online access to all the stories at any time of their convenience.

Moreover, within the context of this study, finding the audio or audio-visual information from 1997 in Algeria is quite difficult as not everything is archived. Also, newspapers are the most suitable media outlet to discuss politicians especially during elections due to the diversity of stories as well as the space provided to discuss different events rather than only the most prominent one. Finally,

different newspapers have different perspectives, which makes it a rich source with related data to this research.

To track any continuity and changes in female politician coverage during the investigated period, this study utilised data collected from the same newspapers across the entire period. These newspapers are *Annasr* and *Al-khabar*. They are chosen because they are the most sold newspapers in Algeria, they are considered to be opinion formers, they have different political backgrounds that would help in finding the "who" answer, and they are available during the investigated period.

3.5.1.1   *Al-khabar*

Al-khabar is the first independent national daily in Arabic to appear in the era of media pluralism in Algeria. It was founded in Algiers in 1990 by a group of journalists two years after the fall of Algeria's one-party system, which had tightly controlled the press. It is collectively owned by a group of editors and journalists and published in the tabloid format. In 2011, Al-khabar could distribute 470 000 copies/ daily.

The newspaper is liberal and independent and provides in-depth coverage of national, regional, and international news. It often runs reports and columns critical of the ruling elite and government power abuse. As a result, journalists and editors have on several occasions been sent to jail. The paper is also known for its excellent caricatures, often with biting satire. It was also the target of terrorist groups, and one of its founders and editor-in-chief, Omar Ouartilene, was assassinated in 1995 (Huffpostmaghreb, 2016).

In 2016, *Al-Khabar* was at the centre of a debate in which freedom of the press and political and economic issues mix. Because of financial problems, the newspapers owners decided to sell it to a businessman, Yessaad Rebrab, who was critical of the President and the government. The government opposed the transaction and some journalists were arrested. (Almanach, 2012)

Concerning readership and credibility, figures differ. In 2005, El-Khabar was the most read newspaper in Algeria with 38.9%. In 2012, according to a poll by Media and Survey, Al-khabar was second in readership (4 621 827 readers= 19.50 %), but it was considered the most credible newspaper (37.7 %) *(MediasDZ, 2016a)*. Its circulation ran as high as 1.2-million in 2000 and has since plunged to the current figure of around 200 000 a day, said a former chief of the daily, Ali Djeri (Chebbala, 2017).

3.5.1.2   *Annasr*

Annasr was founded in 1908 and was called before its nationalization *la Dépêche de Constantine*. It was nationalized in 1963, and put under the supervision of the ruling party, the FLN. In 1967, it became under the tutelage of the Ministry of Information, expressing the guidelines of the authority. It was entirely arabized in 1972 and became a daily newspaper printed in Constantine and distributed in Eastern Algeria (Ouennoughi, 2013).

The nineties were particularly difficult for *Annasr* as for all the public press, beginning with 1990, during which the newspaper was dispossessed of its printing press, its broadcasting company and its headquarters. The worst happened in 1997 when the paper stopped publishing altogether between February 23rd and March 23rd, which will require a state intervention to revive it, with a very small staff and *Annasr* experienced an unstable period during a few years. In 2007, the company was able to recover its financial equilibrium, to clear all its debts, to renew its means of production, and open 34 offices across country (L'Echo d'Algerie, 2018). The renewal that allowed it to climb the readership ladder steadily and have the second highest readership in Eastern Algeria after *Al-khabar (MediasDZ, 2016b)*.

3.5.2   **Corpus**

Because the researcher aims ato analyse the construction of the model of female politician in Algeria, assessment of the representation of different female politicians within different political positions is required. The corpus of the present study has been collected from 1997 to 2017 during specific periods related to the context and rationale of the research. Accordingly, the data would be collected during elections and outside the election period for female ministers as follows:

1.   Parliamentary elections: Because parliamentary elections are held every five years, articles related to parliament candidates were collected from the following years 1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, 2017. The articles cover a period of four months for each year (two months before and 2 months after the parliamentary elections). Except for 2012 where the quota system was applied in the parliamentary election for the first time, the data will be collected from the day the nominations start.

2.   Presidential elections: the data will be collected from the first time a female succeeded in being a candidate for presidency in Algeria through the years she ran for elections. Specifically, for 2004 data, I will be looking for articles from the first day she nominated herself as a candidate to two months after the results while I will only collect 4 months of 2009 and 2014 (two months before and two months after the elections) to make the data manageable.

3.5.3   Data Collection Process

There is no online website to the archives of Algerian newspapers in Algeria like the British newspaper archives. Moreover, most newspapers do not archive their content online, except for some of them where only some articles are archived for the last few years like *Al-khabar*. The researcher has to go to the newspaper headquarters in Algiers and ask for a copy of the issues under study to be given to him/her within three days, only for the case of research and providing all the appropriate papers that prove the reason behind collecting the articles.

The National Library archives are not digitized even the latest ones. They are all in the form of daily copies of newspapers collected in boxes on a monthly basis. *Al-khabar* articles were collected from the National Library archive, excluding the 2017 articles where they were collected online on a daily basis while *Annasr* news articles were collected from the newspaper archive itself, excluding 2014 which were given digitized by the newspaper and 2017 which were collected online on a daily basis; these articles were in the form of photos that were taken by camera.

In addition, articles were not collected from the political section only; editorials also were collected to present all the ideologies that the newspaper discourse carries about female politicians. This would help in freeing the data from the bias that might occur when focusing on only one section of the newspaper and neglecting the others which all forms the essence of the ideologies to be presented. Therefore, the data will be analysed in relation to a comparison between the representation of female politicians in different political positions to pin down the most acceptable and unacceptable political positions for females in the political arena. It will be also analysed concerning tracing the ideological change concerning them as well as a comparison between the two newspapers to assess which of them was more responsive to change over time and the way their ideological stance concerning gender hierarchy in politics is represented.

3.5.4   Challenges during Data Collection

I have faced some challenges during the data collection process. During my journey in data collection, I met two kinds of people: those who accepted the type of research I was doing and were looking forward for my research findings and those who were against it. I was surprised by the views of some of the National Library archive clerks as well as a journalist in one of the newspapers accusing my research to be harmful to the Islamic identity of Algerian women and society due to the misleading and foreign information that I am bringing from a non-Muslim, non-Arab society that I am living in. Their response has provided me with more understanding of the context I am working on. Nevertheless, I had the chance to meet in the National Library one famous Algerian scholar, Bachir Sahraoui, who showed interest in all sorts of research related to the understanding of the Algerian

society and gender hierarchy in the country to find answers to how we can make things different. He even spread the word about my research as well as my email with some of his colleagues and friends. I got contacted by two Algerian channels and two Algerian newspapers to host me and to be the first in publishing the results of my study and even offered freelancing to discuss stories about Algerian immigrants concerning the challenges in adopting to the new culture and how they bring their ideas, beliefs, and culture to the foreign society. During the data collection, *Annasr* newspaper hosted me discussing my research and my life in the United Kingdom.

Due to the unavailability of the data online and being far from the data collection sources, I had to take the chance and collect everything I might need and consider all the possibilities and the problems that I might find in my data which would require facing the same obstacles again. I collected from both newspapers every article that is related to a female politician in all sectors, and the result is a huge amount of data that needs down sampling in relation to the rationale of this study.

The articles are in the form of photos, which were difficult to digitally transcribe, especially those written in 1997, 2002, and 2004. A manual transcription of a selection of articles was done by an assistant-researcher and proofread afterwards.

3.5.5   Managing Data

3.5.5.1   Arabic and English Grammar

Grammar and grammatical structures play a big role in the analysis of this study. However the difficulty in this case lays in the slight but very pertinent differences between Arabic and English and how these differences affect the analysis process. First, while English sentences tend to be verbal comprising of at least one verb, an Arabic sentence can be either verbal or nominal. The nominal sentences do not comprise a verb and are not in need of a verb to make sense of the sentence, the most prominent example is sentences that comprise only of a subject and predicate and are fully understandable in Arabic.

Second, pronouns play a big role in understanding who is the doer and the receiver of the action. Although English pronouns are separate words, standing on their own, Arabic pronouns can be either separate words or affixes attached to verbs, meaning that these pronouns become the subjects of the verbs to which they are attached. In addition, any change in the diacritical marks of these affixes might change the whole meaning of the sentence.

Third, the English singular and plural notions, where a noun is identified as singular (one) or plural (more than one) is different from the Arabic. In Arabic a noun can be either singular (one), dual (two), or plural (more than two).

Fourth, feminine and masculine notions in Arabic are a very prominent characteristic, which means that all pronouns in Arabic can be identified by either feminine or masculine; furthermore, all Arabic nouns and verbs can be distinguished as feminine or belonging to females by adding either a letter or diacritical marks at the end of the word. Additionally, regarding articles, Arabic does not contain indefinite articles (a, an), and so no replacement is written for the indefinite articles in Arabic.

3.5.5.2   Coding Software

I have chosen to use MAXQDA as my data analysis software. MAXQDA is a similar software to NVivo, which is used by the university. However, what makes it appropriate for use in this study is its ability to work with the Arabic language unlike NVivo where the Arabic language is not recognised.

MAXQDA will help in the organisation of data in one set where connections and links can be easily made. Unlike manual analysis where the number of texts analysed are limited, MAXQDA deals with huge amount of data and draws links that could be easily seen in multiple visual ways which helps during the data interpretation stage.

As well as using memos within the MAXQDA, the researcher journal will be used to link contextual data and keep on track with the research process.

Context collection: Looking for the ideological changes and differences within the investigated data to answer the questions: what, why and who requires a triangulatory approach that takes into account looking at the actual data, different theoretical and methodological observations as well as important background information. Accordingly, in the case of this research, the relationship between gender hierarchy, politics and power will be investigated not only from the linguistic analysis of the collected newspaper articles but linked to the context of the study. The four levels of context provided by Wodak serve to answer the research questions:

1. The immediate, language or text internal co-text and co-discourse

2. The intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses

3. The extralinguistic social variables and institutional frames of a specific 'context of situation'

4. The broader socio-political and historical context, which discursive practices are embedded in and related to (Wodak and Meyer, 2009, p. 93)

3.5.5.3   Coding Procedure

The following points summarise my data coding procedures in relation to the developed operational questions:

Based on the selected dates, I collected all the articles which mention female politicians in relation to politics, whether they are specific using nominations or political functions, such as the candidate", or general but talking about women in political life. I then excluded the ones that are discussing female voters and kept only the ones that are based on female' engagement in elections as benefiters or objects of the action.

I have classified the data based on the following categories: female candidates and parliamentarians in parliamentary elections, Louiza Hanoune in presidency election (the only female to run for presidency in Algeria), female politicians in politics in general without specific reference to a particular sector. However, I neglected the articles discussing female ministers due to the focus of the study that looks only into females in electoral campaigns.

I have added the data in MAXQDA software and coded the themes and discourse topics surrounding the articles. The following diagram represents the emerging discourse topics found in the data and the correlation exists between each other.
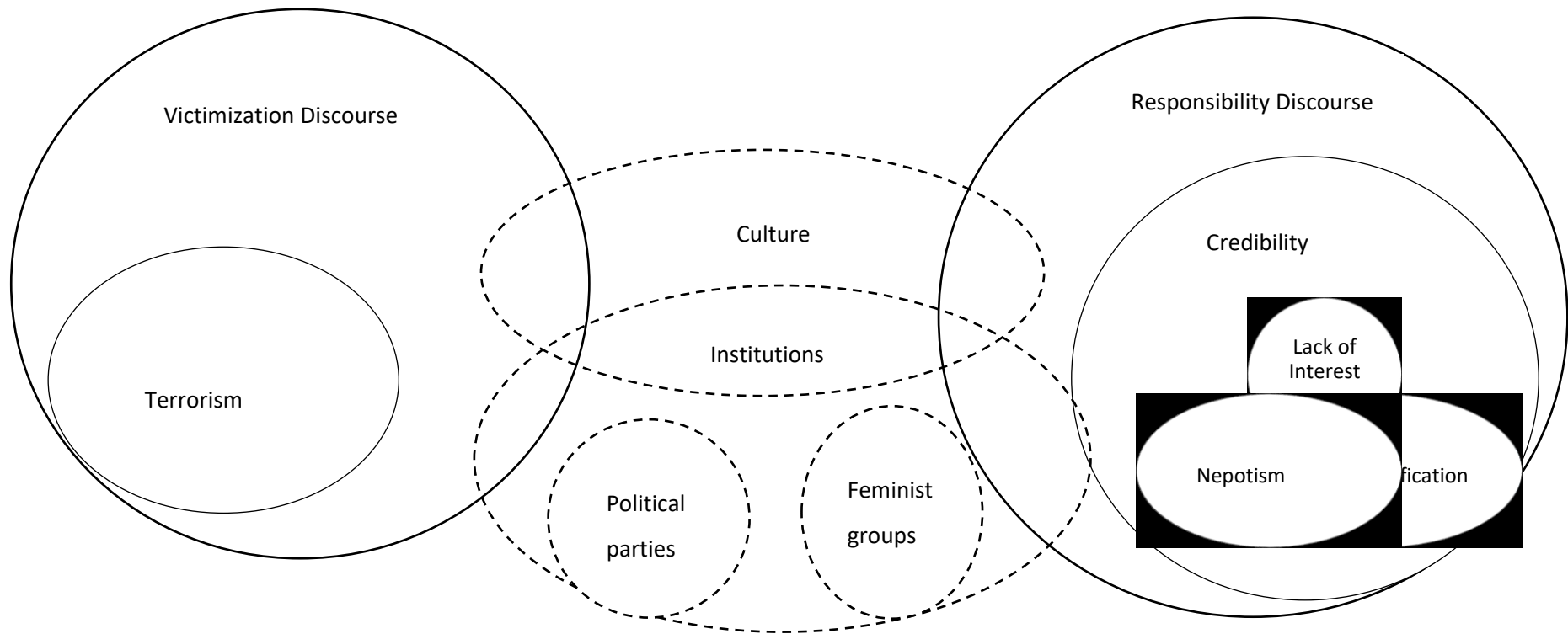
Figure 1: Discourse Topics about Female Parliamentarians' Construction.

The articles then were coded through the following linguistic and pragmatic strategist to best answer the research questions.

Exclusion: Social actors can be excluded in discourse to serve agenda of the discourse speaker/writer. These exclusions could be complete in the case of suppression, where no trace of the social actors is found in the text, which needs comparison with other discourses of the same event to make assumption. However, they can also be partially excluded through backgrounding; in this case, the social actors re excluded from a particular context but still mentioned somewhere else in the same text (Van Leeuwen, 2008). In this study, exclusions are found to be evident in the data through comparison of both analysed newspapers.

Role Allocation: Role allocations are the roles or functions that the social actors are associated with in representations. Activation is the representation of social actors as dynamic agents of an action whereas passivation is the representation of social actors as passive agents either benefiting from the social action, in this case it is called beneficialisation, or objects of the social action, which is called subjection. The data revealed that most of female politicians as social actors in the Algerian press is passivated and represented as benefiting from or objects of the action. However, only one female politician, Louiza Hanoune is represented as an active agent as well as with very few other articles of females referred to collectively.

Referential strategies: The inclusion of female politicians as a social actors is achieved through variety of strategies. Referential strategies are the strategies used to construct social actors. Understanding these choices draw important information about what the press is trying to communicate and how they are constructing the image of female politicians in society. The following referential strategies are evident in my data. I draw on both Van Leeuwen Social Actor Network (2008) and Reisigl and Wodak referential strategies borrowed from Van Leeuwen social actor model and ameliorated to fit with discourse of discrimination, specifically racial discourse. The combination of both are found to be useful in my data analysis. The following table define the evident strategies in this research data.

Referential strategy	Source	Definition
Nomination	Van Leeuwen (2008)	"proper nouns, which can be formal (surname only, with or without honorifics), semiformal (given name and surname…, or informal (given name only" (p. 41).

Assimilation
 	
   1. **Collectivisation**
 	
   2. **Aggregation**
	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	1. "'Collectivisation' is the reference to social actors as group entities, but without quantifying them" (p—.53)
		
		2. " 'Aggregation' designates the quantification of groups of participants" (p. 53).

Spatialisation	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	"referring to a person in terms of living on a place" (p. 48).
Actionalization	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	"represents[ing] social actors in terms of social activities." (p. 52).
Somatization: **Engendering**	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	Reference to social actors in relation to their sex (p. 49).
Culturalization: Ethnification		Refrence through relation to an ethnic group.

Politicization:
 	
   1. **Party political alignment**
 	
   2. **Rough political alignment**
 	
   3. **Professionalizati on**
 	
   4. **Political actionalization**
	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	1. Refrence in relation to a political party name. (p. 51)
		
		2. "anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of rough political orientation" (p. 51)
		
		3. "anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of rough political orientation" (p—. 51)

		4. "anthroponyms referring to persons in terms of political activities" (p. 51)
	62	
Social problematization: 1. **Negative ideologization** 2. **Victimization**	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	1. Reference to social actors as unskilled, unqualified, … (p. 52) 2. Refrence to social actors as victims who are "suffering deprivation" (p. 52)
relationalisation	Reisigl and Wodak (2001)	Reference to social actors in terms of marital, kinship and work relationships. (p. 52)
symbolization	Van Leeuwen (2008)	Refrers to "a "fictional" social actor or group of social actors stands for actors or groups in nonfictional social practices. (p. 48)

Table 1 Referrential strategies

Predication strategies: Predication strategies are the strategies used to attribute particular qualities to social actors. These qualities are evaluative in nature, whether "explicit or implicit", "specific or vague". These evaluations could be either positive or negative stereotypical attributions that affect our understanding about a particular social actor or a group. Along to these strategies, referential strategies also serve as predicative strategies as they may draw generalisations of a particular social group which create homogeneity and become stereotypical.

Argumentative strategies: Argumentative strategies are discursive strategies in which positive or negative stereotypical representations are justified. They are claims of truth that are used to legitimize a particular discourse using several persuasive and rhetorical strategies. (Wodak and Meyer, 2009; Reisigl and Wodak, 2001). Topoi are the places in which are used to provide the argument and the conclusion to legitimize discourses. They are defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001,

p 74-75) as: ‑parts of argumentation that belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable, premises. They are content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' that connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion or claim. They justify the transition from arguments to conclusion (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, p 74-75). The most prominent arguments deployed is the topoi of victimization that women are victims and that women are responsible through topoi of blame. In legitimising the "female politician model", topoi of ethnicity, topoi of unconventionality have been used as well as the topoi of experience.

3.5.5.4 Translation

This study aims at analysing extracts of Algerian newspapers, in which Arabic is the language of the state and the language of the majority of its newspapers. Therefore, the analysis in this particular study will be an analysis of Arabic text. This study includes Arabic excerpts for the chosen newspapers, in addition to translations of the parts of these excerpts that are relevant to the CDA of this study. Translation of these excerpts is provided to enhance readability and provide context to the analysis.

Baker (1992) claims that translating discourses at any level from isolated words to complex sentences is naturally complicated and filled by cultural issues. Additionally, on the grammatical side of things, the collocational positions that engulf discourse and the grammatical variation of languages plays a big role in producing the right translation. This study takes precaution measures in the translation of the Arabic newspaper excerpts quoting Baker (1992) in which he confirms that these measures are significant because the work of translators is crucial in forming political reality. Therefore, because this study seeks to unearth any ideologies engraved in the Algerian media's representation of female politicians, the methodology used should not include any ideological biases. It has been suggested that translators are commonly influenced by political and socio-cultural constraints (Oktar and Kansu-Yetkiner, 2012). Therefore, in this study two main precautions were taken to avoid any bias.

The first precaution is that the analysis was carried entirely on the Arabic texts without reference to the translations, to ensure that ideology enclosed is reflective of the newspapers ideology not the translators' ideology. The English translation is mainly included to ameliorate the readability and exposure of the study, but does not affect the initial analysis. However, the translation was carried in a way to ensure objectivity.

The second, is the insurance of an objective translation of the excerpts through triangulation. All excerpts have been translated by myself at first, before they were cross-referenced by a second PhD candidate who had Arabic-English-Arabic as one of the main components of his master degree.

Afterwards, the initial translation as well as the second translation were sent to a third-party translator who has over 25 years of experience lecturing Arabic-English-Arabic translation in universities in Algeria and Saudi Arabia to insure a translation as professional as possible.

3.6   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have explained the framework utilised in the analysis and data collection procedures. In the chapter, the author has started with the literature of critical discourse analysis, discussing the emergence of the field, its definition and the relationships that exist between its key concepts: discourse, ideology, power and hegemony. After that, it has expended the discussion on literature to link it to my research goal and included a discussion of media discourse within CDA, then, has moved to my framework of analysis. This section contains a review some of the important approaches and their tools of analysis to justify my choice of each tool in relation to my research questions. Finally, both pilot study data and the primary research data procedures have been explained in detail. The next chapter will provide an overview about the wider historical, socio-political context of the study and the findings of the pilot study as a practical context of this thesis.

Chapter 4   Women's Political Participation in Algeria

4.1   Introduction

This chapter provides a broad historical description of the overarching political, economic, cultural or social factors related to Algerian women's place in public and political culture as well as how this place is represented. It aims to understand how gender intersects with nationality, religion, culture and politics. It starts with investigating the effects of colonial and autochthonous practices on women access to public and political spaces and the figure of strong combatant women, which emerged during the Algerian war of independence. The second section focussed on establishing the political frames of reference within which Algerian politics operates by exploring the delegitimization of Algerian politics and the place religion plays in the Algerian society. It then moves to explore the gendered political culture of post-independent Algeria and how the newly constructed Algerian national identity affected women's political participation and decided their political path. It investigates the nexus between authenticity and legitimacy as political languages. It also examines the symbolic meaning of political events and how they have been constructed and changed through language, symbols and rituals. In other words, it examines the symbolic meaning accorded to women rights in modern and contemporary Algeria. Examining this context will not only provide us of an understanding of the public attitudes toward women's participation in the political arena, but also how they are represented in everyday discussions, media and social media.

4.2   Women and Politics in Algerian History

Women have always been part of history, but up until recently rarely part of the historical record (Lazreg, 1994, Ait Mous, et al., 2020). Historians have studied Kabyle-Berber women queens' fight against endless invasions of Algeria, including figures such as El-Djazaya and Dyhia-El Kahina, who were exclusively descendent from elite families (Aït Mous, Bendana and Ait Mous, et al., 2020; Lazreg, 1994; Evans and Philip, 2007). In Algeria today, Berbers continue to hold these women up as symbols of free, resistant and courageous women, protecting the nation, and in particular – women who fought against the "Arab invasion" – which is not seen as an invasion in Algerian official history, but as the coming of civilisation via religion (Islam). They are presented as emancipated women who played an important role in nation building. The history of Dyhia-El kahina raised a controversial debate among scholars about her multiple identities, ranging from her sense of humanity, divine power, love and hostility to the Arab Muslim comers (Lazreg, 1994). French writers described her as "an African Joan of Arc, and Arab chroniclers lauded her for her courage and ultimate conversion to Islam" (Lazreg, 1994, p.20).

French rule was in part based on stereotypical constructions of "the Algerian woman". Ethnographers and other "experts" produced text upon text about the "differences" between Berberophone and Arabophone women, to underline their supposed ethnic difference (Silverstain, 2004). French writers and photographers were also obsessed with the veil. Veiled and unveiled women were presented as two dichotomous halves, the latter representing the modern/cultivated and the former traditional/illiterate. Lazreg (1994) views these descriptors as stemming from unfamiliarity with Algerian gender relations and practices, harbouring prejudiced and biased Anti-Muslim/Islam ideology.

Another reason why foreign writers dominated narratives about Algerian women in this period was the huge illiteracy amongst the Algerian population. "In 1954, 90% of Algerian men and 95% of women were illiterate (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 11). Women illiteracy helped in generating a corrupted symbolic representation of their own narratives and practices, especially their inability to access the scholarly documents. These circumstances gave freedom to French writers to imagine them as an erotic oriental culture and symbolize their practices and the veil to fit with the colonizer's agenda. This cultural constructed difference of Muslim women was used by the French to politicise their assimilation mission and exclude Algerian males from full French citizenship. In 1865, a law was passed to assimilate Algerian men and give them rights of full French citizens including military and civil service. Nevertheless, the code declared that dropping the "Muslim personal status" in issues related to the family law was the condition to gain citizenship. This means dropping polygamy, repudiation, and practicing equal inheritance and accepting the legal matters in relation to the "sleeping child" theory. As these issues were deep cultural and religious practices among Algerians, the majority refused "frenchification". Issues related to "franchification" and "defrannchification" were more discussed at the national level rather than the everyday experiences of Algerians. However, these discourses where the key in creating the divide between "them" and "us". Accordingly, the Algerian Muslim women becomes a symbol in French literature and politics to the failure of assimilation and uncivilized (Vince, 2015, p. 72-3).

The socio-economic history of women's labour practices shows that Algerian women whether rural or urban used to be skilful and some of them literate (Ait Mous, et al., 2020; Heggoy, 1974; Lazreg, 1994). Skilful in terms of preparing cosmetic products at home, working in with food and vegetables all year through preserving food and cutting olives and preparing oil. They also worked with wool and sheepskin to create furniture and clothes even in some urban centres. In addition, "well to do" women from rich and noble families used to be good with musical instruments especially "Oud". This musical culture was said to be brought by women who became refugees in Algeria while escaping Spanish Reconquista. Furthermore, some urban women were also literate in terms of learning at a young age. Both urban women and men equally attended school until the age of nine or

where tutored at the ease of their houses (Lazreg, 1994; Ait Mous, et al., 2020). The courses where mainly about Arabic and Quranic studies, history of Islam, grammar and poetry. However, most of rural women were illiterate, but more skilful when it comes to agrarian activities and wool weaving into rugs, blankets and coats. Some of them also "took part in the network of commercial and cultural exchange" (Lazreg, 1994, p. 29). This envisioned representation of women and their relations with men brings forth the fallacy of foreign writers about the imagined narrations.

Colonial stereotypical narratives nevertheless continued to argue that Algerian women were the reason of the backwardness of the native nation. Algerian women were constantly objectified by French writers who wrote to the French audience, with a language Algerian women could not understand to indulge in debates about their own imagined representations. This discourse about women was one of the weapons the coloniser was using to penetrate the most private spheres, Algerian men's intimate lives. Similarly, French female writers portrayed women to be powerless and submissive. They considered the coloniser's mission to bring their version of emancipation to the native women and that women were the heart of the family so without her emancipation and francization, the assimilation mission would eventually fail. Although French women at that time were also fighting for equality within their European nations, their writings about Algerian women narratives reproduced many of the colonial, objectifying stereotypes about Algerian women as oppressed as male writers. In fact, some argued that women would make "better" colonisers, as they would pay greater interest to Algerian women and children, and this was an argument in favour of French women obtaining the vote (see Eichner, 2009). They othered Algerian women to fight toward their own emancipation. Unlike British women who gained the right to vote right after World War 1, French women at the time did not have the right to vote (Lazreg, 1994); they did not have the right to use contraception nor to peruse abortion, which shows the index of gender inequality in France. Many French writers failed to self-assess and make adequate comparisons between gender equality in their culture and the Algerian culture. Hypocritically, they equated Algerian women's emancipation to that of French culture (Clancy-Smith and Gouda, 1998, p. 184). Women were perceived to be ignorant, illiterate, and unskilled with very simple character. They all look alike, beautiful but playful. Their representation to be lacking the "soul"; ignoring their religious belief (Muslim) shows the imagined ideological stereotypes that were based on the appearances due to their failure in reaching and communication with these women (Lazreg, 1994, p. 41). These imagined representations of Algerian autochthonous women and their inability to counter them proved very influential, not only in reflecting the French politics in Algeria but also in determining its dynamics. Decisions about assimilation laws and practices were mainly shaped because of these representations.

With the invasion of the French army and the failed resistance of El Amir Abdelkader (1830-1844), both Algerian men and women suffered from the brutal colonizer in different ways. One example is the massacres of men, women and children in different Algerian towns. However, women abuse was in particular targeting their dignity. Women were raped, forcefully held by French officers and sexually abused. They were also an easy target because of either being unarmed or because of the gold, they traditionally wore. Women participation in resistance to colonial invasion in the first 30 years of colonialism was mostly passive resistance. However, many were influential enough to encourage resistance among their husbands, to nurse the injured, to plan for attacks, as the case of Lalla Fatima Nsoumer in her resistance against French armed forces in Kabylia, and to go to mountains and help their fighting brothers (Lazreg, 1994, p. 42).

With the loss of the economic security, social instability started to show in the country. Algerian men and women lost their jobs and lands to the colonizer. While men were the victims of colonialism, women were the victim of colonialism and their husbands and relatives: they suffered both hunger and poverty and the overlooking of the right of women for inheritance by male members of their families or the Algerian Muslim judges. In addition to that, French colonial administration reinforced the patriarchal order. Due to the brutal situation of hunger and poverty, rural women flew to towns with their children where they faced disappointment (Lazreg, 1994).

4.2.1   **Politicising Women through Education**

As discussed above, both men and women were educated in terms of Qur'anic and Islamic studies till the age of nine specifically in urban areas. In contrast to men, women coming from elite families studied in their homes where rural girls were educated in a religious place similar to mosques by Sufis - called zawiya. Religious education was the target of colonialism which made them shut schools and mosques leading to a decrease of male literacy in the nineteenth century. The result of that was the rise of illiteracy among most Algerian men, despite the fact that the proclaimed colonial mission was French acculturation and assimilation of the Algerian citizens encouraging them to join French schools which are based on secular education (Ait Mous, et al., 2020). Consequently, most Algerians, between 1880 and 1930, were hesitant about sending their children especially girls to colonial schools. This was due to different reasons: the family's resistance to assimilation and acculturation strategy of the colonizers, preserving national identity and culture; the increased fear about women being "won over" and detaching them from their private sphere (social loss/ El 3iib in Algerian dialect) and impacting their social interactions and practices (Lazreg, 1994; Ait Mous, et al., 2020). This cloistering strategy of keeping women away from the colonial gaze contributed to the reconstruction of the cultural belief that women do not have a role to play in the public sphere.

The exclusion of women from the first generation of educated Algerians (1880-1930) and the different sort of education dedicated to women were the reasons women were excluded from passing the 6th grade exam to be eligible to study in Lycée (highschool) where educated boys learned skills for new careers (Lazreg, 1994). These factors made them seen and expected to embody the nation, the symbol of authenticity and the most significant factor in keeping the Algerian culture, society and family coherent. Between 1920s and 1950s, a small group of Algerians had greater political rights and social mobility through assimilation. The socialist/communist groups composed of Algerian primary teachers in the French-Algerian state schools joined the socialist party (SFIO). They were promoting assimilation, providing equal access to education in French and Arabic for boys and girls, particularly advocating greater access to autochthonous children. The socialist and communist proponent teachers tended to favor French schooling in order to gain more political rights – this was not a strategy of cultural "Franchification", which grouped them as a colonial ideological education. From 1940s onwards, there was a greater move to educate Algerian girls in French Algerian state schools, the main motivating factor was to "civilize" them and offer them opportunities to learn how to be a good mother and wife in the French model. They provided classes on hygiene, childcare, housekeeping and sewing that create the idealizing vision of colonial reformists. However, the underlying reason for colonial reformist in education for Algerian girls was to embed French rule and greater France within the Algerian state, reinforcing the colonial slogan "Algeria   is part of France" (Ait Mous, et al., 2020).

Further highlighting the politicized nature of the education of women in Algeria were intellectual reformists educated in the Arabic language at the Al-zaytuna and Al-quairawan university-mosques. The reformists' main interest was "to purify Islam from within, stripping it of local "deviation" and promoting the Arabic language" (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p.8). Consequently, towards the end of 1920s, different Muslim associations emerged across North Africa (Ait Mous, et al., 2020). Providing a modern education in scientific subjects, religious instructions in classical Arabic and improving the Arabic language status were the main emphasis of Ulama at that time. 193 Ulama free schools were opened in 1955, equally accessible for Algerian males and females, educating 35,190 children and 40% of the total proportion were girls (Ait Mous, et al., 2020). Nevertheless, Ibn Bidis call for advocacy of women education was not based on the importance of education in learning skills that allow them to gain good jobs or participate in public life. Instead, the plan of including Algerian girls in education was to use them as a force that would refrain young Algerian men from marrying French women due to their acculturation and the new practices they adopted. Not only that, he also used women and later his insister Bashir Al Ibrahimi to objectify the notion of motherland (alwatan) where women and children are the ties that a man can have with his land (Lazreg, 1994). This discourse is similar to the Egyptian nationalist discourse, explained by Baron

(2004), where Egypt, as a nation, was constructed as a woman and a family after the British invasion in 1882. The imagining of the national honour in relation to family honour which primarily relies on its women's practices represents women as the embodiment of the nation, where they are expected to adhere to its cultural morals.

In addition, the education of women was used to "preserve the foyer of cultural transmission and "authenticity", stripped of "irritational" pre-Islamic beliefs taken from Sufism, such as worshiping local saints, and magical and superstitious practices, which women were more likely to engage" (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 8). Ibn Badis's ideology touched the women in question at the core. Ibn Badis did not consider women who have been saints in Sufism due to their life achievements, not even the women who were fighting against colonialism at the beginning of the invasion as role models to Muslim women. Instead, he used names from the early Islam phase to give women an idea about who could be considered important and who is not and what sort of actions and characteristics are acceptable. An example made was Umm Harram who fought alongside her husband and died with him when Muslim troops were landing in Cyprus in 649 (Lazreg, 1994). The high moral characteristics that Ibn Badis was calling for as the only kind of achievement for women where they could be considered role models were "faith and sacrifice" (Lazreg, 1994, p. 85). Ibn Badis chose to use women to carry the burden of constructing the Islamic Algerian society through calling for women's traditional roles, but also calling for their education to be even more successful in their customary roles. The central aim of Ulama equated gender schooling was to build an "Arabo-Muslim society" that is sovereign and independent from the French ruling, calling for a collective identity (Ait Mous, et al., 2020).

4.2.2   Women in Public and Political Spaces

By the post-Second World War period in Algeria, parties and politicians across the political spectrum were debating "the women question" in articles, books, newspapers, conferences and public speeches. Their debates were mostly addressed issues of acculturation, frenchification and the attempts to keep so-called authentic Algeria based on Islam and traditional gender roles. This simplified Algerian women's lived realities and naturalised the highly politicised debates surrounding "the woman question". Algerian women's voices were largely absent from these debates, in contrast to Egypt and Tunisia. Huda Sha'rawi (a famous Egyptian feminist), for example, blamed Algerian women for not taking the first step to engage in debates about their rights and roles while offering help for them. It is important to note that most of the debates were conducted in written texts, in French or Arabic, which could not reach most of the illiterate women at that time (Lazreg, 1994; Vince, 2015; Ait Mous, et al., 2020).

The exclusion of women from political participation in the Algerian case, in contrast to Tunisia and Egypt, was not the result of the specificity of Algerian nationalism (which was no more inherently hostile to women than its Tunisian and Egyptian counterparts), but rather the result of the particular nature of the colonial regime in Algeria which created highly gendered spaces. Algeria, as a settler colony, was under particular political surveillance, and political meetings were often impossible to organise. Therefore political debate took place in spaces like cafes, weddings and shops which were mainly male oriented (or in the case of weddings, sex-segregated) and women did not have similar access to help them engage in political debates with men. A reflection of the repressive nature of the colonial system which narrowed the possibilities of manoeuvre and public existence for anti-colonial movements in Algeria is the fact that the first Algerian nationalist party (the North African Star, ENA) did not form in Algeria, but in mainland France, by the Algerian working class. Many of these Algerians were not married to Algerian women but French women, again explaining why Algerian women's political participation was limited (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 13). The majority of intellectuals at that time were men, which makes most of the writings about the women question in public spaces male oriented voices (Seferdjeli, 2012; Lazreg, 1994). In Lazreg's words, (1994), despite devoting columns for discussing the women question in the Algerian society, all writings were governed by men (Lazreg, 1994, p. 92). This is contradicting to the situation in Morocco, Tunisia and Egypt where women had a role in writing about their issues in national newspapers (Sadiqi, Nowaira and El Kholy, 2009).

However, Algerian women began to become visible from the 1950s onwards. At first, there were a very few women mainly from elite families with a French education, which allowed them to be able to read, understand and engage in debates about their own representation (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p.12). Some of these women had received a left-wing education, making them politically and socially aware of the different incidents happening in their country. Others came out of the 'ulama's schools. For example, the first Algerian women to write for a newspaper was the journalist Zhor Ounissi, writing articles for the 'ulama journal al-Basa'ir' from the 1950s onwards. She raised awareness about protecting women based on revisiting and reinterpreting the meaning of Islam and religious texts, which was presented as rediscovering their true meaning. Another visible woman was Mamia Chentouf, who was appointed leader of the Union of Muslim Women in Algeria, which was initiated in 1947 by the party the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD), linked to the Algerian People's Party (PPA). Mamia Chentouf, who was a university student, was also a midwife and from a wealthy rural family. The reason behind the establishment of this organization as a separate structure from other male organizations was largely due to unacceptance of co-activism between male and female activists. Nevertheless, such an establishment was due to "the [growing]

recognition that women mobilization was a key element in nation-building and societal development more broadly" (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 14).

To this effect, women started to participate in discussions and debates about their issues raising from their dress to their education, familial and social structures. However, they did not put these issues first but they were focussed on issues related to decolonization. They put their nationalism before their feminist identity as revolution and independence were seen to be the solution to all sorts of discrimination including gender discrimination and women marginalization in the Algerian society. More spaces and structures were opening for women in communist parties, which became increasingly "Algerianised" and willing to be included and fight in the Algerian revolution. Algerian women were moving from the private to the public political sphere despite that they were allocated mostly charitable and social work by the political parties and associations of which they were a part ('ulama and MTLD). This change of social order created more space for visibility and acceptability within the Algerian society. This encouraged women not only to fight colonialism but also their public space in the Algerian society. According to Vince, "For some women if not the majority, the anticolonial struggle was intimately entwined with the struggle for gender equality-they were intersectional activists before intersectionality." (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 16; Lazreg, 1994).

4.2.3   **Women as Combatants**

Algerian women were misinterpreted by feminists who considered women participation in the Algerian revolution to be imposed on them by men for their gains and to use them as objects for independence while deemed them forgotten after the war. Most of these feminists simplified their interpretations based on the situation of women under the war and fail to understand the complex structure of women participation (Lazreg, 1994, p. 118). Lazreg (1994) argues that the question of women after the independence is another concern that must be separate from their inclusion in the war. Such a representation does not consider the nexus that exists between nationalism and colonialism in Algerian culture and disposes the willingness and the agency of women in joining the war of independence (Lazreg, 1994, p. 118).

Women entered the nationalist movement for decolonization either by choice, depending on their family circumstances, or recruited by the FLN. At the time, women who chose to join found it hard, even if they had male relatives as members of the FLN as this was considered in some families as men's business and women should not get involved. For some women, their participation was obvious, for example, Lazreg (1994) gives the example of "Zohra" who stated that she was astonished by such claims because she considered the nationalist movement and the country to be

everyone's concern, with no boundaries based on age or gender. The reasons for these women behind joining the movement as summarised by Lazreg (1994) ranged from wanting to redress perceived injustices committed by the colonial order, perusing a family tradition of resistance and altruism, to giving meaning to one's life by playing a socially useful role and being part of an organization that requires that one rises above one's self (Lazreg, 1994, p. 123).

Women joined the anti-colonial struggle from different regions and social classes. They were of different ages and different family status, whether unmarried, married or with children (Lazreg, 1994; Ait Mous, et al., 2020; Vince, 2015). The politicization of both rural and urban women was different in nature (Vince, 2015; Ait Mous, et al., 2020). Most urban women were politicised through different organizations such as PCA and UFMA (Union des Femmes Musulmane d'Algerie) women unions or by joining them. They made up 20% of all Algerian women's participation in the war. While most rural women at the time were uneducated, most urban women who were involved in the war were French educated, either perusing high school education, graduated from it or working as nurses, financial accountants for the business of their family or administrative workers (Tripp, 2019; Ait Mous, et al., 2020; Lazreg, 1994).

On the other hand, rural women were politicised through the circumstances they faced as well as their strategic location (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 18). They form 77.9% of all Algerian women involved in the war and they were the most vulnerable and at the biggest risk, especially women who lived in strategic places in mountains where both their land was bombarded, and their relatives were killed by both the French and the FLN during their fight (literation) (Lazreg, 1994). They were the first women to participate in the war due to their location as the battlefield emerged in the countryside (Lazreg, 1994; Vince, 2015). They also played a huge role in spreading myths and stories about the Algerian revolution that spread to other parts of the country (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p.18). However, this percentage does not only illustrate the urbanization situation of Algeria at the time but also the fact that the countryside (rural areas) was the biggest location of battles (Lazreg, 1994).

Moudjahidat (the term used to address female fighters in Algeria, despite its religious origin, its use in the Algerian context is mainly nationalist) or female fighters were classified as either fidaiyat or military (Vince, 2015; Seferdjeli, 2012; Lazreg, 1994). The fidaiyat Moudjahidat were given tasks as planting bombs and transporting weapons, attacking police and traitors, and doing fundraising work. In addition to taking care of the purchase of all sorts of food and supplies for the good of the army (Sfaredjeli, 2012; Lazreg, 1994). On the other hand, Moudjahidat joining the army ALN (Armée de Liberation Ntional), were given similar uniforms to men and participated in aid services, like nursing and food preparation, communicating information (Lazreg, 1994). Consequently, many women started to be noticeable. For example, Mamia Chentouf, the leader of

the UMFA was involved in debates with the goal of "present[ing] the FLN as the sole viable representative of the Algerian people." (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 19).

Furthermore, French educated females also joined the war through different roles. For example, Zoulikha Bekaddour, for example was the leader of students' strike that took place on 1956 in support of the independence struggle. After 1956, many medical students joined the war as doctors; Nafissa Hammoud for instance, was among the first doctors to join the battlefield. Algerian female students' knowledge of the language and culture of the coloniser helped them in fulfilling military operations in French-dominated areas, especially those with "European features". They were recruited notably within the FLN's urban bomb network. Because of their French education and acculturation, they were able to go within the French unnoticed by the police whether for understanding their moves and tactics or performing attacks and assassinations without being recognised (Ait Mous, et al., 2020; Lazreg, 1994).

As a counter-propaganda to French attempts to acculturate girls to gain their support and access and win over the Algerian family, the FLN used women to support their agenda to be seen as the only representative of the Algerian population, through politicising women's participation. Urban women played a huge role in representing the FLN through participation in demonstrations as a priming strategy before debates about 'the Algerian questions" within the United Nations (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 19). The FLN used images of armed women with weapons in the FLN and even staged some others and spread them in the media as part of their propaganda war against the French (Lazreg, 1994; Ait Mous, et al., 2020). Vince (2015) reported stories of Algerian Moujahidat mediatisation whose photographs were taken for propaganda purposes. One example is Fadela Mesli, Safia Baazi and Meriem Belmihoub's photos, which were taken during combats in order to be used by the FLN to legitimize its power in front of the United Nations and conceptualize its fight to include all Algerian people, contradicting the French allegations about them to be a group of outlaws.

However, these photos were later used by the French press after being caught by the French army to represent these moujahidat as violent, killer nurses. The images conceptualised the broken gender roles in the Algerian society which made it harder to be accepted by the Algerian media which reported them to be Egyptian women rather than Algerians. However, these images worked positively in encouraging engagement of more men in the war due to the humiliation they felt because of the reversed gender roles, where women are self-sacrificing their lives outside the house while men are in their houses.

These politicised images created figures of women combatants who are not afraid of anything, who sacrifice their lives for their nations and who are symbols of resistance which made their shift to the public sphere accepted and respected both during the revolution and after independence.

The French coloniser responded to the FLN using psychological warfare, in many ways similar to what they had been doing for the previous hundred years. From 1955 onwards, they introduced new laws and reforms to win over Algerian women and consequently, they hoped, the whole community. Algerian women gained the right to vote in 1958 as French citizens and were given roles as deputies and ministers. Nafissa Sid Kara, Khedira Bouabsa and Rebiha Kebtani were the first women to become deputies after the French National Assembly elections in 1958, leading Nafisa Sid Kara to become the first Algerian woman to cover a minister role. Women presence in the French government doomed problematic to the FLN as it contradicted their appeal to women in gaining the Algerian population support. This is because, these women, in the case of Sid Kara for instance, "embodied the success of the [French] civilizing missions these women while she reached a powerful position and she was calling for women emancipation from cultural and religious ties" (Franklin, 2018, p. 36). The marriage law of 1959 brought women under French civil law that gave them the right to marry without guardian (Ait Mous, et al., 2020).

Nevertheless, women were aware of the ideological goal of France and most of them did not fall for it. Lazreg (1994) argues that one of the reasons for women to join the FLN and the battlefield is their education system that reflects the colonial social order which ignored their capabilities, limited them within their traditional gender roles and socially marginalised them. The most common types of FLN representation of women were as nurses or food suppliers, where very few were represented as engaging in the fight. These representations constructed the core values those women are held up for, which are mainly women as carers, self-sacrificing and in service of the nation which later on became the most important characteristics in gaining legitimacy in women political culture.

4.2.4   Women Undermined Representation

Furthermore, the 8 years of revolution period that started in 1954 and ended in 1962 brought a huge number of men and women who risked their lives in the war. However, the recorded number is misleading, especially those of women (Seferdjeli, 2004; Vince, 2015; Lazreg, 1994). The official figures are recorded as 326,586 of Algerian men joined the revolution where 48.90% of them died in the war (Ait Mous, et al., 2020; Seferdjeli, 2004). The recorded number of women is 10,949 as reported by the Ministry of War Veterans, while the death rate is 2.5% (Lazreg, 1994). Nevertheless, this number is far from reaching the actual number of women who participated in the war. This is due to four reasons according to Lazreg (1994); Seferdjeli (2012) and Vince (2015). Firstly, the number of those who participated in the war is recorded through a certificate of participation where they need to do paperwork as well as testimonies from those who worked with them in the group. Secondly, while this needs literacy, reading and writing skills, most women were illiterate which

made it impossible for them to register, especially women from rural areas (Lazreg, 1994). Thirdly, because of the administrative load where it was mainly male domain, most women did not register, especially those of rural areas (Seferdjeli, 2012). This is not to say that all men have been registered, and the number reported for them is representative, however, the fact that their literacy rate is higher than those of women and their need of this certificate for job applications, pensions and benefits made more men apply for the certificate then women (Lazreg, 1994; Seferdjeli, 2012). Fourthly, women who participated in the war through taking care of the injured and cooking were not all registered as only the leader was supposed to register which made the number smaller (Lazreg, 1994; Seferdjeli, 2012).

Despite the tremendous work of women in the war as a key to its success and without undermining their role as they were in a similar risk to men the roles they were given were based on the traditional gender roles where the position of power and responsibility are held by men while women were following commands. Women faced segregation from FLN and ALN leaders through reducing their contribution and capacities to soft bodies that cannot handle pressure and armed combats. Nevertheless, despite their segregation, the lived experiences and the shifting of gender roles which took place during the course of the war meant that women challenged the traditional roles within the Algerian culture at the time (Lazreg, 1994).

4.3   Gendered political Culture of Post-independence Algeria

The post-independence era has seen multiple changes and political dimensions. It is the era where gender relations were (re-)defined and women role in public and political sphere was demarcated. Despite of the significance of colonialism in the Algerian history and its present and future multidimensional legacies, it is not by any means presumed to be the sole reason of gender inequality in Algeria. The act of colonialism and the practices of the coloniser and the colonised which emerged in the colonial context helped in both creating and maintaining gender hierarchies and particular understandings of gender roles in the Algerian society. They contributed to ideologizing and politicising women, silencing their voices but putting their bodies and images in the service of an agenda as well as creating the foundation to give a significant role to religion in the political policies and discourses of modern-day Algeria. (Lazreg, 1994, p .2) The Algerian revolution brought huge change to gender roles. In 1962, it was also thought by some that it had brought a new perspective to the roles women played in Algeria. However, decolonization was not the solution to all inequalities as women thought.

Ben Bella and Boumediene's era were known to be mainly a progressive era where women were appointed as deputies and were urged repeatedly to not adhere to the restrictions of the veil

and be active members of society. The heroic contribution of Algerian women in the war was widely celebrated officially and their significance in public and political domains were recognised. The new government provided veteran women with 10 parliamentary seats out of 192 in the Constituent Assembly (9 Algerians and one from a European origin) where one of them, Fatima Khemisti, launched the first effective draft to enhance women's status right after the independence to protect female's education by raising the age of legal marriage for girls to 16 (the draft demanded the age of 19) and for boys to 18 years old. This law was named after her, the "Khemisti law". Moreover, many of these women deputies were against the 1963 nationality code that allowed only men to pass their nationality to their children while women were not given the right to do so. Despite that, women's political participation was limited (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 25, Tripp, 2019, p. 197). Algerian women were also active in the student union that was pressurised to be under the government's control. Algerian female students were active participants since 1960 and had to undertake huge resistance from various groups. However, after the government banned the union in 1970, women still played an active role as "volontariat" who tried to explain the Agrarian revolution to the urban population (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 26).

4.3.1   Women as Combatants in Popular Culture

Algerian moujahidat have been seen as political symbols that hold political legitimacy because of their notable contribution to the revolution and the post-independence state's eventual recognition of their contribution. Their resistance and self-sacrifice for the sake of the nation building were valued characteristics that made them very important figures in the Algerian political system (Vince, 2015, Ait Mous, et al., 2020, Tripp, 2019). In the first years of independence, famous Moujahidat, such as Djamila Bouhired and Djamila Boupacha, were repeatedly called upon by the government to represent it in various national and international events. Algerian Moujahidat were not celebrated only in Algeria but across the Arab and Muslim world, for instance Djamila Bouhired who led a convoy to the Middle East along with another war veteran, Zohra Drif, to raise funds for the Algerian War Orphan's Organisation, was met with great enthusiasm from the officials in Kuwait, UAE, Egypt, Syria, Tunisia and Morocco, which was highly appreciated in Algeria. These Moudjahidat wanted to be active players in the Algerian political and public fields and tried to use the legitimacy they gained both in the war and after to muster support for causes they cared about. For example, Djamila Bouhired requested that president Houari Boumediene send her to fight in the Vietnam War; several women joined her in requesting they be allowed to fight in Palestine in the Arab War against Israel (Vince, 2015, p. 57-8).

Despite Boumediene's discourse on the women question and his recognition of women moujadidat and women role in the public space, women themselves were meant to stick to

predefined roles in the service of the state. The government created the Union Nationale des Femmes Algerienne (UNFA) in 1963 which limited their contribution to one subject only which is women's issues. Some of the moudjahidat publicly disagreed with being branded as advocates of women issues and were adamant that they were sexless citizens who want to serve all Algerians, far from any political and social confinement that determines their roles based on gender. Many did not agree with the way they were used for the government's social and political gains and decided either to withdraw from political life or to act against the government through support of public demonstrations not until 1984 against the family code and most recently in Al hirak. Furthermore, the lack of support from Moudjahidat for the UNFA resulted in loss of legitimacy of the organisation among Algerian women and therefore hindered its efforts significantly. The Moudjahidat continued their fight against inequality and the family code and succeeded in giving those causes the legitimacy they needed in the public eye. Thirty prominent Moujahidat known nationally and internationally were among 500 young feminists demonstrating against a draft bill for the Family code in 1981 and calling for its abolition, using their status as war veterans for the first time. They also called for gender equality in job positions through a letter they wrote to President Benjdid at the time. With the rise of the civil war, high profile female veterans were mostly the head of women organizations and activist practices; their existence was important in legitimizing these organizations and causes (Tripp, 2019, p. 198-9). They supported several causes throughout the last three decades and still do to this day since they came once more and gave a sense of legitimacy to the nation-wide peaceful demonstrations against Bouteflika and the system in 2019, and were once more the heroes of the Hirak. Photos of Djamila Bouhired, Louisette Ighilahriz and Zahra Drif were among the most trending in social media and succeeded to give and legitimize the voice of the unvoiced. They are considered to have historical and therefore political legitimacy without being tainted by post-independence politics. Their legitimacy stems from largely not having played a role in public life. However, this raises questions about how do a younger generation of politicians acquire legitimacy if they are too young to be veterans. The recognition these moujahidat had from the public is mainly due to their practices as war veterans and the core characteristics they hold. These are, mainly, self-sacrifice, resistance and being in the service of the nation. Such characteristics are doomed important in the gendered political culture where young female politicians are held up against. However, the situation is even harder for female politicians due to the corrupted political situation in Algeria.

4.3.2 **Deligitimization of Algerian Political Culture**

The Algerian political system has seen tremendous shift since independence from the French empire in 1962. The internal fight for power started even before independence with many active fractions trying to claim power and become the ruler of the soon-to-be independent Algeria. The

official narrative in Algeria paints a collective memory of continuous struggle and militarised fight against the coloniser since 1830; however, the historical facts are complicated and suggest a degree of simplification in the official memory of Algerian struggle. The liberation revolution (1954-1962) marked the forming of modern Algeria, and the many parties involved in the war from the Algerian side, although they were under the FLN umbrella, did not all agree on the same way to lead Algeria after independence. This was characterised by the conflicts that arose among the Moudjahidin and led ultimately to the military coup that saw Houari Boumediene take the reins of government from Ben Bella in June 1965.

Bashir Al Ibrahimi, one of the most prolific men in the Algerian Ulema Association and its leader for several years, has contacted Ben Bella in a letter made public arguing that the country should follow the Islamic ritual of Shura (consultation). He insisted that policies should be collective decisions rather than drawing policies based on "foreign doctrines" that do not help the construction of a true democracy in the light of the Islamic world (Evans and Phillips, 2007, p. 77).

The government did not adhere to these calls and rather continued on its path that eventually led to a decade of bloodshed. The Islamist movement in Algeria could be traced back to Cheikh Abdellatif Soltani (1902) who was initially formed by the Algerian Ulema Association in Constantine. However, it was his links to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the values and principles he sported that pushed him to fully rely on ancient texts and archives heavily linked to the time of Prophet Mohamed (peace be upon him). Although he expressed concerns and suspicions about the legitimacy of the FLN before and during the war of independence, it did not stop him from forming an alliance with the same party in 1956 in search for legitimacy. Such an alliance has meant that his actions and religious thinking have gained a new sense of religious legitimacy, which in turn granted him a sense of authority. However, this did not last very long as the alliance broke off soon after the independence with Cheikh Soltani deeming the country to be "too socialist, too secularist and too western" (Evans and Phillips, 2007, p. 6).

The FLN leaders and the regime as a whole was much more focused on the national identity aspect and was pushing the narrative of similar Arab countries at the time that wanted to create one big strong Arab presence. The focus was veered towards the Arabisation of the country much more than the Islamisation. Islam was used as a symbol or a slogan to the post-independence reforms. Ben Bella wanted religion to be in the service of the state, not vice versa. The Islamisation wave that challenged the country's leaders at the time was led by public figures such as Abbassi Madani and Sheikh Soltani who introduced the Al-Qiyam association in 1963 that acted as an opposing force to the government and described the military regime as lacking the moral values and an internal threat to society since its leaders continue to have western values and practices such as "the continued

sale of cigarettes and alcohol, as well as the prominent presence of women on the military parades of 1 November 1965, dressed in Soltani's opinion, in scandalous fashion," " (Evans and Phillips, 2007, p. 6).

The association that became a movement continued to call for independence from any western ties or western influence in Algeria. Soltani saw real independence as not merely physical through breaking free from the French troops but as a jihad that frees Algeria from the cultural shackles implemented by France and moves it closer to the Islamic values he and many followers saw as the truth to ultimately achieve a true Islamic nation. This ideology was the driver that served as the backbone for the Islamic movement during the 80s and 90s and the reason for the changing political culture and the (re)construction of politicised Islamic values.

Boumediene's period of reign was characterised by a sort of an equilibrium that he managed to execute with significant skill. First, he ruled with an iron fist, enforcing the role of military and the discipline and hierarchy that comes with it through emphasising the role the ALN had in the war of independence and the enforcement of the military powers that delineate a clear hierarchy exemplified by the parades he sported after his ascend to power. Second, in order to legitimise the military political system, all earlier political attempts to attack the colonial regime were dismissed. Boumedienne also shows compromises with with opposing groups through the integration of all old wilaya leaders into the system to mitigate any negative effect, or threat they might have on the system. This presented the politico-military system to be build on accomodations and compromises which helped in delegitimizing Algerian politics and facing future istability. In his nation building, Boumediene promised the Algerian people with a better future mainly economically.

Boumediene set and enforced a host of new measures to ensure the re-building of Algeria on the national and international level; measures such as Arabization and education policies to minimise the illiteracy rates in Algeria, the nationalisation of resources and the agricultural revolution to maximise the use of Algerian resources (McDougall, 2017a; Evans and Phillips, 2007).

The most important aspect in Boumediene's character that Algerians know him for is the aspect of "Redjla" and nif, because male dignity is very important in the Algerian society. Boumediene, their new leader, sought to return their dignity, especially through his foreign policy that avoided "toadying to the west" (Evans and Phillips, 2007, 83). Boumediene was seen to hold higher standards of masculinity that came to haunt the next generation of presidents and to confine the political culture to male masculine characteristics, which excludes not only men who do not adhere to it but entails a near complete exclusion of women.

The selective memory on Boumediene's political character and achievements in comparison with the respective presidents, created a macho political culture where his characteristics where the ultimate political model that other politicians should follow. The pride Algerian felt in having such a leader that returned a positive self-image not only among themselves after 132 years of colonialism but also respect among the whole world. The continuous rise of educational level and job opportunities, the decreased level of poverty and the country's achievements as a developing country have all been characteristics of the stabilized system of Boumediene's government. Despite the restricted political rights, Algerians were comfortable with the situation due to the economic and social stability and security. This was a huge factor in legitimizing his candidacy and consequently his political system (Evans and Phillips, 2007, p. 98-9)

The appointment of Chadli as the new president of the republic in 1979 was the start of a period of hardship for the Algerian people. The measures taken by his predecessor did not do him any favours as the economic situation deteriorated rapidly. Unlike Boumediene, Chadli's image in the minds of Algerians was not as appealing as that of Boumediene. This was not only determined by the way he dealt with the hardships he inherited from Boumediene's regime but was mainly reliant on his character which was seen by the general public as "weak and effete" in comparison to Boumediene's "tough and upright" character. (Evans and Phillips, 2007, p. 103). Chadli's reign was characterized by the sheer number of jokes as was seen and portrayed as an easily manipulated, weak and lacks character, which made him polar opposite of his precedent Boumediene. His manipulation comes in three forms, first of which those in power, especially the military. He was seen as a caretaker for a period of time then will be disposed after finishing his mission. The second form of manipulation is corruption by his son that was said to exploit the system to gain huge amounts of money, which made Chadli corrupted and dishonorable, opposite to Boumediene who was respected for his anti-corruption and modest lifestyle. The third form of corruption is his wife Halima who was present in many chants and slogans coined by the Algerian people to mock and slate his candidacy. Halima, being the first First Lady of independent Algeria was attending regular events with her husband at the national and international level and was portrayed as the power holder in their relation and a great influence on the president's political choices and decisions (Evans and Phillips, Dorsey, 2017). Accordingly, Chadli was seen as less masculine and lacking "Redjla" to the point where he was under his wife's thumb. Within a conservative Algerian society and a hyper masculine culture where men are seen as the head of the household, this was considered a social loss (3ayb) that deceased his legitimacy and humiliated the Algerian people.

Unlike other Arabic countries, the first lady is a non-existent role in Algeria. In the history of Algeria, there was only one president wife that held the position of a first lady and that was Halima, Chadli's wife. There was not even any presence to presidential candidates' wives to support their

husbands during campaigns. Benbella, for instance was not married during his candidacy but married after being overthrown in the coup from Zehra Sellami. Anissa Boumediene did join her husband in some international invitations but did not officially gain the first lady title; she still plays a role in the public life though. Fatiha Boudiaf did not make any public appearance with her husband until his death where she never stopped looking into the theories of her husband death while Zeroual never mentioned or presented his family and children to the public.

However, in the case of Bouteflika, there is a huge debate and big question about who Bouteflika's wife is. This is mainly because in the Algerian constitution; the president has to be married where there was no public appearance nor mention of his wife at all. His marital and personal life is considered a taboo in Algeria. The only time when he mentioned that he was unmarried is when asked on a live interview in a Lebanese program about his marital status. His single life created a protocol problem when the French President Jacques Chirac visited Algeria in 2003 with his wife. The government had to choose a female minister to accompany Chirac's wife at the time. The mystery surrounding his marital status and life was not considered very problematic to Algerians due to the cultural expectation of the non-existing role of a first lady.

The concept of 'Horma' in Algeria has had a great impact on the way Chadli's wife was portrayed, since people did not like the way his wife was taking centre stage in her every public appearance and that she should have known better not to be in the limelight when it is not her place to be. It was also one of the main reasons, first lady role is lacking in Algeria. According to Mohammed Dakhouch, a lecturer in Political Sciences, the concept of first lady is missing in Algeria because "the matter has to do with social traditions and the psychology of Algerian society, which still hitherto rejects the woman's prominence in the political scene. He added: "We must remember that when the late President BenJadid deviated from his predecessors Boumediene and Ben Bella on the issue of the president's wife presence in the political scene, and his wife Halima received an important amount of attention, the reaction of feeling to the Algerians was booing." (Translation as cited in Lahiani, 2014). Accordingly, the hyper-masculine cultural expectations affected women visibility in this role. Another very important factor is the corrupted situation of politics where politicians in Algeria are seen to be lacking legitimacy, which makes their wives even less legitimate to be seen at all, let alone be accepted as first ladies. This is further explained through the expert opinion of Bourouina, Bouteflika's campaign member, when asked about the reason other presidential candidates' wives are not publicly supporting their husbands. He stated: "When we reach the stage of debating ideas and programs, and the candidate feels them as a daily act and practice, then his wife can accompany him "(my translation as cited in Lahiani, 2014). The legitimacy of Algerian politics and politicians could also be the reason Algerians do not consider the role of first ladies to be legitimate since women are not elected for it or appointed due to their credibility. In a

political culture where women legitimacy is a controversial dilemma in elected positions and their public perception of their appropriateness is measured by particular characteristics like self-sacrifice in the service of nation and resistance, women are asked to be authentic before speaking with legitimacy.

4.3.3   Embodying Modernity and Tradition

Women's participation in the Algerian revolution created the best circumstances to encourage their engagement in the social, public and political affairs of their country and leave behind years of marginalization and inequality. However, the demographic expansion after the independence brought a wave of "moral panic" among Algerians in the late 60s and 70s (Vince, 2015, p. 141). The new generation that did not participate in the war created a new young culture that does not align with the morals of the previous generations and created discrepancies to the Algerian society. The frustration of the Algerian society was illustrated in different newspaper editorials, debates and bills presented by the national assembly. Youth were seen as irresponsible, unconcerned with nation building and more interested in alcohol, drugs, music and dancing the twist (Vince, 2015, p. 141; Evans and Phillips, 2007). The crisis was apparent, and it was a crisis of identity primarily, since it meant that many Algerians were not sure what kind of society they are. After so long under the French colonisation, Algerians had to ask themselves a tough question, "Who are they?" However, as no nation can really define "who they are", since all peoples are heterogeneous, this question is often used as a pretext to make statements about "who would they like to be?" or "who should they be"? Which are often very dogmatic. The stated Algerian identity of an Arab Muslim country was a collective and an official identity, approved by the government, but it leaves the door very open when it comes to understanding the individual identity and how it is different and/or linked to the collective identity. The country is often presented as divided into two major groups, progressives, who believed that traditions, culture and religion were corrupted by colonialism and are not comprehensive enough to ensure a better future for Algeria, while the conservatives believed progressives to be westernised followers who do not understand the importance of authenticity and modernists who do not value traditions. "Authenticity" was used by both parties as a rhetorical in the hope of gaining a monopoly over the opponent. The debate was once more a debate between progressives and conservatives to establish whether tradition and religion are the only moral values that should be considered or if a new collective understanding of society needs to be considered. The debate ceased to be about what is conservative and what is progressive and moved into an attempt at establishing a definition for authenticity and how this definition could be used for the benefit of one group over the other (Vince, 2015, p. 45-7). Accordingly, the fight for "authenticity" and against

"depersonalization" were noticeable themes within 1960s and 1970s political speeches, and women were supposed to be protected from anything that would touch their identity as Algerian women

The focus on the economic and agrarian revolution taking place in Algeria, in the late 60s and 70s required women to be active workers in the field along with men, and that is what Ben Bella and Boumediene requested from the public. In their speeches, both President Ben Bella and Houari Boumediene emphasised the role that women need to play in modern Algeria, in the face of the new challenges, and in part as the face of overcoming these new challenges. Both presidents urged Algerians not to keep their women at home anymore, because gone are the days of the coloniser, there was no need for fear about women. They asserted that women were safe physically and are safe from male intentions, even without their veils, because the focus is not on women and how they dress anymore; it is not the veil that makes people respect women, it is what is in their hearts. Algerians were urged to neglect superficial matters and engage in the revolution at hand and how to build the country and raise productivity. In contrast to Benbella, despite Boumediennee's secularist approach, he was more attached to Arabo islmanic values where he managed to appeal to Islamists lobby through 1975 new proposed charter by adhering to some of their demands. A ban on gambling, an introduction of an Islamic weekend and a statement of approval that Islam is the religion of the state were introduced into the charter and later into the constitution (Evans and Phillips, 2007, 96). In his speeches women were asked to engage in the public life but conditioned with adherence to Arabo Islamist cultural norms.

However, within deep Algeria, the reason that women were not included in the public life and were not heavily present outside of the house was mainly cultural and traditional. Furthermore, according to Zhor Zerari, one of the first female journalists in Algeria, when asked about the place of women in the public sphere, she claimed that the debate about women was translated in society into tangible questions that discuss women's physical and moral safety, sense of belonging and social change. Despite the repeated calls for women to embody modernity, the government speeches, laws and the state-controlled press left them confined to the traditions of society. Women were expected to abide by the Arab-Muslim socialist society rules that govern how they should dress, their limits in terms of public involvement and even who they should marry and what organizations they are allowed to belong to. (Vince, 2015, p. 43-9).

The United Nations success in passing 1979 Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women and its announcement of 1975 to 1985 to be "the decade of women" created debates among Algerian women (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 27). Nevertheless, the 1980s was a difficult time for Algerian women as the system was consolidating against their rights and there was a move into more conservative, religious direction.

The Islamist movement continued to grow and gain more supporters, especially after Soltani, Madani and Sahnoune introduced to more than 1000 Algerian students a customised charter that declares Algeria an Islamic State where sale of cigarettes and alcohol were banned and women were expected to stop their studies before secondary and higher education. However, the government grew wary of them and decided to imprison Madani and rule that Solani and Sahnoune must stay under house arrest. The leaders of the Islamist movement were later released and their trial called off as a form of "incorporation and accommodation". To Islamists, this was a win since it implied that they would not be stopped by the government. The movement kept growing and by the time Chadli came to be president it became very hard not to notice it and its popularity almost overpowering. This was further asserted and exemplified after Sheikh Soltani's death where an estimated 25000 people attended his funeral mourning his death and the loss of a leader. Chadli characteristically did not fight the movement but insured to appeal to the Islamist agenda and to "appropriate religious arguments" (Evans and Phillips, 2007, p. 126).

In 1980, a ban to female students against traveling without a male guardian was established. Less than a year after, the government launched the first Family Code as a pilot document to test the public reaction. The issue raised a serious concern among Algerian women that their rights of citizenship were privileges the government could revoke at any time. They were presented as "second-class" citizens, in opposition to the principle of equality between the sexes that was clearly stated in the Algerian Constitution of 1962 and the universal principles established by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in which Algeria is a participant (Bouatta, and Cherifati-Merabtine, 1994; Hayef 1995; Moghadem, 2010; Salhi, 2003; Marzouki, 2010). As a result, women started to organise and they demonstrated against the code. The government succeeded getting a more conservative Family code voted into law by the National Assembly in 1984 (Salhi, 2003; Turshen, 2002; Marzouki, 2010).

The code was very patriarchal in nature and misogynistic, severely minimizing women's role in society. It included:

a.   Women were no longer seen as autonomous individuals, but guardians of kin. Specifically, they were considered as procreators of the Muslim population. They give birth to children, must breastfeed them and give them their ultimate care but they have no right in their education, no right to pass their name, citizenship or religion to them. In addition, their marriage to a foreigner automatically meant their loss of citizenship.

b.   Women must obey their husbands and serve their families (Article 39).

c.   Women cannot divorce their husbands while the husbands could divorce them at any time, even without a good reason. The only way wives could divorce them is by applying a Kol'a application where women must pay their husbands money to divorce them (Article 54).

d.   Polygamy is approved as man's right. He is allowed to marry four women in total. (Article 8).

e.   Men have the right to refuse that their ex-wives stay in the family home (article 39).

 (Lazreg, 1990; Messaoudi and Schemla, 1998, p. 53; Salhi, 2003)

Women were targeted by Islamists whose strength was growing in the country and they were also betrayed by the government. Their rights were cast aside for what was seen as a greater goal of building the nation. Mari Tripp (2019) reported an Algerian activist comment on the situation at the time: "Today I think that some currents in the government can hide behind the Islamists to say: 'it's not us, its public opinion!' But even if elements in the government were not responsible for such views, there were few efforts at the time to change public opinion" (p. 200).

The government move from the monopoly system to the multiparty system was necessary, as it opened the door for multiple political parties and organizations, but brought heavy consequences to the government. The FIS party gained great contribution and popularity. Women joined the FIS too. As reported in Vince (2020), 800,000 out of two million party members were women. Famous educated veterans and feminists were not among the women who joined the FIS. Most of these women in the FIS belonged to a new generation than those who struggled in and resisted in the war. They were aged between 18 and 40 years old, mainly women with Islamic studies background or young female students and housewives. (p. 29). FIS women were active participants in December 1991. They held demonstrations in the streets of Algiers to keep the family code. Other women were among the first to demonstrate against the FIS and call for the election's cancellation as they notably considered the right of husbands to cast proxy votes for their wives as undermining women's right to express their democratic opinion. The FIS conservative religious orientation considered women rights a threat. The leader of FIS Abassi Medani during an interview in 1989 with Agence France Presse considered them to be "the greatest dangers threatening the destiny of Algeria" (Bennoune, 1997, p. 44). Another leader of FIS Ali Belhaj used the economic conflict in Algeria to his advantage to control women mobilisation and return them to the private sphere by ideologically blaming women's access to the public sphere to be the reason of unemployment and the prominent factor in the obliteration of the Algerian family as their work led them to ignore their children moral education. These representations are mainly linked to ideologies of Authenticity and women as embodiments of the

nation, where their most important role is to build the Algerian family in accordance with moral values while any other roles that contradict with this goal are doomed unacceptable.

4.3.4   **Women as Victims and "The Saviour of Women"**

During the civil violence of the 1990s, many forms of violence were exerted on women by armed Islamists. This was mainly against women who did not adhere to their Islamist rulings, mostly the veil. Acid attacks, raping, kidnapping, imposed marriages to Islamists in the mountains and killing were daily realities of women. As a consequence, a new form of women's activism emerged. The most effective one was outside Algeria that took an international level. Algerian educated immigrants documented the situation through their writing and used it as a campaign against any and every sort of violence. Others were part of organizations against women's discrimination and marginalization and violence against women such as Women Living under Muslim Laws and the Maghreb Equality Collective 95 (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 29). The multiparty system allowed the creation of some women's organizations inside Algeria, among them the Association of the Emancipation of Women, the Association for Defense and Promotion of Women's Rights and the Association for Equality before the Law between Women and Men. However, it was not necessarily about the situation of women per se, even though they campaigned to stop violence against children and women, but it was also against the FIS laws and practices and the state "disappearance" of male relatives (Tripp, 2019, p. 201).

Images of women as victims were among the most iconic images of the war of violence at the international level whether in sorrow and pain, killed or missing. However, there was one very famous image that succeeded to reach the international stage, gain recognition and even win the World Press Photography Award in 1997 for its depiction of the hidden violence happening in Algeria. La Madone de Benthala [The Madonna of Benthala] a photograph taken by Hocine Zaourar, also known as La Pietá d'Alger [The Pieta of Algiers], was the international window to Algerian violence (See Appendix A). Zaourar, an Algerian Agence France-Presse photographer, took a photo of a woman in pain next to a hospital in Bentelha the morning after a massacre took lives of 100 to 300 civilians in the village. The photo was in the front pages of more than 750 international newspapers where it "has become an icon" of "the invisible war" as a French historian, Stora (2001) calls it. (As cited in Flood, 2017, p. 115)

The image of the woman who looked between 30 and 40 years old with her eyes and features filled with sorrow and pain appealed to the international community more than nationally. It was one of a number of gendered depictions of women's victimization in the war but it was by far the most popular. This is because it aligned with the Christian iconography of suffering in the European

culture and the non-western depiction of women's victimization and passivation. Rumours took place in imagining the context of women suffering by integrating stories about death of her eight sons to exemplify the western understanding of oriental, Arabic, Muslim women passivism despite the fact that this woman did not have any children. (Flood, 2017, p. 115-8)

Regardless of the significance of this image in calling international attention to the violence in Algeria, the representation of women as passive victims ignores the active role and the resistance played by women at the time, from the recognition of the threat of Islamists long before the civil war began to the demonstrations against the "disappeared" relatives and calling for greater women's presence in the public sphere. However, with the targeted assassinations and death threats that feminists and women activists faced, the number of registered women's organizations decreased from thirteen to only three by the end of the decade. (Tripp, 2019, p. 207).

With the gendered construction of the violence in the Algerian civil war and the international recognition of the violation of human and women's rights, the Algerian politico-military system used the situation to retain its power. The similarity in the government and women activists' objectives against the Islamist control allowed the government to take advantage of the situation and present itself as the saviour of women both nationally and internationally in a move to legitimize its politico-military system. At the international level, the government signed up the 1996 Convention against all forms of violence against women, while it emphasized gender equality in its 1996 constitution amendments. The state has also used the symbolic representation of women as targets and victims of the Islamism threat to give the image of the Algerian state as the best defender of women's rights (Ait Mous, et al., 2020, p. 30).

In the 1999 presidential elections, Abdelaziz Bouteflika was accompanied by Khalida Toumi, one of the controversial Algerian feminists calling for secularism who had been threatened by death by the FIS. He made her Minister for Culture. It was the first sign of state feminism, a move to gain women's support as their last safeguard and restorer of women rights and ultimately legitimize the new government. Soon after that, the first female provincial governor was appointed as well as the first two female presiding judges. By 2001, the percentage of female judges increased to 34%. Prime ministers have also included women ministers and secretaries of state in their government. Successive governments of both Ahmed Ouyahia and Ali Benflis for example from 2000 to 2006 increased the number of women in the cabinet to 25% (Dris-Ait-Hamadouche and Zoubir, 2007; Tripp, 2019). While 2014 Bouteflika's government included 30% of female cabinet members which was the highest number at that time in North African and Middle Eastern countries (see appendix B for periods of each government, the acting prime minister at the time and the female ministers and deputy ministers). The number of women and their ranks in military and police was also increasing.

The first women general and the first head of the Algerian police academy were both appointed in 2009 (Tripp, 2019, p. 216)

In February 2005, reforms to the 1984 Family code took place notably in relation to divorce, custody and polygamy, after pressure from women organizations. Many feminists considered the changes insufficient and called for more. Bouteflika in return replied to feminists and activists "Do not demand more", mainly due to the pressure by the Islamists as the amnesty Charter for Peace and National Reconciliation which was signed the same year. Others like the Workers Party (PT), and Socialist Forces Front (FFS) called for its complete abolition. It is worth mentioning here that the workers party leader is Louiza hanoune, who is the first female to run a party in Algeria and to run for presidential elections of 2004, 2009, and 2014 not only within Algeria but within the Arab World. She gained popularity in the political arena and the public domain through her opposing views to the government. Within the same year, the nationality code was modified whereby it recognized equality between sexes. (Gribaa, 2009; Marzouki, 2010; Al Shater, 2013).

Despite government recognition of women's rights and new laws, the application of these laws is debatable especially due to Algerian culture and what is perceived to be acceptable or unacceptable in the Algerian society. The sexual harassment law, for instance, encountered a huge debate in 2015 between traditionalists and progressivists but succeeded to pass as law in 2016. Its application, however, remains limited and stigmatized.

The number of women in parliament was very low since its initiation in 1996 ranging from 3.2% in December 1997 to 8% in December 2011 (World Classification, 2020). Experiences of different countries around the globe using the quota system, which is considered the most successful method so far in bringing more women to the political arena, led the Algerian government to adopt it during the constitutional amendment of 2008. Lalami (2012) argued that the government adoption of the quota scheme was a reaction to the pressure from international humanitarian and gender equality bodies to polish its facade at the international level and to respond to feminists and women organizations (as cited in Tripp, 2019, p. 218). However, the government claimed the initiative to be a reflection of their commitment to women's empowerment through reinforcing women's political participation. The number of women seats was decided to be divided as follows:

a. Nation's Council Elections

Women are allocated 30% when the number of seats is 35, 39, 43 and 47, and 35% when the number is 51 to 55 seats.

b. People's National Assembly

Women are allocated 20% when the number of seats is equal to four seats, 30% when equal to or more than five seats, 35% when equal to or more than fourteen seats, and 40% when equal to or more than thirty-two seats.

To reinforcement this new rule, the government has promised the different parties financial help in parallel with the number of female candidates. It has also declared that incompatible lists will be rejected, and a female candidate's withdrawal from the elections requires a new candidate of the same sex to match the representational proportion criteria (Al Shater, 2013). Consequently, Algeria was ranked 26st in the world in 2012 in terms of women political participation.

International women's day in 2015 came to be one of the most symbolic representations of state feminism and the Algerian state's attempt to present itself as a supporter of women rights. AbdelAziz Bouteflika invited 21 women from political and public services, including the Minister for National Solidarity Family and the Status of Women, to his residence in Zeralda to discuss the government's continuous support for women's rights and promising further changes to the Family code to overcome shortcomings mostly in relation to divorce issues. A photo was taken at the end of the meeting with women holding red and white roses bouquets surrounding Bouteflika, sitting in a chair in the middle (see Appendix A). This photo became a ritual in subsequent International women's days where despite the absence of Bouteflika from public eye due to his illness, he considered it to be "an essential meeting" that he would not miss. The symbolic meaning presented to the world was clear to everyone. The unveiled women, except for one, holding the flowers are symbols of the nation while women played a key role in the war of independence. The government is there to support them in gaining their rights as they are important for building economic, social security in the country (Tripp, 2019, p. 92)

4.3.5   Algerian Contemporary Political System

Although many Algerians who opposed the Government's policies and general political framework in Bomediene's time have been silenced one way or another, a majority of people have been able to voice their dismay at Chadli, his regime and the respective governments that followed. Starting at the allegations of corruption against Chadli's son, which further damaged the president's image in the eyes of the public. The loss of trust in the respective Algerian governments comes as a direct result of years of disappointment at corrupted practices that plagued the country from the smallest governmental offices to the president's office (Evans and Phillips, 2007). Algerians came to believe that politics and elections that bring forth corrupt politicians do not interest them in the slightest because they were certain it would not change their livelihood to the better, rather hinder their way of life, where nepotism, money laundering, business and forgery became the norm of

Algerian elections and politics (Arab Barometer Project Survey, 2019). Many have also believed that the military is behind hand-picking every president in the country since its inception and that would not change through election. This is further established by the implied confession of president Bouteflika who was asked during his first term of presidency whether he agreed that the Army had had a hand in appointing him as president, to which he replied that all presidents had been backed by the Army. For many Algerians, democracy is a far-fetched concept, one that is not related merely to political fairness and equal elections but it is much more complex and affects their livelihoods primarily (McDougall, 2017a).

Bouteflika's presidency was the longest and perhaps the most corrupt; many people in his entourage were accused of corruption and many of his chosen ministers were allegedly stealing the government's money and embezzling currency out of Algeria. The situation of the parliament was not better, as most of parliamentarians faced scandals of running for amnesty and the pay wage. Nepotism was also common among both male and female parliamentarians. However, one of the main forms of corruptions in his period of governance was the constant amendments to the constitution. The constitution was amended several times to suit Bouteflika's needs by extending his candidacy which was supposed to be limited to two terms into continuous terms (McDougall, 2017b). The Algerian public had enough by the end of 2010, early 2011 and went out in multiple demonstrations urging the president to "dégage" meaning to get out of the presidency, but before that there had been many isolated cases of people trying and some succeeding in burning themselves partially or fully as a very desperate form of demonstration similar to many cases in countries like Tunisia and Egypt. Not long after these demonstrations, Bouteflika stated in a speech that he had done his bidding and that it was time for a more youthful Algeria to receive the torch and move forward stating that he "tab jnanou" meaning that he had done his time and that he was no longer viable to serve. However, it seems that the "tab jnanou" generation and his close circle did not agree and did not want him to forego his presidency and indeed kept him in there for seven more years before he was overthrown by the people in April 2019 in mass peaceful demonstrations after his allies attempted to keep him president for a fifth term. It is worth noting that Bouteflika's last public speech was in the year 2012, after which he fell ill and made very rare public appearances, mostly with women leaders in international women day (Rahal, 2017, Tripp, 2019). Understanding the dynamics by which Algerian politics run and the public attitude toward corruption practices is very significant to this research as it helps in understanding how these are transferred into representation and public perception of women in politics.

4.4   Conclusion

Both colonial and native ideological practices in relation to gender roles laid the circumstances to arisen Algerian women combatants that succeeded to become national and international figures within post independent Algeria, representing resistance in other colonised nations. However, Algerian political system corruption as well as the economic struggle inherited from Boumediene's nation building mission created best means for conservative religious leaders to attract the public and effect their perception of Algerian national identity. This forced the government to align with their demands which resulted in gaining more public support and winning the first round of elections in 1991 that resulted in a bloody war between the Islamists and the government, where the sole victim was the Algerian civilian public. Within this equation and struggle between progressives and conservatives, similar to the colonialism period, women have been the bearers of the nation and they have been called to embody both modernity and tradition to achieve authenticity. In other words the colonialism was not the end of women suffering and the abolition of traditional gender roles and stereotypes but it was the era where discourses governing women dress, attitude, the organizations they belong too, the type of public jobs they can fill and everything in relation to their appearances and practices were discussed and dictated on them. Accordingly, because women are held up to higher standards of authenticity then men, women had a hard time being accepted as public figures, and historically have been only a window to male politicians' discourses and practices. They are expected to adhere to a level of morality that encapsulates them as the authentic Algerians while anyone who does not fit within that is considered incapable, unfit and betraying her Algerian identity. They were supposed to be good Muslim women who respect Islamic rules and cultural values; they do not drink, expose their bodies or stay late with men but work within their acceptable public and political roles and take care of their children moral education.

Paradoxically, despite the emergence of the figure of the Mujahidat who are not afraid of anything and anyone and destroying all gender stereotypes, women Moudjahidat have also been called upon to embody tradition and adhere to the "Algerian Arabic Islamic identity". Djamila Bouhired for instance was attacked for marrying a non-Muslim and non-Algerian, despite his conversion to Islam before her marriage. Because she embodied the Algerian veteran women, she was expected to fulfil acceptable social and political role. In the huge numbers of letters she received from Arab and Muslim world following her marriage, she was overwhelmed by how people perceived and treated her as "a public property", a "symbol" instead of an "individual" (Vince, 2015, p. 159). Algerian gendered political culture was built on standards and core values that confine women to traditional gender roles and consider their presence in the public sphere to be Ayb and unacceptable. The lack of first ladies in Algerian political culture, for instance, is strongly tied to Redjla concept as

women in the hyper masculine Algerian culture are considered Horma, which requires hiding and protecting them from the public gaze.

In the Arab barometer report surveying communities perceptions about women in the political arena, Algeria is considered the least supportive country in the Middle East towards women serving as head of states or prime ministers with only 37% agreeing that a woman can serve . Not only that, but also about 7 in 10 of Algerians believe that males are better political leaders which is around 72% of the population, with mostly men . This is not to say that women are fully supportive of women being prime ministers or presidents; in fact, a large proportion of Algerian women also considers women to be less capable than male politicians. (Arab Barometer Project Survey, 2019, p. 8)

Within the contemporary corrupted political system in Algeria, young Algerian female politicians are faced with a double-edged sword. The first edge is the corrupted practices of politicians and the public loss of interest in the Algerian political system, which entails Algerian loss of hope in the system. The second edge is their gendered influence on the public perception due to being held to higher status of authenticity then man, which makes their behaviours and practices to be put under more scrutiny than those of men. However, the Algerian political culture based the legitimacy of female politicians on Moujahidat heroic practices during the Algerian revolution which makes it even harder for younger generation politicians who did not have the chance to participate in the war. The most important characteristics that they are expected to have are being carers in service of the nation, self-sacrifice and resistance, which make their competition with men unbalanced and their representation harsher, which in turn undermine their legitimacy. For example, Nouria Benghabrit, who was the minister of education between 2012- 2019, had her new educational reform hugely criticised both from a professional perspective and for personal matters attacking her own identity and debating her national and religious identity. Her progressive secular perspective was accused of being part of a Zionist, anti-Islamist attack on Algerian national identity, religion and values. Similarly, Khalida Toumi the former Minister of culture 2002- 2014 was often criticised for her secular views, personal choices and decisions and was subject to various attacks on her agenda that was described as anti-Algerian and anti-Muslim.

Chapter 5   From Victimization to Responsibility: Discursive Shift

5.1   Introduction

The data coding and categorisation of the Algerian press revealed two main themes where the focus of the thesis lay, namely, on passivation through victimization and the discursive shift to responsibility. In this chapter, I will focus on discussing how both themes emerged, how they developed throughout two decades (1997-2017) representing female parliamentarians and the reasons for this shift in discourse.

To answer the research questions of this thesis, which aim to explore the press representation of female politicians in electoral campaigns, investigate the different contextual factors surrounding its portrayal and the ideological change that touches their representation within the studied period, Wodak's discourse historical approach along with Reisigl and Wodak' model in discourse and discrimination surrounding racial discourse, which is borrowed from Van Leeuwen Social Actor Network, is employed in the data analysis procedure. Nevertheless, it is reshaped to be context specific and to examine the nature of gender discrimination in media discourse.

I will explore the referential strategies that constructs them: the predicative strategies and their stereotypical evaluations. I will examine the arguments employed to reconstruct, maintain and legitimize such representations to their audience. Understanding the different linguistic strategies employed in their representation contributes, firstly, to draw out the factors that encourage such representations, and secondly, to uncover their social, political and ideological aims. Accordingly, I will also highlight the ideological changes during the different parliamentary electoral periods (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017).

Finally, I will identify the ideological differences within the newspapers' analysed, which arise from their different ideological affiliations to help understand the differences between governmental and non-governmental newspapers and the ways in which they report concerning women's issues, which will help uncover the dichotomy of gender and politics in the Algerian society.

5.2   Representation as Victims

The data analysed revealed that throughout the years, women have been represented in media as victims of male dominance. This theme is linguistically constructed through firstly, passivating female politicians by representing them in 98% of the articles as passive agents/social actors that either benefit from, or are objects of, the social action. Secondly, the analysis found that 100% of these females are referred to through engendering and assimilation collectivisation strategies as the first reference like the females, women, and female element or female component (العنصر النسوي), which is an expression used in Arabic to represent women as minority. Nevertheless, only 12.6% are represented as women first than using functionalization or professionalization referential strategies. Moreover, only 3.4% of the corpus are covered as individual social actors where the rest are portrayed as groups. The victimization process in both newspapers is argued to be justified through relating it to different factors that touched women historically, and institutionally.

5.2.1   Historical Level

Terrorism was found to be explicitly represented as the main reason for the victimization of women during the first two years of the parliamentary election (1997-2002). Nevertheless, this claim by Algerian press was used to hide the fact that there is another responsible source for such victimization.

The following article of *Al-khabar* newspaper is reporting a feminist study conducted by the head of the National Union of Algerian Women about the situation of Algerian women suffering from victimization and that they are far from achieving their rights.

ـــعددت المتحدثة في الدراسة التي أعدتها حول نضال المرأة في العالم المسؤوليات التي تبوأتها المرأة الجزائرية منذ الاستقلال معبرة إياها مجحفة في حقها. وقالت إن اهتمامها كان مركزا منذ البداية على الحقوق السياسية المتمثلة خصوصا في حق المواطنة. إذ تمكنت ولو باحتشامـــ ـــمثلما تقولـــــمن مقارعة الرجل بالدخول إلى المؤسسات السياسية الجزائرية، فكان حضورها في أول مجلس تأسيسي سنتي 62 و1964 يقدر ب 10 نائبات من مجموع 197 رجل، ثم 10 نساء من أصل 295 رجل منتخب في أول مجلس شعبي وطني سنة 1977، ثم انخفض الرقم ليصل سبع نساء في سنة 1982 من أصل 295 رجل، بينما غاب حضورها في المجلس الشعبي لسنة 1991 ليرتفع مجددا في تشريعات 1997 إلى 20 نائبة. وتضيف المتحدثة قائلة: ''أن المتغيرات الاجتماعية والسياسية سمح لها بفرض نفسها على المستويات الشعبية، إذ تمثل المرأة اليوم بنحو 202 منتخبة من مجموع 13123 منتخبا في المجالس البلدية خلال سنة 1997 و165 امرأة من مجموع 1870 منتخبا بالمجالس الولائية. المتحدثة رأت أن المرأة الجزائرية لم تصل بعد ممارسة حقوقها الكاملة طالما أنهاـــــمثلما تضيفـــــلا تزال بعيدة عن تحقيق طموحاتها البعيدة عن مقررات الأمم المتحدة واستراتيجية بيكين التي أقرت أن تكون نسبة تواجد المرأة في الحقل السياسي لا تقل عن 35.30% ولو عن طريق الكوطة ''

In her study on the struggle of women in the world, the researcher cited the responsibilities that Algerian women have assumed since gaining independence, considering the situation unfair for women. She said

that women's interest had been focused from the outset on political rights, especially citizenship. They managed to contest with men and enter the Algerian political institutions. Their presence at the first Founding Council in 1962 and 1964 was 10 female deputies out of a total of 197 men, then 10 women out of 295 elected men in the first National People's Assembly in 1977. The number dropped to seven women in 1982 out of 295 men, and they were absent from the People's Assembly in 1991.- In 1997 legislature, the number increased again to 20 women. The researcher added: "Social and political variables allowed women to impose themselves at public levels; in 1997, there were 202 women out of a total of 13,123 elected in municipal councils, and 165 out of a total of 1,870 elected in province councils". According to her, the Algerian woman has not yet reached the exercise of her full rights as long as she is still far from achieving her ambitions which are far from the decisions of the United Nations and the strategy of Beijing, which recognised that the proportion of women's presence in the political field should not be less than 35.30%, even through the quota system.

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-09-1)

The author of the article excluded important information that the reader needs to understand the article adequately but helps the newspaper in directing the reader to the ideology they are trying to (re)construct. The article did not cover the full range of statistics but described some of the statistics of female presence in the political arena in Algeria since gaining independence, with no actual reference to the title of the study nor the availability of such publication, which make such information hard to verify. Moreover, some of the statistics given in this article are shown to be different from what other historical studies on the same time frame have reported. For example, according to the article, the number of female politicians in the Constituent Assembly right after the independence was maintained at 10 during the years 1962-1964. However, in other studies (Moghadam, 2013; Britton and Logan, 2008; Benzenin, 2014), it is reported that this number dropped to just two female politicians in the year after 1962. Therefore, the newspaper did not only exclude valuable information but manipulated the existing historical information. -This statistical fallacy in building the argument based on false evidence used to reach the false conclusion that the newspaper is trying to construct.

The author also excluded the reasons upon which the constant decrease of female politician numbers was based. This gives us two possible interpretations, the first of which suggests that the study did not tackle the reasons for the low participation rates of women in politics up to the early 2000, which in turn opens the door for various political and social factors to be blamed for such rates. The second interpretation, however, suggests that the newspaper has wilfully ignored the inclusion of such reasons. This could be shown in the end of the second paragraph as the article quotes the feminist in question, stating social and political variables as a basis for women's participation and high status after 2000 but not before that. This implies that there was an act of hedging the government responsibility toward females in politics, be it by the

feminist or by the newspaper itself due to decontextualization and the impossibility of verification.

This deliberate strategy is extended with further elaboration and explicit blame on terrorism. Few days after this article was published, another article discussing the same subject explicitly identified the agency behind women's deteriorism in politics, it blamed the scarcity of women in politics in its entirety on terrorism, the black decade (civil war from 1991 to 2002) and the fear that entailed. Although this is, indeed, a valid reason and I believe that fear played a big role in deterring women from participating in political events. It does not explain the low number of women in politics that existed long before the black decade, since the start of Algerian independence. Accordingly, the basis of this claim is tenuous as the other prominent factors are excluded (See Chapter 4).

الارهاب قلص من المشاركة النسوية في الحياة السياسية

Terrorism shrank female participation in the political life

الاحزاب تشرع في مغازلة المرأة

Parties begin to court women

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-30)

The ideology that terrorism is the main and sole culprit in women's underrepresentation in the political arena is further reinforced in this article through the use of textual and contextual features starting from the headline through to the conclusion. First, in the headline, the writer used the verb "shrank" to refer to the number of women in politics and the effect terrorism had on them, stating that "terrorism shrank women's participation in the political life". The material transitive verb "shrank" is used metaphorically to describe the effect of terrorism on women's political participation. Such a choice encourages the idea that women's political participation was high and that terrorism is the main cause of its sudden reduction. Such verb choice in the headline makes their arguments throughout the article seem justified.

عانت المرأة الجزائرية مند بروز ظاهرة الارعاب في مطلع التسعينات. حيث هدفا ـــــــ مفضلا ـــــــ للجماعات الدموية. الأمر الذي قلص تواجدها في مختلف القطاعات التجارية والاقتصادية و الاجتماعية و التربوية و السياسية ايضا. بدليل الارقام التي اكدها بعض المختصين الذين كشفو ان نسبة تواجد المرأة في الحياة السياسية في بداية التسعينات لم يتعد ال 1.3 بالمائة. في وقت بلغت فيه نسبة المشاركة النسوية في مختلف الهيئات العمومية بداية الستينيات ال10.5 بالمائة

Algerian women have suffered from the emergence of the phenomenon of terrorism in the early nineties because they were the preferred target of the bloody groups. This has reduced their presence in various commercial, economic, social, educational and political sectors. According to some scholars, the percentage

of women in political life in the early 1990s was only 1.3 percent while the percentage of women's participation in various public bodies at the beginning of the sixties was 10.5.

<div align="right">(Al-khabar, 02-03-30)</div>

Second, the justification of such an idea is made clear through the use of inaccurate statistics for the period right after the independence with a percentage of 10.5% participation and compare it to the start of the 90s with a percentage of 1.3%. At first glance, this drop justifies the use of the word shrank. However, under scrutiny, we notice that these numbers cannot be comparable for two main reasons. Firstly, exclusion strategy is used; those statistics neglect a critical period of 30 years in which the participation of women in politics has been very low for a variety of reasons besides terrorism (see Chapter 4). Secondly, the statistics compare participation rates, which cannot be equally compared through fallacy. The first percentage deals with the participation of women in all public institutions in the 1960s (10.5%), while the other one simply deals with their political participation in the 1990s (1.3%). Therefore, due to social change within 30 years and the fact that one set of figures is very broad and the other one is much more focused and specific, this comparison seems unbalanced, although not all readers might be able to detect it.

Third, in the following paragraph, the reader is presented with statistics of the last five years 1997-2002, which show an increase in female political participation to 3.4%, where this rise is attributed to the efforts in various developments made by different governmental institutions that are fighting terrorism by including more females in their sectors obscures or negates the government responsibility for the law numbers while highlighting its efforts. The argumentation strategy applied here is *secundum quid* fallacy (hasty generalisations fallacy) where the generalisation is made on the basis of an unrepresentative sample as the percentage does not include only women in the political sector but in other aspects of public life.

<div dir="rtl">نسبة مشاركة المرأة الجزائرية في الحياة السياسية خلال السنوات الخمس الاخيرة ارتفعت قليلا لتصل الى حدود ال 3.4 بالمائة من خلال نواب المجلس الشعبي الوطني و مجلس الامة و بعض المؤسسات و الهيئات و الادارات العمومية. مثل مجالس القضاء و رؤساء المحاكم و العديد من المديريات المركزية في الوزارات و المصالح الخارجية للدولة (المديريات التنفيذية الولائية) و في مختلف اسلاك الامن.</div>

The participation rate of Algerian women in political life during the last five years rose slightly to reach the limits of 3.4 percent through the deputies of the National People's Assembly, the Senate, and some institutions, bodies and public administrations, such as courts, the heads of courts, many central directorates in the ministries, state executive directorates, and different security services.

<div align="right">(Al-khabar, 02-03-30)</div>

Fourth, despite the article agreeing that the number presented above is considered minute, it tried to minimise its effect on the reader through explicit comparison of the political

representation of Algerian women with those of industrial countries by providing the examples from Europe and the United States, as well as presenting Algeria as the leading country among the Arab world. Therefore, the consistent use these fallacies, which are misrepresenting percentage and its comparison with different regions of the world is misleading to the general reader.

Finally, the last argumentative strategy used in this article is the fallacy of appealing to an anonymous authority. Although the article is informative, it did not provide any specific credible sources be it through studies or through quotes by specialists.

Instead, the social actors are remained obscure through the use of unclear vague terms such as: *the experts, the sources, according to the same sources, they, and so on*. The indetermination strategy of the social actors whether through obstructed nouns or exophoric reference anonymizes and removes agency, which in turn removes responsibility. Accordingly, whether these sources are credible or not, whether they are the same sources or not, they are invisiblised and there is no way to know and verify their arguments. Therefore, this act of appealing to anonymous authority fallacy using indetermination strategy "endows social actors with a kind of impersonal authority, a sense of unseen, yet powerfully felt coercive force" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p.40), which suggests that the newspaper is unconsciously but powerfully directing its readers by trying to use terrorism as the scapegoat under which the real culprits hide, in addition to negating responsibility by any other possible sides.

-Justifications used in this article seem to be one-sided and carefully structured to put the full blame on terrorism, without the need to address other possible factors such the social and political factors and the role the government plays in determining the number of female participants. Furthermore, the article uses manipulated statistics, global comparisons and highlights the government's reform efforts to give a false sense of achievement.

This claim of women being victims to terrorist was completely absent in *Annasr* newspaper while only mentioned in *Al-khabar* newspaper. This could be justified by *Annasr* newspaper affiliation to the government so anything that might touch the government is excluded.

The use of such strategies by *Al-khabar* around the 1990s and the early 2000s could be explained by two main factors: freedom of speech, publicity and printing. The government control over both through ANEP (Entreprise Nationale de Communication, d'Edition et de Publicite) creates a monopoly that controls funding for all public and private sector newspapers, which in turn leads several newspapers to align with the governments agenda or face sanctions that deeply

affect their ability to publish, which suggests a gatekeeping monitoring process by the newspapers to be in the safe side.

The subject of freedom of speech and freedom of journalism is barely discussed in the Algerian context; for many years up to very recently, publishers and journalists alike, faced sanctions that ranged from simply not allowing the publication of certain items -up to applying financial, and political sanctions that hinder the newspapers' work. However, the more sinister sanctions, especially during and soon after the black decade where journalists were an easy target for assassinations that spread fear in any journalist who was daring enough to speak truthfully about sensitive topics (Jray, 2002).

5.2.2   Institutional Level

5.2.2.1   WomenRepresentation as Political Pawns

In addition to putting the blame solely on terrorism and negating government responsibility, the data analysed have shown that women have been presented as victims of political institutions. Both *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers claim that the inclusion of women in political parties was the main persuasion strategy used by Algerian parties for the last five parliamentary elections (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012, and 2017). Since the initiation of a bilateral parliament in Algeria in 1996 constitution, the same promise was made to attract more female voices to their side and hugely affect their chances to win the elections with no actual interest in their political participation as shown in the data below. The results obtained from this study is different from Arrami's results (2015) about the lack of objective evaluation by journalists and their share in women's political abuse by Moroccan parties. Both newspapers show evaluation of the party's practices and intentions.

المرأة وحقوق الإنسان رهان أويحيى الانتخابي

"Ouyahia bets on women and human rights in elections"

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-02)

حمس تراهن على النساء والعمل الجواري بقسنطينة

"HAMS bets on women and proximity work in Constantine"

(*Annasr*, 02-03-26)

بن فليس يدعو إلى ثورة التجديد وتحرير النساء

-"Benflis calls for the revolution of renewal and liberation of women"

<div align="right">(Annasr, 02-03-26)</div>

"Family law is abusive towards women" (Annasr, 02-03-08/09)

<div align="right">مغازلة المرأة وتهافت على القاعدة</div>

"Women courtship and rush towards the electoral base"

<div align="right">(Al-khabar, 02-03-09)</div>

A general reading, or-specifically, an uncritical reading of headlines such as the examples provided above seem to show commitment to women's rights and political inclusion to be one of the biggest themes in the parties' electoral programmes. The reason behind that is the excessive amount of hyperbole used (a bet / women freedom and renovation, revolution/ flirting with women.) and the appeal to authority fallacy, especially because these calls are deliberately linked to credible figures such as the heads of political parties. One example is Benflis who, at the time was a very popular public figure. He-was the head of the biggest national party, the FLN, and was appointed Prime Minister by President Bouteflika in 1999, indicating his strong governmental credentials.

Nevertheless, by having a deeper understanding of the same lexical choices employed in headlines and other discursive and social strategies throughout the articles we can deduce that the- parties are presented as playing the female card to attract women's voices and eventually win the elections. As will be shown later, the promises made to women are nothing, but empty promises used mainly to attract as much female voters as possible, considering the percentages of females in comparison to male voters (explained more within the chapter)

The data analysis of the reports of those headlines revealed that although the headlines tend to show the interest in women to be positive description with a bright prospect for Algerian women in politics, the actual articles differ. One point that both newspapers seem to have is the fact that these parties have a sudden interest in women's issues in general and their political participation specifically around this time by taking advantage of events such as Women's Day, to turn into political rallies that use women for the sake of their votes. It must be admitted that newspapers seem to report such practices in different ways of coverage depending on their different political alliances.

In the article below, Annasr newspaper (2002) explicitly considers the parties' interest in female political participation to be a heroic step toward the reformations the President of Algeria

Abdelaziz Bouteflika has advocated which is calling for and trying to implement through the different laws introduced.

بن فليس يدعو إلى ثورة التجديد وتحرير النساء

Benflis calls for the revolution of renewal and liberation of women

-(*Annasr*, 02-03-26)

In the headline, women inclusion in politics is presented metaphorically as revolution of innovation through women emancipation. This strong lexical choice used indicated that the results of this election will be dramatically for the benefit of women and that they will have at least equal access to politics and a strong political voice. In addition, it presupposes that women have been prisoners in one way or another and that this is their time to be rescued. This also indicates that these parties and the promises and calls for political inclusion is their only way to be rescued and that, implicitly, they are not capable of doing this by themselves, so they will always need a man's help to be rescued. Accordingly, the parties played on this emotional factor in women and started calling them to participate and that their main concern is to get rid of the family law.

السيد علي بن فليس وفي الكلمة التي ألقاها خلال المهرجان النسوي الذي نظمه الأفلان يوم الخميس بقاعة ابن خلدون بمناسبة العيد العالمي للمرأة، ركز على أهمية ترقية دور الفئة النسوية داخل المجتمع بصفة عامة وعلى مستوى الحزب وذلك من خلال فتح قوائم الترشيحات للاستحقاقات المقبلة أمام العنصر النسوي وتدعيم تواجدها داخل هيكل الحزب، مبديًا أسفه لغياب ممثلة لهذه الفئة في كتلة الأفلان داخل المجلس الشعبي الوطني.

"In a speech given in the FLN women's festival on World Women's Day on Thursday, Mr. Benflis emphasised the importance of promoting the role of women in society in general and within the party by allowing them to run in the next elections and strengthening the presence of women within party structures. He also apologised for the absence of a women's representative in the party's group in the National Assembly (parliament) ".

(*Annasr*, 02-03-08/09)

The above extract by *Annasr* (2002) outlines the achievements that the political party FLN is trying to reach in developing the role of women in politics, and the steps that need to be undergone to achieve a favourable status for women in society in general. The extract moves on then to describe how the existence of more females in the party and a more prominent presence of women voters in the next elections will grant women the desired status they are after. However, in the last line of the extract it is reported that the head of FLN at the time apologised for not being able to keep the same promise in the last elections as no females were represented

in his political party, which begs the question: What makes today's promise different from yesterdays'?

It is worth noting that this article is reporting on a public speech by the head of FLN Mr. Ali Benflis on Women's Day. This exerpt, therefore, shows that women are considered crucial to win any election considering the fact that there are more women than men, in addition to the fact that most females are considered to be new voters. This is due to the proxy law that was implemented earlier, allowing men to vote instead of women. However, these promises have been always empty promises that are used for the sole reason of recruiting female votes which will be mentioned in the coming examples in more detail.

بالنسبة للملاحظين فإن تخصيص الأفلان لأول تجمع جماهيري منذ الإعلان عن تاريخ الانتخابات لفئة النساء يعد بمثابة ثورة حقيقية في الذهنيات التي صقلت طيلة سنوات عدة وقطيعة نهائية مع صورة الحزب.

"Observers believe that scheduling the first meeting after the announcement of the election date for women is a real revolution against old mentalities and a break with the party's image despite the existence of many women's organisations that– were close to the party but their field activities were below average. They also believe that the party's results in the next elections would clearly show the results of changes made by the new Secretary General and the shortcomings that need to be corrected in the future.–".

(*Annasr*, 02-03-08/09)

Due to *Annasr* governmental alliances, this article does not only report Benflis's speech but also endorses it by including a source reporting positively on his speech without giving readers any clues who this source might be. The second argumentation strategy in this report is the fallacy of appealing to an anonymous authority. The agency here is indeterminate through the vague term "the observers" which makes reader believe their comments to be true and possibly have the intended impact of the party's agenda.

Therefore, this discursive strategy obscures or downplays responsibility from the newspaper in supporting this political party which is the government's affiliated party and *Annasr* is a governmental newspaper. On the contrary, *Al-khabar* talked more explicitly about the parties' use of female political inclusion to benefit political agendas. The following report describes a meeting that was held about one week before the international Women's Day by one of the most prominent political parties led by Ouyahya at the time—the current Prime Minister of Algeria. This public meeting comes right at the start of his political campaign and at a very strategic timing, as it marked the start of a very strong competition by various political players.

However, this report by *Al-khabar* (2002) is explicitly constructing women participation as ideological, to serve a political agenda by Ouyahya through several four prominent discursive strategies.

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المرأة وحقوق الإنسان رهان أويحيى الانتخابي

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Ouyahia bets on women and human rights in elections

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-02)

The first strategy used is the metaphorical reference to female inclusion in politics through the noun "bet" which has a negative evaluation. Ouyahya's interest in women's equality and human rights is discursively represented as he is using their slogans to gain the election as it is assumed that women are the winning card and gaining Algerian women means gaining the election. The second strategy is the use of interdiscursive reference to historical speeches and events of similar context to justify their argument through the tapoi of history exposing Ouyahya's tactics.

Last Thursday morning, the President of RND (Rally national democratic), Ahmed Ouyahia, did his best to convince women militants of his party of "the importance" of their role in the next elections. He also stressed the party's conviction to revise the Family Code....

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-02)

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خاطب أويحيى نساء الحزب والمدعوات ،بلغة ‏�’‘أنتن‏’‘ نصف المجتمع وشقيقات الرجال التي ظل النظام يخدر بها الجزائريين منذ الاستقلال ،حيث قال في كلمته أن ‏‘‘دفاع المرأة عن مكانتها ووجودها هو نضال من أجل الجزائر‏’‘. ويجد أويحيى أنه من غير المعقول ‏‘‘الإستمرار في مناقشة كل القضايا في غياب الصوت النسوي‏’‘. وأدرج زعيم الأرندي لقاء الاروية الذهبية في إطار مشاركة المرأة في الحياة السياسية والدفاع عن مكانتها في الساحة الوطنية. ذات اللقاء يعتبره أويحيى ‏‘‘بعيدا عن المناسبات والمواعيد السياسية‏’‘ ،ويريد بذلك القول بأن الأرندي خلافا لباقي التشكيلات السياسية ،لا يتغنى بمكانة المرأة سوى عند اقتراب الرهانات السياسيةــ.

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In the opening of the national symposium on women organised by the RND, Ouyahia addressed female party militants and guests as "you are half of the society and men's sisters", a quote being used by authorities to drug Algerians since independence. He said that "the woman's fight for her status and existence is a fight for Algeria ", and considered "going on discussing all issues without hearing women's voice" as illogical.

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-02)

Al-khabar compared the discourse he used to address women, by reporting quotations, to previous governmental discourse through another metaphor "numbs" where women have been used repeatedly to serve particular interests and agendas whenever needed through persuasive promises of giving women their full recognition and their well-deserved rights as an Algerian citizen repeatedly fade after elections pass and they are no longer needed. This is noted in the

early days of the Algerian independence, when women during the revolution were given a wide array of rights that they never had before, such as the right of marriage without the need of a guardian, the right to go out and to fight along men in the mountains. However, these rights were immediately clipped after the independence (Salhi, 2003; Shaaban, 1998). Despite the fact that the government made official recognitions of women's heroics during that time, they still did not give women their promised rights. Women were used again in the late '80s and early '90s during elections and the civil war to serve the governments political agendas (Hayef, 1995). *Al-khabar* newspaper is warning against employing the same tactics once more by both governmental and oppositional parties in an attempt to legislate power through the same empty promises.

في افتتاح الندوة الوطنية للمرأة التي نظمها الأرندي نهاية الأسبوع بنزل الأروية الذهبية، خاطب أويحيى نساء الحزب والمدعوات، بلغة "أنتن نصف المجتمع وشقيقات الرجال "التي ظل النظام يخدر بها الجزائريين منذ الاستقلال. حيث قال في كلمته أن "دفاع المرأة عن مكانتها و وجودها هو نضال من أجل الجزائر ". "ويجد أويحيى أنه من غير المعقول "الاستمرار في مناقشة كل القضايا في غياب الصوت النسوي ". وأدرج زعيم الأرندي لقاء الأروية الذهبية في إطار مشاركة المرأة في الحياة السياسية والدفاع عن مكانتها في الساحة الوطنية. ذات اللقاء يعتبره أويحيى "بعيدا عن المناسبات والمواعيد السياسية"، ويريد بذلك القول أن الأرندي، خلافا لباقي التشكيلات السياسية، لا يتغنى بمكانة المرأة سوى عند اقتراب الرهانات السياسية.

"For him, the symposium highlights women's participation in political life and defence of their position in the national arena. He also emphasized that the meeting "does not coincide with election events and dates" to show that the RND was different from the other parties which do not praise women's status except when political stakes approach. However, all Ouyahia's past speeches given to announce parliamentary elections show that women are not a priority; the main priority is to show his political positions toward specific issues such as "the threat of fundamentalism to the stability of the country".

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-02)

The third argumentation strategy used by *Al-khabar* is refuting Ouyahya's claim that his intention is not biased by the coming international women's day through intertextual reference to the previous themes of his campaign speeches.

Similarly, the next article reporting parties' campaign speeches during international Women's Day shows clearly the position of *Al-khabar* newspaper concerning how they intended to tackle the increased interest in women issues and women's political participation every time there is an election in the horizon.

سارعت الأحزاب السياسية على اختلاف توجهاتها إلى مغازلة المرأة في عيدها السنوي، في محاولة لكسب ودها والظفر بأصواتها في التشريعات المقبلة، ومثلما تسابقت إلى استغلال "حواء" في يومها العالمي، تهافتت هذه التشكيلات السياسية على القاعدة في الجزائر العميقة لدغدغة مشاعرها، واستغلال مآسيها بوعود جوفاء نظير الحصول على صوتها في زمن بلغت فيه نسبة الفقر في الأرياف والمدن مستويات ما تحت الخطوط الحمراء.

"Different political parties hurried to flirt with the woman on her annual holiday in an attempt to gain her (affection/warmth) win her votes in the next elections. Just as they had tried to exploit "Eve" on her International Day, these political formations rushed toward the electoral base in deep Algeria to play with her feelings and exploit her tragedies with empty promises to get their voice at a time when poverty rate in rural areas and cities was below the red lines ".

-(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-09-2)

This article makes it clear that women are framed as victims of male dominance in political parties and used to gain voices and win the elections, which can actually be verified through the percentages of females accessing politics, the number of female complaints and the positions they were given. Nevertheless, what it implies is even worse for female political participation than male dominance over politics and the use of women as political pawns.

The linguistic choices describing the event are ideological. Underlying these metaphors of "flirting with women", "trying to gain her affection and warmth to win", "play with her feelings" and even religious connotation behind the assimilation referral strategy in "to exploit "Eve" is reinforcement of the stereotypes surrounding women that show them as victims to these parties, and interdiscursively related to gender differences topoi (Atanga, 2010) that shows women to be portrayed as naïve, emotional, easily manipulated and adherent to their stereotypes. Accordingly, they are represented as lacking the necessary skills to make them suitable for political positions and decision-making, which reconstruct the stereotype that politics is a male domain.

There is another ideological implication in the last sentence using the fallacy of relative privation which indicates that the interest in women political participation is not only a strategy the parties are using to gain the elections but it also dismisses their importance through comparing their situation with what the newspapers perceive as much important issues to be tackled. Furthermore, the following paragraph of the same article show clearly how all the changes and promises made to women are made unwillingly and parties are mostly forced to give these promises to gain the traction they seek within female voters.

تذكرت الأحزاب والجمعيات في سابقة كانت متوقعة نهاية هذا الأسبوع، المرأة الجزائرية في عيدها العالمي المعادل لنصف يوم عطلة بنوع من الإستغلال السياسي، لتزامن الموعد هذا العام مع بداية العد التنازلي للانتخابات التشريعية المقرر تنظيمها في 30 ماي المقبل، فتنافست الأحزاب في تكريم رمزي للمرأة بصورة مفاجئة ونظمت لأجلها مهرجانات وتجمعات للحديث عن دورها في المجتمع وخطب ودها عبر إقحام اسمها في القوائم الانتخابية ولو كان ذلك على مضض ومن قبيل "الانتخابات تبيح المحظورات".

"In a precedent that was expected this week, political parties and associations recalled the Algerian woman in her International Day that equals half a day off with a kind of political exploitation since this year's date coincided with the start of the countdown to the legislative elections scheduled for 30 May. Suddenly, the parties competed to honour symbolically women and organised for them festivals and gatherings to talk

about their role in society and gain their affection through adding their names in electoral lists, even grudgingly, because "Elections knows no law".

The ideology of party's use of females to win the elections is made even clearer through the discursive choices *Al-khabar* applied to represent the party's position and reaction concerning their claims. The proverb "reluctantly" and the remodelled proverb "elections know no law" imply that these politicians are unwillingly using females. In other words, it is not females' political participation or female voice is what important. It is their support and votes what makes the parties dismiss the important issues they should be discussing and appeal to women. Consequently, *Al-khabar* newspaper maintains and reconstruct the stereotypes of women as outsiders to politics. This reinforces the ideology that women are political pawns, victims to party's tactics which reframe the relationship between gender politics and power in Algeria.

Likewise, *Annasr* Newspaper (2002) is (re)constructing the same ideology as explained in the *Al-khabar Newspaper*. In the following article, female political participation was considered to be a mere "vaccination" to their lists to win the elections.

إذا كان الطرح مجسدا في الميدان فإن التشكيلات تواصل تسيير كل إمكاناتها قصد التعبئة العامة وذلك باشراك المرأة في هذه الحملة حتى تشارك المرأة وبقوة في تحديد خريطة التمثيل النسوي الذي لجأ إليه حزب التجمع الوطني الديمقراطي وجبهة التحرير الوطني ، من خلال تطعيم قوائمها بإمرأتين إحتلتا المرتبة الخامسة في الترتيب.

"Political parties are doing their best to let women involved in the campaign… the RND and FLN have vaccinated their lists with two women who came in fifth position"

The newspaper use of the "vaccination" metaphor for women's presence in electoral lists implies that the inclusion of two women into the electoral lists is nothing but a political stunt to deliver on their promises one way or another, even if it is not very convincing. Nevertheless, despite the parties' corruption, there is no inclusion of the names and functions of these candidates. They are also referred to through aggregated engendering which hinder their credibility and, therefore, adhere to the same stereotype that women are political pawns in the hierarchy of power.

On the contrary, we can see in the article presented below that Jaballah is pushing women to attract voters in any way possible, even if that means they need to take non-political methods such as knocking on voters' doors and cold calling homes to attract the most voters they can.

جاب الله يبحث نساء حركته على طرق أبواب الناخبين

Djaballah urges women in his party to knock on voters' doors—

Although this in itself is somewhat humiliating to women as he talks to women in particular and does not ask the same from male participants in his party, what is even worse is the implication that women can attract more participants through either appealing to males through the phone and/or dropping by houses, or the social fact that at the time more women were unemployed, and therefore, there is a better chance for them to be at the house, for cultural reasons. This would be the most appropriate way to go about it because it is highly unlikely that a woman on her own at home would open the door for a man and talk to them about elections. Such implication shows a deeply rooted cultural tradition that has repeatedly been employed by the government and the political parties, deploying male dominance and that women are not cut out for the job and are outsiders to politics that they should be dropped in the wide bowl of females in politics instead. Furthermore, this article shows the hypocrisy with which male politicians treat females, as in the last extract Jaballah uses religion and traditions as a scapegoat to move away from the Western traditions that according to him treat women as goods to be bought and sold, instead he suggests that a wider female participation is the only way for women to gain their rights.

Female naivety and belief in the political party was represented and argued about through not only the last articles but also two speeches made by an Algerian feminist organisation in 2002.

توجد امرأتان على رأس حزبين هما لويزة حنون بحزب العمال وشلبية حميدو بحركة الشبيبة الديمقراطية، أما الأحزاب الفاعلة فيمثل تواجد المرأة في قيادتها بنسبة قليلة، إذ تمثل أقل من 7 بالمائة في الأفلان و 8 بالمائة في الأرندي و الأفافاس والأرسيدي و 6 بالمائة بحمس و 3 بالمائة بالنهضة ''

On the contrary, the president of the Women's Union has sent what looks like a reproach to the parties for their attempt to establish barriers to women's responsibility...Two women only are head of parties; they are Louiza Hanoune (Workers' Party) and Chalbia Hamidou (Democratic Youth Movement). Concerning active parties, a low percentage of women is represented in their leadership; it is less than 7% in FLN, 8% in RND, FFS, and RCD, 6% in HAMS, and 3% in NAHDA.

The first speech was held before the start of the electoral campaign, where political parties have not yet started showing interest in women political participation, and no evidence of change was provided. The parties were blamed in the first speech for ignoring women's demands and the exclusion of women in the political arena. The article reported the feminist speech as a

"reproach" or warning and included part of the feminist speech where she was using the tapos of numbers to justify feminists' anger toward the parties' dominance.

واعتبر اتحاد النساء الجزائريات اهتمام الأحزاب السياسية هذه الأيام و ((مغازلته-)) العنصر النسوي لدخول معترك التشريعات القادمة بداية اعتراف بالدور الذي ظلت تلعبه المرأة منذ فجر الاستقلال وخلال مختلف المحن والأزمات التي عرفها المجتمع الجزائري، وظلت المرأة تلق التوازن داخل المجتمع حتى لا يفقد الجزائري مواطنته

"The Algerian Women's Union considered the recent 'parties' interest in and "courting" of women to let them enter the realm of the next legislative elections as recognition of the role that women have been playing since independence and during tribulations and crises endured by the Algerian society. Women have continued to create balance within society so that Algerians would not lose their citizenship.

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-30)

Nevertheless, the different speeches and promises made by parties looking for female voters seemed to have an impact on the feminist organisation as they have changed their speech to include a lot more recognition to the political parties and the efforts, they afforded in increasing the value of women during the electoral campaign. Although evidence of that the parties' efforts is unfounded, feminists seemed to believe those promises. The newspaper represented their naivety through two predicative strategies. The first strategy is explicitly using the term courting / flirting with women, which implies that their strategic tactic obtained its goal because feminists falls for it. In addition, the verbal phrase "to let them" has a negative connotation that implies that females are second-class citizens and that politics is a male dominance where they have complete control over it. This negative stereotypical representation frame women as easily manipulated, naïve and outsiders to politics and consequently victims to male control. Despite their best hopes, women in general and feminist groups in particular have been faced at the end with faded promises of more participation into leadership positions and a more open discussion for women to argue their case and demand their rights. However, the answers they received from both political parties and newspaper descriptions show them to be incompetent and unable to carry the job to the extent men would. It also looks at them as women in politics rather than capable politicians. The continuous exploitation of women that persevered since the independence was employed again in the elections of 2002 and has, as a result, slightly changed the gender political game in Algeria.

5.2.2.2   Feminists' Awareness and Their Pressure on Women

In 2007 elections, feminists and women in general become more aware of the parties' strategic plan of using them to acquire more votes and win the elections without taking any actual measures toward their inclusion in politics. Women started to show more awareness and started to make substantial demands to insure they acquire their rights. This idea can be clearly

presented in a wide array of articles used by both newspapers, from reports covering feminist speeches, feminist activities to a more impartial coverage of parties' strategies to adhere with the aforementioned awareness.

In most feminist speeches, even if the whole event is about other issues and not necessarily political participation, the newspapers' headlines were targeted at their comments concerning the issue and used it as hyperbole in several articles to attract the audience. In the example below from *Al-khabar* (2002), we can see that the headline focuses on the responsibility of political parties toward females and the role they play in eliminating females from politics. However, the actual article only discusses this instance as a side quote that is not related solely to politics and focuses more on the establishment of a National Council for Women.

نوارة جعفر تعلن عن تنصيب المجلس الوطني للمرأة

الأحزاب تتحمل مسؤولية إقصاء المرأة

Nouara Djaafar announces the inauguration of the National Council for Women

"Parties are responsible for the exclusion of women"

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-30)

This council is established to discuss and study several pressing female issues in the Algerian society. Nevertheless, the most prominent headline between the two newspapers is not the initiation of the council but rather the small part of her speech concerned with politics.

وعلى مستوى المشاركة في الحياة السياسية يبقى حضور المرأة ضعيفا اذ لا يتعدى تمثيل المرأة في البرلمان بغرفتيه 6.8 بالمائة (25 امرأة نائبة بالمجلس الشعبي الوطني، و 4 نائبات في مجلس الامة، فيما لا يضم الجهاز التنفيدي حاليا الا ثلاث وزيرات من مجموع 39 وزيرا).

أوضحت الوزيرة المنتدبة المكلفة بالأسرة و قضايا المرأة، السيدة نوارة سعدية جعفر، أن الأحزاب السياسية تحمل مسؤولية عدم مشاركة المرأة في السياسة، لاسيما في الهيئة التشريعية، موضحة أن القوانين الجزائرية لا تميز بين المرأة و الرجل في أي مجال ومع ذلك قالت الوزيرة تواجد المرأة في البرلمان بنسبة 6.8 بالمائة يمثل تطورا كبيرا.

Mrs. Nouara Saadia Djaafar, minister in charge of the family and women's issues, said that political parties are responsible for the non-participation of women in politics, especially in the parliament, although Algerian laws do not differentiate between men and women. Nevertheless, "a 6.8% presence of women in the parliament is a great development", she added.

(*Al-khabar*, 02-03-30)

In the body of the report, there is little information about the issues discussed by the speaker, rather the whole introductory paragraph was dedicated to discussing the political side of the speech. Conversely, the speech was reported differently in *Annasr* newspaper, where, besides

the headline, the issues were discussed almost equally, and the focus was on shining the light on what this new council would bring to women of Algeria. The article also mentioned the percentages of women in the parliament and how it could be improved, which links to the next article (*Annasr*, 2007) where it shows that the Algerian Women's Union is demanding the introduction of a quota system in the elections so that the participation of bare minimum of women is insured.

اتحاد النساء الجزائريات يطالب بكوطة في التشريعات

Algerian Women's Union calls for a quota in legislation

(*Annasr*, 07-03-06)

Further analysis of this report shows an awareness of feminists that was not visible before. One of the main suggestions was that reaching political participation does not have to be through political parties anymore and does not have to rely on empty promises anymore which is an explicit presupposition that it was the case before in 1997 and 2007 elections. *Annasr* continues to report the speech through rendition rather than quotes. The president of Algerian women union is reported to state clearly that she refuses the use of the union females as a means to win the elections. It also shows a new understanding of the policies that parties employed against them in the past and an anger toward their unfair elimination from the last elections. Therefore, they decided to act on their own without a need for the parties' approval in requiring a quota system to be implemented.

Nevertheless, the metaphorical expression "arming" used in calling women for political engagement is related to war discourse, which implies that the situation becomes a war on male dominance over politics and political awareness and participation in this war is necessary. Accordingly, the newspaper here presents women awareness as another form of female victimization moving from political parties to feminists' activism.

Women's anger, disappointment and new-found awareness is shown in the next article as it reports on a conference held to discuss "Algerian women participation in politics".

من المحافظة على شعرة معاوية حتى لا تتقطع ـ سواء مع الأفلان أو باتجاه الارندي. وبالنظر إلى تذمر النساء وغضبهن الشديد على خلفية إقصاء العديد من مناضلات الاتحاد النسائي من الترشح للتشريعات الماضية، ناشدت نورية حفصي رئيس الجمهورية التدخل مستقبلا عن طريق ''تخصيص حصة المرأة في كل الانتخابات.

Preserving Muawya's hair, so it does not break, either for FLN or RND. Regarding women's distaste and their rage about eliminating several members of women's union from candidacy in the previous legislative

elections, Nouria Hafsi have urged the president of the public to "determine a quota for women in all future elections".

The article here uses the tapoi of history argumentation strategy to justify the head of the feminist party call for quota by relating to the discriminations taken against them in the past, which in turn led to a low representation of women in all the government institutions to the need for the new measures to be taken toward bettering both the status of women and the representation of women in politics, especially in the parliament. The interesting observation in this article, is the way the newspaper focused on showing women as victims of male dominance in the past, and all the discriminations they suffered from, especially in the headline and the opening paragraph, rather than focusing on the new vision upon which women wish to thrive in politics.

Another example of reports on women taking matters into their own hands can be seen in the way the following article by *Al-khabar* (2007) describes the interference of several organisations to defend the elimination of a female candidate.

الجمعيات النسوية ترفض الإقصاء بغرداية

*دخلت الجمعيات النسوية بغرداية الانتخابات التشريعية القادمة بمطالبتها وزيرة الداخلية بمراجعة قرار اللجنة الانتخابية المحلية إقصاء قائمة حرة تصدرتها سيدة من غرداية. وطالبت عدة جمعيات محلية، اغلبها نسوية، وزير الداخلية بإعادة النظر في إقصاء القائمة الحرة! " جمع الشمل ! ". وتم وصف عملية رفض ملف القائمة المذكورة من اللجنة الانتخابية بأنه تم بطريقة " غامضة و مقصودة ". وتحدثت شكوى لفرع الجنوب للاتحاد الوطني للحركة الجمعوية عن رفض تسليم محضر مراقبة التوقيعات وإقصاء المرأة الوحيدة المرشحة للتشريعات بغرداية.

Women Associations reject exclusion in Ghardaia

Women associations in Ghardaia have started the next legislative elections by demanding the Interior minister to review the local election committee's decision to exclude the independent list led by a woman, Jamaa Al Shaml

The hyperbole in the headline is constructed through metaphorical agency that substitutes the real agent to make the reader think that women's organisations were eliminated from the elections. The same strategy hwas used at the beginning of the article. However, only when a reader reads the full article, does he or she realise that the eliminated is one female candidate and that those who opposed the decision were various social organisations, but not necessarily feminist related. Furthermore, the newspaper describes the elimination as "mysterious" and "deliberate" but keeps its agency hidden and instead implies that these are the words of the organisations involved. These linguistic choices indicate that women involvement in the parliament becomes a feminist concern rather than a one female problem.

In contrast to what we have seen in the 2002 elections, the participation of women is far more prevalent, and the headlines of both newspapers show a higher number of females in leadership positions and elsewhere in the electoral lists of candidates.

"بلقيس الأوراس"،قائمة حرة تقودها امرأة في باتنة

Belqis of the Aures: An independent list led by a woman

(*Annasr*, 07- 03-21)

Despite the obvious change in attitude of both women and political parties, it is obvious that political parties still intend to use women to their benefit, even if it is to a lower extent than previous years. Reports of the widespread presence of leadership of the two most prominent players in the political arena in Algeria FLN and RND in the first meeting of the national council of women showed the bases of a cold war between the two political giants to determine who will acquire their support and who will eventually get the win. The lexical choices in this headline are very important as they use metaphors of war and describe women's support as a possession that can be won in the war between parties.

معركة خفي بين الأرندي والأفلان للاستحواذ على اتحاد النساء

A hidden battle between RND and FLN to acquire the women's union

(*Al-khabar*, 07-06-19)

In correlation with the use of women to attract more voters, we still see the use of various tactics to acquire the support of women albeit a bit different from what used to happen in previous elections, it still is a relentless use of women. Parties such FLN, RND and HMS used a large number of females in their electoral lists, HMS for example is said to have a large number in various provinces and is required by leadership to aim for qualified women wherever they might be, not to be represented as a "decoration" or " an unwanted addition" to the lists.

تمثيل واسع للمرأة في قوائم حمس

لقد اصدرت القيادة توجيهات لترتيب المرأة اينما وجدت كفاءات نسوية في الولايات. لكننا حريصون على ان لا يكون تمثيلها مجرد ديكور في القوائم.

Wide representation of women in HAMS lists

The leadership have provided guidance on including women wherever female qualifications are found, in any Wilaya. However, we ensure that the presence of women is not just as décor to the lists.

(*Al-khabar*, 07-03-21)

حركة مجتمع السلم تمنح مكانة هامة للمرأة ضمن هياكلها۔ اوضحت ان المرأة ''لها مكانتها حتى في مراكز صنع القرار ''

HAMS gives a valuable position for women among its ranks. Women have "their value even in decision-making positions"

ومن جهتها تأسفت ممثلة حركة مجتمع السلم لنقص التمثيل النسوي داخل هيئات الدولة۔ وفيما اشارت الى ان.....۔

In turn, HAMS representative apologised for the obvious lack of female representation in the government and its branches.

(*Al-khabar*, 07-05-06)

The year 2012 has seen a noticeable decrease in women's victimization rates across the board. Calls for a quota system in the 2007 election were met by heated discussions in the year following the elections. Eventually, in 2008 the parliament decided to pass the law to impose a quota of female politicians in every political party that hopes to compete in any coming elections. The law was shelved until the 2012 parliamentary elections where parties had to meet the given quota (30%) for any chance of acceptance of electoral lists, and most parties found themselves obliged to abide by the law. This left very little chance for victimization of women and open the gate for another discourse to govern the media concerning female presence in politics, discourse of responsibility.

قائمة الأفلان كادت تلغى في سكيكدة بسبب نسبة المرأة

FLN list almost cancelled because of women's quota

(*Annasr*, 2012-03-28)

However, one of the very few cases where parties did not abide was reported in the province of Skikda where a list of FLN did not meet the quota and was, therefore, eliminated. However, immediately after that the party agreed that there was an administrative mistake were two female candidates were added to the list and then was resubmitted and approved.

The change in discourse about women being victims came after a long struggle that lasted decades and was finally listened to after women decided to take matters in their own hands and continue the march toward a more inclusive future in politics with a tendency to appoint qualified women in leadership positions in the various institutions of the government. However, the 2012 election have seen a rise of a different form of discrimination against women in the form of accusations of incompetence and lower qualifications than men. The following election held in 2017 did not see any victimization claims either by female politicians or by newspapers.

5.3 Female Parliamentarians' Credibility

During the years where female politicians have been presented as victims by the terrorism, parties and feminists' groups, a conflicting discourse was also circulating in the newspapers that entitles women to be partially responsible instead of being mere victims. These representations were not dominant but mentioned in certain occasions. Female parliamentarians use of their gender to attract female voices; women are there because of their relationship with a male, and women qualification that does not fit with the requirements of their position.

In 2012, with the first application of the quota scheme that grants women the right to 30% of the seats, the discourse has shifted to put the full responsibility in female parliamentarians in multiple ways, female relationship with a male and their qualification are still persistent in the data while another theme arises. Women disinterest in political participation and the corruption of those who are seeking this position for the only sake of money and power hegemonies. The initial analysis indicated that this theme of corruption and disqualification is shared by both men and women in the analysed corpus. However, women representation is found to be harsher and consistently related to their gender because they are held up to higher status of authenticity than men (see Appendix C).

5.3.1. Relationship with a political figure

One of the representations that are dangerous to women's credibility is relating them, unnecessarily, to a male who is known in politics. The following articles have used relationalisation strategies to refer to female parliamentarians. A selection of five articles is offered in the following section with different kinship or relationship ties taken through the two decades analysed.

The first relationship in question relates to female parliamentarians' marriage to certain authority figures. In the following article by Annsr newspaper in 1997, the president of the democratic front for change 'Shalabia Mahjoubi' was referred to through her given name followed by the surname of her husband in the headline. However, *Annasr* only referred to the male in the same headline with his surname.

مرباح "مجد" و شلبية حميدو "الامجيدي"

Merbah "MAJD" and Shalabya Hamidou "AMJD"

اعتبرت السيدة شلبية محجوبي زوجة حميدو

Mrs. Shalabya Mahjoubi, spouse of Hamidou

Within the article, the newspaper introduced the female parliamentarian through her full name, followed by the relationship with her husband, then her position as president of the party. This strategy of using her husband's name first in the headlines and her relationship with her husband before her actionalization reference, indicates that the newspaper is telling the reader that she is known, not because of her political work and position, but through her relationship with her husband 'Hamidou Rodwan'. The latter is the founder of the party and that she took his place, not by earning it from her own merit, but this new status was gained through his death. In addition, her importance is mitigated in the headline: the other politician is mentioned first in the headline while in the article, he is only mentioned at the end, with the section about him representing less than 30% of the article. As seen, although the large part of the article has been devoted to 'Shalabia', the headline does not indicate her prominence nor her importance, implicitly reducing her credibility. Unfortunately, this relationalisation strategy through marriage is not an isolated incident; even up to the current times (20 years later), Shalabia Mahjoubi who is still in politics, is still being referred or mentioned in relation to her late husband.

The situation became more critical regarding women parliamentarians immediately after 2012. This was due to the presentation of the quota system in the 2008 constitution and its initiations in the 2012 legislative parliamentary elections which the required percentage of females to be raised to 30% in the electoral lists.- Due to the need for higher female representatives in politics, understandably, Algerian political parties began to co-opt female support. The newspaper framed the need for females through highlighting how family and work relationships are factors in choosing those female leaders. The following article represents a female minister and a previous female parliamentarian 'Khalida Toumi', which her duties will be ending soon. Instead of focusing on her huge political experience, as she is a former activist before she served in formal politics for 15 years, the newspaper is accusing her of relying on her male colleagues to win a powerful seat. This is realised by the use of relationalisation strategy as seen in in the phrase "a deal with her old colleague" and emphasising it again within "her old colleagues" and mitigating her dependency on their power through the use of the verb and adverb 'relying very much on …(them)'.

Similarly, in *Annasr* newspaper interview with Fatima Ismail, a candidate of the equality and prosperity party who was ranked as head of the party's list in the capital Algiers, referential strategies were used as well as explicit reference to the corruption allegations of her husband to get her into the lists.- The first strategy is relational reference to her as the wife of the head of the Equality and Prosperity party in the headline, with a quote not about her and her political character or ambitions but about her talking about how amazing her husband is and her opinion

about polygamy. This makes the readers who do not know who she is, consider the report as a report about the wife of the head of the party rather than considering her success in securing a position as the head of one of the party's lists. This is due to the fact that there is no reference at all in the headline for her political actionalization.-

<div dir="rtl">

فاطمة اسماعيل حرم رئيس جبهة العدالة و التنمية

</div>

Fatima Ismail, spouse of the president of the Front of Equality…

<div dir="rtl">

...هناك من يرى بأن أحزاب كثيرة تستغل النساء لتزيين قوائمها

</div>

…There are those who believe that many parties use women to garnish their lists

<div dir="rtl">

الشيخ فرض اسمك على قائمة المترشحين...

</div>

The Cheikh imposed your name on the electoral list…

Khabar, 12-03-13

The introduction of the article included even more accusing of her use of her husband's power to achieve her position. Due to the kind of questions she was asked, which have no relation with her political experience or how she is intending to serve her position if the list wins. The introduction was her statements about the accusations that she used her husband's power to achieve her current position and that females are used only for the purpose of percentages and to attract female voters, with no actual political value but to be used as a décor. Her negation statements are used in the introduction to presuppose that this is something true and exists and she is defending herself from it despite the fact that the newspaper itself is the constructor of this ideology through the interview. Another referential strategy is relationalisation through reference to her son. This is unique to the Arabic culture where mothers are called by the name of their first male son. Such reference only reinforces her representation as a woman, wife and a mother and mitigates and even negates her political worth and value especially that this reference is linked to the phrase about the reasons for her interest in political participation. Similar to *Annasr*, *Al-khabar* newspaper used relation to a male in higher political power to justify the non-credibility of females in parliament rather than simply stating her actionalization like the rest of the listed females.

<div dir="rtl">

زوجتي و شقيقي اولى بالمعروف

</div>

My wife and brother are more deserving

Al-khabar 12-04-07

Within the same newspaper, *Al-khabar* have used the biggest headline in the front page about the use of family members by the head of the parties where the participation in electoral list is portrayed as "ma3rouf" or kind gesture which frames the corruption in Algerian parliament. Because it is not the focus of this thesis, I will not explain more about this. However, the interesting remark here is the intensification of women in this corruptive parliament and the mitigation of males through reporting women first than males despite that the huge percentage of almost 70% is for males.

This is further highlighted in the next extract in 2017, where a very prominent character in the ruling party decided to include his assistant into the list, obliging a line of questions on her merit and the whole integrity of this party. However, when questioned about it, he simply answered by mentioning that "she is just a woman, poor her". The metaphor 'poor' here is used in the sense of helplessness and, therefore, she requires support. This portrayal of victimization is countered by the newspaper through intensifying strategies, where the title of the article put the focus on the assistant, while the article itself is more focused on a different male politician who is more of a political chameleon, changing political allegiances for a spot in the new parliament.

Women credibility in joining parliamentary lists is questioned due to relating them to close male with a higher political status, which in the Algerian society and especially in this context is "branded as "nepotism" or "corruption " (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This representation constructs the ideology that women are not credible female politicians, and they are responsible for their decisions as well as the social representation they receive and create to the public about the political participation of females. Various studies found similar results where women are always linked to their kinship with another powerful male to remind the public that they are less than politicians, that they are always in need of men's help and that it is the popularity of the males that got them into politics from first place.

5.3.1 Lack of Political Interest

Algerian women have seen and experienced throughout the history of independent Algeria diminished powers in most aspects of life, especially political participation, with low levels of political awareness. The fact that until the late 90s, women's voting was frown upon and men would usually assume that responsibility through the proxy law, which has consequently made most Algerian women somewhat generally indifferent to political turmoil and election. In fact, a study by Hayef in 1994 has found that about 40% of the sample of women have no interest in politics with 15% of respondents choosing not to answer. The latter number suggests that these women are uninterested in politics, which can lead one to infer that this group was uninterested

in politics even at a superficial level. On the contrary, the remaining 45% stated that the current political parties do not meet their aspirations and ambitions in an "equal", "dignified", "respectful" society that takes their role in building the country.

However, new developments since 1997 have occurred in politics. Constant pressure from feminist organisations and new interest from political parties have pushed women to be involved in politics in one form or another. Interest in politics by women grew exponentially starting in the early 2000s with the arrival of President Bouteflika, as mentioned previously in Chapter 4, based on data provided by the United Nations. This was because political parties tried to attract female participants, who, in turn, attracted female voters because they were considered at the time a new group of voters. Women formed a new target audience and not only did they form the majority of the votes (women outnumber men in Algeria at that time based on national census), they were seen as unbiased (according to Hayef's widely cited study) and were perceived to be interested in forming new political allegiances. However, this interest was not reciprocated by female voters and instead, the number only grew slowly over the next decade based on government figures. It was not until the 2012 elections where the quota system was introduced, that women besides feminists and feminist organisations, showed an interest in the political arena. Given these political developments in society, Algerian newspapers adopted a certain narrative to explain women's participation or lack of in politics. As the following discussion shows, the broad narrative was a biased, unfair representation of women in politics, about women's lack of interest in politics and even about purported reasons for women's lack of representation in politics using obscure factors such as ethnicities, belief systems, and the like.

The newspapers applied several argumentative strategies in their coverage or narrative to construct the ideology that women's interest in politics, not only is low, but even those who are interested are not participating for the sake of politics. Their participation is mainly for their personal gain, except for women coming from a few ethnicities within Algeria and women who showed unconventional characteristics within their conservative environment. The following two extracts show women's interest levels in joining politics and depict the sudden surge as due to feminist groups' interest in politics. They also chose not to mention the actual number of women who opted to join electoral lists, which still remained insufficient to meet the government's requirements under the new quota law. The first extract is from *Al-khabar* (2012)

أزمة نساء تواجه الأحزاب و الأحرار بالاغواط

تواجه الأحزاب و المترشحون الأحرار بالاغواط صعوبات كبيرة في العثور على العنصر النسوي لاستكمال نسبة 30 بالمائة المطلوبة قانونا. و دخلت الأحزاب خاصة الجديدة منها و المترشحون الأحرار في رحلة بحث عبر البلديات من أجل العثور على امرأة تقبل الترشح و لو بالاغراءات. بالنظر لكون المنطقة محافظة و لا يزال النشاط النسوي في المجال السياسي محدودا يقتصر على الأحزاب التقليدية المعروفة.

Parties and independent candidates in Laghouat face great difficulties in finding female candidates to complete the 30% required by law. The parties, especially the new ones and the independents, entered a search through the municipalities to find a woman who would accept the candidacy, even by using temptations, given that the region is conservative and women's political activity is limited to traditional parties.

Al-khabar, 2012-03-12

In the above extract from *Al-khabar* (2012), the hyperbole "women's crisis" in the headline, is used to describe the low participation rates of females in electoral lists of 2012. It is useful to note here that this term "crisis" (in Arabic) is commonly used in Algerian culture -in articles and everyday life— and is used particularly in times where basic consumption requirements are scarce and are desperately needed such as when water or electricity supplies stop. In Algeria, such disruption can take weeks at a time. Hence, the use of such an expression deliberately equates women to a consumable product; the general reader would not have any difficulty linking or associating this crisis to women as commodities given how often scarcity of gas, water, and so on occur, and I would argue that this use of hyperbole is also a deliberate strategy of scaremongering. However, the rest of articles with such headlines placed the blame or the so-called "women's crisis" in politics squarely on women themselves.

This point about blaming women can be found in the remainder of the extract where the article states that despite the government's inclusion of the quota law, and the several attempts of feminist groups to make more women's voices heard in political avenues, it is the women themselves who are not willing to participate in politics. The newspaper further depicts the parties' search for female participants as an "exploratory journey" that is filled with "major difficulties" to find any woman who is willing to participate. The use of the above expressions, coupled with the assimilation reference to women through the Arabic cultural expression "feminine element" which implies the existence of a minority, which might be true in depicting the number of women in politics, but certainly does not reflect the number of women in the population which have been equal to male numbers. Accordingly, the use of such strategies conveys that women are but a minority that is highly disinterested in pursuing politics, and that their disinterest is due to various factors, which are often generalised to the entire female population in Algeria. These main factors include traditional, cultural and societal constraints. This is argued within the same report by the use of the word "conservative" which, in this context, is a blatant stereotypical representation of how Algerian women should behave.

The second extract below is also from *Al-khabar* (2012) in a different article which further extends the broad narrative of blaming women's lack of interest on women and more insidiously, women who choose to enter politics, do so for political, personal gains,

إعلانات في السر و العلن للبحث عن نساء يوظفن في أحزاب لممارسة مهنة عقود ما قبل التشغيل، و لكن هذه المرة لحشو مؤقت في قوائم حرـم..

Advertisements in secret and open to search for women to be employed in parties to practice the profession of pre-employment contracts, but this time for temporary filling in the free lists.

Annasr, 2012-02-04

In other words, the extract above highlights the newspaper's argument that women's interest in the political arena stems from reasons irrelevant to politics. Those reasons are more relevant to these women's ambitions of power and desire for money, negating any interest on the part of these female politicians in politics; and describing those who choose to pursue politics as opportunists, who are not defending their political beliefs and respecting their political affiliations, but are instead serving their personal agenda in the search of money and power. The newspaper further accentuated this claim by using the term "الاغراءات" insinuating that despite the conservative nature of the region, women who seek politics are easy to be persuaded to change allegiances, and hence disloyal, and who are willing to overlook principles when it serves their personal agenda.

Additionally, the use of the rhetorical expression "in secret and in public" by the newspaper indicates that the parties, of which the newspaper is affiliated, are looking for females to join their electoral lists, by all means necessary, even if it is through secretly collaborating with females from different political parties who could not join their party's lists, be it because of bureaucracy or male dominance over the party. Furthermore, the use of the expressions "temporary filling" implies that those female politicians are used as a mere temporary filler. This is further accentuated by the use of the word "pre-employment" to describe joining the part. Firstly, "pre-employment" is a programme set by the government for jobless youth to find short contracts with national companies for minimum wage, while waiting to find an actual job. By linking "pre-employment" with political parties, this guarantees paid reimbursement to women willing to join the party and by implication, when the party wins using their name, it is the end of their association with the party; in this way, the newspaper, *Al-khabar*, blames women for agreeing to such "contracts" in the first place. *Al-khabar* is not the only newspaper doing this: blaming women who agree to such contracts with political parties (of course not involving political parties affiliated with *Al-khabar*), there are many others (which will be mentioned later) that adopt such double strategies of blaming women, and accusing other parties at the same time.

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The traditional cultural barriers and the conservative nature of some parts of the nation were used to justify the low interest rates in politics and that women who come from these parts are not as capable females as the "Nayliyat and Shaouiat" and cannot compete with male politicians.

In the following extract, heroic behaviour is identified with women from a particular ethnic group in Algeria, the "Nayliyat" and "Shaouiat" who reside mostly in the mid-east and mid-west of Algeria. The ethnification and culturalization strategies allow us to understand how these women who have previous experience of being on par with men, especially during the Algerian revolution in the fifties, are represented in different regions and what factors are used to give them this unique representation. This strategy polarises women around Algeria by generalising them to different groups and stereotypically, presenting some groups in a positive manner, while other groups are presented negatively (Atanga, 2010, p. 125). *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspaper highlighted some ethnicities and excluded others through representing them as conservative, adhering to cultural norms through behaving in a socially acceptable manner, which does not include political participation. Furthermore, The Headline uses the war metaphor "mobilizes" to draw upon the previous experiences of the "Shaouiat" in revolting against those who try to prevent them of their rights. The newspaper, then, argues that the reason behind the low participation rates of women is a direct result of male dominance and that these women need to "revolt" against male dominance in politics to restore their stolen rights.

حزب حنون يستنفر نساء الشاوية

دعت السيدة فريدة يعقوبي عضو المجلس الشعبي الولائي عن أم البواقي عن حزب العمال نساء منطقة الشاوية إلى ممارسة حقوقهن السياسية بالترشح في التشريعات وقالت أن المكانة التي تحظى بها المرأة اليوم يجب أن تنعكس في الممارسة السياسية التي لازال الرجل وحده الذي يحتكرها في المنطقة.

Hanoune's party mobilizes Chaoui women

Mrs. Farida Yatoubi, Oum El-Bouaghi APW (Assemblée Populaire wilayale) member for the Workers Party, has urged chaoui women to practice their political rights by running in legislative elections. She says that the status of women today should be reflected in political practices, which are still monopolised by men.

(Annasr, 07-03-08)

النايليات يكذبن تصريحات الساسة بالجلفة

قدمت العشرات من النساء الجلفويات ملفاتهن للترشح لتشريعات ماي القادم ومنهن الطبيبة والصيدلية والأستاذة والممرضة ،ومنهن من يشتغلن في مهن أخرى ومتعددة ،مايؤكدالتصريحات التي أطلقتها بعض القيادات المحلية للأحزاب بالجلفة بأنهم سيجدون مشكلا في إيجاد مترشحات للتشريعات القادمة، لا أساس له من الصحة ،بل إن الكم الهائل من الملفات خلق لهم مشاكل في الاختيار.

"Nayliyat" in Djelfa prove politician statements false

Tens of women in Djelfa have submitted their files to run in the next legislative elections. They include doctors, pharmacists, teachers, nurses and other jobs. This has proven the false statements made by local politicians who said that it would be difficult to find women candidates. The big number of files has created problems in the selection of candidates.

(Al-khabar, 12-03-10)

The more conservative parts of Algeria guard their women and women's action very deeply, and women from these places rarely break the normative rules, as they seem to adhere to the social and cultural norms. However, the newspapers frame those who break the rules, especially those who are interested in politics as unconventional, and that they are usually given masculine characteristics to highlight their difference from normal women. In the following articles, it is noted that two women coming from two different parts of Algeria that are both considered highly conservative, the first of which in the South of Algeria and the second is a small city, in a very conservative province; Mila are both labelled as "Iron Lady" using the symbolization strategy. This description comes to portray their bravery in tackling the upcoming elections and taking part despite male rejection. This reference paints the picture that women who have the courage to be unconventional and break the normative rules are supernatural women who chose to fight. This reference coupled with the use of the metaphor "mo3tarak" signifies they are about to undertake a war, rather than a political election. Similarly, to these two women, the following article discusses the "rally lady" who was the rally champion in Algeria, a sport that until very recently was exclusively, a male domain. Her announcement of participating in the parliamentary elections is discussed with a greater focus on her profession, highlighting that this is a masculine profession, which makes her an unconventional woman. The newspaper have chosen the symbolization strategy to refer to these women as iron ladies, in the first two extracts, adopting their supernatural social practices as well as the male profession give women masculine characteristics which goes to show that conventional women from such regions are not supposed to aim or achieve such success. This is made clear through the actionalization strategies used, and the use of idioms such as "kharja lam yakon yantadiroha alkathiron" where the newspaper states their achievements as outstanding social practices that were not expected in such a conservative environment and, therefore, makes these women unique.

‏‏"المرأة الحديدية" لشلغوم العيد في قائمة الأفلان بميلة

اختيرت السيدة نعمون ضمن قائمة حزب جبهة التحرير الوطني بولاية ميلة بعد أن رشحتها قسمة شلغوم العيد ومنحتها الثقة لتمثيلها في تشريعات ماي القادم. وتنتمي السيدة نعمون التي يطلق عليها في شلغوم العيد إسم "المرأة الحديدية" إلى أسرة التعليم حيث تشتغل كمديرة

ثانوية،ومعروفة بنضالها في الأفلان منذ سنوات الأمر الذي أكسبها -إحتراما في أوساط مناضلي الحزب الذين رشحوها لخوض سباق التشريعات القادمة.

Chelghoum Laid "Iron Lady" on FLN list in Mila

Mrs. Naamoune was selected by FLN to represent Chelghoum Laid in Mila province in the next legislative elections in May. Mrs. Naamoune, called in Chelghoum Laid "The Iron Lady", is a high school director known for her struggle in FLN since the Black Decade. This has led to her respect by the other FLN members who selected her to run in the next legislative elections.

(*Al-khabar*, 2012-04-8)

"المرأة الحديدية " تدخل المعترك بأدرار

ترأست الأمينة الولائية لاتحاد النساء بأدرار قائمة الحركة الشعبية الجزائرية التي يرأسها عمارة بن يونس، لخوض معترك التشريعات ،حيث راهن رئيس الحزب على الشعبية الكبيرة التي تتمتع بها السيدة مريم بن ديبة خاصة في أوساط النساء ،حيث تعرف في أدرار بالمرأة الحديدية.

The Iron Lady to run in election in Adrar

Adrar province Women's Union Secretary General is top of the legislative electoral list of the Algerian Popular Movement led by Amara Benyounes. –The latter relies on Mrs. Meriem Bendiba's big popularity among women; she is known as the Iron Lady in Adrar.

(*Annasr*, 2007-03-21)

سيدة الرالي تخوض التشريعات بالأغواط

اختارت بطلة الرياضات الميكانيكية وسباقات الرالي السيدة رباعي خديجة دخول سباق التشريعات متصدرة القائمة الحرة "صوت الشعب " بعد جمع التوقيعات المطلوبة ،في خرجة لم يكن ينتظرها الكثيرون لأن المرأة التي ترأس نادي الرياضيات الميكانيكية لم تكن تنشط في المجال السياسي لتركيزها في السابق على العمليات الخيرية والرياضة ونشاطها التجاري

The rally lady to run in legislative elections in Laghouat

Mrs. Rebai Khadidja, champion of mechanical sports and car racing, has decided to run in legislative elections by leading the independent list "People's Voice" after collecting the required number of signatures. This is an unexpected move because she presides the Mechanical Sports Club and she has not dealt with politics before. Her main interest was charity work, sports and commercial activity.

Al-khabar, 2012-04-8

The next set of extracts touches on a different kind of politicians, who are still portrayed to be uninterested in politics and the role it plays in the advancement of Algeria but are interested mainly in the money and power they gain from occupying leadership positions. Most of these "men and women" are portrayed to be business oriented and who are described as "parachute"

women whose ambition is to be re-elected for a second or third term in the Algerian parliamentary elections. The irony in this article is that the newspaper puts women ahead men in the title, which is uncommon in other contexts. The use of intensifying strategies to show women as the main perpetrators in the title in bold, coerces the reader to consider women to be the only wrongdoers in this context, and mitigates the fact that the number of businessman is much larger than business women. However, in the body of the article, the roles are reversed, and men are included before women.

...من عودةما سمي برجال و نساء ''الباراشوت''، نواب طامعون في التكرار، أرباب الشكارة ووزراء يعودون إلى الولاية في الوقت الضائع لتوزيع فتات مشاريعهم هنا...

....eturn of the so-called men and women of the "Parachute", deputies eager of repetition (being re-elected), rich people (lords of bags of money), and ministers returning to the wilaya (the province) at last minute (in lost time) to distribute their leftovers (the crumbs of their projects) her...

(Al-khabar, 2012-03-06)

Women's interest in power and money is shown through various strategies and is further discussed by newspapers in an attempt of showing the ways in which these politicians abuse their power and money to either serve their interests or further enrich their wealth. The next extract from al-khabar newspaper shows a female parliamentarian in a caricature fashion and reports that she was using her diplomatic immunity to taunt a group of citizens who wanted to pay their electric bills, when she decided to jump the queue and when confronted about it, she used obscenities to reply to the surprised citizens. According to the newspaper, she "rushed" to call the local police commissariat in an action that was guaranteed to deter the group of any further discussion, which lead the person who confronted her to flee before the police come because of fear of her power. Extracts like the latter, are intentionally put in a comedic way to insinuate a sense of irresponsibility from the parliamentarian. This helps create a stereotypical image of female politicians abusing power. Especially with the newspaper deliberately leaving important information of who, where and when did this event happen. Instead, the newspaper focused on mentioning that the parliamentarian is a female and has diplomatic immunity that protects her from any repercussions and proceeded to give approximate locations that fail to help identify the alleged culprit of this abuse of power.

برلمانيه تهدد مواطنين

A parliamentary woman threatens citizens

وجوه الشر

Faces of evil (Evil people)

اسمعت برلمانية في ولاية مجاورة للعاصمة مواطنين احتجوا على تجاوزها الطابور من أجل تسديد فواتير الكهرباء و الغاز ، كلاما يندي له الجبين، حيث خاطبت أحد المحتجين قاءلة "يبدو انك لا تعرف من أكون"، و شبهته بحيوان كريه، ثم سارعت بالاتصال بمحافظ الشرطة القريبة جدا من مكاتب سونلغاز. و حينما حضرت القوة العمومية، كان المواطن المسكين قد غادر المكان هربا، خشية أن يورط في قضية مع برلمانية تحوز على الحصانة.

A female member of parliament from a province neighbouring the capital insulted citizens (said very rude words to the citizens) who had complained her non-respect of the queue to pay electricity and gas bills. She told a plaintiff: "It seems you don't know me (who I am)", and compared him to an obnoxious animal. Then, she quickly called the very close police department. When the police (public force) arrived, the poor citizen had already escaped, fearing that he would be implicated in a row with a female member of parliament who had immunity.

(*Al-khabar*, 2012-03-06-2)-

Al-khabar newspaper, unlike *Annasr*, have applied several linguistic strategies such as rhetorical devices, actionalization and assimilation referential strategies, intensification of female negative actions and reactions and mitigating the negative actions of males, to instigate the argument that females interest in politics is low due to several cultural constraints, especially in known conservative areas. The few women who are interested in politics are argued to be interested in their own agendas in the search of money and power rather than the interest of the public and their gain. The use of these strategies after the introduction of the quota law is an explicit attempt from the newspaper to shift the portrayal of female politicians from being female victims of male dominance to politicians who share the sole responsibility of their own negative representation and evaluation by society.

-The discussion about women's interest in politics, for reasons besides politics itself is thoroughly explained in the above paragraphs. However, the interest in money and power is not exclusive to women only. The initial findings in early analysis revealed that male politicians are similarly presented in both newspapers as opportunists who are serving their personal agenda over the public interest. This interest sums up the level of corruption in the Algerian political arena and shows the way the decision makers work in Algeria. Furthermore, it explains the wide boycott calls from the electoral body both during the 2012 and 2017 parliamentary elections. A large amount of people was convinced that men and women alike are not running for parliament for the public interest but for personal gain and greed (See Appendix C). Sihvonen (2016) further claimed this in a study not only about the case of Algeria but about the whole of Africa that politicians are represented to be greedy opportunists, which explains the reason behind the

electoral body's choice to refrain from voting. Although this is pertinent to men as well as women, the focus in this study is on female politicians and their representation in newspapers, and therefore, their male counterparts are rarely referenced to avoid unnecessary comparisons that might distract the reader from the main aim of this study.

5.3.2 Female Parliamentarians' Educational Qualifications

The common denominator in all elections is the reliance of political parties on women's qualifications to justify either not including them in their lists or their unworthiness in performing the job. Women in the 2002 parliamentary elections were claimed to be unqualified for the job according to politicians and that their educational qualifications, or lack thereof, have prevented them from occupying leadership positions in the parties' lists. The following extract from *Annasr* newspaper in 2002 reports that one political party that lacked any female politicians in their lists, argue that their lists were based on qualification and merit rather than gender and that they refuse to use women as mere décor.

The latter implies the existence of presupposition that women are used by other parties as décor rather than being active members and that they have no educational qualification that grant them the merit to be selected. With the application of the quota system in 2012 elections, parties were forced to include the percentage of female participation imposed on them by the government. Both *Annasr* and *Al-khabar* newspapers have used several argumentation strategies to construct the ideology that all women who are in politics are not qualified to be included in parliament and that granting them the right to participate without the discrimination of the parties showed that women are disqualified and that politics is a -male domain.

الرجال يتفوقون على المرأة في الترشح و ينهزمون في المستوى التعليمي

Men exceed women in candidacy numbers but fail in educational levels

(*Al-Khabar*, 2012-03-30)

This article in *Al-khabar Newspaper* provides statistics about female and male parliamentarians' qualifications and illustrates the newspaper ideology concerning the presence of female politicians in politics. Although the number of qualified female parliamentarians is higher than the males, intensifying strategies are used to depict male parliamentarians as successful, mitigating females' role and success in the parliament. The article shines the spotlight on the percentage of male candidates who were successful in joining the parliament, compared to the percentage of women. Men were much more successful than women (69.57% to 30.43%), due

to cultural, social and quota reasons. However, the newspaper leaves the important fact that women are far more successful. Their success in educational qualification and merit is left to the last part of the headline. Within the article, this information is side-lined and not mentioned until the last paragraph, where no direct link is made to the fact that these percentages are better than males' numbers. Accordingly, despite the success of females in qualification, the prominent information highlighted here is the success of males in joining the parliament.

-This strategy in reporting represents the theme of women as unqualified at its core, as it keeps the idea that men are more successful than women are and that women are but a filler in the parliament, which is, as depicted by the percentages, not the case.

To keep up with their agenda, and in forming the argument that females are not qualified and not fit for parliamentary elections inclusion, the newspaper articles discuss mostly:

1. The party's position concerning where women will be included,

2. Examples of the parties' corruption in attracting the best women to represent their party to female voters

3. Examples that shows different women with no educational background and experience

4. A humanitarian speech made for women in a day about women and politics and how to improve their political participation,

5. To indicate that this is from an expert and a female so it must be true.

The generalisations are made based on these articles to all women included. The newspapers intentionally, excluded the coverage of women who are qualified and fit for the parliamentary election, as no reference has been made to any. In 2017, the representation of females in parliament were intertextually linked to one of the stories in 2012, generalising that all women who have joined the parliament are unqualified and even corrupt.

-In the following extract from *Annasr* newspaper, it is reported that the vice president of one political party has ruled out the possibility of a female leader of an electoral list. The newspaper then, proceeds to state that the leader of the party did not give reasons for not expecting women to be part of the list. However, in the very next sentence, they used uses intensifying strategies to depict male parliamentarians as successful, mitigating females' role and success in the parliament. The author also argues that women are not very loyal and do not defend the parties as much as men do, which limits their chances of being added to the electoral

lists. Even if it cannot be evidenced that all the women running for parliament are unfit, the generalisation strategy here depicts all women to be unfit. Moreover, the use of the engendering strategy rather than political actionalization strategy portrays those politicians in terms of their gender rather than abilities implying that because they are women, they have no qualification so they do not deserve to be accepted as leaders of electoral lists. Therefore, because of their gender, female politicians are portrayed as unqualified candidates, victims to their own lack of merit. Such reference of female parliamentarians as social actors generates "sameness and homogeneity" (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001), which foregrounds the allegedly negative representation of all as unqualified.

استبعد احمد الدان نائب رئيس جبهة التغيير أن تتصدر امرأة قوائم الحزب للتشريعات دون أن يبرر لنا مبررات لذلك مكتفيا بالقول أن جبهة التغيير ستضع على رأس قوائمها أصحاب الكفاءات والخبرةو الثبات و الدفاع على المصلحة العامة

Ahmad al-Dan, deputy head of the Change Front, ruled out that a woman should lead the party's lists to legislations, without justifying the reasons for this, saying only that the Front of Change will put its people on the top of its lists and continue defending public interest.

(*Annasr*, 2012-03-11)

Similarly, *Annasr* newspaper reports that a second political party claimed that women will not get any preferential treatment in their lists and only merit will factor in the creations of their electoral lists. This claim insinuates that there is a presupposition that women are treated differently than men and are given positions based on gender and interests rather than merit, especially that the inclusion of female candidates increases the possibility of attracting more female voices and adhering to the new quota law.

أكد بأنه لن يفضل النساء على الرجال في الترتيب.

الأفافاس يشترط الكفاءة و المصداقية لتصدر قواءمه و يلزم مرشحيه بالتوقيع على ميثاق المنتخب.

Insisted that he will not prefer women over men

FFS lists will be led by qualifications and integrity…

(*Annasr*, 2012-03-12)

From the data, it is noticed that in 2012, women's representation in newspapers has seen a slight shift from being unqualified and slightly victimized to questioning their intentions in entering politics, regardless of their qualifications and merit. Newspapers presented educated women as uninterested in politics, accusing those who do try to enter the political life of receiving temptations to get into politics (see last section).

Within the same week *Al-khabar* newspaper released two articles concerning the issue. Prospective educated female politicians are depicted as opportunists who have been tempted to join through offering them money, loans and job opportunity by all political parties old and new mitigating women's interest in politics in comparison to male politicians.

Both headlines used metaphorical expressions "fliring/courting" and "temptation" to portray women to be easy targets, giving subtle references to sexual temptations. The consistent use of "flirting" metaphor throughout the two study decades (1997-2017), stigmatized the representation of females as easy targets. In- the first headline the referential strategy used in representing them as social actors is the actionalization strategy that implies that they are solely needed for their title and qualification rather than what they can add to politics through their qualification.

-Nevetheless, a generalisation is used in the second headline due to the engendering strategy used in referring to them as women rather than candidates, which puts all women in the same basket as

بالموازاة مع مغازلة الطبيبات و المحاميات لتمثيل العنصر النسوي لابسة

In parallel with the desperate flirtation with female doctors and lawyers to represent women

-(Al-khabar, 2012-03-25)

ربات البيوت لحشو القوائم

Housewives to fill lists

بالإضافة إلى معضلة البحث عن تاء التأنيث التي وجد لها حل بالاستنجاد بربات البيوت..

In addition to the feminine crisis, whuch they found a solution for through calling on houswives

(Al-Khabar, 2012-03-06-1)

In addition to the representation of women as unqualified for political participation and that, the parties use even those who are educated to serve a particular agenda. *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers continue to mention how women from low-grade jobs that grant them no particular experience in politics are part of the electoral list. These extracts are from a very long article, in which its headline is directed toward female parliamentarians describing them as housewives that have been used to fill electoral lists. However, when reading the article, we found that it does not reflect the title and discusses a different topic about the parties' corruption that does not relate to the title, except for a very small excerpt that declares that females and

housewives were called upon to save the lists. Looking back to the headline, we can see the use of the activation strategy by representing them as housewives, has a negative stereotypical evaluation. This evaluation states that firstly, they have no qualification to make them suitable for the position and secondly by stereotypically (re)constructing the ideology that housewives are not acceptable because they do not meet the requirements for pursuing such a job. The second strategy, also within the headline is the metaphorical use of the infinitive verb (to stuff), which allocates a negative evaluation of these women, that they are simply used to fit the governmental requirement with the imposed quota and not be banned from the elections.

Similarly, in the following article by *Annasr* newspaper, it reports the speech of a parliamentarian named Bouasha, although the main focus of the speaker is the fact that the government is corrupt and tampering with crucial elections to serve their interests, the newspaper chose to intensify the focus on examples of previous parliamentarians. The speaker claims that the candidates were female cleaners and security guards, mitigating the role of women in the parliament and generalising one example of election tampering to all female politicians.

The speaker stated that the government being at the base of any new laws uses all-possible strategies to insure their success in any political event, including election tampering to insure their interests are preserved. The inclusion of such candidates continues the speaker, inflicts a lawless parliament that included at one point even previous cleaners and security guards who do not possess any merit of being there.

<div dir="rtl">

أبدى مخاوفه من التزوير في المحاضر

</div>

Showed his fears of election tampering

<div dir="rtl">

بوعشة: عاملات نظافة و أعوان حراسة كانوا نوابا في البرلمان.

</div>

Bouacha: Cleaning ladies and security guards were members of Parliament

<div dir="rtl">

دون الأخذ بعين الاعتبار مستوى النواب الذين كانوا يمثلونها والذين كان من بينهم عاملات نظافة وأعوان حراسة

</div>

…. Without taking into consideration the level of MPs who used to represent it, and among those MPs there were female cleaners and guards.

-(*Annasr*, 2012-03-12)

<div dir="rtl">

-استطاعت مناضلة حزبية معروفة معروفة ببشار بمساعيها الحثيثة إدراج اسمها ضمن القائمة الإسمية للمترشحين في أحد الأحزاب.إلى هنا كل شيء عاد، إلا أن غير العادي أن هذه السيدة استطاعت الوصول إلى مناصب عليا في هذا الحزب انطلاقا من ممارستها مهنة الحلاقة لنساء

</div>

المسؤولين،وهو ما مكنها من ربط علاقات قوية رغم كونها أمية تستعين على قراءة الوثائق ورسائل الجوال بمرافقيها ،وهو ما يعلق عليه الكثير أن جميع المهن وجدت لها ممثلين في البرلمان إلا الحلاقة.

A known female party activist in Bechar was able to add her name on the electoral list. What is surprising is that she could reach senior positions in the party because she was the 'administrators' wives' hairdresser, which allowed her to have strong connections. She was even illiterate, and her companions read documents and text messages for her. This has prompted a comment by many people that all occupations are represented in the parliament except shaving.

-(Al-Khabar, 2012-04-12)

The argument that female politicians are unqualified for representing the public in parliament is further discussed. This article in *Al-khabar Newspaper* outlines the themes of women being unqualified for the job, women abusing their power, and using unsolicited ways to achieve success. The caricature asks the questions (am I not qualified for parliament) rhetorically, presupposing that the answer is definitely "yes". In addition, she is referred to in the headline through her job "hairdresser", similar, to "housewives" and "cleaners" in the last two articles, the actionalization strategy here is used to negatively represent her as unqualified and unfit for the position. This argument is further strengthened through reference to her political professionalization as a "monadila 7izbya" and explaining the corruptive ways, she perused to achieve it.

The author of the article negatively describes her as an opportunist who took advantage of her job as a hairdresser for "politicians' wives", the generalisation and genicization in "politicians' wives" frames all politicians to be male because there is no reference to female politicians. This implies that all politicians are male, that only their wives go to her hairdresser's shop, and that this was the way for her to get access to parliamentary candidacy. The second point is the focus on her illiteracy, and that she is unqualified for such a position. Although this particular case might be true and she might be unqualified, what is interesting is the focus of the newspaper on such examples to show the public opinion that all females achieve candidacy in a similar way. Furthermore, this suggests that all females are opportunists who lack the basics to become a politician. Although it is established in the discussion above that more women are qualified than men and have better literacy and educational qualifications, we do not find similar examples of the use of irony to describe male candidates in an attempt to mock their status.

المرأة الكفأة لم تدخل معترك السياسية في الجزائر و الموجودات من المستوى المتوسط

The qualified woman did not enter the political arena in Algeria, and those who participate are average

Nasr, 22-04-2012

The last article presented about women qualification in 2012 in *Annasr* newspaper is reporting a humanitarian speech describing the qualification of women in this parliamentary election and attributing the factors of their disqualification. The prominent part in the headline is the quote by the humanitarian illustrating that the qualified female is not a part of this year's parliament, which directly, without further reading, presupposes that the ones who are recruited in the parliament now are all unqualified. The same quote is repeated by the introductory paragraph, but with explicit elaboration using the adjective "average" and the attribution that they are not capable of achieving positive results, negatively attributes these qualities to all parliamentarians. This generalisation homogeneity strategy ignores the one who worked hard to do it and are being left out because they do not serve the ideological agenda. A report on this topic was not found in *Al-khabar* newspaper, which makes it impossible to compare for exclusion and decontextualization strategies of the humanitarian speech while the newspaper report seems to be a summary of the reported speech rather than providing quotes of her speech. Nevertheless, from the humanitarian reported speech, we can deduce an appeal to culture to map the females' responsibility in being unfit for the position.

2017 coverage of- parliamentary elections was not different, two articles within *Al-khabar* newspapers made intertextual reference to 2012 story of the illiterate opportunist hairdresser that reached high positions in the party and achived a place in the electoral lists.

The first article reports on an FLN member of parliament, in caricature fashion. With the headline exposing her corruption while the report shows that she is naïve enough to think that she will not be caught. The article relates this corruption story to the hairdresser one to illustrate that because illiterate females of last year have been accepted because of their connections, faking evidence of being qualified will make her as equally accepted as those who have connections and illiterate by parties.

ماجستير وهمي من أجل الترشح

من عجائب التشريعات، أن إحدى نواب الأفلان في ولاية تيزي وزو،قدمت ملف ترشحها في الانتخابات، وأضافت في بيان استمارة الترشح أنها ‘‘أستاذة جامعية ‘‘ وحاصلة على شهادة ماجستير بينما يشير تحقيق بسيط في ملفها أنها لم تدرس يوما في الجامعة، وتكاد لا تحمل أي شهادة عدا شهادة الميلاد.

One of the wonders of legislative elections is that an FLN member of parliament submitted her file to run for elections. In her candidature form, she stated that she was a master's degree university teacher, but a

short inspection of the file shows that she has never been a university student and she does not have any certificate except the birth certificate.

الفئة الثالثة التي ستحتل مقاعد البرلمان بطريقة أشد سوءا هي فئة النساء... وبقدرة قادر،فإن أغلب المرشحات هذه المرة أسوأ من الحفافات في البرلمان الماضي.

The third category that will "occupy" the seats of parliament in a worst way than before is the category of women. Surprisingly, this time, most candidates are worse than "female hairdressers" in the previous parliament.

This article compares the new parliamentary candidates to their predecessors using irony, stating that this parliament is much worst than the previous one and that the inclusion of females in the 2017 election is much worst than the previous corrupters of the parliament. This statement is accentuated in the article through the use of the adjective/ adverb as a predicative strategy to emphasise their negative evaluation. Despite that female parliamentarians are more educated than males in the 2012 elections and that males have the highest number of illeterate candidates, we do not see any reports discussing their education levels and their previous jobs while the candidature of female hairdressers is taking a negative stereotypical representation, labelling these females as the worst category of politicians possible.

5.4   Conclusion

In this chapter, I have elaborated on how the notion of victimization of female politicians has changed through the years in the Algerian press and with the change of the different social and contextual factors surrounding the issue.

Al-khabar newspaper's extensive use of fallacy was clear during 1997 and 2002 to construct the ideology that females decrease in political participation is blamed, solely, on terrorism to hedge the government's responsibility. Other strategies like exclusion of important information and decontextualization are used to provide the reader with partial truth along with agency indetermination which is appealing to an obstructed vague authority to give a sense of unseen but coercive force. Nevertheless, Indetermination and appeal to anonymous authority fallacy strategies are used throughout the years by both newspapers to strengthen their argument in several occasions.

The act of hedging the government is mainly for freedom of speech reasons or funding reasons as media at the time (the case is worse nowadays) was controlled by the government and any kind of attack or insult of the government results in extreme punishments that may lead to jail, especially after the new law of 2002 that condemn journalists to jail if anything published touches the government in any way. The government control is also seen on the advertisements and printing services as both are fully controlled by the government. Therefore, despite the fact that terrorism had impacted the Algerian nation and, specifically, Algerian women badly, the situation was already corrupted and getting worse before the civil war while other factors, mostly controlled by the government, played a role in this decline. Hence, *Al-khabar* newspaper strategically framed women political participation as victims of terrorism to hedge the government responsibility.

The institutional dominance over women is thoroughly represented in both newspapers with similar perspectives. However, political affiliations were also present which enriched the critical reading of the data. The party's exploitation of women hopes and achievements is ideologically portrayed especially in 2002, right after the end of the civil war (black decade) where the country was recovering from the consuming practices that affected the population on all spheres. Women has been represented as victims to institutional bureaucracies through using them in every political election, using their tragedies and the importance of political participation to them in making their voice heard. Nevertheless, the newspaper blame on institutions is represented through stereotypically (re)constructing women as weak, emotional and in desperate need of men as heroes to give them their rights rather than taking them by themselves. It also frames them as naïve and weak to male flirting, which reinforces the stereotype that women cannot tackle decision-making in politics and, therefore, constructs them as outsiders to politics while it is completely a male domain.

The second kind of institutional victimization is the feminists' pressure after their awareness of the parties' intentions. Both newspapers represented feminists' awareness as their mission to include more females in politics to represent females through some linguistic strategies like agency substitutions or war metaphorical expressions. The excessive coverage of feminists and the representation of their efforts to include more serves the ideology that women access to politics is opposed on them through feminist organisations' pressure.

However, this discourse of victimization is a cover to women representation as unfit to proceed in a political career. -Nevertheless, both parties' victimization and the pressure made by feminist organisations have created a new discourse that constructs female politicians as social actors who are responsible for their underrepresentation in politics and prove to be responsible

for the social attitudes and media representation against them. The debate was over women's credibility to run for parliamentary elections after the initiation of the quota scheme in 2008 constitution. -Women have been blamed for their little interest in politics and instead being greedy for money and power. Accusing women access to politics through nepotism is evident in both newspapers. However, despite the higher educational qualification level of female candidates, the press excluded reporting on educated and experienced candidates and focused on the coverage of uneducated female candidates

Chapter 6   Louiza Hanoune and the Construction of a Political Model

6.1   Introduction

In the previous chapter, the discourse shift from victimization to responsibility has been evident in the data analysed in relation to female parliamentarians. This chapter is about Louiza Hanoune, a long--serving politician in the Algerian political arena who has been featured in most political debates regarding the country since the early 1990s (see appendix A). Her continuous participation, and persisting fight made her a widely recognised public figure. In fact, Louiza Hanoune is one of the first and most prominent figures of politics in Algeria. This is illustrated by her presiding her political party, the labour party throughout more than 20 years and her gradual but continuous acquisition of supporters of all ages, genders and views is a reflection of her discourse of support for all Algerians. The existence of Louiza Hanoune in the Algerian politics for such a long period of time and the fact that she was one of the pioneers of female politicians in Algeria, coupled with her triple presidential candidacy make her representation in the Algerian media very different from most female politicians. The number of articles covering her activity is colossal compared to the rest of female politicians, in addition to the different ways, strategies and changes used to represent her image and discourse through the times. Although there is a general agreement on her worth and her contributions to Algerian politics and public life alike. However, her multiple representations agree on portraying her as breaking gender roles in the Algerian society and breaking normative rules and persistent stereotypes for women in Algeria. In this chapter, Louiza Hanoune representation is discussed in relation to her leadership characteristics to uncover her representation and how it is evident in the Algerian press construction of "female politician model".

6.2   Gender Differentiation

The first topoi used by the newspapers in constructing the "female politician" model through the representation of Louiza Hanoune is appeal to gender differentiation (Atanga, 2010). Through this model female politicians are always constructed as females first, then politicians. In this study, I use the term to represent how gender is used to create difference discourse between males and females and to create a boundary between females following gender norms and those who are unconventional. Several explicit and implicit strategies have been found in the representation of the press.

6.2.1 Masculine/ Feminine Reference

The newspapers' reference to Louiza Hanoune's work as head of a political party and the spokesperson of her own party sees a continuous shift throughout the last 20 years (1997-2017). She has been represented differently and have been labelled using so many strategies from both newspapers. However, a more thorough analysis of the articles representing her in 2002 in both *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers depicted her as masculine like, using the masculine version of the word "spokesman". With Arabic being a gendered language, differentiating between male and female through adding the letter "t" to the last part of a noun, it is impossible to make such a mistake in reference, and if any occurred, it would be once or twice maximum.

<div dir="rtl">

الناطق الرسمي لحزب العمال-

</div>

The spokesman for the Labour Party

(Al-khabar, 2002)

However, as seen in the examples above, it is prevalent in 2002 articles of both newspapers and it aligns with a particular pattern in reporting her discourse whenever she portrays any aggressiveness, roughness or insistence on being positively persuasive and influential in her speeches. This suggests one of two explanations, the first of which is that the newspapers are confused in using the term, as she is the first female political speaker of a political party, in her case, her own political party. The second option is that they are not able to accept the fact that a female can be aggressive and the fact that only few females were in leadership positions, with no actual power on decision-making and no visible political voice. Therefore, it was a deliberate construction of her as being unconventional and showing what is culturally accepted as masculine qualities or characteristics.

The newspaper constraints the use of her femininity under particular circumstances where her actions and reactions confront with her feminine cultural obligations. Hanoune's position and her political style and personality, which highlights her strength outside the patriarchal structure was depicted as being out of the normative gender roles and presumed as masculine. This strategy maintains the stereotype that women who do not conform to the norm, are unconventional and considered different and masculine which reinforces the idea that politics is a male domain.

6.2.2 Engendering

The second referential strategy used by the media to represent Louiza Hanoune is engendering; the representation of social actors through their sex (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001).

Louiza Hanoune is portrayed as "Lady" or "woman" whenever the newspapers reported her political victories, eliminating her function as the president of the labour party and their spokesperson and putting the spotlight on her gender, indicating that she remains a female politician who is not to be compared to male politicians despite any success she might have in the political arena. The following selected extracts highlight the strategies of mitigation to her various successes by accentuating the fact that she is a woman in politics, and she is breaking normative rules, by being the first Algerian woman to be considered a presidential election candidate and the first Arab woman to run for president.

<div dir="rtl">بلورت السيده حنون مواقف شجاعه ساهمت في..</div>

Ms. Hanoune has showed brave attitudes that contributed to …

<div dir="rtl">...فحزب السيده حنون فاز ب ٢١ مقعد...</div>

Hanoune's party has won 21 seats …

<div dir="rtl">وبهذا القرار تكون السيده حنون اول امرأة تشارك في سباق الرئاسات..</div>

<div dir="rtl">ستكون أول امرأة جزائريه تشارك في انتخابات رئاسية منذ الاستقلال و هي مشاركه تتوج عند حصولها مسارا نضاليا طويلا لهذه السيدة</div>

With this decision, Ms. Hanoune will be the first woman to participate in the presidential race …

She will be the first Algerian woman to participate in presidential elections since independence. That participation will be a culmination of a long struggle for this woman.

<div dir="rtl">مجموعة تناقضات كانت مساء الخميس الماضي بدار الثقافة في قسنطينة تنتظر السيدة حنون حتى شارفت القاعة على الامتلاء.</div>

<div dir="rtl">ما يميز لويزة حنون وهي أول امرأة عربية تترشح للرئاسيات هو.</div>

What distinguishes Louiza Hanoune, the first Arab woman to run for president, is …

<div dir="rtl">هذه السيدة التي أخفقت في الرئاسيات من قبل بسبب عدم حصولها على 75,000 توقيع تمكنت اليوم من قيادة حزبها للحصول على أكثر من 355 ألف صوت من الأصوات المعبر عنها وإلى حيازة 21 مقعد في البرلمان المقبل.</div>

This lady, who failed in the presidentials because she did not receive 75,000 signatures, managed to lead her party today

(Annasr, 2002, 06-01)

In all these articles, Louiza Hanoune was reported as a female rather than a politician using "the lady Hanoune", "the first woman". The attributive value of the connotation here is negative

rather than a positive one, despite the historical significance of Louiza Hanoune on women achievement. The reason behind that is this linguistic choice reminds the reader than she is a female first then a politician which in the Algerian culture is a not acceptable (especially in presidential elections) due to their interpretation of Islamic rules that women are not allowed to rule. This representation hinders her chances of ruling and affects her presence as a compatible female politician with the rest of her male counterparts.

6.2.3   A female candidate and less than the rest

Further investigation of the gender differentiation in *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers indicated that the idea that she is a female so she is different and less than her male counterparts is illustrated through strategies besides referential strategies. Her media representation went on to include depicting her as the pride of all Arab and Algerian women, the voice of all females in Algeria and the female leader of an opposition party, which lead her to go public in stating that she is not the candidate of females, but the candidate of her party and all the population. The media's back-handed positive representations coupled with her attempted self-representation affected her public image and brought on the negative evaluations of her depiction. This helped shape an opposing idea that she is indeed the pride of women, the microphone through which their voices are heard and the protector of their rights, especially that she was always linked to her past feminist groups associations. These factors contributed in narrowing her political potential and limited her role in the eye of the public.

Under gender differentiation claim, topoi of history is used.- This is through providing reference to history to conclude that she is the representative of women in presidential elections rather than the running as a president of the Algerian nation... This idea is ideologically argued by using her history in feminist activism and her interest in changing the status quo for Algerian women, in relation to gender normative values and through her actions in empowering females of all affiliations and none to reclaim their rights. The following extract explains how she is one of the biggest feminist activists and that she is completely against the newly introduced family law which, in her opinion does not represent the needs of Algerian women at the time and does not serve the principles of modern democracy. This extract highlights the phrase "according to her" and implies that her opinion is the exception as it does not conform to what society agrees on and what the Islamic law, which is the main basis of the constitution, dictates. This persuasive strategy further encourages her construction primarily as a female's candidate, rather than a candidate of the people.

تعد أيضا من أكثر المدافعين عن حقوق المرأة و دعت إلى إلغاء قانون الأسرة الذي يجعل المرأة حسبها مواطنة من الدرجه الثانيه، و لم تتوان في هذا المجال و بالتعاون مع مناضلات أخريات عن انشاء جمعيه المساواه بين الرجل والمرأة أمام القانون.

She is also one of the most prominent defenders of women's rights. She called for the abolition of the Family Code, which according to her makes women second-class citizens. In cooperation with other organisations, she did not hesitate to establish a society of equality between men and women before the law.

<div align="right">(Annasr, 2004-02-22)</div>

Another persuasive strategy used to, ideologically, limit the merit of her candidacy is the use of her personal private experiences to depict her beliefs as biased and subjective which will definitely have an enormous impact on her decision-making in such a critical position. The newspapers' reference to her divorce and struggles in marriage explicitly puts her opposition to the family law into question. Even though her opinion might be shared by various males and females across Algeria, the focus on her demands of law changes to preserve women's dignity as she claims, especially, after her divorce implies a direct link between her demands and her experiences, to weaken her claim and political position.

<div align="right">ودافعت عن المرأة وطالبت بتغيير قانون الأسرة بما يحفظ حقوق و كرامة المرأة لا سيما بعد طلاقها..</div>

She defended the woman and called for changing the Family Code to preserve the rights and dignity of women, especially after her divorce.

<div align="right">Annasr, 2004-02-22</div>

Another strategy in forming this ideology is using her self-representation during one of her political speeches as a presupposition strategy, presupposing that she is considered to be firstly, representing females instead of the Algerian people and secondly being foreseen as less than the rest of the candidates.

<div align="right">و رغم أن السيدة لويزه حنون تعتبر أول امرأة في الجزائر و الوطن العربي في انتخابات رئاسية، إلا أن هذه المترشحة، لا تعتبر نفسها مرشحة النساء، فمثلما أكدت مرارا أنهن ام يفوضنها مرشحة عنهن " لكنها بالمقابل ترى أنها تواصل نضالهن، و تعتمد على العمال، ولا تنوي التحالف مع أي مترشح في حالة وجود دور ثان للرئاسيات لأنها تعتقد أنها ليست أقل شأنها منهم، و أن أحزابهم ليست أكثر تنظيما من حزبها، وتتمنى في حالة وجود طور ثان أن تكون طرفا فيه. ٢٠٠٤</div>

Although she is considered the first woman in Algeria and the Arab world in presidential elections. This candidate does not consider herself a candidate for women. She has repeatedly stated that they did not delegate her a candidate, but she will continue their struggle. She relies on workers and does not intend to ally with any candidate in the case of a second session of the presidential elections because she believes she is not inferior and their parties are not more organised. In the event of a second session, she wishes she would be a part of it.

<div align="right">(Annasr, 2004-03-15)</div>

<div align="right">لست ديكورا في للرئاسيات</div>

و بثقة كبيرة تؤكد السيدة حنون انها مرشحة حزب و ليست مرشحه نساء في ردها على الذين يرونها فقط من زاوية المرأة الحديدية المتميزة وطنيا و عربيا باعتبارها أول امرأة على هذا المستوى تنافس الرجال على منصب القاضي الاول للبلاد. ٢٠٠٩

I am not a decor in the presidency

With great confidence, Ms. Hanoune affirms that she is a candidate for a party and not a candidate for women in her response to those who see her only from the point of view of the iron woman, distinguished nationally and in the Arab world as the first woman at this level to compete men for the post of first judge of the country.

(Annasr, 2004-03-09)

In the same fashion, the newspaper states that the presidential candidate does not consider herself a candidate of women. It is noted here that the newspaper hints at the presupposition that people consider her a candidate of women only and that she had to refute that claim herself, claiming all the while that her fight toward empowering women will be continued. The continuous use of presuppositions coupled with engendering reference to her sex is a clear misrepresentation of Louiza Hanoun in an attempt to limit her reach to a certain group and limit her audience to a stereotypical fraction of society, namely, women. Although women represent a large chunk of her audience, the articles to come show a variety of societal groups who consider her to be representative of their struggle and ideology.

6.3   Unconvintionalization

The second claim about what makes "a female politician" is explained through the topoi of Unconvintionalization. This claim argues that women who show leadership characteristics are unconventional, different from regular women and hold some masculine characteristics. This claim is justified through the use of some referential and predicative evaluations that ascribe particular characteristics to female politicians.

6.3.1   **Iron Woman**

Both *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers positively represented Louiza Hanoune as a brilliant female politician, who is relentless, hardworking and relatable. In addition, they portrayed her as a unique female politician in both the history of Algerian and Arabic politics. The continuous struggle of Louiza was argued to be the reason of her achievements and the key to being in a leadership position. The newspapers continue to claim that such achievements managed to separate her from the rest of the herd, which lead to criticism of her person at times but most importantly glorification and praise of her attributes, such as courage, leadership, kindness and relatability.

The symbolization referential strategy through the expression 'The Iron Lady' is widely used in both newspapers during the success of the Workers Party in 2002 legislative elections until 2014. The newspapers continued to glorify her victories both in parliamentary and presidential elections

السيدة الحديدية تقود حزبها إلى مصاف الكبار

The iron lady leads her party to the highest levels

مايميز هذه السيدة الحديدية

What characterises this iron lady

Annasr, 2002-06-1

Similar to the representation of ethnicities, in which they are portrayed to be unconventional due to their historical significance in working along with men to fight the French revolution. The social practices of Louiza Hanoune before and after her official political participation and her ability to influence politics and handle the public sphere are represented as supernatural practices that are made by a supernatural, a fictional woman that does not exist in real life through the overdetermination symbolization referential strategy (Van Leeuwen, 2008). This ideological notion highlights the strength and personality of females outside the patriarchal structure, as it focuses on the break in gender and normative roles and the attributes and values that are stereotypically attributed to men.

However, despite that this representation might seem positive, it reconstructs women political participation as a very hard profession for regular females which requires super powers to be achieved. This reinforces the ideology that political participation is a male domain and that political leadership requires a female standing out of gender norms to be able to conduct it.

Similar to the Iron Lady representation, predication strategies have been used in this context to portray the same image. Describing her roughness and comparing her to a solid material that is unbreakable is explicitly representing "the woman" Louiza to be breaking out of the shell that is the gender norms of the Algerian society.

انتصار كبير حققه حزب لويزه حنون المرأة الصلبه التي لا يلين لها صوت ولا يخفت لها حديث..

A great victory achieved by the party of Louiza Hanoune, the strong woman whose voice is unrelenting and words do not fade …

The portrayal might seem positive at first glance, nevertheless, it is negative and ideological in its core. The engendering strategy represents her as a female rather than a politician, such a choice makes all the difference. If she were represented through her profession, then it would have been milder as it would have been her character, as a politician that is framed not her gender.

Such reference along with the negative attributes presupposes how females in the Algerian society should act and that only females who dare break the gender norms can achieve success and reach leadership positions. By representing her as making the unconventional conventional, along with her representation as iron woman, a female, then a politician, the newspapers are reconstructing the stereotype that politics is a male domain and that the masculine qualities and characteristics are the reason for their success in politics, which women naturally lack due to their gender. The implications of the use of such strategies are greater than the praise she might receive as the newspapers are communicating a hidden ideology that her gender difference makes her a representative of women in politics and only women, not the Algerian people in all their categories. Therefore, she is represented implicitly to be inferior to the other candidates and not suitable for presidency. The following section will explain how this ideology is further constructed in detail.

Similar to the *Iron Lady* representation, predication strategies have been used in this context to portray the same image. Describing her roughness and comparing her to a solid material that is unbreakable is explicitly representing "the women" Louiza to be breaking out of the shell that is the gender norms of the Algerian society.

6.3.2 Louiza Hanoune as Aggressive

The first impression that the reader infers from the reported verbs in most of the analysed articles throughout the 20 years period (1997-2017) is that Louiza Hanoune is a highly aggressive female politician who is definitely different from the rest of the female politicians, but at the same time highlighting that she is quite different from her male counterparts as well. She is shown to be loud, fearless and opinionated, without consideration to social and cultural norms of women should be like in the Algerian society. She is definitely not the only woman to be represented this way, but the fact that she is probably the most prominent female figure in the Algerian history after the independence makes her an easy and more effective target of misrepresentation. An examination of her representation shows a continuous and excessive use of war metaphors, aggressive idioms, and forceful verbs to describe her speeches, actions and reactions.

Despite politics being ubiquitously considered a war zone, an activity where everything is allowed and bullying other people is authorised for the sake of power. The extreme use in Louiza Hanoun's situation, far more than any other type of stereotyping and even more than similar representation of other male politicians makes it seem like Louiza Hanoune is far worse than her female and male counterparts are. The following examples are taken from both legislative and presidential elections' coverage, from both newspapers to expose the diversity of strategies applied in representing Louiza Hanoune as an aggressive politician.

خلال تجمع شعبي بقسنطينة لويزة حنون تفتح النار في كل الاتجاهات

During a public meeting in Constantine, Louiza Hanoune opens fire in all directions

حنون تفتح النار على ثلاثة مترشحين للرئاسيات

Hanoune opens fire on three presidential candidates-

(Al-khabar 14-03-24)

وواصلت خطابها الصريح والشرس ،حيث لم يسلم من مهاجمتها أي حزب

She continued her honest and fierce speech, where no party was safe from her attacks

كثيرا ما كان الوزير تمار في فوهة مدفعها

Repeatedly, Minister Temar was in her canon

(Al-khabar, 09-01-31)-

هاجمت لجنة بلعيز التي أعدت قانون ترقية المشاركة السياسية للمرأة

Attacked Belaiz's council that prepared the women's political participation law

حنون:"القانون إملاء خارجي ونظام الكوطة خرق للدستور"

Hanoune: "the law is external dictation and the quota system is a breach of the constitution"

(Al-khabar 09-07-21)

Most of the newspapers headlines about her were using hyperbole in relation to her aggressive attitude to attract the readers' attention to support the newspapers wider representation of her as aggressive (Richardson, 2009). The second strategy is describing the nature of her political speech through different evaluative metonyms and adjectives, such as "the honest and wild, intense and violent" claiming that everyone was subject to her attacks and no one was safe. In addition, using war metaphors to report her attitude and social action during

political speeches, such as "release fire on all sides", "attacks" and "fits a war" illustrates that it is not only her political discourse but also even her attitudes and reactions are masculine in nature. Further representation of her violent nature is through war metaphors to describe her triggers who are her male counterparts. In the case of the listed example, *Al-khabar* newspaper reported that the previous minister 'Temmar' was the trigger and the subject for Hanoune's aggressive behaviour and powerful words due to their disagreement. This portrayal falls in line with the claim that female politicians, who portray masculine traits in aim of a fair competition in any election, were depicted in the media as more aggressive than their male political counterparts were. This portrayal is a direct result of deeply rooted societal conventions or expectations concerning "appropriate" female behaviour. The result leads to a misrepresentation of the behaviour of female leaders and, by extension, a reinforcement of conventional beliefs about women's roles (Everitt and Gidengil's (2003); Iserhienrhien, A.I, 2014, p.34).

6.4　　Unique Political Character

The previous parts of the chapter paint a pretty clear idea of the representation of Louiza Hanoune in the Algerian media and allows us to point out both the similarities and differences in her representation compared to the rest of the female politicians. The newspapers describe her as aggressive, iron lady, and use engendering strategies to highlight her rebellious nature, which puts her in a different place than other female politicians who are mostly passivated. On the contrary, she is, similarly to other females, represented in terms of gender rather than political position and portrayed as being less than male politicians.

As the following discussion shows, Louiza Hanoune is positively represented as qualified, fit female politician claimed to be a unique female political politician. Her unique political character was incorporated and argued using different linguistic and social strategies throughout the 20 years studied (1997-—2017) through reference to the following:

- Simple, desired speech style
- Unique political character
- Stable but positively flexible political stands
- Hardworking

Louiza Hanoune's speech is represented by the media as simple desired speech by all public categories. The following selection of examples are chosen to highlight the different strategies

applied to achieve this representation that legitimises the model of Louiza Hanoune as a unique political figure.- The first extract is from *Annasr* newspaper (1997) which depict her representation in the first decade of her political participation as a party leader and before her party gained its current popularity.

مجموعة تناقضات كانت مساء الخميس الماضي بدار الثقافة في قسنطينة تنتظر السيدة حنون حتى شارفت القاعة على الامتلاء... لويزة حنون تناولت الكلمة وعندها كان الانتباه كاملا قالت إنها تخوفت من قسنطينة التي للسلطة فيها يد قوية وأن مناخ التخوف العام لا يسمح بالعمل الحر.

Last Thursday evening, a series of contradictions awaited Louiza Hanoune in the Palace of Culture in Constantine until the hall was almost full… While everyone was fully attentive to Louiza Hanoune's speech, she said that she feared Constantine because authorities had a full grasp on it and that the general climate of fear does not allow free movement.

(Annasr, 2002, 06-01)

In this extract, it is indicated that Louiza's visit to the city of Constantine has been a successful ploy for her party as a whole, but most importantly for her as a politician. It is explicitly stated that the theatre in which the party's meeting was scheduled was nearly full of supporters, who were eagerly waiting to hear her speech and were almost annoyed for having to listen to other party officials before hers. This is further enforced by the use of the adverb (with embarrassment) in the dependent clause, suggesting that the public's presence in the theatre before her speech was simply out of respect and embarrassment. In this instance, *Annasr*, shows the interest that Louiza has among the public and the extent to which her popularity reached among all sorts of citizens, the young and the old, the females and the males, the educated and the illiterate, which plays a big role in representing her as the woman of the people. The politician who is close to everyone, and her speeches touch on various topics lived by the public and shows a relation and a relevance to their daily struggles. Hence, Louiza Hanoune was characterised with excellent communication skills and an inspiring public figure.

الاستماع إلى خطاب زعيمة حزب العمال لويزة حنون فيه من الفوائد ما يرضي مختلف الأذواق. الفضوليون يسمعونها لأنها تمتهن السياسة وتقول ما تعجز الأخريات عن قوله صراحة. والناقمون على الأوضاع يجدون في خطاب لويزة حنون متنفسا لهم وشتات الإسلاميين يسمعون امرأة لا يتفقون معها مبدئيا لكنهم معجبون بأسلوب معارضتها.

Louiza Hanoune's (the head of the Workers' Party) speech has benefits that satisfy different tastes. Curious people listen to her because she is a professional politician who dares to say what other women cannot say directly. Unsatisfied people with the current situation find in her speeches an outlet, and Islamists listen to a woman they do not agree with, but like her way of opposition.

(Annasr, 1997-03-01)

In fact, in the second extract taken from the same article by *Annasr* (1997) outlined above, she is further represented through her speeches and the crowds they attract. The newspaper highlights the fact that even those who opposed her work, for any reason, be it political, cultural,

or religious still attended her speeches out of curiosity and that her speeches draw a variety of people who are "pleased" by what she has to say through the metaphor "different tastes". This metaphorical use suggests a positive reaction from the public, and a positive evaluation of her actions. The rest of the extract provides a detailed explanation of the metaphor through the use of several predication strategies such as conjunctional phrases, prepositional phrases, adverbs and adjectives to denote her strong political experience, honesty and courage. However, the use of the relative clause "what others cannot say" reflects her unique political character and justifies the difference between her media coverage in relation to the rest. This also justifies the explanation of her representation in a different part than the rest of female parliamentarians found in the data analysed, despite the positive reference of her political experience, Louiza is still represented in terms of her gender when being linked to Islamists. In the last part of the extract, in describing Islamists view, the article uses the engendering reference "woman" rather than politician followed by the adverb "in principle". This could be explained, even though it is not explicitly stated in the article, through appeal to history. Because the author of the article described the way Islamists see their speech, the newspaper reminds its readers that she is a woman and that she led the rebellion movement against the family law pushed by Islamists in the 80s, which reduces the role of women in society to caregivers, restricts her work outside the house and excludes her from public life. Accordingly, the implicit negative stereotypical representation of Louiza, in which the Islamists admiration of her political experience and oppositional style, despite the fact that they do not agree with her, due to her position as a female and personal beliefs, presents a positive representation of Louiza and her political experience. Islamists admiration of Louiza Hanoune's political style has been evidenced in several occasions by both newspapers in all the years analysed. Consequently, the use of the public admiration, her comparison with other female politicians and inexplicitly appealing on history to evidence that despite their disagreement, she is still respected as a politician highlights *Annasr* positive evaluation of her performance as a politician rather than a woman. Hence, Louiza Hanoune's excellent communicative skills contribute to her construction as a unique female politician.

The following extracts are selected from several articles throughout the two decades (1997-2017), the newspapers applied several predicative strategies to positively evaluate her political character and performance. However, gendered reference and the comparison of her performance with the performance of other candidates undermines her positive evaluation.

وقد زاد في وضوح سياسة حزب العمال قوة شخصية الناطقة باسمه التي تتكلم بلغة شعبية طليقة مفهومة خالية من التلاعب بالألفاظ وخالية أيضا من تقديم أفكار تحتمل عدة تفسيرات فالأبيض عند السيدة أبيض والأسود أسود.

The Workers Party spokeswoman's strong personality has made clear the party's policy. She speaks in a popular language that is easily understood, free from manipulation, and free of ideas that bear many interpretations. For Ms Hanoune, white is white and black is black.

وقد كانت مؤشرات فوز حزب العمال بحصة معتبرة من المقاعد جلية في مختلف أطوار الحملة الانتخابية بحيث نجحت السيدة حنون في استقطاب جماهير عريضة في التجمعات التي أشرفت عليها قدمت إلى الاستماع إليها في عفوية بعد أن رأت فيها مواصفات المرأة" اللي تبرد القلب" والتي تعبر عن لسان حال شرائح واسعة من الجزائريات الذين سحقتهم الأزمة ومخلفاتها.ـ

There were clear indications in the various stages of the electoral campaign that the Workers Party would win many seats. Ms Hanoune succeeded in attracting broad audiences in meetings she led; they came spontaneously to listen to her because they considered her the woman that would relieve them (cool the heart) and express what many Algerians who have been crushed by the crisis and its remnants feel.

(Al-khabar, 2002)

In the last two extracts by *Al-khabar Newspaper* (2002), conjunction clauses, prepositional clauses, and adjectives are used to present Louiza as a modest female politician, who is close to the public, empathetic and courageous in the face of adversity. The newspaper highlights her speech style and explains how the simple and brave words, understood by laymen and expressive of their struggle, and focused unambiguous political discourse, were the key to her popularity.

However, Hanoun's reference is always constructed through her engendering reference, "the lady Hanoun", "a woman" the lady rather than her title (e.g., the Workers' Party leader, the candidate, and the spoke's person of the party) in representing her positive political character. Meanwhile, a closer look at the data reveals that in almost all her descriptive coverage sampling reporting her political speeches, the reference is based on her title. The cultural expression, which its only similar expression in English is 'a breath of fresh air'. Nevertheless, it is a common expression in the Algerian culture in everyday life, it is used to describe someone who is outspoken and says what others are not able to say, be it due to fear from higher authorities or discussing taboo topics due to cultural constrains. Hence, the deliberate strategic use of engendering in such context associates her positive political performance to her gender, the general reader would not find any difficulty in associating her political character to aspects of femininity.

Louiza Hanoune personal life was reported in both newspapers in several occasions either in the representation of her profile during the presidential election or after her wins in

parliamentary elections. The articles covered: her struggle since she was young with her family during the French colonisation an Algeria, her educational qualification, employment history, her adoption of the Trotskyism, prison period to her creating the party with people of similar beliefs. The focus of her personal life and the struggles she managed to overcome constructs her as different from other females and that this struggle what made her who she is an effective politician. Her unique representation from the rest of female politicians within the 20 years of political elections in the history of Algeria constructs the concept of 'regular women' and 'unconventional, exception women' similar to only articles positively representing some ethnicities or some women who are represented as hardworking -or sharing masculine characteristics with men.

The focus on her Trotskyist belief was positively represented by both newspapers. She was represented as having stable yet flexible beliefs. Those beliefs focus on the country's interest, and despite being opposed to the government, she is not conservative but puts the country always first. The following examples are selected to explain the strategies adopted in this representation.

هي نقلة نوعية توجت 13 سنة من العمل السياسي والنشاط في كنف الشرعية وسنين طويلة قبلها في السرية للسيدة حنون ورفيق دربها وعميد الحزب مصطفى بن محمد وكذا شلة من النقابيين والجامعيين الذين راهنوا على الفكر التروتسكي والخطاب الراديكالي والشعبوي لاحتلال موطأ قدم متميز على الخارطة السياحية يمكنهم من نبذ الليبيرالية والانحياز إلى الجماهير في الجزائر العميقة والدفاع عن القطاع العام ومجانية الصحة.

It is the result of 13 years of legal political work and many years of political activity for Louiza Hanoune. Her life-long companion and party dean Mr. Mostafa Benmohamed, and a group of trade unionists and academics who bet on Trotsky's ideas and radical and populist speech to achieve gains in the political arena that would allow them to reject liberalism, take the masses side, and defend the public sector and free health.

ستكون من جهة أخرى أول امرأة جزائرية تشارك في انتخابات رئاسية منذ الاستقلال وهي مشاركة تتوج عند حصولها مسارا نضاليا طويلا لهذه السيدة بدأ في السرية وخرج إلى العلن والشرعية في مطلع التسعينات مع حزب العمل (الحركة التروتسكية) ظلت تنادي خلاله من أجل تجسيد أفكار تؤمن بها تقوم على العدالة الاجتماعية وإشاعة أجواء الأمن والسلم مع الدفاع على النسيج الاقتصادي العمومي ومناهضة التوجهات الليبيرالية المفرطة والخوصصة المتوحشة..

Conversely, she will be the first Algerian woman to take part in presidential elections in Algeria.- It is the culmination of a long secret then public and legal struggle in the early 1990s for this woman with the Workers Party (Trotskyist Movement). She has always called for the realisation of her ideas to achieve social justice, promote peace and security, defend the economic frame, and oppose exaggerated liberal tendencies and excessive privatization.

(Annasr, 2002- 06-01)

In the two extracts, Louiza Hanoune Trotskyist belief was represented through predicative strategies. Linking her political position among the public through the adjective "unique/special", which denotes a positive representation. The clauses used constructs her as determined humanitarian, who is concerned about the people of her county's needs and justice. The example extends the representation of her Trotskyist belief to include her flexibility for the country's interest.

ما يميز لويزة حنون وهي أيضا أول امرأة عربية تترشح للرئاسيات الكاريزمية المتجددة ، فقناعاتها التروتسكية عبر نضالها السياسي الطويل لم تكن قناعات جامدة ، وإنما كانت قناعات تنصهر في فكر سياسي "بروليتاري" يضع المصلحة العليا للأمة والبلاد فوق كل اعتبار وهو توجه جعلها تدافع عن سياسة الوئام المدني والمصالحة الوطنية من أجل إعادة السلم إلى البلاد ، وجعلها أيضا تتموقع برغم يساريتها- بعيدا عن المطروحات اليسارية "الاستئصالية " المتطرفة الرافضة لسياسة الوئام ومبدأ المصالحة الوطنية بحكم عداء تقليدي للإسلاميين والتيار الإسلامي ، لويزة حنون مثلما هو معروف تموقعت خارج هذا اليسار فكانت من الذين طالبوا بالإفراج عن شيوخ الحزب المحل حينما كانوا في السجن.

> What characterises Louiza Hanoune, the first Arab woman to run for president, is her renewable charismatic political personality. Through her long political struggle, her Trotskyist convictions are not rigid because they are fused into a proletarian political thought that puts the supreme interest of the nation and country above all considerations.- This has led her to defend the policy of civil harmony and national reconciliation to restore peace in the country. Despite being a leftist, she rejected other leftists' exclusive and extremist views that oppose the policy of civil harmony and national reconciliation due to a traditional animosity toward Islamists, and called for the release of the leaders of the banned party from prison.

(Annasr, 2004-02-22)

Despite being a left wing, Louiza Hanoune is represented as understanding, not conservative, ignorant blindly following her belief but caring about the country first rather than anything else, by appealing to history- the political stance of Louiza Hanoune in accepting the democracy and the public opinion despite her political stance against the rise of Islamists in Algeria and their rulings. This tapos of history is used to convince the reader that she is not a conservative Trotskyist believer but a modest believer which makes her political decisions unbiased by her belief but based on what best fit with the people's and the country's interest, Linking her to integrity as a political leadership characteristic. *Annasr* newspaper (2007) goes even further in its positive representation of Louiza Hanoune to credit the victories of the Workers' Party, not to the beliefs and hard work of its members but for her personality. This idea is explicitly stated in the headlines and justified within the report.

شخصية حنون وراء حصاد حزب العمال

حالة اللاتوازن هذه،حسب ذات الملاحظين تطرح التساؤل حول ما إذا كان الفوز الملفت المحقق بالعاصمة مرتبطا مباشرة وبالأساس بشخص زعيمة الحزب التي تصدرت قائمة تشكيلتها بهذه الولاية.وهل يعني أن الحضور القوي لشخصية زعيمة الحزب المشهود لها بكاريزمية سياسية متميزة هو العامل الحاسم في اقناع الناخبين وليس برنامج الحزب في حد ذاته الذي رافعت عنه السيدة حنون عبر كل التجمعات الشعبية التي نشطتها بأغلب الولايات خلال حملتها الانتخابية، خاصة وأن زعيمة الحزب دافعت عن برنامج حزبها بذات القوة وبذات الخطاب سواء في العاصمة أو في الولايات الأخرى.

وحسب هؤلاء الملاحظين ،فإن الخطاب التعبوي الذي اعتمدته السيدة حنون في معارضة مسار الخوصصة ،والمطالبة بإعادة فتح المؤسسات العمومية المغلقة وتأميم المؤسسات الكبرى وبقاء القطاعات الإستراتيجية تحت سيادة الدولة ورفع أجور العمال ،لا يفسر الفوز "الاستثنائي" المحقق بالعاصمة ،وإلا لكان لهذا الخطأ ذات التأثير في اقناع الناخبين بالولايات الأخرى.

Hanoune's personality behind Workers Party achievement

Some observers think that the Workers Party's victory in 2007 legislative elections was unbalanced because 38.46% of the seats won by the party were won by the list led by Louiza Hanoune in Algiers. She disappointed heads of parties who led their electoral lists.

… According to the same observers, this state of unbalance raises the question whether the victory achieved in Algiers is linked directly to the personality of the party leader who has led the electoral list, and whether her strong presence because of a special political charisma is the decisive factor in convincing voters and not the party's programme she defended with the same power and discourse in the campaign in Algiers and the other provinces in itself.

According to these observers, the mobilizing speech used by Hanoune to reject privatization, reopen closed public institutions, nationalize big companies, keep strategic sectors under the sovereignty of the State, and raise of wages does not explain the exceptional win achieved in Algiers; it would have had the same impact on voters in other provinces.

Annasr 07-05- 21

The success that the party had in in one Wilaya (province) compared to the rest of 47 wilayas's in Algeria is incomparable. This topos of numbers is used to justify the claim the newspaper is making about her unique personality and that the public admires her more than other party leaders, who were the head of their lists in the same Wilaya. The second justification is depicting Louiza Hanoune's discourse to be the same in all regions of Algeria with the same power and determination, and does not justify the "extraordinary" win of her lists in Algiers. *Annasr* is appealing to anonymous authority in providing the latter justification through using the term "the observers" to obscure the social actors. Despite that these "observers" are not specified or known, the use of hidden authority gives the newspapers' discourse power and great impact on readers (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 2013, p. 52). Hence, Louiza Hanoune is positively represented in this article but not due to a tremendous win but due to her personality

and charismatic political character that lead the public to admire her and choose her over other male leaders, with, what might be, better goals.

The positive evaluation of Louiza Hanoune describe a model of a "good female politician". Despite that this is a positive evaluation for Louiza Hanoune, it gives a standard (raises the bar high) that is hard to achieve by females who want to enter the political experience both to give to the public and to learn how to be a better politician. Deviating from this model, makes them look less of "female politicians".

This model affected Hanoune herself in the last few years (from 2009-2017), due to what newspapers call changes of Louiza Hanoune character and her affiliation. Her performance was compared to the image they have constructed earlier about her. Louiza Hanoune was described as less modest and less faithful to the public, changing her affiliations from the representative of the public to the puppy of the government. The following article is selected from *Al-khabar* newspaper compared to an article written about her concerning the same issue in the same newspaper in 2002.

المتظاهرون أبدوا استياء من سلوكها

لويزة حنون دعت لتجمع وغابت عنه وحضر علي حاج

غابت السيدة لويزة حنون عن التجمع الذي دعت إليه الجزائريين بساحة الشهداء تعبيرا عن دعمهم اللا مشروط للشعب الفلسطيني وللمطالبة برفع القيود عن الحق في تنظيم مسيرات سلمية ،في حين كان علي بن حاج في الموعد.

أبدى المتظاهرون ممن تحدثت إليهم "الخبر" استياءهم من سلوك لويزة حنون التي غابت عن الاعتصام بعدما كانت هي صاحبة الدعوة للجزائريين للحضور بقوة ،متحدية بذلك سياسة الحظر على المسيرات ،بحيث ذهب بعض ممن حضروا إلى ساحة الشهداء إلى حد التعليق بأنها "سحبت بهم البساط".

وأفاد أحدهم في تدخله قائلا "نحن أناس واعون وراشدون ،لذلك ارتأينا مقاطعة محتشدات الشباب التي من الممكن أن تسجل انزلاقا لطيشهم ،لكننا لبينا دعوة لويزة حنون بمجرد أن سمعنا النداء على شاشة التلفزيون مبدين استعدادا لمساندتها في خطوة الاعتصام تضامنا مع أشقائنا في فلسطين ظنا منا أننا تحت غطاء سياسي "أو على حد تعبير آخر "عهدناها فحلة"

The demonstrators expressed discontent with her behaviour

Louiza Hanoune was absent from the meeting she had called for and Ali Belhadj was present

Ms Louiza Hanoune was absent from the meeting she had called for Algerians in Martyrs Court to express full support for the Palestinian people and to call for the lifting of restrictions on the right to organise peaceful marches, while Ali Belhadj was present.

Al-khabar has interviewed some demonstrators who expressed their discontent with Louiza Hanoune's behaviour after she missed the march. She was the person who had called for it in defiance of the ban of marches policy. Some of those who were present in Martyrs Court even said that had betrayed them (had pulled out the rug).

… One demonstrator said: "We are conscious and adult people. We boycotted young people's demonstrations because they are reckless. We answered Louiza Hanoune's call as soon as we heard it on TV, and we were ready to march with her and support our brothers the Palestinians. We thought that we would be under political cover", or as another demonstrator stated, "she used to be potent".

(Al-khabar, 2009-01-08)*

In this article Louiza Hanoune was described as an arrogant female politician who does not respect her promises nor the public, and lies about the fact that she would not make it even if she could. The headline explains how the protestors were not feeling happy with her behaviour of not attending the protest she was the one calling for through challenging the policies against peaceful protests. The article uses one of the interviewees' comments on her absence, which is an Algerian proverb specific to the Algerian culture, which is used when someone persuade you to do something than disappear and hedge his/her responsibility from the action. Another reference to Louiza Hanoun change is the way the newspaper reported the comment of another interviewee where he stated that the whole protest was accepted by the public just because Louiza Hanoune called for it, as they usually avoid any kind of protest to preserve the nation's peace. However, Louiza Hanoune political character encouraged the public to join her as they thought that because she is the opposition, she will protect them but they were disappointed. The newspaper quoted the sentence "aahadnaha fahla", fahla in Algerian dialect means is a female who is honest and brave and not afraid of doing the right thing despite any risks or threats. Both comments chosen portray that Louiza Hanoune lost her integrity and as someone who was previously loved and trusted by the public, but who is now disappointing by her disrespectful behaviour with them.

من جهتها بررت الأمينة العامة لحزب العمال سلوكها ،في تصريح لـ"الخبر" قائلة "لو أن الاعتصام كان مصرحا به لحضرت دون إشكال ،إذ أنني مسؤولة سياسية ولست مغامرة ،لذا فما الجدوى من أن أضع نفسي في موقف حرج إذا ما حضرت وتعرضت للضرب من أحد المواطنين أو حتى من أفراد الشرطة" ونفت حنون في ذات السياق أن تكون بصدد استغلال القضية الفلسطينية لأجل الوصول إلى أغراضها.كما ذكرت أن مسؤولي الحزب ممن كانوا في عين المكان أبلغوها بعدم جدوى حضورها لأن الحواجز الأمنية تمنعها من الوصول إلى نقطة الاعتصام.ولكن كيف وصل علي بن حاج الذي كان في الموعد وغابت المعنية بالتجمع ،لتجيب حنون "أنا لم أدعو أحدا كي ينتظروني ،وهؤلاء المواطنون لم يحضروا من أجلي"

In a statement to *Al-khabar*, Hanoune justified her absence and said: "If the march was allowed, I would have attended. I'm a politician and not an adventurer. It's no use I embarrass myself if I attend and I'm hit by a civilian or even policemen ". She also rejected using the Palestinian cause to reach her purposes. She added that the party officials told her not to attend because of security barriers which would prevent her from reaching the place of the sit-in. To the question of how Ali Belhadj could attend while the person who called for it was absent, she replied: "I didn't invite anyone so that they would wait for me. Those citizens didn't come for me ".

Louiza Hanoune's arrogance is represented through a report of her quote presenting herself as an important political figure that cannot attend unauthorised protests and calls her attendance an embarrassment for her political status. Here she also, claimed that her presence would have not been possible, as she was told by her party leaders that police barriers would prevent her from arriving at the scene. Nevertheless, the newspaper refuted her answer through giving the example of one of the Islamist party leaders "Ali Belhadj" who was with the protestors and got caught there.

The newspaper report of the different protestors as well as refuting Louiza Hanoune response through providing an example of a political leader, represents Louiza Hanoune's behaviour to be completely different from what the Algerian public is used to know about her, where she has been an outspoken brave female politician loved by the public. In a similar incident in 2002. Louiza Hanoune was represented as challenging the minister and determined in pursuing her protest even if she got forcefully stopped and arrested by the police.

بعد منع مسيرة حزب العمال

لويزة حنون تتحدى زرهوني بمسيرة جديدة

After the ban of a march by the Workers Party,

-Louiza Hanoune defies/challenges Zarhouni by a new march

(Al-khabar, 2002, 04-20)

In this article Louiza was represented as an outspoken and brave threatening and challenging authorities to defend her beliefs about the right of peaceful protests concerning the same issue "in consolidation with Palestine". However, the 2009 representation has seen huge difference in the representation of her behaviour that the newspaper claimed it to be not acceptable by the public nor the newspaper itself. This representation shows Louiza Hanoune's deviation from the model as turning into a bad, untrusted female politician.

As seen in the previous article even *Al-khabar* newspaper strategy has changed in the way they write their articles about her. Instead of writing the article about Louiza Hanoune from the journalist point of view, between 2009 and 2017, more articles appear reporting what other people state about her. As can be observed in the following examples, *Al-khabar* is reporting what other representatives of the parties' state about her.

مصالح الأمن تفتح تحقيقا في تسريب ورقة الانتخابات بسطيف

بلخادم ينفي تصريحات حنون ويتهمها بضرب مصداقية الانتخابات

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Security services open an investigation into leakage of election form in Setif

Belkhadem denies Hanoune's statements and accuses her of hitting the credibility of the elections

Al-khabar 12-05-06

كشف عن عرض تلقاه من السلطة ورفضه

مقري يفتح النار على حنون

Revealing that he received and rejected an offer from the authorities

Mokri critizes Hanoune (opens fire on Hanoune)

(Al-khabar 14-03-26)

The majority of the article establishes negative evaluation of Louiza Hanoune by depicting her as dishonest, disloyal to the public and is bounded with the government. Despite that these negative evaluations of her political image is excessively present in *Al-khabar Newspaper*, there was evidence in the data that this negative evaluation is not linked to gender bias nor gender stereotypes. The base of the negative ideologies is political issues and ideologies, rather than on her gender and appropriateness in the political domain. Nevertheless, a quick scanning of the male articles of the same years about the leaders of other political parties shows that very few articles are reported about what other people state about them collectively compared to Louiza Hanoune. Hence, this implies that the expectations about her being an effective female politician as constructed by the newspaper, led to the amplification of her flaws compared to the male politicians. The expectations from her have been based on her struggles, experiences, beliefs, discourse, actions and reaction. In other words, she is more likely to be regarded negatively if she deviates from the female politician model the Algerian press creates than her male counterparts. Even if this model is based on her political experience. However, this strategy is unique to *Al-khabar* newspaper, no traces of this type of articles was found in *Annasr* newspaper. This could be justified as *Al-khabar* newspaper is a private newspaper that offers itself as the voice of the public and the opposition against the government, while Louiza Hanoune affiliations with the government disrupt the model constructed by the newspaper of a" female politician" she received several attacks for that, while *Annasr* newspaper is a government affiliated newspaper.

6.5   Conclusion

Louiza Hanoune, a very important female political figure that succeeded to create her own political party in 1990 and run three times for presidency. The discussion of the analysis of articles related to her is separate from other female parliamentarians due to the different forms of

representation she receives compared to the rest. Through the representation of Louiza Hanoune, *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers have created a female politician model for positive representation. Although most female parliamentarian articles are negative, Louiza Hanoune representation falls between gendered stereotypical representation and positive leadership political characteristics. Several claims have been applied in constructing Louiza and legitimizing the female politician model including gender differentiation and unconvintionalizaton. Within gender differentiation, it is evident from the analysis that both newspapers gendered bias is always present throughout the investigated period (1997-2017). Women in politics, including Louiza Hanoune, have been always constructed as females first to remind the reader that whatever powerful positions women achieve, they are always different and less than male politicians. The continuous mention of the female politicians' gender maintains the stereotypes that women are outsiders to politics.

Unconvintionalization and unique political character are the claims under which the female politician model is constructed. Generalisations on women who are unique or irregular due to either their ethnic background that has historical significance or their political experience or contribution in masculine domains. Despite Louiza's Hanoun positive political representation, it constructs the stereotype that regular women are note fit for politics and only women who show masculine characteristics are presented as female politicians which is also less than male political participation. Deviation of these representations expels women to be negatively represented.

Chapter 7   Conclusion

7.1   Introduction

The main aim of this study is to investigate the strategic discursive use of Algerian press in constructing ideological and stereotypical representations of females in politics, mainly in electoral campaigns within two Arabic newspapers: *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers. The study investigated both legislative and presidential campaigns between 1997 and 2017—a period of 20 years, in which, Algeria lived through two major political and social shifts. The first shift was the introduction of the new constitution that brought the country from the black decade to what seemed like a brighter future in 1996, in which, the first bilateral parliament was introduced and the first legislative elections of the country were decreed. The second shift was in 2012 after the incorporation of the quota law that defines the number of females in each political party and limits the minimum percentage of women in each political party to 32% at the least. The period investigated, analyses the inception of legislative elections in Algeria and the changes that followed through five parliamentary campaigns (1997, 2002, 2007, 2012 and 2017). I addition, this study analysed three of four presidential elections in which a female was able to participate as a presidential candidate (2004, 2009 and 2014). This longitudinal study aims at exploring the female politicians' construction in the Algerian press throughout the investigated period. Furthermore, it aims at understanding the ways in which discourse about female politicians has changed. Finally, it aims to identify the factors that contributed to this change and the political, ideological agenda they serve.

7.2   Aims of the Study

The main aim of this study is to extend research on gender representation in media in the Algerian context, focusing on female politicians' representation in two national newspapers, applying a critical perspective to data analysis. This study aims to analyse the discursive construction of the Algerian female politicians in the Algerian Arabic press within the last 20 years period (from 1997 to 2017) critically analysing the ideologies constructed and maintained about women in politics through written press. This study does not only focus on the representation of women in politics and how it changed or was maintained through the investigated period but It aims at understanding gender hierarchy in Algeria. Specifically, it aims at understanding the discursive and non-discursive historical factors that contribute to the current ideologies in society by providing the socio-political perspective as a context of the study.

7.3   Research Questions

In order to explore how Algerian women in politics are represented in Algerian Arabic press, we have to firstly analyse the discursive construction in order to investigate how these discourses emerge or are construed in relation to the overaching socio-political factors. This will help us build an understanding of the ideological practices in the press and their relationship with the Algerian political culture. The following questions guide the thesis:

How have Algerian female politicians been constructed in the Algerian press over the last 20 years (1997-2017)?

a)   How are female politicians discursively represented in the Algerian press?

b)   What are the overarching socio-political factors that contribute to shape the current ideologies about female politicians?

c)   How are these ideologies (socio-political factors) embedded linguistically in the press?

d)   What are the patterns of ideological change that have been evidenced in the press during this period?

7.4   Analytical Framework

The analytical framework under which this study was undertaken is mainly based on discourse historical approach where it serves to answer the research questions of the thesis outlined above. Although the main data is textual articles from the Algerian press, the triangulatory characteristic of the context of this approach allowed me to extend my analysis to extradiscursive and non-discursive practices in the society that helped shape the textual discourse analysed. Socio-political changes in Algeria, different constitutional initiations and changes, Algerian press constitutions, constitutions related to women are used to understand the nature of discourse, how it is created and shifted and the factors that helped in creating this shift or emergence of other discourses. Nevertheless, because of the nature of press discourse and requires special attention to the the production and distribution of the text. Fairclough's meso level analysis strategies is adopted.

Within the discourse historical approach, Reisigl and Wodak model (2001) in analysing racial discourse is adopted, some of its strategies have been found evident in the data. I have also included a referential strategy that is limited to Van Leeuwen's social actor network: engendering. Within the argumentation strategies, I have adapted the "gender differentiation argument" from

Antagi (2010), who replicated Reisigl and wodak in her analysis of gender representation in parliamentary discourse, to fit with my data analysis.

7.5 Discussion of Findings

This study, investigating the representation of females in politics in Algerian press, has two main findings: Discursive shift from victimization discourse to responsibility discourse and the press construction of the model of female politician in relation to war veterans' characteristics as well as other characteristics that adhere to masculine redjla representation.

The first major finding reveals that both *Al-Khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers have shifted their discourse concerning female political participation in electoral campaigns simultaneously. The latter implies that there are either a partial truth of their representation or other stereotypical and ideological practices that helped in creating these discourses in the Algerian society. However, it is evidenced in the data that newspapers employed gender bias discourse and gendered stereotypes constructed about females in politics. The newspaper used the victimization discourse from the initiation of the second chamber of the parliament in 1997 until the beginning of the electoral campaign in 2012. This victimization process was justified through linking it either to terrorism or to the parties' use of male dominance over women. Such (re)constructed discourse is similar in nature to the discourse presented by the politico- military system that women are victims and they need to be saved. The reason behind that is to eradicate their responsibility and polish their image at the national and the international level, which ultimately lead to legitimizing their reign.

The victimization process through terrorism was only mentioned in *Al-khabar* newspaper in 2002 while completely excluded from *Annasr* newspaper. This could be justified by the political affiliations of each newspaper, with *Annasr* being a government newspaper, avoiding the issue from the beginning to avoid any misunderstandings or any discussions that might arise, which might affect the image of the government. On the contrary, *Al-khabar* newspapers' use of terrorism as a cover to the government's responsibility could be explained through the following interpretation: The government's control over ANEP (Associaciation Nationale de Communication, d'Edition et de Publicité), which is, to date, the only source for press printing and advertisements for the Algerian media, in addition to the Algerian journalism law at the time that facilitates the imprisonment of any journalist who insults the government in any way play. These factors play a huge role in determining the topics discussed. For the reasons mentioned above, hedging the government responsibility was a necessity, and consequently, another report was published within 20 days explicitly blaming terrorism for the low participation of women in politics. The

newspaper resolved to forming their arguments through different fallacies, rhetorical devices and appealing to anonymous authority to strengthen the impact of their discourse presenting terrorism as the sole reason to women's low participation.

The institutional victimization discourse constructed by the parties' dominance and control over women's political participation started with the 2002 legislative elections. Women were represented as victims being used by the parties to attract more female voters through political speeches, rallying women for political participation and joining the electoral lists. These calls focused on female voters while excluded them from candidacy applications and used the few accepted as a mere décor in the lists, to attract more female voters without giving them actual power. Women have also been reported as naïve and are prone to falling for the parties' faded promises, where several predication strategies where used to negatively and stereotypically represent them as emotional, naïve and in need of man help to achieve their rights. These stereotypes reinforced the ideology that women are not able to make sound decisions, similar to that during colonialism when they were hidden from the French gaze to avoid manipulation, which (re)constructs the ideology that women should not have a role in the public sphere, while in this case, politics is a male domain. The newspaper reinforced their argument through topos of history, which parallels the previous experience of women with the government after the independence in 1962. However, the consistent reporting of feminist organisations speeches and actions during the electoral campaign in 2007, which most of them are state feminists, had a contradictory negative effect on the Algerian population due to the stigma surrounding feminism in Algeria.

During the years where female politicians have been presented as victims of terrorism, parties and feminist groups, a conflicting discourse was also circulating in the newspapers that entitles women to be partially responsible instead of being mere victims. These representations are not dominant but mentioned in certain occasions to portray that female parliamentarians' use their gender to attract female voices, that women are there because of their relationship with a male and that their qualifications do not fit with the requirements of their position. In 2012, the quota scheme was first applied in a major election. The quota system aimed to grant women the right to more than 30% of the available seats. The media discourse representing females has shifted to put the full responsibility on female parliamentarians in multiple ways, blaming them for their negative evaluation. Female relationship with a male and their qualification are still persistent in the data, in the same way another theme arises, women's disinterest in political participation and the corruption of those who do participate, portraying them as seekers of money and power hegemonies.

Women's relationship to a male discourse before 2012, shifted from being addressed by their husbands as a form of legitimacy to a discourse of nepotism. The analysis revealed that a majority of the examples where a relationship with a male in authority exists, women have been explicitly characterised as lacking credibility because their inclusion in politics was an act of nepotism, either to fill electoral lists, or to acquire power and money. The relationalisation reference has moved from being only constructed through marital relationship to family (a sister) and work relationships (colleagues). In addition to the relationalisation strategy, presuppositions and direct reference to nepotism through specific verbs, metaphors and attributes were utilised. One of the examples even goes further in undermining the female politicians who have a relationship with a male of authority to explicitly, accuse a female politician during an interview that she is head of the list, only because her husband is the one who put her name.

It is worth mentioning here that Algerian politics is presented to be illegitimate and based on corruption and nepotism practices. Algerians came to believe that the government and parliament are not doing much to Algerians so demonstrations and individual practices that sowed Algerians dissatisfaction of the situation took place in 2011. However women had even harsher representation than that of men even when the press is representing them to be both illegitimate. In the case of nepotism discourse, the only case were males are accused of nepotism is when coupled with females within the same article in general without particular reference to names. Even in these articles, women have been mitigated and always mentioned first, which implies the target of the newspapers' ideology. Hence, this representation is not only the result of a political situation/corruption, but the press is targeting women based on their gender.

In building the same topoi of blame. Women have also been blamed of having no interest in political participation, but their interest lies mostly in power hegemony and money acquisition purposes. Appeal to culture and the conservative nature of the regions covered was the newspaper's argument in representing women as conservative by nature and that political participation is not something they will be interested to pursue. The conservative nature of Algerian women from particular regions of inner Algeria is accused to be the reason parties used several temptation techniques for them to join the parties' lists. Several rhetorical devices have been used to show the deficiency of women seeking political participation, which reinforces the ideology, that they are victims to feminists' pressure that pushed the quota and that they are to blame for the low number of women in politics, instead of blaming the parties. Newspapers tried to push the discourse that women did not take any positive action to increase their participation, despite the opportunity gained through the quota scheme, which is imposed on all political parties.

However, an opposing discourse aroused constructing a particular group of women to be interested in politics, through making generalisations on particular ethnicities and women who show unconventional qualities. An appeal to the history of particular ethnicities in Algeria through referencing women's efforts next to men in the Algerian revolution against the French colonisation is made to show them as not only interested but also capable women and make generalisations that they are interested while the rest are not. Furthermore, symbolization strategy has been used in several occasions representing females who have shown unconventional characteristics that are not persistent with the regular Algerian female creates the ideology that females are not interested nor credible for political participation. Therefore, women legitimacy is conditioned by having particular characteristics similar to those of women combatants or Moujahidat in the Algerian history, accordingly regions which are known for such characteristics during the war are perceived to be the most legitimate. This however, does not only confine women's political legitimacy to particular characteristics and ethnicities that creates othering among Algerian women, but also proves problematic as it imposes another discourse of authenticity that Algerian women are expected to achieve.

The next point in portraying women is their educational qualification. The latter has been used throughout the two decades (1997-2017) to justify their exclusion from the lists, or their incredibility in performing the job. The newspapers used several strategies to build their arguments, such as parties' exclusion of women from being heads of the lists, examples of women with low or no educational backgrounds and humanitarian speeches about the lack of credibility of the existing candidates. Several strategies have been applied concerning the construction of the ideology that female politicians are unqualified, even though the data establishes that women are more educated and qualified than male politicians. *Al-khabar* have reported this fact but with mitigating female success through undermining its effect in the headline and mentioning their percentages in a small part at the end of the article.

This ideology that women are not only victims but are responsible due to their lack of credibility to join the election enforce the stereotypes that women are unable of pursuing political careers and that politics is a natural fit for men which makes it always a male domain especially in a hyper masculine culture like the Algerian culture. These stereotypes construct the ideology that women are to blame for their low presence in politics as well as the way parties and the public see them.

The second significant finding is that the newspapers' representation of female politicians constructed a model of a good female politician based mostly on their representation of Louiza Hanoune, one of the biggest political figures in Algeria. Louiza Hanoune was the first female to

create a political party and be its head and the first female to be a party's spokesperson in Algeria. She is also the first in the Arab world to run for presidency. In determining what constitutes a legitimate politician, louiza hanoune legitimacy was mainly based on her unconditional victories in relation to her gender and leadership characteristics. The three main argumentative strategies used by the press are gender differentiation, unconventionality and her unique political character. To construct the gender difference, gender differentiation topoi was used. Over the past two decades, *Al-khabar* and *Annasr* newspapers reminded readers that these female politicians are not only politicians, but also females. In the context of Louiza Hanoune, several strategies have been applied to convey this modal. She has been referred to as either masculine or feminine (the addition of one letter for the feminine in Arabic); a pattern has been discovered concerning this strategy. The masculine reference is exclusively used when her tone is aggressive or when they chose to report her as aggressive (the Workers Party spokeswoman/-spokesman). This could be explained due to the Algerian gendered political culture that characterised post-independence Algeria, where women are expected to adhere to acceptable gender and social roles in the Algerian society to be acceptable and authentic. However, as Louiza Hanoune was the first to be a female leader of a political party, her unconventional behaviour engendered and exaggerated to fit with the dynamics of the political culture.

The second strategy is the engendering referential strategy; the reader was always reminded that she is a female whenever they are discussing something positive about her like a win, joining the presidency or the positive representation of her political character. Although, in all these occasions she is referred to in relation to her gender as positive, this strategy constructs the ideology that she is less than the other male politicians are. The construction of this ideology is evident in using history fallacy, presuppositions, representation of herself and linking her to women issues to compare her with other male colleagues and represent her as different which undermines her role in politics. This strategy have been used by the Algerian political-military system right after independence when they tried to confine women to women issues and exclude them from public and political debates by creating the UNFA. Such practice affected moujahidat involvement in public life and excluded them as they did not want to be presented as women but sexless citizens. Louiza Hanoune Press representation is similar in nature despite presenting herself in multiple occasion that she is a politician not a women advocate. Hence, Confining Louiza Hanoune representation to gendered representation and women issues undermines her representation as a politician but governed with the other leadership characteristics give her a similar legitimacy to moujahidat.

The second argumentative strategy used is unconventionality. In this strategy, women who are unconventional to gender roles are considered legitimate female politicians. This case is seen

with not only Louiza Hanoune but also a couple of parliamentarians that are ascribed supernatural, heroic and masculine characteristics. Also, women who are from specific cultural ethnicities discussed in the first major finding above. Both strategies form generalisations through homogeneity and otherness between women who have the qualities to enter the political domain and those who do not. The ideological intention of this topoi/argument is to provide the exception that proves the rule which is construction politics as a hard domain, and eventually, a male domain.

The third topoi employed is the topoi of unique political character. Through the press representation of Louiza Hanoun's personal and political struggle since childhood. Louiza Hanoune was positively constructed as a capable loved female politician. However, it was explicitly stated that despite how the Workers Party principles are admired by the public, it is her political character rather than the party itself that makes her loved among people. This representation is explicitly found in multiple occasions in both newspapers despite the conservative position of Al-Khabar or the state-led newspaper where Louiza Hanoune is known to be opposing the government. Louiza Hanoune praised characteristics are similar to those of Boumediene that in the Algerian selective memory are considered to be the ultimate positive political characteristics. Louiza Hanoune similar characteristics of those of redjla where she is presented as avoiding toadying to the government and shows stable political stands made her stand in the Algerian macho political culture. This is evident through the Islamists representation of her to be better than men which composes the redjla aspect. Her positive representation of self-sacrifice and resistance also gives her similar legitimacy to Moujahidat.

However, she is also held up to higher status of authenticity than man and her behaviours and practices are always under speculation. This is evident in the shift of *Al-khabar* newspaper representation where they shifted from reporting 'her' and writing 'about her' to what other people negatively say about her. Even though the articles about her are completely related to political issues and no evidence that there is gender bias, the sudden change and negative evaluation during her affiliation with the government implies that her deviation from the model constructed as a legitimate female politician led them to attack her. -Hence, such discourse shift about her is only evident in *Al-khabar* newspaper, mainly because *Al-khabar* has been the voice of the public and criticising the government, especially since they regained private funding away from the government's monopoly. The affiliation of Louiza Hanoune in the last few years put her in the government's side.

7.6   Significance of the Study

This study is of a great significance to the context of Algeria, as it analyses press representations of female politicians. The analysis systematically starts at the first elections in the history of Algeria that included a female (1997) and follows the intermittent legislative and presidential elections chronologically until the last election held in 2017. The 2017 legislative election, which is the last election thus far, will be followed by a special presidential election, amidst the current unrest in the Algerian political arena, that eventually lead president Abdelaziz Bouteflika to resign from his position and for a special election to be held within a 90 day deadline.

This study provides insight into how an everyday reader of the newspaper is persuaded by a particular representation of females joining the political domain. Algerians in the late 90s considered women in politics and media in general a new thing, especially under the rule of a very conservative family law. The law that considers women to be caregivers first and foremost for their children and unilaterally excludes them from all sorts of public, work life. Media and mainly newspapers were the only source of information and the only way to learn about female politicians and political participation in general (because of the space that allows for more stories and diverse reports to be covered). In the absence of sophisticated media outlets, social media or the internet, newspapers were the main platform that shapes the public opinion about any public topic, in this case female politicians and their political participation in Algeria. The Algerian media industry is a late bloomer, which makes newspapers the only consistent media outlet since 1997. This is because the only other media outlet available was TV, which in Algeria is a very young industry, with one governmental channel monopolising the Algerian scene until the early 2010s where four more channels were introduced, but were all governmental again. The private sector in Algerian television is about 8 years old, which makes a longitudinal investigation of females' representation in TV unlikely.

Furthermore, the construction of a "female politician" model in media political discourse provides a window to the Algerian society and to its changes as well as the factors of these changes. The "female politician" model is the model set by the written press throughout a period of 20 years, in which female politicians are, praised or criticised, based on certain criteria set by the newspapers to reflect and/or construct public opinions about female politicians.

Another main significance is the timeframe of the study, which is a major ontributor to the Algerian context and significant to the African and Arabic cultures, where no longitudinal studies have been undertaken concerning the critical analysis of media construction of female politicians. This study breaks the barrier of time by tracking the changes that are applied to the media

discourse since the inception of the new Algerian constitution, which enabled women to vote and be voted in as legislators for their respective Wilayas (province)

In addition, Studies about gender representation in media within the Arab world utilised various frameworks that provided insights into women in the Arab world. However, none of them used a critical a critical approach. They are limited to quantifying the coverage of females and descriptive discussions of the content of the coverage, with no reference to the underlying practices. The studies have been lacking in terms of allowing a better understanding of the status quo of gender and gender roles in the Arab world. This study, therefore, contributes to the literature of gender discourse in media by providing the first study investigating media ideological discourse from a critical discourse analysis perspective. Conversing the linguistic results with the overarching factors contributed to, form these ideologies and stereotypes within press discourse and the ways in which these press constructions affect the daily reader conceptualization of the "female politician".

The study also contributes to raising awareness about how the press as a widely accessed media outlet, in which female politicians' stereotypical and ideological discourses are created/constructed can be examined and revealed through the use of critical discourse analysis. My aim is to reveal the media's strategy to implicitly communicate particular ideological discourses, even within what content analysis research considers positive representation of females. The reality of this is that even the positive representation can be mostly stereotypical in nature. The findings of this study will be shared with the ministry of women and family affairs in Algeria, to outline the current media policies affecting women representation in media and request changes to be made to them. The media representation of female politicians portrays one of the most powerful sectors in the country, politics, which is the platform that is supposed to help women gain their rights, make their voices heard and contribute to the country's development. A meeting with representatives from Algerian newspapers have been agreed and will be scheduled after the conduction of the VIVA. Furthermore, A televised interview with two private channels is being convened at this time to discuss the findings and what they mean to the Algerian public and the Algerian media, and the steps that might allow a better representation of female politicians specifically, and women in general.

7.7   Limitations of the Study:

Although the research choices are based on the specificity, focus and time frame of the study. I have identified some limitations in my research. It is important to acknowledge that the findings of this study cannot be regarded as a conclusion to the construction of female politicians in Algeria. This work provides deep insights into discursive media representation of women in politics. Although the main focus of the study is female politicians previously or currently hold a political position in the government and/or ran a political campaign, certain females, however, did not make it, mainly female ministers in the successive governments since 1997. This absence is justified by the existence of technocrat ministers who do not hold a political affiliation. Perhaps more imminently, they do not feature because they are not chosen by the people through election, but are rather appointed by the Prime Minister, unlike parliamentarians and presidential candidates. Although generalisations cannot be taken lightly, this study aims at providing an introduction to the nexus between gender, power and politics in Algeria.

The second limitation that can be identified in this research is the focus on Arabic newspapers solely. While the focus was on Arabic language newspapers that a majority of Algerians read. French language newspapers are an important contributor in the Algerian context, as they target a particular readership, mainly elderly and educated people who might not be covered by the Arabic newspapers. Although the two analysed newspapers provided important findings about the difference between governmental and private newspapers representation of women in politics, the analysis of the French newspapers could have provided more information about gender ideologies and politics from the perspective of different groups.

The third limitation is the bias toward the choice of textual analysis in relation to the number of articles analysed. Because of the longitudinal study that looked into 8 years of electoral campaigns, the corpus is large. It provided a rich data that allowed me to identify patterns, which enabled me to answer the research questions. However, there is a chance of bias due to time and space limitations that might have affected the analysis of the data and the in-depth analysis needed for each article. Multimodal critical discourse analysis would have been very important in adding to the value of the analysis as the collection of the data revealed very important aspects concerning articles positions and layout, word count and the images and caricatures included. Nevertheless, with the amount of data analysed and the focus of the study in relation to the PhD timeline, the study was limited to textual data. Similarly, under the same umbrella, this research did not tackle other forms of media such as TV and radio, for lack of resources. Most TV and radio stations in operation have been monopolised by the government

until very recently, which limits the source of ideologies behind the representations and hinders the longitudinal aspect of the research.

7.8   Further Research

This study has two main aspects, the first of which is the critical discourse aspect, as it investigates deeper than most studies about gender and gender roles in a given society. The second aspect is the longitudinal aspect, which gives another dimension to the study as it helps track the changes in ideology as well as representation during the 20 years period. Several studies come to mind as follow-ups of this research, which will provide important information about gender ideologies circulating in society. As mentioned in the previous section, one of the limitations of this study is its focus on women in national electoral campaigns. This means that generalisations cannot be made to all women in politics, including ministers, heads of political parties and local councils. The analysis of female ministers' representation in the media can be fruitful in understanding how the women who are appointed in the position are represented in media and if the representation is different from those who are running electoral campaigns. This can be an extensive research that might track not only ministers but also women in leadership positions, such as the representation of female governors and judges.

The second suggestion also stems from another limitation of this study. The rapid development of technology in general and media specifically, through social media outlets sets for an exciting research that investigates the ideologies instilled in the public themselves, and the way they view females, both politicians and leaders. The investigation is interesting regarding the investigation of the representations of women across various media platforms and discussing the similarities and differences between the ideologies communicated by the press and the ideologies held by the public.

The third research proposal suggestion looks at gender representation from different perspective than the media. Investigating female politicians' representation of themselves in their political speeches, as well as their representation of themselves in the media, social or otherwise. This can be very important in understanding the mutual effect of media pressure on women and media representation of the discursive and non-discursive practices of these female politicians. The results will be useful both for female politicians and for media outlets concerning raising awareness on how both work in constructing gendered biased ideologies and stereotypes, and providing suggestions for better self-representation.

Lastly, with the rapid changes on the political scene in Algeria since March 2019, where a majority of the people went out to the streets peacefully, opposing the plea of Bouteflika to run

for a fifth mandate as president. The fifth mandate that would have made Bouteflika the president of Algeria for 25 years, have been widely opposed by the public, and eventually resulted in the resignation of Bouteflika and his government, to allow for special presidential elections. It would be very interesting to study the results of this political unrest, and the effects it has on the representation of females, especially with calls from both ends of the spectrum to change the constitution with what suits their ideologies. The first of which is a call for a complete conservative revamp of the constitution to limit women's participation in the public domain and allow for more male dominance. This is exemplified by one woman who have been beaten by people for working out in a forest, while, according to the perpetuators, she should have been in the kitchen. The second call is for the complete liberation of women, with complete disregard to the country's religion, tradition and values. Women have been active contributors in the strikes. However, an incident of feminists who are calling for the removal of family law and adopting a secular system concerning women issues have not been welcomed by the Algerian public and have been criticised by females themselves. The investigation of the nexus between them and the search for a middle ground to accommodate both would be very interesting.

Appendix A

La maddone de Bentalha

https://www.maghrebvoices.com/2018/03/24/%D9%81%D9%8A-%D8%A8%D9%86-%D8%B7%D9%84%D8%AD%D8%A9-%D8%A8%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%AC%D8%B2%D8%A7%D8%A6%D8%B1-%D8%A8%D9%82%D8%A7%D9%8A%D8%A7-%D8%B5%D9%88%D8%B1-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B9%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%88%D8%AF%D8%A7%D8%A1

Algerian women protesting for their missing relatives outside the Parliament in 1999

https://mobile.ledesk.ma/2016/04/29/algerie-egypte-liban-les-femmes-a-la-recherche-des-desaparecidos/

International women's day celebration in Zeralda 2015

https://www.liberte-algerie.com/radar/le-geste-de-bouteflika-221641

International women's day celebration in Zeralda 2016

https://www.radioalgerie.dz/news/ar/article/20160308/70923.html

Louiza Hanoune

https://www.aljazeera.net/amp/encyclopedia/icons/2014/9/22/%D9%84%D9%88%D9%8A%D8%B2%D8%A9-%D8%AD%D9%86%D9%88%D9%86

Appendix B

Date	Prime Minister/ Head of Government	Changes	Females in the government
Nov. 1988 –Sep. 1989	Merbah Kasdi		
Sep. 1989 *Jun. 1991*	Mouloud Hamrouche		
Jun. 1991- Jul. 1992	Sid Ahmed Ghzali	18 Jun. 1991	*Nafissa Laliam, Health Minister* Leila Aslaoui, Youth and Sports Minister
		16 Oct. 1991	*Nafissa Laliam, Health Minister (Replacing a man)* Leila Aslaoui, Youth and Sports Minister *(in office)* Anissa Benamer, Minister of Employment and Professional Training
		22 Jul. 1992	Zahia Mentouri,- Minister of Health and Social Affairs Anissa Benamer, Minister of Employment and Professional Training *(Replaced)*

			Leila Aslaoui, Youth and Sports Minister *(in office)*
Jul. 1992- Aug. 1993	Abdeslem Belaid	*Jul. 1992*	None
		Oct. 1992	Meriem Belmihoub, Minister Counsellor of Legal and Administrative Affairs Saida Benhbiles, Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Solidarity Malika Allab, State Secretary to the Minister of Education, in charge of Scientific Research
		Feb. 1993	The same
21 Aug. 1993	Reda Malek	*Sep. 1993*	None
Jan. 1994- Apr. 1994	Reda Malek	*Jan. 1994*	None

Jan. 1994- Dec. 1995	Mokdad Sifi	*Apr. 1994*	Leila Aslaoui, -State Secretary to the Head of Government, in charge of National Solidarity and Family
		Mar. 1995 Government Amendment	Leila Aslaoui,- State Secretary to the Head of Government, in charge of National Solidarity and Family Replaced by: Aicha Hania Smichi, -State Secretary to the Head of Government, in charge of National Solidarity and Family
31 Dec. 1995- 5 Jun. 1997	Ahmed Ouyahia	Dec. 1995	Rabia Mchernen, Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Solidarity and Family
24Jun. 1997- Dec. 1998	Ahmed Ouyahia		

15 Dec. 1998	Ismail Hamdani	Dec. 1998	Rabia Mchernen, Minister of National Solidarity and Family Zahia Benarous, -State Secretary to the Minister of Communication and Culture, in charge of Culture
23 Dec. 1999- 26 *Aug.* *2000*	Ahmed Benbitour	Dec. 1999	None
26 *Aug.* *2000-* 5 May 2003	Ali Benflis	*Aug. 2000-* Jun. 2002	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture Bouthaina Chraiet,- Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters Fatiha Mentouri, -Minister Delegate to the Minister of Finance, in charge of Financial Reform
		Jun. 2002- *May 2003*	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Bouthaina Chraiet,- Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters Fatima Zohra Bouchemla, -Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Community Abroad

			Leila Hammou Boutlilis, -Minister Delegate to the Minister- of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research
			Fatiha Mentouri, -Minister Delegate to the Minister of Finance, in charge of Financial reform (in office)
May 2003- 26 May 2006	Ahmed Ouyahia	May 2003	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office)
			Bouthaina Chraiet,- Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters (in office)
			Fatima Zohra Bouchemla, -Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Community Abroad (in office)
			Leila Hammou Boutlilis, -Minister Delegate to the Minister- of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research (in office)
			Fatiha Mentouri, -Minister Delegate to the Minister of Finance, in charge of Financial reform (working)
		Sep. 2003	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office)
			Bouthaina Chraiet,- Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters (in office)
			Fatima Zohra Bouchemla, -Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Community Abroad

				Replaced by:
				Sakina Msaadi, Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Community Abroad
				Leila Hammou Boutlilis, -Minister Delegate to the Minister- of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research (in office)
				Fatiha Mentouri, -Minister Delegate to the Minister of Finance, in charge of Financial reform (in office)
			Apr. 2004	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office)
				Bouthaina Chraiet, -Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters
				Replaced by:
				Nouara Saadia Jaafar, Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters
				Sakina Massaadi, -Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of National Community Abroad (in office)
				Leila Hammou Boutlilis, -Minister Delegate to the Minister- of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research
				Replaced by:
				Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister Delegate to the Minister -of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research

		May 2005	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Nouara Saadia Jaafar, Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters (in office) Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister Delegate to the Minister -of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research
May 2006	Abdelaziz Belkhadem	May 2006	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Nouara Saadia Jaafar, Minister Delegate to the Head of Government, in charge of Family and Women Matters (in office) Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister Delegate to the Minister -of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research —(in office)
23 Jun. 2008- 15 Nov. 2008	Ahmed Ouyahia	June 2008	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Nouara Saadia Jaafar, Minister Delegate to the Minister of National Solidarity and Family and National Community Abroad, in charge of Family and Women Matters (in office= mixed two positions) Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister Delegate to the Minister -of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research —(in office)
		Nov.2008	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office)

•15 Nov. 2008: Prime Minister • 27 Apr. 2009- 3 Sep. 2012: Renewed as prime minister after presidential elections			Nouara Saadia Jaafar, Minister Delegate to the Minister of National Solidarity and Family and National Community Abroad, in charge of Family and Women Matters (in office= mixed two positions) Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister Delegate to the Minister -of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research —(in office)
		Apr. 2009	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Nouara Saadia Jaafar, Minister Delegate to the Minister of National Solidarity and Family and National Community Abroad, in charge of Family and Women Matters -(in office= mixed two positions) Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister Delegate to the Minister -of Higher Education and Scientific Research, in charge of Scientific Research —(in office)
2012- 24 May 2017	Abdelmalek Sellal	Sep. 2012- 11 Sep. 13	Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Souad Bendjaballah, -Minister of National Solidarity and Family (New position)

				Dalila Boudjemaa, -State Secretary to the Minister of the Territory, Environment and City, in charge of Environment
		Sep. 2013- 13 Mar. 2014		Khalida Toumi, Minister of Culture (in office) Souad Bendjaballah,- Minister of National Solidarity, Family and Women Matters (in office= mixed two positions) Dalila Boudjemaa, -Minister of the Territory and Environment– (new position) Zahra Derdouri, Minister of Post and Information and Communication Technologies
		5 May 2014- 15 May 2015		Nouria Benghabrit, Minister of National Education Dalila Boudjemaa, -Minister of the Territory and Environment -(in office) Nadia Laabidi, Minister of Culture Mounia Moslem,- Minister of National Solidarity, Family and Women Matters Zahra Derdouri, Minister of Post and Information and Communication Technology (in office) Noria Yamina Zarhouni, Minister of Tourism and Traditional Handicraft Aicha Taghabo, Minster Delegate to the Minister of -Tourism and Traditional Handicraft, in charge of -Traditional Handicraft

		14 May 2014 - 24 May 2016	Nouria Benghabrit, Minister of National Education (in office)
			Mounia Moslem,- Minister of National Solidarity, Family and Women Matters (in office)
			Imane Houda Feraoun, Minister of Post and Information and Communication Technologies
			Aicha Taghabo, Minster Delegate to the Minister of -Tourism and Traditional Handicraft, in charge of -Traditional Handicraft- (in office)
			Eddalia Ghania, Minister of Relations with Parliament
		11 Jun. 2016 Partial adjustment in government	(adding her to the list)
24 May 2017- 15 Aug. 2017	Abdelmadjid Tebboune		Nouria Benghabrit, Minister of National Education (in office)
			Imane Houda Feraoun, Minister of Post and Information and Communication Technologies —(in office)
			Eddalia Ghania, Minister of National Solidarity, Family and Women Matters —(New position)
			Fatma Zohra Zerouati, *Minister of Environment and Renewable Energies*

16 Aug. 2017-Mar. 2019	Ahmed Ouyahia		Nouria Benghabrit, Minister of National Education (in office)
			Imane Houda Feraoun, Minister of Post and Information and Communication Technologies ——(in office)
			Eddalia Ghania, Minister of National Solidarity, Family and Women Matters ——(in office)
			Fatma Zohra Zerouati, *Minister of Environment and Renewable Energies (in office)*

Appendix C

The Initial data analysis sought to promote a first indication/ investigation of whether there is a difference between the construction of female and male politicians in Algerian press discourse as a way of contextualising the main body of the data. The following findings reflect quantitative as well as qualitative analysis methods. The first part is a quantitative part, looking into the volume of articles representing both males and females from 1997 to 2017, the same period as the main data corpus. The second part is a qualitative analysis of key themes and words used by newspapers to establish a certain ideology.

The corpus choice is composed of random dates from January 1997 to December 2017. Three days are chosen randomly each year. However, in some cases where the sampled day was not available due to, for example, a national holiday, or a cut in electricity that happened with two of the random sample days in 1997 and 1999, the following day was chosen. The data are collected from the same dates for the two newspapers to make them comparable and allow for a cross validate differences among the two. Stratified samples have been widely used by researchers in newspaper articles selection because they have control over the "news cycle" through avoiding the days and the seasons where the political news are less than they are throughout the week or the year. For instance, they avoid Mondays and summer season which is a "low season".

However, regarding my choice of simple random sampling. It will help me in giving each day and season an equal chance to be selected, which removes the bias in focussing on particular days with particular events and excludes the rest in order to select as presentable data as possible.Within the randomly selected days, the following sections of the newspaper were chosen: the front page, the first papers of the newspaper under the national news name " Alwatan " and "Souk al-kalam" (specific to Algerian newspapers and the literate meaning is "market of conversation", while the implied meaning is" the mocking opinions") where national events and characters are mocked. The choice of these sections is justified by examining the newspaper views about gender and politics by looking at different genres. The huge data set to be examined required a limiting strategy for the choice of the sample. The sample therefore was chosen on days that included an article about a female, where the whole day was included. This choice allowed us to limit the number of articles but conserve the ratio of male to female articles in the data. The analysis aims to explore how both female and male politicians are represented, to determine the similarities and differences between male and female representation and to provide some contextualization to the main data corpus and subject matter.

Volume:

1. **Overall percentage of *Al-khabar***

The overall content analysis of the articles selected shows that female politicians are significantly underrepresented in *Al-khabar* newspaper. Approximately, 93.27%, or 319 article out of 342, are male oriented while only 6.73% or 23 articles are female oriented. Despite the huge gap in numbers of females in politics in comparison with males (which I will discuss thoroughly in the next point), the percentage is still considered alarming. (See table 01 below)

Al-Khabar	Male	Female
Count	319	23
Percentage	93.27%	6.73%

Table 1: Overall percentage of males and females

Concerning politicians' gender distributions in the different sections analysed. The following table is a summary of the findings.

Al-khabar	Front		Al-Watan		Souk Alkalam	
	F	M	F	M	F	M
Count	1	23	14	198	8	98
Percentage	4.35%	95.65%	7.07%	92.93%	8.16%	91.84%

Table 2: gender distribute by newspaper section

Primarily, the findings reveal that female and male politicians receive largely different types of coverage and attention from the newspaper media.

Throughout the whole period, only one out of the 23 articles discussing female politicians appears in the front page while 23 male oriented articles are presented there. Even worse, the female oriented article in the front page is communicating the surprise of having a new female wali (senator) instead of a man rather than simply reporting a particular news where a female politician is concerned.

Concerning the two remaining sections, the percentage of female oriented articles in souk alkalam is 8.16%, and 7.07% in alwatan. In comparison with the percentage found in male oriented articles, this is a tiny fraction of the total amount, but it increased in the "Souk elkalam"

section. Male spread throughout the newspaper as follows: 92.93% in national main articles and 91.84% in mocking news (souk alkalam). This implies that in addition to the fact that female politicians are rarely covered, they are not considered a valid product for main articles but instead in the mocking news section.

2. **Average:**

Despite the chosen sample is small and a larger amount of data would make it much stronger and less biased, the results are valid and can be generalised due to the random sampling technique used in collecting these articles which gives every day of the year an equal chance to be selected.

The total average number of female oriented articles per year within the examined period is 1.1 while it is 15.2 for male oriented articles. The number is very low and does not show the volume change throughout the years. Accordingly, I have calculated the average of each 5 years in order to better understand if there is a simultaneous change between the media coverage and the number of female politicians. Five years are considered the electoral cycle in Algeria, which enables me to have within the chosen small periods all the most important events from presidential and parliamentary elections to the ministers' changes with new governments. The table below illustrates the statistical results.

Al-Khabar	1997-2002		2003-2007		2008-2012		2013-2017	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Al-Watan	0	14.8	0.7	11.6	0.3	15.2	0.2	11.2
Souk Alkalam	1	3	0.3	1.8	0.3	1.6	2.0	4.6
Total	1	17.8	1	13.4	0.6	16.8	2.2	15.8

Table 4: Average gender coverage by newspaper section

It is apparent in this table that the average of male oriented newspaper articles per year started as the highest in the first 5 years between 1997 and 2002 by 17.8/year to suddenly drop between 2003 and 2007 by 4.4/year to 13.4/year while female oriented articles stayed still with an average of 1/year. The reason behind that is, firstly, the importance of the first five years to Algerian politics, where the government was in its first successful steps in dealing with the civil war during the Algerian black decade. Secondly, the constitutional changes that were launched in 1996 and started to take real shape in the following few years. Thirdly, the emergence of the bi-parliament for the first time and its elections in 1997 and 2002. Lastly, the second presidential elections of

the president Abdelaziz Bouteflika who has been successful in ending the civil war. The decrease between 2003 and 2007 can be justified by the phase of peace in the country.

Concerning the situation of females, there were only 2 females in the government in the first 5 years, but they increased to 5 between 2002 and 2007; however, 4 of them were replaced throughout the years by 4 other females. Nevertheless, while the percentage of women in the lower parliament started at 3.2% and nearly doubled by 2002 to 6.2%, their percentage in the upper parliament did not change with 5.6%. Between 2003 and 2007, the percentage in the upper parliament significantly dropped to 2.9 whereas the lower parliament slightly increased to 7.7% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, World Classification).

The increase of females in the government and the decrease of their percentage in the parliament justifies the stable average. The average of the male oriented articles in the last two periods between 2008 and 2017 has seen an increase with 16.8/year then slightly decreased to 15.8/year. The increase is explained by the constitutional change in 2008 that touched important aspects in the country like the third and fourth mandate of the president, which triggered lots of discussion. Again, the Quota system was discussed in 2008's constitution and was applied in 2012 elections, but the average is found to be the lowest with 0.6.

Between 2013 and 2017, the average of female politicians' oriented articles has seen its peak with 2.2/year. This can be traced to the increased number of females in the government that reached 10 (they replace each other or other males) during the period as well as the increase in the lower chamber of parliament to 25.80% and 7% in the upper chamber. Despite this increase, the volume of women coverage is still considerably underrepresented and needs to be elevated for an equal representation.

Appendix D   Al-khabar Data

زهية، خليدة .. لويزة و الأخريات	(16-06-1997)
جمعيات نسوية في خنشلة تعلن ولاءها للافلان	(02-06-1997)
فاطمة العوفي من سوق اهراس: الاتحاد النسائي جزء لا يتجزأ من "الافلان"	(06-04-1997)
مرباح"مجد" و شلبية حميدو "الأمجيدي" احزاب النتقالي: التكتل أو الزوال	(17-02-1997)
نساء و رجال أعمال في قائمة الأرندي بالبرج	(08-03-2007)
حنون تعلن عن القوائم النهائية غدا: نساء يتصدرون حزب العمال	(26-03-2007)
شلبية: سنشارك في جميع الولايات و في المهجر أيضاً	(22-03-2007)
المراة "الحديدية" لشلغوم العيد ف قائمة الأفلان بميلة	(21-03-2007a)
بلقيس الأوراس" قائمة حرة تقودها امرأة في باتنة	(21-03-2007b)
امرأة واحدة تكفي في افلان البرج	(19-03-2007)
حفص توصي اويحيى خيرا بالنساء	(18-03-2007)
حنون تدعو الى مناهصة التمييز بين الجنسين في ممارسة السياسة : حزب العمال يفتح قواءمه للنساء	(09/10-03-2007)
حزب حنون يستنفر نساء الشاوية	(08-03-2007)
نوارة جعفر : 18 بالمائة فقط يتقاضون أجور	(07-03-2007)
اتحاد النساء الجزاءريات يطالب بكوطة في التشريعات	(06-03-2007)
بعد أن بالغت الأحزاب في مغازلتها هل تدخل المرأة البرلمان بقوة هذه المرة؟	(03-2007)
مرشحة في قائمة الأرندي في سكيكدة تتبرأ و تنسحب	(3/4-06-2002)
تواجد نسبي للنساء في قواءم تشريعات الاحزاب	(15-05-2002)
محاميات يتحدثن عن قانون الأسرة عشية التشريعات: المرأة ليست دايما ضحية	(09-05-2007)
المتظاهرون ابدو استياء من سلوكها لويزة حنون دعت لتجمع و غابت عنه و حضر علي بن حاج	(08-01-2009)
ربحت ولاء الفيس و غزل السلطة حنون انتخبت بوتفليقة و تترشح لمنافسته	(31-01-2009)
لويزة داهية	(01-07-2009)

(18-07-2009)	تركت مراقبة وعود منافسها بوتفليقة الفائز بالرءاسيات حنون تخوض "حرب رواتب" ضد البرلمان و النواب الفارين من الحزب
(09-07-2009)	هاجمت لجنة بالعير التي أعدت قانون ترقية المشاركة السياسية للمرأة حنون: القانون املاء خارجي و نظام الكوطة ضد الدستور
(12-03-2012)	حلال عليا حرام عليكم
(01-03-2012)	بعد مهاجمتها الحمد اويحيى مناضلات اتحاد النساء الجزاءريات يشجب تصريحات نورية حفصي
(31-03-2012)	أصغر مرشحة بتبسة لا يتجاوز عمرها 25 سنة
(28-03-2012)	قالت أن اويحيى يتصرف في الحزب كجنرال نورية حفصي تعلن عن حركة تصحيحية في الأرندي: قيادي في الحزب، غضب نورية شخصي و سيزول سريعا
(28-03-2012)	فيما تحدثت احزاب عن تجاوزات دقتها الإدارة قائمة الافلان تكاد تلغى في سكيكدة بسبب نسبة المرأة
(21-03-2012)	حنون و عشر نساء يتصدرون قواءم حزب العمال التشريعات في 11 ولاية
(19-03-2012)	نوارة جعفر لن تترشح
(14-03-2012)	خليدة تومي تريد العودة للبرلمان
(12-03-2012)	أكد بانه لن يفضل النساء على الرجال في الترتيب الأففاس يشترط الكفاءة و المصداقية لتصدر قواءمه و يلزم مرشحيه بالتوقيع على ميثاق المنتخب
(11-03-2012)	النساء لن يتصدرن قوائم جبهة التغيير و الحملة تنطلق من قبر نحناح
(11-03-2012)	رئيسة حركة الشبيبة و الديمقراطية من سطيف نطالب بتشكيل تحالف ديمقراطي للوقوف ضد البزنسة
(10-03-2012)	الأففاس ينصب لجنته الوطنية للترشيحات علي العسكري يؤيد كوطة النساء و يدعوهن للاقتداء بالتونسيات
(10-03-2012)	ثالث حزب سياسي تقوده امرأة يعقد مؤتمره التأسيسي نعيمة صالحي : "العدل و البيان" خليفة لحزب الشعب
(8-03-2012)	قال أن ترقية مكانتها السياسية مازالت في حاجة الى جهود إضافية الرءيس عبد العزيز بوتفليقة يدعو المرأة الى ممارسة حقوقها بكل حزم في الانتخابات
(07-03-2012)	رءيسة حزب العدل و البيان قيد التأسيس متريثة
(05-03-2012)	حنون للمرة الرابعة على رأس قاءمة حزب العمال بالعاصمة
(05-03-2012)	محامية تتحدى حزب التجديد و تدخل غمار الانتخابات بقاءمة حرة بالبرج المراة البرايجية لا تريد ان تكون ديكورا في القوائم الانتخابية
(29-04-2012)	حنون تنفي امتلاكها لقرية سياحية و تصرح "الإسلاميون لا يتمتعون بثقة الشعب لانهم جرو البلاد الى الهاوية
(25-04-2012)	حنون تفخر بانجازاتها في الحملة الانتخابية لايوجد حزب بجابهنا في الميدان
(24-04-2012)	نوارة جعفر تدعو النساء الى اثبات جدارتهن السياسية
(22-04-2012)	حسب المندوبة الجهوية للجنة الوطنية الستشارية لحماية و ترقية حقوق الانسان المرأة الكفاة لم تدخل معترك السياسة في الجزاءر و الموجودات من المستوى المتوسط

ابدى مخاوفه من التزوير بوعشة: عاملات نظافة و اعوان حراسة كانو نوابا في البرلمان	(22-04-2012)
فاطمة اسماعيل حرم رئيس جبهة العدالة و التنمية للنصر "جاب الله رجل تتمناه كل النساء و لست ضد تعدد الزوجات"	(02-04-2012)
169 امراة في قوائم فوزي رباعين	(01-04-2012)
حفصي نركد ان الموقعات على البيان أقلية و ترفض الاعتراف بالقرار اتحاد النساء يسحب الثقة من رئيسته بعد اطلاقها مبادرة تصحيح الارندي	(28-03-2012)
الأرندي يوظف أوراقا ظلت حكرا على المعارضة المرأة و حقوق الانسان رهان اويحيى الانتخابي	(02-03-2002)
رئيسة الإتحاد الوطني للنساء الجزاءريات المرأة الجزاءرية بعيدة عن بلوغ حقوقها الكاملة	(09-03-2002)
الرابطة الجزاءرية لحقوق الانسان المطالبة بمشاركة المرأة في صنع القرار	(09-03-2002)
مغازلة المرأة و تهافت على القاعدة	(09-03-2002)
الارهاب قلص من المشاركة النسوية في الحياة السياسية الأحزاب تشرع في مغازلة المرأة	(30-03-2002)
النساء البرلمانيات اتفاق حول قانون الاسرة رغم اختلاف البرامج	(06-06-2002)
امراة واحدة في سوق هراس	(20-05-2002)
نساء ميلة مع الارندي	(16-05-2002)
بن فليس في سيدي بالعباس و عين تيموشنت اقصاؤ المرأة من المشاركة السياسية عمى سياسي	(13-05-2002)
حضور قوي لقيادييهما في دورة المجلس الوطني للمنظمة معركة خفية بين الأرندي و الأفلان للاستحواذ على اتحاد النساء	(19-06-2007)
مشاركة المرأة في السياسة التمثيل النسوي في هياكل الدولة ضعيف	(06-05-2007)
الجمعيات النسوية ترفض الاقصاء بعنابة	(15-04-2007)
تمثيل واسع للمرأة في قوائم حمس	(21-03-2007)
نوارة جعفر تعلن عن تنصيب المجلي الوطني للمرأة الأحزاب تتحمل مسؤولية اقصاء المراة	(07-03-2007)
برلمانية تهدد مواطنين	(06-03-2012)
الشارع المحاي في المسيلة يعيش خارج المشهد السياسي ربات بيوت لحشو القوائم و عودة ابن العرش بقوة	(06-03-2012)
المدير التنفيدي لمعهد جنيف لحقوق الانسان ا "الخبر "حصة المرأة في الانتخابات التشريعية مشرفة	(29-05-2012)
العدد 145 اختصر صورة اصلاحات الرءيس و تساؤلات بشأن "الأداء " " النساء النواب بين "ثناء "الخارج و "تشكيك "الداخل	(12-05-2012)
مترشحة تبيع سيارتها و مترشح يبيع مسكنه للوصول للبرلمان	(21-04-2012)
رءيسة حزب العدل و البيان تطلق النار على اليتيمة	(21-04-2012)

(12-04-2012)	تنتقم من "العدالة و التنمية"
(09-04-2012)	اللجنة الانتخابية تحرم "المرأة الحديدية "بأدرار من التشريعات
(08-04-2012)	سيدة الرالي تخوض التشريعات بالاغواط
(07-04-2012)	زوجتي و شقيقي اولى بالمعروف
(04-04-2012)	ست نساء ضمن قائمة الديمقراطية ببومرداس
(02-04-2012)	حلاقة في قائمة المترشحين
(31-03-2012)	فيما عرضت أغلبها اسماء "هزيلة "أحزاب تيعى لتحويل البرلمان إلى تجمعات عائلية
(31-03-2012)	احتجاجات عارمة و غضب يعكس رفض استمرار الوضع القائم قوائم الترشيح تعصف "بحلم "التغيير
(30-03-2012)	الرجال يتغلبون على النساء في الترشح و ينهزمون في المستوى التعليمي
(27-03-2012)	مناضلة من الافلان بعنابة تتصدر قائمة "الحريات"
(26-03-2012)	امرأة على رأس قائمة جبهة العدالة و التنمية بالبرج
(25-03-2012)	فنانون يترشحون للتشريعات المقبلة كرنفال في دشرة
(24-03-2012)	المراة الحديدية تدخل المعترك بأدرار
(22-03-2012)	برلمانية الافلان تستنكر "الإشاعات المغرضة "ضدها
(21-03-2012)	بعضهن تلقين عروضا مالية لدفعهن للترشح : قروض و إغراء بالتوضيف لاستقطاب المرأة في برج بوعريريج
(18-03-2012)	الداخلية تطلب فتوى دستورية للنساء قبل التشريعات
(17-03-2012)	الأمينة الولائية لحزب العمال ضمن قائمة حرة بأم البواقي
(15-03-2012)	بالموازاة مع مغازلة الطبيبات و المحاميات لتمثيل العنصر النسوي : حرب داحس و الغبراء بين الأحزاب و ترقب للترتيب العشائري و المالي للمترشحين
(15-03-2012)	مناضلات غاضبات عن "الأفافا "بتيارت
(13-03-2012)	وثلاث نساء من أجل المرتبة الثالة في الأفلان
(12-03-2012)	ازمة نساء تواجه الأحزاب و الأحرار بالأغواط
(11-03-2012)	رسائل سياسية في عيد المرأة
(10-03-2012)	النايليات يكذبن تصريحات الساسة بالجلفة
(25-01-2014)	أعلنت ترشحها لانتخابات 17 افريل في ثالث تجربة لها
(01-03-2017)	ماجستير وهمي من اجل الترشح : وعلاه الحفافات خير مني.؟!
(03-03-2017)	وزير واحد و 24 نائبا على رأس قوائم "الأرندي"

(06-03-2017)	22% من مترشحي الارندي أقل من 35 سنة
(06-03-2017)	النساء الجزائريات يشكلن جبهة للدفاع عن الجزائر
(08-03-2017)	بوتفليقة يشيد بدور المرأة في تحرير الوطن
(09-03-2017)	برلمان للحصانة فقط؟!
(12-03-2017)	سكرتيرة ولد عباس و متجول سياسي في القائمة :اولية مسكينة
(14-03-2017)	انهاء مهام مديرة إقامة جامعية ترشحت في قائمة "سبسيفيك"

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(28-04-1997)	خلال تجمع شعبي بقسنطينة لويزة حنون تفتح النار في كل الاتجاهات
(01-06-2002)	السيدة الحديدية تقود حزبها الى مصاف الكبار
(01-06-2002)	صعود مثير لحزب العمال
(14-01-2004)	وجهت رسالة نية إلى زرهوني في انتظار التزكية السياسية من الحزب لويزة حنون تقرر الترشح للرءاسيات
(04-02-2004)	جمعت اكثر من 92 ألف توقيع لويزة حنون تعلن ترشحها للرءاسيات
(22-02-2004)	لويزة حنون صعود سياسب متميز منذ انتخابات 2002
(09-03-2004)	المترشحة الوحيدة تنتفض في عيد المرأة حنون: لست ديكورا في الرءاسيات
(15-03-2004)	حنون ترفض التنسيق مع بقية المترشحين
18-03-2004)	لويزة حنون الحفاظ على القطاع العمومي و الوحدة الوطنية
(-09-04-2004)	السيدة حنون تدعو أطراف الصراع الى تحكيم الرشاد
(10-05-2004)	خاصت حملة انتخابية نزبهة و نظيفة لويزة حنون سيدة فازت حيث فشل الاخرون
(16/17-04-2004)	لويزة حنون الرءاسيات تركت اثرا ايجابيا على حزب العمال
(25-04-2004)	لويزة حنون "افكاري تزعج دواءر اجنبية وليس السلطة"
(17/18-05-2007)	لويزة حنون امراة حديدية بكاريزما سياسية متميزة
(02-04-2007)	حنون في مواجهة "اوزان خفيفة"
(28-03-2012)	تشكيلتها لم تحقق التقدم الكاسح سوى في العاصمة شخصية حنون وراء حصاد حزب العمال
(26-03-2007)	حنون تعلن عن القوائم النهائية غدا: نساء يتصدرون حزب العمال

(09-05-2007)	محاميات يتحدثن عن قانون الأسرة عشية التشريعات: المرأة ليست دايما ضحية
(2007 01-08)	فيما نفت حنون وجود محاولات للاستغلال السياسي حزب تلعمال يفشل في التظاهر بالعاصمة
(04-03-2009)	لويزة حنون السيدة تلني طرقت باب الرءاسة مرتين
(10-03-2009)	نظام الكوطات ليس الحل الامثل لتمثيل المرأة حنون تطالب بتعديل قانون الاسرة
(09-03-2009)	حنون... التروتشكية التي ستستثمر في الأزمة المالية العالمية
(10-03-2009)	المقربون منها يقولون أنها المترشحة القادرة على المنافسة لويزة حنون تدشن حملة قصر المرادية ب"دورية نحو الشرق "
(24-03-2009)	قالت أنها ستسمح بانشاء نقابة للشرطة حنون تعد بتوسيع سلطة النساء
(11-04-2009)	قفزت من المرتبة الخامسة في 2004 إلى الثانية في رءاسيات 2009 حنون المرأة التي تقدمت على أربعة رجال
(21-07-2009)	حنون تعترض على منح النساء كوطات في المجالس المنتخبة
(08-01-2009)	المتظاهرون ابدو استياء من سلوكها لويزة حنون دعت لتجمع و غابت عنه و حضر علي بن حاج
(31-01-2009)	ربحت ولاء الفيس و غزل السلطة حنون انتخبت بوتفليقة و تترشح لمنافسته
(01-07-2009)	لويزة داهية
(18-07-2009)	تركت مراقبة وعود منافسها بوتفليقة الفاءز بالرءاسيات حنون تخوض "حرب رواتب" ضد البرلمان و النواب الفارين من الحزب
(09-07-2009)	هاجمت لجنة بالعير التي أعدت قانون ترقية المشاركة السياسية للمرأة حنون: القانون املاء خارجي و نظام الكوطة ضد الدستور
(12-03-2012)	حلال عليا حرام عليكم
(01-03-2012)	بعد مهاجمتها احمد اويحيى مناضلات اتحاد النساء الجزاءريات يشجب تصريحات نورية حفصي
(28-03-2012)	فيما تحدثت احزاب عن تجاوزات دقتها الإدارة قائمة الافلان تكاد تلغى في سكيكدة بسبب نسبة المرأة
(28-03-2012)	قالت أن اويحيى يتصرف في الحزب كجنرال نورية حفصي تعلن عن حركة تصحيحية في الأرندي: قيادي في الحزب، غضب نورية شخصي و سيزول سريعا
(21-03-2012)	حنون و عشر نساء يتصدرون قواءم حزب العمال التشريعات في 11 ولاية
(11-03-2012)	رئيسة حركة الشبيبة و الديمقراطية نطالب من سطيف بتشكيل تحالف ديمقراطي للوقوف ضد البزنسة

(10-03-2012)	الاففاس ينصب لجنته الوطنية للترشيحات علي العسكري يؤيد كوطة النساء و يدعوهن للاقتداء بالتونسيات
(10-03-2012)	ثالث حزب سياسي تقوده امرأة يعقد مؤتمره التأسيسي نعيمة صالحي : "العدل و البيان" خليفة لحزب الشعب
(22-04-2012)	حسب المندوبة الجهوية للجنة الوطنية الاستشارية لحماية و ترقية حقوق الانسان المرأة الكفاة لم تدخل معترك السياسة في الجزاىر و الموجودات من المستوى المتوسط
(07-03-2012)	رئيسة حزب العدل و البيان قيد التأسيس متريثة
(8-03-2012)	قال أن ترقية مكانتها السياسية مازالت في حاجة الى جهود إضافية الرىيس عبد العزيز بوتفليقة يدعو المرأة الى ممارسة حقوقها بكل حزم في الانتخابات
(22-04-2012)	ابدى مخاوفه من التزوير بوعشة: عاملات نظافة و اعوان حراسة كانو نوابا في البرلمان
(02-04-2012)	فاطمة اسماعيل حرم رىيس جبهة العدالة و التنمية للنصر "جاب الله رجل تتمناه كل النساء و لست ضد تعدد الزوجات"
(28-03-2012)	حفصي تؤكد ان الموقعات على الببان أقلية و ترفض الاعتراف بالقرار اتحاد النساء يسحب الثقة من رىيسته بعد اطلاقها مبادرة تصحيح الارندي

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