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Gender and Power Negotiation in Politics:

A Discursive Analytic Approach to the Organic Laws of Women's Political Representation in Algeria

Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctorate in Gender Studies, Languages and Sociolinguistic Diversity

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Dedication

I dedicate this modest work to my dear and beloved parents who strongly advise me to work hard and helped me to accomplish my studies, and to my brothers and sister who encouraged me very much.

Acknowledgements

Abstract

Algerian women have always faced the unfortunate reality of their political under-representation in the national political institutions since the independence of their country in 1962 due to men's political dominance, which prevented them from developing their political competence, and from participating in the decision-making process. Therefore, in order to promote their political representation, the Algerian government adopted women's quota system in 2012, and then the gender parity principle in 2021. This work scrutinises the effects of gender roles and power inequalities on Algerian women's political representation and on the enactment and implementation of the organic laws using the gender dominance theory and political discourse analysis, mainly van Dijk's (1997) critical-political discourse analysis which deals with political power, power abuse and domination in political discourse. This study aims to uncover the advantages and disadvantages of these laws and their impact on women's political empowerment through analysing the data collected from the questionnaire using the mixed methods approach and the descriptive-interpretive method. The research findings indicate that the quota system, despite its shortcomings, helps to improve women's political representation in elected assemblies, whereas the gender parity principle guarantees only their presence on electoral lists.

Keywords: Gender, Power, Organic laws, Political Discourse Analysis, Political Participation, Algerian Women.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADPDF: Association for the Defence and Promotion of Women's Rights

AELFH: Association for Equality before the Law of Women and Men

AFAM: Association of Algerian Women Physicians

AFEPEC: Feminist Association for the Development of the Person and the Exercise of Citizenship

AFMA: Association of Algerian Muslim Women

AFRA: Association of the Rural Woman of Tamanrasset Region

AITDF: Independent Association for the Triumph of Women's Rights

ALN: National Liberation Army

AMU: Arab Maghreb Union

ANR: National Republican Alliance

APCs: Communal People's Assemblies

APN: National People's Assembly

APWs: Wilaya People's Assemblies

ARCS: Association of the Shine of Skikda Region Cadres

ATB: Tafath Association of Bejaia

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CGE: Commission for Gender Equality

CL: Critical Linguistics

CNCD: National Coordination for Change and Democracy

CNFT: National Commission of Working Women

CofP: Community of Practice

ECOSOC: Economic and Social Council

FCDA: Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

FFS: Socialist Forces Front

FIS: Islamic Salvation Front

FLN: National Liberation Front

GAD: Gender and Development

Gen X: Generation X

HMS: Movement of Society for Peace

ICCPR: International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

ICESCR: International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

ICW: International Council of Women

IPU: Inter-Parliamentary Union

ISAs: Ideological State Apparatuses

MTLD: Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties

NUSEC: National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship

OAS: Organisation of the Secret Army

OAU: Organisation of African Unity

OSW: Office of the Status of Women

PCA: Algerian Communist Party

PDA: Political Discourse Analysis

PNSD: National Party for Solidarity and Development

PPA: Party of the Algerian People

PRA: Algerian Renewal Party

PSC: Peace and Security Council

PT: Workers' Party

RACHDA: Rally against Contempt and for the Rights of Algerian Women

RAFD: Algerian Rally of Democratic Women

RBA: Rights Based Approach

RCD: Rally for Culture and Democracy

RND: National Democratic Rally

SFL: Systemic Functional Linguistics

SOS FED: Association of SOS Women in Distress

TGG: Transformational-Generative Grammar

UDHR: Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UFA: Union of Women of Algeria

UGTA: General Union of Algerian Workers

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

UNFA: National Union of Algerian Women

UNGA: United Nations General Assembly

UNJA: National Union of Algerian Youth

WIDF: Women's International Democratic Federation

WNC: Women's National Coalition

The effective utilisation of human resources is one of the major goals of states in developing their societies and building their economies. The human being is the main element in the social, political and economic development of any country in the world, and the sustainability of this development depends on the maximum participation of men and women, who represent the two complementary parts of society, in formulating the policies and strategies that govern the activities leading to development. However, women's participation in the social and political life was weak and underestimated for a long time, since men were the dominant group who had power over women and controlled the social and political spheres (Bennoui, 2020:23).

Human beings are affected by social concepts about gender through the socialisation process from the moment they are born. The notion of manhood is injected in the minds of boys in different ways. There is a social pressure on them to deny their feelings, act in a strong physical way and prove themselves by controlling or competing with others, since control and power over others and even sometimes violence may be perceived as signs of manhood. Whereas from a social point of view, girls usually have to deny their culture and education in order to be good listeners, polite and obedient. Furthermore, they have to prove themselves by putting the needs of others first, since passivity and acceptance of injustice may be considered as signs of femininity. This kind of socialisation undermines the social education of human beings and their dignity and promotes the creation of victims.

Therefore, gender studies come to clarify the various rights, roles and responsibilities of women and men and the relationships that exist between them in society. They do not only trace power relations between men and women, but they also include the methods that define their characteristics, behaviours and identities through the course of social coexistence. They expose as well the social and political injustice that women are suffering from, and analyse its manifestations and the reasons behind it. Moreover, gender studies open the door to sociolinguists and feminists to focus on masculinity and femininity, and the different forms of language and expressions which are generally reflected in discourse in light of certain social, cultural and political contexts.

Whereas feminism is considered as a social and political movement which fights for the rights of women. It tries always to establish and promote equality between men and women at the social, cultural, economic and political levels on the one hand, and to protect women from domestic violence and sexual harassment on the other hand. Additionally, it

starts from its belief of the existence of gender discrimination and imbalance in power relations between men and women in society, and therefore, it seeks to achieve a fair social and political change which serves to improve women's rights, taking into account their biological differences (Humm, 1990:74). However, the feminist movements are sometimes criticised for being less associated with ordinary women's daily lives, focusing only on the top of society and drawing conclusions about it as a whole. Moreover, some critics oppose feminism because they consider it as a danger and threat to all religions, values and human civilisations due to its challenge to the fundamental differences between men and women and their traditional roles.

Despite the criticism, the feminist movements are considered by many people all over the world as the fundamental power that shaped women's social and political history and achieved women's suffrage that paved the way for the first real participation of women in the political field. Moreover, the beliefs and values of the feminist movements are not just mere social, political or economic ideas about women's rights, but they are more like visions of knowledge and ideology for the whole world; since the feminist movements are powerful intellectual movements that grew up under the banner of the globalisation movement and worked through the United Nations and civil society organisations. After a long struggle of feminist movements, women succeeded to enter politics and acquire an important part of their political rights through the spread of liberal and democratic movements. Furthermore, many feminist associations were founded to defend women's rights and to keep them integrated into all forms of social and political structures. This integration allowed them to freely express their personal opinions, enter the areas of economic and political power and participate in the decision-making process.

The effectiveness of women's political participation is strongly related to gender equality, which is one of the most important principles at the global level since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and it generally means the illegality of discrimination between men and women, regardless of their sex, race, colour, language, religion or social status. This principle was subsequently established in most international and regional conventions on human rights. However, the recognition of women's equality with men and the integration of their rights into all international charters and conventions did not constitute a guarantee for their full protection. Therefore, there was a need to embody those rights within special conventions dealing only with women's issues, such as the Convention

on the Political Rights of Women of 1952, and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979 (Medafer, 2021:182).

In implementation of these conventions, most states' constitutions and national legislations stipulated the enshrinement of the principle of equality between men and women in all rights, especially the political rights. These states paid great attention to gender equality in their legislations, because the equal representation of both genders, the participation of women in the political sphere whether directly or indirectly, and their presence in the centre of decision-making process are considered as the indicators of civilised societies, the pillars of democracy and the signs of developed countries. Hence, women's political empowerment is no longer only a gender issue, but rather an important cause which is related to comprehensive development at the different social, political and economic levels, and thus representing an indicator of the development of society (Benachi et al., 2014).

Similar to international constitutions, the various successive Algerian constitutions since the first constitution of 1963 emphasised the principle of equality between men and women in the enjoyment of all rights, especially political ones, which reflect the Algerian state's commitment to protect and enhance the rights of women who played a crucial role during and after the war of independence. However, the reality of women's political status reveals that Algerian policies do not always succeed in involving women in governance affairs, whether directly or indirectly, despite Algeria's ratification of the most important conventions of human rights in general, and women's rights in particular, and the issuance of many national legislations that are consistent with those conventions. Therefore, Algerian women's political representation remains weak and far from their hopes.

This reality prompted the Algerian government to take the initiative to promote women's political rights within the constitutional amendment of 2008, by including the text of Article 31 bis, in which the Algerian legislator emphasises on the determination of the state to promote women's political rights by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. The political participation of Algerian women has become an urgent need that imposes itself at all levels, and it is therefore translated into the quota system through the Organic Law n° 12-03 of January 12, 2012 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies (Medafer, 2021:183). Furthermore, the government promulgated other organic laws which seek to strengthen the practice of democracy in the country and help women engage in politics, such as the Organic Law n° 12-

01 on electoral system, the Organic Law n° 12-02 determining the cases of incompatibility with parliamentary term and the Organic Law n° 12-04 on political parties.

This new quota system faced strong objections from political parties, as some of them considered it a positive discrimination in favour of women, and others even questioned the qualifications of women and their political competence, in addition to its violation of one of the basic principles stipulated in all Algerian constitutions, which is the principle of equality between men and women. However, the Constitutional Council, in its Opinion n° 03/A.CC/11 of December 22, 2011 relating to the control of the constitutional conformity of the Organic Law n° 12-03 which fixes the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies, states that Articles 2 and 3 of the Organic Law do not affect the provisions of the Constitution, but rather aim to remove obstacles that prevent women from participating in political life, and they also aim to promote their political rights. In the same opinion, the Constitutional Council acknowledges that the Organic Law n° 12-03 does not contradict the principle of equality stipulated in the Constitution (ibid.:192).

After the application of the quota system in the local and legislative elections of 2012 and 2017, it succeeded in increasing the representation rate of women in Parliament and local assemblies, despite the fact that many female representatives were greatly criticised due to their lack of political experience and low educational level. In 2021, women's quota system was abolished after the implementation of a new electoral system by the Ordinance n° 21-01 of March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system. Articles 176 and 191 of this electoral system impose the gender parity principle on electoral lists of political parties and independent candidates during local and legislative elections respectively, by allocating, at least, half of their candidacies to women.

Unlike the quota system, the gender parity principle does not grant women specific seats in elected assemblies, but it only ensures their participation in the elections by imposing their presence in the electoral lists. Furthermore, in a transitory manner, and only for the elections of 2021, Article 317 of the new electoral system permits the suspension of the gender parity principle in some electoral lists. In order for them to be legally accepted, it allows the Independent National Authority of Elections to give an acceptance license to leaders of political parties and independent candidates, who cannot achieve the gender parity principle due to the dominance of social stereotypes and conservative mentalities that still reject women's political participation, especially in some internal communes and desert

regions of the country. Consequently, the representation rate of women in elected assemblies has known a great decline in the 2021 elections, which opens the door to every kind of misinterpretation of the government's intentions, and speculation about the seriousness of its political will to engage women in politics on the one hand, and creates a big disappointment to female candidates and a constant state of uncertainty about their political participation in the future on the other hand.

This research deals with gender and its relationship with interconnected factors like political discourse, political hegemony, patriarchal attitudes, social stereotypes, and ideological and conservative views, which shape the Algerian political landscape, create huge obstacles for women and negatively affect their political participation. It focuses on the aforementioned organic laws from 2012 (the adoption of the quota system) to 2021 (the adoption of the gender parity principle). It follows the backgrounds and circumstances of their promulgation and sheds the light on their advantages and shortcomings, in order to clarify their success or failure to empower Algerian women and promote their political representation in elected assemblies. Moreover, it concentrates on their ability to fight stereotypes about gender roles and power relations in society, which hinder women's political participation and feed discrimination against them.

Creswell (2003) argues that there is no research method which is more suitable than the others, and that the researcher has to decide which method to adopt based on the proposed research questions of his study. Therefore, due to the multifaceted nature of our study, we have carefully chosen the appropriate research methodology according to the type of our research, the actual knowledge and resources of our topic, the concerned population, the research questions and the objectives that we want to achieve at the end. Since our topic is related to gender, power and political discourse, we opted for the gender dominance theory which is suitable for dealing with Algerian men's political dominance, in addition to the political discourse analysis (PDA) which uses a critical approach to analyse the political discourse about the organic laws. Generally, this approach focuses on how political power, power abuse or domination are reproduced through political discourse, including the different forms of counter-power or resistance against these forms of discursive dominance which creates social and political inequality (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993, as cited in van Dijk, 1997).

Furthermore, in addition to our observation of the Algerian society which gives us the first impressions about women's under-representation in the political field, we choose the questionnaire as a tool to collect data from the targeted population. The questionnaire uses both open-ended questions and closed-ended questions in order to cover all the different features of our research. It is administered to participants closely related to our topic: the second year Master students at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at Djillali Liabès University (Sidi Bel Abbès), who study the organic laws of women's political representation (theoretical background), and to the members of Communal People's Assembly (APC) at the commune of Sidi Bel Abbès, who are already dealing with the effects of these laws on the ground (practical background).

Therefore, we believe that the mixed methods research, which combines both qualitative and quantitative research methods, is the accurate approach to encompass the complexities of gender issues and power relations in political discourse. This approach gives us the chance to study the experiences and perceptions of the participants about the topic, and analyse statistically the collected data in order to obtain the final results, and then, interpret and discuss them. Additionally, we opted for a descriptive-interpretive method which allows us to investigate and explain comprehensively the participants' perceptions and opinions, by a descriptive study which tells their various perspectives and attitudes towards the effects of the organic laws on Algerian women's political participation, and an interpretive study which reveals and interprets the origins of their perspectives and attitudes.

The organic laws concerning women's political empowerment in Algeria created a wide controversy among women candidates and politicians, whether after their promulgation or during their application. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to investigate the circumstances under which these laws were made and applied in the Algerian political field. This study analyses these laws in order to see if they have empowered women, enhanced their political rights and succeeded in increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. It deals with the effects of these laws in light of the following questions:

1. How is gender politically negotiated and manifested in Algeria? And how can it affect the decision-making process and the enactment of organic laws?
2. Did the Algerian government take the decision of making these organic laws under any national or international pressure?

3. Does the Algerian government have a real political will to engage women in politics? Can these laws prove its intentions?

4. Do Algerian female and male politicians have the same political rights and opportunities to access to leadership roles?

5. Have the organic laws accomplished any improvement in women's political empowerment?

On the basis of these questions, we formulate the following hypotheses:

1. Gender is politically negotiated and manifested through political discourse and electoral campaigns. Although gender issues have been historically quite neglected, the enactment of these organic laws can open the door for debating gender problems in Algeria. However, gender can negatively affect the organic laws, in the sense that they can be unfair to women because they are enacted mainly by male politicians.

2. The Algerian government took the decision of making these organic laws (the laws of 2012) under great national pressure of the 2011 uprising in Algeria, and international pressure of the "Arab Spring", which began as peaceful demonstrations and transformed into bloodshed in many Arab countries like Tunisia, Libya and Egypt. Therefore, Algeria introduced these laws, in addition to other political reforms, in order to absorb public anger and ensure national security.

3. The Algerian government proved its political will to engage women in politics by introducing the quota system, which increased the representation rate of women in Parliament and local assemblies. However, many women's rights activists and candidates lost trust in its political will after the promulgation of the new gender parity principle, which caused a huge decline in the number of women in elected bodies.

4. Algerian female and male politicians do not have the same political rights and opportunities to access to leadership roles, because men have always dominated the political field, whereas women have been always under-represented in elected bodies, and relegated to minor political roles due to gender discrimination, social stereotypes and conservative traditions that are still embedded in the Algerian society.

5. Although the quota system is criticised for allowing many poorly educated and politically inexperienced women to enter elected bodies, but it is considered as a first step towards women's political empowerment, because it has accomplished an improvement in women's political rights and increased their representation rate in Parliament and local assemblies. However, the gender parity principle caused a great

decline in the number of women in elected bodies, because it guarantees women's participation in elections, but not their representation in elected assemblies.

This work has raised multiple questions and hypotheses about the reality and the effectiveness of the organic laws which intend to promote women's political empowerment in Algeria. These constantly changing laws have greatly affected the political sphere, and have brought more ambiguity about the political future of Algerian women who have gone back to the problem of political under-representation. This thesis intends to cover all the social and political complexities that led to this problem, and thus, it is divided into four different but interrelated chapters.

The first chapter is devoted to the theoretical background of gender studies and their relationship with power and political discourse. It focuses on gender, ideology and power relations and their implications in critical discourse analysis and political discourse analysis. It also demonstrates how feminism and women's movements have evolved through history. The second chapter presents the political situation of women in Algeria and their historical struggle for recognition of their political rights from the era of French colonialism until now. It also shows the development of women's political rights in the different constitutions, national legislations and political institutions.

The third chapter deals with the organic laws of women's political representation (the quota system and gender parity principle) through the lens of gender dominance theory. It analyses the discourse of the male and female advocates and opponents of these laws using van Dijk's (1997) critical-political discourse analysis, and the data collected from the questionnaire using the mixed methods approach and the descriptive-interpretive method in order to investigate the effects of the organic laws on women's political representation in elected assemblies. Finally, the fourth chapter is dedicated to the evolution of women's political rights in regional organisations where Algeria is a member, and in international conventions, covenants and charters which were ratified by Algeria, in order to see the origins of the quota system and gender parity principle. It deals with the different types of the quota system and the Arab and European countries which implemented this system. Moreover, it gives an evaluation of the application of the quota system and gender parity principle in Algeria, and discusses the future perspectives of Algerian women's political participation.

Chapter One: Gender Implications in Political Discourse

1.1. Introduction

The study of social sciences brings different fields together like gender, language, discourse, ideology and politics. These fields intersect and affect each other when conducting a study which gives it a multidisciplinary quality. In terms of the use of language, the words "gender" and "sex" are sometimes confused with each other and used interchangeably. Therefore, the definition of these two terms will clarify their meaning and make a clear distinction between both of them.

The word "sex" refers to the natural physical and biological characteristics of women and men. Many of these characteristics are clear and stable, even in the presence of certain biological differences between both sexes. Whereas the word "gender" refers to the social differences and roles that are given by any society to men and women. It is based on cultural ideals, systems of beliefs, perceptions and expectations about masculinity and femininity in a given society.

Gender roles are dependent on the social, economic and political context, and they can change over time. These roles can be manifested through the participation of men and women in the social and political spheres in which they either add a huge value to improve their lives, or to expose their differences and inequalities. However, the reality from the world's global experience detects that the historical discrimination which is still embedded in societies all over the world, comes directly from the global ideology of male superiority. This discrimination relegates women to the bottom of the global social structures which has resulted consequently in a mass gender inequality and sometimes insufficient participation in political institutions.

In many cultures, the experiences and perceptions of men are seen often as natural matters, and the non-sexual masculine behaviour is also regarded as the standard behaviour. Moreover, the use of force and power, especially in public, is taken as a manly behaviour. Presumably, in most cultures the man is the leader of the family and society while the woman is his follower and supporter. Therefore, this first chapter deals with the theoretical background of gender theories and their relationship with power and political discourse. It focuses on gender stereotypes and ideologies which affect politics, political discourse and women's political participation. It also explains how feminism and women's movements have evolved through history, and how they have greatly helped in empowering women and shaping their political participation nowadays.

1.2. Definition of Gender

Generally, the notions "gender" and "sex" are considered to have the same meaning and they are used interchangeably in some studies that are related to different social sciences. The definition of sex and gender in "Sex and Gender in Simone de Beauvoir's Second Sex" by Judith Butler is as follows:

"One is not born, but rather becomes, a woman - Simone de Beauvoir's formulation distinguishes sex from gender and suggests that gender is an aspect of identity gradually acquired. The distinction between sex and gender has been crucial to the long-standing feminist effort to debunk the claim that anatomy is destiny; sex is understood to be the invariant, anatomically distinct, and factic aspects of the female body, whereas gender is the cultural meaning and form that body acquires, the variable modes of that body's acculturation. With the distinction intact, it is no longer possible to attribute the values or social functions of women to biological necessity, and neither can we refer meaningfully to natural or unnatural gendered behaviour: all gender is, by definition, unnatural. Moreover, if the distinction is consistently applied, it becomes unclear whether being a given sex has any necessary consequence for becoming a given gender".

(Butler, 1986:35)

Therefore, it is clear that gender and sex are different from each other, and that attributing social functions and behaviours to biological differences between men and women is not totally adequate. Moreover, Simone de Beauvoir indicates that gender aspects and specificities are parts of identity which people are not born with, but they acquire them through their lives. These parts of women and men's identities are gradually developed by the socialisation process that they undergo in society and begins just after birth; in which they learn values, norms, customs and even ideologies that help them as individuals to shape their personalities and obtain the necessary social skills and habits in order to be active members in the social life and participate in the improvement of their lives as well as their society. Therefore, children who go through the same type of socialisation, they intend to share the same social skills, beliefs and expectations; this is what is called a successful socialisation which creates uniformity and harmony in society as a whole. This fact motivates many governments around the world to standardise education and make it obligatory for all

children. By controlling the education systems, governments will decide which things are important to be taught to people and how they are taught in order to create a powerful political tool to control society on the one hand, and minimise the number of those who break the laws and commit crimes on the other hand.

Furthermore, the child's gender is also affected by socialisation in which he/she can learn the appropriate behaviours and attitudes for a given sex. Henslin (1999:76) confirms that *"an important part of socialisation is the learning of culturally defined gender roles"*, which means that each male and female in the society learns his/her behaviours and attitudes based on the social and cultural norms that are embedded in society for a long time. The learning of any appropriate behaviour or attitude takes place with the help of many agents of socialisation. First of all, it starts within the family of the newborn child, and then it extends to his/her friends, school, work and the mass media that exist and broadcast all over the world. Consequently, gender roles are improved by *"countless subtle and not so subtle ways"* (ibid.). In addition to the effects of the socialisation process on gender roles in society, gender identity itself can affect the language used by both males and females. Their language is studied by linguists and sociolinguists through history and they gave multiple theories concerning the differences that exist between males' and females' language.

1.3. Gender and Language Overview

Gender and language studies have changed and evolved greatly from ideas and theories made and imposed by men only, to a feminist point of view which aims at exposing the sexism that exists in language, and further to studies that take into consideration the paradigms of deficit, difference and dominance in language from different perspectives.

The research on the field of language and gender and the theoretical changes that occurred in it, are the outcome of serious world changes that happened due to the actions of the political movements around the world, and therefore this research does not represent only the differences in academic perspectives on the field of gender and language, but also changes through time in the way that gender and language are recognised and how they work in the whole world (Cameron, 2004).

According to Cameron (1995), since 1973, a direct and explicit historical-typological consideration of feminist linguistic approaches would perhaps differentiate between three main models of language and gender: the deficit model, the dominance model and the cultural

difference model. Later on, exactly in 1987, Zimmerman and West introduced the performative model in which the idea of 'doing' gender occurred for the first time[1], then in 1990, it was given the name of 'performative' by Judith Butler in her book Gender Trouble.

1.3.1. Deficit Model

In the deficit model, females are considered to be speaking and communicating with other people in a very poor way in terms of using vocabularies and new expressions, especially in the professional field, due to their education and socialisation as females (Block, 2002). The main belief of this model is the existence of some inaccuracy in the language per se that is used by a disadvantaged group (females). It analyses the language by seeing men's language as the norm and women's language as a deviant from that norm in different ways. Otto Jespersen is one of the first linguists to write about men's and women's language. In 1922, he wrote a full chapter in his book which was entitled "The Woman" where he claims that women have limited vocabularies and they are easily offended, so they prefer to avoid "coarse and gross expressions" and use more "veiled and indirect expressions". In contrast, he believes that men are the only real innovators who invent and use new terms and expressions, and who participate greatly in the vividness and survival of language:

> *"Men will certainly with great justice object that there is a danger of the language becoming languid and insipid if we are always to content ourselves with women's expressions, and that vigour and vividness count for something. Most boys and many men have a dislike to some words merely because they feel that they are used by everybody and on every occasion: they want to avoid what is commonplace and banal and to replace it by new and fresh expressions, whose very newness imparts to them a flavour of their own. Men thus become the chief renovators of language, and to them are due those changes by which we sometimes see one term replace an older one, to give way in turn to a still newer one, and so on."*

(Jespersen, 1922:247)

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[1] The concept of "doing" gender was the result of the studies done about gender in sociology and its relationship with the general gender studies. The specific term "doing gender" was primarily introduced by West and Zimmerman in their article that bears the same title. It was originally written in 1977 but not published until 1987.

The deficit theory is also presented by Lakoff in her work on language and women's place in 1973. In her studies, men's language is always accepted as the norm while women's language is regarded as deficient. In her study on verbal hygiene, Cameron (1995) indicates that there is a strong pressure on women by their society to observe and check regularly both the men's and their own speech and correct their mistakes of language production appropriately.

Although the deficit model was followed later by other different models, it is important to realise that there are more studies about the deficit model that were carried out recently (Aslan, 2009). These studies can be seen clearly in the recommendations that are given to people who want to be oriented towards choosing a good career in which they can achieve success and promotion. In 2001, Ellig and Morin wrote a book entitled What Every Successful Woman Knows which gives a good example of these studies. The primary objective of this book is to give working women efficient strategies and plans that will make them succeed and even overtake men in their own professional world (Block, 2002). In the part of communication strategies, Ellig and Morin give a piece of advice to women who feel shy and underrepresented in a patriarchal society:

> *"The lesson for successful women seeking the breakthrough to power? Grab the magic marker, move right up to the flipchart, and say what you have to say. Don't wait for acceptance... and don't wait, much less ask, for permission to speak. Just say it."*

> (Ellig & Morin, 2001:109)

Moreover, the authors advise women who wish to achieve success in their professional lives to adjust their language and their attitude in order to be more direct and assertive. They state that boys learn these skills at an early age in their lives unlike girls:

> *"...women have been trained since childhood to be less direct... Young girls were traditionally taught to believe that they would get more through coyness than through directness. Women simply gather and process information differently from men. In fact, they approach the whole process of communication in a different way."*

> (ibid.:109-110)

Apparently, the authors show a great adherence to the deficit theory, presenting women as weak members of the professional world which requires assertiveness and confidence in order to achieve success. According to them, men develop these skills and abilities naturally early in their lives and if women hope for challenging them and succeed in the world of business, they need actually to adopt, and even follow the steps of men in improving their characteristics and qualities for an effective communication with others. Following their claims, Block (2002) states that:

"...the view of gender is essentialized in that it is about having certain characteristics which are determined by the environment and which are stable throughout one's lifetime. It is also imminently conservative in that it requires that women follow modes of behaviour laid down by men, as opposed to challenging them."

(Block, 2002:51-52)

1.3.2. Dominance Model

During the 1970s, the dominance theory took over the landscape of the gender studies and many researchers and sociolinguists adopted this model in order to explain how women's language was negatively evaluated because of men's social domination (Bergvall, 1999). Moreover, all the studies that were made about the language use and the structures of gendered language indicated that men dominate women in social interaction and preserve their power over them by using interruptions and overlappings when talking to women, and sometimes even criticising them by using considerable number of words (Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004).

Lakoff (1975) claims that women's social insecurity and subordinate status affect greatly their use of words and differentiate their language from that of men. While the latter enjoy great status and power in most societies, which make them believe that they have the right to dominate their conversations with women and use interruption which is *"a device for exercising power and control in conversation"* (West & Zimmerman, 1983:103). Furthermore, Dale Spender (1982) confirms that language itself embodies structures which sustain the power of men and eventually make them control knowledge:

"It is the men, not women, who control knowledge, and I believe that this is an understanding we should never lose sight of. It is because men control knowledge that we do not know about our traditions as women; it is because men control knowledge that the knowledge we produce can be used against us in the same way that the knowledge of our foremothers was used against them, and is denied to us."

(Spender, 1982:9)

However, Geoffrey Beattie (1982) points out that men's interruptions to women do not reflect necessarily their dominance and power, but they can also reflect their interest and involvement. Therefore, the bias and prejudice of these studies made many scholars feel dissatisfied and urged them to call for non-sexist and unbiased usage of English language (Cooper, 1989; Nichols, 1999).

The dominance model had its beginning quickly because it had already got original roots in feminist linguistics. In this model, women are considered as members of society where they can practise their 'woman-ness' in an ethnomethodological[2] structure because they are always compromising and negotiating their situation of relative weakness vis-à-vis men (Block, 2002:53). Unlike the deficit model which was more conventional and conservative; the dominance model was, to some extent, radical. Cameron (1995) indicates that the dominance model came as a revolution against the principles of socio-economic hierarchies in various societies all over the world. Its demands were not merely to adjust how individuals were speaking, but to break up the whole social structure that was evolving through time and giving men more power than women (Block, 2002). Yet, when studying social phenomena, the dominance model follows the same objectives as the deficit model and cultural difference model (which will be explained later on). Their main goals regarding the current structuralist approaches are to reveal and clarify the notions of determinism, clear limits and social security (ibid.). However, Giddens (1991) points out that the dominance model is not really strong enough to demonstrate and explain the growing of language and gender intricacies in modern societies.

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[2] Douglas W. Maynard and Teddy Kardash (2007) define *ethnomethodology* as: *"an area in sociology originating in the work of Harold Garfinkel. It represents an effort to study the methods in and through which members concertedly produce and assemble the features of everyday life in any actual, concrete, and not hypothetical or theoretically depicted setting."* (Maynard & Kardash, 2007:1483)

1.3.3. Cultural Difference Model

At the beginning of the 1980s, the cultural difference model came as a challenge to the traditional norms of the dominance model. In this model, the main theory is that men and women belong to different but equal sub-cultures and they use different ways of speaking and communicating with others because they receive different kinds of socialisation since childhood (Block, 2002). Consequently, boys and girls who go through the socialisation process differently, tend to vary in the ways they relate to each other in the same-sex interactions and, therefore, learn to use different communicative methods within the same society (Davis & Skilton-Sylvester, 2004).

The cultural difference model does not look at the differences between men and women negatively like the deficit model. It follows the socially liberal position in which men and women differ but remain equal (Aslan, 2009). Men's speech and communication methods are not superior to women's; but rather they differ from each other, and the relationships between both of them are mostly controversial due to culture clash (Block, 2002). This model believes that the communication breakdowns between men and women happen most of the time because of the misinterpretation of the other group's way of interaction (Tannen, 1993, 1996), and not because of the dominance of men in conversations. Therefore, Tannen (1990) highlights the confusion that happens when differences are ignored:

"Denying real differences can only compound the confusion that is already widespread in this era of shifting and re-forming relationships between women and men. Pretending that women and men are the same hurts women, because the ways they are treated are based on the norms for men. It also hurts men who, with good intentions, speak to women as they would to men, and are nonplussed when their words don't work as they expected, or even spark resentment and anger…There are gender differences in ways of speaking, and we need to identify and understand them. Without such understanding, we are doomed to blame others or ourselves -- or the relationship -- for the otherwise mystifying and damaging effects of our contrasting conversational styles."

(Tannen, 1990:16-17)

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Thus, the development of a good communication between men and women requires individuals who are open-minded and ready to accept the cultural differences of the opposite gender. In addition to making both genders come closer in terms of admitting each others' differences in mind and culture, the difference model considers greatly the specificities of women's speech and their unique ways of interaction. Furthermore, many scholars called for gender diversity in which people avoid social stereotypes and learn from each other by sharing their experiences. Therefore, Janet Bing and Victoria Bergvall emphasise on the need to:

> *"Acknowledge individual differences within and across groups and emphasise diversity rather than dichotomy. By refusing to accept dichotomy and by asking new questions, we can abandon the tired old question 'How do men and women speak differently?', remembering that every time we seek and find differences, we also reinforce gender polarization."*

<div align="right">(Bing & Bergvall, 1998:506)</div>

1.3.4. Performative or Social Constructionist Model

This model started with the work of West and Zimmerman in 1987 where they offer a new framework involving sex, sex category and gender, contrary to the traditional definitions of "sex" and "gender" as "biological differences" and "achieved status" respectively. According to them, sex is defined by biological characteristics that are decided by the institutional or social level, but they are not always consistent. Ideally, the members of society are put in sex categories according to their sexual characteristics. This sex categorisation is determined by the individual's exhibition of belonging to one sex category or another. Moreover, sex categories are constructed under the banner of the cultural assumption that there are two natural sexes in society.

In contrast, gender means that the individual has to conform to the social norms and proper attitudes of a certain sex category (feminine or masculine). Therefore, he/she does not really affiliate with one gender or another by just acting like one, but he/she needs to display it in his/her interactions in order to show the exact sex according to social conventions. This

gender display[3] is called "doing gender" which is continuously done by individuals and assessed by society to protect the social norms and conventions.

Goffman (1976) asserts that the interactions between human beings in their environment, show strong assumptions between them about the "essential nature"of sex categories that is expressed by them through natural signs. He explains that masculinity and femininity are considered as:

"Prototypes of essential expression – something that can beconveyed fleetingly in any social situation and yet something that strikes at the most basic characterization of the individual. But, of course, when one tries to use the notion that human objects give off natural indexical signs and that some of these expressions can inform us about the essential nature of their producer, matters get complicated. The human objects themselves employ the term "expression", and conduct themselves to fit their own conceptions of expressivity…"

(Goffman, 1976:75)

However, "doing gender" does not mean always to fulfil the normative conceptions of femininity or masculinity; but it is to get involved in interactions and social behaviours taking into consideration the risk of gender assessment. When individuals do gender, this operation is characterised essentially by its specific interactions and institutions, because responsibility is a quality of social relationships and its mode of expression is produced from the institutional field in which those relationships are created. Under those circumstances, can individuals ever stop doing gender? Insofar as a society is divided by fundamental differences between men and women and placement in a sex category is both appropriate and imposed, *"doing gender is unavoidable"* (West & Zimmerman, 1987:145).

Doing gender aims to create differences between boys and girls and men and women, differences that are not based on nature or biology. As soon as the differences are created, they are used to support and confirm the "essentiality" of gender. As far as the arrangement between the sexes is concerned, Goffman (1977) notices the establishment of a set of

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[3] Goffman (1976) explains *gender display* as follows: *"If gender be defined as the culturally established correlates of sex (whether in consequence of biology or learning), then gender display refers to conventionalized portrayals of these correlates."* (Goffman, 1976:69)

institutional frameworks through which individuals' normal and natural sexedness can be performed. Moreover, the material properties of social environment give them one good means for expressing their essential differences. For instance, these properties can be found generally in public places like public bathrooms which apply sex segregation by distinguishing ladies from gentlemen.

Ultimately, West and Zimmerman claim that doing gender is an ongoing activity and routine accomplishment in daily life, because it is something that people do in social interaction with others (Schoepflin, 2011). In this light, doing gender is unavoidable, especially when dealing with the social consequences of sex categories like power and resources which are assigned differently depending on these assessments (West & Zimmerman, 1987). However, doing gender helps also to make these differences look real and natural. Consequently, *"if, in doing gender, men are also doing dominance and women are doing deference"* (West & Zimmerman, 1987:146), then doing gender generates likewise hierarchy and social order. The authors give a brief summary of this process by saying that: *"doing gender furnishes the interactional scaffolding of social structure, along with a built-in mechanism of social control"* (ibid.:147). In order to achieve a real change in society, then, changes are highly required at both levels of sex category and gender. Finally, they emphasise on the powerful ideology of gender that affects the whole social structure:

> *"Gender is a powerful ideological device, which produces, reproduces, and legitimates the choices and limits that are predicated on sex category. An understanding of how gender is produced in social situations will afford clarification of the interactional scaffolding of social structure and the social control processes that sustain it."*

> (ibid.)

Furthermore, the performative (or social constructionist) model was adopted by sociolinguists due to the limitations of the other paradigms (the deficit, dominance and cultural difference). Gradually, their study of language started to move towards understanding gender as an important component in constructing social identities. Freeman and McElhinny see *"language use as shaping understanding of the social world"* (1996:219) and it participates greatly in forming the social identities and the relationships between individuals in the social world (Davies & Harré, 1990; Fairclough, 1989; Ochs, 1993; Swann, 1993).

Ochs (1993) argues that gender is only referred to by a small group of linguistic features. Actually, he further explains that because individuals use language more likely in conversations, social identities are not very much built by language use but they are rather constructed through social interactions. Cameron states that:

> *"Linguists interested in analyzing the constitution of gender identities /gender relations need to look beyond lexical choice. Analyse who is represented as doing what, to who is and under what circumstances and with what consequences."*

<div align="right">

(Cameron, 1990:16)

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Accordingly, the main principle of the social constructionist model is that gender is socially constructed and personally performed. This principle was created by Goodwin (1998) and Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003). Goodwin carried out an ethnographic study in one community about language and gender, in which he asserts that the primary unit of analysis has to be the activity instead of the separate entities like individuals, genders, groups and cultures.

Thus, according to Freeman and McElhinny (1996), the possibility of studying language as a special and separate entity, can be considered if the concept of activity is used because it allows for better understanding of language as shaping reality and presenting changes and development. The study of language has to change from tackling differences between men and women to situations where both similarities and differences occur in their speech and conversations. This kind of study would help to create a shift at the level of language use in order to understand how and when men and women use language to construct gender differences that are recognised as social categories.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995) confirm that there are other parts of social life in which gender constructs exist also, for instance important categories like those including race, class and ethnicity. Therefore, the idea of gender polarisation has now been rejected moving towards what Butler (1993) has coined as 'gender as a performative social construct', an idea shared by many feminist researchers such as Bergvall (1996), Cameron (1995, 1996, 1997), Freed (1996, 1999) and Sunderland (2004). In order to understand how gender is performed in society, it is important to observe and investigate one of the tools used which is discourse. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995) also indicate that 'language is the primary tool that people use in constituting their identities'. Likewise, Sunderland supports the theoretical change from

'social learning' to 'social constructionism' (2004:17). The social constructionist theory of language and gender gives more scope for studying gender than the difference and dominance models, however, Sunderland gives a number of issues that need to be further investigated, specifically the relationship between social construction and gender; and how the construction can provide guarantees that it will go *"beyond words spoken and written"* (ibid.:172).

According to Butler (1990), gender is not acquired by people in a definitive way at an early age in their lives, but it is a continuous achievement [4] that is constructed and reconstructed through their linguistic practice. Therefore, gender is considered as an unstable phenomenon that is portrayed through the speech and conversations of men and women. Moreover, she confirms that masculinity and femininity are not innate characteristics which individuals have, but they are rather the results of their activities that are performed in social interactions. She asserts that:

> *"Gender proves to be performative – that is, constituting the identity it is purported to be. In this sense, gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to pre-exist the deed… There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results."*

> (Butler, 1990:25)

Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002) insist also on the importance of context in the study of gender which requires a focus on specificity and complexity. Specificity means to examine particular settings in which men and women interact with each other, while complexity indicates the ways where the intersection of gender and other parts of identity occurs, like age, race and status. Neglecting the effects of these valuable aspects of identity is, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992:471) figuratively put it, *"to paint with one eye closed"* because *"speakers are not assembled out of independent modules: part European American, part female , part middle-aged, part feminist, part intellectual."*

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[4] In support of this idea, Crawford (1995:12) argues that gender should not be considered as "a noun", which suggests stable and innate characteristics, but as 'a verb' which suggests its ongoing construction by the gendered acts of people's performances in society. Therefore, based on this idea of 'doing' gender, the constructionist/performative approach of language and gender started.

Because the main purpose of the performative model was to cancel the fundamental beliefs that have existed for a long time, *"there is less emphasis on cataloguing the differences in the speech of women and men and more interest in analyzing what people accomplish with talk"* (Crawford, 2001:244). The idea of gender as a 'performative social construct' made many scholars question the traditional gender divisions and differences between men and women, and moved their interest to the ways in which individuals perform the usual gender identities and sometimes challenge gender norms. By challenging the conventional behaviours and gender differences that exist between men and women, the supporters of the performative model succeeded to breach the rigid barriers between femininity and masculinity which did not tolerate any other place between them. Thus, Janis Bohan (1993:13) suggests that: *"none of us is feminine or is masculine or fails to be either of those. In particular contexts, people do feminine; in others, they do masculine."*

One of the characteristics of this model is sensitivity to context which means to look at specific meanings which individuals designate to a group of contextual aspects within different contexts. These particular characteristics needed a methodological tool to investigate the ways that gender and language interact with each other taking into consideration the specificity and complexity of contexts. Consequently, it is important to explore the reasons behind the occurrence of the concept of 'Community of Practice' (henceforth CofP), which has lately gained access to language and gender studies.

In fact, it was Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet (1995) who established originally the concept of CofP in the field of language and gender studies by studying the linguistic practices and gender identities in Belten High school girls. Such as the concept of gender as 'performative', even though it was not clearly mentioned like that, advocates of the CofP approach as well consider gender as something that is developed through social practice, through individuals' interactions rather than their innate characteristics (Cameron, 2005). Lave and Wenger (1991) define community of practice as:

> *"Groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly."*

(Lave & Wenger, 1991:12)

Furthermore, Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) emphasise on the role that is played by this concept in society as their article suggests, is to *look locally and think practically*; which means to neglect the traditional assumptions about gender and language studies: that social relations and different identity features do not really affect the role of gender, and that gender and its specific displays are the same thing in several communities; in other words, this approach joined both specificity and complexity with each other. According to these scholars, the CofP approach is both helpful and appropriate because "*to understand precisely how language interacts with gender (and with other symbolic and social phenomena) requires that we look locally, closely observing linguistic and gender practices in the context of a particular community's social practices*" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992:464).

The participation of this concept in enriching the diversity of gender and language studies has been greatly acknowledged by many scholars. For example, Holmes and Meyerhoff (1999:180), considered CofP as *"a corrective to an unsatisfactory essentialist approaches to language and gender"*. The convergence between community of practice approach and language and gender research developed a focus on gender "in its full complexity" as the members of community construct contextually their gender identities through practice; and a focus on the intersection between gender social construction and other social aspects like age, race, status, class and so on (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Accordingly, individuals enrich their social background by using new linguistic patterns as they partake in various CofPs which help them control their own gendered acts, instead of repeating the same rigid linguistic patterns which they have learned in their speech communities.[5]

However, despite the evolution of gender studies through history, from insisting on the differences between women and men to looking at the diversity of gender research and its relationship with other social parameters, gender differences and inequalities still exist in societies due to social stereotypes that are firmly established in the minds of a large number of people. These inequalities are mostly the outcomes of the socialisation process in male-

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[5] The concept of speech community was adopted as a field of study in linguistic analysis in the 1960s. Its emergence began with the original work of William Labov who studied language variation in New York City. He explained clearly that: *"The speech community is not defined by any marked agreement in the use of language elements, so much as by participation in a set of shared norms; these norms may be observed in overt types of evaluative behaviour, and by the uniformity of abstract patterns of variation which are invariant in respect to particular levels of usage."* (Labov, 1972:120-121)

dominated societies, in which patriarchal oppression often relegates women to minor gender roles and lower social and political positions.

1.4. Gender Stereotypes and Inequalities in Politics

Gender stereotypes are oversimplified generalisations about the gender traits, inequalities, and roles of groups and individuals in society. They can be positive or negative, accurate or inaccurate (Aries, 1996:163) and they rarely convey genuine information about others. People maintain these gender stereotypes when they automatically carry on spreading gender assumptions through generations and reinforcing rigid beliefs through socialisation process. However, many people realise how dangerous gender stereotyping can be, yet they keep making generalisations which can possibly explain gender inequalities.

For instance, for personality traits, women are frequently considered as obedient and passive, while men are mostly viewed as assertive and aggressive. For domestic conducts, taking care of children is most of the time regarded as perfectly done by women, while household repairs are usually seen as best accomplished by men. For professions, not long ago, women most commonly held positions as secretaries and nurses, wheres men often worked as doctors and construction workers.

As far as politics is concerned, people can be greatly influenced by gender stereotypes about politicians which can lead them to adopt certain political views, values and attitudes. Huddy and Terkildsen explain that "political gender stereotyping" is *the gender-based ascription of different traits, behaviours, or political beliefs to male and female politicians*" (1993:120). Although many gender stereotypes come from different beliefs about the social roles of men and women, others originate from the political field (Huddy and Terkildsen, 1993; Sanbonmatsu, 2003). For example, when people want to participate in elections by voting, they may stereotypically consider women candidates as more liberal and democratic than men. Therefore, political gender stereotypes can be regarded as a separate division of gender stereotypes (Clifton et al., 1976; Deaux et al., 1985; Fiske, 1998).

Furthermore, gender stereotypes about the competencies and skills of male and female candidates can be considered as important factors in order to vote for or against a certain candidate (Sanbonmatsu & Dolan, 2007). For example, many scholars demonstrate that people who consider the importance of sincerity and imorals in government, are expected most of the time to vote for women candidates against men (Dolan, 1998; McDermott, 1998). The

effects of stereotypes usually differ from one electoral context to another. Kahn (1996) carried out a study on the Senate candidates in the United States where he argued that voters give more positive evaluations of women candidates who deal with "female" issues, and they give less importance to those dealing with "male" issues.

Scholars have explored the situations in which voting is influenced by gender stereotypes rather than true facts about candidates (Koch, 2002). Stereotypes can be often effective when there is no valid information: when voters know less about a candidate, they would probably use the candidate sex in order to formulate their political opinions (Huddy, 1994). However, even when voters get enough information and facts about candidates, they may still be affected by stereotypes that are ingrained in society. Consequently, their political evaluation of candidates may rely on gender stereotypes and real information about candidates altogether (Bodenhausen et al., 1999). Voters can use stereotypes, which may influence the collection and treatment of information, in order to anticipate behaviours that occur in the future. Moreover, because gender stereotypes are firmly established in society, any divergence from stereotypical behaviours is likely to be punished (Glick & Fiske, 1999).

Furthermore, the spread of gender stereotypes among people in society will create more inequalities between men and women. These inequalities are not just mere gender differences that are attributed to biological sex (MacKinnon, 1987), but they are also related to structural experience of power relations which are created and repeated due to ideology.[6] Moreover, the patriarchal systems that are embedded in society usually use male gender norms that advantage male gender characteristics.[7] For instance, men's work is regarded as

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[6] Leslie Bender (associate professor at Syracuse University College of Law) says: *"If we deviate from the cultural construction of gender, then we are deemed to be "more like men" or less like "true women". This is not a matter of physical sexuality, but social construct. If there were no characteristics culturally assigned to the concept of woman, the idea of a biological female not being a true woman would be inconceivable. Once a gender culture exists, and we become acculturated within our assigned gender, our experiences of the world become markedly different from persons of the other assigned gender. Despite multifarious differences among us, women do have one common experience – being treated as, or interpreted as, or viewed as "women" within specific cultural contexts. If we are female (whether our self-definition begins with our gender; whether we are woman-identified; or whether we never think of ourselves as women), we are viewed as women first and foremost to the world outside our self-consciousness. We will be reacted to as women, however that gender is defined within our culture. We cannot escape this sex/gender system, no matter how hard we try."* (Bender, 1989:948)

[7] Bender explains that: *"In patriarchal cultures, men have the power – political, economic, physical, opportunity – to define the world and structure it so that it is based on their experiences of a gendered*

worthy of good salary and respect, whereas women's work such as caregiving is not considered really a job, and hence, they do not often receive any payment or may earn just a minimum wage in addition to the low esteem given to them by society. However, society relies equally on both types of work (Bender, 1989:948).

Power differences that are based on gender (power of males over females) are considered by social and political institutions as essential and innate, rather than forced and relational (Minow, 1987). Gender inequality is not caused by gender difference; but it is rather gender difference transformed into hierarchical power relations where only one gender (male) is advantaged. Women have come to realise severely that it is not really a matter of biological, cultural or spiritual factors that affect gender characteristics, and not even the debates about the relationship between culture and nature, but it is a matter of the one who possesses the power to control the definitions and characterisations of those traits and creates the institutions which rely on them. Therefore, as long as men own the power to label, characterise, create and support the cultural institutions using their patriarchal biases, women will suffer always from inequity and gendered Otherness.[8]

Although the meaning of being a woman is different from one culture to another due to their specificities, the essential meaning is completely clear. It means that women have to be dependent on men, possess less power, and learn some masculine traits in order to succeed in the conventional professions and institutions that are created by men such as law and

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self. Men in our western patriarchal culture, understanding themselves to be independent, competitive and aggressive, reasoned and unemotional, have constructed institutions that reward and valorize those attributes. They have excluded women's self-perceptions and gendered characteristics from the design of those institutions. Instead, men in patriarchal cultures have interpreted women's experiences and natures for us from their perspectives. Women are the objects or "others" in patriarchal epistemologies. We are measured against the other-imposed, preconceived notions about how we should act and feel, how we do or do not think, what we can and cannot do, and what is ultimately important to us. In a fitting coup de grâce, the qualities and roles so attributed to women, such as caregiving, are then devalued." (ibid.)

[8] Simone de Beauvoir uses the concept of 'the Other' in order to describe the status of women in patriarchal societies and androcentric cultures. Men are considered as 'the One' (which means that they are self-contained and self-conscious), whereas women are regarded as 'the Other' and their identity is only defined in relation to men (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:90). She says: *"Thus humanity is male, and man defines woman not in herself, but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being. . . For him she is sex — absolute sex, no less. She is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the inessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute — she is the Other."* (De Beauvoir, 1952:18-23)

politics. Furthermore, women have the same experience across cultures all over the world in terms of their subordination to men that is highly based on their sex, in addition to the underestimation of their gender culture by men in various cultural contexts, especially their work of caregiving (Bender, 1989:949).

Gender systems which are usually binary and hierarchical, show the inequalities that exist in different social and political institutions due to male domination. In addition to their patriarchal systems, men use also politics and political discourse in order to keep and support their status in society and take higher roles in leadership, whereas women are lowered most of the time to small roles because of patriarchy and discriminatory political laws. Therefore, it is important to study gender, language and discourse, and their relationship with the notions of power, ideology, patriarchy and hegemony; and how they interact and affect each other in society, and how women's political participation is influenced by them.

1.5. Perspectives on Discourse and its Analytical Approaches

In traditional linguistic theory, discourse is dealt with in different fields of study such as discourse analysis, conversation analysis, social psychology and critical discourse analysis approaches which are considered as empirical methods in studying discourse (Erdoğan, 2014:10). According to Fairclough (1992:12), these linguistic discourse approaches can be divided into two major categories which are critical and non-critical approaches; taking into consideration "the nature of their social orientation to discourse". From his point of view, non-critical approaches focus more on language than sentence level using a close textual analysis in order to describe discursive practices, whereas critical approaches, which often analyse discourse using a socio-political perspective, are different because they study the *"construction of discourse with respect to power relations and ideologies, the effects of discursive practices, social relations and systems of knowledge"* (ibid.).

1.5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a research field which aims at critically analysing and interpreting the relationship between society and language (Hart, 2010:13). More accurately, CDA is *"a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context"* (van Dijk, 2001:352). Moreover, language is regarded as an important tool in reproducing ideologies which help greatly to create and

support inequalities and social identities (Wodak, 2001:10). Norman Fairclough, who is one of the founders of CDA, argues that its aim is:

> *"to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power."*

(Fairclough, 1995:132)

CDA is originally based on the theoretical and linguistic principles of some branches of preliminary discourse analysis, social theory, interactional sociolinguistics and text linguistics (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011:188). There are some advocates of CDA who are very much affected by the 'criticism' of Karl Marx which is mainly concerned with Capitalism and its exploitation of the working class, his dialectical method of historical study and his ideology that is known as the superstructure of civilisation (Marx & Engels, [1845] 2001), and his concept of language as *"product, producer, and reproducer of social consciousness"* (Fairclough & Graham, 2002:201). Some other proponents adopt also Althusser's ([1969] 1971) notion of interpellation[9], which explains how individuals can raise their awareness of themselves when they become parts of other people's words as constructed subjects within discourse. Similarly, other CDA scholars are influenced also by Gramsci's notion of hegemony (1971), in which he explains that the exercise of power and achievement of domination cannot be done only through compulsion, oppression and exploitation, but also

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[9] Althusser argues that individuals are "hailed" or "interpellated" by ideology as subjects. He asserts that the "becoming-subject" happens even before the child is born, which might seem paradoxical. He says: *"As ideology is eternal, I must ... say: ideology has always-already interpellated individuals as subjects, which amounts to making it clear that ... 'individuals are always-already subjects' ... This proposition might seem paradoxical. That an individual is always-already a subject, even before he is born, is nevertheless the plain reality, accessible to everyone and not a paradox at all. Freud shows that individuals are always 'abstract' with respect to the subjects they always-already are, simply by noting the ideological ritual that surrounds the expectation of a 'birth', that 'happy event'. Everyone knows how much and in what way an unborn child is expected ... it is certain in advance that it will bear its Father's Name, and will therefore have an identity and be irreplaceable. Before its birth, the child is therefore always-already a subject, appointed as a subject in and by the specific familial ideological configuration in which it is 'expected' once it has been conceived."* (Althusser, [1969] 1971:175-176)

through the convincing power of discourse that results in consensus and complicity (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011:188).

Habermas (1981) is often mentioned in the studies done about CDA. His major work which contributed to the theory of communicative action is the concept of validity claims[10], which, according to him, are assumed to be true and honest in discourse all over the world. Furthermre, he asserts that people can use language either in a strategic way or an oriented manner to understanding. In this last manner, *"validity claims can be challenged and defended in a communication situation that is free from coercion, is only based on rational argument, and permits access to all who are affected by the discourse. These characteristics are absent from the strategic use of language; it is to challenging the strategic use of language that CDA pays attention"* (ibid.:189). However, Foucault (1972) contrasts with Marx and Habermas in terms of social production process which, according to him, is determined by consciousness. Although he opposes the idea of an autonomous subject, he thinks that the individual is involved in the practical realisation of power relations (ibid.). All individuals can produce discourses, particularly those who have the power to get access to all resources (Jäger & Maier, 2009).

By the end of the 1970's, the University of East Anglia supported a new model of analysis, because literary theorists and linguists moved their interest towards the choice of linguistic patterns in literary works (Fowler, 1986). Afterwards, they would emphasise on the mass media in addition to many different texts and discourses that exist in the public sphere. However, they did not just focus on the terminological change from linguistic criticism to critical linguistics, but they gave a new model which is considered sometimes as equivalent to CDA. This model suggested a new direction that had to be followed by the academic community and that was the responsibility of scholars towards society and their commitment

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[10] Habermas (1981) criticised the "speaker-oriented" theory of Searle (1969), in which language is viewed as a 'form of action' and statements are considered as 'speech acts'; and the understanding of language depends on the speaker's intention. Therefore, instead of this one-sided view, Habermas offers his theory of communication in order to reach a shared understanding between the speaker and the listener by agreeing on universal validity claims – truth, normative rightness and sincerity – that are created in communication (Goldkuhl, 2000). *"A 'validity claim' is equivalent to the assertion that the 'conditions' for the 'validity' of an utterance are fulfilled"* (Habermas, 1981:38). This opinion of Habermas is embedded in his definition of communication as a 'rational enterprise' where rationality means the ability to give good reasons (grounds) for one's action. *"Rationality is understood to be a disposition of speaking and acting subjects that is expressed in modes of behaviour for which there are good reasons or grounds"* (ibid.:22).

against social injustice (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011:189). The East Anglia School suggested also the usage of Hallidayan linguistics in order to analyse news texts (Kress & Hodge, 1993). Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), which considers language as a social semiotic system, conveys the same piece of reality using different linguistic descriptions that are supposed to be different constructions of that reality (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011:193). Language is a semiotic process and its main function, which is influenced by the social and cultural contexts, is to make meanings by choice. People use language not only to exchange words with each other, but they interact in order to achieve understanding and make sense of the world (Taiwo, 2006:157-158). According to Eggins (2004:11), *"the overall purpose of language, then, can be described as a semantic one, and each text we participate in is a record of the meanings that have been made in a particular context"*. Furthermore, Chomsky's Transformational-Generative Grammar (TGG) (1957) was also used in CDA because it focused on describing the implications of syntactic transformations like passivisation and nominalisation which have serious ideological functions such as the deletion of agents and reification of processes. One of the most important approaches to CDA is the Socio-Cognitive model which is developed by van Dijk. This model is appropriate for diagnosing social and political injustice because it focuses mostly on social stereotypes and power abuse.

1.5.2. Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis

In his Socio-Cognitive Discourse Analysis, van Dijk focuses on the interaction between cognition, society and discourse, and especially the manifestation of ideologies in discourse. According to him (1985, 1995, 2008, 2009), social structures and textual structures are mediated by social cognition which he defines as *"the system of mental representations and processes of group members"*. Moreover, discursive interaction is influenced by social structures which are *"enacted, instituted, legitimated, confirmed or challenged by text and talk"* (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997:266).

This approach started by studying formal text linguistics and then included some aspects of the typical psychological model of memory, in addition to the concept of frame[11]

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[11] Frames can be defined as: *"any of the many organized packages of knowledge, beliefs, and patterns of practice that shape and allow humans to make sense of their experiences. Frames, in this sense, play an important role in how people perceive, remember, and reason about their experiences, how they form assumptions about the background and possible concomitants of those experiences, and even how one's own life experiences can or should be enacted"* (Fillmore & Baker, 2009:314).

that originated in cognitive science. In his empirical studies, van Dijk deals greatly with social stereotypes, the reproduction of racial prejudice and discrimination, and the political abuse of power by elites and its effects on society, and the opposition and fight for rights by dominated groups (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011:190). He focuses also on how access to power is obtained by controlling discourse dimensions. Power, which is the ability to control others, can be owned by individual or groups (Hall & Neitz, 1993:138), however, it cannot be purely individual because every individual belongs to a certain social group from which his power is derived. Van Dijk (2001:355) explains as well that power goes together with its owner's *"privileged access to scarce social resources, such as force, money, status, fame, knowledge, information, 'culture', or various forms of public discourse and communication"*.

Another important aspect of his study on the production and understanding of discourse is the K-device (Knowledge device), which gathers generally all personal, interpersonal, group, national, institutional and cultural knowledge (van Dijk, 2005). According to him, this special knowledge device *"represents the relevant beliefs of speakers and hearers about the knowledge of their interlocutors"* (ibid.:72).

Van Dijk (2009) argues that CDA requires also a type of context like Moscovici's (2000) social representations theory.[12] The cognition of an individual is given information by dynamic constructs recognised as social representations which are the images, concepts, values and norms shared within a social group, and activated and sustained in discourse. He (2001:354) distinguishes the relationship between cognition, discourse and society into macro and micro levels. The macro level analysis is constituted by dominance, power and inequality between social groups; while the micro level social order is composed of discourse, communication, language use and verbal interaction. Therefore, in order to link both levels, van Dijk supports the idea of connecting elements from the micro level with those of the macro level; specifically members and groups, actions and processes, context and social structure, and personal and social cognition (Zacharias & Manara, 2011:122). Because language users belong originally to social groups, their social activities are considered as parts

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[12] The social representations theory has two systems that are studied separately from each other in social psychology. These two systems were initially formulated by Moscovici in his suggestion: *"...we can see two cognitive systems at work, one which operates in terms of associations, discriminations, that is to say the cognitive operational system, and the other which controls, verifies and selects in accordance with various logical and other rules; it involves a kind of metasystem which re-works the material produced by the first"* (Moscovici, 1976:256).

of group actions and social processes. Likewise, since language users are influenced by both personal and social cognition, the discursive interaction is regarded also as a part of social structure (ibid.). Furthermore, in his approach, van Dijk emphasises on studying some aspects like coherence, speech acts, propositional structures, implications, lexical and topic selection, rhetorical figures, hesitation and turn-taking control (Hidalgo Tenorio, 2011:191). Finally, he insists on the importance of ideology and its influence on people's daily texts and talk, how they understand and deal with ideological discourse, and how discourse participates in the social reproduction and legitimisation of ideology (van Dijk, 2000:4).

1.6. Ideology Implications in Discourse

The notion of 'ideology' was coined for the first time by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy at the end of the 18th century and it meant 'science of ideas' (van Dijk, 1998:1-2). Since its invention, many scholars wrote various books and articles about it in different disciplines such as politics, social sciences and mass media (van Dijk, 2000:5). According to Destutt de Tracy, ideologies are connected to systems of ideas, and particularly to different social, political and religious ideas that are shared by social groups or movements (ibid.:6). However, the meaning of ideology is still controversial and vague in social sciences, in addition to the confusion about its problematisation and analysis. Therefore, in order to clarify the ambiguous nature of ideology, Eagleton gives different definitions of this concept, many of which are not consistent with each other. His definitions are as follows:

> *"a) the process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life, b) a body of ideas characteristics of a particular social group or class, c) ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power, d) false ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power, e) systematically distorted communication, f) that which offers a position for a subject, g) forms of thought motivated by social interests, h) identity thinking, i) socially necessary illusion, j) the conjuncture of discourse and power, k) the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world, l) action-oriented sets of beliefs, m) the confusion of linguistic and phenomenal reality, n) semiotic closure, o) the indispensable medium in which individuals live out their relations to a social structure, p) the process whereby social life is converted to a natural reality."*

(Eagleton, 1991:1-2)

Therefore, these definitions give an idea of diversity in the meanings of ideology which leads to various implications and questions under the banner of different theoretical traditions like Marxism in which the definition of ideology, according to Engels' interpretation of Marx's work, is a system of beliefs that contain forms of 'false consciousness' as *"wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs, typically associated with our social or political opponents"* (van Dijk, 1998:2). In this definition, ideology has a negative meaning that is associated with the concepts of power and domination; and its main purpose is to naturalise and legitimise the supremacy of the ruling economic class. The main tenets of the classical debates on commonsense conceptions of ideology are as follows: *"(a) ideologies are false beliefs; (b) ideologies conceal real social relations and serve to deceive others; (c) ideologies are beliefs others have; and (d) ideologies presuppose the socially or politically self-serving nature of the definition of truth and falsity"* (ibid.).

However, this theory of ideology is highly criticised by scholars for being superficial and negative for many reasons. Firstly, it deals only with the dominant political power and ignores the other non-dominant beliefs that exist among different groups in society and oppose domination and social inequality such as socialism, feminism and anti-racism. These positive and oppositional ideologies are called "utopias" by Karl Mannheim. Thus, "anti-ideologies" like anti-racism are not only opposing and resisting racism and racist ideologies, but they possess their own humane ideology, which is the same thing for feminist ideologies that are not simply anti-sexist (van Dijk, 2000:8). Secondly, this theory suggests that ideologies are put against truths assuming that *"one's belief is truth while another belief against it becomes ideological"* (Erdoğan, 2014:19).

Furthermore, Larrain shows how the shift in the concept of ideology happened within the Marxist tradition. He explains that it has moved from negative conception which refers to the misleading understanding of social reality to positive conception which means the forms of ideas and consciousness (Larrain, 1983:4). In this regard, Althusser ([1969] 1971) widens the meaning of ideology from just a system of misguided beliefs imposed to sustain the dominance of one ruling group to the systems of representation that include both negative and positive meanings. For him, ideology has physical or concrete existence in the real world where it produces material effects; and interpellates subjects in different institutions which he calls Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs) (Fairclough, 1992:30). Thus, individuals are hailed or interpellated from an early age as subjects in society in which they consider themselves as

free agents and do not deviate from the social order that is imposed on them. These processes occur through ISAs that are regarded as the central institutions in society like family education, religion and law (Erdoğan, 2014:19-20).

In the Marxist tradition, there is another perspective of ideology that has been developed by Gramsci and influenced the theories of critical discourse analysis. He introduced the concept of hegemony in which he gives an important consideration to ideology discussions by insisting on the existence of a continuous struggle to obtain power and dominance in addition to the interaction between many inconsistent ideologies instead of one controlling ideology of one ruling group (ibid.). According to Gramsci, dominance in society is not created only by submission or subordination of groups, but it is also confirmed and maintained by the agreement and consent of the dominated groups (Gramsci, 1971:120-140). The main principles of hegemony are listed by Fairclough as follows:

> *"Hegemony is leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole of one of the fundamental economically defined classes in alliance (as a bloc) with other social forces, but it is never achieved more than partially and temporarily, as an 'unstable equilibrium'. Hegemony is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes, through concessions or through ideological means, to win their consent. Hegemony is a focus of constant struggle around points of greatest instability between classes and blocs, to construct or sustain or fracture alliances and relations of domination/subordination, which takes economic, political and ideological forms."*

(Fairclough, 1995:76)

Accordingly, hegemony can be achieved through social institutions like family and education, which can be considered as the same model of ISAs that was presented by Althusser (Felluga, 2011). These social institutions affect greatly the meanings and naturalise ideologies in order to transform them into common sense in a struggle that occurs continuously in society. This process suggests also that hegemonic struggle includes discursive practices leading to the investigation of discourse as an important aspect of hegemony (Erdoğan, 2014:21). For Fairclough, the discursive practice is *"a facet of struggle*

which contributes in varying degrees to the reproduction or transformation of the existing order of discourse, and through that of existing social and power relations" (1995:77).

Therefore, there is a close relationship between ideology and discourse as Eagleton explains that *"ideology is a matter of 'discourse' rather than of 'language' – of certain concrete discursive effects, rather than of signification as such. It represents the points where power impacts upon certain utterances and inscribes itself tacitly within them"* (1991:223). The French linguist and philosopher Pêcheux is one of the scholars who investigated the manifestations of ideology in discourse. He followed the Marxist theory of ideology by Althusser which his discourse analysis method is based upon. The importance of his work is manifested through his combination between ideology, social theory of discourse and methodology of textual analysis (Erdoğan, 2014:22).

According to Pêcheux (1982), discourse has an ideological nature because it constitutes one of the physical forms of ideology, thus, the consequences of ideological struggle within language are shown through discourse just like the linguistic materiality that exists in ideology (Fairclough, 1992:30). For him, the meanings of words are not fixed but change always as well as their relationships with larger structures of language like expressions, statements and propositions according to the positions of actors who use them. Therefore, Pêcheux used the term 'discursive formation', which he borrowed from Foucault, in order to determine *"what can and should be said (articulated in the form of a speech, a sermon, a pamphlet, a report, a programme, etc.)"* (Pêcheux et al., 1971:102). To elaborate them, discursive formations can be defined as *"linguistics facets of 'domains of thought'… socio-historically constituted in the form of points of stabilization which produce the subject"* (Fairclough, 1992:31). Moreover, Pêcheux focuses on the constant conflict and ideological struggle in discourse as Mills indicates: *"Pêcheux's work is important in that he stresses more than Foucault the conflictual nature of discourse: that it is always in dialogue and in conflict with other positions. He stresses the fact that ideological struggle is at the heart of discourse"* (2004:12).

There are many linguists who emphasised on the interaction between discourse and ideology in their works such as Kress and Hodge (1979), Fowler et al. (1979) who introduced the approach of Critical Linguistics (CL); Fairclough (1992) and van Dijk (1995, 1998, 2006). These last two linguists focused greatly on the socio-political implications of discourse analysis and effects of ideology on discourse. Firstly, Fairclough combines both of ideology

and discourse theories with a discourse analysis method that is based on analysing discourse within texts, whether written or spoken (Barker & Galasinski, 2001:62). In his analysis, Fairclough points out that discourse is a form of social, political and ideological practice which is constantly and dialectically related to social structures. His most prominent interest is discourse *"as a mode of political and ideological practice"* (Fairclough, 1992:67).

Secondly, van Dijk sees ideologies as *"the basic frameworks for organising the social cognitions shared by members of social groups, organisations or institutions. In this respect, ideologies are both cognitive and social. They essentially function as the interface between the cognitive representations and processes underlying discourse and action, on the one hand, and the societal position and interests of social groups, on the other hand"* (1995:17-18). Through his definition of ideology, van Dijk wants to make a link between the concept of ideology, discursive practices, social institutions and cognitive representations. He focuses on placing ideology at the centre of discourse because ideology is learned, conveyed and recreated by discourse through both spoken and written interactions. He tries also to show how some elements of language – such as meaning, context, form and rhetorical structures – are influenced by ideology (van Dijk, 2006:126). Finally, van Dijk's theoretical and practical work leads to the understanding of the discursive nature of the ideological production, acquisition and legitimation; comprehension of the nature of discourse as a locus for the interaction between ideology and power; and development of a multidimensional analysis that involves discourse, ideology, cognition and society (Erdoğan, 2014:27).

1.7. Foucault and the Importance of Power in Discourse

The critical theories, which are based on the ideological struggle in discourse, have greatly affected the conception of discourse within the confines of linguistic theories by offering discourse a wider range of study at the interplay between ideology and power. However, Foucault expresses strongly his disagreement with the concept of ideology of the Marxist tradition by showing the differences that exist between the two notions of ideology and discourse, and by eventually suggesting that discourse should replace ideology. He presents the inadequacy of using the term ideology as follows:

"The notion of ideology appears to me difficult to make use of, for three reasons. The first is that, like it or not, it always stands in virtual opposition to something else which is supposed to count as truth… The second drawback is that the concept of

ideology refers, I think, necessarily, to something of the order of a subject. Thirdly, ideology stands in a secondary position relative to something which functions as its infrastructure, as its material, economic determinant, etc. For these three reasons, I think that this is a notion that cannot be used without circumspection."

(Foucault, 1980:118)

Firstly, Foucault argues that ideology is placed in opposition to truth which is assumed to already exist. However, according to him, *"all statements, whether theoretical or not, have the same status and validity; that is, any act of critique is determined and formed by the power relations of which it is a part"* (Mills, 2004:29). Thus, a truth cannot exist because the proponents of the idea of truth conceive it within the limits that discursive formations impose on them. Secondly, Foucault opposes the notion of subject (individual) who can control his/her actions and consequently the discourse, refuses the idea of subject's capability of considering himself/herself as a unitary being who can think and reason, and finds it *"more useful to analyse the subject-in-process or the subject-in-crisis, that is the disintegration of the notion of the unified subject"* (Moi, 1986; Vice, 1996). So, he shifts entirely his focus from the subject by perceiving him/her simply as an effect of power who is appointed to perform some duties. Thirdly, Foucault disputes the truth about the existence of an outer economic determinant because he does not believe the economic base to be the only important element that influences ideology, but instead he insists on the complexity that surrounds the relationship between economic, social and discursive structures with none of them dominates the others (Mills, 2004:32).

Therefore, he advocates a separation between discourse and ideology and presents a discourse theory in order to displace the concept of ideology. However, the rejection of ideology results in renouncing an important distinction as Eagleton indicates. According to him, *"the force of the term ideology lies in its capacity to discriminate between those power struggles which are somehow central to a whole form of social life, and those which are not"* (1991:8). To remove this distinction means that every discourse will become ideological which is actually jumping to a wrong conclusion. So, both CDA and Marxist scholars count on the notion of ideology in their discourse analysis and recommend that both notions should work together in order to reach an effective comprehension of discursive structures.

Furthermore, as far as the formation of social subjects is concerned, Foucault asserts that there is no independence for social subjects from discourse in which statements occur and put them in particular positions, taking into consideration that subjects are shaped by discursive formations (O'Farrell, 2007). While in the formation of concepts, his major concern is the different changeable relationships between several concepts in discursive formations which are investigated through various dimensions within fields of statements. Ultimately, Foucault's archaeology[13] can be considered as a system of truth where statements are created, arranged, shared, circulated and used within discursive formations (Fairclough, 1992:37-61).

Because Foucault's interests moved from archaeology to genealogy[14], his work which focuses on statements has shifted to the concept of power as an important aspect within discourse. So, power has started to play an interesting role in reconsidering and producing a dialectical interpretation of discourse in relation to modalities of power, which means paying attention to the importance of power in analysing discourse and its occurrence in power structures (Erdoğan, 2014:30). Foucault tries to explain the complex nature of power which is more than an oppressive means by which one group is dominating over the others and violating their rights. According to him, power is flexible and dynamic and no specific social group can consider it as its own alone. On the contrary, power exists implicitly in daily social practices and has creative reality features rather than adopting only negative attributes. The consideration of power as positive and productive, consequently, gives discourse an expanded meaning and moves it to a higher level of abstraction and complexity (ibid.).

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[13] Archaeology is a term used by Foucault during the 1960s in order to explain and represent his method of writing history. It examines the discursive marks and orders that are left by the past for a better writing of 'history of the present'. To put it differently, archaeology looks at history as a means to understand the events and processes that have led people to the current living situations.

[14] Generally, Foucault's differentiation between archaeology and genealogy can be indefinite and confusing. However, he uses the same tools to deal with both methods. Archaeology focuses on a level where differences and similarities are identified and things are arranged in a simple manner to create manageable forms of knowledge. Whereas genealogy which tackles exactly the same bases of knowledge and culture, is defined by Foucault as a level in which the grounds of true and false things can be recognised and differentiated through mechanisms of power. He says: *"'truth' is to be understood as a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation and operation of statements. 'Truth' is linked in a circular relation with systems of power which produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it. A 'regime' of truth"* (Foucault, 1980:133).

Foucault (1978) sees discourse as an effect of power which is neither natural nor neutral, but it is created according to power relations. Moreover, he argues that discourse does not only represent or express inequalities, struggles and domination in society, but it is rather *"the thing for which and by which there is struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized"* (1981:52-53). In other words, discourses can be regarded as tools and effects of power in addition to their roles as active practices and constructive forces which people try to resist when they identify the forces of power. The relationship between discourse and power is mutual which gives an effective understanding of the textual orientation of discourse analysis which is neither taken into consideration nor problematised in the works of Foucault (Erdoğan, 2014:31). By using Foucault's methods of archaeology and genealogy within discourse, CDA scholars focus on how discourses are constructed and objects and subjects are formed, the discursive formations and how they are related to one another leading to intertexuality and interdiscursivity in analysing discourse, power and social structures and their discursive nature, and discourses as effects of power and their political nature (Fairclough, 1992:55).

1.8. Political Discourse

Many scholars and discourse analysts argue about the correct definition of political discourse since it involves many social and political factors, therefore, it is important to clarify the ambiguity of this term.

1.8.1. Definition of Political Discourse

CDA research is also concerned with studying political discourse which started primarily with focusing on the hegemonic right-wing discourse in European countries which uses indirect methods in order to justify and legitimise social inequality, dominance, discrimination and racism (Wodak & Meyer, 2009:18). However, the definition of political discourse is quite debatable because of the questions about what political discourse is and what it is not. One opinion affirms that all discourses can have a political nature because the analyst shows openly his opposing attitude in addition to the study of discourse analysis which tackles the issues of power, hegemony, control, domination and subordination. Yet, there is another view which argues that political discourse involves mainly the discourse of political actors and authors namely politicians and political participants (Wilson, 2001:398). Therefore, it is not clear if political discourse is merely a political approach to discourse or

discourse of politicians and political institutions like parliaments and political parties. So, Wilson's idea about the explicit political objectives of the analyst in dealing with political discourse such as the works of some CDA scholars like van Dijk, Fairclough and Wodak, would give a good solution to overcome this ambiguity. According to him, the major purpose is firstly to regard political language as discourse, and then secondly as politics (ibid.). Van Dijk (1997) expresses a similar opinion on political discourse analysis (PDA) as follows:

> *"Without collapsing political discourse analysis into critical discourse analysis, we would like to retain both aspects of the ambiguous designation: PDA is both about political discourse, and it is also a critical enterprise. In the spirit of contemporary approaches in CDA this would mean that critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance. In particular such an analysis deals with the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that results from such domination."*

(Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1993, as cited in van Dijk, 1997:11)

1.8.2. Political Discourse Analysis

Political Discourse Analysis uses a critical approach in order to analyse political discourse and focuses mainly on how political power is reproduced and contested through political discourse (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012:17). Scholars who deal with political discourse analysis are mostly linguists and discourse analysts who apply discourse approaches to political science which has not been greatly affected by the modern study of text and talk (van Dijk, 1997:12). Moreover, political science deals to a great extent with studies on political rhetoric and communication (Bitzer, 1981; Chaffee, 1975; Graber, 1981; Swanson & Nimmo, 1990), however, there are just a few approaches that tackle political science using a more analytical orientation in discourse (Gamson, 1992; Thompson, 1987). The most important thing in political discourse is to maintain the balance between political analysis and linguistic analysis because, generally, this is what helps scholars make a distinction between political discourse analysis and political research in political science (Wilson, 2001:411).

PDA is influenced by many discourse analysis disciplines, from which it borrowed different concepts, such as conversation analysis, narratology, discursive psychology,

linguistic anthropology, argumentation and pragmatics. There are some critically oriented works that have influenced PDA like Chomsky's generative grammar, George Lakoff's political metaphor analysis and somehow rhetorical criticism which is used in various political genres like apologia and inaugural addresses. Moreover, the work of Fowler et al. (1979), "Language and Control", is one of the pioneering works that opened the door for further studies on political language. These different works show the effects of the systemic functional analytic approach which gives a tool for analysing texts at the microscopic level in order to reveal their macroscopic political meanings. The most important scholars within PDA framework are Teun van Dijk (discourse and manipulation, racism, etc.), Norman Fairclough (party, global, and media political discourse), John Wilson (pragmatic approach to political discourse), Paul Chilton (cognitive aspects of political discourse), and Theo van Leeuwen and Gunther Kress (political social semiotics) (Kampf, 2015:1162).

Lasswell and Leites (1949) started an interesting trajectory in PDA which analyses political discourse in the media using a quantitative semantic analysis. Lately, after establishing other interactional approaches within discourse analysis such as argumentation, conversation analysis and discursive pragmatics, an important research has been done about political discourse in the media. This research tackles completely the dynamics and participation structures of political interactions like debates, interviews, parliament meetings, and press conferences. Moreover, there are some branches which use linguistic politeness, social psychology and pragmatics in order to study the cases where political speeches are equivocatory, political face is discursively constructed and incivility occurs within political discourse. Actually, PDA studies are nowadays affecting and being affected by almost all subfields of discourse analysis (Kampf, 2015:1162-1163).

Furthermore, PDA is influenced also by power and ideology because it deals with politics which is related to how power is acquired and exercised in society. On the one hand, politics can include the collaboration between different political actors and institutions in order to prevent and resolve power conflicts, whereas on the other hand, it can be a constant struggle over power between dominant and dominated social groups. Whether using collaboration or struggle, encouraging morals or hegemony in politics, power is practised in governmental and daily political discourses for clear political objectives, namely, *"to intervene in the course of events, to influence the actions of others and indeed to create events, by means of the production and transmission of symbolic forms"* (Thompson, 1995: 17).

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Beside the political matters, there are some critical approaches to political discourse which may analyse different social issues like nationalism, immigration, ethnicity, human rights and antimilitarism (Erdoğan, 2014:46). There are also some other significant elements which are related to the representation and construction of gender in political discourse such as sexism, gender inequality, oppression and positioning of women because these issues are both social and political (van Dijk, 1997:43). Additionally, gender equality and feminist issues are highly negotiated and discussed through political discourse as well as feminist discourse, therefore, some scholars like Michelle Lazar advocate the use of feminist critical discourse analysis (FCDA) in order to deal specifically with the discursive construction of gender identities, social inequalities and feminist issues as a whole.

1.9. Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis

Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis is a new approach to discourse studies under the banner of critical discourse analysis. It makes a combination, for the first time, between the international studies that collect both of CDA and feminist studies including those studies done about language (Lazar, 2005:1). Lazar explains the purpose behind carrying out feminist critical discourse studies as follows:

> *"The aim of feminist critical discourse studies, therefore, is to show up the complex, subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, ways in which frequently taken-for-granted gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are discursively produced, sustained, negotiated, and challenged in different contexts and communities. Such an interest is not merely an academic de-construction of texts and talk for its own sake, but comes from an acknowledgement that the issues dealt with (in view of effecting social change) have material and phenomenological consequences for groups of women and men in specific communities."*

<div align="right">(Lazar, 2007:142)</div>

Therefore, the diffrence between CDA and FCDA is that the former's scholars like Fairclough and van Dijk were not interested in the analysis of gender, whereas the latter focuses more on gender issues because of its well-developed and sophisticated theory of gender. Feminist discourse analysts argue that one of feminist CDA's objectives is to clarify taken-for-granted or axiomatic assumptions of gender by demonstrating how these

assumptions are ideologically constructed and power inequalities and differences are concealed (Lazar, 2005:7; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:19; Talbot, 1995:151). These procedures concentrate on the ideological assumptions of poststructuralist theory of language and discourse, discourses being 'loci of struggles' between gendered ideologies and power relations which help create and reproduce power inequalities between social groups (Lazar, 2005:5, Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002:63). Thus, feminist CDA is considered as an emancipatory critical approach which helps raise awareness among people and participate in social change by analysing discourse (Lazar, 2005:5; Jørgensen & Phillips 2002: 64, Talbot 1995:151).

Moreover, the concept of gender has a strong relationship with feminist CDA since this latter has been affected by post-structuralist and third-wave feminist theories. Gender is regarded as an unstable and complex element which is continuously constructed in form of masculine and feminine identities which are, to some extent, formed by discourse (Lazar, 2005:9; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:1-2). The construction of gender is achieved socially and individually (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:6; Weedon, 1997:25) through interaction with power relations and other parts of identity like age, class and ethnicity, therefore, men and women do not discursively construct and enact their gender in the same way all over the world (Lazar, 2005:10; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:15). Because gender is constructed through discourse, feminist CDA considers Butler's performativity an important concept, although it criticises her tendency to focus only on discourse and ignore power relations and all life experiences and choices that affect the construction of people's identities (Lehtonen, 2007:5).

Feminist CDA does not try to give an overall theory of gender, but it focuses mainly on empirical studies, genuine texts and actual situations where gender is constructed (Lazar, 2005:12-13; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:27). Moreover, feminist CDA does not believe that gender is only constructed through discourse, however, it focuses greatly on the discursive production of gender. When analysing discourse, feminist CDA is interested in how gender identities are represented and gendered power relationships are manifested in different texts as well as their related contexts because gender roles and differences depend on context (Lazar, 2005:11).

Furthermore, in feminist CDA, the concept of discourse *"is understood both in the linguistic sense of language which communicates meaning in a context, and in the*

Foucauldian, social theoretical sense of being a form of social practice, meaning that language is used to construct identity, including gender, from a particular ideological perspective" (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002, as cited in Lehtonen, 2007:6). However, in opposition to Foucault's (1972:49) definition of discourses as *"practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak"* which means that structures determine the individual, feminist CDA uses also the theory of hegemony of Gramsci (1971), which considers all social groups as active agents in producing and negotiating meaning in discourse.

Therefore, feminist CDA asserts that individuals can regard discourses as resources that are used to produce new things in addition to reshaping and contesting the assumptions that are firmly established in society through discourse (Lazar, 2005:7; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:18). For example, although people's lives can be shaped by influential and advantaged gendered discourses, people who participate in social structures and institutions that are, to some extent, shaped by discourse, can also transform and resist these gendered discourses (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002:14; Lazar, 2005:8). So, feminist CDA does not focus just on forms of oppression, but it is interested also in forms of empowerment within discourse especially women's empowerment by participating in politics and defending their rights (Lehtonen, 2007:6).

1.10. Feminism and Women's Political Participation

The word 'feminism' comes originally from the 19th century French word *féminisme* which was used either as a medical term to portray a feminised body of a male, or to describe the masculine characteristics of some women. In the 20th century, it was used in the United States in order to refer only to one group of women: *"namely that group which asserted the uniqueness of women, the mystical experience of motherhood and women's special purity"* (Jaggar, 1983:5). Later, it became understood to stand for the political position of anyone who is committed to change women's social and political status, since he/she sees them as dominated group who deserves emancipation and equality with men (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:48).

Feminists contributed to the field of politics and political theory by focusing on the exclusion of the issues, concerns and participations of women from the public political sphere since there is a separation between the private and public domains, on the one hand, and the language used about politics and political rights around the world, on the other hand.

Feminists wanted to challenge these social structures because they believed that all domains – whether public or universal – have been historically dominated by men.

Starting from the interests of Mary Wollstonecraft[15] in women's rights in the British public sphere, followed by the French philosopher Nicolas de Condorcet and his wife Sophie, to the second-wave feminist motto 'the personal is political', feminists have asked for the reconstitution of the political world in order to give women more political rights and grant them access to political institutions. Whereas liberal feminism was concerned with the improvement of women's access to public power institutions, by developing educational facilities, legislations for equal opportunities and politics for anti-discrimination, and therefore fighting patriarchy from inside the political field. There are also some other feminists like Marxists and radical groups who wanted to challenge the relationship per se between the political and public domains. They argue that there is a systematic exclusion of women from the political sphere because of patriarchy which created and maintained a false distinction between the public and private domains.

Feminists wanted also to defy any form of delegacy for women and emphasise on their actual participation in the political institutions (Rai, 2008). Black feminists have also joined the struggle for political rights by dealing with racial issues in Western societies, fighting the obstacles and constraints that prevent them from participating in the political field both as black people and as women. Historically, feminist groups have strived with the matter of creating successful alliances with other groups; because some of them have wanted groups and associations of women to be run exclusively by women, while others have argued that alliances with men would be very important especially when dealing with specific issues that affect both sexes like participating in politics and voting in elections (ibid.).

However, social norms may impede men's political debates about some social issues, but may specifically cause more problems for women because they find political conflict unpleasant due to their socialisation process which encourages them to care for others' feelings and preserve relationships (Belenky et al., 1986). Moreover, women are not usually

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[15] Mary Wollstonecraft is considered as the first feminist and therefore she is called the Mother of Feminism. She is often identified with the French revolutionaries of 1789. In 1792, she published her "Vindications of the Rights of Women" in which she considers women as rational creatures who can achieve intellectual excellence just like men. She protests against French women subjugation and exclusion from citizenship rights, criticises considering women as helpless and emotional and advocates equality between the sexes.

interested or involved in politics like men, although their voting rates may sometimes be higher than men's (Bennett & Bennett, 1989). Many feminist analyses have indicated that political discourse – whether its style or content – is making women feel alienated (Elshtain, 1982; Tannen, 1994). For instance, Jane Margolis (1992) argues that government talk has sometimes depersonalised abstractions and rationalism which give many women a feeling of anxiety, make them speak less openly and hesitate to express their opinions or criticise others' views publicly.

Additionally, Rapoport (1981) indicates that adolescent males and females show the same participation and expression of ideas when dealing with non-political issues, whereas females are more discreet when it comes to political thoughts and values. Women show a feeling of misunderstanding of political issues, even when they have more political knowledge about them. In his analysis, Rapoport suggests that these patterns of socialisation continue obstinately into adulthood. Therefore, women's alienation from politics and political communication will result eventually in reducing their political participation and minimising their influence on candidates and issues.

Furthermore, the matter of women's reluctance to attempt to persuade other people to vote, has not been overcome by some economic and demographic trends. First of all, gender still affects people's opportunities to enter places of education and work. According to many feminist scholars, women may be studying many years in good institutions, but the social setting where their education happens and its content per se are still underestimating women's experiences (Bailey et al., 1992; Margolis, 1992). Although there are many women who have important professions, job segregation by sex has not changed very much since the 1970's (Reskin, 1993), and working women do not have enough time to participate in political events since they are still the ones who do most of the housework.

Women are systematically paid less money than men for full-time jobs all year, and therefore only few women have gained access to higher professional positions (Goldin, 1990). Thus, women who hold college degrees and have jobs do not have necessarily the chance to learn the social skills or the self-assurance that push men towards political participation. Schlozman et al. (1994) argue that the deficiency of women's access to economic resources explains their lower contribution to political campaigns. Political participation does not always depend on money, but the degree of influence and prestige that money conveys, can give men more opportunities to gain access to political power.

Second, the patterns of socialisation which support greatly traditional gender norms about politics, discourse and social struggle, can result in reducing women's access to important social, economic and political positions (Kramarae, 1982). Kanter (1977) and other scholars maintain that women are usually the ones who keep peace and build consensus in social and professional situations. Belenky et al. (1986) and Margolis (1992) state that women usually choose to stay silent when they expect opposition. Sapiro (1983) explains that women are considered as better "subjects" than citizens because they prefer to remain passive and avoid conflicts in their political engagement.

However, there is a third approach which does not emphasise on the electorate's characteristics, but rather on the cues given by the political context. Contrary to the emphasis on some individuals performing their roles in isolation, contextual models focus on the attitudes and behaviours of people and how they are influenced by social setting and interaction (Books & Prysby, 1988; Jelen, 1992; Huckfeldt & Sprague, 1991, 1995). From this viewpoint, women would not probably be able to engage in politics let alone influence other people's opinions or votes, especially when there are no issues or candidates who can meet their interests.

As Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) demonstrate, the dynamics of political participation can be explained by the interaction between the organised strategies of politicians and parties and the resources of individuals. They assert also that white male politicians are actually predominating the political arena which will eventually impede women and blacks from participating in politics (ibid.:78). According to Bobo and Gilliam (1990), the political participation of African-American people is greatly affected by the existance of African-American politicians, particularly in large cities. They point out that Black elected officials give a *"contextual cue of likely policy responsiveness that encourages blacks to feel that participation has intrinsic value"* (ibid.:387). Finally, in order to understand how feminism has historically influenced women's liberation movements and their political participation, it is necessary to explore the three most important waves of feminism that the world has ever known.

1.11. Three Major Waves of Feminism

The historical evolution of feminism, particularly in the USA and Britain, is very often divided into distinct important periods, some are recognised by the absence of all forms of

feminist thought and organised movements, and others by the constant development of feminist criticism and activism in many countries all over the world.

1.11.1. First Wave Feminism

The evident pattern of ups and downs of feminism has gradually led to the 'wave' analogy which is characterised by its continuous cycle of progressive evolution, eventual culmination and final subsidence. The wave analogy evolved together with the revival of feminism in the 1960s, which has instantly followed a long period of relative quiescence. There is a clear distinction between the rising feminism that appeared since the 1960s and an earlier period that has similar fruitful and prominent feminist studies and political activism. The earlier period, which dates from the mid to late 19th century until the early 1920s, is considered as the 'first wave' feminism. Whereas the rising feminist activism and studies which date from the 1960s are regarded as the 'second wave' feminism (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:52).

Historically speaking, the period of first wave feminism may even contain the pre-19th century expressions of interests and worries about women's rights, particularly those taken from the French Revolution of 1789 which is frequently considered as the arena where the first planned demands for women's rights were carried out. Furthermore, it had serious effects on Mary Wollstonecraft who published her "Vindication of the Rights of Women" in 1792 in Britain, which is widely identified as the first important and systematic feminist study. In Britain and the USA, however, first wave feminism usually dates from the 1880s until the 1920s. It focused mainly on women's achievement of equality with men and consequently feminist analyses and activism concentrated on obtaining significant change in legislation (ibid.). In Britain, Walby (1990) and other scholars argue that the first wave feminist movement was very important because it created a shift from 'private' to 'public' patriarchy, through the fight for the rights to vote, to have equal access to education and jobs, to have the same rights in marriage and divorce and to possess private properties.

Originally, the first wave feminism started in Britain with spreading social and economic changes in the field of industrialisation, particularly by extending the legal rights of large number of the male population. Caine (1997:11) asserts that *"the most significant feminist statements of the period [1750–1850] were direct responses to new legislation granting men rights which were not being extended to women"*. In Britain, the feminist

thoughts began to spread among women of the middle class in the 1840s and the first organised movement for feminism appeared in the mid-1850s which was formed by a small group of women settled in London namely 'the Langham Place Group'.[16] This first movement of feminism was interested in improving women's rights to education and employment and promoting married women's legal rights. The matter of women's suffrage (or their right to vote) began to appear and grow in the mid-1860s, especially after the English liberal feminist John Stuart Mill tried to make women's rights a part of the provisions of "the 1867 Reform Act".[17]

Banks (1981) distinguishes two other major types of first wave feminism beside these long-established beliefs of 'liberal' or 'equal rights' feminism. The first one is 'evangelical' feminism which evolved from some religious evangelical movements. Its proponents wanted to defend and morally help and support people who are less fortunate than themselves like poor people, children and working-class women. The second one is 'socialist' feminism which is defined by Randall (1982) as the branch of 19th century feminism that focused on social and legal reform, and he uses as an illustration the campaign of Josephine Butler against the 'Contagious Diseases Acts'.[18] According to Banks (1981), this feminism was not as influential as both evangelical feminism and liberal feminism, however, it was the most truthful and committed feminism of the three types because it doubted and challenged the

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[16] The most important figures in 'the Langham Place Group' were Theodosia Lady Monson, Helen Blackburn, Matilda Hays, Maria Rye, Emily Davies and Emily Faithfull (Wojtczak, 2009). It was established in 1859 in London by Barbara Leigh Smith Bodichon and Bessie Rayner Parkes *"to debate educational and legal issues for women. They set up 'The English Woman's Journal' as a platform for that debate, attracting many feminists to the circle including Adelaide Proctor and Jessie Boucherett who set up 'The Society for Promoting the Employment of Women'"* (Osborne, 2001:16-17).

[17] After the 1832 Reform Act which made the change possible in the British Parliament and the Chartist Movement has influenced the working classes, the 1867 Reform Act came to reform Britain's electoral process and succeeded to double the electorate by granting all male urban householders the right to vote as well as all male lodgers who could pay £10 rent each year for their accommodations. This Act was officially called "The Representation of the People Act 1867" (Trueman, 2015).

[18] *"Between 1864 and 1869, four laws, known as the Contagious Diseases Acts, were passed by the British Parliament in an attempt to reduce venereal disease in the armed services. These acts, which applied to certain military stations, garrison, and seaport towns, gave a police officer authority to arrest any woman found within the specified areas whom he considered to be a prostitute"* (Hamilton, 1978:14). Therefore, anti-prostitution campaigner Josephine Butler fought against these acts because they made sometimes false accusations about innocent women who were forced to do medical examination in order to check if they carried any venereal disease, and their refusal, occasionally, led to imprisonment which destroyed their livelihoods.

existing forms of marriage and family and supported sharing housework and child rearing responsibilities between parents (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:53).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the public campaigning activity focused on the matter of women's suffrage as its most important challenge. This matter of voting, considered as an important factor that helped put women's equality on the legislational agenda, succeeded to gather nearly all feminists in one campaign, although they had different opinions about their tactics. In 1897, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (also known as the Suffragists) was established under the leadership of Millicent Fawcett, and included mostly middle class women who had close relationships with powerful people. In 1903, Emmeline Pankhurst and several colleagues founded a separate organisation, the Women's Social and Political Union (also called the Suffragettes), which used more confrontational methods. Thousands of its members were taken to prison where many of them launched a hunger strike and sometimes forced to eat.

In 1914, the First World War started, causing the end of the suffragettes' militant tactics and diversifying the women's movement, because some of its members encouraged participating in the war, whereas others were completely against it (Alberti, 1989). Furthermore, the war per se is considered as the main reason for breaking down many stereotypical ideas about women and taking them to replace the absent men in workplaces. Therefore, as the war ended in 1918, there were high hopes for change in various areas of life, so the 'Representation of the People Act' extended suffrage to involve all men over the age of 21 and women over the age of 30 who were either university students, householders, or wives of householders (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:54).

In Britain, first wave feminism did not concentrate only on the issue of women's suffrage (Dyhouse, 1989; Ryan, 1978), but its importance appeared due to its influence on women's movement after the First World War. For instance, Banks asserts that the fight for the right to vote gave a sense of unity to women in their movement of liberation which *"disguised the differences between them that were to become all too evident in the years after the vote had been achieved"* (1981:116). Kent (1988) shows that the attitude of the feminist movement was defensive at the time when the First World War started and even after it ended, contrary to the pre-war era in which the feminist movement displayed more confidence and assertiveness. Kent explains that there were two main factors that caused the decline of feminism as an important movement, particularly during the interwar period. First, the

increasing activities of anti-feminism in Britain, which concentrated greatly on women's work and tried to convince them to give up their war occupations and go back to their conventional roles. Second, the divisions that occurred within the feminist movement itself due to ideological differences and institutional inconsistencies.

In 1919, after women achieved partial suffrage, there was a major reorganisation in the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies which became the National Union of Societies for Equal Citizenship (NUSEC), with Eleanor Rathbone as its new president. She changed the priorities of the new organisation and persuaded its members to accept her reform because she believed that women have achieved equality with men. Therefore, feminists could now focus more precisely on motherhood and women's needs at home by fighting for protective legislations, birth control and family allowance or endowment (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:54). However, traditional egalitarian feminists vehemently opposed these new priorities including all protective legislations like maternity leave, because they thought that women needed more rights in order to overcome their family problems and broaden their horizons (Lewis, 1980).

The first wave feminist movement was finally divided by the issue of protective legislation, because middle class feminists opposed it, whereas working class feminists supported it (Banks, 1981); and women's movement was no longer dominated by equal rights feminists at the end of the 1920s. However, during the 1920s, the NUSEC worked with other feminist groups like the Women's Freedom League and the Six Point Group in order to keep women's issues always present at the Parliament. They carried on their struggle for equal suffrage and equal guardianship of children, in addition to their insistence on involving women in legal professions, equality in wages and standards of morality, and a pension plan for widows (Banks, 1981:163-164). During the 1930s, where depression and unemployment were high and population was declining, this 'new feminism' gained predominance in society because it focused on the maternal role of women and their contribution to social welfare (Randall, 1982; Lewis, 1980). In the 1920s and 1930s, the division of women's movement into two feminisms marked the fall of Britain's first wave feminism.

The development of British feminism in late 19th and early 20th century shows the uses of the analogy between the waves' actions and the ups and downs of feminism, since it focuses on the rise and fall of feminist thought and activism at this period of history. However, the use of wave analogy should involve also some criticism, because it can focus

greatly on the top of the wave when it is growing and having mass activity, at the expense of the recognition because of some significant feminist analyses, feminist activists and serious accomplishments which took place before and after the first wave feminism, and before the beginning of the second wave feminism in the 1960s (Spender, 1983). Moreover, the wave analogy may support also the idea that the cycle of feminism with its rise and fall, can be a strong and unavoidable one (Code, 2000).

1.11.2. Second Wave Feminism

Second wave feminism is a new major period of feminism which started in the late 1960s and collected all political activism and struggle. The notion of 'waves' of feminism per se was only used in the late 1960s and early 1970s and thus applying it to a period of female activism that happened before, shows greatly the importance of the beginning of the second wave. Mary Evans points out that *"if every generation has to reinvent the wheel – or tends to believe that it has just invented the wheel – so feminism in the West in the 1960s and 1970s took some time before it recognised its history and the longevity of the struggle that it represented"* (1997:7). The wave analogy is not only a way of dealing with the historical development of the first wave feminism which has existed roughly from the mid-19th century to the 1920s, but it shows also the changes that occurred in the most important political issues for the feminist thought (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:144).

While the first wave feminists fought for women's freedom and equality through voting, accessing to good jobs and having their own properties, the second wave feminists struggled for their liberation from the oppression and subjugation of patriarchal societies. Suffrage did not bring full equality and therefore it was necessary to look for other means that could go further than the public sphere. Whereas the fight for the right to vote was very important to first wave feminism, second wave feminists focused greatly on the female body per se with its representation and the significations that might be conveyed by her biological differences. In this regard, the famous statement of Simone de Beauvoir where she argued that *"one is not born, but rather becomes, a woman"* (1952:267) created new trend of thought which concentrated on how gender differences were regarded as constructed, and thus the major fight of feminists was against the ideological positioning of women by society, which was similar to the struggle of the first wave feminists who fought for the material position of women.

In 1949, Simone de Beauvoir published her book "The Second Sex" for the first time and after just five years from the first enfranchisement of French women. Her book along with Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique" (1963) were very influential works for modern feminists. Second wave feminists exerted great efforts to build a large collection of knowledge which specifically dealt with social and cultural situations where women have been historically neglected or considered as less important. Furthermore, second wave feminism doubted the importance of equality, since both men and women had different social roles and duties which they were still ideologically expected to perform, and feminists focused gradually on differences between males and females and their meanings in society.

Second wave feminism frequently supported the idea of massive social change because of patriarchal realities that were embedded in society; and this change would influence actual social structures and make them untenable. These demands for social change were basically established on the wider principles of political allegiances like liberal, Marxist and radical traditions. The great potential of these thoughts themselves underlined the problems and obstacles that faced this change, which would involve challenging the essential structure of people's private lives, emotions and relationships (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:145).

Many women who were refugees from civil rights and New Left political movements participated in giving feminism its new radical force. The decision of these radical feminists to gather in small groups in order to start their activism, raise people's consciousness and organise demonstrations which resembled more to street theatre, gave the sense that this new type of feminism or women's liberation movement succeeded in transmitting its ideas to people in the general public sphere. Although there were different media which described these women as man-haters, their movement was able to obtain gradually an important approval and support from women in the United States and, to some extent, in Europe in the late 1960s, and it influenced profoundly the nature and form of modern feminist thought (ibid.).

Second wave feminism did not tackle only the evolution of a new radical feminism but it knew also some remarkable changes in the politics of both Marxist and liberal feminists. They too began to concentrate on debates which evolved just during this period and were specifically known by what Kate Millett had called 'sexual politics', like family, sexuality, abortion, rape, domestic violence and sexual division of labour (ibid.). Particularly, Marxist

feminists' interests shifted greatly from classic principles to dealing with the ways used to make gendered relations enter into an analysis of power that was based on social class. The idea promoted by second wave radicalism which allowed nearly anyone to join women's movement, gave the chance to all kinds of people to participate in activism and create their own sub-groupings like working-class women and women of colour in order to discuss their specific matters. This second wave has its strengths like preparing the conditions which gave a chance to create an important heterogeneity; and its weaknesses such as being constantly distinguished by an informal 'mainstream' which consisted of white heterosexual women of the middle class who could be sometimes hesitant to give interesting and influential ideas, and only create some symbolic space to express critical and dissenting views (ibid.:146).

The idea that 'membership' of feminism is not just a formal matter but it is strongly related to political choice, is very important for identifying and shaping the second wave feminism. Jo Freeman points out that:

"Membership in the movement is purely subjective – the participants are those who consider themselves participants – and not always accompanied by membership in a small group. Some of these groups require dues or, more often, regular attendance at meetings and participation in the common tasks. These requirements are not determinant of movement participation, however, as it is easy to quit one group and join another or even start one's own ... Given its decentralised, segmentary, reticulate nature, the younger branch of the movement can best be described as a social system rather than a political organization."

(Freeman, 1975:104)

Sometimes when there was a feeling of threat to hijack feminism by some dominant voices in order to achieve their own goals, there was also some frustration to recall that feminism was still in the phase of self-reinvention and had no core doctrine. Moreover, Freeman presents a type of feminism which is not agreed upon by all scholars. For instance, in her book "Who Stole Feminism?", Christine Hoff Sommers sees that the feminist movement has only one rightful owner and considers the work done by second wave activists as less important and temporary by saying that *"credos and intellectual fashions come and go but feminism itself – the pure and wholesome article first displayed at Seneca Falls in 1848 –*

is as American as apple pie, and it will stay" (Sommers, 1994:275). Here, Sommers indicates that second wave feminism deviated from the original movement which, according to her, exists somewhere in the first wave feminism with the Seneca Falls Convention[19] that called for suffrage. However, feminism is continuously changing which may refute Sommers' claim for 'stolen' feminism, and, at the same time, makes it difficult to accuse Sommers of being anti-feminist due to her suggestion.

Although it is possible to trace back the origins of the second wave starting from 1968, it is not very easy to tell if it has reached an end or been simply superseded by another wave of feminism. In the third wave, there has not been any important increase in public awareness or any new political thought of feminism that could change the basic principles of the second wave. Actually, most scholars would see that modern feminism no longer had its dynamic evolution since the late 1980s, and although it is clear that there were important popular feminist activism and encouragement, most feminists have since focused on academic works and study programmes for women. However, it is evident that third wave activism has changed the debate to another field of study which is the controversial atmosphere of the mass media, dealing with its contradictions and possibilities, whereas the second wave has focused only on women's personal lives and their social relationships (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:147).

The utility of the 'wave' analogy was doubted at the beginning of the first wave feminism. Historically speaking, it is interesting to see the most important perceptions and ideas being produced at the top of the second wave activism until the early 1980s. However, it is also important to know that the 'memories' of these events, both personal and those based on historical facts and documents, are shaped and allocated their significance by all aspects of feminist theory which came later (ibid.). Linda Nicholson points out that it is clear that *"something happened in the 1960s in ways of thinking about gender that continues to shape public and private life"* (1997:1).

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[19] This convention came after *"the first organized gathering of women to demand their rights 'as women' took place during two days in July 1848 in Seneca Falls, New York. The manifesto produced by the women in Seneca Falls offered a blueprint for feminist organizing for decades to come. The most "radical" demand—at least the only demand not passed unanimously by the assembly—was for universal suffrage"* (Bigelow, 2016:197).

1.11.3. Third Wave Feminism

Third wave feminism has many definitions, but it is probably best known as the feminism of a younger generation of women who recognise the traditions of second wave feminism, but at the same time consider what is seen as its limitations. These identified limitations would be their feeling that it stayed too long exclusive for white and middle class women, and became a rigorous and rigid movement that isolated ordinary women and made them experience some feeling of guilt whenever they wanted to enjoy dimensions of individual self-expression like fashion and beauty products. Furthermore, most third wave feminists would confirm that the conditions, whether historical or political, where second wave feminism appeared, do not exist anymore and consequently it does not correspond with women's lives and experiences nowadays. Many of these third wave feminists are women who were greatly influenced by feminism, and perhaps raised by feminist mothers, and used to consider the courses of women's studies as the norm in addition to academic works that deal with the issues of race and class. These young educated women may have been also influenced by postmodernist and post-structuralist theories which resulted in making their approach sceptical and challenging when dealing with some feminist concepts like sisterhood and identity (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:169).

Rene Denfeld who is a conservative critic argues that third wave feminism was formulated by Shannon Liss and Rebecca Walker (who is the daughter of the American feminist writer Alice Walker) at the start of the 1990s (Denfeld, 1995:263), but it looks like the concept was used in many sources simultaneously, and just as second wave feminism, its history is also diversified and affected by the political orientations of the age. Though, it is important to indicate that much of its driving force originates from the written works of women of colour. Many feminists of the third wave try to make a separation between their perspectives and the so-called 'post-feminism'; as Jennifer Drake and Lesley Heywood affirm, *"Let us be clear: "post-feminist" characterizes a group of young, conservative feminists who explicitly define themselves against and criticize feminists of the second wave"* (1997:1).

Contrarily, they seem to be well aware of the contemporary history of the second wave and may consider their work as an important element of a continuous evolution of feminism's radical theorising and thought. This is in contradiction with the modern criticism of feminism by some critics like Katie Roiphe with her book 'The Morning After' (1994) in which she

described campuses in the United States as filled with feminist radicals who mislead others and exaggerate the risks of sexual harassment and date rape to the extent of harming relationships between women and men, which shows clearly that third wavers are rejecting a certain element of the conservative tendency (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:170).

However, Naomi Wolf has a more mixed opinion, but her book 'Fire with Fire' (1993) corresponds to a great extent with the third wave tradition, specifically in her rejection of what she considers as 'victim feminism', in which women are apparently encouraged to feel that they are turned into passive members by oppression that is formulated in the second wave. Wolf shows that her standpoint is related to a generational shift in the same way as almost all third wave feminism which is originally based on opposing and resisting the "old guard" or formulated with regard to the "daughter's" requirement for breaking away from her feminist "mother" so that she can have her freedom and set her own goals (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:170).

Third wave feminism appears to have originated to some extent from the academy – that its main adherents seem to have these ideas because they were greatly influenced by their feminist education – but it exists equally in different cultural forms, since these feminists consider their lives as strongly framed by popular culture, especially films, television, music and literature (ibid.). Famous media personalities like the rock star Courtney Love are regarded as third wave icons who do not want to stick to a feminist party line, and who refuse also to adhere to the different types of 'feminine' behaviour that are considered as appropriate for public media and mainstream success.

The Riot Grrrl, which was a youth movement that started in the summer of 1991, has a great influence on the evolution of third wave feminism and explains its proponents' belief that popular culture is a site of activism, and music is a means of communicating political messages. The Riot Grrrls had a musical style which was hugely affected by the punk rock music of the 1970s from which it took its inclusivity, which means that anyone who loved music, but he/she maybe did not have any formal training, could, however, participate in performance. Their influence moved quickly from the music scene to a larger movement namely the 1992 Riot Grrrl Convention which took place in Washington, DC, and for instance, they organised workshops on issues such as rape, sexuality, unlearning racism, domestic violence and self-defence (Klein, 1997, as cited in Drake & Heywood, 1997:214). There are some examples of Riot Grrrl and following third wave activism like producing

music (which is a great ambition in a field dominated mainly by men), establishing and running music record companies, publishing magazines and organising cultural festivals and events.

Accordingly, belonging to third wave feminism indicates that one can realise his/her own politics using popular culture and public media, which is completely the opposite of the objectives of second wave feminism that wants to keep its 'originality' by usually avoiding the flattery and compliment of the media in order to stay away from being consumed by the patriarchal powers in society. In spite of the peripheral and nonconformist status of Riot Grrrl entertainers, there is a great investment in women who succeeded in the world of men, profiting of the familiar 'patriarchal' markers of progress, like fame, wealth and media shrewdness. The origins of third wave creativity show this multilingual cultural, in order that a feminist from the third wave is probably going to read the literary works of Mary Wollstonecraft and Elizabeth Wurtzel, or sit down and watch the most recent episode of the famous series *Buffy the vampire slayer*.

In addition to their specific cultural experiences, third wave feminists are very proud to have universal points of view and they are committed to observe and recognise the material circumstances of individuals' lives while grasping a portion of the key principles of second wave feminist movement. Males and sexual desires have a less important position in third wave movement, and moreover, their analysis is inclined to take into consideration the dispossession of young people (whether males or females). In the Unites States of America particularly, it concentrates mainly on a specific generation which is considered as a counterpoise to the description of American generation-Xers[20] as complainers and lazy.

It is known that the development of third wave activism is still happening and there will be more academic works and critiques that will emerge progressively, which will help widen its scope as well as recognise its special philosophy. Generational conflict is one of the important things in third wave feminism, in which one generation can make its own place and shape the movement as much as it wants; and actually age is very important in the feminism of 'generation X'. This can show a very distinguished transition from the first wave of feminism to the second one, where activists changed the form of their political works and

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[20] American generation-Xers are the people who were born between the beginning of the 1960s and the late 1970s. They are considered as highly educated and underemployed, but also as materialistic and irresponsible.

feminist objectives from a call for women's rights to a new one for liberation. There are some clues of interesting old second wave collective action in the websites on the internet, the magazines and the shows, for example, Ladyfest (that started in 2000 and are still going on over the USA and Europe), yet it has a more independent edge, reflecting in addition to other things a radical doubt of the politics of identity, and an important move to 'lifestyle' politics (the possibility that your politics expressed something in regards to your personal taste similarly to what your garments, furniture and vehicle did – and was in reality a piece of the whole 'package') which was clear since the mid-1980s.

Obviously second wave feminism was itself to a great extent a 'youthful' movement, composed for the most part of women aged between 20 and 40 in the middle of its height, however they were growing older with it and probably never envisioned that its fundamental message could not be passed on to another generation (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004:172). Therefore, Catherine Redfern, in her web magazine The F-Word, confirms that:

"Second wavers often misunderstand young women's enthusiasm for the term "third wave". They think it's because we don't respect their achievements or want to disassociate ourselves from them. In actual fact I think it simply demonstrates a desire to feel part of a movement with relevance to our own lives and to claim it for ourselves, to stress that feminism is active today, right now ... a lot has changed between Gen X and the baby boomers[21], partly because of the achievements of 70s feminism. Having said that, feminism still has unfinished business."

(Redfern, 2002)

1.12. Women's Empowerment and Power Relations

The power of women and their impact on society are interesting issues that deal with the relative disparities in social power amongst men and women. There are important outcomes for gender differences in power which touch women's power that is not only an academic matter when compared with men. For instance, despite the fact that women have made huge development in the workplaces, with a greater number of women working than in the years before and having around 33% of all administration positions (Colwill, 1993), women keep on experiencing wage discrimination, be rejected from the most effective official

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[21] The baby boomers are the people who were born between 1946 and 1964. Because they were born after the Second World War, they helped greatly in shaping new societies and building economies.

positions, move forward very slowly in their professions and experience less advantages from getting education or experience in their work. Moreover, they are involved in fewer institutions and use less power and authority than men in the same positions (Lyness & Thompson, 1997).

Various scholars have connected professional success and access to advantages and resources inside associations and organisations to a compelling utilisation of power (Ely, 1995; Ragins & Sundstrom, 1989). Nevertheless, there is generally a proof that men have greater amounts of both legitimate and expert power than women, whereas women have more referent power than they do. Thus, distinct behaviours foresee more social impact for men than for women. A comprehension of women's power, compared with men, is in this way fundamental in order to overcome the obstacles that face women in workplaces and other fields.

Nowadays, there are two essential elements of human rights approaches. The main concern of traditional human rights organisations is predominantly the connection between the state and individuals, and its capacity to prevent abuse and ensure their safety, and fulfil their human rights. Nevertheless, since the late 1990s, there was a great rise in rights based approaches in developmental foundations which has come with a distinct viewpoint to human rights. Developmental foundations use effectively human rights in order to deal with common social problems like poverty, segregation and marginalisation, with an emphasis on the unequal power relations which maintain these inequities (Drinkwater, 2009:145).

The single most imperative aspect of a rights-based approach to development is that it is based on the preface that is put in Article One of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) that all humans are equal. Article One expresses that: *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood"* (United Nations General Assembly (UNGA), 1948). Unfortunately, today, there are considerable numbers of people all over the world and in many societies and cultures who definitely consider themselves to be more human than some other groups of people who are simply different. Thus, wherever individuals are viewed as less human, there will be oppression and discrimination. Generally, the biggest group who are routinely considered as less human are women. They are therefore the greatest category of people who encounter during their lives various types of discrimination (Drinkwater, 2009:145).

The efforts and endeavours of women in order to empower themselves, have existed for a long time. The talks and discussions about feminism and its interaction with development interventions are different and complicated (Cornwall et al., 2004). The main difficulty that faces all attempts to concentrate on gender equity matters is to keep away from its 'mainstreaming' feminism to achieve a complete satisfaction.

The main reason is that using a rights based approach (RBA) to development can facilitate the capability of efforts trying to deal with the more prevalent elements that sustain gender inequities. Prior to the appearance of rights based approaches, intriguing endeavours to empower women frequently missed the important beginning of the fundamental issue of social justice, in which no real achievements for promoting women's empowerment can be celebrated until men acknowledge their equality with women. Gender and development (GAD) approaches have focused on the significance of having relational approaches in order to deal with women's empowerment which depend on the contribution of men in addition to women, however, the depoliticisation of gender and development objectives has been the result of the mainstreaming of gender equity actions (Goetz, 2004).

In advancing with approaches that are expected to promote women's empowerment, the basic issue that needs to be dealt with, is the change of social relations, and therefore many fundamental systems, principles and patterns that form human social orders nowadays. At the core of this, exists the way in which men recognise themselves and shape their own personal and group identities. Until men can develop their concepts of self differently, and change their feelings of responsibility to accomplish status and esteem for themselves and their families, the social status of women as second class individuals and subhumans will stay the same. Moreover, the roles of women have also to change because they play a large part, as mothers, sisters and neighbours, in keeping other women stigmatised and discriminated against. The change in the attitudes of women will happen when they understand clearly that men's representation of themselves as predominant is not encouraged by any religious beliefs, governmental laws or worldwide human rights structures.

Thus, it is believed that a rights based approach is fundamental to change and improve the social status of women and their relatives. This change needs a relational approach to rights which considers all people as equal human beings who have similar rights and duties. Concerning women, particularly the individuals who encounter many social problems in their daily lives, to take the initiative to enhance their lives and those of their children depends on

their capacity to develop their status as citizens who consider themselves, and are considered by other people, as equal to men and having the same rights to other social groups. This needs a substantial concentration on dealing with the socially and culturally embedded elements that keep the status of women as not completely human (Drinkwater, 2009:146).

1.13. Women's Emancipation

Women's emancipation means the struggle for self-determination and advancements in their positions socially, legally, culturally and politically. This term can include feminism in addition to some feminist discourses. However, this term does not contain only women's movements, but also men's activities which support the emancipation and liberation of women. Therefore, the term is sufficiently expansive to incorporate the principal signs of insistent feminist requests, many of which emerged from the social, cultural, religious and political movements that were dominated by men (Paletschek & Pietrow-Ennker, 2004:6).

In the 1970s, scholars typically explained that feminist movement or women's emancipation movement are the arranged endeavours of women in order to accomplish legal and political equality with men. The more extensive term of "women's emancipation movement", which was used interchangeably with the term "women's movement", turned out to be acceptable during the 1980s. It represented the *"different historical and contemporary expressions of women's activities, social needs, and efforts in feminism and in policies concerning women"* (Andreasen et al., 1991:9).

Women's emancipation and the ensuing changes in their social status and role have unquestionably prompted a re-examination of the relationships between men and women both inside and outside their families. Women's educational level is rising progressively as well as their participation in social and economic events outside their homes which have, from the family's perspective, two main results. Firstly, it makes men and women interact and deal with individuals from the other sex outside their families, and secondly, it makes women compete in order to achieve important statuses in society away from the traditional status of the spouse of a remarkable man (Haavio-Mannila, 1969:123). The first result may prompt clashes and disputes in the family, however it may likewise bring some reconsideration and clearness in the standards that generally control the relationships between men and women. The second one may cause a situation where the educational and professional statuses are

considered as more important than the traditional role of women as spouses which loses gradually its significance.

The number of women at colleges and universities around the world is as high as men's, and they are also as economically active as them. However, the wages of working women are often less than men's and they are relegated to lower positions, even though they both have the same educational level. Moreover, there is sometimes some segregation of the sexes at the workplaces and other public places which prevents women from being fully integrated into the different social activities. Their integration into society can face also some difficulties because of their active role in the family. Depending on whether the woman has a job or not, the public opinion about her emancipation and empowerment differs from one person to another. On the one hand, some people consider her job as a way of achieving self-assurance and freedom, but on the other hand, other people believe that independent women can be dangerous to men who may be deprived from their usual high status as the controllers of society and the sole breadwinners of their families, and to wives who are fully dependent on their husbands to achieve high status and social integration (ibid.:124).

Furthermore, the proponents of women's emancipation consider the right to vote as a necessary thing in order to exercise social responsibilities efficiently. They believe that women can only improve their public spirit and serve their country by fully participating in public life. Therefore, the movements of women's emancipation in Europe adopted the issue of women's suffrage as their most defended cause. Feminists thought that as soon as they could make parliaments and political parties feel their impact and understand their demands through their votes, they would have the capacity to achieve improvements in all important domains in which women were underrepresented (Paletschek & Pietrow-Ennker, 2004:322).

1.14. Conclusion

Gender is connected to behaviour that conveys the individual's social and cultural understanding of self as a man and woman. It is something that is acquired according to the social and cultural traits assigned to femaleness and maleness. It affects the way men and women interact with each other in the daily life as well as their use of language and power to integrate into society and then maintain their social status. Furthermore, men and women use their gender roles that are socially constructed, trying to gain more privilege by participating in the political sphere.

Women were underrepresented in the political arena around the world because they faced different problems and obstacles in achieving equal representation with men in political institutions. Their political representation had been greatly affected by stereotypes that restricted their roles to the private sphere where they were supposed to take care of their families and homes, whereas the public one was considered as men's most valuable place to practise politics and show their authority.

However, the integration of women into politics is one of the most important changes that took place all over the world during the past few decades. Moreover, the continuous variation in their political opinions and responses through time proves that women are not restricted by their social position or socialisation process to simple, submissive or compatible political roles, but are motivated citizens who are always able to decide in which way their voices are best used (Hansen, 1997:97).

In order to examine an example of women's representation in the political field, the second chapter will deal with women's political situation in Algeria which witnessed many important changes in their political status. It will focus on Algerian women's struggle to guarantee equal rights with men and promote their political representation in government and political parties.

Chapter Two: Overview of Women's Political Situation in Algeria

2.1. Introduction

Algeria is a Democratic Republic which is located in northwest Africa and its harmonic richness can be greatly noticed in its Amazigh (Berber), Arab and Islamic history. It was colonised by France for 132 years and its citizens suffered from cruelty and injustice for a long time, so they organised themselves and started a war of independence (European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity, 2017). Despite the prominent role of Algerian women in this war, which began in 1954 and lasted until 1962, the nationalist struggle was always more important than demands for gender equality. After independence in 1962, government authorities have officially recognised the significant role of women in fighting colonialism and constructing their independent country. However, there were not many women's movements or feminist organisations created in the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, former female fighters in the war of independence often contended that liberation from colonialism was more crucial than gender issues (Marzouki, 2010:29).

The National Liberation Front (FLN), which played a key role in the independence and still controlling the country, was to a great extent ignoring all gender problems. The socialist perspectives of its philosophy supported women's rights, however more conservative tendencies inside the independence movement regarded women as the embodiment of Islamic and traditional principles. After two decades of independence, national groups which advocated different political plans disagreed on problems of individual status, and their inability to achieve an accord prevented different endeavours to regulate family law. In 1981, an exceptionally conservative draft family legislation was emphatically turned down by a grassroots movement of women from various professional sectors. They collaborated to arrange petitions and demonstrations against this legislation.

Under the pressure of this movement, the Algerian government withdrew the 1981 draft, however on June 9, 1984, a nearly identical Family Code was proclaimed without any public discussion.[22] After a long pressure and struggle of women's rights activists, the Family Code was eventually amended by the government in 2005, in which many positive changes had been announced (ibid.:30). Therefore, this second chapter examines the historical development of the political landscape in Algeria in order to shed the light on the struggle of Algerian women for the promotion of their social and political rights (before and after

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[22] Nevertheless, between 1982 and 1984, many loud and dynamic discussions happened in the National People's Assembly (APN) between different political factions.

independence). Moreover, it follows the evolution of Algerian women's political rights in the different legislations and constitutions of their country, in addition to their political participation in the government, political parties and national associations and assemblies.

2.2. History of Women's Political Participation in Algeria

The emergence of women's movements coincided with the wave of modern European colonialism that swept Africa and Asia and influenced greatly the colonised countries. These movements worked hard to spread their ideas and promote their ideologies of women's liberation and empowerment by attracting local women to join them and participate in their activities. Therefore, many French feminist activists tried to spread their ideas related to the liberation of Algerian women from the domination of patriarchal society and obsolete customs and traditions, however, the majority of Algerian women did not accept these feminist ideas, because they had always considered the French people as their enemies and colonisers.

2.2.1. Colonial Discourse about Algerian Women's Emancipation

The colonial discourse about Algerian women's emancipation was the subject of many French enthusiastic discussions and writings, which took a wide space in the Arab and French press issued in Algeria, and tried to deal with the social and cultural issues that concerned Algerian women. Generally, this discourse presented women as victims who should be saved by the colonial system, and followed a specific strategy of penetrating society through women, by ignoring and fighting all Algerian social, cultural and religious values and traditions, and using French educational system to promote and spread colonial culture and ideology. The French discourse came to serve the westernisation of the Algerian society and defend its integrated colonial project, using its ideology, politics, history and religion.

However, the discourse of the Algerian elite regarding the situation of Algerian women under French colonialism was not spontaneous, but stemmed from national values, intellectual premises and personal and ideological convictions. Despite all the obstacles that faced the Algerian elite including the bad social and economic conditions and the colonial restrictions on Algerians' political practice, their discourse was always for the preservation of the Algerian national values, customs and traditions that shaped the cultural and intellectual background and religious convictions of Algerian society in general, and Algerian women in particular (Ben Ali, 2022).

2.2.2. Algerian Women's Struggle before the War of Independence

Many historical facts give clear evidence that Algerian women played an important role during the revolutions and uprisings against the French colonialism since 1830. There had been a lot of Algerian heroines in this period of time who fought against the colonisers side by side with men. Lalla Fatma N'Soumer (1830 - 1863) is considered as one of the greatest female fighters in the Algerian history. She is an eternal heroine who dedicated her life to fight colonialism for the freedom of her country. In 1851, the French army was determined to occupy the mountainous region of "Djurdjura", so its leaders launched a large campaign which surrounded the area from different sides, but the local resistance was very strong and violent. Therefore, Lalla Fatma N'Soumer started leading the combatants of her tribe in a big revolution in 1857 in which she accomplished victory in many battles against the French forces who tried in vain to stop her. These French defeats forced the French Governor General "Randon" to come out himself and face her with his forces, and after several bloody battles, he defeated the rebels and captured their leader Lalla Fatma N'Soumer on July 27, 1857, and she was put under house arrest until her death in 1863 (Barkat Derrar, 1985:13).

Furthermore, and not far from the mountains of Djurdjura, women in the east of Algeria were not so different from their counterparts in the Kabylie region, especially in Constantine, where they stood with their leader "Ahmed Bey" in many hard times. They participated in the resistance with a great courage and defended their city which is considered as the Gate of the eastern region. After the city's fall, Algerian women declared mourning in the entire region and wore black Hayek (a traditional Algerian veil) instead of white Hayek and kept it during all the colonial period. This kind of dress still exists and represents rejection and opposition to any foreign presence, and is also regarded as a form of political awareness of the reality of citizenship and the defence of homeland.

These Algerian heroines' participation in the resistance against colonialism gives multiple sociological meanings highlighting the status of Algerian women within the prevailing social and political values. While the leadership of armies in most societies was an exclusive domain of men, Algerian women were able to lead armies and resistance campaigns on the widest scale which highlights an important social value that women proved to have the same qualities and abilities as men. Therefore, the members of community, whether men or women, did not find any problem to fight under a woman's leadership on the one hand, and

recognise her eligibility to take responsibility and play important roles in society on the other hand.

The participation of women in the political field had different forms which could be seen in the various acts of resistance, whether military by participating in war or peaceful by refusing to change the colour of their dresses, which is similar to strikes and demonstrations nowadays. The will of women was a prominent factor in their national struggle, which demonstrated the value of their initiatives that were also ways of political participation stemming from the belief in the necessity of performing their roles and taking responsibility with all its burdens (Necib, 2002:172). Moreover, the social conditions of the country under colonialism needed all the efficient abilities and qualities of men and women, because the time did not allow any conflict over rights and duties, and the priority was to accomplish total independence of the country which was the higher goal for all citizens. However, Algerian women in general were living in ignorance, repression and serious deprivation due to colonial injustice and brutality in addition to the fear from being influenced by the coloniser's foreign culture.

With the development of national awareness, Algerians began to pay attention to the importance of educating women in order to raise their intellectual and cultural levels; and with the emergence of Algerian national movements, including the Association of Muslim Scholars which opened some schools for girls. From 1930 to 1939, there were growing demands for the education of girls whose number was 21 679 educated girls in 1939 and had developed in 1957 to 81 448 educated girls. After the Second World War, Algerian girls continued their education to reach the secondary school and even the university. Furthermore, several newspapers and magazines were created and played a major role in the struggle for the development of Muslim women's status in North Africa; and with the existence of radio as a means of disseminating information in most Algerian homes, women had the chance to listen to news broadcasts and learn more about what was happening in their country and the whole world (Aoufi, 1993).

2.2.2.1. Women's Organisations

For a long time, Algerian women had demanded for the freedom of their country and the rights of its citizens through institutional work by establishing various women's associations and organisations, some of which are:

2.2.2.1.1. French Islamic Union of Algerian Women

It was created in 1937 and had a total number of 36 women, some of them were Muslims and others were Europeans. It was a place of coordination and collaboration between different women from different cultures in order to establish harmonious relations between Algerian and European women who were considered to be more superior at the intellectual and cultural levels. During its early years, this organisation had raised some issues, such as hygiene to prevent diseases and protect public health. It was well known then that Muslim members of the organisation were under the protection of the French government especially the rich ones. This union created also a health centre that was open every afternoon and provided health care to women and girls between 1944 and 1947. It organised also many cultural activities like lectures, conferences and charitable markets (Saad, 1995:51).

2.2.2.1.2. Union of Women of Algeria (UFA)

It was working under the supervision of the Algerian Communist Party (PCA), but did not receive great acceptance or support by Algerian women due to the fact that most of its members were French. This union lasted for some time until it was finally dissolved on September 15, 1955; ten months after the liberation revolution had begun. This union had a newspaper called "Women of Algeria" which was calling for all Algerian women from all regions and of all social positions and backgrounds in order to show their solidarity with French women. It advocated also equality and justice for all women in the world and especially Muslim women.

2.2.2.1.3. Association of Algerian Muslim Women (AFMA)

This association was working under the supervision of the Party of the Algerian People (PPA) which became later the Movement for the Triumph of Democratic Liberties (MTLD). It was established on June 24, 1947 and dissolved on November 1, 1954, in order to become later a committee for work under the leadership of Mrs. Mamia Chentouf, and the general secretariat was held by Mrs. Nafissa Hamoud, and both of them were in charge of political planning and coordination in the west (particularly in Oran and Tlemcen). The goals of this association were ostensibly to help poor families while in fact its main objective was the political development of women. It was using theatrical rooms and cinema halls for its activities like "Donia Zad" cinema hall in Algiers as well as many other places in Oran and

Tlemcen whenever its members had an opportunity to meet together. Generally, the organised debates revolved around national independence and the work needed to achieve it (ibid.:53).

The Association of Algerian Muslim Women did not raise any feminist demands in its programme and did not raise the issue of promoting women in any occasion, but was interested only in the independence of the country like the majority of the Algerian people. The first members of this association were: Nassima Hablal, Fatima Zekkal, Salima Belhaffaf, Malika Mefti and Zhor Reguimi whose main task was to introduce Algerian women to the idea of independence using all possible ways especially in the districts of Belcourt and the Casbah in Algiers. Mamia Chentouf was the contact person between the groups of women and the MTLD party which was represented by Muhieddine Hafir, Ali Mahrez, Abderrahmane Taleb and sometimes Abdelhamid Sid Ali (ibid.:41).

2.2.3. Algerian Women's Participation in the War of Independence

The most important characteristics of the war of independence and the main reasons for the victory of the Algerian resistance were its popular dimensions, because they stemmed from the will of the people of different social positions. The National Liberation Army (ALN) was able to continue its struggle and battles due to the continuous support of Algerian people by providing shelter, catering, communication and other financial aids. There was a comprehensive community mobilisation in which people were incited to resist, and women responded quickly like many other members of the Algerian society despite the difficult social and cultural conditions in which they were living. Moreover, Algerian women had many motives for going out to war and joining the Mujahideen (freedom fighters) in the mountains. The political motive was their real desire for independence in order to live in peace and freedom after living for a long time in the bitterness of ignorance, injustice and widowhood. The social motive was their bad social conditions and their torture and imprisonment by the French colonial army, whether for being fighters themselves or being wives, sisters or daughters of other fighters (Badi, 2005:109).

There were also other women who joined the National Liberation Army because the French army found out about their political and military activities, whereas some others had no choice since they had no one left because the French had killed all the members of their families. The female students had a great opportunity to join the liberation army after the strike on May 19, 1956, during which the students expressed their political awareness and

faith in the revolution, but involving women in politics was a long hard process since there were still prevailing customs, traditions and stereotypes that were against it. Therefore, the national movement made its first contact with widows living alone and married women whose husbands and parents were known for their patriotism. Later, due to the increasing enthusiasm of Algerian girls, political leaders were forced to accept them and rely on them to complete certain tasks.

Thus, there were many forms of feminist struggle in the war of independence depending on the educational level of each woman. The role of some women was limited to accommodation, food and instruction, whereas some others carried weapons and engaged in combat and military activities. According to their roles, Algerian women were divided into three categories:

2.2.3.1. Militant

The militant devoted her efforts to establish the basis of women's organisation in the city forming a political system for women composed of cells, sections and groups to mobilise the masses and raise their awareness, as well as to train new local leaders who in turn held regular meetings in order to instruct people and disseminate the principles of patriotism and independence among them. So, at the level of her city, the militant played the role of political official with her fellow activists, supervised the female soldiers, tried to cover the political and social situation in her region and kept contact with women's organisations to encourage them to spread the spirit of struggle and national awareness. In the villages, the militant moved from one village to another dressed in village uniforms which helped her to easily integrate into the local community, and usually there was a militant and her deputy in each village.

2.2.3.2. Volunteer Fighter (Fedayee[23])

The volunteer fighter was a Mujahid who carried out her operations in the cities where she lived among their citizens. She did not wear military uniforms like soldiers, but retained her ordinary appearance so that the French enemy would not suspect her behaviour. Most of

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[23] From Arabic word "Fida'i" which means self-sacrificer. It is used to describe a person who devotes himself to greater national or religious causes, and even sacrifices himself in order to achieve his goals.

the volunteer fighters were young students who gave up their studies and left schools after the strike of 1956.

The volunteer fighter was participating in many important activities such as destroying the enemy's militiray centres, attacking the barracks, police stations, gendarmeries, parks, coffee shops and cinemas. Moreover, she carried weapons and explosives and many other types of equipment and confidential documents and delivered them to officials from one place to another (Necib, 2002:176).

2.2.3.3. Mussabila[24]

Mussabila had the same duties as the Fedayee because she guarded the Mujahideen during their operations in the city, and immediately after they finished them, she would show them the escape ways, keep them hidden from the eyes of the enemy and hide other equipment or confidential documents. There were many important Algerian women who had written their names in history and the field of feminist national struggle like Djamila Bouhired who fought in the National Liberation Army since the summer of 1956. She was arrested in 1957 after the French had discovered the laboratory of her uncle Mustapha Bouhired where weapons and bombs were made. She was carrying confidential documents and letters and going to meet Yacef Saadi and Ali La Pointe. Before her arrest, she had participated in preparing and putting one of the bombs in the Milk Bar coffee shop in Algiers (Barkat Derrar, 1985:57-58).

2.2.4. Algerian Women's Struggle Abroad

Like their counterparts who participated in the war of liberation in Algeria, there were other Algerian women who participated in the organised struggle in France, where they helped to collect money and medicines in order to be sent to Algeria. They helped also to create feminist groups to raise women's awareness, and organised many important events like the most significant public demonstrations of October 17, 1961 in which many of them were imprisoned.

One of the outstanding works done by Algerian women for the national cause outside their country was their representation of Algerian women at international women's

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[24] From Arabic word "Sabbala" which means devote and dedicate. It is used to describe a person who dedicates himself, his money or properties to serve higher causes.

conferences and meetings. They participated in the Fourth Congress of Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) held in Vienna in 1958, where they made the voice of the revolution heard by the federation. They asserted that Algerian women did not want to improve their living and working conditions at that time, but they strongly demanded to stop this terrible war imposed by French colonialism on the Algerian people who were fighting for the cause of freedom and independence.

They also participated in the Fourth International Women's Conference held in Bamako in 1960, which supported the struggle of Algerian people and the fairness of their cause. It praised their heroic resistance against colonialism for more than five years in order to get their independence. It supported also the just demands of the Algerian people and their interim government to obtain the necessary guarantees to fairly achieve self-determination and respect the unity of the Algerian people and their national territory. Finally, the conference called on all African women whose husbands and sons were working with the French colonialism to make great efforts in order to force their governments to withdraw their citizens from the Algerian war of independence (Necib, 2002:177).

As a conclusion, it can be well noted that Algerian women had strong stands and efficient political and military activities no less important than men's. Despite the illiteracy rate of 99% among Algerian women and their weak educational level, they were effective symbols for all women of the world with their perseverance and heroic struggle against colonialism. It is worth mentioning that there were two prominent incidents in which Algerian women demonstrated strong preservation of their identity and traditional values:

The first incident occurred during the celebration of 100 years of French colonialism in Algeria, where France wanted to prove to many great leaders from Paris and other European countries that Algerian women had changed their values and identity and became completely French in their clothes, language, thinking and way of life. However, the colonial administration had a big surprise and was shocked when ten Algerian girls stepped out on the stage wearing Algerian Islamic dresses after being taught in French schools for a long time, so the Minister of French Colonies could only admit to the audience: *"what am I meant to do if the Quran is stronger than France?!"* (Yousef, 1974:51). Therefore, since 1931, the French colonialism gave great importance to the dangers of Algerian women and their roles in society until the painful events of May 08, 1945 happened, in which women witnessed horrific massacres in Setif, Guelma and Kherrata. There were more than 45 000 martyrs who left

behind many female relatives (mothers, sisters, wives and daughters), which caused deep social, economic and cultural changes in society, and made Algerian women change drastically their ways of thinking and rebel against this bad reality (Soltani, 1995:203).

The second incident happened in 1958 when French colonialism tried to liberate Algerian women by making them abandon their traditional values and take off their veils. So, its methods to destroy Algerians were not only by oppression and cruelty, but also by using cultural and ideological weapons in order to attract the minds of women and destroy their national identity. However, Algerian women proved once again their awareness and courage in face of these dangerous and destructive policies. On May 13, 1958, French Governor General Jacques Soustelle held meetings which people were forced to attend by military force. He called for women's emancipation by forcing some Algerian women to take off their veils and burn them at the end of his speech in the North Africa Square in Algiers. During the following day, there were no Algerian women who took off their veils in the streets, which confirmed that they were still able to resist the power and influence of colonialism and they would never agree with its policies, fulfil its desires or give it a chance to change their traditional values and national identity (Barkat Derrar, 1985:56).

2.2.5. Algerian Women's Struggle after Independence

After the independence of their country, Algerian women continued their struggle in order to claim their rightful place in society under different laws, constitutions and political systems.

2.2.5.1. Under Algerian Law

Algerian women had imposed themselves on colonialism through their participation in the war of liberation, and on Algerian government through their dedication to work, family and public life. Therefore, Algerian authorities recognised their important roles in society before and after independence and their ability to hold positions of responsibility. This recognition started with the platform of the Soummam Congress on August 20, 1956, which stated that there were great potentials in women's movement and big admiration from all Algerians for all women and girls who had given a brilliant example in courage, perseverance and sacrifice with their participation in the Algerian revolution against colonialism (Necib, 2002:179).

2.2.5.1.1. Tripoli Charter

At the Tripoli Congress in June 1962, the constituent legal texts of its charter were based on ensuring public freedoms and respecting their exercise in society. Later, in the declaration of the Constituent Congress on September 25, 1962, the National Constituent Assembly proclaimed the establishment of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria that guarantees the permanent rights of citizens and their exercise of fundamental freedoms in one liberated society.

Thus, this charter was the first official document that delineated the dimensions of national policy for the post-independence phase. It had affirmed its commitment to promote women's rights and help them to be active social members in various fields. One of its articles states that women's participation in the struggle of liberation had created the appropriate conditions to break the old nightmare that was surrounding and constraining them, and engage them in the management of public affairs and development of the country (ibid.:185). The Constitution of 1963 (the first constitution of the Algerian state which was issued on September 8, 1963) contains a special chapter entitled Basic Rights which consists of many articles, the most important of which is Article 12 which states that all citizens of both sexes have the same rights and duties.

2.2.5.1.2. Constitution of 1976

International human rights standards have obliged states all over the world to take into consideration the principle of equality between men and women in their national constitutions or any other legislative text. Therefore, all Algerian national constitutions have followed these standards starting with the Constitution of 1976 which states in Article 42 that the constitution guarantees all political, economic, social and cultural rights to Algerian women. So, this article gives the legal protection for all women who participate in social activities, and emphasises on considering them as citizens enjoying the same rights as men in public life. Furthermore, Article 39 guarantees fundamental freedoms and human and individual rights, and forbids any discrimination based on sex, race and work.

Additionally, the Constitution of 1976 links the effectiveness of women in political practices to joining the FLN party as the only political organisation at that time. Article 81 gives women the right to participate effectively in political activities and national

development. Thus, the party is the basic framework in which Algerian women could engage and learn more about political work and gain sufficient experience to better exercise their political rights; in addition to the National Union of Algerian Women which is the feminist wing of the party where women are trained, organised and mobilised in order to participate in social, political and developmental work (Badi, 2005:120).

2.2.5.1.3. Constitution of 1996

Despite the new circumstances under which this constitution was adopted and the new multi-party system which gave the chance to many Algerian citizens to create new political parties that allowed more freedom and diversification in the political field. However, the articles of this constitution did not bring much promotion for women's rights due to their generalisations, for example, in the opening of chapter IV entitled Rights and Liberties, Article 29 states that: *"All citizens are equal before the law. No discrimination shall prevail because of birth, race, sex, opinion or any other personal or social condition or circumstance".*[25]

In order to achieve this equality, Article 31 explains that: *"The aim of the institutions is to ensure equality of rights and duties of all citizens, men and women, by removing the obstacles which hinder the progress of human beings and impede the effective participation of all in the political, economic, social and cultural life".*[26] However, this process of removing obstacles has not really been seen in society because of the lack of serious strategy that encourages citizens to participate effectively in political life (Necib, 2002:185).

The most important aspect of this article is the concept of citizenship, which was attributed plainly to women for the first time, and therefore it is a confirmation that Algerian women are enjoying and exercising their civil rights, and are participating just like men in all state institutions which ensure appropriate conditions for their participation as Article 51 indicates that: *"Equal access to functions and positions in the State is guaranteed to all citizens without any other conditions except those defined by the law".*[27]

Moreover, Article 32 of the Constitution imposes responsibility on both men and women alike to transfer the common historical heritage to young generations, it states that:

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[25] Article 29 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996
[26] Article 31 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996
[27] Article 51 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996

"The fundamental human and citizen's rights and liberties are guaranteed. They are a common heritage of all Algerians, men and women, whose duty is to transmit it from generation to another in order to preserve it and keep it inviolable".[28]

2.2.5.2. Under One-Party System

The reality created by the followed colonial policy which became more dangerous because of 8 years of war against the coloniser, the systematic destruction of economic structures in Algeria and the looting of its natural wealth had severely damaged the country. Moreover, after independence, Algeria inherited a chaotic economic structure which was directed to serve the French economy; in addition, nearly one million colons left Algeria at once in a matter of a few months, leaving their farms, activities and jobs, and the terrorist Organisation of the Secret Army (OAS)[29] which was formed by colons adopted the scorched-earth policy[30] by destroying properties and killing many innocent people (Henni, 1991:45). Under all these bad conditions, it was necessary to recruit all the existing forces in order to get the country out of its problems. Therefore, women (being a considerable reserve of the labour force) were integrated into the productive sector and their contribution to national development was no longer considered as a strange event, but as a progression in their roles and duties. However, illiteracy which reached a rate of 99% among Algerian women at that time, prevented them from being employed in many jobs that required a certain level of education, and kept them away from a lot of positions of leadership especially in the political field.

Beside illiteracy which was a key factor in the deterioration of women's status at that time and their stay at home, the absence of a full long-term project to integrate women into social and political life was also an important factor. When women went out to resist the coloniser, their main goal was to achieve independence, therefore, after it was achieved, they believed that their duty was over and they needed to return home to the natural role that society had set for them. However, women who were active in the public sphere had been

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[28] Article 32 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996

[29] On February 11, 1961, Jean-Jacques Susini and Pierre Lagaillarde (two *anti-independentists* and proponents of "French Algeria" during the Algerian war of independence) founded the Organisation of the Secret Army in Madrid. It was a secret organisation which intended to keep Algeria under the rule of the French Republic at any cost.

[30] It is a military policy used mainly in times of war. It is a deliberate destruction of all properties and resources so that the enemy cannot use them.

divided into two groups. The first one joined the National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA) which was the only place for women to express and exchange ideas and fight for their rights; this category of women was generally following and representing the Algerian authority approach in society. Whereas the second one made great efforts and mobilised its members in order to fight for the promotion of the Family Code (Badi, 2005:114).

2.2.5.2.1. National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA)

The National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA) was established immediately after independence on January 13, 1963 after a national seminar which gathered about 75 activists from different regions of the country (Vandevelde, 1968:120). Its main objectives were to mobilise and politicise Algerian women and raise their awareness in order to objectively face and solve their real problems, and give them the chance to participate in the national construction and comprehensive development processes, in addition to expand the scope of their work to ameliorate their roles and give them real and appropriate position that fitted their social status and historical role. However, there were many factors that prevented the union from accomplishing its goals and kept it confined for a long time to largest cities especially Algiers, and did not allow it to spread its programme across the country's smallest cities and rural areas. This limitation could be clearly seen in many occasions and events like the celebration of International Women's Day whose aim was more about strengthening solidarity and cooperation with struggling people around the world than paying attention to the problems of Algerian women. For instance, International Women's Day of 1968 was dedicated for solidarity with the people of Vietnam, 1969 for solidarity with the Palestinian people and 1970 for solidarity with struggling people in Africa (Necib, 2002:188), in addition to other works of charity in which gifts were distributed on the children of martyrs and poor people.

Thus, the ideological characteristics of the works of the National Union of Algerian Women had overshadowed its real objectives which were supposed to tackle women's issues in the first place, and consequently women's problems remained unsolved and linked to generalities of the Algerian state's ideology and away from women's core concerns, which can only lead to the conclusion that this union was working to keep women in their traditional role (Badi, 2005:115).

2.2.5.2.1.1. Relationship between UNFA and FLN Party

The nature of the political attitudes of the Algerian regime after independence oriented the political culture of Algerian individuals in one direction, which resulted in total dominance over all civil society organisations, strengthening the pillars of the political system, reproducing its ideological discourse and establishing its principles. This political culture served only the goals of existing authority which created some institutions to achieve them, including the National Union of Algerian Women (Zamouche, 2002:108).

The union was a mass organisation and a natural extension of the National Liberation Front Party; all its social, cultural and political activities were planned and controlled by the party. It had some freedom only to deal with certain social problems and its work was to explain the party's objectives, regulations and decisions (Saad, 1995:95).

The union was not a real rival to the party, the relationship between them did not lead to plain confrontations as was the case with the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA). So, the relationship remained between light tension and moderate understanding until President Houari Boumediene came and put an end to the desire of mass organisations for freedom of planning and working, especially that the union was at that time in the process of preparing a new theory which expressed its desire to strengthen its movement, and thus enabling it to embark upon achieving its goals in the long run, the most important of which were the complete elimination of all discrimination between women and men and full equality between them. The union was determined to defend its new proposals at the 1969 conference and expressed in the steering report prepared during the first weeks of that year in which the leadership of the union emphasised on how the party was directing and monopolising the country's general policy. Furthermore, the union considered itself as private and called on the party to fully integrate women into all levels of its different bodies and enable them to reach higher positions of political and civic responsibility, and demanded for the change of old mentalities and putting pressure on the government to eliminate discrimination against women, give them direct access to political responsibilities and respect their rights specified in the constitution. However, the party was not ready to accept these demands, the interference in its own affairs and focus on political rather than social problems of women; which resulted in the appointment of new leadership for the union on April 3, 1969 and imposing on it the obligation of dealing primarily with social problems (ibid.).

2.2.5.2.1.2. Problem of Recruitment

The members of the union remained limited to a small minority of intellectual urban women, whereas the vast masses of women stayed completely absent from participating in its activities. In addition to their limited number, most of women joined the union only because they had some problems in their lives.

The union's dependence on the party was the major reason for women's reluctance to join it. Moreover, its interventions were very limited and weak, and can be only to establish some centres, organise meetings and apply the party's decisions, in addition to the absence of high officials to run it.

Since 1976, some women's associations and unions had emerged in Algeirs, Oran, Constantine and Annaba trying to analyse the situation of Algerian women, solve their social problems and fight for some rights like the rejection of polygamy and forced marriage. Despite all its deficiencies, the role of this union cannot be denied in achieving some changes in the situation of women like the rate of illiteracy which was gradually decreasing, from 85.4% in 1966 to 74.3% in 1977, in addition to the training of active political members who represented the educated portion of community whose role was to raise people's awareness and keep them closer to the union in order to help them (Badi, 2005:116).

2.2.5.2.2. Family Code

The Algerian Family Code includes the laws that govern familial relations like marriage, divorce and child custody.

2.2.5.2.2.1. Stages of Family Code

In early 1963, several committees began working together to formulate one Family Code for all Algerians which would be consistent with the suggested guidelines of the Tripoli conference. However, this bill was neglected in early 1964 and nothing was officially published about it as a result of the differences that existed among the members of committees who had different and sometimes contradictory ideological ideas and choices. Some of them believed that the Algerian Family Code was supposed to be consistent with the religion of Islam, whereas others felt it was supposed to include modern principles and rules, and due to these differences, they could not agree on final unanimous legal texts.

The second bill was in 1966, and this time it was certain that the law was going to be issued, as it was confirmed by the President of the Republic in his speech on March 8, 1966 where he said that there were some enemies of the revolution and women who were spreading rumours about the Family Code. These rumours claimed that all rights achieved by women were going to be taken from them, and the government could simply answer them by saying that women had struggled for a long time and gained respectfully their rights in society.

2.2.5.2.2.2. Bill of 1984

Women's representation in the legislative institutions was very low because there were only two female representatives (Mrs. Ben Mihoub and Mrs. Khemissi) in the National People's Assembly (APN) which was ratified in September 1963. Both of them tried to draft new laws for the promotion of women's rights, but it was very difficult to make their voices heard by the other 138 members of the assembly. There were also no female members in the government or Council of the Revolution which was established after June 19, 1965. Mrs. Zhor Ounissi was the first woman to be appointed as the Minister of Social Affairs in the Algerian government in 1982, as a member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front Party in 1983, as the Minister of Social Protection in 1984 and then as the Minister of Education in 1986.

In September 1981, El Moudjahid newspaper had published that the government had adopted the bill of the Family Code (personal status law) which was going to be discussed by the National People's Assembly. During this period, three major demonstrations were organised from October to December of that year, in which women moved to the headquarters of the National People's Assembly to submit a petition bearing thousands of signatures demanding the cancellation of this bill. The most important parts that were refused by the feminist movement at that time were the issues of the guardian whose role was fundamental and cannot be ignored when a woman wanted to get married even if she was very old, and polygamy that was permitted by the law provided that the man would be just and fair to all his wives. Whereas the law did not mention any punishment for the man who did not do so, in addition to his rights to divorce if he wanted and prevent his wife from working outside the home if she did not stipulate that in the marriage contract.

The feminist movement organised also several meetings to discuss how to respond to this bill, but they were divided into two groups due to their attitudes towards the ability of the

National Union of Algerian Women to solve this problem. Some women believed that the union could not do anything because it was part of the Algerian system and it was not necessary to contact it, whereas others (especially educated working women) contacted the union and were received by its Secretary General who promised them that the bill would not be ratified without being discussed by public and social organisations. However, at the end, the union failed to solve this problem because its members refused to work with other women before obtaining an approval from the National Secretariat of the FLN party. Therefore, women created two councils: the first one for writing about their concerns that would be directed to national officials, and the second one for preparing delegations that would contact the National People's Assembly and FLN party. Furthermore, to make their movement even more efficient, they contacted some of the former female combatants like Meriem Ben Mihoub who called also several former combatants. On December 13, 1981, about 300 women participated in a gathering in front of the National People's Assembly, some of them were prominent figures like: Zohra Drif Bitat, wife of the president of the National People's Assembly and Djamila Bouhired and other members of the union.

However, the means of protest was not effective in this case because the presence of women in Legislative Councils was very weak and had led eventually to failure of all protests; and the bill was passed on June 9, 1984 with very minor changes. Later, the first independent association of women was founded in 1985 and was called Association for Equality before the Law of Women and Men (AELFH) which was not officially adopted until 1989.

As a conclusion, it is noted that the political participation of women in that period was influenced by the national policy of that time. In the early years of independence, their participation in political life was limited due to the absence of freedom of expression and ideological and political frameworks that might allow them to work according to their own political orientation since the only representative of women was under the power of the ruling party. However, there was a slight breakthrough in the era of President Chadli Bendjedid which allowed women to work like other groups of society, and with the emergence of some intellectual movements in the political arena which women had the opportunity to join in order to develop their political awareness and prove their existence through participation in the formulation of national policies.

However, the participation of women in light of this breakthrough had focused mainly on the Family Code especially with the effects of globalisation and openness to the world.

Since the promulgation of the Algerian Family Code on June 9, 1984, the opinions about it were different from one group of people to another. The first group believed that this law needed to be retained because it was derived from the Islamic Law (Sharia Law) and it was really a social and legal gain that required permanent preservation; whereas the second one thought that this law did not keep pace with modern necessities and contemporary developments and did not really protect women's rights. This position was taken by some women's associations such as RACHDA association. The third group felt that it was necessary to modify this law and enrich it in order to fill some of its gaps and reformulate some of its articles, especially the issue of the dissolution of the marital union in a manner that corresponds with the Sharia Law and protects the Algerian family physically and morally in all different social situations (Badi, 2005:118). In 2005, the Algerian government made some amendments to the Family Code to fill any legal gaps and avoid any misinterpretations of legal texts.

2.2.5.3. Under Multi-Party System

Until 1989, the FLN was the only legitimate political party in the Algerian Republic. This party was established on October 23, 1954 and was exercising its power over the country since then, and supporting both centralism and nationalisation of the private sector. After the constitutional amendments in February 1989, the creation of other political parties was authorised under some conditions. In November 1996, the establishment of new political parties was constitutionally guaranteed, but provided that they have no religious, linguistic, racial or regional basis. In June 1997, 39 political parties tried to win parliamentary seats in the legislative elections, and the most important ones were: National Liberation Front (FLN), National Democratic Rally (RND), National Republican Alliance (ANR), Socialist Forces Front *(*FFS), Algerian Movement for Justice and Development, Islamic Renaissance Movement (from which National Reform Movement has emerged), Islamic Society Movement (Movement of Society for Peace (HMS) currently), Algerian Renewal Party (PRA), National Party for Solidarity and Development (PNSD) and Workers' Party (PT).

The period of political pluralism in Algeria was a turning point in its history because the scope of freedoms had been extended in terms of creation of associations and parties after there were only one party and some organisations that revolved around it. After the events of

October 1988[31], new frameworks began to emerge that would absorb all political views and orientations. The new political parties had different ideological positions such as revolutionary, Islamic and secular orientations, and each one of them attracted people who had the same ideological positions. Moreover, different associations and organisations were created and every other political activity that was previously monopolised by FLN party became permissible in this period.

Consequently, women began to enter and organise themselves in these political structures, and female public figures started to defend and fight for women's rights, and except for those who were presenting themselves as independent and not belonging to any political party, most of these figures were members in political parties and tried to find their appropriate position in the political arena after 30 years of one-party policy that kept them away from politics.

Thus, the political struggle of women had taken many forms, and its importance and objectives changed according to the nature and ideology of the political organisations that women worked within. Since the suspension of the electoral process in January 1992, Algerian society had been under the pressure of terrorism and state of emergency that was declared at that time. There was a clear regression in the exercise of individual freedoms and especially freedom of expression compared to the three years that followed the riots of October 1988. The political activities had declined at the national level and therefore women's political participation had also declined due to this situation until state institutions were stabilised and began to come out from the transitional period and the situation of the country began to settle down; and then women returned gradually to work again in the social and political fields (Badi, 2005:122).

2.2.5.3.1. Algerian Women's Work in Associations

Giving freedom to individuals to create parties and associations and join them is a prerequisite for the exercise of political rights, therefore, Article 39 of the Algerian Constitution of 1989 states that: *"The freedoms of expression, and creation of associations,*

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[31] There were riots and demonstrations throughout Algeria in October 1988, during which Algerians went out into the streets to protest against their social problems and demanded social, political and economic reforms. But these riots led to bloodshed and destruction of public and private properties. They ended with the adoption of a new constitution that moved the country from a dominant one-party system to a competitive multi-party system.

and assembly shall be guaranteed to the citizen".[32] Furthermore, due to women's movement in Algeria which goes back to the time of the struggle for independence, and after the country was freed from colonialism, this movement was recognised and supported by the promulgation of Law n° 90-31[33] on associations, which led to the emergence of several active associations in all domains especially decision-making, and they were divided into national and local associations.

2.2.5.3.1.1. National Associations

The role of this type of associations is to defend women's rights and fight for equality among individuals not only at the micro level of family, but also at the macro level of social, political and economic institutions of the country; as well as to address the effects of the process of social change whose first victims are the most vulnerable people in society (Arous, 2010:51). There are 10 women's associations of the 600 associations that work at the national level, some of them are:

- Association of SOS Women in Distress (SOS FED)
- Association for the Defence and Promotion of Women's Rights (ADPDF)
- Rally against Contempt and for the Rights of Algerian Women (RACHDA)
- Feminist Association for the Development of the Person and the Exercise of Citizenship (AFEPEC)
- Algerian Rally of Democratic Women (RAFD)
- Independent Association for the Triumph of Women's Rights (AITDF)

2.2.5.3.1.2. Local Associations

The activities of local associations focus on improving the economic and social situation of the most vulnerable people in society including poor women, especially after the Algerian government gave up its care and support functions which resulted in great social needs. Thus, women's movement was obliged to take on new commitments in terms of work and mobilisation to resist the effects of the state's abandonment of its duties to help the poor

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[32] Article 39 of the Algerian Constitution of 1989

[33] This law was promulgated on December 4, 1990. It explains exactly how associations are created, organised and run.

which were known since independence (ibid.:50). There are 45 local women's associations of the 3600 associations that work all over the country, some of them are:

- Tafath Association of Bejaia (ATB)
- Association of the Shine of Skikda Region Cadres (ARCS)
- Association of the Rural Woman of Tamanrasset Region (AFRA)
- Association of Algerian Women Physicians (AFAM)

In addition to all these associations, the National Union of Algerian Women which has thousands of female members and has its branches in all wilayas (provinces). It was the only functioning association after independence from 1963 to 1990 where Algerian women participated in social and political activities. Therefore, it has more political legacy than all other women's associations because it participated since independence in all political events (parliamentary and local elections)[34]. The main objective of this association was to defend and promote the rights of Algerian women and raise their awareness in order to expand the scope of their actual participation and contribution to social and political life.

2.2.5.3.2. Algerian Women's Work in Trade Unions

Trade unions are collective organisations which consist of a group of individuals who aim to represent their profession, defend their interests and improve their working conditions. The freedom of creation of trade unions is an integral part of the national freedoms that Algeria guarantees in Article 53 of its Constitution of 1989, it states that: *"The trade union right is recognized to all citizens".[35]* The work of trade unions to improve the conditions of workers is based greatly on the values of the new democratic ideology that has been adopted by Algeria since 1989 (Achtab, 2005:220). This ideology has also opened the door for women to create trade unions in order to represent themselves and fight for the rights of working women whose numbers are growing every year and constituting a strong labour force in the Algerian labour market. The percentages of their representation in labour market are shown in the following table:

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[34] It is well noted that the majority of women who have reached leadership positions, especially political ones, have belonged to the National Union of Algerian Women such as Saida Benhabiles, Khalida Toumi, Nouria Hafsi and Zahia Benarous.

[35] Article 53 of the Algerian Constitution of 1989

Year	Percentage
1998	10.5%
2000	13.9%
2008	15.6%
2012	35%

Table 2.1: Women's Representation in Algerian Labour Market (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013)

Although the proportion of labour force in the Algerian labour market is very significant, General Union of Algerian Workers as a whole has 1 675 800 members including 251 370 women which represents 15% of the total number of members, and from 171 292 elected members, there are only 8 000 women, which is very small number that represents 4.67% of all elected members. They hold positions of responsibility in trade union structures, local unions, trade union branches and other institutions (Boumaza, 2009:105).

Thus, the 10th Congress of the General Union of Algerian Workers, held in 2000, decided to form the National Commission of Working Women (CNFT) under the slogan: "Women for Unions, Unions for Women". Its objectives were to create a special framework for expression and reflection for working women and fight for their rights to participate equally in trade unions and all other aspects of social, political, economic and cultural life (Gribaa, 2009:28). The next table shows the evolution of activity rates by gender in Algerian trade unions:

Year	Males	Females
1994	78.8%	21.2%
2004	84.1%	15.9%
2005	87.6%	12.4%
2006	84%	16%
2007	85.3%	14.7%
2008	84.9%	15.1%

Table 2.2: Evolution of Activity Rates by Gender in Algerian Trade Unions (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013)

From the table above, it can be noted that the proportion of women in trade unions is still weak despite all the efforts made by Algerian government to promote it. Many researchers explain that women's absence from advanced decision-making positions in trade unions is due to many reasons such as: women's inability to bear different burdens at homes, workplaces and trade unions, the absence of concrete procedures within trade unions themselves that encourage the presence and participation of women, in addition to the existence of some conservative people who may oppose the presence of women in trade unions.

2.3. Algerian Women's Political Rights in National Legislations

The political rights of women in Algeria are guaranteed by the government through different laws and legislations.

2.3.1. Voting Law

Algerian legislations have recognised and guaranteed women's rights and their equality with men in the constitution and other laws in accordance with the provisions of international laws[36] which are considered as primary legislations as soon as they are accepted and ratified by Algerian government. In the different constitutions of Algeria from 1963 to 1996, there were always some laws dedicated to the principles of equality and non-discrimination between men and women in all domains including the one of political rights. Therefore, in November 2008, the government introduced a new amendment to the 1996 Constitution in which Law n° 08-19 insisted, through Article 31 bis, on the need to promote

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[36] Algerian Constitutional Council decided to adopt the principle of publishing ratified international laws and agreements in accordance with the constitutional conditions in its historic decision n° 01 of August 20, 1989. In this decision, the Constitutional Council states that: *"Since any convention after its ratification and publication falls under national law and acquires, under Article 123 of the Constitution, the power of supremacy over laws and authorises every citizen to invoke it before judicial authorities"*. There are some international laws and conventions concerning political rights that were adopted by Algeria like Article 21/1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states that: *"Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives"* (UNGA, 1948). Moreover, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) states in Article 25: *"Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in Article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions:*
(a) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives;
(b) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors;
(c) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country" (UNGA, 1966).

the political participation of women and enable them to enjoy more political rights (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:9).

Algerian legislations for strengthening women's political rights have not only been limited to the constitution but extended to other branches of law such as the electoral law and their right to vote and hold decision-making positions. The right to vote allows them to participate positively in local and national elections and referendums, express their opinions on public affairs and choose their representatives in different local and national assemblies. This right is also an expression of national duty and reflects the participation of citizens in running the country and formulating national policy. Moreover, the high *voter turnout rates* contribute to ensuring the legitimacy of the representative institutions and the political system in general (Khelfa, 2010:147).

The right to vote is a fundamental constitutional right as affirmed by various Algerian constitutions, including 1996 Constitution in Article 50 which indicates that: *"Every citizen meeting the legal requirements shall have the right to vote and to be elected".*[37] It represents the fundamental right of democratic ruling of the country which preserves all the other rights, especially political ones. It is more complex than other constitutional rights and has individual and collective dimensions. Therefore, by voting, citizens express their national sovereignty because it includes the election of the President of the State in addition to legislative and local assemblies.

2.3.2. Nationality Law

The amendments to the Algerian Nationality Law which was amended by Ordinance n° 05-01 amending and supplementing Ordinance n° 70-86 of December 15, 1970 containing Algerian Nationality Law aim to achieve different basic objectives such as formulating the Nationality Law in accordance with international conventions and treaties that were accepted and ratified by Algeria, promoting gender equality, protecting children at the level of Nationality Law and giving more flexibility to the conditions of acquisition of Algerian nationality.

These amendments came also to enshrine the principle of equality between the father and mother in the family in case of acquisition of Algerian nationality, as well as granting

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[37] Article 50 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996

Algerian nationality to whoever gets married to an Algerian man or woman. In this context, the amendments included particularly the abolition of the requirement to drop the original nationality in order to acquire Algerian nationality, equality of the age of civil maturity with the age specified in the Civil Code, granting Algerian original nationality to children born to Algerian mothers, granting the privilege to acquire Algerian nationality by marrying an Algerian man or woman and strengthening the role of public prosecution service for being the major part in all cases that aim at implementing the provisions of the nationality law. Thus, these amendments enshrine equality between men and women, protect the whole family and support compatibility between national legislations and international standards, especially the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), to which Algeria has made reservations regarding nationality.[38]

2.3.3. Penal Code

The general provisions of this law punish any person who commits a crime without discrimination between men and women. They punish also the violation of public morals and rape and tighten the punishment if the offender was a member of the victim's family as well as condemn all forms of obscenity, corruption and prostitution (Abdelsalam, 2009:16). In 2004 and 2006, new amendments[39] were made to Ordinance n° 66-156 of June 8, 1966 as amended and supplemented concerning Penal Code in order to protect women in particular. They include very important points such as criminalising sexual harassment and giving victims the legal means that enable them to claim their rights and charge the offender with this crime in court of law. Furthermore, these amendments will tighten the punishment for any husband who knows that his wife is pregnant and yet lives her for more than two months for insignificant reasons; or he deliberately abstains for more than two months from paying the court's determined amount of money to support his family; or he fails to pay the full alimony that was awarded to his ex-wife despite the existence of a judicial judgment against him.

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[38] It is Article 9, Paragraph 2 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women which Algeria has lifted its reservation about it in 2008. Article 9 states:
"1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.
2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children" (UNGA, 1979).

[39] These two amendments are respectively Article 341 bis of Law n° 04-15 of November 10, 2004 and Article 330 of Law n° 06-23 of December 20, 2006 on the Penal Code.

Moreover, in 2008, all activities and behaviours associated with human trafficking particularly girls and women were criminalised in order to protect them from all forms of violence and abuse.

2.3.4. Labour Code

Under the provisions of the constitution, labour legislations prohibit any form of discrimination in Law n° 66-133 of June 2, 1966 concerning public employment in which Article 5 prohibits gender discrimination at work. Moreover, Law n° 90-11 of April 21, 1990 concerning relations at work, guarantees the right to work for all Algerians, gender equality in employment and benefit from the same basic rights. Labour Code guarantees that employers will pay equal wages for all employees, whether males or females. It ensures also that working women will benefit from legal protection from any discrimination in training and promotion at work. It ensures their physical and moral integrity and respecting their dignity, in addition to exempting them from working night shifts, benefiting from maternity leave and part-time jobs[40] and protecting their right to join trade unions and representing other workers (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:38).

2.3.5. Quota System

In order to reflect the principle of absolute equality enshrined in the 1996 Constitution, which was amended in November 2008 by Law n° 08-19 (Hartani, 2003), a new article was added (Article 31 bis) which states that: *"The State shall work for the promotion of political rights of women by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. The modalities of application of this Article shall be determined by an Organic Law".[41]* However, the proclamation of the organic law stated in Article 31 bis has been greatly delayed since it was issued only in early 2012, which explains how to increase the chances of women's representation in elected assemblies.[42] This new law was first presented to the Council of Ministers in November 2011 for evaluation and approval after The President of the Republic announced it. Starting from April 2011, the council embarked on a series of reforms in line with the demands of Algerian society, and with the provisions of international

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[40] Algerian women's rights and privileges at work exist in Articles 17, 84, 142, 6, 29, 55, 12 of Law n° 90-11 of April 21, 1990 concerning relations at work.

[41] Article 31 bis of Law n° 08-19 of November 15, 2008 concerning the amendment of Constitution.

[42] This new law is Organic Law n° 12-03 of January 12, 2012 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies.

conventions and treaties ratified by Algeria and incorporated into its legal system on the one hand, and in application of the President's programme which was voted on by Algerian people on the other hand (Benachi, 2013:139). This law, as indicated by its title, seeks to increase women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies by introducing quota system[43] for women in electoral lists.

2.4. Institutional Mechanisms for Promoting Algerian Women's Political Rights

Algerian legislators amended most of the legal mechanisms that are directly related to women due to the pressure exerted by international community which called for the need to promote women's rights, especially the political ones, in addition to the pressure from women's associations which have been fighting for women's rights for a long time. However, these laws can only be implemented at the level of special institutions that work for the promotion of women's political rights; which has led the Algerian government to strengthen the institutional framework to develop the legal system and take more care of women's issues (Abdelsalam, 2009:21). Consequently, some institutional mechanisms have been developed in recent years to promote the effective participation of women in political life.

2.4.1. Ministry of National Solidarity, Family and Women's Conditions

Algeria's interest in the status of women is reflected in the creation of a ministry delegate to the Prime Minister, and then to the Minister of Health, which is charged with the family and women's issues (Gribaa, 2009:16). It was created in 2002 under the name of "Ministry Delegate in Charge of the Family and Women's Conditions" and this name was changed to the current one in 2013. It is now operating under the leadership of the Minister Ghania Eddalia who was appointed on May 26, 2017. This ministry undertakes the task of pushing various sectoral visions and movements towards development and convergence on a

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[43] The quota system is a positive discrimination, namely the allocation of a number of seats within representative institutions for a specific category of people on a regional, linguistic, religious or gender basis, as in women's quota in order to achieve the most appropriate representation of this group and express its views and interests within elected assemblies (Bibars, 2004:26).

The quota system has its own forms and mechanisms of application. It can be divided into three types: constitutional quota which is mandated in the Constitution, electoral law quota which is stated in election law or political parties law, and voluntary party quota which is adopted voluntarily by individual political parties. The quota system can be applied during the elections process or after the results come out. For instance, the quota system applied during the elections process aims to facilitate the existence of women in good positions on electoral lists or ensure that they are nominated in specific constituencies in order to give them equal opportunities to be elected in elected bodies (Bencheikh, 2011a:274).

single national policy for the advancement of family and women by integrating and coordinating with various ministerial sectors and different partners, especially civil society and non-governmental organisations (Semina, 2011:129).

Within this approach, the ministry has developed a work programme based mainly on contribution to achieving the diverse objectives affecting the domains related to family and women, especially women's issues and developing their capacities, and promoting and defending their participation in different fields. [44] This programme seeks to integrate the gender approach into the development, implementation and evaluation of various national programmes. It helps also to inform women and raise their awareness about their different rights. Furthermore, it develops mechanisms to enhance activities in the field of girls' and women's empowerment and creates a national strategy in order to promote family cohesion, fight violence against women and follow up implementation mechanisms. At the local level, this programme establishes departments for social work in all provinces of the country to encourage and enhance the role of family in general and women in particular, and help poor people including poor housewives, low-income families and those who take care of a person with disability (Gribaa, 2009:16).

2.4.2. National Council of Family and Women

This council was established by Executive Decree n° 06-421 of November 22, 2006 and was officially inaugurated on March 8, 2007 on the occasion of International Women's Day (ibid.). This council was established with the help of the Minister Delegate in Charge of the Family and Women's Conditions and it is considered as an advisory body which undertakes the mission of giving opinions and guaranteeing consultation, dialogue, coordination and evaluation in all activities and works related to family and women. [45] It is now working under the leadership of Mrs. Nadia Billal who was appointed on December 5, 2017.

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[44] The political field is one of the greatest interests of the Ministry. Therefore, in order to promote it, the Algerian government has allocated an estimated budget of 12.1 million Algerian dinars for collecting information on the roles and functions of women within political parties, identifying the main obstacles to their participation as well as their representation in electoral lists and knowing the selection mechanisms for positions of responsibility in the public sector and problems that face women.

[45] The creation of this council, its members, duties and roles are fully explained in Executive Decree n° 06-421 of November 22, 2006 concerning the establishment of National Council of Family and Women.

The National Council comprises more than 50 persons representing institutions, research centres and civil society. It is mandated to contribute to the preparation of practical programmes in accordance with the policy of the public authorities towards family and women. It conducts research and studies related to family and women and makes recommendations on all measures of legal, economic, social and cultural nature which intend to promote family and women. It expresses its opinions about the draft legislative and regulatory texts concerning family and women and works on collecting, processing and exploiting data and information related to family and women in order to strengthen the associated data bank. Moreover, it organises meetings, seminars and study days on family and women issues and publishes different works related to its field of activity. It exchanges ideas and experiences with international and regional organisations and bodies with similar objectives. It studies also every issue related to its field of activity at the request of the Minister of National Solidarity, Family and Women's Conditions, prepares periodic reports on the status of family and women and sends them directly to the minister (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:44).

2.4.3. Coalition and Administration Training Programme for Political Parties

This programme is implemented by the National Democratic Institute, which aims to raise the responsibility and transparency levels of political parties and civil society organisations so that they can better represent the citizens' interests and advocate for political reform. It calls also for the effective participation of women in the political field by overcoming obstacles and raising their awareness.

2.4.4. Women's Forum and Political Participation

The forum was organised in the framework of the Parliament Support Project for the Algerian Parliamentary System on March 21, 2007, in cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU). The forum enabled the exchange of experiences and discussed concrete actions to be taken to promote greater representation of women in elected assemblies (Gribaa, 2009:25).

2.4.5. Resistance Strategy of Gender-Based Violence

In order to reduce the phenomenon of violence against women, Algeria believed that it requires the establishment of a comprehensive national programme that expresses a clear

strategy capable of lifting all forms of injustice and discrimination, especially against women, and enshrines the culture of human rights with all its dimensions. Within the framework of the project to fight violence against women which is done in cooperation with the United Nations Agencies, Algeria prepared a national strategy for the protection of women in difficult situations in order to take care of them with the consultation and participation of different members and participants, whether from the government or statutory bodies (National Security and Gendarmerie), or other national committees and associations.

The strategy seeks to achieve a number of objectives such as setting up systems and means for taking care of women socially, physically and psychologically throughout all phases of their lives. It informs and educates society and all its institutions, including the family, school and media about the grave consequences of violence against women, and provides familial and social rehabilitation and economic integration for women survivors of violence (Abdelsalam, 2009:21).

2.5. Reality of Algerian Women's Political Rights

Since independence, Algeria has always worked for the promotion and respect of women's rights especially political ones, and this is reflected in its ratification of most of the international conventions on human rights in general and women's rights in particular. In line with these conventions, the Algerian legislators have amended most national laws and regulations which are in direct relation with women such as the amendments to Family Code in 2005 and Constitution in 2008 in which article 31 bis was added to promote the political rights of Algerian women and increase their representation in elected assemblies; but it was not issued until early 2012.

Algeria considers ratified international conventions to be superior to national laws, and as a result, Algerian legislations have witnessed a strong interest in protecting women's rights in various fields. They stress the equality of all citizens before the law and their right to equal access to jobs and positions of responsibility in the country without any conditions, in addition to their right to vote and be elected that was granted since independence in order to participate in political life.

2.5.1. Algerian Women in Decision-Making Positions

Women's access to the highest positions in public jobs will enrich their political experience, raise their awareness and strengthen their self-confidence, and consequently, they will contribute positively to national development. Therefore, Algerian government does not have to hesitate to take all necessary measures that facilitate women's access to political decision-making positions [46] by appointing them to elected assemblies and high-level government jobs, as well as enabling them to be involved in various political and civil society movements, through which Algerian women can overcome all obstacles and solve all problems that they may encounter in this field.

2.5.1.1. Algerian Women in Government and Elected Assemblies

Algeria is one of the third world countries that have taken big steps in terms of women's participation in political life. Since independence, Algeria has guaranteed the right to participate in decision-making for both men and women and worked always to enhance women's political status, which has led consequently to a steady increase in the presence of women in government and elected assemblies.

2.5.1.1.1. Algerian Women in Government

The government in Algeria represents the executive authority which consists of the President of the Republic and the ministers. It was monopolised by men during the two decades following independence, and women were completely excluded from such high positions in the State. From 1962 to 1982, Algerian women had no ministerial position or any other significant legal responsibility (Khider, 2001:155), and they had to wait until 1982 to see Mrs. Zhor Ounissi appointed as the first woman Minister of Social Affairs. Between 1982 and 1988, only two women were appointed to ministerial positions from 33 to 40 ministers.

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[46] Since Algeria has ratified most of the international conventions, it is undoubtedly obliged to take this step which reflects the recommendations of most of these conventions, as well as international conferences in which Algeria participated for the most part, including the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in 1985 which states in Paragraph 86: *"Governments and political parties should intensify efforts to stimulate and ensure equality of participation by women in all national and local legislative bodies and to achieve equity in the appointment, election and promotion of women to high posts in executive, legislative and judiciary branches in these bodies".* (United Nations, 1985). Furthermore, the Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 called also for the full participation of women in power structures and decision-making positions by allocating 30% of positions to them (United Nations, 1995).

After 1988, no woman was appointed as a minister until 1991, when they ranged from one to three ministers in governments with 26 to 35 ministers (Talbi, 2000:25). Later, the government that was formed in June 2002 appointed 5 women ministers, 1 as minister and 4 as minister delegates (Benkhedir, 2012:47), but this number has decreased in the following years to reach 4 ministers in the government of 2004 and then 3 ministers in 2005, which is a weak representation and does not reflect the political openness that Algeria knows, especially when compared to other Arab countries. However, in 2014, the number has reached 7 women ministers which was the highest in the history of Algerian governments, and then decreased once again in 2015 to reach 4 women ministers and remained the same until now. The next table shows the development of the number of women ministers in Algerian governments:

Year	Number of Women Ministers
1962-1982	0
1982	1
1982-1988	2
1991	1-3
2002	5
2004	4
2005	3
2014	7
2015-2017	4

Table 2.3: Women Ministers' Representation in Algerian Governments

As for the position of president, no woman has ever been able to hold this post, which is considered exclusive to men. However, Algerian women with their courage and strength, managed to run for the presidency in the elections of 2004 which was unprecedented event in all Arab countries. The candidate was the leader of Workers' Party Mrs. Louiza Hanoune who was ranked fifth out of 6 candidates by getting 101 630 votes[47]. In 2009, she was again

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[47] Proclamation n° 04 / P.CC / 04 of Safar 22, 1425 corresponding to April 12, 2004 on results of the election of the President of the Republic.

presidential candidate for the second time and got 649 632 votes[48]. This time, she was ranked second after Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika who was elected President of the Republic.

Therefore, it is possible to say that the number of women in the government is still low despite all the efforts made by Algeria in order to promote their political representation. Moreover, most ministerial positions allocated to women can be considered as feminine, such as health, culture, education and family. Therefore, they are still far from ministries of sovereignty such as defence, justice, interior and foreign affairs, where they can be found only in positions that are related to these ministries like governors (walis), daïra[49] chiefs, heads of judicial councils, ambassadors and police officers; though there is no constitutional or legal provision that opposes the appointment of women to high-level government jobs like prime minister.

In general, it can be said that Algerian women occupied several political positions in the state. For instance, in 1999, a woman governor was designated for the first time in Algeria since independence, in addition to the existence of 22 women counsellors in different ministries, 13 women directors of central administration in ministries, 65 women deputy directors, 2 women executive directors in provinces and 34 women judges (Bouteraa, 2011:84-85). In summary, the presence of Algerian women in the government is not regular and does not reflect the number of females in Algerian society which is nearly half of the total population, and therefore, Algerian women are still somewhat marginalised.

2.5.1.1.2. Algerian Women in Elected Assemblies

The real democracy that Algeria seeks to achieve through the principle of gender equality can only be reached by involving women in elected assemblies, represented by both the Parliament and local assemblies. It is particularly related to citizenship, which requires the ability to enjoy political rights and exercise them, in particular the right to vote and to stand for election.

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[48] Proclamation n° 01 / P.CC / 09 of Rabie Ethani 17, 1430 corresponding to April 13, 2009 on results of the election of the President of the Republic.
[49] In Algeria, daïra is an administrative division with sub-prefectures depending on a wilaya (province).

2.5.1.1.2.1. Algerian Women in Parliament

The Parliament in Algeria is considered as the legislative authority. In view of its importance in determining, constructing and developing the state's policy, it is necessary to know the percentage of women in it because they represent half of the Algerian society as well an effective element in the construction and development of the country. The Algerian Parliament is composed of two chambers which are the National People's Assembly and Council of the Nation in which women are either elected by people or designated by the President of the Republic.

2.5.1.1.2.1.1. Algerian Women in National People's Assembly

The National People's Assembly is the lower chamber of Parliament whose number of members is linked to the population of the country, and they are elected based on electoral lists. This assembly is elected for a period of five years. The votes are calculated according to proportional representation[50] and the seats are given only to parties that obtained at least 5% of the votes (Semina, 2011:89).

Algerian women were involved in political work directly after independence, which is a continuation of their revolutionary struggle against colonialism. The number of women in the Constituent Assembly in 1962 was estimated at 10 women out of 196 deputies which is equivalent to 5.10% of the total number of deputies; and this percentage gave, at that time, some kind of satisfaction with the will of Algerian authorities towards women (Azeroual, 2013). This percentage was significantly reduced in the National People's Assembly in 1964 to only 2 elected women which is equivalent to 1.44% of the total number of 138 deputies at the time. From 1977 to 1982, the number of women deputies increased to 10 out of 273 deputies which is equivalent to 3.66%, and this percentage was consistently declining, as it was estimated at 4 out of 285 deputies, or 1.40%, between 1982 and 1987. The following period, from 1987 to 1992, Algeria had known a significant increase in the number of women in the National People's Assembly, as it was estimated at 7 out of 296 members, or 2.36% (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:52).

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[50] A system of proportional representation requires the use of pluralistic constituencies through presenting any political party or entity its lists in pluralistic constituencies. Voters vote on these lists and each party receives a number of seats close to the percentage obtained from the electorate; unlike the closed-list system in which the ranking of candidates in lists is respected and winners can only be chosen by respecting their fixed rankings (Bencheikh, 2011a:274).

The period from 1992 to 1994 which followed the events of October 5, 1988 and changed the Algerian system from one-party to multi-party system, witnessed a remarkable development in the percentage of women in the National Consultative Council[51], as it was estimated at 10%, which is equivalent to 6 out of a total of 60 deputies. However, this relatively high percentage decreased to 6.25%, corresponding to 12 women out of 192 deputies in the National Transitional Council from 1994 to 1997 (Hassani, 2012:18). As for the National People's Assembly for the period from 1997 to 2002, the number of women decreased to 11 women from a total of 380 deputies, or 2.89%; then, it improved once again from 2002 to 2007 by jumping to 24 women from a total of 389 deputies, or 6.16%. The number of women reached 30 in the National People's Assembly from 2007 to 2012 from a total of 389 deputies which is equivalent to 7.71%.

With regard to the period from 2012 to 2017, and particularly after the legislative elections held on May 10, 2012, Algeria has experienced a qualitative leap in terms of the presence of women in Parliament. Their number reached 145 women out of a total of 462 deputies which is equivalent to 31.38%, and it is an unprecedented number over the past fifty years. This huge increase in their number is due to the quota system which mandates 30% women's representation in electoral lists and elected assemblies. This system was the result of the decision of the President Abdelaziz Bouteflika who has always defended women's rights and called for their promotion (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:52). Thanks to these reforms, specifically Organic Law n° 12-03 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies, Algeria's ranking has improved to position 26 internationally leading the Arab countries in terms of women's political representation in Parliament[52], after being ranked in position 121 (Bąkowski, 2013). However, in the legislative elections of May 4, 2017, the number of women decreased once again to 120 out of 462 deputies which corresponds to 25.97%.

Regarding the number of women candidates for elections, in elections of September 20, 1962, there were 10 women out of a total of 196 candidates which is equivalent to 5.10%;

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[51] Algeria had known an institutional vacuum after the dissolution of Parliament on January 04, 1992 and halt of the electoral process. In order to help the Supreme Council of State to run the country, the National Consultative Council was created by Presidential Decree n° 92-39 of February 4, 1992 on the powers and modalities of organisation and functioning of the National Consultative Council.

[52] In 2012, the percentages of women's representation in Parliaments in some Arab countries were as follows: Tunisia 26.72%, Morocco 16.70%, Libya 16.50%, Egypt 2% and Iraq 25.23% (Dahlerup et al., 2013).

then, it decreased to 2 women out of a total of 138 candidates, corresponding to 1.44% in 1964. In the 1977 elections, their number jumped to 39 women out of a total of 783 candidates which is equivalent to 4.98%. In 1982, as in the previous elections, there were 39 women out of a total of 840 candidates, or 4.60%. In 1987, the number of women was 60 out of a total of 885 candidates, corresponding to 6.77%. In 1997, their number increased to 322 out of a total of 7 200 candidates which is equivalent to 4.47%. In 2002, their number increased once again to 694 women out of a total of 10 052 candidates which corresponds to 6.90%. In 2007, their number increased once more to reach 1 018 out of a total of 12 225 candidates which is equivalent to 8.32% (Sai, 2009). The number of women candidates had known an important increase in 2012 and reached 7 646 out of a total of 25 800 candidates which corresponds to 29.63%. In the legislative elections of May 4, 2017, their number reached 3 636 out of a total of 11 315 candidates which is equivalent to 32.13%. The next figure shows the development of women candidates and deputies from independence until now:
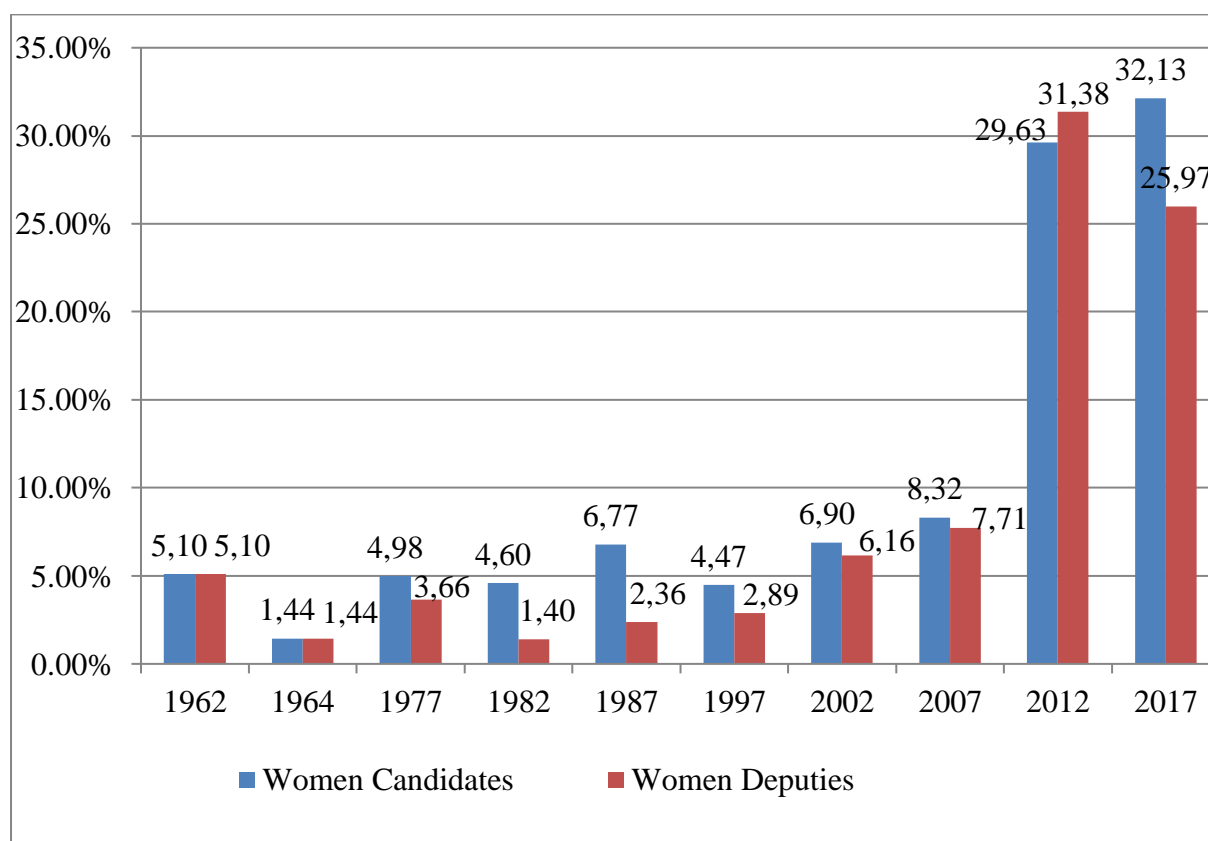
Figure 2.1: Algerian Women's Representation in National People's Assembly

Ultimately, it is well noted that the presence of Algerian women in the National People's Assembly has not been regular because it was sometimes increasing and other times decreasing, and it reached the top in 2012. However, despite the increasing numbers of women in Parliament, they are always smaller than those of men who reached 317 deputies compared to 145 women deputies who did not even reach half of the total number of deputies which means that they are still under-represented.

2.5.1.1.2.1.2. Algerian Women in Council of the Nation

The Council of the Nation is the upper chamber of Parliament which was created by the amendment to the Constitution on November 28, 1996 (Bendjaballah, 2004:162). It consists of 144 members, 96 of them (two-thirds) are elected by voting (among and by the members of Communal People's Assemblies (APCs) and Wilaya People's Assemblies (APWs)). Every wilaya (province) has an average of two members. The remaining 48 members (one-third) are designated by the President of the Republic from national figures in the scientific, cultural, professional, economic and social fields. The period of mandate is six years with one-half of the members being renewed every three years.

As for the presence of Algerian women in this chamber, by the election of two-thirds of the members of Council of the Nation in 1997, women won 3 seats out of 96 seats, representing 3.12%; and there were 5 appointed women out of 48 appointed members which represents 10.41%. In the re-election of half of the members on December 28, 2000, women did not win any of the 48 seats, but there were 4 women who were appointed out of 24 appointed members which is equivalent to 16.66%.

As for the half-term renewal of the elected members of Council of the Nation on December 30, 2003, women did not win any of the 48 seats; however, 4 women were appointed out of 24 appointed members which represents 16.66% (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2017). In terms of women's representation in Council of the Nation from 2004 to 2007, there were 4 women out of 144 members, or 2.77%, who were appointed by the President of the Republic as one-third of the members of the council. In 2010, the President of the Republic designated 7 women in Council of the Nation which represents 4.86%. In 2013, he appointed 10 women which is equivalent to 6.94%; and their number has not changed since then. The next table shows the development of Algerian women in Council of the Nation from its establishment until now:

Year of Election	Elected Women	Year of Appointment	Appointed Women	Total	Percentage
1997	3	1998	5	8	5.55%
2000	0	2001	4	4	2.77%
2003	0	2004	4	4	2.77%
2006	0	2007	4	4	2.77%
2009	0	2010	7	7	4.86%
2012	0	2013	10	10	6.94%

Table 2.4: Algerian Women's Representation in Council of the Nation

It is clear from this table that the presence of Algerian women in Council of the Nation is very weak and almost non-existent. The existence of women in the council is mostly due to the decisions of the President of the Republic who is appointing them each time using his constitutional powers to designate one-third of the members. Therefore, Algerian government needs to pay more attention to this problem in order to give women the chance to be elected and hold more seats in the council (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:56).

2.5.1.1.2.2. Algerian Women in Local Assemblies

The constitution defines the regional divisions of the state as the commune (municipality) and the province (wilaya). The commune is the basic regional group of the state, and the elected assembly is the base of decentralisation and the right place for citizens' participation in running public affairs[53]. Under this division, Communal People's Assemblies and Wilaya People's Assemblies are created; in which Algerian women participate in formulating local and regional policies.

2.5.1.1.2.2.1. Algerian Women in Communal People's Assemblies

The commune is the regional base of decentralisation and the place for practising citizenship. It represents a framework for citizens' participation in local governance and political and public affairs. It represents also the institutional framework for the practice of

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[53] These divisions are stated in Articles 15 and 16 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996

local democracy and application of national laws[54]. However, this democracy does not really reflect what is happening in reality, especially the participation of women in Communal People's Assemblies which was very low since independence. The number of women candidates for Communal Assemblies elections in 1967 was 260 out of a total of 20 478 candidates which is equivalent to 1.26%, of whom only 208 were elected out of 10 239 members which is equivalent to 2.03%, and just 2 women could become mayors of two communes in the wilaya of Adrar.

The number of women had markedly declined in the Communal Assemblies elections of 1971, with 96 women candidates out of a total of 20 842 candidates, or 0.46%, of whom 46 women were elected out of 10 424 members, or 0.44%. The participation of Algerian women in Communal People's Assemblies remained very weak and almost non-existent during the 1970s and 1980s. However, following the political reforms in Algeria in the early 1990s, women's representation in local assemblies was somewhat more important than in previous years (Semina, 2011:93).

In the local elections of 1997, there were 1 281 women candidates in terms of representation in Communal Assemblies, or 1.76% of the total candidates, of whom 75 were elected, or 0.60%. Concerning the Communal Assemblies elections of 2002, there had been a remarkable development in the number of women by the participation of 3 679 women candidates, or 3.08%, of whom only 147 women were elected, or 1.10%. In the 2007 elections, women represented 6.90% of the total candidates; and there were 103 elected women out of 13 919 members, or 0.73%, of whom one woman could become mayor of the commune of Kouba in Algiers (Hassani, 2012:20).

As for local elections held on November 29, 2012, there had been somewhat an important increase in women's representation in Communal People's Assemblies, which is the result of the promulgation of the new Organic Law n° 12-03 which imposes the quota system. It obliges electoral lists to include 30% of women in order to be accepted in the elections of Communal Assemblies located in daïras and communes headquarters which have a population of over 20 000 inhabitants[55]. There were 32 100 women candidates which was a

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[54] The organisation, roles and powers of the commune and Communal People's Assembly are stated in Law n° 11-10 of June 22, 2011 on the commune.
[55] The quota and number of inhabitants are set by Article 2 of Law n° 12-03 of January 12, 2012 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies.

number greater than the one recorded in the 2007 elections, or 17.12%, and 4 120 women were elected in Communal Assemblies, or 16.50%; of whom 1 105 women were elected from the National Liberation Front Party, or 28.89%, compared to 190 women from the Workers' Party, or 3.32%, and 854 women from the National Democratic Rally Party, or 24.06%, in addition to other political parties (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:57).

In the local elections of November 23, 2017, women represented 18% of the total candidates and 27.54% of the elected members (Deschamps, 2017). These results achieved by women in Communal People's Assemblies are considered as a real challenge and great improvement, which has never happened before in the history of Algeria. Thus, it is possible to say that the quota system applied in 2012 has yielded some positive results for women. This is illustrated in the figure below:
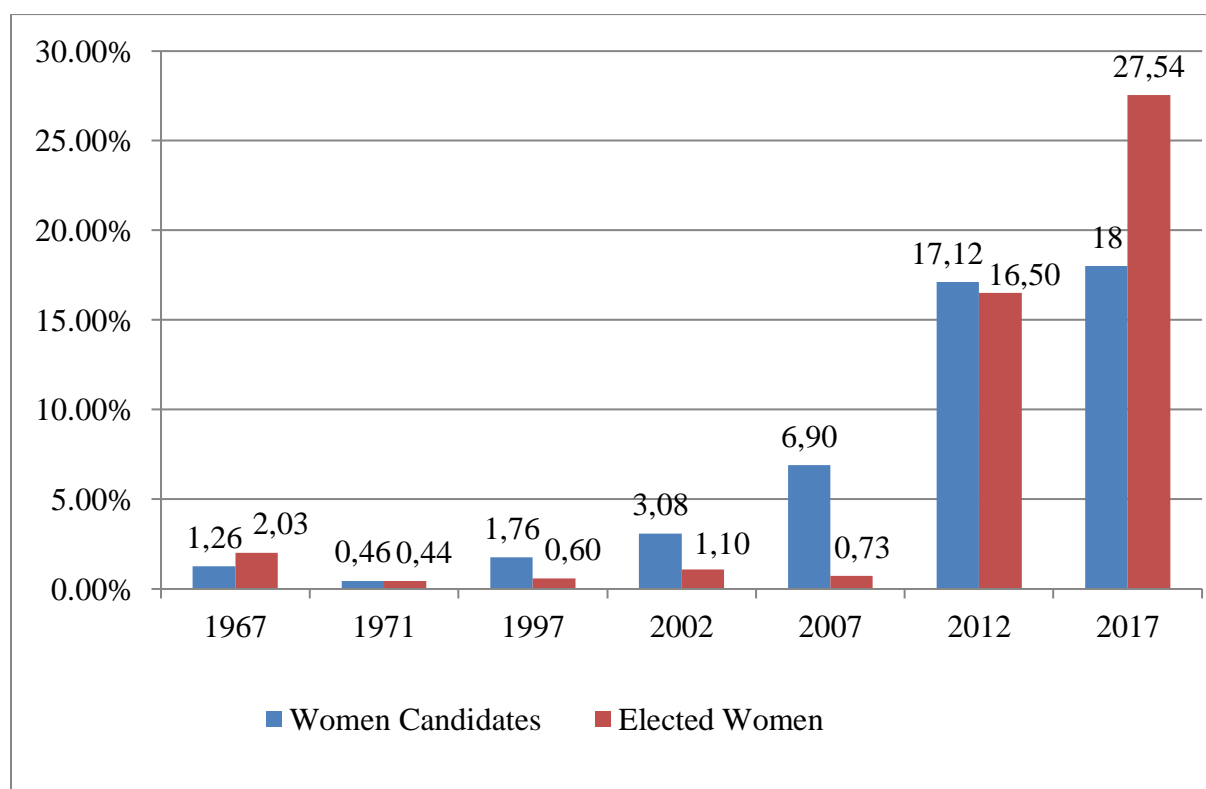
Figure 2.2: Algerian Women's Representation in Communal People's Assemblies

2.5.1.1.2.2.2. Algerian Women in Wilaya People's Assemblies

The wilaya is considered as the regional group of the state[56]. The number of Algerian women in Wilaya People's Assemblies is very small and does not differ significantly from that of Communal People's Assemblies. In the 1969 elections, there were 125 women candidates out of 1 322 candidates, or 9.45%, of whom 25 were elected out of 661 members, or 3.78% (Khider, 2001:152). As for the 1977 elections, there were 40 women candidates out of 783 candidates, or 5.10%, of whom 37 were elected out of 1 233 members, or 3%. In the 1970s and 1980s, the presence of women in Wilaya People's Assemblies was hardly noticed. However, after the decision of political pluralism in the 1989 Constitution, the representation of women in local assemblies had increased significantly compared to their numbers in the elections of one-party system (Azeroual, 2013).

In the local elections of 1997, women represented 7.78% of the total candidates and 6.85% of the elected members. As for the 2002 elections, there were 2 684 women candidates, or 8.23%, of whom 113 were elected, or 4.21% (Gribaa, 2009:20-21), and this percentage remains low, especially since the political participation of women in the desert and rural areas is almost non-existent. In terms of local elections of 2007, there were 3 000 women candidates, or 2.47%, of whom 129 women were elected, or 6.63%.

In the 2012 elections, there was an important improvement in women's political participation because they reached 8 977 women candidates, or 27.70%, of whom 595 were elected, or 29.69%; with 207 women elected from the National Liberation Front Party, or 22.54%, compared to 23 women from the Workers' Party, or 5.77% and 22 women from the Socialist Forces Front Party, or 4.99%, in addition to other political parties (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:59). In the local elections of November 23, 2017, women represented 28% of the total candidates and 30% of the elected members (Sidhoum, 2017). These results can be considered as a successful step for the implementation of the quota system and great development in the numbers of women in Wilaya People's Assemblies in which they had a very low representation since independence as shown in the figure below:

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[56] The organisation, roles and powers of the wilaya and Wilaya People's Assembly are stated in Law n° 12-07 of February 21, 2012 on the wilaya.
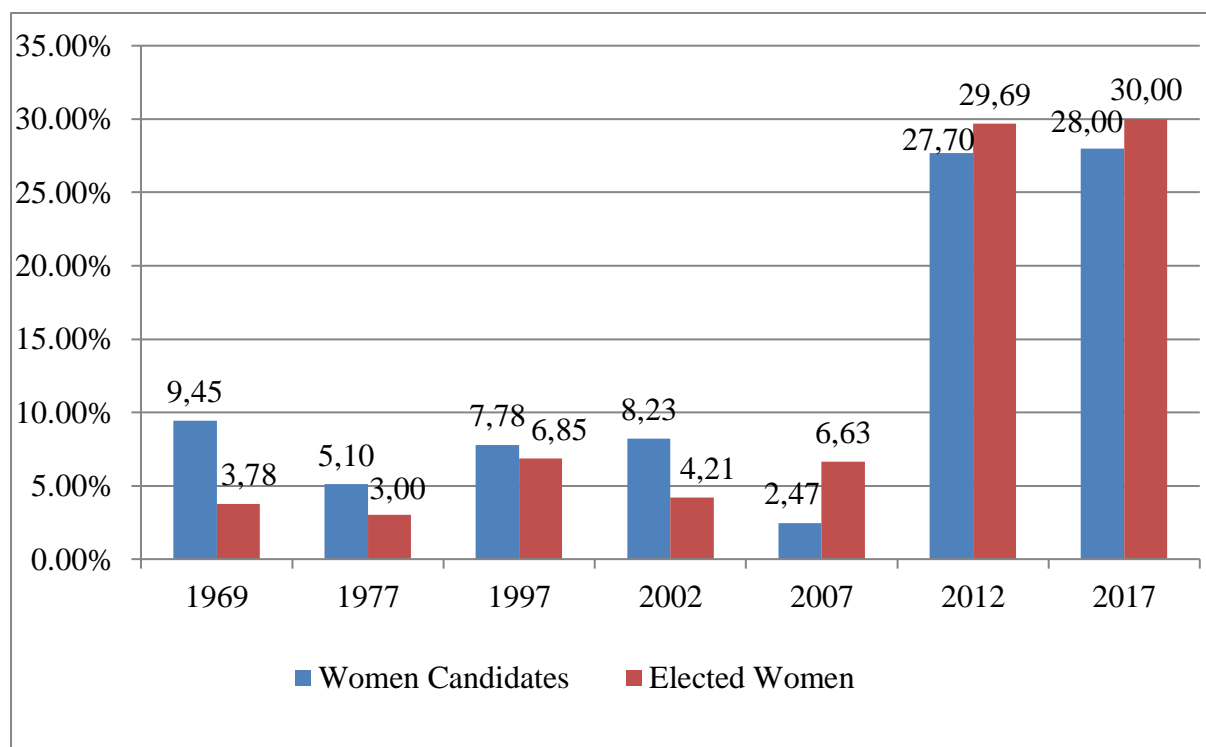
Figure 2.3: Algerian Women's Representation in Wilaya People's Assemblies

In terms of local executive structures, although women have different positions and roles within local assemblies, their presence in the administrative and political decision-making positions is still weak at the local level. In 1999, one woman was appointed as governor (wali) for the first time in Algeria, followed by the appointment of one delegate governor and eleven daïra chiefs.

Thus, it can be said that the number of women who are appointed to positions of governor, general secretary of the wilaya or daïra chief is insufficient. The same thing for communes, where women are often assigned secondary social roles. They may be given the chairmanship of some committees in exceptional situations, and if they are chosen, they are entrusted with social works related to health, childhood and solidarity (Benabdelkader & Baatache, 2012:6). In general, Algerian women's representation in local political institutions remains weak and the change in their political status is happening slowly.

2.5.1.2. Algerian Women in Political Parties

Political parties are also among the political structures that women have joined in order to participate in the political field and make their voices heard by all society. Since 1989, political parties have been working to attract women to join them because of their

considerable number and social value. They try always to give more importance to women's political participation in their discourses and use their electoral power to their advantage. Moreover, these parties differed from one another in terms of the degree of interest in women's issues and the way of dealing with them.

In view of this, several political parties emerged under the multi-party system which was enshrined in the 1989 Constitution. The Article 2 of Law n° 89-11 states that: *"The association of a political nature within the framework of provisions of Article 40 of the Constitution aims to gather Algerian citizens around a political programme for unprofitable goal and in order to participate in political life by democratic and peaceful means".*[57] Therefore, all Algerians can join political parties and there is no discrimination against women and no restriction on their participation in political parties (Suigat, 2006:123). One of the most important female leaders of political parties is Mrs. Louiza Hanoune who is the leader of the Workers' Party. She was the first female politician who ran twice for presidency in 2004 and 2009 in Algeria and the whole Arab world; which is considered as a great step towards the promotion of women's political participation and a role model for other women in several political parties in order to reach higher political positions (Akhrib & Ben Madhi, 2013:62).

After independence, women joined the National Liberation Front Party and organised themselves in its structures through the National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA). Consequently, there was a large number of women working in this party, however, after the country had adopted the multi-party system and the separation between the party and the union, the number of women decreased gradually because many of them moved to other political parties and non-political organisations. It is necessary to be noted that the National Liberation Front Party at its seventh conference had guaranteed the right to candidacy for all its members whether males or females in accordance with the terms of their political struggle and job seniority. However, in the legislative elections of 1997, the FLN party did not nominate any woman among the 64 deputies who were elected (Mazouzi, 2000:337). This act can be explained by the change that happened in the UNFA whose most female members moved to the party of the National Democratic Rally (RND) which was established just three months before the elections of that year, and thus, the FLN party was devoid of most of its female members.

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[57] Article 2 of Law n° 89-11 of July 5, 1989 on associations of a political nature

In its programme for the year 2000, the FLN party stressed the need to enshrine women's rights and duties within the framework of national values with combating the policy of exclusion and discrimination against them. It emphasised also working to value their roles and encourage them to participate more in all political, social and cultural fields. For instance, in the legislative elections held on May 30, 2002, there were 24 women who were elected in the National People's Assembly, of whom 19 women were members of the National Liberation Front Party (Tlemçani, 2003:166).

For the Islamic parties, there were large numbers of women who joined them due to their Islamic programme which attracted many conservative women. For example, the Islamic Salvation Front Party (FIS), before its dissolution, had declared that it included nearly 800 000 women out of 2 million political militants, most of whom are students and graduates of Islamic studies. The broad involvement in this party is attributed to the enthusiastic religious speeches of its leaders which influenced many people back then. In this party, women played different roles such as mobilising society, working in charitable associations and helping in eradication of illiteracy. Despite women's great efforts and sacrifices for society, the FIS party did not include any woman in its consultative council and did not nominate any woman for the elections of 1991, to which many of its female members had raised great objections (Allouache & Colonna, 1992: 157).

Whereas in the party of the Movement of Society for Peace (HMS), women have much more freedom to work and more chances to express their ideas and discuss different issues. They have the right to discuss not only women's issues, but also the political programme of the party in order to give their opinions and recommendations. In this party, women are members of the consultative and executive councils and they represent 20% of the members of the national consultative council which is considered as the party's highest executive board. They are entrusted with familial matters and women's issues starting from planning to executing some activities and programmes without any intervention from the highest board of the party, except for the presentation of these programmes in order to see their conformity with the general plans and principles of the party. The party of the Movement of Society for Peace is considered as a conservative and moderate party in which women participate in establishing new social associations related to culture, charity and health care. These associations are run mainly by women, but can be joined by both men and women (Badi, 2005:122-123).

Concerning the party of the National Reform Movement, the promotion of women's rights is one of the most important principles of its officials. Therefore, after the leader Abdellah Djaballah left the Islamic Renaissance Movement and established the National Reform Movement, most of the members of the old party chose to follow him to the new one, which resulted in the increase in the number of its members, especially women. This party encourages equality between men and women in rights and duties and considers it as a civilised behaviour. Like other Islamic parties, this party counts greatly on attracting and mobilising people before elections which helped it to gain more supporters including large numbers of women who became its members, especially after the legislative elections of 2002 as it was announced by some of its officials (ibid.).

For the Socialist Forces Front Party (FFS), there were 5 women in its executive board out of 30 members. This party nominated 9 women for the legislative elections of 1991, but they did not win any seat. However, in the legislative elections of 1997, there were 2 women deputies out of 19 deputies from this party in the National People's Assembly (Allouache & Colonna, 1992: 157). Whereas in the party of Rally for Culture and Democracy (RCD), the most important political figure was Khalida Toumi who was the Minister of Culture for many years. She was an official spokesperson for this party and served as a deputy in Parliament before she ran with the FLN party when President Abdelaziz Bouteflika was nominated for the first term. She was an activist in the fields of women's rights and civil society, and a prominent member of Association of Equality and Independent Association for the Triumph of Women's Rights (AITDF).

Furthermore, in the domain of women's political participation, Secretary General of the Workers' Party Mrs. Louiza Hanoune is considered as the first female leader of a political party in Algeria. She has gone through the different stages of political struggle, party work and parliamentary representation to reach finally the candidacy for presidency in 2004 and 2009. She is well known for her courage in dealing with social and political issues, and discussing sensitive and controversial topics that other politicians consider as taboos.

Finally, the National Democratic Rally Party (RND) was founded mainly by former members of the National Liberation Front Party (FLN), in addtition to other members of some organisations that were related to the FLN party such as the National Union of Algerian Women (UNFA), National Union of Algerian Youth (UNJA) and Mujahideen Organisation.

The RND party won the majority in the 1997 legislative elections by 155 deputies, of whom 6 were women.

Although the RND party initially did not give great importance to women and did not allocate any specific law for them, but it worked later to overcome this shortcoming. In its session held on July 3, 1999, it stressed the need to promote women's political representation in its political structures. It encouraged also the promotion of their political training and activities starting from the basic structures at the level of district offices to the highest positions. The Article 21 of its regulations confirms that the political cell consists of all district activists whether males or females. The district office is composed of 3 to 5 members, of whom there is at least one woman. Likewise, Article 34 which is related to the communal office, states that the latter includes between 5 to 7 members, of whom there is at least one woman (Badi, 2005:125).

After the legislative elections of 1997, 11 women were elected in the National People's Assembly for five years. They belonged to five different political parties: 6 from the National Democratic Rally, 2 from the Socialist Forces Front, 1 from the Movement of Society for Peace, 1 from the Rally for Culture and Democracy and 1 from the Workers' Party. They were the only elected women from 322 women candidates in the 1997 elections (ibid.). The next table shows Algerian women's representation in senior positions of some political parties:

Political Party	Deliberative Body (Percentages)	Executive Body (Numbers)
National Liberation Front	16.81%	2
National Democratic Rally	21.66%	3
Movement of Society for Peace	16%	2
Workers' Party	38%	31
Rally for Culture and Democracy	9.80%	2
Socialist Forces Front	3.98%	4

Table 2.5: Algerian Women's Representation in Senior Positions of Major Political Parties (Sai, 2009)

2.6. Obstacles and Realities of Women's Political Participation

Despite the Algerian government's efforts to promote Women's political participation, there are still some obstacles that hinder them from fully integrating into political life.

2.6.1. Obstacles

The conditions of women's political participation in decision-making fields indicate that inequality is more obvious at the administrative level than at the staff level. It is even more evident in the political institutions like government, Parliament and local assemblies. The low representation of women in decision-making positions is due to many reasons such as the limited and modest experience of Algeria in participatory democracy because of the recent opening of the political sphere by moving from one-party to multi-party system.

Moreover, the presence and activism of women in political parties are limited because of the difficulties that they face when they try to reconcile between their public and family lives. In addition to the electoral system which is not always applied correctly by the leaders of political parties, women have often had some doubts concerning political parties because they lack political training due to men's dominance over the political field (Gribaa, 2009:20).

There are also some other obstacles that keep women away from approaching the positions of leadership in the state and companies such as the constraints imposed by senior positions which are predominantly availability and mobility. Most of the time, women are undoubtedly obliged to make hard decisions regarding their lives, either they give up their political career by excluding themselves from decision-making positions, or they sacrifice their lives at home with their families, or they endure hardships of working double. Furthermore, Algerian society's conservatism can sometimes pose a problem for women to get fully integrated into political institutions, organisations and companies.

The exclusion of women from some informal social and political networks led also to their weak representation in high-level positions, in addition to the problems that followed the application of the new quota system which focuses on the quantity rather than the quality of women candidates in electoral lists, leading to the refusal of some educated women to be part of these lists. Furthermore, women's political participation and their access to positions of leadership caused some problems for male leaders because they lost their positions for the elected women due to the renewal of the leading staff; however, women's access to high-level

positions meant also the creation of new opportunities for them to participate in the formulation of new approaches to public policies and political practices (ibid.).

2.6.2. Realities

Regardless of Algerian women's low representation in decision-making structures, the progress in their political status is quite evident. The most important thing is that women are now present in almost all public sectors especially in jobs that were dominated mainly by men; and they are no more kept in social positions that are related to children, family and health care. Likewise, the great numbers of graduate women and their training in different fields brings hope for their advancement in the labour market as qualified women workers. They represent a real reserve of skills and abilities to compensate some deficiencies that exist in administrations, especially at the local level (ibid.:21).

Nowadays, women entrepreneurship is limited but very active which can open new perspectives in the future, especially if women receive training, assistance and financial incentives from the government. In any case, despite the assistance given to women regarding tutorship, their admittance to administrative and executive positions can be accomplished only when encouraged by a real political will and a special strategy for women that is led by the Ministry in charge of Women's Conditions with the help of national and international actors (ibid.). Finally, women's political representation has experienced a qualitative leap in terms of their presence in Parliament due to the new political reforms and quota system which imposes 30% female representation in both electoral lists and elected assemblies. Therefore, these new reforms will give women the chance to participate more in politics, improve their presence in political institutions and demand for more social and political rights in the future.

2.7. Conclusion

The political situation of women in Algeria has changed and evolved through history. Women participated in the war of independence and gained recognition from Algerian government which was slowly promoting their rights. They have experienced important improvements in education, social integration and job opportunities. There is also a continuous development in their political participation due to the progress in Algerian legislations concerning women's political empowerment.

However, there still exist some restrictions on the political and civil rights of women, which consist just one part of the broader limitations that affect the whole public sphere in the Algerian society. For instance, the freedoms of expression and creating associations are still controlled by the Algerian government that is heavily influenced by the FLN party and does not allow any opposition or criticism for the ruling political system.

Furthermore, when a woman belongs to a major political party, she may have more power and influence than men who belong to less important parties. Therefore, the political activism of privileged women belonging to powerful parties tends to overshadow other forms of women's activism in civil society. However, whatever their background and affiliation, women are still under-represented in the government, Parliament and political parties.

The multi-party system in Algeria which is visible at the level of political parties and Parliament, is most of the time dominated by the FLN and RND parties. Despite the positive speech of these two parties, they have no effective strategy for gender equality in politics. However, after a long struggle of Algerian women for their political rights, new organic laws were promulgated in 2012 in order to promote their political status.

The third chapter of this work will try to analyse the effects of the new political laws which were proclaimed by the Algerian government in order to strengthen democracy and increase women's political representation in elected assemblies. It will focus on whether these new laws have accomplished any improvement in women's political rights, or not.

Chapter Three: Analysis of the New Organic Laws in Algeria

3.1. Introduction

There has been an important progress in the social and political status of women in Algeria due to their long struggle for gender equality in all domains such as education, job opportunities and politics. Moreover, the will of the government to empower women and develop their status helped them greatly to improve their educational, social and political levels within society. The role of the Algerian state can be clearly seen in the achievements in promoting women's rights and the continuation of public efforts in supporting their education, health, training and employment.

The constitution that was amended in 2008 brought a new important challenge which is enhancing the position of women in the political field by emphasising the idea of equal opportunities and targeting completely the participation of women in the decision-making process. Article 51[58] of the Constitution guarantees equal access to positions and functions to all citizens within the country, and Article 31 bis[59] expresses also the determination of the state to promote the political rights of women by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies.

The Algerian government tried to achieve equality between men and women at regional and international levels by ratifying some conventions and treaties, however, sometimes it had some reservations concerning certain laws that were inconsistent with national values and traditional principles. Moreover, it made some changes and reforms to the Family Code, the Nationality Code and other national legal texts in order to align with international conventions.

The 2011 Arab Spring, which brought riots to the country, made the Algerian government very cautious dealing with them, and rushed to announce new political reforms including a quota system for women. Therefore, this third chapter deals with the organic laws concerning women's political participation (the quota system and gender parity principle (which was issued in 2021)). It applies the political discourse analysis to analyse the discourse of the male and female advocates and opponents of these laws in order to show their advantages and disadvantages, and analyses the data collected from a questionnaire using the mixed methods approach and the descriptive-interpretive method in order to examine the effects of the organic laws on improving women's political representation in elected bodies.

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[58] Article 51 of the Algerian Constitution of 1996

[59] Article 31 bis of Law n° 08-19 of November 15, 2008 concerning the amendment of Constitution

3.2. Political Unrest and New Reforms

In early January 2011, riots broke out in several cities all over Algeria due to a sudden increase in food prices; however, that was not the only reason. Most of the international press linked the uprisings and demonstrations to the effects of the Arab Spring that started in neighbouring Tunisia. Algerian protesters demanded social, economic and political reforms in the country, because many of them have been suffering from poverty, unemployment, economic deprivation and health care problems (Brown, 2011). Nevertheless, Algerians showed remarkable awareness of the international events and dangers that surrounded their country, because they had already lived in fear and chaos and suffered the horrors of civil bloodshed after the riots of October 1988.

In February 2011, there were some civil society groups, small opposition parties and independent trade unions which worked together in order to form the National Coordination for Change and Democracy (CNCD). This coordination organised many protests in Algiers and called for providing more democracy for people especially politicians, removing the state of emergency that had been issued since 1992, freeing all citizens who were imprisoned during previous protests, promoting women's political rights and their representation in the government and political institutions, allowing more freedom of speech particularly in the state media, achieving social justice and creating new employment opportunities for young people (Arieff, 2012:7).

Furthermore, there were some big protests in which the "Jasmine Revolution" of neighbouring Tunisia was frequently mentioned, but they were faced and stopped by considerable deployments of police forces, and the coalition was broken due to internal disagreements. However, protests and labour strikes continued through 2011 in different public sectors. Generally, civil demonstrations and public gatherings were organised by women activists and unemployed youth, and they were often tolerated by Algerian authorities (ibid.).

The Algerian government reacted very fast to this civil unrest by taking a number of quick measures such as stabilising the prices of food and other basic products, increasing salaries of many employees in different public sectors, granting loans and subsidies for young people who had projects which needed funding and cancelling the 1992 state of emergency law. Moreover, the government announced new laws and amended others that were related to women's participation in the political field. It appointed also a National Commission for

Consultation on Political Reforms which was ordered to conduct consultations and discussions with many political groups and civil society organisations before suggesting new political and constitutional reforms.

3.2.1. Announcement of the Political Reforms

On April 15, 2011, in a speech to the nation, President Bouteflika declared that a programme of new political reforms will be implemented. It will give more powers to elected assemblies and amend the legal texts as well as the constitution in order to reinforce and deepen representative democracy. Moreover, a new constitutional commission will be tasked with proposing the appropriate constitutional reforms. He said:

"To crown the institutional edifice with the aim of strengthening democracy, it is important to introduce the necessary amendments to the constitution ... active political currents would join constitutional law experts in drawing up the amendments."

(BBC News, 2011)

On January 12, 2012, President Bouteflika promulgated the following new laws which were adopted by the Parliament:

- Organic Law n° 12-01 on Electoral System
- Organic Law n° 12-02 Determining the Cases of Incompatibility with Parliamentary Term
- Organic Law n° 12-03 Fixing the Modalities for Increasing Women's Chances of Access to Representation in Elected Assemblies
- Organic Law n° 12-04 on Political Parties

Then, on February 9, 2012, in another speech to the nation, President Bouteflika announced that the next legislative elections will be organised on May 10, 2012 in which the new reforms will be implemented. These elections will be held under the supervision of a National Electoral Commission as well as a National Judiciary Committee, in addition to international observers who were also invited in order to monitor the electoral process and avoid any electoral fraud.

3.2.2. Promulgation of the New Organic Laws

In Algeria, it was clearly seen that most citizens were not demanding for the fall of the regime as a whole, but only for the change of the government and its officials. This meant that the president still had the support of people and these social protests were only against the government and its poor performance and bad results. Moreover, this indicated that Algerians appreciated greatly the restoration of civil peace, the political stability and the security of their country that were achieved under the leadership of President Bouteflika due to his policy of national reconciliation; and they wanted also to give him the chance and time to continue his political programme (Bencheikh, 2011b).

Therefore, due to people's trust in him, President Bouteflika kept on his dynamic efforts towards building strong and lasting public institutions through the adoption of new institutional, political, social and economic reforms that could help in developing the country and responding to the qualitative expectations of Algerian people. Because these new reforms were driven by the will to empower citizens and deepen participatory democracy, President Bouteflika sought and obtained the approval of the Constitutional Council before promulgating the new laws. Later, these laws were approved and passed by both houses of Parliament after long debates which led to further rewriting of the draft legislation and eventually to the final version of the new organic laws.

3.2.2.1. Organic Law n° 12-01 on Electoral System

This law seeks to strengthen the practice of democracy in the country by supporting rules and transparence for a truthful and free choice by the people, and increasing guarantees in order to restore relationships between the citizens and their elected officials, and rebuild the lost trust between them and their national institutions. The new provisions of this law call for the supervision of electoral operations by magistrates, the use of transparent ballot boxes[60] and giving representatives of both partisan and independent candidates the right to witness the vote counting process.

Article 67, which imposes the removal from office of any elected official who joins in the course of his/her term any political party other than the one under which he/she was elected member of the National People's Assembly, the Council of the Nation, the Communal and Wilaya People's Assemblies, was cancelled. Moreover, the provision of Article 93 which

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[60] See Article 44

stipulates that any candidate who is member of the government must submit his/her formal resignation three months before the election day, was also cancelled.

In this new law, the minimum age to run for the Communal and Wilaya People's Assemblies has become 23 instead of 25 years old.[61] Concerning the presidential election, the number of individual signatures needed in order to be accepted as a legal candidate has been reduced from 75 000 to 60 000 signatures.[62] Furthermore, it is strictly prohibited to use places of worship, public institutions and administrations and all educational establishments for campaigning and collecting signatures.[63]

3.2.2.2. Organic Law n° 12-02 Determining the Cases of Incompatibility with Parliamentary Term

In this organic law, the parliamentary incompatibilities include the simultaneous holding of parliamentary office and other elected terms such as an office in justice, Communal or Wilaya People's Assemblies, government, Constitutional Council, public administrations and committees, national organisations and companies, international governmental and non-governmental organisations, leadership of professional sports clubs and federations, and any other commercial activities and private jobs[64]; unless the member of Parliament is assigned by the state to do a specific job for less than one year, or he/she has some temporary activities for scientific, cultural and humane purposes.[65] The purpose of this law is to enable the members of Parliament to devote themselves completely to fulfil the needs of the people who voted for them.

3.2.2.3. Organic Law n° 12-03 Fixing the Modalities for Increasing Women's Chances of Access to Representation in Elected Assemblies

This law has been approved in accordance with Article 31 bis of the Algerian constitution of 2008, which specifies that the state will work for the promotion of women's political rights by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. Although the text of this organic law is very short because it contains only 8 articles, it imposes a quota system in order to empower Algerian women, promote their political status

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[61] See Article 78, Paragraph 2
[62] See Article 139, Paragraph 2
[63] See Article 197
[64] See Article 3
[65] See Article 5

and give them the chance to participate effectively in the decision-making process of their country. The number of women in each electoral list belonging to independent candidates, or submitted by one or more political parties must not be less than the percentages specified below, according to the number of available seats[66]:

3.2.2.3.1. Elections of the National People's Assembly

- 20% when the number of seats is equal to 04

- 30% when the number of seats is equal or superior to 05

- 35% when the number of seats is equal or superior to 14

- 40% when the number of seats is equal or superior to 32

- 50% for the seats reserved for the Algerian community living abroad

3.2.2.3.2. Elections of the Wilaya People's Assemblies

- 30% when the number of seats is 35, 39, 43 and 47

- 35% when the number of seats is between 51 and 55

3.2.2.3.3. Elections of the Communal People's Assemblies

- 30% for the Communal People's Assemblies located in daïras and communes with a population larger than 20 000 inhabitants.

3.2.2.4. Organic Law n° 12-04 on Political Parties

This organic law aims to define political parties and determine the ways and conditions for their establishment, organisation and activity in accordance with the provisions of Articles 42 and 123 of the Constitution. It guarantees the establishment of new political parties for an unlimited period of time[67] to all citizens who enjoy their civil and political rights, provided that they have no religious, linguistic, racial or regional bases. It emphasises on the creation of political parties according to the provisions and principles of the

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[66] See Article 2

[67] See Article 4

constitution[68] like the basic values and components of national identity, the Islamic morals and values of the revolution of November 1, 1954, the fundamental freedoms, the unity and integrity of national territory, in addition to the independence of the country and the sovereignty of its people as well as the democratic and republican nature of the state[69]. Moreover, political parties cannot resort to violence or coercion[70], and are prohibited from subordination to foreign countries or interests, whatever their form may be.

This organic law states clearly that there must be a representative percentage of women among the founding members of a new political party[71]. Furthermore, the political party works to shape the political will of the people in all fields of public life through contributing to the formation of public opinion, advocating an authentic political culture, encouraging the actual participation of citizens in public life, preparing and helping elites in order to take public responsibilities, nominating candidates for local and national assemblies, ensuring the establishment and encouragement of permanent relations between the citizens, the state and its institutions, working to promote political life, develop political practice and support the basic values and principles of Algerian society, especially the values of the great revolution of 1954, promoting the values of tolerance, human rights and women's political rights, and establishing a democratic landscape where alternation of power is guaranteed[72].

3.3. Research Design and Methodology

Gender differences and inequities between men and women in the society – where they live, behave and interact with each other in different ways – tend to affect their participation in the political life and especially their political rights and opportunities. For instance, women's political rights might be different from those of men due to different factors like their gender, race, background, social and cultural position, in addition to gender stereotypes and prejudices in which women's political participation is less appreciated and where they are given less opportunities in political parties and less positions and roles of leadership.

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[68] See Article 7
[69] See Article 8
[70] See Article 9
[71] See Article 17, Paragraph 7
[72] See Article 11

Therefore, the political discourse about the new organic laws will be examined and analysed through the lens of gender hierarchy which leads to an unequal division of power and prestige between men and women. The analysis of this discourse takes into consideration gender theories especially the dominance theory since the Algerian political field has been dominated for a long time by men. The focus is on how constructions of masculinity and femininity determine and are determined by interrelated economic, political and ideological practices. This research is designed to examine gender which is considered as a hierarchical binary opposition of masculinity and femininity, and its relationship with power relations that are considered as an expression of politics and manifested through political discourse. It will examine also how gender identities can shape people's ways of thinking (concepts and opinions), and their ways of acting (divisions of labour and institutions). Moreover, it will show how gender hierarchy can participate in producing gender biased political discourse, and affect people's political views and stances (Peterson, 2001).

The aim of this study is to see whether these new organic laws were rightly presented to the Algerian society and fully respected in the political parties and institutions, or not, especially during the electoral campaign and legislative elections of 2012 where they were applied for the first time. One of the major purposes of this work is to see the influence of these laws on women's political status, and to reveal their contribution, if any, to the improvement of women's empowerment and political parity with men, including their political rights and representation in Parliament and local assemblies. Furthermore, this thesis will try to uncover how fair or unfair these laws are, and discuss their impact on women, men and Algerian society as a whole. Finally, it will try to find out the actual intentions of the Algerian government behind the promulgation of the new organic laws, in order to prove or disprove the seriousness of its political will to engage women in politics.

3.3.1. Delimitation of the Study

This work will deal with the new organic laws which were promulgated and added to the Algerian electoral system in 2012 concerning the development of women's political representation in local assemblies and Parliament, particularly the Organic Law n° 12-03 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies, and giving the specific percentages of women that should be included in any electoral list.

It will focus on how these laws were applied in the Algerian political sphere, how Algerian people especially women replied to them and how they have participated in enhancing the integration of women in politics starting from the 2012 legislative elections, and taking into consideration the actual political landscape of Algeria and the deep effects of the Arab Spring on the Algerian political reforms. However, in 2021, there were another amendments to the Algerian electoral system in which the quota system – that granted women more opportunities of access to local assemblies and Parliament – was replaced by new laws[73] which imposed the principle of gender parity in electoral lists[74]. Consequently, this study will focus on the period from 2012 to 2021, taking into account the influence of the gender parity principle on Algerian women's political status, which can be contradictory with the quota system and its advantages.

3.3.2. Research Methods and Tools

This research deals with gender and its relationship with political discourse and power relations in society. It focuses mainly on Algerian women's struggle for equality with men in the political field, and the promulgation of the new organic laws which intend to promote their political empowerment and improve their political representation in local assemblies and Parliament. However, their confrontation with patriarchy, hegemony, ideology and stereotypes that are still embedded in Algerian society may affect terribly their political participation and the new organic laws since they were prepared and promulgated mainly by male politicians.

Political discourse analysis (PDA) is a suitable critical approach that can be used in order to analyse the political discourse about the new organic laws, because it is a political discourse and a critical enterprise at the same time. The most important aspect in political discourse is its maintenance of the balance between political analysis and linguistic analysis, since it keeps scholars aware of the differences between political discourse analysis and political research in political science (Wilson, 2001:411). Therefore, this work will use van Dijk's (1997) critical-political discourse analysis which deals mainly with the reproduction of

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[73] Ordinance n° 21-01 of Rajab 26, 1442 corresponding to March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system.

[74] Ordinance n° 21-10 of Moharram 16, 1443 corresponding to August 25, 2021 amending and supplementing certain provisions of Ordinance n° 21-01 of Rajab 26, 1442 corresponding to March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system.

political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse. Moreover, it includes the different forms of resistance or counter-power against all forms of discursive dominance and ideology, in addition to the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality.

I have chosen van Dijk's (1997) critical-political discourse analysis as an approach to analyse the discourse used in the replies of the advocates and opponents (males and females) of the new organic laws like journalists, politicians and women's rights activists, and then make a comparison between both discourses in order to see the effects of these laws on Algerian women's political participation. Furthermore, this approach gives a great importance to the analysis of written, oral, audio-visual and all other forms of communication that implicitly or explicitly carry political ideas and beliefs, but also because it emphasises on the analysis of the language used in politics, for instance, Chilton and Schaffner (1997:206) assert that *"it is surely the case that politics cannot be conducted without language, and it is probably the case that the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we call 'politics' in a broad sense"*. Since the study of language extends beyond the scopes of literature and linguistics, Pelinka (2007:129) affirms that *"language must be seen (and analysed) as a political phenomenon and that politics must be conceived and studied as a discursive phenomenon"*.

Furthermore, the critical study of political discourse corresponds greatly with the analytic approach of critical discourse analysis (CDA). This correspondence between PDA and CDA indicates that political discourse can be carried out through a critical lens, and considers the essence of CDA to be a political endeavour. In order to be more critical when dealing with PDA, van Dijk (1997:11) confirms that this field of research needs to be understood as consisting of both a political approach to discourse analysis and the analysis of political discourse. Additionally, he argues that political discourse analysts should adopt a critical vantage for the purpose of having more important and thorough political discourse studies which *"examine the means by which political power, power abuse or domination manifest in and are enacted through discourse structures and practices"* (ibid.).

Consequently, I have opted for political discourse analysis because Algerian women have been fighting for a long time against men's hegemony and power abuse in society, and struggling for their social and political rights; which led finally to the announcement of the new organic laws that aimed to increase women's empowerment and strengthen their political

status. Moreover, since these laws were mainly prepared, discussed and promulgated by male politicians, it is important to adopt PDA as an approach in order to examine their real nature and objectives, and evaluate their role in producing, maintaining, abusing or resisting power in the Algerian political sphere and discussing their influence on women's political participation.

If a researcher wants to achieve his/her specific objectives and reach valid and reliable results, he needs to choose carefully his research methodology since it is considered as the foundation stone of any thesis. There are several research strategies that can be used by a researcher depending on the type of his research. Some of these strategies include: grounded theory, archival research, action research, ethnography, survey or questionnaire, experiment, case study, etc (Crotty, 1998; Saunders et al., 2009). The choice of research strategy is mostly guided by the extent of actual knowledge and resources, available time, research questions and objectives and, lastly, the philosophical backgrounds and underpinnings of the researcher (ibid.). Furthermore, the paradigm of the research and the nature of the research question determine the appropriate data collection and analysis methods (quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods). Creswell (2003) explains that no specific method is more preferable than the others, and that the proposed research questions of the study should help the researcher decide what method he should adopt.

This thesis is dealing with the analysis of the discourse about the new organic laws that were adopted by the Algerian government to promote women's political representation in local assemblies, political parties and Parliament, in order to shed the light on their advantages and shortcomings, explain their role in fighting stereotypes about gender roles and power relations in society, and explore their effects on Algerian women's political participation and empowerment in particular, and on Algerian political landscape in general. Thus, due to the complexity and multifaceted nature of our study, we opted for a mixed methods approach (qualitative and quantitative approaches together) using questionnaire and observation as the main data collection tools. Our observations of the Algerian society gave us the primary data and first impressions about women's weak political representation because of men's hegemony and unequal division of power, however, using the questionnaire allowed us to collect more valuable data from the participants.

3.3.2.1. Qualitative Research Method

Qualitative research method has become accepted and indeed adopted as an empirical method within social and political sciences, as researchers have realised that several phenomena in which they are interested are intricate and need deep inner reflection and equally organised exploration and analysis (Elliott & Timulak, 2021). This method helps treat questions that researchers cannot answer by quantification and statistics (Ospina, 2004). Their most important objective is to cover accurately the existing experiences, perceptions and stances of the participants engaged in the process or phenomenon under investigation (Onwuegbuzie & Johnson, 2006).

Since the qualitative research method is exploratory in nature, it helps researchers to obtain important preliminary insights and generate very rich deep data about research issues where little is known (Liamputtong & Ezzy, 2005). This method is concerned with gathering information through words and images which are used by researchers to seek a meaningful interpretation of the way people think and behave, and gain a full understanding of the complexities of social constructs (Opoku et al., 2006). Therefore, we adopted this method in our thesis to shed the light on Algerian women's social, economic and political statuses in a society full of culturally-embedded gender stereotypes on the one hand, and interpret the experiences of the participants of our study in this society, and their perceptions on the effects of the new organic laws on women's political empowerment on the other hand.

3.3.2.2. Quantitative Research Method

Quantitative research method emphasises mainly on objective measurements and mathematical and statistical analysis of data collected through surveys, questionnaires and polls, or by using computational techniques in order to manipulate pre-existing statistical data. This method focuses on collecting numerical data in order to generalise them across different groups of people or to explain a specific phenomenon (Ware, 2021). This method's major strengths are its validity and reliability because of the scientific principles that are followed through the research process.

Creswell (2003) argues that quantitative research is objective in nature, whereas Naoum (2013) defines it as *"an enquiry into social or human problems based on testing a hypothesis or a theory composed of variables, measured with numbers and analysed with statistical procedures".* Moreover, there are various quantitative research methods which

focus on endeavour and objectivity in order to capture reality such as structured questionnaires and interviews, symbolic models and physical experimentation. They are used in a systematic, controlled, empirical way to investigate significantly the facts about different phenomena (Opoku et al., 2006:34). Thus, we opted for this method in our research in order to analyse statistically the collected data from the questionnaires that were administered to the participants concerning the role of gender and power in shaping the new organic laws and affecting Algerian women's political representation, then, to measure the frequency of variables' occurrences, obtain the final results, and finally, interpret and discuss them comprehensively.

3.4. Analysis of the Replies to the New Organic Laws

Under the pressure of the "Arab Spring" revolts in many Arab countries, President Bouteflika approved the establishment of 23 new political parties and an augmentation in the number of seats in Parliament; including also an increase in the seats reserved to women according to new rules that compel political parties to include 30% of women on their lists of candidates (BBC News, 2012). However, in 2021, there was another amendment to the Algerian electoral system by replacing the quota system with the gender parity principle, which caused a decrease in the number of women in elected assemblies. There were many replies to the new laws made by male and female politicians, analysts, journalists and women's rights activists who are chosen for their direct relevance to these laws; for instance, the advocates of these laws gave positive replies whereas the opponents gave negative ones. Therefore, the analysis of these replies using van Dijk's (1997) critical-political discourse analysis as an approach and the comparison between them will shed the light on the advantages and disadvantages of the quota system and the gender parity principle and their effects on Algerian women's political participation.

3.4.1. Advocates of Quota System

The advocates of quota system see this law as a necessary step towards a stronger and higher participation of women in political life, and they assert that it will force political parties to give more importance to the political participation of their female members, and thus it will guarantee the political rights of women who have greatly suffered from political exclusion and marginalisation.

3.4.1.1. Male Advocate

Before the legislative elections of 2012, the communications manager of the FLN party Aïssi Kassa emphasises that the competence and popularity remain the main criteria for the choice of female candidates. He indicates also that the FLN will comply with the organic law of the quota system, and according to him: *"the rate of 30% of seats devoted to women in the electoral lists during the next legislative elections will allow the presence of more than 140 women in the next Parliament"* (Amir, 2012).

Although the communications manager of the FLN gives a positive reply on the quota system, his political discourse shows clearly the hegemony and political power of Algerian male politicians who are controlling the leadership positions in the FLN party, and choosing female candidates based on their competence and popularity. Moreover, he expresses that his party will comply with the quota system, and the Parliament of 2012 will contain more than 140 female members, without taking into consideration that this law was formulated and promulgated mainly by male politicians, and it did not mention, in any clause or article, women's rights to occupy leadership positions in the government, political parties, Parliament or even in the different parliamentary committees. Therefore, the ignorance of leadership positions in this law is an evidence of the power abuse that male politicians still practise in order to reproduce their political power and preserve their leadership positions.

3.4.1.2. Female Advocate

Nafissa Lahrache is a media correspondent working with several radio institutions, magazines and newspapers, as well as the founder and director of "Voice of Women" online radio. Mrs. Lahrache is also the founder and president of the "Women in Communication National Association". She has occupied this position since 1995 for which she has been reelected several times. She expresses in El Massa Newspaper that: *"Algerian women have taken big steps towards emancipation because of these new political reforms, but there are still some shortcomings which need to be solved in the future. Algerian women have proved their integrity and patriotism since the revolution against colonialism, but they did not get enough recognition for their roles ... There is no clear strategy for protecting the family. It is not enough to impose the quota system on political parties or amend the Family Code without implementing these laws in society"* (Himeur, 2012).

The political discourse of Nafissa Lahrache demonstrates her positive stance towards the quota system, and explains the important role of this law in accomplishing women's emancipation after a long struggle. However, when she evaluates the new political reforms, she finds some deficiencies. For example, the Family Code still does not break the social stereotypes about women's roles in society which will negatively affect their political participation, because Algerian men still relegate women to domestic roles using their power and dominance over the family. Furthermore, the Ministry Delegate in Charge of the Family and Women's Conditions does not have a basic strategy to fight violence, social stereotypes and gender discrimination against women. Therefore, all these unsolved social problems, which are not properly addressed in the new law, can show clearly the stereotypical and ideological ideas about women's natural roles in society that are deeply embedded in the minds of Algerian men. These social stereotypes and ideologies increase men's hegemony and power abuse when dealing with women in the family, education, workplace and especially in the political sphere.

3.4.2. Opponents of Quota System

The opponents of quota system consider this law as a violation of the principles of equality between men and women and the general democratic election. They argue that this system is undemocratic because it focuses only on women's political participation and neglects the other members of Algerian society.

3.4.2.1. Male Opponent

In contradiction with the positive position of his political party towards the quota system, Hocine Khaldoun who is a deputy belonging to the FLN party and the head of the Legal and Administrative Affairs and Freedoms Committee in the National People's Assembly considers that: *"the quota system violates the sanctity and customs of the Algerian family ... discussing the issue of expanding the percentage of female representation in elected assemblies is a very dangerous matter, because it affects Algerian customs. This law is a gift and charity for Algerian women, who have proved on several occasions that they are capable of giving and competing strongly without quotas or compulsory percentage"* (Taibouni, 2012).

Although the FLN party gives a positive stance towards the new law of women's political empowerment, the political discourse of one of its deputies (Hocine Khaldoun)

indicates that the patriarchal order still controls the Algerian society and imposes huge obstacles in front of applying the quota system and developing women's political participation. Moreover, Hocine Khaldoun uses the term *"a very dangerous matter"* when he talks about women's political empowerment which gives a clear idea about the social and religious ideology that Algerian men still exert on women to control them, justify their hegemony and power abuse towards them, and express their desire to preserve Algerian customs, which, according to him, will be negatively affected if women have more seats in elected assemblies.

He also argues that Algerian women have proved their political abilities of competing with men without needing this law which is *"a gift and charity"*. Here, we can see the contradiction in his words; on the one hand, he considers women's political empowerment as a threat to Algerian customs, and on the other hand, he says that they can easily integrate into the political field without any legal help. Despite his job as the head of the Legal and Administrative Affairs and Freedoms Committee in the National People's Assembly, his contradiction shows that the Algerian officials are also affected by social and religious stereotypes and ideologies and patriarchal order, which are still established in the Algerian society and lead to the political abuse of power by male politicians who participate not only in the reproduction of their political power, but also in the refusal of women's political empowerment and any alternation of power between male and female politicians.

3.4.2.2. Female Opponent

The head of the Youth and Democracy Movement, Chalabia Mahdjoubi, describes the quota system as: *"a mere electoral decoration ... this principle does not change the reality of women who suffer exclusion from political life. This law is in fact an incapacitating law, especially in rural areas, where most political parties are unable to implement this law, and they cannot achieve this percentage because women in these areas do not practise politics for several reasons, the most important of which is the view of society, and the exclusion that is practised against them. This law needs to be retracted, because it does not serve Algerian women"* (ibid.).

According to the political discourse of Chalabia Mahdjoubi, the quota system is only an electoral decoration, because women are still suffering from political exclusion due to men's political domination and power abuse. Furthermore, she strongly opposes this law and demands its retraction, because it cannot be applied in rural areas where women are still

facing great social problems like the control and domination of men due to patriarchal order, social stereotypes and conservative values, which prevent them from participating in politics or demanding any political empowerment.

3.4.3. Advocates of Gender Parity Principle

In 2021, the Algerian government abolished the quota system and replaced it by the gender parity principle through two main ordinances: the Ordinance n° 21-01 of Rajab 26, 1442 corresponding to March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system, and the Ordinance n° 21-10 of Moharram 16, 1443 corresponding to August 25, 2021 amending and supplementing certain provisions of Ordinance n° 21-01 of Rajab 26, 1442 corresponding to March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system. Article 176 of the Ordinance n° 21-01 on the organic law related to the electoral system states that the electoral lists must take into consideration the principle of parity between women and men in order not to be rejected. It also imposes on them to allocate, at least, half of the candidacies to candidates who are under 40 years old; and one-third, at least, of the candidates in the electoral list must have a university level education.

Only for the legislative and local elections of 2021, Article 317 of the Ordinance n° 21-01 and Article 1 of the Ordinance n° 21-10 amending and supplementing certain provisions of Ordinance n° 21-01 on the organic law related to the electoral system, allow the electoral lists which could not fulfil the gender parity principle to get an acceptance license from the Independent National Authority of Elections. The advocates of the gender parity principle argue that it comes to rectify the deficiencies of the quota system which focuses mainly on the quantity of female politicians rather than their quality.

3.4.3.1. Male Advocate

Senator Abdelouahab Benzaïm is a member of the FLN party and of the Council of the Nation, the upper chamber of Parliament, believes that: *"the gender parity principle makes the results include women and there is no discussion about that, and therefore the elected assemblies will be dominated by them. In the new law, the voter chooses the party in the first place as a programme, then the candidates on the list which he chooses and without order"* (Yahi, 2021).

The political discourse of Senator Abdelouahab Benzaïm gives a positive stance towards the gender parity principle. He asserts that this principle will allow Algerian women

to dominate the elected assemblies; however, he does not mention that the gender parity principle does not grant women winning seats in elected assemblies, but it only ensures their presence in the electoral lists and their participation in the elections. Moreover, he does not address the problem of the acceptance license that is given by the Independent National Authority of Elections allowing the electoral lists to bypass the gender parity principle if they could not fulfil it.

This acceptance license can be considered as the legislators' tacit recognition of the obstacles that face political parties and independent candidates to convince Algerian women to accept candidacy, because of the lack of interest in politics, the social and economic problems and the dominance of men's religious and conservative mentalities and practices, especially in the internal communes and desert regions. Therefore, the political discourse of Senator Abdelouahab Benzaïm seems, unfortunately, unrealistic and populist, because it ignores all the shortcomings of the gender parity principle and shows how the political power is abused in order to pass political agendas and achieve political gains and ideological goals at the expense of a true political empowerment of women and a just redistribution of political power among male and female politicians.

3.4.3.2. Female Advocate

After reading and analysing the ordinances of gender parity principle, the lawyer Latifa Dib believes that: *"it is clear that the state has paid great attention to the embodiment of the provisions of the new constitution, such as involving young people in political life and supporting them by allocating half of the candidacies on the electoral lists to them, in addition to the obligation of the presence of women equally with men. However, I think that the law neglected the requirement for the presence of women in the results, and here we can say that we can go to a parliament that is completely devoid of women, just as it is possible that their representation in parliament will be a small percentage compared to the previous one"* (ibid.).

The political discourse of Latifa Dib shows her appreciation of the efforts of the Algerian government to include the provisions of the new constitution in the new law of gender parity. She expresses that this law supports the political participation of young people and guarantees an equal number of men and women on the electoral lists. However, she points out that this law does not guarantee the existence of women in Parliament, because it does not grant them winning seats after the elections unlike the quota system, which can result in low

percentage of women's political representation. Consequently, we can see that the gender parity principle brings new challenges and uncertainties about women's political representation in elected assemblies. It ignores, like the quota system, the social and economic problems that hinder women's political participation such as poverty, patriarchy, gender discrimination, social stereotypes, ideological ideas and conservative values that are still making the voters neglect female candidates in elections, despite their resistance or counter-power against such forms of dominance and pressure, and giving the male officials and politicians the opportunity to reproduce their political dominance and power abuse through their political discourse and gender-biased laws.

3.4.4. Opponents of Gender Parity Principle

The opponents of gender parity principle consider it as an insult to women, given that the parity referred to in the legal text will be in candidacy and not in the number of winning seats, which would deprive women of access to Parliament and local assemblies, especially in the interior regions of the country which are considered as conservative.

3.4.4.1. Male Opponent

Due to many political and legal indicators, the status of Algerian women in Parliament appears to be actually threatened according to observers of political affairs in Algeria. For instance, Professor Walid Harran who is a researcher in legal sciences at the University of Blida, says that: *"The new law did not reserve a specific quota of seats for women, abolished the principle of quotas and imposed parity in candidacies. Article 317 of the electoral system allows political parties and independent candidates to bypass the parity principle in case that there are no female candidates to be included in their electoral lists, which will reduce their number in candidacies and elected assemblies. This can come as a shock to women and human rights and political movements that advocate for the promotion of women's political participation"* (Zemmamouche, 2021).

The political discourse of Professor Walid Harran shows clearly his criticism for the gender parity principle, because it abolished the quota system and imposed the parity for women only in candidacies but not in winning seats. He explains how Article 317 of the electoral system helps political parties and independent candidates to bypass the parity principle when they do not find enough women to be included in their electoral lists. Consequently, Article 317 will only help male leaders of political parties and independent

candidates to abuse their political power, reproduce their political dominance and preserve their roles of leadership, by ignoring women and excluding them from their electoral lists. This exclusion will deny women any chance for political resistance or struggle against all forms of men's social and political abuse and dominance, and will exacerbate the political injustice and gender discrimination that women are already facing in society, which will cause a decline not only in their numbers in elected assemblies, but also in the political confidence among women's rights activists and political movements.

3.4.4.2. Female Opponent

The legal advisor Amel Laroussi considers that: *"the new law, despite the parity, still needs to work on the level of awareness among individuals in society about the importance of women's participation in various political, economic and social activities ... Women's problems with political participation are not limited to laws, but extend to general behaviour and rigid values ... This law, which imposes women's participation by 50 percent in electoral lists, is not directed primarily at protecting their constitutional rights, but is directed at international public opinion, which witnesses a decline in understanding Algerian women's participation in public political activity"* (Yahi, 2021).

The political discourse of Amel Laroussi explains her negative stance towards the gender parity principle because it focuses only the political participation of women in elected assemblies, and neglects all the other social problems that hinder their political participation, such as the social stereotypes, rigid conservative values, gender discrimination and men's perpetual hegemony, patriarchy and power abuse. All these social problems negatively affect the general public opinion and behaviour, and deepen individuals' unawareness of the importance of women's participation in the different social, economic and political activities.

Consequently, this law and any other future law about women's political participation can easily neglect the role of public political awareness and social problems, since these laws are mainly formulated and enacted by male politicians who are deeply affected by these problems, and want to preserve their political power and dominance over the political institutions. Furthermore, Amel Laroussi argues that this law is not meant primarily for protecting women's political and constitutional rights, but for appeasing the international public opinion which does not understand clearly Algerian women's participation in public political activities, and thus, she is plainly criticising the Algerian government and questioning the seriousness of its political will to support women's political empowerment.

3.4.5. Discussion and Comparison between the Quota System and Gender Parity Principle

After the analysis of the political discourse of the male and female advocates and opponents of the quota system and gender parity principle, we can see clearly that both of them have some advantages and some deficiencies. For instance, the quota system guarantees the presence of women in electoral lists and elected assemblies, however, it focuses only on the number of women rather than their educational level, which causes many poorly educated and politically inexperienced women to be pushed into elected assemblies. Whereas the gender parity principle guarantees their presence only in electoral lists, which reduces greatly their political representation in elected bodies, reproduces men's political power and maintains their control and dominance over the Algerian political field.

Both of these laws were formulated and enacted mainly by male politicians, they did not mention, in any of their provisions or articles, the rights of Algerian women to occupy leadership positions in the government, political parties, Parliament or even in the different parliamentary committees. Moreover, they did not address all the serious social problems that are still deeply embedded in the Algerian society and hinder women's political participation, such as social stereotypes, gender discrimination, patriarchy, poverty, rigid ideological and conservative values in addition to the unawareness of general public opinion of the importance of women's participation in the different social, economic and political activities. Consequently, all these social problems lead to the ignorance of leadership positions in these laws, and make Algerian male politicians reproduce their political dominance and power abuse, and control the leadership positions in all political institutions without any chance of alternation of power between male and female politicians.

Furthermore, the quota system imposes clear percentages of women's political representation in elected assemblies without any exception or bypass license. Whereas the gender parity principle in Article 317 of the Ordinance n° 21-01 and Article 1 of the Ordinance n° 21-10 allows the Independent National Authority of Elections to give an acceptance license to the electoral lists of political parties and independent candidates which could not fulfil the gender parity principle. Obviously, this acceptance license will make things worse for Algerian women and open the doors for more political exclusion and marginalisation, and more political power for male politicians who will take this opportunity

to reproduce their political dominance and power abuse through their political discourse and gender-biased laws.

Finally, we can see clearly that the quota system and gender parity principle are not sufficient or effective in front of Algerian males' political dominance and power abuse, and society's unawareness of the importance of women's political participation in improving their social, economic and political statuses and accomplishing sustainable development in the country. Therefore, the Algerian government needs to work more on women's political empowerment by engaging all strata of civil society, especially educated women, female politicians and women's rights activists into deep discussions about all the problems that face women in society and hinder their political participation. These discussions will spread awareness among male and female individuals in Algeria, and allow the government to formulate new effective laws that support women's political empowerment.

3.5. Description of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire is often considered as the most important instrument for collecting data in survey research. It is mainly a set of organised and standardised questions, usually called items, which follow a particular systematic plan in order to collect individual data about one or more specific themes (Lavrakas, 2008:652). For any research design to be accurate and pragmatic, it has to make sure that the needs of the research questions are addressed by the questionnaire design (Burgess, 2001). Moreover, there are many advantages for using questionnaire as a data collection tool, for instance, its flexibility which allows researchers to adapt it to a variety of theoretical positions and research questions, its quite affordable costs, and its ease and speed of administration (Bryman, 2011).

The questionnaire is a very practical instrument that helps researchers to elicit data from a large geographical area for several research works unlike the non-standardised data collection tools (Saunders et al., 2009; Bryman, 2008). When the questionnaire is properly structured, designed, worded and administered, the findings' internal validity and reliability will be enhanced to a great extent (Naoum, 2007; Saunders et al., 2009). Furthermore, researchers can deliver their questionnaires to the respondents by different means, such as post, email attachments, or by putting them on a website for interactive completion (Burgess, 2001).

The postal questionnaire is considered as the traditional form, however, the use of email to electronically send questionnaires and receive feedback is gaining momentum due to increased speed and lower cost (Naoum, 2013). According to Bryman (2008), online questionnaires have great advantages since they give quick and easy and responses and cover a large number of respondents in a cost-effective way, in spite of location and distance. Likewise, in order to rapidly create and organise questions online, researchers can use available survey-template software which allows them to easily download responses from the survey software database (Creswell, 2009).

Generally, there are two main designs of questionnaires which are open-ended or unrestricted questions and closed-ended or restricted questions (Naoum, 2007; Fellows & Liu, 2003). The open-ended questions give the respondents more flexibility to answer the questions using their own ideas, without being constrained by the line of thought of the researcher since there are no suggested options or predetermined categories. The researchers design their questions in an open and flexible manner that allows them to gather full information from the respondents, who are given the opportunity to provide their own responses without any restriction from a predefined set of possible questions, in addition to their ability to give alternative answers to the questions whenever they want. Whereas the closed-ended questions are designed to obtain a fixed set of particular responses from the respondents (Fellows & Liu, 2003), who are required to choose from a limited set of straightforward answers. Usually, these questions are short and need direct short answers that can be easily analysed by the researcher (Naoum, 2007), and they help also to collect specific data from respondents in order to confirm a reality or opinion (Saunders et al., 2009).

Furthermore, one of the major advantages of a questionnaire is its ability to be more efficient than other instruments like interviews in surveying large populations (Denscombe, 2007), since the data can be gathered concurrently from a sample, and therefore giving some of its opinions and characteristics at a moment in time. When the respondents are often sent reminders, the response rate can be really high, especially when it is administered properly. Moreover, before the respondents give their answers to the questions, they have the opportunity to consult and carry out research about the topic.

However, there are some disadvantages of using a questionnaire, for example, unanswered questions, dishonest or unconscientious answers, difficulty of conveying feelings and emotions, inaccuracy due to respondents' hidden agenda and proclivities, survey taking

fatigue especially when respondents perceive the questionnaire as too long or including questions that are irrelevant to them (Debois, 2019), lack of control over respondents and the necessity of asking simple questions which can be easily understood (Fellows & Liu, 2003). Additionally, the absence of the researcher may create some problems of misunderstanding for respondents during the process of answering the questions, which means that he cannot explain and elaborate more on the topic for respondents (Bryman, 2008), and elucidate any ambiguity or deviation from the main points of his work (Naoum, 2007).

Finally, our research work is a case study of 240 participants from the city of Sidi Bel Abbès to whom the copies of the questionnaire were delivered. 200 copies of the questionnaire were administered to second year Master students (100 of them were females) at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at Djillali Liabès University (Sidi Bel Abbès), and 40 copies of the questionnaire were administered to the members of Communal People's Assembly (APC) (12 of them were females (30% of the new quota law is applied)) at the commune of Sidi Bel Abbès.

This questionnaire used both open-ended questions and closed-ended questions in order to cover all the important aspects of our topic, and were divided into four sections. The first section dealt with the effects of social and cultural factors on women's political participation. The second section focused on women's political culture and their level of awareness of their political rights. The third section was about the ability of women to participate in the legislative process. Finally, the fourth section included the motives for adopting the new organic laws of women's political representation in Algeria and the recent changes in the electoral system by imposing the principle of gender parity in electoral lists instead of the quota system.

Furthermore, the questionnaire intended to gather as much information as possible about the participants' reactions, thoughts and perceptions about the effects of the new organic laws on Algerian women's political participation, especially those of female participants since these laws are dealing with women's political rights, in addition to their perspectives on the role of many social, cultural, economic and political barriers such as social stereotypes, gender inequalities and power relations in hindering their political empowerment.

Therefore, we believe that the mixed methods research is the accurate approach to deal with the complexities of gender stereotypes and power relations in political discourse since

neither quantitative approach nor qualitative approach is sufficient by itself to cover and control all the structures, dynamics and statistics of our case study. We consider quantitative and qualitative research approaches as encompassing and complementing methods that allow us to conduct a more accurate analysis and maintain the context attributes by adopting the strengths of each one of them.

Moreover, the mixed methods research takes into account multiple perspectives, positions, paradigms and worldviews using both quantitative and qualitative approaches. Although the use of the qualitative approach provides significant and thorough insights through subjective interpretations of experiences, adopting the mixed methods approach gives the researcher the chance to minimise his overreliance on statistical data in order to explain social events and experiences which are usually subjective in nature (Jogulu & Pansiri, 2011).

Since our case study is dealing with the participants' perceptions and views of two main social variables, namely gender and power, we opted for a descriptive-interpretive method in order to investigate and explain comprehensively the reasons behind their perceptions in a society bound by some rigid stereotyped gender roles and behaviours. Thus, the nature of our study is both descriptive (telling the different perspectives and attitudes of the participants towards gender inequalities and power relations in politics and political discourse), and interpretive (revealing and interpreting the origins of these perspectives and attitudes).

3.6. Description of the Population

When conducting a research, every researcher's great objective is to collect sufficient data in order to carry out a meaningful analysis and reach the best possible results (May, 2011). However, he/she is confronted with a big challenge which is how to know exactly the number of respondents needed to provide him/her with data, in addition to the processes by which adequate data can be gathered and analysed to achieve his/her research objectives (Sarantakos, 1998). Therefore, the most accurate means to obtain sufficient information and appropriate number of respondents is the sampling technique which allows the researcher to reach his/her objectives.

The population is the entire group of people that the researcher wants to study and draw conclusions about, whereas the sample is a subset of the population that he/she chooses to collect data from, and it is considered as the representation of the views of the population

which cannot be completely studied due to time and budget constraints (Burgess, 2001). Bryman (2001) argues that adopting a sampling technique is very important in a research work because it is based on sound criteria that allow the researcher to estimate, classify and gather detailed data from a sufficient number of respondents within a targeted population.

In order to have pertinent information, the researcher needs to identify the relationship between his/her research questions and the possible respondents; this is what is called purposeful sampling. Purposeful sampling is a technique vastly applied when conducting a research to identify and select information-rich cases for using the limited resources effectively (Patton, 2002). It includes the identification and selection of individuals or groups of individuals who are essentially knowledgeable and experienced with the phenomenon that the researcher wants to study (Cresswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

In addition to knowledge and experience, Spradley (1979) and Bernard (2002) assert that the respondents have to be available and willing to participate in the research process, and be able to exchange ideas and share experiences in a clear, meaningful and reflective way. In contrast, random or probabilistic sampling is adopted when the researcher wishes to actually generalise the findings by reducing the possibility of bias in selection, and control the possible impact of known and unknown confounders (Palinkas et al., 2015).

Therefore, we targeted second year Master students (23-26 years old) at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at Djillali Liabès University (Sidi Bel Abbès) and the members of Communal People's Assembly (35-60 years old) at the commune of Sidi Bel Abbès for many reasons. Firstly, the nature of our research work is an investigation about social stereotypes, gender roles and inequalities and power relations, and their effects on politics and political discourse in Algeria. Therefore, the chosen educated participants in this study are more aware of these issues and their influence on political discourse than laypeople.

Secondly, there are 200 second year Master students who are divided into two groups: the first group includes 100 students of Law (50 of them are females), and the second group includes 100 students of Political Sciences (50 of them are females). All of these students have studied the main legal and political theories, the social background and political context behind making laws and decisions and the new Algerian political laws, particularly the new organic laws of women's political empowerment. Moreover, in the future, some of these students of Law and Political Sciences will be teachers, some of them will be lawyers and

judges and some others will probably be officials and politicians who will participate in governance and decision-making.

Whereas the members of Communal People's Assembly of Sidi Bel Abbès are 40 (12 of them are females (30% of the new quota law is applied)). These members are targeted because they dealt with the new organic laws on the ground, especially during the time of elections of Communal People's Assemblies, when signatures for candidacy were gathered, electoral lists were organised, vote was taking place and then results were announced. Finally, the perceptions and opinions of students and members of APC about the new organic laws and their effects on Algerian women's political participation allow us to better understand the origins of gender roles and inequalities and the unequal division of power in politics at the educational and professional levels on the one hand, and evaluate the decision-making process of the country and its effectiveness in solving social and political problems of Algerian women on the other hand.

	Law Students (23-26 years old)	**Political Sciences Students (23-26 years old)**	**APC Members (35-60 years old)**	
Males	50	50	28	128
Females	50	50	12	112
Total	100	100	40	240

Table 3.1: Description of the Population

3.7. Questionnaire Analysis

The analysis of the data that was collected from a questionnaire is the process by which meaning is assigned to the collected information. Therefore, it involves inspecting and moulding collected data for interpretation through some predefined methods and approaches in order to find out relevant information and reach conclusions that help in solving research problems. Furthermore, data analysis is carried out for the purpose of answering research questions and preparing findings for dissemination. It helps also the researchers in the future since they can use it as a reference when conducting new research works and data collection.

3.7.1. The Effects of Social and Cultural Factors on Women's Political Participation

This section contains 5 questions:

3.7.1.1. Women's political participation is better and more effective when they are:
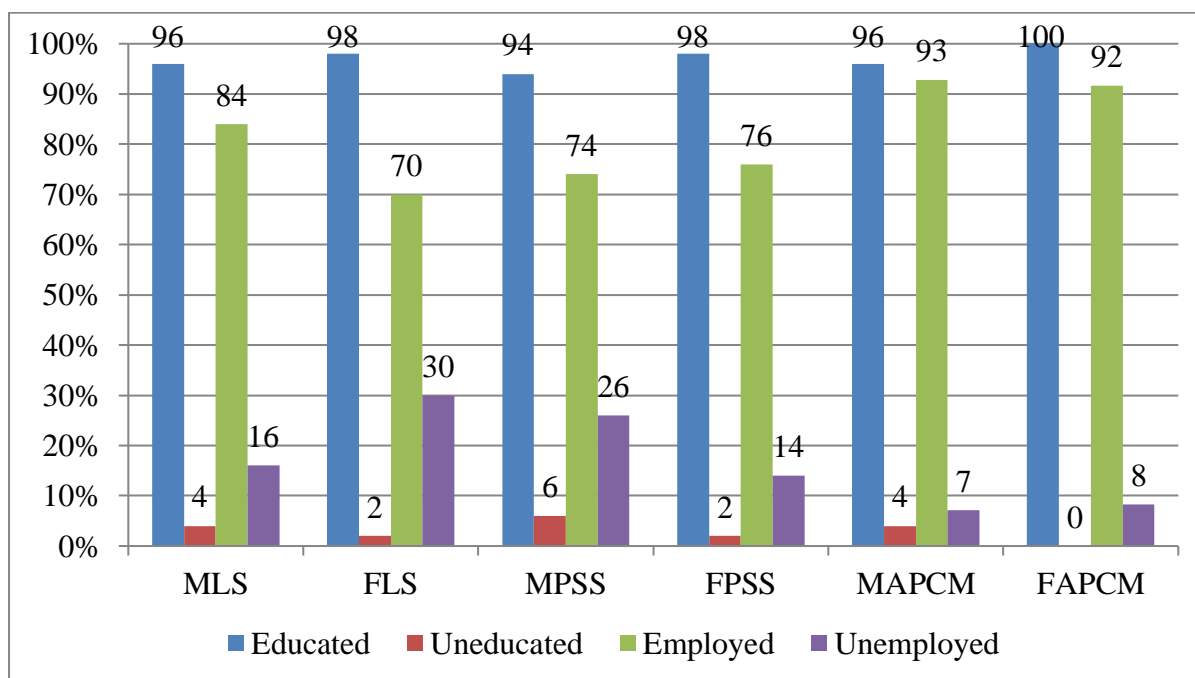
Figure 3.1: Effectiveness of Women's Political Participation

Henceforth, Male Law Students, Female Law Students, Male Political Sciences Students, Female Political Sciences Students, Male APC Members and Female APC Members will be respectively referred to as MLS, FLS, MPSS, FPSS, MAPCM and FAPCM. As we can see above in Figure 3.1, the respondents's answers show a general agreement on the great importance of education in shaping women's lives and careers, since it does not only build their cultural background and give them knowledge about certain disciplines, but it also increases their wisdom, resilience and positive attitude despite life's great challenges, and raise their awareness of the social, economic and political problems of their country; which allows them to solve these problems when they engage in politics. However, there is a small number of respondents who argue that a good politician does not have to be well educated in order to be competent and efficient in all aspects of his/her job, but he/she just has to be honest and capable of understanding people's needs and solving their daily life problems.

Concerning employment, the majority of students insist on the importance of having a job which grants women access to professional life and increases their financial autonomy and

self-confidence, in addition to its vital role in building their web of social relationships starting from their workplace; which accordingly helps them as politicians to interact more with people, gain their trust and fulfil their needs. However, a few students (particularly FLS (30%) and MPSS (26%)) claim that being unemployed does not affect the ability of women to participate in the political sphere; but on the contrary, it gives them more free time to engage in political activities such as joining political parties, attending political meetings and organising political campaigns. Finally, since MAPCM and FAPCM are already engaged in politics, they assert that having a job, especially in the state's political institutions, gives women the chance to be closer to the political and administrative decision-making processes, and build strong political relationships that allow them to communicate citizen's concerns and problems to state officials.

3.7.1.2. Do Algerian men and women have the same chances of access to the political field?
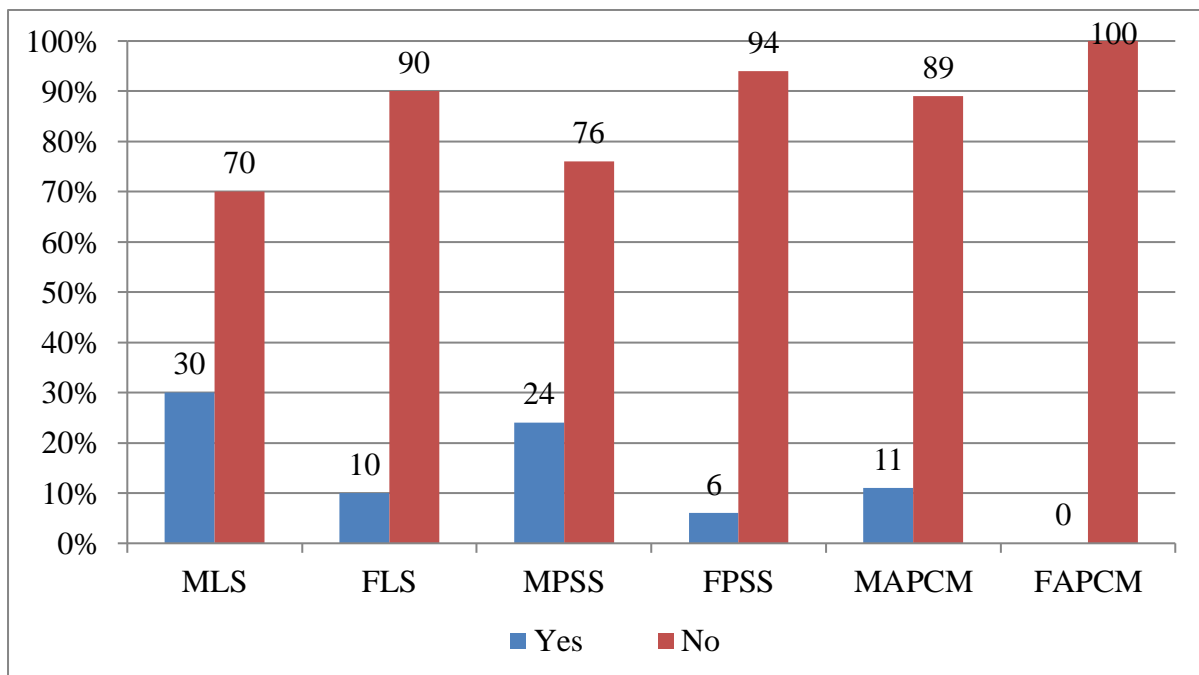
Figure 3.2: Chances of Algerian Men and Women to Access the Political Field

As Figure 3.2 shows above, Algerian women do not have the same chances as men to access the political field according to the answers of almost all respondents, especially female respondents: FLS, FPSS and FAPCM whose percentages are 90%, 94% and 100% respectively. These results show that Algerian women still feel unconfident about their ability to engage in politics despite the new laws of women's political empowerment (the quota system and lately the gender parity principle). Their answers imply that they still find

difficulties to participate in the Algerian political sphere because of men's political hegemony since the independence of the country, in addition to their lack of trust in the constantly changing electoral laws and constitutional amendments.

Moreover, before imposing the quota system, most of the leaders of political parties did not give much importance to including women in their parties or electoral lists, and they only cared about their electoral votes at the time of elections. However, the responses of some MLS (30%) and MPSS (24%) suggest that they perceive the new laws of women's political representation as a great opportunity that paves the way for women to participate in politics and improve progressively their political status.

3.7.1.3. Does women's dependence on men in society influence their political participation?
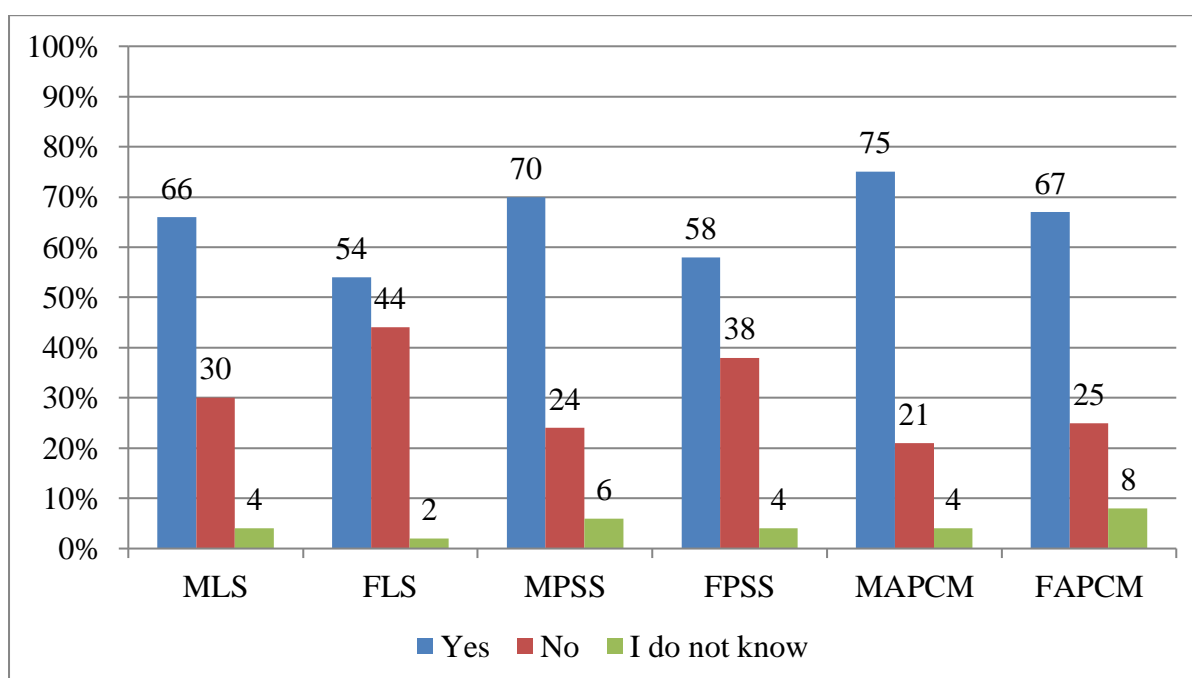
Figure 3.3: Influence of Women's Dependence on Men in Society on their Political Participation

The Figure 3.3 shows that women's dependence on men is still embedded in the Algerian society and still affects their political participation despite the amelioration in their social, educational and professional conditions. According to the answers of most of the respondents, Algerian women's economic dependence on men has a significant impact on their political participation due to the strong patriarchy in most of the regions of the country, in which men are considered as the only bread winners who impose their personal opinions and beliefs on women, and try to control them by depriving them of their right to have a job

and sometimes even from finishing their studies. This deprivation limits women's social interaction and mobility which consequently curtails their civil liberties, decision-making authority and political participation.

Moreover, MAPCM and FAPCM argue that Algerian women's economic dependence on men causes their lagging behind in society, whereas their financial independence plays an important role in the formation of their social status which increases their motivation to engage in politics. However, there are some female students (namely FLS (44%) and FPSS (38%)) who explain that women's dependence on men in society does not always affect their political participation, especially when they are educated, aware of their constitutional and political rights and really interested in pursuing a career in politics.

3.7.1.4. Do women's responsibilities at home in managing family affairs and raising children affect their political participation?
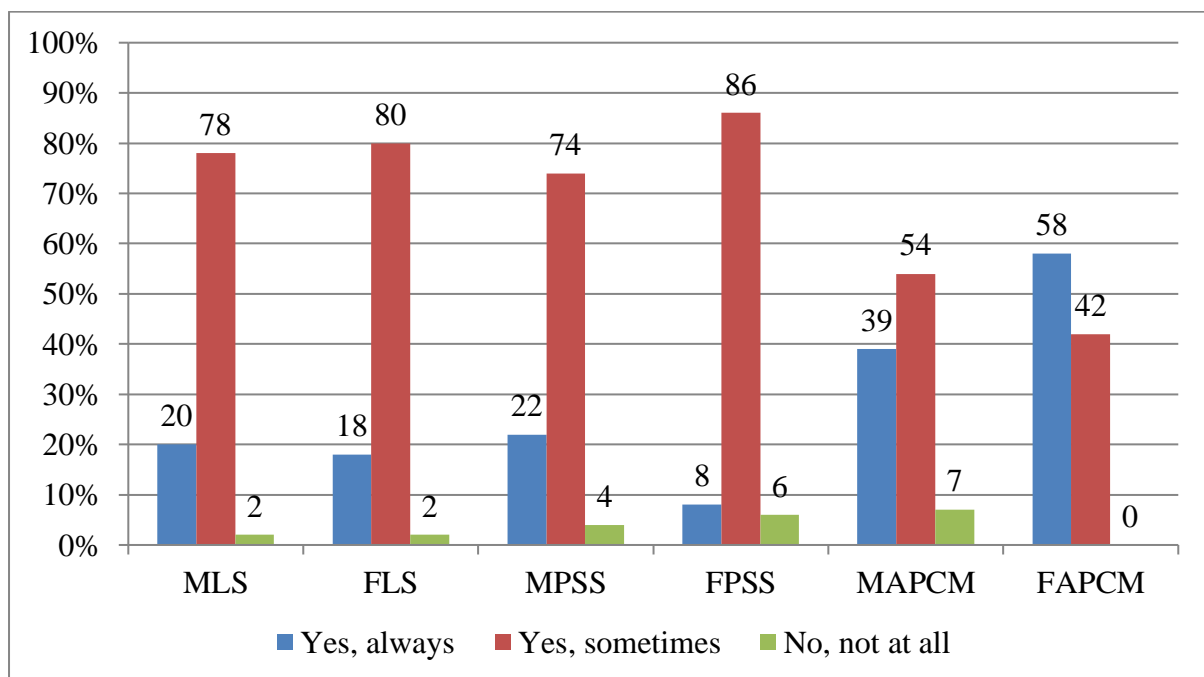
Figure 3.4: Effects of Women's Domestic Responsibilities on their Political Participation

The Figure 3.4 above demonstrates women's domestic responsibilities like raising children and managing family affairs and how they can influence their political participation. The majority of the respondents' answers (except for FAPCM) show their approval on women's political participation being sometimes affected by their domestic duties and responsibilities. Their answers imply that Algerian women's traditional roles and the division of labour are still clearly gendered since they continue to be influenced by social norms which

can discourage them and pose more challenges for them to leave their traditional domestic duties for other public duties outside their homes. Thus, their gender identity is still predominantly regarded as being domestic in nature, and remains a major obstacle to their entry into formal politics and their participation in decision-making processes. Furthermore, more than half of FAPCM (58%) are convinced that women's political participation is always affected by their domestic duties due to their personal experiences in being responsible for all household tasks like cooking, cleaning and taking care of their children, which is tiring and time-consuming, and does not allow them to focus more on their political duties in order to fulfil people's needs.

3.7.1.5. Women face challenges in exercising their political rights in Algerian society due to:
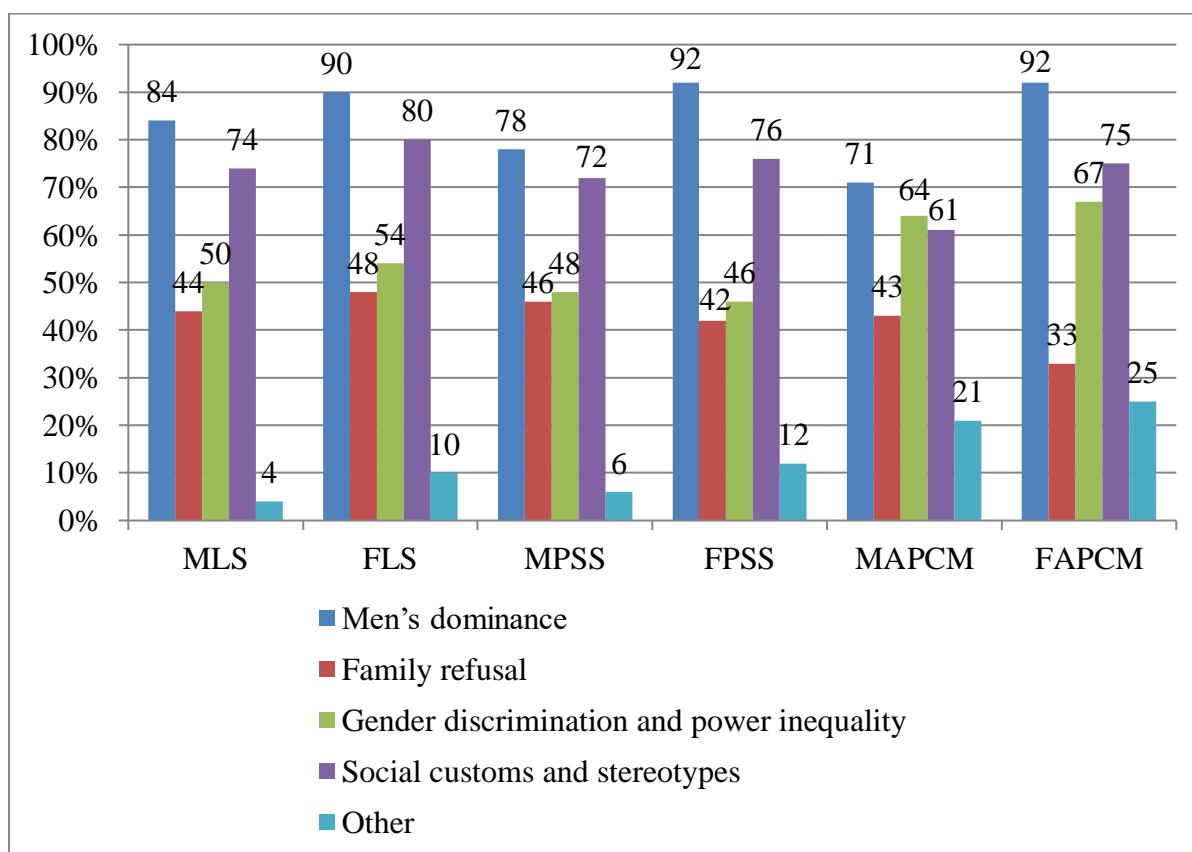
Figure 3.5: Challenges Women Face in Exercising their Political Rights in Algerian Society

As it is shown in Figure 3.5, there is a general agreement among all respondents that Algerian women are facing great challenges and obstacles in exercising their political rights. The first challenge is men's dominance over the political field for a long time due to prevailing patriarchal norms and values, which resulted in the subordination of women, their

exclusion from public affairs and their under-representation in the political institutions despite their full equality with men before the law in the Algerian constitution. Although men participate in drafting gender-sensitive laws like the organic laws of women's political empowerment, they cannot always understand and represent women's interests since both of them have different socialisation, issues, needs and experiences.

The second challenge is the refusal of Algerian women's political participation by their fathers, husbands or other member of the family. Even though the percentages of the answers of all respondents on this challenge are less than 50%, it still represents a problem for women who want to engage in politics, especially in rural areas where patriarchal norms are greatly embedded. The third challenge includes gender discrimination and power inequality which are emphasised by MAPCM and FAPCM in their answers with percentages of 64% and 67% respectively. The APC members have focused on this challenge more than students because they (specifically FAPCM) have experienced it through their political practices. During elections, gender discrimination is highly experienced by women in the competitive environment of political parties and coalitions where men are generally selected as heads of the electoral lists; in addition to voter bias which means that voters choose male candidates over female candidates due to lack of trust, ideological incompatibility and differences in political affiliations and views. Moreover, women are facing power inequality in politics because of gender bias, the unequal division of power in political institutions and men's retention of power which has nothing to do with democratic principles.

The fourth challenge comprises social customs and stereotypes that are deeply embedded in the Algerian society and still hindering women's political participation according to the answers of most of the respondents. Despite the evolution of the Algerian political system from one-party to multi-party system which granted more political freedom and diversification and more chances for Algerian women to access the political field, people's social beliefs, customs and stereotypes about the supposed roles and duties of women in the family and society have not changed or evolved very much. For instance, some people still believe that women are politically untrustworthy and their ability to make a political change is weak, which consequently affects women's political aspirations and increases their sense of marginalisation and inequality with men. Since gender stereotypes are still transmitted across generations through the socialisation process, education and media, people's cultural and political activities will always be negatively influenced and may even promote gender prejudice and discrimination. Finally, all respondents suggest that poverty is

also one of the major challenges that impede Algerian women's political participation, because poor women focus generally on their jobs, basic needs and daily problems before they think about politics and public affairs.

3.7.2. Women's Political Culture and their Level of Awareness of their Political Rights

This section consists of 4 questions:

3.7.2.1. Are all educated women aware of their political rights?
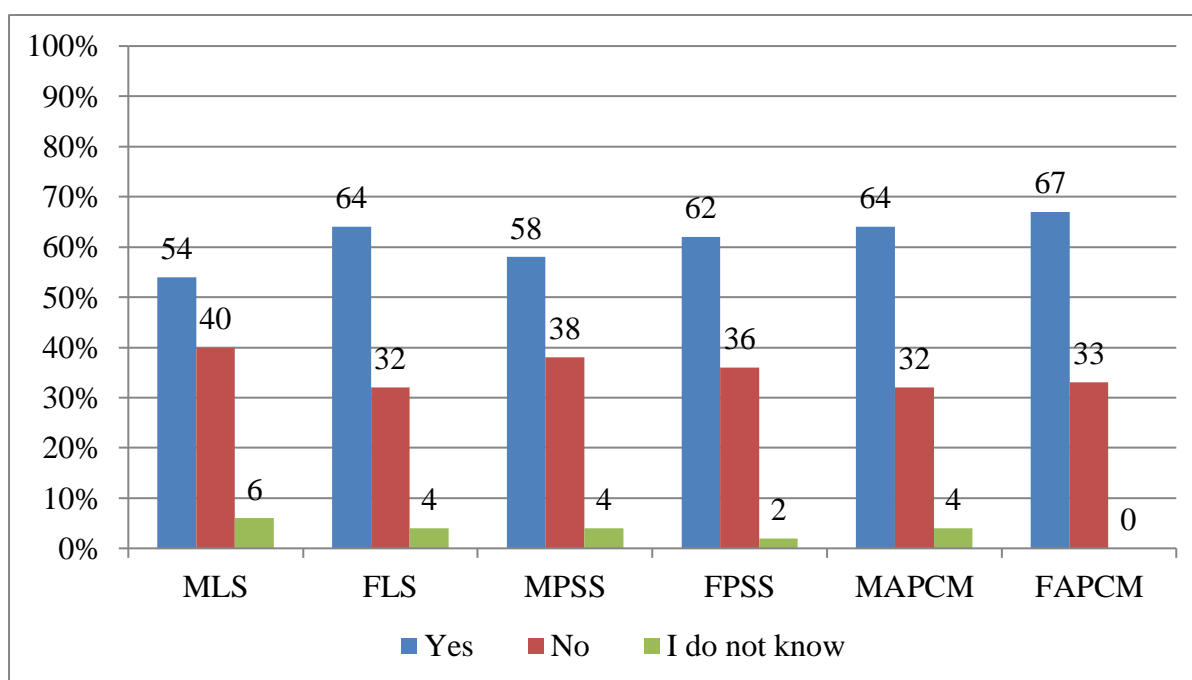
Figure 3.6: Educated Women's Awareness of their Political Rights

As Figure 3.6 demonstrates above, the answers of the majority of respondents imply that there is an important level of awareness among educated women about their political rights. Obviously, when women have access to information about their political rights, they will have higher levels of political awareness which contributes to their empowerment through participation in the political decision-making process. They can get this information from various sources such as educational institutions, internet, media, books and newspapers, and even from their friends and relatives.

The answers of the respondents who agree that all educated women are aware of their political rights are between 54% and 67%, which may indicate that the respondents are insisting on the importance of education in creating and developing women's awareness of their political rights. This awareness will help them to effectively participate in the Algerian

political sphere, fight against all forms of discrimination, violence and harassment and overcome the deeply embedded social stereotypes on the one hand, and inform other marginalised women about their political rights and try to communicate people's problems to state officials on the other hand. However, other respondents' answers (32%-40%) suggest that not all educated women are aware of their political rights due to general lack of interest in politics, lack of information and understanding of political systems and processes, family responsibilities, social customs, gender stereotypes and poverty.

3.7.2.2. Women's level of awareness of their political rights is increased by:
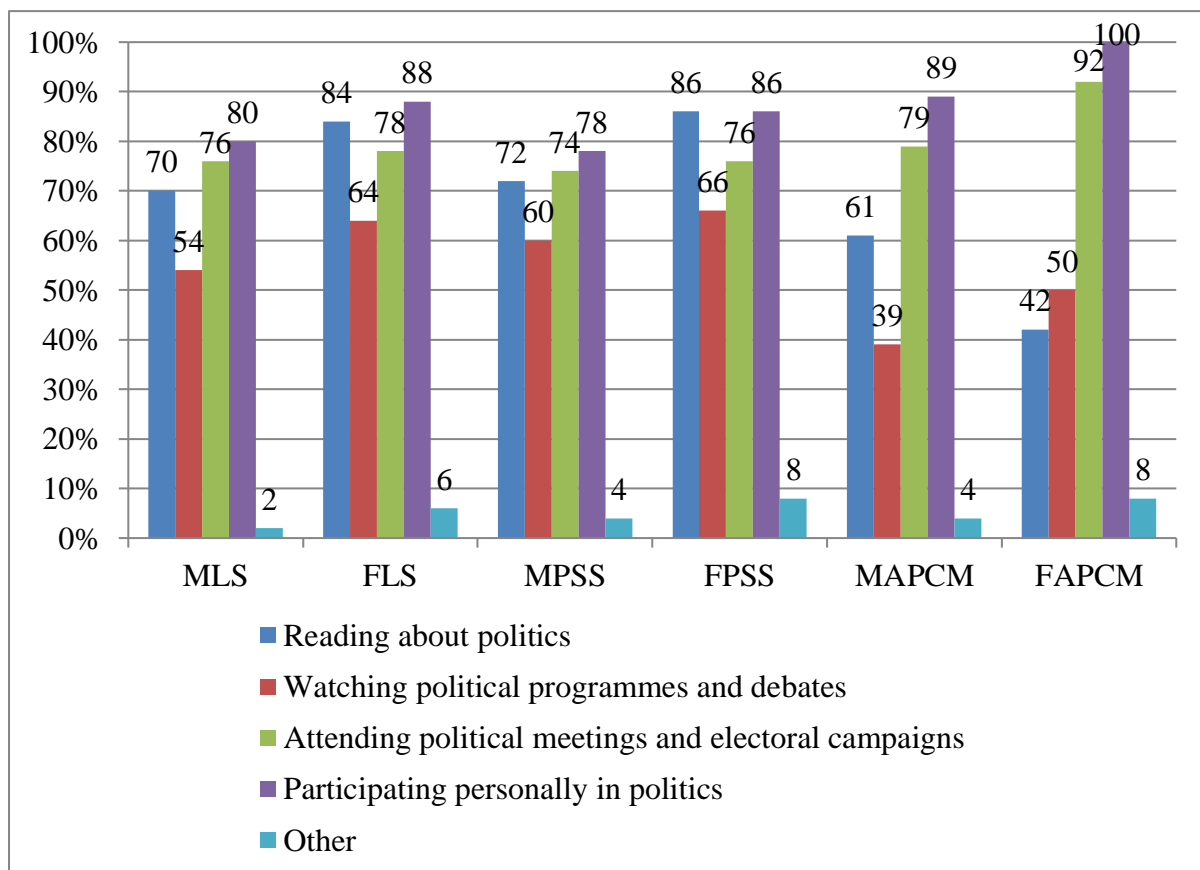
Figure 3.7: Ways to Increase Women's Level of Awareness of their Political Rights

As it is indicated in Figure 3.7, there are many ways that Algerian women can follow in order to increase their level of awareness of their political rights. According to the answers of the majority of respondents (particularly students), reading about politics is very important for women who want to raise their political awareness especially when engaging in politics. If they are not able to attend educational institutions, they can buy books and journals about politics or use the internet to understand political issues and learn more about their political rights. Furthermore, many respondents (namely FLS (64%) and FPSS (66%)) see that

watching political programmes and debates whether on television or internet can be also a way for women to increase their awareness, because state officials, female politicians and leaders of political parties may be present at these programmes and clarify any ambiguity or misunderstanding concerning political systems and processes, electoral and constitutional laws and women's political rights.

Additionally, most of the respondents (especially MAPCM (79%) and FAPCM (92%)) focus on attending political meetings and electoral campaigns which can also help women to raise their level of awareness. In these political events, women can have some experience in political practice by interacting with politicians or elected representatives, asking them questions about all current political issues, participating in political discussions and expressing their opinions plainly. Furthermore, the answers of students (78%-88%) and APC members (89%-100%) show clearly that all of them agree on the great necessity and advantage of women's personal participation in politics and its role in shaping and developing their awareness of their political rights.

They can start by joining political parties and gaining experience from other members, which can help them get used to teamwork in order to build relationships and improve their communication skills. Then, they can choose female candidates or run personally for leadership positions during national elections. Finally, if they win, they will have power to make political change, raise awareness of women's social problems and political rights and fulfil citizens' needs. This long political process is considered as the best means to engage women in politics and increase their level of awareness of their political rights. In addition to all the ways of increasing women's political awareness that were mentioned before, some respondents suggest that there are some jobs that help also to do that, like working as lawyers and judges, members of the Independent National Authority of Elections or simply as supervisors at polling centres and offices where voting and counting votes take place.

3.7.2.3. Women can get their rights by:
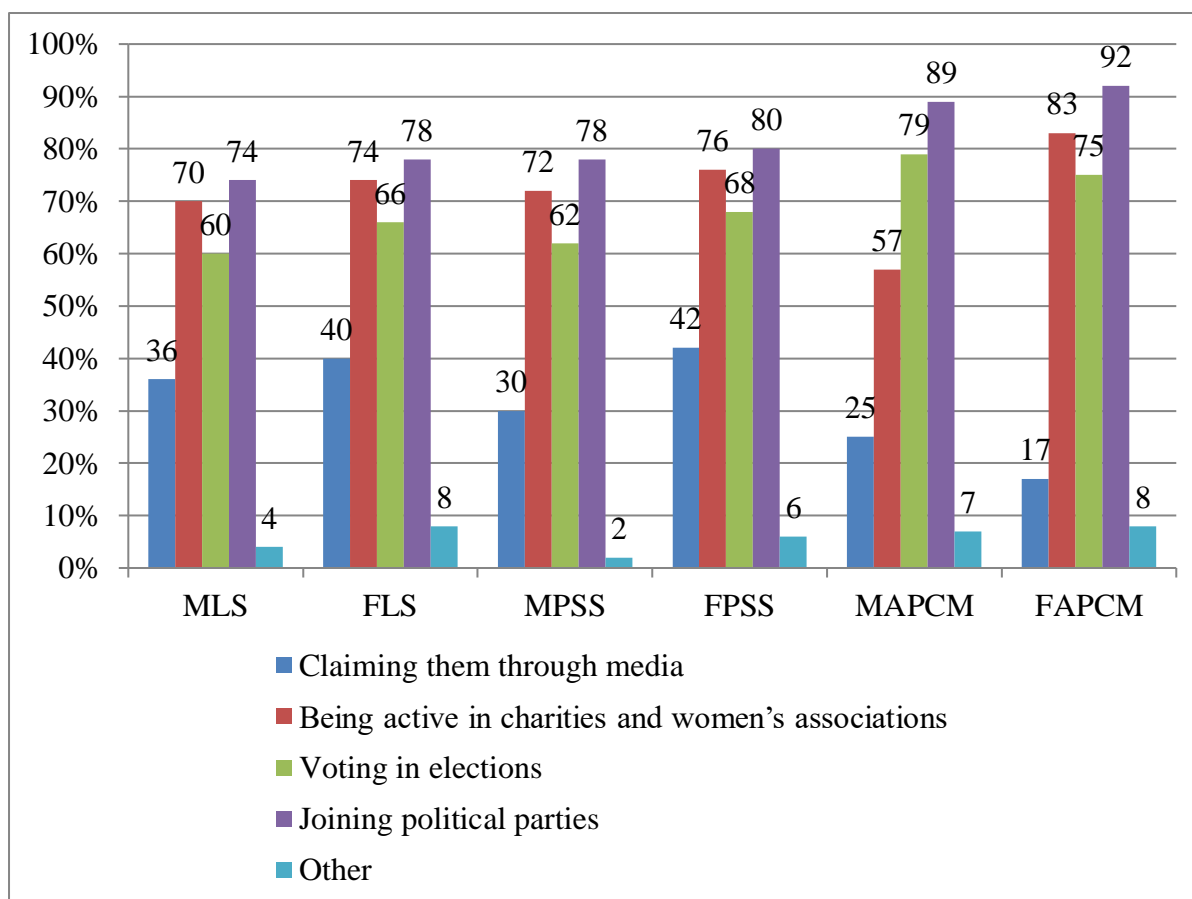
Figure 3.8: Ways for Women to Get their Rights

The Figure 3.8 above shows the ways that women can follow to get their rights. Concerning the use of media by women to claim their rights, the percentages of university students' answers are as follows: MLS (36%), FLS (40%), MPSS (30%) and FPSS (42%). We can clearly see that the percentages of female students are slightly higher than those of male students because female students' answers may imply that they see media as a means of communication through which women may communicate their problems and needs to state officials and claim their rights, especially if they have the chance to use national media like official television and radio. Whereas male students' answers indicate that they believe that women can use national media to convey their messages but it does not necessarily mean that their voices are heard or their needs are fulfilled. They suggest that women can use social media in order to reach faster elected representatives, make complaints, explain their problems and claim their rights. Furthermore, the percentages of the answers of MAPCM (25%) and FAPCM (17%) are also quite low since they see media as a complementary means for women to claim their rights after, of course, participating in the political field.

There is a total agreement among the majority of respondents that women can get their rights by being active in charities and women's associations where women can meet and discuss about their social, economic and political problems, and use their skills to help those in need. By volunteering for humanitarian projects, women will raise their awareness of the different social and economic problems that people are suffering from in society in order to defend their rights and help them as soon as possible by raising funds and contacting governmental officials and organisations. By joining women's associations, women will be motivated more to learn about their rights and defend them by participating in meetings where they can discuss and resolve issues, help needy and insecure women, make decisions and assign specific tasks to teammates who can reach state officials in order to communicate their needs, claim their rights and demand help from the government.

Moreover, the answers of almost all respondents (especially MAPCM (79%) and FAPCM (75%)) indicate that voting in elections can help women to get their rights. When women vote in elections, they can express their opinions about their country's policies, choose their local representatives who will help them solve the problems that they encounter in their everyday lives about jobs, housing and healthcare, and choose their representatives in Parliament who will represent them at the national level, get their voices heard, fight for their rights and try to legislate new laws that address gender inequality and promote women's civil and political rights.

Furthermore, the majority of respondents agree on the importance of joining political parties by Algerian women in order to claim and get their rights. Since the Algerian constitution guarantees the creation of political parties and joining them, women can always enter politics through their doors in which they improve their political culture and learn more about political practice. Political parties bring together people who have the same political ideas and stances, thus, when women join them, they can easily interact and collaborate with other members in order to defend their political beliefs, convince other people to join them and try to influence public opinion which is a powerful force that is not merely restricted to politics and elections, but it also affects other spheres like culture, media and public relations. By taking part in elections, women try to win as many seats as possible in Parliament and local assemblies in order to participate in the decision-making process and public policies, claim and defend women's rights and promote the interests of their voters. Finally, some respondents suggest that attending marches and protests can as well offer women a great opportunity to demand action for their rights and attract attention to their causes.

3.7.2.4. Algerian women prefer to be represented in local assemblies and Parliament by:
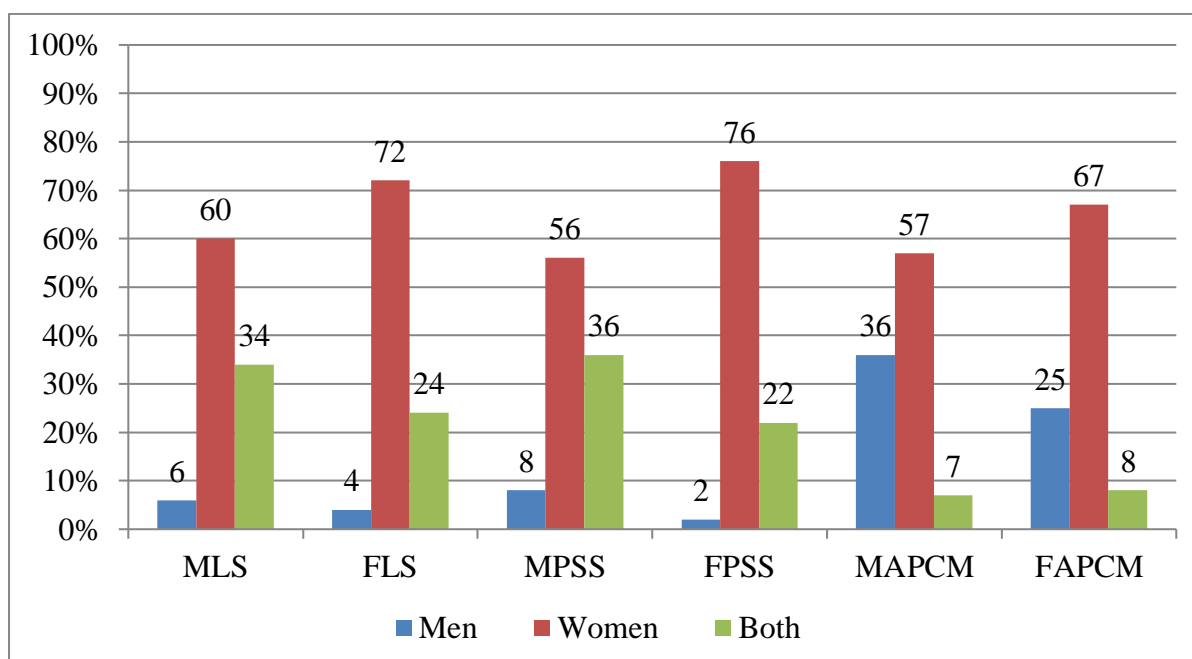
Figure 3.9: Algerian Women's Preferable Representatives in Local Assemblies and Parliament

The Figure 3.9 above demonstrates the preferable representatives for Algerian women in local assemblies and Parliament. The answers of the majority of respondents imply that Algerian women prefer to be represented by women in local assemblies and Parliament. The respondents explain this preference by the ability of women to understand better than men the needs of other women in addition to their feelings of sympathy for other people's misfortunes and support for the poor ones. Moreover, they argue that women can be as effective as men in the national political institutions by discussing national issues, passing laws, defending citizen's rights and fulfilling their needs.

However, there are some students (namely MLS (34%), FLS (24%), MPSS (36%) and FPSS (22%)) who are convinced that women in Algerian society believe that both men and women are capable of representing them in local assemblies and Parliament. They assert that men and women can cooperate together in order to reach a consensus of views on a number of important issues facing both male and female citizens. This consensus will help them shape public policies, legislate more efficient laws and make a constructive criticism of the government which will improve the quality of governance and create a better society. Whereas according to the social and political experiences of some of the APC members (MAPCM (36%) and FAPCM (25%)), they state that there are some Algerian women who

prefer to be represented by men in local assemblies and Parliament, because they have dominated the political sphere for a long time which allowed them to have more political experience and gave them the opportunity to create more political relationships; and this will help them be more efficient in serving society and fulfilling people's needs.

3.7.3. The Ability of Women to Participate in the Legislative Process

This section includes 4 questions:

3.7.3.1. The weakness of women's political practice makes it difficult for them to join local assemblies and Parliament:
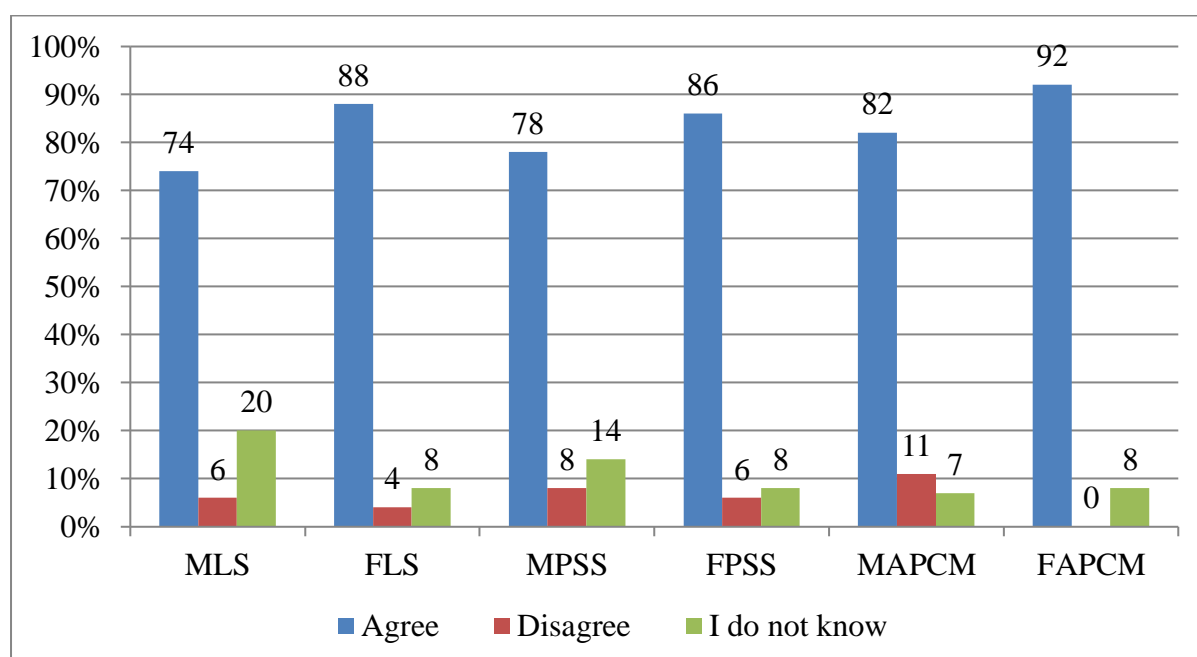
Figure 3.10: Impact of Women's Weak Political Practice on their Access to Local Assemblies and Parliament

As it shown above in Figure 3.10, women's weak political practice has a great impact on their access to local assemblies and Parliament according to the answers of the majority of respondents. Before applying the quota system in Algeria, the constitution guaranteed all citizens equal rights and freedoms and enforced the principle of equal access to public office without any discrimination between men and women, which established a common ground for Algerian men and women to exercise their rights. Although Algerian women had always the same rights as men in legal texts, their opportunities were not quite the same in real life since they were constantly marginalised in the political sphere and public affairs due to men's political dominance, prevailing gender inequalities and embedded social customs and

stereotypes. This marginalisation has greatly weakened their political practice and prevented them from getting access to local assemblies and Parliament.

After applying the quota system, the Algerian constitution kept the same rights and freedoms for both men and women – including the rights to vote and to be elected – and tried to empower women's political practice by imposing specific percentages of women in electoral lists of political parties. However, the quota system did not really improve women's political practice but only their numbers in local assemblies and Parliament due to their lack of interest in politics in general and in joining political parties in particular, in addition to their struggle with domestic and economic problems, gender discrimination, patriarchal norms and social stereotypes.

3.7.3.2. The electoral votes of women influence the results of local and legislative elections:
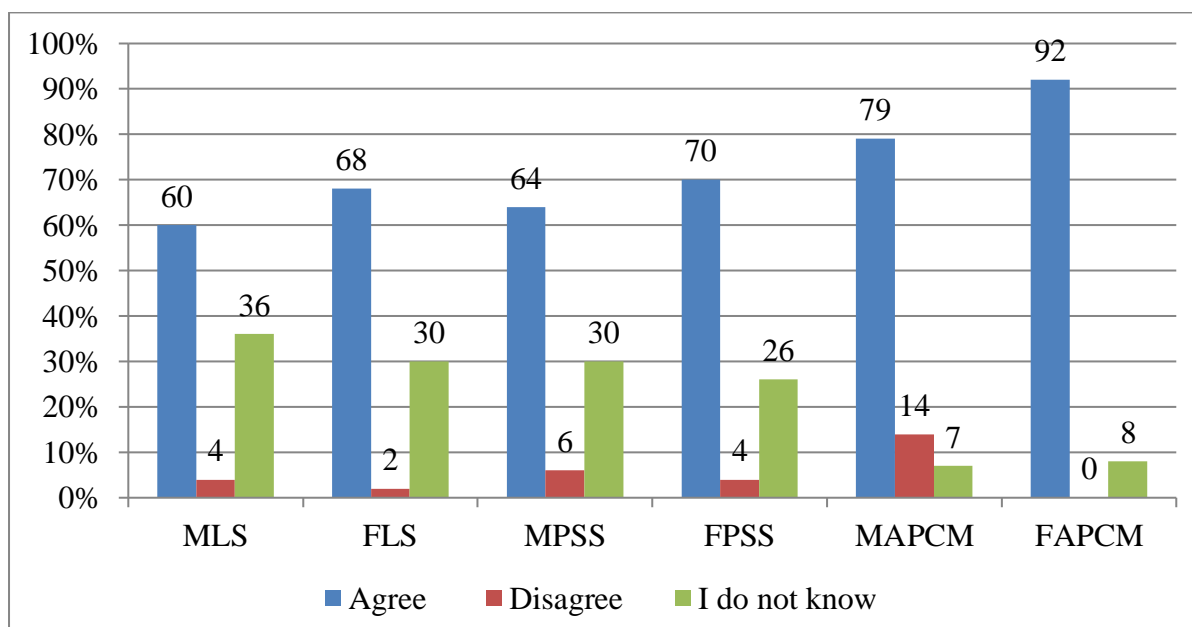
Figure 3.11: Impact of Women's Electoral Votes on the Results of Local and Legislative Elections

As Figure 3.11 shows above, women's electoral votes can influence the results of local and legislative elections. The answers of the majority of respondents (especially MAPCM (79%) and FAPCM (92%)) imply that Algerian women's electoral votes still have a great impact on the outcomes of elections despite all obstacles and challenges that they face in society. Women's political awareness helps also determine their choices in voting for their representatives in local assemblies and Parliament. Moreover, the gender gap which is the

margin between men's and women's support for a candidate, can be the ideal means to check how men's and women's voting patterns differ.

The personal attributes of the candidate and the political party to which he/she belongs, are the main factors that can define the way women vote and their influence on the results of local and legislative elections. Generally, women tend to choose the candidate who is more aware of their social, economic and political problems and who is willing to fight for their rights. Therefore, since Algerian women represent nearly half of the population and electorate, they can determine the outcomes of local and legislative elections by voting for a certain candidate and make him/her win if they like his/her electoral programme, or by abstention if they are unsatisfied and want to show their resentment and protest against all candidates. However, there are some students (26%-36%) who do not know if the electoral votes of women influence the results of local and legislative elections, or not. This may imply that they either want to stay neutral, or they are simply unaware of the electoral statistics of women's votes in local and legislative elections.

3.7.3.3. Female members of local assemblies and Parliament can better defend women's rights and solve their social problems by:
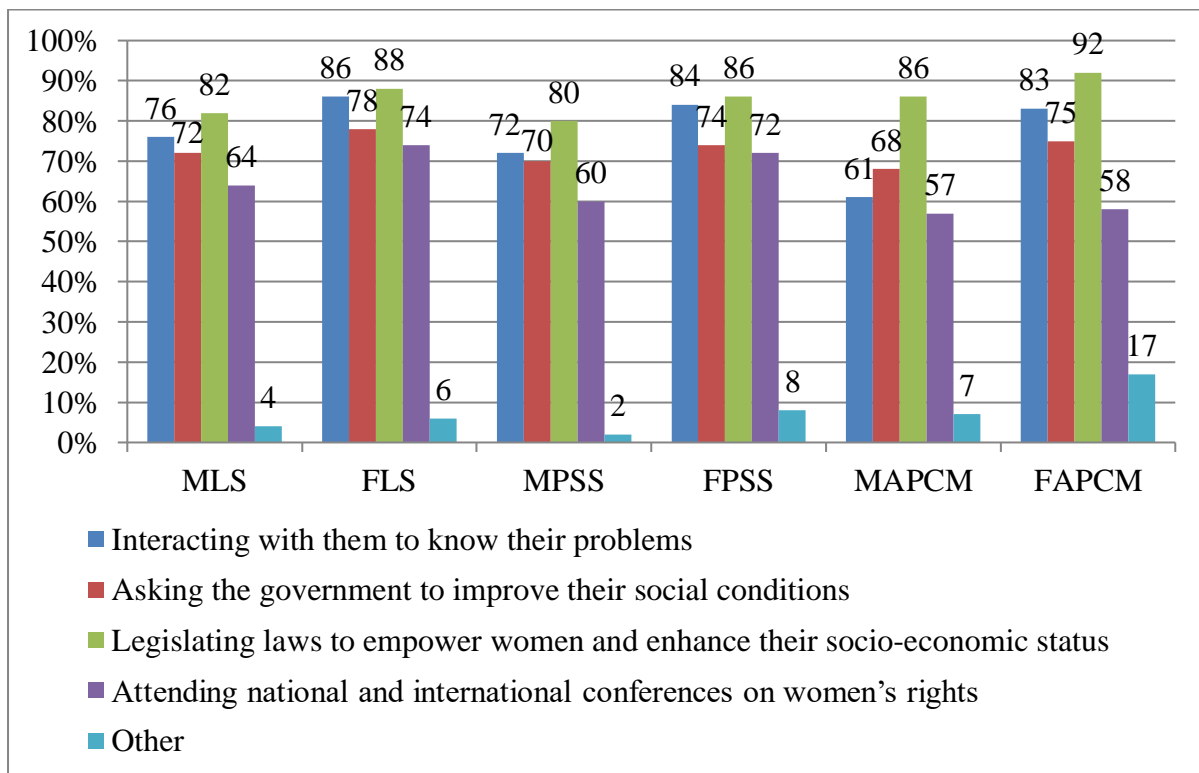
Figure 3.12: Ways for Female Members of Local Assemblies and Parliament to Better Defend Women's Rights and Solve their Social Problems

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As it is indicated in Figure 3.12, there are many ways that female members of local assemblies and Parliament can follow in order to better defend women's rights and solve their social problems. The answers of the majority of respondents imply that they insist on the importance of social interaction between female members of local assemblies and Parliament and female citizens for the sake of getting closer to them and having a better understanding of their daily social problems and socio-economic needs. Consequently, female representatives can improve their awareness of the origins of these problems permitting them to suggest efficient solutions.

Since government is the higher executive power of the country, most respondents agree on the necessity of having good political relationships between female representatives (especially those in Parliament) and government officials in order to communicate people's needs and concerns and improve their social conditions. Female local representatives cannot usually meet with government officials and ministers, so their work is done at the commune (municipality) and wilaya levels. They can defend women's rights and discuss their problems and needs with other members of the APCs and APWs where they can meet with local officials like mayors and walis.

Whereas female members of Parliament can frequently meet with government officials and ministers, so their work is done at the national level, and sometimes even at the international level. Therefore, their political work needs to be more organised in order to better defend women's rights and improve their social conditions, especially when addressing government officials and ministers at the Parliament and questioning them about the government's work and national policies.

Furthermore, concerning the legislation of laws to empower women and enhance their socio-economic status, the high percentages of respondents' answers indicate that female representatives (particularly female members of Parliament) have an important duty in proposing, discussing and voting for bills regarding women's issues. The participation of female representatives in the legislative process allows them to overcome men's political hegemony, legislate new laws that address women's socio-economic problems and create parliamentary groups and alliances which focus on gender equality and women's empowerment.

Additionally, most respondents' answers imply that attending national and international conferences on women's rights may give the chance for female representatives

to meet with feminists and women's rights activists who will share with them their personal experiences in dealing with gender issues and women's rights, and help improve their political effectiveness in empowering women and solving their socio-economic problems. They can also learn how to use their voices to politicise women's issues, use electoral power to make demands and put pressure on decision makers, and encourage better responsiveness from other citizens to their causes, and better implementation of constitutional laws in order to guarantee equal rights for women. Moreover, there are some respondents who suggest that female representatives need to support women's associations, raise funds for them and expand their social and cultural work to different regions of the country, especially the rural ones, in order to engage them effectively in helping poor women and developing their social, cultural and economic conditions.

3.7.3.4. During elections, political parties usually prefer to nominate:
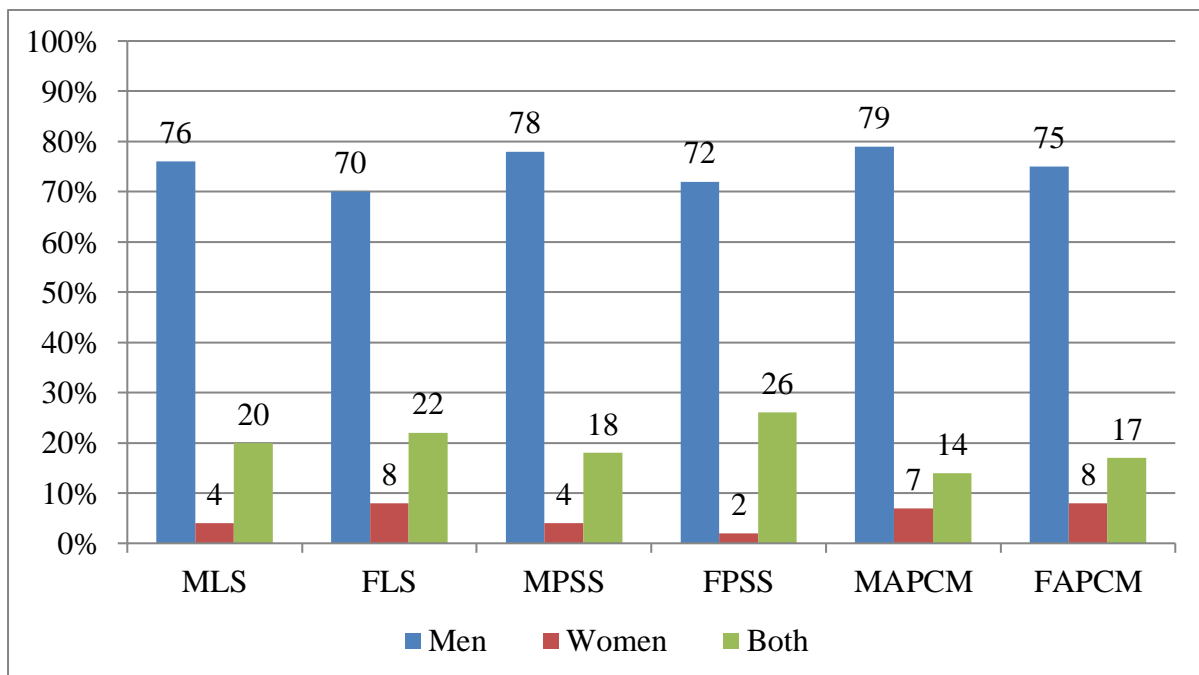
Figure 3.13: Political Parties' Preferable Candidates

The Figure 3.13 shows clearly that political parties in Algeria still prefer to nominate male candidates over female candidates. The high percentages of the majority of respondents' answers indicate that the choices of leaders and members of political parties are deeply influenced by gender inequality and patriarchal norms that are still embedded in the Algerian society. During elections, many political parties usually choose to nominate male candidates

as heads of electoral lists for the sake of winning as many seats as possible in local assemblies and Parliament.

The leaders of political parties are generally interested in winning elections rather than caring for gender equality. They often justify choosing male candidates over female candidates by being reasonable and pragmatic since many voters tend to vote for men due to their distrust of women's political competence and experience. Thus, female candidates are always relegated to secondary positions and cannot attain leadership roles. However, there are some respondents (14%-26%) whose answers imply that political parties prefer to nominate both men and women during elections because of the quota system imposed by the Algerian government, which, accordingly, forced leaders of political parties to nominate more women on their electoral lists in order to be legally accepted.

3.7.4. The Motives for Adopting the New Organic Laws of Women's Political Representation in Algeria and the Recent Changes

This section comprises 6 questions:

3.7.4.1. Have the new organic laws been promulgated in Algeria due to external pressures and international changes (the Arab Spring)?
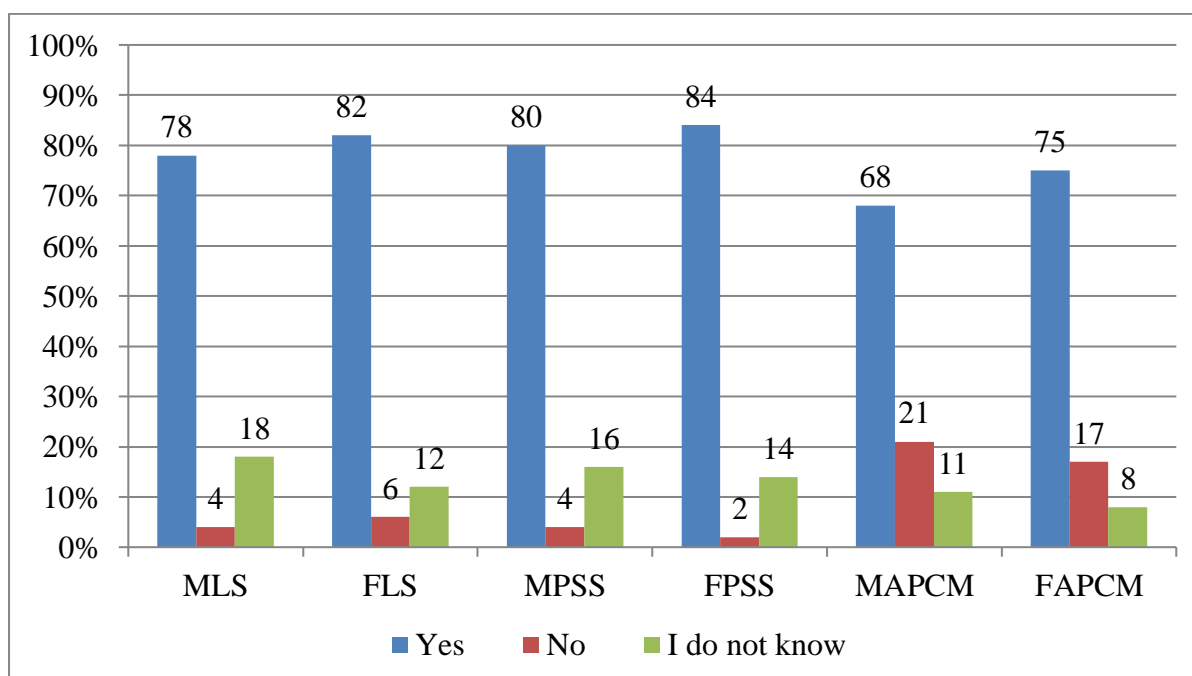
Figure 3.14: Impact of External Pressures and International Changes on the Promulgation of the New Organic Laws

As Figure 3.14 shows above, there were some external pressures and international changes (particularly the Arab Spring) which pushed the Algerian government to promulgate the new organic laws of women's political representation. The answers of the majority of respondents indicate that the protests and uprisings of the Arab Spring which started in Tunisia and moved to other Arab countries including Algeria, were the main reasons behind the Algerian political reforms and new organic laws. In 2011, after several days of public demonstrations, the Algerian government hastened the lifting of the 1992 state of emergency which was considered as a concession to opposition parties and human rights activists, who had been participating in marches and protests all over the country and calling for democracy and greater political freedoms.

Furthermore, the government declared new laws and amended others concerning political freedoms and social justice. It established also a National Commission for Consultation on Political Reforms whose primary role was to organise discussions and consultations with different political parties and civil society organisations before proposing other political and constitutional reforms. In 2012, after the long struggle of women's associations and women's rights activists, the Algerian government promulgated the new organic laws of women's political representation, and they were implemented for the first time in the legislative elections held on May 10, 2012.

However, there are some MAPCM (21%) and FAPCM (17%) whose answers imply that they believe that the Algerian government had already started promoting women's political status before the Arab Spring. The clear evidence for that claim is the Article 31 bis from the constitutional amendment of November 2008, which shows the determination of the state to promote the political rights of women by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies.

3.7.4.2. To what extent did the new organic laws improve women's political representation in Algeria?
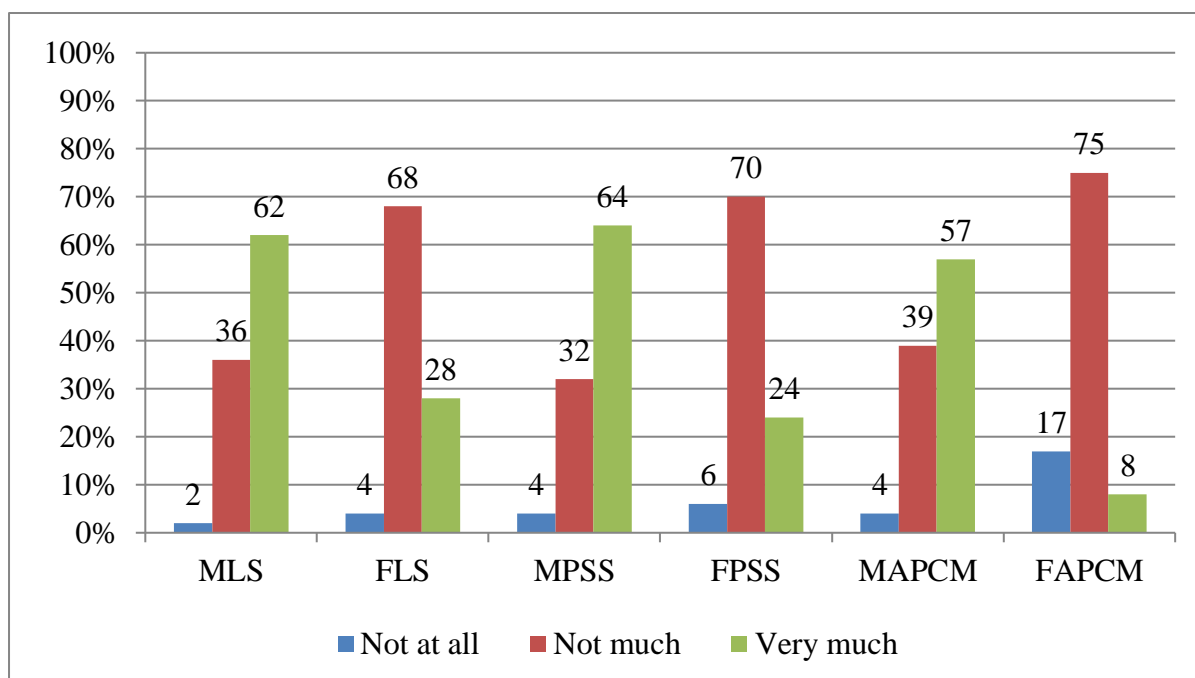
Figure 3.15: Extent of Improvement of Women's Political Representation by the New Organic Laws in Algeria

As it is shown above in Figure 3.15, there is an improvement in Algerian women's political representation after adopting the new organic laws, although respondents disagree on its extent. We can see that the majority of male respondents (namely MLS (62%), MPSS (64%) and MAPCM (57%)) agree that the new organic laws have improved very much the political representation of Algerian women. Their opinion may be explained by their belief that the imposed quota system is really sufficient for enhancing women's political representation in local assemblies and Parliament, and it is considered as a great step towards gender equality, political reform and democratic progress. Moreover, the political parties have to include a one-third proportion of female candidates in their electoral lists, which increases women's chances of being elected and allows them to participate in the decision-making process.

Whereas the majority of female respondents (namely FLS (68%), FPSS (70%) and FAPCM (75%)), in addition to some male respondents (namely MLS (36%), MPSS (32%) and MAPCM (39%)) agree that the new organic laws have not improved much women's political representation. Their claim may be supported by the wide criticism of these laws by some politicians and women's rights activists who see them only as a superficial political improvement. They argue that the new organic laws have not specified the nature and exact position of women on electoral lists, which make many leaders of political parties put most of

them at the bottom, and they even sometimes put their wives, daughters and relatives. These laws have not also imposed a quota system on the government and Council of the Nation which are dominated by men. Furthermore, these laws have not really addressed the patriarchal norms and social stereotypes that are still embedded in the Algerian society and still negatively affect women's political participation.

3.7.4.3. The use of quota system addresses discrimination against women and gives them an opportunity to prove their political capabilities:
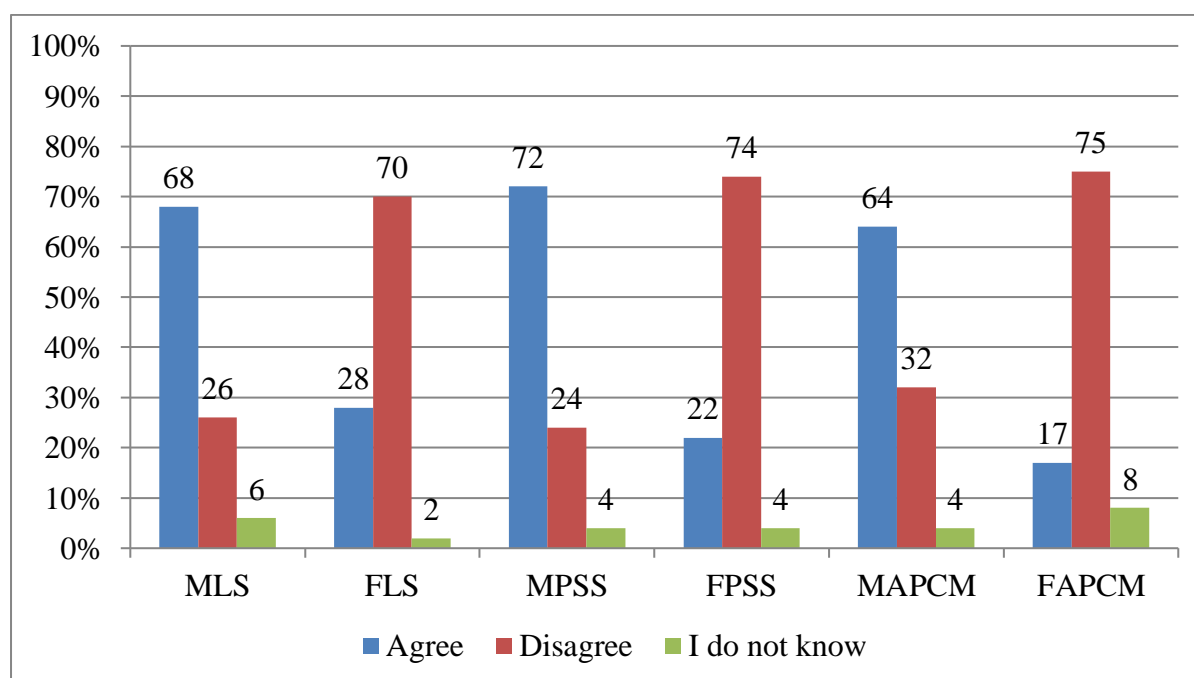
Figure 3.16: Adressing Discrimination against Women by the Quota System and its Role in Proving their Political Capabilities

The Figure 3.16 obviously demonstrates the differentiation between the viewpoints of male and female respondents about the effectiveness of the quota system in addressing discrimination against Algerian women and giving them the opportunity to prove their political capabilities. The answers of the majority of male respondents (namely MLS (68%), MPSS (72%) and MAPCM (64%)) prove that they see the quota system as an effective instrument that helps fighting discrimination against women, especially in the political field, because it imposes a one-third proportion of female candidates in the electoral lists, and any list that fails to abide by this rule will be rejected. Therefore, it gives women a great opportunity to easily engage in politics which was dominated by men since the independence of the country. Moreover, it allows women to increase their numbers in local assemblies and

Parliament and prove their political capabilities by creating political alliances with other politicians, establishing political ties with the government and participating in the decision-making process by proposing and passing new laws in the Parliament concerning women's rights in particular, and society's development in general.

However, the answers of the majority of female respondents (namely FLS (70%), FPSS (74%) and FAPCM (75%)), in addition to the answers of some male respondents (namely MLS (26%), MPSS (24%) and MAPCM (32%)) indicate that they do not think that the quota system is really effective in eliminating discrimination against women from the political sphere, because it is greatly embedded in the Algerian society due to men's dominance and power, social stereotypes and ideological differences, which still consider men as politically experienced and effective, and women as weak and untrustworthy. Moreover, the Algerian government has promised to financially support political parties which include more women in their electoral lists, which is seen by many women's rights activists as a sexist measure that only attracts people who are interested in financial benefits. According to them, it degrades and objectifies women and does not focus on their intellectual and political competences.

3.7.4.4. How do you evaluate the imposed quota system?
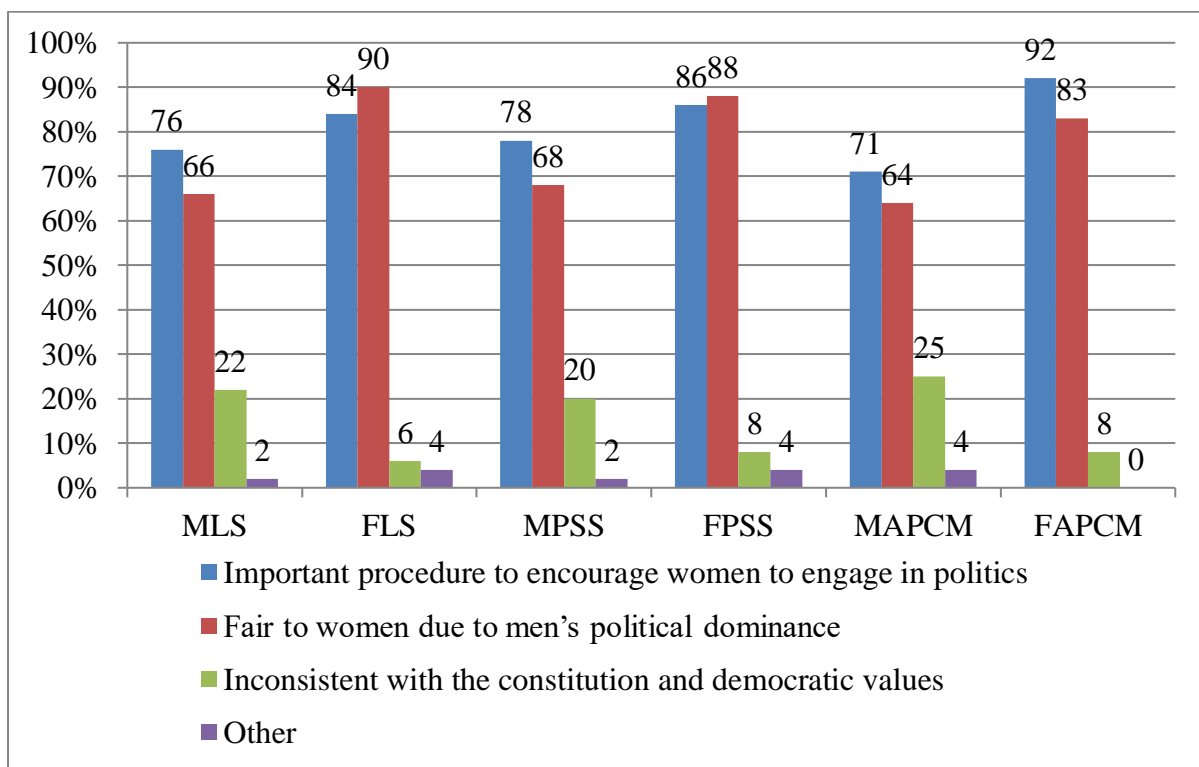
Figure 3.17: Evaluation of the Imposed Quota System

As Figure 3.17 indicates above, there is a general agreement among all respondents on the importance of the quota system in encouraging Algerian women to engage in politics and gradually overcome men's political dominance. The percentages of the respondents' answers may imply that they consider the imposed quota system as women's first step towards political emancipation after a long struggle for equality with men in the political field. Despite its shortcomings, the quota system may attract more their interest in politics and encourage them to develop their political skills by joining political parties and participating in political campaigns in order to be elected.

Moreover, it gives them the chance, at least, to try changing the rigid mindsets that still see women as politically incompetent, the misinterpretations and patriarchal interpretations of religious texts that forbid women from participating in politics and hold leadership positions, and the social stereotypes and gender inequalities that relegate women to traditional domestic roles. However, there are some respondents (particularly MLS (22%), MPSS (20%) and MAPCM (25%)) who see the imposed quota system as inconsistent with the constitution and democratic values, because it violates the constitutional principle of equality of all citizens before the law by allocating some rights only to some citizens. Additionally, some respondents point out that the quota system just puts more pressure on the leaders of political parties, which make them give more priority to the quantity of women instead of their quality in the electoral lists.

3.7.4.5. In the local and legislative elections of 2012 and 2017, the Organic Law n° 12-03 improved women's political representation:
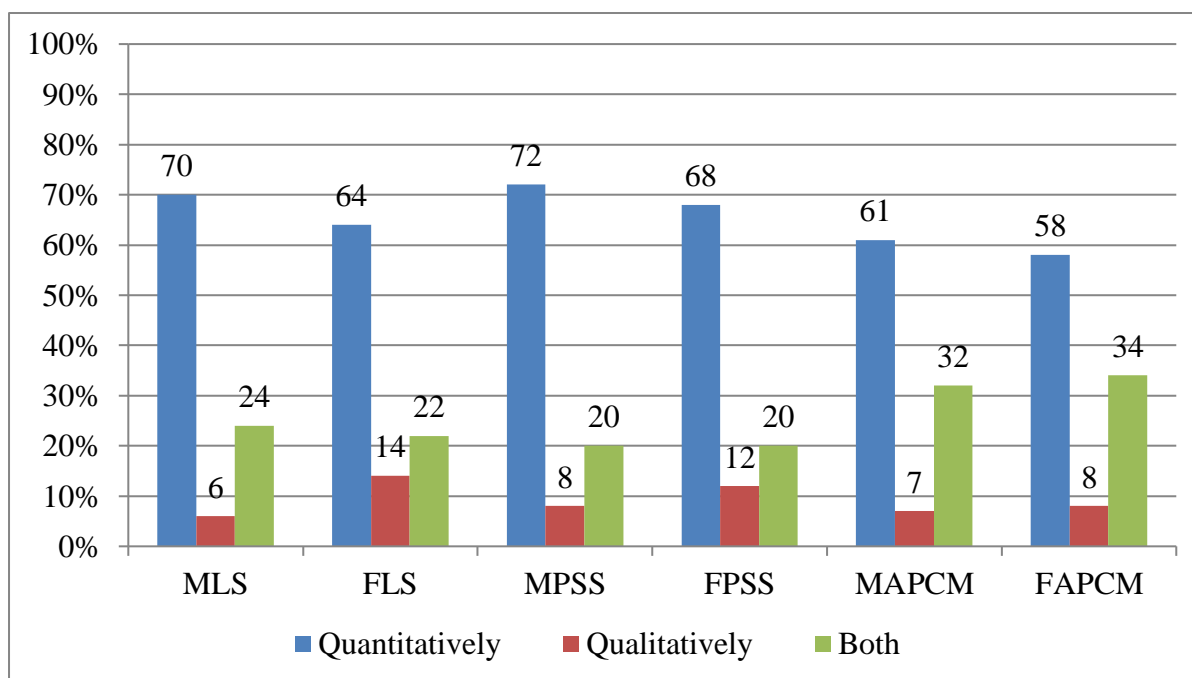
Figure 3.18: Quality of Women's Political Representation after the Local and Legislative Elections of 2012 and 2017

It is clearly shown in Figure 3.18 that the majority of respondents, both males and females, totally agree that the Organic Law n° 12-03 concerning the quota system improved women's political representation quantitatively. By adopting the quota system, Algeria was able to raise the number of women in local assemblies and Parliament. In 2012, women won 145 out of 462 parliamentary seats, with a representation rate of 31.38% which was an unprecedented rate over the past fifty years. In 2017, the number of women's seats decreased to 120 out of 462 parliamentary seats, which corresponds to 25.97%. Whereas in Communal People's Assemblies, their representation rate was 16.50% in 2012, and 27.54% in 2017; and in Wilaya People's Assemblies, their representation rate was 29.69% in 2012, and 30% in 2017 (Marwane, 2021).

The agreement among respondents on the quantitative representation of women in local assemblies and Parliament is related to many social and political reasons. For instance, the pressure of the Algerian government on political parties to include a one-third proportion of female candidates in the electoral lists, as well as the short time between the adoption of the new organic laws (January 12, 2012) and their application in the legislative elections (May 10, 2012); made leaders of political parties hasty to find any women, during that limited time, who were interested in politics and accepted to be included in the electoral lists.

Therefore, they did not have enough time to give political training to women or bring some elite women who were interested in politics; which resulted in huge numbers of women who lack political acumen and experience being pushed into the elected assemblies. Some of them were poorly educated and working as maids and hairdressers which, unfortunately, earned the Parliament the nickname "the hairdressers' parliament". All these problems recurred in the elections of 2017 in which the large number of elected women did not make any significant shifts in the making of national policies about women's rights, and did not improve women's participation in political parties and government. Ultimately, the weak performance of female representatives negatively affected them and gave Algerians a bad perception of women's participation in politics.

However, there are some respondents (especially MAPCM (32%) and FAPCM (34%)) who claim that the Organic Law n° 12-03 improved women's political representation both quantitatively and qualitatively, because their number significantly increased in elected assemblies, and there were also some educated female representatives and female leaders of political parties who won in the elections and could serve as role models for other young women who might be interested in engaging in politics.

3.7.4.6. The Ordinances n° 21-01 and n° 21-10 concerning the gender parity principle that were issued in 2021 caused:
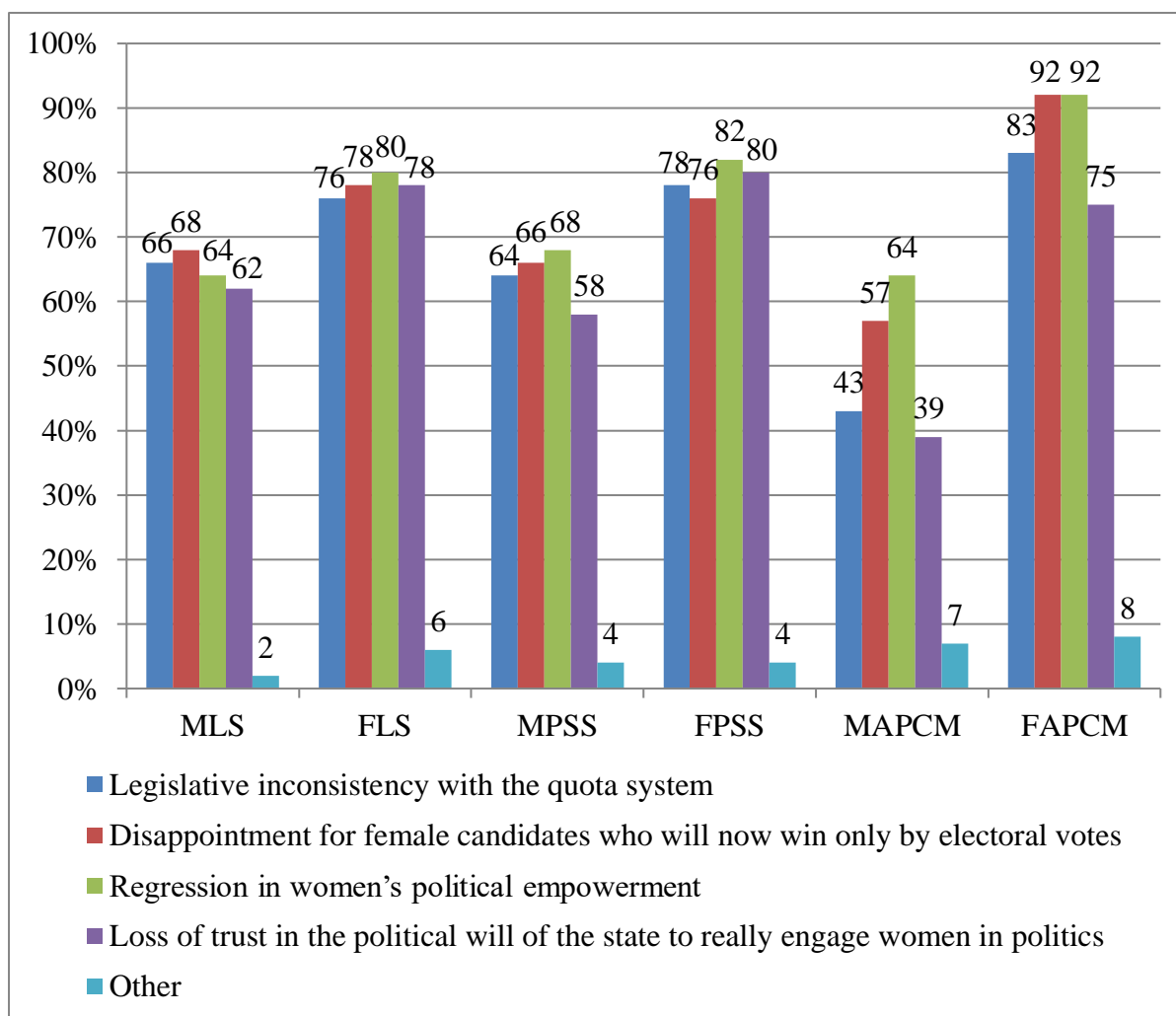
Figure 3.19: Effects of the Ordinances of the Gender Parity Principle

As it is indicated in Figure 3.19 above, the Ordinances n° 21-01 and n° 21-10 concerning the gender parity principle that were issued in 2021 caused many setbacks for Algerian women's political participation. The answers of most respondents (especially females) imply that they see that the new ordinances of gender parity principle caused a serious legislative inconsistency with the quota system that granted Algerian women more opportunities of access to local assemblies and Parliament. These new ordinances completely abolished the quota system and replaced it with equality between men and women in the electoral lists. They adopted also an open list and direct elections system, which gives voters an opportunity to choose their preferred candidate from among different electoral lists. Due to the patriarchal norms in the Algerian society that reject often women's political participation, most voters are probably going to choose men over women, which will severely curtail the chances of female candidates, even the competent ones. Consequently, this new electoral law paved the way for leaders of political parties to disregard women's political participation,

especially in rural areas where women are constantly excluded due to various social obstacles. However, the slightly low percentage of the answers of MAPCM (43%) may imply that they consider the quota system as a transitory measure which was imposed for a short period of time, but unfortunately did not accomplish any substantial improvement in women's political empowerment; and thus, the electoral law needed to change and evolve in order to try other electoral measures.

Furthermore, most of respondents' answers (particularly FAPCM (92%)) indicate that they agree on the big disappointment of female candidates in the new gender parity principle, because, unlike the quota system, the legal text in this new law states plainly that gender parity will be applied to candidacies and not to winning seats. Women will now win in elections only by electoral votes and not by allocated seats. Therefore, they will be deprived of important chances of access to Parliament and local assemblies, especially in the conservative regions of the country, which can open the door to forgery and corruption in order to achieve gender parity that ensures women's presence in the electoral lists but does not grant them winning seats in the assemblies.

According to the answers of most respondents (especially FAPCM (92%)), the new gender parity law caused great regression in women's political empowerment. For instance, women's representation rate in Parliament was 31.38% in 2012 and 25.97% in 2017, but after applying the gender parity law, it greatly decreased to 8.35% in 2021, which clearly proves that the new law does not improve women's political empowerment. Moreover, this law allows the Independent National Authority of Elections to give an acceptance license to the electoral lists which could not fulfil the gender parity principle, and consequently, it participates more in reducing women's chances of access to local assemblies and Parliament.

The answers of the majority of respondents (especially females) imply that there is a loss of trust in the political will of the state to really engage women in politics. This loss of trust can be attributed not only to the decrease in women's representation rate in Parliament and local assemblies, and the acceptance license of electoral lists that failed to apply the law, but also to the constantly changing electoral laws and constitutional amendments that negatively affect the stability of the national political landscape. Despite the gender parity of the new electoral law, the government did not effectively address the patriarchal norms and social stereotypes that are still hindering women's political participation. It did not also work

on increasing Algerians' level of awareness of the importance of women's participation in various social, economic and political activities.

Moreover, it did not create a substantial political process which can attract women's interest in politics, and it did not establish real opportunities for women to be active in political parties, trade unions and civil society organisations. However, there are some respondents who think that the new gender parity law caused regression only in the number of women who were poorly educated or simply interested in political power and financial privileges of seats of Parliament and local assemblies. They argue that this new law will now attract only women who are really interested in engaging in politics and want to prove their political competence through political struggle and hard work.

3.8. Discussion and Major Findings

After the analysis of the questionnaire about the new organic laws of women's political representation in Algeria, we can say that they have many shortcomings and do not accomplish sufficient improvement in women's political status since they are still under-represented in the country's local assemblies and Parliament. These are the main findings of our research:

- In Algeria, gender roles and power relations are negotiated and manifested through political discourse in which women are always relegated to lower positions by laws and under-represented by taking less opportunities than men to prove their abilities in roles of leadership. For instance, the language used in the quota system which allocates "a 30% of seats for the Communal People's Assemblies located in daïras and communes with a population larger than 20 000 inhabitants"; explains clearly the ignorance of all women who live in daïras and communes with a population less than 20 000 inhabitants.

- Gender greatly affected the Algerian decision-making process because the new organic laws were mainly made by men who maintained women's political under-representation in local assemblies and Parliament.

- Men's dominance still exists in the Algerian political sphere due to gender and power inequalities, patriarchal norms and social stereotypes that are still embedded in the Algerian society and still hindering women's political participation.

- The protests of the Arab Spring pushed the Algerian government to announce new political reforms and organic laws in order to maintain national security.

- The Article 2, Paragraph 3 of the Organic Law n° 12-03 imposes 30% of women in the Communal People's Assemblies located in daïras and communes with a population larger than 20 000 inhabitants, which excludes the less populated communes.

- The Organic Law n° 12-03 also excludes from its scope the government and the Council of the Nation which is the upper chamber of Parliament.

- The new quota system is not very effective in eliminating discrimination against women, and does not impose a mandatory alternation between men and women on electoral lists which keeps women at the bottom in a non-eligible position for election.

- The application of the Organic Law n° 12-03 in the local and legislative elections of 2012 and 2017 improved women's political representation quantitatively, because many politically inexperienced and poorly educated women were pushed into elected assemblies, and their weak performance eventually gave Algerians a negative perception of women's political participation.

- There was an absence of political ethics in applying the new electoral laws since some leaders of political parties had named their wives and daughters at the bottom of their electoral lists just to be seen as supporters of the new quota system.

- Education is an important factor that raises women's awareness of people's socio-economic problems and their jobs help them build social relationships, which allows them to gain people's trust when they engage in politics.

- Algerian women do not have the same opportunities as men to access the political field due to different social and political obstacles.

- Algerian women's dependence on men still affects their political participation despite the amelioration in their social, educational and professional conditions.

- Algerian men usually try to impose their personal opinions and beliefs on women, and try to control them by depriving them of their right to study or have a job, which curtails their civil liberties and political participation.

- Algerian women are still predominantly considered as domestic human beings, and Algerian traditional roles and division of labour are still gendered and influenced by social norms, which poses great challenges for women to leave their domestic duties for public ones.

- Although men can participate in drafting gender-sensitive laws like the organic laws of women's political empowerment, but they cannot always understand women's needs since their socialisation, culture and experiences are different.

- Algerian women highly experience gender discrimination in the competitive environment of political parties and electoral campaigns, where men are often selected as heads of electoral lists, and voted for by Algerians due to the lack of trust in female candidates.

- Algerian women still face unequal division of power in political institutions because of gender bias and men's strong retention of political power.

- Poverty can be also a major challenge that impedes Algerian women's political participation, because poor women do not engage in politics, but rather focus on looking for jobs.

- Despite the Algerian government's attempt to promote women's political participation, their lack of interest in politics still exists due to the lack of information and understanding of political systems and processes, family responsibilities and gender stereotypes.

- Educated women are generally aware of their political rights, which helps them to effectively participate in the Algerian political sphere, fight against all forms of discrimination and communicate people's problems to state officials.

- Women can increase their level of awareness of their political rights by reading about politics, watching political programmes and debates, attending political meetings and electoral campaigns and joining political parties.

- Women's associations and charities can motivate women to fight for their civil rights, whereas joining political parties and voting in elections can help them defend their political rights and participate in the national decision-making process.

- Traditional media and social media can help women claim their rights and directly communicate their problems and needs to state officials.

- Algerian women's electoral votes still have a great impact on the outcomes of elections despite all social and political obstacles, and they generally prefer to be represented by women in local assemblies and Parliament because they can better understand their problems and defend their rights.

- Female members of local assemblies and Parliament can better defend women's rights and solve their social problems by interacting with them to know their problems,

asking the government to improve their social conditions, legislating laws to empower them and attending national and international conferences on women's rights.

- The choice of candidates is deeply influenced by gender stereotypes and patriarchal norms, therefore, the leaders of political parties who are interested in winning elections, generally justify choosing male candidates by being pragmatic since many voters tend to vote for men due to their distrust of women's political competence.

- Although some Algerians consider the quota system as inconsistent with the constitution because it allocates some rights only to some citizens, but it can be considered as a first step towards changing the rigid mindsets that still see women as politically incompetent, encouraging women to engage in politics and overcoming men's political dominance.

- The Ordinances n° 21-01 and n° 21-10 completely abolished the quota system and replaced it with the gender parity principle which is applied to candidacies and not to winning seats.

- These new ordinances allowed the Independent National Authority of Elections to give an acceptance license to the electoral lists that could not fulfil the gender parity principle, which consequently paved the way for leaders of political parties to ignore, once again, women's political participation.

- These new ordinances did not effectively address the patriarchal norms and social stereotypes that are still hindering women's political participation.

- These new ordinances did not create substantial political measures that can attract women's interest in politics, or increase Algerians' level of awareness of the importance of women's participation in the political decision-making process.

- The new gender parity principle caused a major regression in Algerian women's political empowerment and big disappointment to female candidates who lost trust in the seriousness of the government's political will to engage women in politics.

3.9. Suggestions and Recommendations to Improve Women's Political Empowerment

Since the organic laws and the recently proclaimed ordinances did not accomplish a serious advancement in Algerian women's political representation, these are some suggestions and recommendations to improve their political empowerment:

- Adopt a serious national policy to promote women's representation in all institutions of decision-making at all levels, and guarantee equal opportunities for both men and women to enjoy their civil and political rights.

- Grant Algerian women more chances of access to leadership positions in the government and the Council of the Nation in order to participate more in the formulation and implementation of national policies and strategies.

- Review all existing laws and legislations concerning women's rights in order to keep pace with the social, cultural and economic developments of the country.

- Develop political mechanisms to promote participatory democracy and apply its principles, which include the recognition of basic rights and freedoms in order to increase the spirit of good citizenship and achieve equality between men and women in the political sphere.

- Impose the alternation between men and women in the electoral lists to guarantee their election.

- Legislate new laws against gender discrimination in the different structures of political institutions.

- Reform educational curricula in schools and universities by including more programmes on gender sensitisation.

- Establish efficient political processes that attract women's interest in politics and create training programmes to support their political practice and develop their political competence.

- Create more opportunities for women to be active in political parties, trade unions and civil society organisations.

- Recommend leaders of political parties to give women more chances to join political parties and develop their political skills.

- Facilitate the foundation of women's associations and grant them more legal and financial autonomy.

- Launch a national campaign through the different types of media to fight gender stereotypes and raise Algerians' awareness of the importance of women's participation in politics and public affairs.

- Hold forums and conferences on women's social and political issues in order to encourage them to participate in political life, and contribute to raising Algerian society's awareness of women's civil and political rights.

3.10. Conclusion

After the promulgation of the new organic laws that intend to promote participatory democracy in Algeria and improve women's political representation in local assemblies and Parliament, Algerian women had a real hope that these laws were going to strengthen their political status and end their under-representation in the national political institutions. But after discovering the reality of the new quota system, by joining political parties and participating in electoral campaigns of the local and legislative elections of 2012 and 2017, their early sense of optimism had vanished because of the superficiality of this system and its great failure in solving their political problems, addressing social stereotypes and patriarchal norms and eliminating gender discrimination in the political field.

Furthermore, the quota system did not specify the educational level of female candidates who should be included in electoral lists, which resulted in elected assemblies filled with many poorly educated and politically inexperienced female representatives. Therefore, the quantitative increase in women's political representation was highly criticised by many politicians and their weak performance ultimately gave Algerians a negative perception of their participation in politics. In light of these negative effects, Algerian government announced in 2021 a new gender parity law which replaced the quota system.

Many political parties considered the new gender parity principle as unjust for women because, unlike the quota system, the legal text of this new principle expresses clearly that gender parity will be applied to candidacies and not to winning seats. Consequently, Algerian women will now win in elections not by allocated seats, but only by electoral votes; which will deprive them of a substantive representation in Parliament and local assemblies, especially those who live in the conservative rural regions of the country. Moreover, this new law granted the electoral lists an acceptance license if they could not fulfil the gender parity principle. All these shortcomings of the new law caused a great regression in women's political representation, and made female candidates lose trust in the seriousness of the state's political will to engage them in politics.

The constantly changing laws concerning women's political empowerment created uncertainty among Algerian women about their political status in the coming years. Thus, the fourth chapter of this work will deal with the effectiveness of these laws, the challenges that face women in politics and the future perspectives of their political participation.

Chapter Four: Historical Evolution of Women's Political Rights and Algerian Women's Political Future after the Quota System

4.1. Introduction

Women's weak participation in the political sphere and decision-making process is one of the biggest problems in modern politics all over the world. The levels of their political participation differ from one country to another according to the social and cultural nature and political laws of each country. Their presence in decision-making positions allows them to participate in the public and political life of their countries, regardless of their social, cultural and political backgrounds. The quota system was one of the mechanisms proposed at the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, as a temporary solution to women's longtime marginalisation and exclusion of political life, which caused their low representation in political institutions, and even sometimes their complete loss of interest in politics.

In Algeria, the quota system was applied in 2012 by adopting the Organic Law n° 12-03 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. This law sparked a wide debate about its constitutionality, some women's rights activists saw it as a first step for women in order to improve their political representation and overcome men's dominance over the political field. They claimed that this law did not have any conflict with the principle of equality between men and women, because it was considered as a positive discrimination for women who represented half of society and were highly successful in the educational and professional domains. Moreover, they thought that the quota system could help women sharpen their political skills, reach leadership positions and prove their effectiveness in defending their causes and fulfilling other people's needs. Whereas other politicians considered the quota system unconstitutional since it favoured women over other citizens which contradicted the principle of equality before the law.

After applying the quota system in the elections of 2012 and 2017, it increased the number of women in elected assemblies, but it created a wide controversy about many of the new female representatives who were poorly educated and politically inexperienced. In 2021, Algeria abolished the quota system by adopting the gender parity principle which resulted again in women's low political representation and opened the door for speculations about the future of women's political participation. This fourth chapter follows the historical evolution of women's political rights in international laws, charters and conventions. It shows the origins of the quota system and its implementation in different Western and Arab countries, and it deals with the Algerian experience in adopting this system and then replacing it by the gender parity principle which greatly affected women's political participation in the country.

4.2. Evolution of Women's Political Rights in International Law

After the Second World War which caused the largest number of casualties in human history, discussions about human rights became widespread all over the world especially the countries that participated in the war. They reached a consensus concerning the importance of the recognition of human basic rights, and agreed to establish an organisation that would help to maintain international peace and security and promote and protect human rights. This organisation was the United Nations which was mainly established in order to overcome the negative consequences of war and prevent any armed conflicts between countries in the future. This organisation began progressively to develop its policies and regulations about protecting civil liberties in the face of terrorism and violent extremism, preventing starvation in poor countries, supporting social protection even in difficult economic times, respecting religious freedom and tolerance, fighting discrimination against any group of people including immigrants, protecting everyone from all forms of violence, especially women and children, and creating a space for freedom of expression for the media, and for human rights activists to work without intimidation (United Nations, 2016).

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) was the first fundamental document in the history of human rights which was drafted by representatives with various cultural and legal backgrounds from all over the world. It was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) in Paris on December 10, 1948 and was referred to as the General Assembly Resolution 217A. It was considered as the common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations of the world. It recognised, for the first time, basic human rights to be universally protected and defended. Those rights have been translated into 500 languages of the world. Nowadays, it is widely known that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has inspired and paved the way for adopting more than seventy human rights treaties, which are permanently applied at regional and universal levels (all these treaties contain references to it in their preambles) (UNGA, 1948).

Some of these treaties are related to different human rights like International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) which were adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 16, 1966. These two great covenants bring the force of law to the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They draw the bitter lessons from

war, genocide, colonial oppression and economic devastation in order to make laws that help to build a more peaceful and just world. They provide strong support for states' accountability in relation to the implementation of the sustainable development goals. They aim also to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations system to prevent serious human rights abuses and respond quickly before they turn into mass atrocities (United Nations, 2016).

Whereas at the regional level, other treaties were concluded to protect human rights in general and women's political rights in particular. Thus, human rights and basic freedoms, including women's political rights, especially their right to political representation in parliament, have more legal power because they do not exist only in the states' national constitutions and laws, but they are also supported by international treaties and regional agreements (Mahrez, 2014:54). These treaties and agreements include the right for women to vote and be elected in different political councils, by dedicating legal texts which aim at protecting women's political rights, emphasising on equality between men and women in all social, economic and political domains and eliminating all forms of discrimination against women to help them engage more in public affairs.

4.2.1. Women's Political Rights in International Conventions

The general conventions which aim at protecting human rights within the United Nations framework are the legal basis for its activities in many countries all over the world. They are also the basis for concluding many other international and regional covenants and treaties. At the international level, the United Nations issued many conventions such as the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. At the regional level, it issued also many treaties like the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (also known as the Banjul Charter) and the Arab Charter on Human Rights. These international charters and treaties played an important role in shaping and developing women's social and political rights (Neche, 2011:49).

International charters and conventions did not neglect the rights of women and the necessity of their equality with men. Through the activities of women's associations at the national level in many countries, the fight for women's rights moved to the international level by establishing the International Council of Women (ICW) in 1888 for the advancement of women all over the world (Yahiaoui, 2001:38). Accordingly, before the creation of the

League of Nations, the international community adopted many legal texts like the Hague Convention in 1902 relating to the settlement of the conflict of the laws concerning marriage, and the two international agreements issued in Paris respectively in 1904 and 1910 related to the suppression of traffic in women, where the 1910 agreement concluded that the traffic and exploitation of women were international crimes (Mahmoud, 1991:6).

The international protection of women through international treaties and covenants started an intense debate about separating women's rights from universally recognised human rights, because women just like men benefited from these rights. The main principle which governs benefiting from international laws for human rights is the equality between men and women, however, at first, the approach to the protection of women in international law was not based on the principle of equality, but on the protectionist approach. The International Labour Organisation which was a pioneer in protecting women's rights, adopted this approach in 1919 when it issued two conventions about women's rights: the Maternity Protection Convention (n° 03) and the Night Work (Women) Convention (n° 04); where it granted women a specific protection instead of equality with men (Alwan & Al Musa, 2007).

The League of Nations had also made efforts in this regard, as Article 7, Paragraph 3 of its covenant stipulates that *"All positions under or in connection with the League, including the Secretariat, shall be open equally to men and women".*[75] In 1921, the League agreed on a draft convention to prevent trafficking in women and children based on the Geneva Conference, and in 1937 the League established a committee of experts to prepare a study on the status of women around the world, but the outbreak of the Second World War prevented the completion of this study (Mahmoud, 1991:7). After the end of Second World War, the international community tried to provide more protection for international peace, and find mechanisms that would achieve justice and obligate states to respect the laws and regulations of international conventions. Therefore, the Charter of the United Nations was proclaimed on June 26, 1945, and an international body was established in order to maintain international peace and security and protect human rights; it was the universal organisation of the United Nations.

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[75] Article 7, Paragraph 3 of the Covenant of the League of Nations which was issued in 1919 and it contained 26 Articles. It played an important role in achieving international peace and security and promoting international cooperation.

4.2.1.1. Women's Political Rights in the Charter of the United Nations

The real development of international law concerning the respect for human rights was not achieved until the emergence of the United Nations after the atrocities of the Second World War, which made it clear that there is no place for absolute sovereignty that would undermine human dignity in any state and threaten the peace and security of the international community (Al Sheikh, 2008:11). In fact, the Charter of the United Nations[76] is considered as the first international agreement that clearly mentions the principle of equality. The preamble to the Charter calls for achieving equality between men and women, and asserts that the priority is for human rights before the rights of states. It affirms the principle of equality and non-discrimination between men and women as the essence of international human rights law (Ali, 2000:45).

It is stated in the preamble that: *"the peoples of the United Nations determined to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small"* (United Nations, 1945). Article 1 of the Charter explains the purposes of the United Nations: *"to achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion"* (ibid.). Furthermore, Article 8 of the Charter grants women the right to equally participate with men in its organs, and it stipulates that: *"The United Nations shall place no restrictions on the eligibility of men and women to participate in any capacity and under conditions of equality in its principal and subsidiary organs"* (ibid.).

In Articles 13, 55, 56 and 76 of the Charter, the United Nations is committed to facilitating the exercise of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all people, without any distinction whatsoever, as Article 55 states: *"Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".*[77] The Charter also contains other texts, including those related to the United Nations General Assembly which is concerned with conducting studies and making recommendations in order to develop international cooperation in all fields for all people

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[76] Algeria made a declaration of acceptance of the obligations contained in the Charter of the United Nations in Algiers on September 30, 1962.

[77] Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations

without discrimination between them in terms of sex, language or religion, and ensure that men and women have equal opportunities in society, as it is mentioned in Article 13 of the Charter.

Other texts include the means to achieve these goals, as the Charter entrusted a number of bodies with the task of protecting rights. In this context, Article 62 concerning the Economic and Social Council affirms that it conducts studies and prepares reports on international issues in economic, social, cultural, education and health fields. Moreover, it makes recommendations with respect to matters related to the General Assembly, to the members of the United Nations, and to the specialised agencies concerned.[78] The United Nations created also the Trusteeship Council which supervises the administration of Trust Territories that are placed under the International Trusteeship System. Article 76 explains one of the primary objectives of the Trusteeship System: *"to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world".*[79]

It is noted that despite the fact that the Charter contained these texts, it did not deal with human rights in full details, especially women's political rights, as well as the lack of a precise legal definition of human rights because it was more general in nature, except for the reference to non-discrimination. Therefore, there was an urgent need for the United Nations to take more ambitious and effective complementary initiatives to support the Charter. The Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) which is one of the United Nations bodies, formed and approved a special committee on December 18, 1948 in order to prepare an international charter for human rights, and the United Nations General Assembly approved the draft of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in its session held in Paris on December 10, 1948 (Kadri, 2008:113).

4.2.1.2. Women's Political Rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

The first attempt to complete and confirm the texts related to human rights contained in the Charter was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights[80], which was issued in the form of regulations by the United Nations General Assembly (McWhinney, 1986:254), and it

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[78] Article 62 of the Charter of the United Nations
[79] Article 76 of the Charter of the United Nations
[80] On September 10, 1963, Algeria adhered to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in Article 11 of its Constitution of 1963.

came as a culmination of mankind's efforts throughout history to recognise the human right to freedom, justice and equality as innate human values and necessities and it is difficult to live without them. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights began by focusing on freedom and equality between human beings and recognising all human rights. Then, it clearly indicates that enjoying and exercising these rights and freedoms is an absolute right for all human beings, without any discrimination that is based on race, colour, sex, language, religion or social status.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights started from general and comprehensive premises for all human beings regardless of their social statuses and political stances, including women, so that it is not possible to separate women's rights from the general concept of human rights since equality between men and women is the basis for the general idea of human rights. Therefore, Article 1 says: *"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood"[81]*, and Article 2 adds that: *"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status".[82]*

The right of women to participate in politics and public affairs has gained legal status with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights through Article 21 which expresses that: *"Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country. The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures".[83]* Moreover, it is established in the law that everyone is a word that refers to all members of society, men and women at the same time. Therefore, according to Article 21 of this Declaration, women have the right to direct and effective political participation in the management of the affairs of their country (Al Khatib, 2007:16), and the last paragraph of Article 21 makes the will of the people the rightful basis of the authority of their government. It also gives the people the right

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[81] Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
[82] Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
[83] Article 21 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

to participate in legitimate elections in order to freely choose their representatives. Additionally, the states have to guarantee the democratic legitimacy and freedom of voting by providing the necessary means, because if the choice of people is respected and made through free voting, both men and women can enjoy equal political rights (El Desouky, 2007:46). Therefore, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly recognises the full rights of men and women, regardless of their age, colour, religion, social position and political views.

The Declaration forms the basis of 72 conventions and treaties related to human rights, which have been concluded since the issuance of the Declaration until now, through which human rights were defined and procedures and mechanisms were established to promote and protect those rights. Thus, any government that ratifies any of these conventions and does not abide by their laws and regulations, will be considered by international community as a violator of human rights (Neche, 2011:32). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights also documented the principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations of 1945, which require every government to treat its citizens not only on the basis of its national laws, but also on the basis of international laws as well.

This universal document is a set of principles that states have committed themselves to them and pledged to work according to them, and to make efforts to provide their citizens with a decent human life. It is considered as a cornerstone of all legally binding human rights treaties that were issued later, and its provisions had a great impact on all laws and constitutions of the members of the United Nations (Abdossalam, 1982:284). Furthermore, the United Nations declared in its charter that it will not accept any state as a member unless it fully recognises human rights as standards of civilisation that are imposed on each member of the international community. It also called on its members all over the world to provide and guarantee national and international measures to implement human rights principles and standards in a comprehensive, effective and non-discriminatory manner.

In order to complement and support the process of protecting human rights, the United Nations issued more binding covenants and charters for states. It adopted and ratified the two international covenants on human rights, namely the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Consequently, with the adoption of these two covenants, the rights and freedoms that are stipulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights become legal obligations stemming

from consensual international law. These two covenants are binding international treaties that put legal obligations on the states which ratify them, and they are considered as an important step towards the protection of human rights and development of social, cultural, economic and political statuses of people around the world (Al Dabbas & Abu Zeid, 2005:66).

4.2.1.3. Women's Political Rights in the Convention on the Political Rights of Women

The Convention on the Political Rights of Women[84] was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly at the 409th plenary meeting in New York on December 20, 1952 through Resolution A/RES/640 (VII), and entered into force on July 7, 1954, in accordance with Article 6. This Convention implements the principle of equal rights for men and women that is stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations, and recognises that everyone has the right to take part in the management of the public affairs of his/her country, directly or indirectly through freely chosen representatives. It also recognises the right of women, on an equal basis with others, to be given the opportunity to hold public office in their country. It seeks to establish equality between men and women in the enjoyment and exercise of political rights, in accordance with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Neche, 2011:55).

This Convention is the first international agreement that establishes the principle of full equality between men and women in political rights and their exercise, as it has completely equalised the legal status of men and women without any discrimination. This principle is applied in holding public office, voting and standing as a candidate in elections. Undoubtedly, the principle of equality extends to include all the political rights of women that are stipulated in international conventions, and this was confirmed by the representative of the United States of America before the Third Committee of the United Nations General Assembly, when he said that "the management of public affairs" includes the diplomatic, civil and foreign services, and "holding public office" includes the job of head of state and government (Hammouda, 2007:66).

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[84] It was ratified by Algeria with the presidential decree n° 04-126 of Safar 29, 1425 corresponding to April 19, 2004 ratifying the Convention on the Political Rights of Women, adopted on December 20, 1952.

4.2.1.4. Women's Political Rights in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) [85] was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in New York on December 18, 1979 through Resolution 34/180, and entered into force on September 3, 1981, in accordance with Article 27. This Convention is considered as an international bill of rights for women, because it came after more than thirty years of continuous work by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, which was established in 1946 to monitor the situation of women and promote their rights. It is based on the principles of the universality, comprehensiveness and indivisibility of women's rights, and it sets out, in a legally binding manner, the internationally applicable humanitarian principles related to women's rights (Benyza, 2010:166). It calls on the States Parties to abolish all forms of discrimination against women and equalise them with men in the enjoyment of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. It also emphasises the necessity to refrain from any act that insults women or undermines their dignity (Kadri, 2009:29).

The implementation of the Convention was monitored by a system of reports submitted to a special committee, and an Optional Protocol to the Convention was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on October 6, 1999, to establish a mechanism for individual complaints before the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, which was established by the Convention under Article 17 (Alwan & Al Musa, 2007:132). The most significant strength of this Convention is its nature as an international mandate that establishes the foundations for demanding women's equality with men, and prohibiting discrimination against them in the States Parties' different national laws. The Convention provides a comprehensive framework for the advancement of women in addition to the establishment of the concept of equality of opportunity and outcome. It also requires that the States Parties have to abide by its provisions according to several mechanisms, and that their national legislations comply with its principles (Tabsi, 2011:62). Moreover, it provides sufficient guarantees to achieve the principle of equality in all the domains related to

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[85] Algeria adhered to this Convention with the presidential decree n° 96-51 of Ramadhan 2, 1416 corresponding to January 22, 1996 on the adhesion of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, with reservation, to the Convention of 1979 on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

women, such as family, society, economy and politics. It also recognises the need to take appropriate measures (including legislative measures) to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women.

Part 1 of this Convention is devoted to the political rights of women, where States Parties are obligated to take appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women on an equal basis with men, in both the right to vote in all elections and eligibility to stand for election to all elected bodies whose members are elected by universal suffrage. Moreover, Article 7 gives women the right to participate in the formulation and the implementation of their government policies, hold public office at all levels of government and participate in all non-governmental associations and organisations concerned with the political and public life of their countries (Al Hilali, 2003:65-66). Article 8 asserts that the States Parties have to take all the necessary measures to ensure that women have equal opportunities with men, without any discrimination, in order to represent their governments at the international level and work with international organisations. According to Article 9, the States Parties have to grant women the same right as men to acquire, change or retain their nationality and to pass it to their children.

The general framework of this Convention mainly represents the principle of equality of opportunity and outcome with the aim of actual realisation of women's rights, which leads to bridging the gap between legal texts and women's rights in reality. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the ability of women to enjoy their rights and benefit from opportunities, in order to create programmes for women that remove the barriers hindering their equal opportunity, equal access and equal benefit (Tabsi, 2011:84). This Convention is the first international agreement that takes into account the prevention of any form of discrimination against women. It is rightly considered as a legal development in the field of women's equality with men, especially in exercising their political rights, holding public office and participating in the formulation and the implementation of the general policies of their countries (Hammouda, 2007:69).

4.2.1.5. Women's Political Rights in the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (Fourth World Conference on Women)

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action was adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace held in Beijing, China

on September 4-15, 1995 through Resolution A/CONF.177/20 (1995) and A/CONF.177/20/Add.1 (1995). This Conference is considered as one of the largest conferences held by the United Nations, since 139 official country delegations participated in it, in addition to 2 700 non-governmental organisations and bodies. The number of people who attended the preceding parallel conference of non-governmental organisations exceeded 35000, with 189 Member States of the United Nations which ratified the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and a total number of 50 000 participants in the Conference. This historic event was the culmination of many years of hard work by different countries and non-governmental organisations, in order to ensure the development of women's lives all over the world and include them in all aspects of societies and governments. It crystallised all women's issues discussed in previous conferences where the obstacles that prevent the achievement of human development goals were clarified for both men and women. Moreover, it called on governments to intervene in 12 of the most important fields affecting the status of women in the world, which are poverty, education and training, health, violence, armed conflict, economy, power and decision-making, institutional mechanisms, human rights, media, environment and girl child (Daniels & Lemonds, 2021).

With regard to the issue of women's access to power and decision-making as one of its critical areas of concern, it outlined practical actions that the United Nations and governments should take in order to increase the opportunities of women's access to full participation in power and decision-making structures. Furthermore, the Conference focused on the importance of advancing the conditions of women on the economic, social, cultural and political levels in the world, and activating the participation of women in public and political life. It urged the Participating States to take the necessary measures to support women's participation in decision-making institutions, and also called for the necessity for women to occupy 30% of decision-making positions by 2005, in preparation for their access to 50% of these positions in the future (Abdel Ghafar, 2009:63-64).

The Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action indicated that all the governments participating in the Fourth World Conference on Women were gathered in Beijing in September 1995, the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the United Nations, in order to put an agenda for women's empowerment. It expressed the determination of these governments to advance the goals of equality, development and peace for all women around the world. Moreover, it reaffirmed their commitment to recognise and respect the

equality of men and women in rights, freedoms and inherent human dignity, and all other principles and values enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of the United Nations, and other international declarations and conventions of human rights, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women and the Declaration on the Right to Development. It also called governments of the world to ensure the implementation of women's rights, take the necessary measures to achieve the advancement of women, and review and evaluate the progress that had been made at the regional, national and international levels (Zenati, 1998:129).

4.2.2. Women's Political Rights in the Two International Covenants

The two international covenants on human rights are at the forefront of all international covenants and treaties related to rights, and they represent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Charter of Human Rights in the world, because they encompass all aspects related to human rights in general (Kheddache, 2004:66). The two covenants contain a set of common principles, both in the preamble and in the texts of the articles. The preambles of the two covenants affirm that all human beings have inherent dignity and equal and inalienable rights, in accordance with the principles and objectives of the United Nations, which are based on freedom, justice and peace in the world. The preambles also confirm that the means to achieve what is stated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, is the freedom of human beings from fear and want and availability of good conditions, in addition to the states' respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of human beings (Sadouk, 1995a:127-128).

As for the common articles in the two covenants, they exist in Part 1 and Part 2 of both covenants, specifically Article 1 (Part 1), and Article 2, 3 and 5 (Part 2). Article 1 grants all peoples of the world the right of self-determination, as well as their freedom to determine their political status, pursue their economic, social and cultural development and exploit their natural resources. As for Article 2, it refers to the commitment of states to respect and secure the established rights of individuals in their territories without discrimination for any reason (Sadouk, 1995b:109). They also pledge to do their best, individually or collectively, for the actual or progressive realisation of the rights that are recognised in these two covenants.

With regard to Article 3, it stipulates that states pledge to guarantee gender equality for an effective enjoyment of rights, while Article 5 prevents all misinterpretations of any provision or regulation in the two covenants, whether by states or individuals, that aim at destructing the recognised rights or freedoms, or limiting them to a greater extent than is provided for in the covenants. Generally speaking, the two covenants focus on the necessity of ensuring the equal right of men and women to the enjoyment of all social, civil, cultural, political and economic rights with no discrimination whatsoever. The two covenants have also stated that the differences between individuals can never be a reason for any differences in their legal protection or any limitations in their rights (Neche, 2011:42).

4.2.2.1. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR)[86] is a multilateral treaty that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in New York on December 16, 1966 through Resolution 2200A (XXI), and entered into force on January 3, 1976, in accordance with Article 27. This covenant affirms the principle of equality between men and women in Article 3 through the common provisions of the two main covenants, with the exception of Article 4 which stipulates that: *"The States Parties to the present Covenant recognise that, in the enjoyment of those rights provided by the State in conformity with the present Covenant, the State may subject such rights only to such limitations as are determined by law only in so far as this may be compatible with the nature of these rights and solely for the purpose of promoting the general welfare in a democratic society".[87]*

As for the rights that are protected by this covenant, they are mentioned from Article 6 to Article 15, and most of them are related to the protection of economic, social and cultural rights, without a special provision for the protection of women's political rights. Rather, there are texts that generally focus on the protection of various women's rights like their right to work under appropriate and fair conditions in terms of wages, to form and join trade unions, to have the greatest possible protection and assistance with their families and the right of every citizen to enjoy the best possible quality of healthcare, taking into account the health and social protection of women (Al Fadhl, 2004:27-28).

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[86] Algeria adhered to this Convenant with the presidential decree n° 89-67 of May 16, 1989 on the adhesion to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 16, 1966.

[87] Article 4 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

4.2.2.2. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)[88] is a multilateral treaty that was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in New York on December 16, 1966 through Resolution 2200A (XXI), and entered into force on March 23, 1976, in accordance with Article 49. This covenant has common provisions with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights concerning the principle of equality between men and women and other similarities in their preambles, Part 1 and Part 2. However, they differ in Article 4 which indicates that in time of public emergency, the States Parties to this covenant can take measures derogating from their obligations under the covenant, but they have to be limited to the exigencies of the situation, without any inconsistencies with their other obligations under international law and without any discrimination whatsoever.

As for Part 3 of the covenant, from Article 6 to Article 27, it establishes a set of human rights like the right to life, not to be subjected to unlawful arrest or detention, torture, cruel treatment, inhuman punishment and slavery. It also grants people the right to security, equality before the courts, liberty of movement, freedom to choose their residence and freedom of thought, conscience and religion. As for the political rights, Article 25 clearly explains them: *"Every citizen shall have the right and the opportunity, without any of the distinctions mentioned in Article 2 and without unreasonable restrictions: (1) To take part in the conduct of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives; (2) To vote and to be elected at genuine periodic elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret ballot, guaranteeing the free expression of the will of the electors; (3) To have access, on general terms of equality, to public service in his country".* [89] Therefore, all citizens, whether men or women, who live in a civil society, have the right to vote and to be elected as representatives in the different political institutions of their countries (El Desouky, 2007:47).

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[88] Algeria adhered to this Convenant and its First Optional Protocol with the presidential decree n° 89-67 of May 16, 1989 on the adhesion to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the First Optional Protocol to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 16, 1966.

[89] Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Concerning the equality before the law, Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights expresses that: *"All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of this Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination".[90]* Moreover, Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights confirms this equality: *"All persons are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to the equal protection of the law. In this respect, the law shall prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status".[91]*

As for Article 2 of the covenant, it stipulates that the states have to take the necessary steps and legislative measures in accordance with their national laws and constitutions in order to give effect to the rights recognised in this covenant. Furthermore, by making a comparison between Article 2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, it becomes clear that this article affirms the obligation of the States Parties to these covenants to respect all the rights stipulated in them without any discrimination, noting that the reasons for discrimination mentioned are the same in the two covenants and the declaration.

Based on the foregoing, it is confirmed that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two international covenants recognise the right of every person to participate in the conduct of public affairs in his/her country, and the right to hold public office on an equal basis among members of society. The Part 4 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights establishes a Human Rights Committee[92] which consists of independent experts and organises the mechanisms that monitor the implementation of the provisions of this covenant. It is entrusted with a set of functions and tasks, such as studying reports and providing directives to states to help them implement this covenant. As for the First Optional

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[90] Article 7 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

[91] Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

[92] The Human Rights Committee was established pursuant to Article 28 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

protocol to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights[93], it guarantees the rights of individuals that are stipulated in this covenant, because it gives them the right to submit a complaint to the Human Rights Committee against any violation of their rights (Al Khatib, 2007:62).

4.2.3. Women's Political Rights in the Regional Organisations and Charters

Although human rights issues generally affect humanity as a whole, there are some jurists and human rights activists who prefer to protect them through regional charters and conventions. They argue that these regional charters are concluded between a limited group of countries with more interconnected concepts, values and principles, which can create an appropriate environment that allows them to relinquish some of their sovereignty barriers in order to reach more effective agreements (Kadri, 2009:21). The study of women's political rights in regional organisations, charters and conventions is very important since this work deals with women's political rights in Algeria which is a member of many of these regional organisations, and ratified many regional human rights charters and conventions like the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (also known as the Banjul Charter) and the Arab Charter on Human Rights. Moreover, this study can also help to follow the evolution of women's political rights from the struggle for the right to vote until Algeria's adoption of the quota system and then the gender parity principle.

4.2.3.1. Women's Political Rights in the Regional Organisations

Since Algeria is a member of almost all regional Arab, Islamic and African human rights organisations, it is necessary to investigate women's political rights in these organisations like the African Union, the League of Arab States and the Arab Maghreb Union.

4.2.3.1.1. Women's Political Rights in the African Union

By the establishment of the African Union at the first summit in Durban, South Africa on July 9, 2002, and by approving the internal laws regulating the work of its main bodies, the African Union has become one of the most important organisations in Africa, after replacing the former Organisation of African Unity. The African continent and the African Union have

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[93] The First Optional Protocol to the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly in New York on December 16, 1966 through Resolution 2200A (XXI), and entered into force on March 23, 1976, in accordance with Article 9.

started a new stage in history, whether at the level of regional integration and economic unity, or at the level of the new organisational structure and the new organs and institutions that ensure the representaion of people and enable them to participate effectively in the making of regional and international policies. Furthermore, the African Union stresses Africa's firm and irreversible commitment to peace, security, development, democracy and good governance by creating the Peace and Security Council (PSC)[94]. It is necessary to note that the preamble of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)[95] has also emphasised the need to protect human rights by ensuring the right to freedom and equality, as well as the commitment of member states to the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Additionally, the Constitutive Act of the African Union[96] which is concerned with human rights, peace and security and international cooperation, urges the member states in its preamble to be determined to protect and promote human and peoples' rights, support institutions, culture and democracy, ensure good governance and establish the rule of law.

The Constitutive Act of the African Union places the protection of human rights at the forefront of the objectives of African countries, and this is confirmed by Article 3 which indicates that: *"The objectives of the Union shall be to encourage international cooperation, taking due account of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; ... promote and protect human and peoples' rights in accordance with the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights and other relevant human rights instruments".[97]* It also urges the member states to promote the principle of equality between men and women, protect and enhance women's status in all fields and provide them with the necessary healthcare, the best possible conditions for education, and protect them during armed conflicts. Moreover, the African Union established the Peace and Security Council which is entrusted with the task of implementing laws and conventions, maintaining security and protecting human rights (Mahrez, 2014:65).

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[94] The Protocol related to the creation of the Peace and Security Council was adopted on July 9, 2002 in Durban, South Africa, and entered into force in December 26, 2003. It became fully operational at the beginning of 2004. It helps sustain peace and prevents, manages and resolves conflicts and crises.
[95] The Organisation of African Unity was established on May 25, 1963, and later it was disbanded and replaced by the African Union on July 9, 2002.
[96] The Constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted by the thirty-sixth ordinary session of the assembly of Heads of State and Government in Lomé, Togo on July 11, 2000. It was ratified by Algeria with the presidential decree n° 01-129 of Safar 18, 1422 corresponding to May 12, 2001 ratifying the Constitutive Act of the African Union.
[97] Article 3 of the Constitutive Act of the African Union

4.2.3.1.2. Women's Political Rights in the League of Arab States

The Charter of the League of Arab States which was approved on March 22, 1945, was completely devoid of any explicit reference to human rights or humanitarian issues, and no permanent committee or any other organ was formed within the League to examine issues related neither to human rights in general, nor to women's rights in particular. The justification given by the authors of this charter to cover this great deficiency in its texts, is that the charter was issued before the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and even before the establishment of the United Nations. However, this does not mean that this organisation did not want to protect human rights, it took care of this issue in 1968 when a permanent Arab human rights commission was established to deal with all the matters related to human rights at the Arab and international levels (Ziadeh, 2000:91).

This was the culmination of great efforts which resulted in holding the first Arab regional conference on human rights in Beirut on December 2-10, 1968, where the formation of the Arab Commission of Human Rights was announced, but at first, its work was only limited to the fight for the rights of the Palestinian people. Furthermore, the Charter of the League of Arab States did not clearly address human rights or the political rights of women despite the establishment of a special department for women at the League in 1976 (Benyza, 2010:76). Therefore, when the Arab League is compared with some other regional and international human rights organisations such as the European and United Nations systems for human rights, it obviously reflects the lack of interest in the human rights issues within the Arab countries (Ziadeh, 2000:110); and to resolve this problem and avoid criticism, the Arab League Council had adopted the Arab Charter on Human Rights in September 15, 1994.

4.2.3.1.3. Women's Political Rights in the Arab Maghreb Union

One of the most important Arab regional organisations is the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), which was founded by singing a treaty on February 17, 1989 in Marrakech, Morocco, and it consists of the five Maghreb countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya and Mauritania) (Chabrier et al.,1994). Among the Union's organs is the Consultative Council of Arab Maghreb Union, which announced the official inauguration of the Women and Childhood Affairs Commission in its sixth regular session in Tunis, Tunisia on June 1-2, 2005. On May 16, 2006, the first Maghrebi symposium on "Maghrebi Woman, Reality and Prospects" was organised in Rabat, Morocco. It focused on a number of basic issues related to

the reality of Maghrebi women and their political prospects, including supporting the participation of Maghrebi women in political life and enhancing their presence in the municipal, provincial and parliamentary elected councils.

Moreover, the Maghrebi symposium called for optimising the capabilities of Maghrebi women and promoting their participation in the process of integrated sustainable development, harnessing their collective efforts to reject violence, extremism and conflict, providing conditions that help enhance and evaluate their roles according to the specificities of the Maghreb countries in terms of the environment, historical context and national experience, which can make women real effective partners in solving all national and regional problems. It also focused on giving women the opportunity to prove themselves in the social and political activities within the framework of gender equality and citizenship guaranteed in the Maghrebi charters and constitutions, and international conventions, where they are considered as important members of the international community which helps them achieve full equality with men, and opens the door for them to get jobs and participate in the political and public affairs (Mahrez, 2014:68).

The second Maghrebi symposium was held in Tripoli, Libya on "Maghrebi Woman and the Law" on September 7-8, 2006, while the third Maghrebi symposium focused on "Maghrebi Woman and Development" was held in Tunis, Tunisia on February 15, 2007, then the fourth Maghrebi symposium was held in Algiers, Algeria on July 28, 2007 on "Maghrebi Woman and the Media." The activities of the fourth Maghrebi symposium, held at the headquarters of the Council of the Nation, focused on a number of basic issues related to Maghrebi women and their participation in the national media. As for the political field, the symposium dealt with ways of mobilising different media, social, political and economic actors to engage in cultivating a culture of equality and establishing the principle of equal opportunities for men and women. Furthermore, this symposium urged the Maghreb countries to create networks of communication on the internet, so that citizens can be informed of the latest parliamentary sessions and interact with members of Parliament; and establish specialised Maghreb centres concerned with probing public opinion in order to help build the culture of Maghrebi women and get them involved in the unity process (ibid.).

The fifth symposium of the Women and Childhood Affairs Commission, which is the most important, dealt with "supporting the political participation of Maghrebi women" and

was held in Nouakchott, Mauritania on February 21-22, 2008. Among the recommendations of the working paper of the General Secretariat of the Consultative Council of Arab Maghreb Union in this symposium is to work on defining a unified Maghreb strategy with realistic goals, and harnessing the necessary capabilities to put them into practice within the framework of guaranteed civil and political rights, such as the right to vote, candidacy, freedom of expression, assembly, access to information, establish political parties and engage in political activity.

Additionally, the working paper called for ensuring equal and gradual representation of women and men in the various national bodies and institutions, because of its important role in drawing up sustainable development plans for the Maghreb countries, in addition to their representation at the international level within the federal institutions, regional delegations, continental missions and international forums and conferences. It also encouraged the Maghreb countries to amend the laws related to their electoral systems, and consider the adoption of the quota system and other procedures in order to have an effective political participation of women, empower their political status and support the national democratic process. Moreover, it recommended that the Maghrebi political parties commit to greater openness to better political participation of women by adapting their internal laws and regulations and nominating more women on their electoral lists (ibid.:69).

4.2.3.2. Women's Political Rights in the Regional Charters

Since Algeria also ratified many regional charters, it is important to deal with some of them such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (also known as the Banjul Charter) and the Arab Charter on Human Rights.

4.2.3.2.1. Women's Political Rights in the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Banjul Charter)

The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Banjul Charter)[98] was adopted by the eighteenth assembly of Heads of State and Government that were members of the Organisation of African Unity on June 27, 1981 in Nairobi, Kenya, and entered into force on October 21, 1986. It consists of a preamble and 68 articles and is divided into two parts.

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[98] The African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (the Banjul Charter) was ratified by Algeria with the presidential decree n° 87-37 of Joumada Ethania 4, 1407 corresponding to February 3, 1987 ratifying the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, adopted in Nairobi in 1981.

The first part deals with rights and duties, and this is what distinguishes it from other human rights charters in that it contains a section devoted to duties, while the second part is dedicated to measures of safeguard. It states in its preamble: *"it is henceforth essential to pay a particular attention to the right to development and that civil and political rights cannot be dissociated from economic, social and cultural rights in their conception as well as universality and that the satisfaction of economic, social and cultural rights is a guarantee for the enjoyment of civil and political rights; ... and to dismantle aggressive foreign military bases and all forms of discrimination, particularly those based on race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion or political opinions".[99]* Furthermore, Article 2 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights indicates that every individual should enjoy the rights and freedoms recognised and guaranteed in this Charter without any form of discrimination, whereas Article 1 affirms that the States Parties to this Charter must recognise all the rights, duties and freedoms stipulated in it, and undertake to take all legislative measures to implement its provisions.

The Charter contains a number of political and civil rights, including the right to equality before the law. As for the right to participate in the management of the country's affairs and to hold public office, Article 13 states that all citizens have the right to participate freely in the management of the public affairs of their country, whether directly or through representatives who are freely chosen according to the provisions of the law. It also expresses that all citizens have the right to hold public office in their country, and every person has the right to benefit from public property and services within the framework of full equality of all individuals before the law.

However, the provisions of the African Charter concerning the political and civil rights do not refer to women's political rights, except for what is stated in Article 18, Paragraph 3 which imposes on the States Parties to this Charter to eliminate every discrimination against women and ensure their rights and the rights of children, as stipulated in international conventions, charters and declarations. The provisions of this Charter do not clarify or specify neither the kinds of discrimination that women are suffering from in the social, cultural and political fields which need to be eliminated by the states, nor the appropriate measures that have to be taken and the mechanisms that have to be used in order to succeed in eliminating the discrimination (ibid.:70).

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[99] The preamble of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights

Moreover, Articles 60 and 61 of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights stipulate that the States Parties to this Charter have to recognise the regional and international human rights charters and African instruments that are consistent with international human rights standards as important reference points for the interpretation and implementation of the this Charter. The African Charter established a special commission to follow up the extent to which its objectives are implemented by States Parties, namely the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights. In 1999, this commission established a special mechanism to monitor African women's rights, which is the Special Rapporteur on Rights of Women in Africa, and in 2004, it established the Special Rapporteur on Human Rights Defenders in order to examine the situation of human rights defenders in Africa and protect them. It should be noted that there are four African instruments annexed to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights, which have not yet been ratified by all states: the Refugee Convention, the Protocol on Women's Rights, the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child and the African Charter on Democracy, Elections and Governance (ibid.).

4.2.3.2.2. Women's Political Rights in the Arab Charter on Human Rights

The Arab Charter on Human Rights is an integral part of the achievements of the League of Arab States, as it was prepared and approved by the League after many attempts by the Arab countries to reach a common charter, and it is considered now as the most important document for human rights in the Arab world. This Charter was adopted by the Arab League Council on September 15, 1994, after more than 23 years since the first draft of the charter in July 1971, the charter contains a preamble and four sections, and its provisions are divided into 43 articles (Hussein, 2010). With regard to political rights, the preamble of the Charter indicates that the Arab nation believes in the dignity of man, freedom, justice and peace. It also expresses that the Arab world has faith in its unity, struggles for its freedom, defends the right of nations to self-determination and the preservation of their wealth, and believes in the rule of law and that all citizens have the right to equal opportunities.

Moreover, it emphasises on respecting and following the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two International Covenants on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights. The provisions of the Charter stipulate the prohibition of discrimination between individuals in Article 2, by the commitment of the Arab states to grant all individuals located on its territory

and subject to its jurisdiction, all rights and freedoms recognised in this Charter without discrimination between men and women, and without any distinction that is based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political opinion, social or national origin, wealth and birth.[100]

Article 19 of the Charter states that people are the source of authority, and political capacity is a right for every citizen without any exception. Thus, the Charter has given the right to political participation which is expressed as "the political capacity" of all citizens, including women. Moreover, the articles from 20 to 39 recognise the right of citizens to have freedom of opinion, expression, religion and movement, hold public office, form trade unions, and follow their own culture and religion if they belong to minorities. Although the provisions of the Charter recognise political rights in general, it is noted that they did not specifically mention women's rights, except for their right to healthcare, family care and social assistance. However, it should be noted that after the deliberations that lasted for more than twenty years, the issuance of the Charter was not very helpful for women, because the conditions and reservations of the Arab countries on many of its articles, restricted many of its provisions and emptied them of their content. Therefore, it was neither at the level of the aspirations of the Arab peoples, nor at the level of the evolution of international human rights laws and instruments (Mahrez, 2014:71).

Later, the Arab League issued a new Arab Charter on Human Rights at the summit of Tunis, Tunisia in 2004. [101] This new Charter states the process of development and modernisation in the Arab world and stresses on the necessity of achieving a comprehensive renaissance, and preserving the elements of Arab identity and its cohesion by the dedicated participation of its living forces in the sustainable development process. Furthermore, it decides to deepen the foundations of democracy and consultation among the Arab countries and expand people's participation in the political sphere, public affairs and decision-making process within the rule of law framework. It focuses on guaranteeing justice and equality between all citizens, respecting human rights and freedom of expression, ensuring the

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[100] Article 2 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights

[101] The Arab Charter on Human Rights was issued pursuant to Resolution n° 6405 of the 121st ordinary session of the League Council at the Ministerial Level on March 04, 2004. The League Council adopted this Charter by a resolution on May 23, 2004 at the sixteenth Arab Summit hosted by Tunisia, and entered into force on March 15, 2008. It was ratified by Algeria with the presidential decree n° 06-62 of Moharram 12, 1427 corresponding to February 11, 2006 ratifying the Arab Charter on Human Rights, adopted in Tunis in May 2004.

independence of the judiciary system in a way that supports the role of all components of society, including non-governmental organisations, enhances the participation of all people in public life and consolidates the principles of citizenship in the Arab world. It also supports the rights of young people, continues to encourage the role and position of women in the Arab societies and promote their rights in order to ensure their effective participation in the process of comprehensive development (Al Khazraji, 2010:115).

Additionally, the new Charter stipulates in many of its articles the importance of equality for women as citizens with full legal and political capacity. It deals with political rights in general and recommends all States Parties to this Charter to guarantee the rights and freedoms stipulated in it for all individuals, by taking the necessary measures to secure substantive equality in the enjoyment of these rights and freedoms and avoid all forms of discrimination. It also considers men and women as equal in human dignity, rights and duties in light of positive discrimination given to women by the Islamic Sharia, other divine laws and international laws and regulations.[102]

As for Article 24 of the Charter, it specifies that every all citizens have the right to political participation and management of the public affairs of their country, either directly by standing for election or through representatives who are freely chosen. It also gives citizens the right to form and join associations and gain access to public office according to the equality of opportunity principle.[103] Moreover, Article 43 indicates that the provisions of the Charter may not be interpreted or construed in a way that detracts from the rights and freedoms stipulated within the national laws of the States Parties, especially the rights of women, children and persons belonging to minorities.[104] Article 44 instructs the States Parties to adopt legislative measures in accordance with their constitutional procedures and the provisions stated in this Charter, in order to implement the rights stipulated in it and ensure that all Arab peoples enjoy them.[105]

Finally, after dealing with the evolution of women's political rights through the different regional and international conventions, covenants and charters, which were ratified by Algeria, we can conclude that this evolution was a long slow process that took decades of

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[102] Article 3 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights
[103] Article 24 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights
[104] Article 43 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights
[105] Article 44 of the Arab Charter on Human Rights

hard work by women's rights activists, women's associations, governments, international and non-governmental organisations. This hard work led to the adoption of important women's political rights such as the quota system introduced by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in 1995, which clearly called for the necessity for women to occupy 30% of positions at the decision-making levels by 2005, in preparation for their access to 50% of these positions in the future.

The effective measures taken by governments around the world on the path to political empowerment of women are very important, since they directly address women's major political, social and economic problems in order to give women the chance to participate in the public and political affairs of their countries. In the international conventions and charters, as well as national constitutions, political participation is based on the principle of equality between citizens in rights and duties without any discrimination. Furthermore, the reality of international practice highlights that the presence of women in various decision-making positions remains limited and does not reflect their real competence. In the face of women's weak representation in elected bodies, many countries adopted the quota system as a temporary measure to improve women's participation in political institutions. In light of the great developments in the world in terms of promoting human rights and democratic practice, the adoption of this system increased in recent years, and there are currently more than 80 countries in the world that have implemented this system or they are on the way to adopting it (Semina, 2012).

4.3. Quota System as a Mechanism for Promoting Women's Political Rights

The quota system represents a form of positive intervention to help women overcome the obstacles that limit their political participation compared to their male peers (Larserud & Taphorn, 2007). In a valuable study prepared by the Inter-Parliamentary Union in 1992 on women, power and politics, it pointed out that the internal legislations of almost all countries affirms the right of women to vote and to stand for elections, without any discrimination between men and women. Hence, the recommendation given by this study was to adopt the concept of positive discrimination, which means that women should be given a kind of institutional assistance among other supporting measures to compensate for the actual discrimination that they suffer from, provided that this assistance is temporary until a fair balance is achieved. There is no doubt that the extent to which women participate in the

electoral process by voting and candidacy is related to the level of development of society in its moral, social, cultural, economic and political structures. However, the fact that women obtain their right to full equality with men, enjoyment of their political rights and participation in different national elections, does not necessarily mean that women will obtain representation in elected bodies equal to their numbers in society. This issue applies to all countries and societies around the world, whether they are developed or developing, and means that legal equality may not resolve all the problems of women, or eliminate discrimination against them (Mahrez, 2014:140). Therefore, many countries decided to adopt the quota system as a first step towards overcoming discrimination against women and promoting their political empowerment.

4.3.1. Quota System as a Positive Discrimination

The concept of the quota system is linked to a set of concepts such as women's political participation, positive discrimination or interference in political life, and also with the principle of equality between men and women in political representation, which has known a relative development from equality as a principle to equality as a goal (Dehimi, 2015:62). The quota system means allocating a specific number of seats within the parliament or any other representative institution to a specific group of people on a regional, linguistic, religious, ethnic or gender basis, as in women's quota, in order to achieve the most appropriate representation of this group and express its interests and opinions within the elected councils (Bibars, 2004:26). The effective application of women's quota requires obligating political parties, parliaments and all other elected councils to allocate seats for them at their different organisational structures, which helps promote their political participation, prove their political competence and allows them to engage in the decision-making process without discrimination between them and men.

The emergence of the quota system was for the first time in the United States of America, where the policy of compensation for disadvantaged groups, either by government authorities or by employers in the private sector, was called positive discrimination. This positive discrimination is based on the detailed distribution of goods or services to members of a minority or a disadvantaged social group in order to compensate for the imbalance in equality that they suffer from (Semina, 2011:8). In the beginning, the theory of positive discrimination appeared under the name of "affirmative action", especially after the United

States Department of Labour published a report in March 1965 prepared by the then Deputy Secretary of Labour, entitled "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action". The report clearly indicated the need to take positive measures by the government aimed at reducing the vast differences between the citizens of one country, namely the white and black people. After the painful racist events in the United States of America in 1969, many national decrees were promulgated in order to confirm the integration of different social and racial groups. Therefore, positive discrimination essentially served as a basis for addressing the injustice that occurred in society at the level of representation of various vulnerable groups. This qualitative leap had to be directly linked to the electoral process to give these groups the opportunity to make their voices heard and progressively enhance their social conditions. Eventually, women took the chance to put pressure on the government in order to extend the application of this system to women to grant them the right to participate in the decision-making and political institutions of their country (Boudiaf, 2010).

4.3.2. Types of Quota System

The mechanism of application of the quota system differs from one country to another, however, the types of women's quota can be limited to the mandatory quota which is in turn divided into two forms, and the voluntary quota which is also called the political party quota.

4.3.2.1. Mandatory Quota

It is a type that has been widely used in many developing countries in order to overcome the obstacles that practically prevent women from attaining political responsibility and political decision-making positions. It is divided into two forms: the first one is the constitutional quota which means allocating a certain quota for women from the total elected council seats in a mandatory manner and in accordance with the provisions of the constitution. The second one is the electoral law quota, also known as the legislative quota, which provides for allocating a number of seats for women and varies from one country to another. These seats are allocated for the representation of women in elected councils and committees, parliament, political parties and government.

4.3.2.1.1. Constitutional Quota

The constitutional quota is based on the constitution which is the supreme law in all states. This quota is mandatory for the government and all political parties. The constitution

stipulates in some of its articles that a specific percentage of women should be included in the lists of candidates for the parliamentary elections or local elections. It requires that all political parties have to abide by this percentage, and any political party that violates it, its lists of candidates will not be accepted, in addition to other penalties specified by law (Bibars, 2004). These are some of the countries that applied this type of quota: France in 1999 through a constitutional amendment, Argentina in 1991, South Africa in 1996, and Algeria through Article 31 bis of the 2008 constitution.

4.3.2.1.2. Legislative Quota (Electoral Law Quota)

The legislative quota is stipulated in the electoral laws or the political parties laws which are based on legislative texts that oblige political parties to implement this type of quota (Bencheikh, 2011a:274). In these legislative texts, women are allotted a specific number of parliamentary seats and political parties are obliged to include a specific number of women in their electoral lists (Reynolds et al., 2005:121). In case that the political parties refuse to abide by the law, it will be considered a violation and consequently penalties will be imposed on them, such as the exclusion of some of their candidates, and it may even reach the extent of excluding the political party itself and rejecting its electoral lists. An important example of legislative quota is the quota system adopted in Algeria through the Organic Law n° 12-03 issued on January 12, 2012. This type of mandatory quota can take one of the two following forms:

4.3.2.1.2.1. Closed Quota

It stipulates that women are not allowed to run for any parliamentary seat which they choose of their own free will if it is not among the seats allocated to them within the quota, and thus women are only guaranteed the quota allocated to them and they are not allowed to win other seats.

4.3.2.1.2.2. Open Quota

In this type of quota, women are given the freedom to choose between running for the seats allocated to them within the quota or running for the rest of the seats along with men, and this quota provides women with the possibility of obtaining additional seats if they win some seats common to both genders. This quota was applied in France in 1999, when a

constitutional amendment was made according to which political parties were obligated to include 50% of women candidates in their electoral lists.

4.3.2.2. Voluntary Quota (Political Party Quota)

The voluntary quota is applied in most of the developed countries with the oldest democracies, which have strong political parties that constitute an important part of their political systems and guarantee alternation of power among them and within their own structures through elections. This quota is voluntarily adopted by political parties to ensure the candidacy of a specific number of women in their electoral lists. It is stemming from these political parties' belief in the quota system and their initiative is not linked to any specific regulation or legislation. Many political parties, parliaments and governments around the world have voluntarily approved women's quota in electoral lists and political parties' structures in order to improve their political status; however, the violation of the voluntary quota does not result in any legal penalties (Bencheikh, 2011a:274).

Women's representation in the political parties that implemented the quota system has increased significantly. At first, these political parties applied the quota system to internal positions or executive positions in the political party. Then, the application of quota system for women gradually progressed to reach the political parties' electoral lists which was stronger and more influential. The adoption of voluntary quota in the political party's structures means that the political party has to stipulate in its bylaws the necessity of allocating a specific percentage of leadership positions for women in the internal elections of the political party. While the voluntary quota in the electoral lists of the national elections means that the political party voluntarily stipulates in its bylaws the necessity of allocating a specific number of the seats for women in its electoral lists alongside other male candidates in the parliamentary and local elections. These are some of the countries that adopted the political party quota: the African National Congress in South Africa in 1994, the Liberation Front of Mozambique in 1994, and also in Germany, where the Green Party adopted the quota in 1980, the Social Democratic Party in 1988 and the Christian Democratic Union in 1996. As for Sweden, Norway and the United Kingdom, the quota was implemented by political parties in 1993 (Benyza, 2010:147).

4.3.3. Opinions on Quota System

In fact, adopting the idea of positive discrimination, or special protection for women is one of the controversial points that have been discussed for many years, because it is essentially related to the different views on women and their role in society. It is not simply linked to the representation of women in elected councils, but also to the extent to which political parties accept the idea of allocating a certain percentage of positions for women in their structures and their lists of candidates during the electoral process (Matar et al., 2005:198). Consequently, some opinions regarding the implementation of a quota system for women consider it as a measure that increases attention to women's issues and improves their political status, whereas other opinions see it as an unjust procedure that spreads inequality between men and women and limits the citizens' freedom of choice during elections. Starting from the idea that equality between men and women is very important in politics, a great disagreement emerged among Western politicians about the necessity and effectiveness of the quota system, and thus, some of them supported it and others opposed it due to their different opinions, principles and realities.

4.3.3.1. Positive Opinions on Quota System

The advocates of quota system think that the adoption of this system within the elected councils provides more time to discuss the details of women's specific issues, by eliminating the various forms of inequality between men and women, in addition to making a commitment to the implementation of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (ibid.:199). Furthermore, the world has witnessed an important progress in supporting in women's quota system, which is considered as a way to overcome obstacles that face women's political representation, even for a limited period of time, until the presence of women in political parties, parliament and other elected councils becomes an accepted reality by society. Some scholars of constitutional law who support the quota system see it as one of the means of women's political empowerment. It enables them to obtain a certain number of seats in the legislative body of their country greater than the one they can obtain without the quota system, given the spread of illiteracy, poverty and bad living conditions among women all over the world, as well as the embedded social customs and traditions opposing the freedom of women and their equality with men in various fields.

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The advocates of this system reinforce their position with a set of justifications; for instance, they see it as a way to overcome different barriers and obstacles, both overt and hidden, in order to improve the social and economic conditions of women. They consider it as an entry point for moving from the theoretical formula of equal opportunities to a tangible reality, promoting political participation in general, and overcoming women's weak political representation in parliament and local councils in particular. Moreover, they do not believe that the quota system discriminates against men, but rather compensates women for the political discrimination that affects them, which is embodied in the weakness or absence of their political participation in the decision-making process (Semina, 2012).

According to the advocates, the quota system removes the discriminatory and stereotypical barriers between men and women, and its application does not lead to inequalities between them, but rather grants women a part of their rights. This system is used to provide the legal context that empowers women and encourages them to engage in politics and participate in formulating the national policies of their country (Benyza, 2010:38). The application of the quota system as a temporary or transitional method mitigates the violation of the principle of equality between men and women which is strongly recommended by many international human rights conventions. This method is considered as a positive discrimination and a type of institutional assistance for women aimed at accelerating their actual equality with men, and overcoming the realistic obstacles that prevent them from achieving equal representation in political life in accordance with international standards for the protection of human rights (Abdel Moneim, 2006:281).

Other advocates focus on the principle of justice which necessitates the representation of half of society (women) in parliaments and elected bodies at all levels. They argue that the logic of interests' representation of all social groups is fundamental for equality, since the political systems usually include different social groups with different interests. Moreover, they emphasise on the value and importance of women's quota in guaranteeing the preservation and promotion of their rights, because the cultural and political factors in many developing countries do not allow for an effective participation of women in politics, according to the principles of democratic practice, equal opportunities and direct competition with men. There are many competent women who organise and participate in different social and cultural activities in their societies, however, they remain excluded from contributing to the political decision-making process in their countries due to social stereotypes and men's

political dominance. Therefore, women remain in need of exceptional legal support in a phased manner that allows the development of the political culture of their countries, the overcoming of obstacles and stereotypes to their political participation, and the realisation of true equality for them in order to engage in political competition based on their competences side by side with men (Semina, 2012).

4.3.3.2. Negative Opinions on Quota System

The opponents of quota system see that the quota system represents a serious breach of the principle of equality between citizens and contradicts the principle of equal opportunities. According to this view, it is an "undemocratic measure" that grants women rights based only on their gender and not their competence. Some opponents of this system consider it unfair to women and express their concern that the adoption of this measure will negatively affect the struggle of women towards the radical improvement of their social and economic conditions and the enhancement of their political participation in the future. According to them, the legal logic requires leaving it to the people to choose from the candidates whom they deem worthy of being elected, because women's access to elected councils should be through their participation in competitive elections within the framework of equality with men. Moreover, they consider this system as an excessive protection for women, which not only denies them the chance to sharpen their political competence through political activism, but also prevents them from interacting with the society in which they live. Therefore, all social and political sectors have to work together in order to achieve the principle of true equality between men and women without the need to adopt a quota system (Matar et al., 2005:199).

Furthermore, women's quota also violates the right of citizens to freely choose who represents them in elected bodies. According to the principle of freedom advocated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which its Article 21 states that every individual has the right to participate in the management of the public affairs of his/her country, whether directly or through freely chosen representatives. Therefore, society has to be free to choose whoever it wants, and it is not supposed to give up its rights and freedoms in order to push women to participate in political life, because the rights of society come before the rights of one of its segments. Moreover, opponents of this system see that it does not serve and protect the public interest, which requires choosing the best and fittest for society and the most capable of achieving its social, political and economic interests, regardless of gender and

colour. The freedom of choice is one of the most important principles of democracy, but the quota system will impose women in certain political positions leaving no chance for people to choose other representatives, even if they are more competent and more capable of defending the rights of citizens and solving their social problems (Semina, 2012).

According to the opponents, the adoption of the quota system clearly underestimates women's political capabilities by perpetuating the idea that they need laws to help them reach positions in elected bodies, which makes the democratic process lose its essence because it forces voters in advance to choose between female candidates only. Usually, the results are known even before the elections take place since the seats are already allocated to women, and the politicians and candidates lose interest in the democratic practice which requires a competition based on political programmes and competences rather than temporary decisions and measures. Furthermore, the quota system does not achieve equality between men and women as it is stipulated in all international conventions, but it rather detracts from this equality by allocating a specific number of seats only for women in elected councils and executive positions. Since women constitute half of society and always participate in its events and activities, they have the right to participate and be represented with unlimited number of seats within the elected councils. Accordingly, the supporters of this view see that equality between men and women is not achieved by adopting the quota system, but rather the basis for women's political empowerment and equality with men lie in the focus on solving their complex social, cultural, economic and political problems (Mahrez, 2014:150).

The quota system can lead to some risks and turns against those who benefit from it. For instance, in order to combat social inequality, the United States of America passed a law which granted black students specific quotas to enter universities, and this resulted in the exclusion of students with better grades because they were white. At first, it seemed that black sudents benefited from this measure, but later they experienced negative consequences due to the fact that some of them were accepted only because of their race, and many black graduates were entirely judged as less qualified than others. Therefore, some jurists and women's rights activists expressed that women could also be exposed to this kind of treatment and prejudice when applying the quota system, because their political representation could be achieved at the expense of the elements of competence and merit. These negative consequences do not serve the interests of both women and governments, because women who benefit from the quota system can be discriminated against and assumed to hold political positions that they do

not deserve. Consequently, the quota system will negatively affect women's political participation, spread more discrimination against them, make them feel inferior and incompetent, and damage the elements of competence and merit which represent the basic foundations of a good political system (Yahiaoui, 2001:164).

4.3.4. International and Arab Experiences in Implementing the Quota System

The positive measures that are called for by most international and regional organisations, conventions, and conferences in favour of women, are not considered a violation of the principle of equality stipulated in the constitutions of many countries, but rather a temporary and modern international mechanism that aims primarily to achieve effective equality between men and women in all domains. Therefore, it is necessary to address some international and regional experiences in implementing the quota system, whether at the African or Arab level, noting that these experiences are considered remarkable, especially the Rwandan experience.

4.3.4.1. International Experiences

The international experiences in implementing women's quota system in the political field can be divided into two groups: the first one contains two European countries which are France and Germany, whereas the second one includes two African countries which are Rwanda and South Africa.

4.3.4.1.1. France

The parliamentary quota system was implemented in France after the amendment of the constitution in 1999, which obligates political parties to guarantee 50% of women's representation in their electoral lists. France is the only country that had imposed a quota system by law, as it issued Law n° 2000-493 on June 6, 2000[106], which was called the Parity Law and was applied in March 2001. This law imposes 50% of candidates of both sexes on the electoral list, provided that each electoral list is formed alternately by a candidate of each sex, and if any political party violates these provisions, its lists will be rejected and withdrawn from the elections. As for the legislative elections, according to this law, the political parties

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[106] Law n° 2000-493 of June 6, 2000 tending to promote equal access of women and men to electoral mandates and elective functions. It is called the Parity Law because it imposes on political parties to nominate an equal number of men and women for regional, municipal, senatorial and European elections.

that do not adhere to parity between their male and female candidates are penalised by reducing their share of government financial aid during the elections, if the difference between the percentages of women and men exceeds 2%. For example, the political party that has the percentages of 49% females and 51% males is not punished, but the political party which has the percentages of 45% females and 55% males is financially punished. At the level of local elections, the electoral lists of political parties that do not adhere to the Parity Law are also not accepted. Moreover, this law applies to municipal elections in the municipalities with a population of more than 3 500 inhabitants, in addition to provincial elections, the Senate, legislative elections, European Parliament elections and elections to the Assembly of Corsica, and all elections that adopt the principle of voting by lists, namely the proportional representation. Despite the inability to evaluate exactly the results of this law, the proportion of women in municipal councils of many cities increased from 22% to 47.5% (Pionchon & Derville, 2004).

4.3.4.1.2. Germany

The quota system in Germany was applied in an unofficial manner and allocated seats for women in the German parliament, and the political parties had adopted this system at their own discretion. Although this system was not formally legislated at the level of parliament in its two councils, whether federal or regional (states), but the statistical reports indicate an increase in the percentage of women's representation in the electoral structures and federal parliament. The Green Party was the first political party to adopt a system of allocating seats for women, as 50% of leadership positions within this political party were allocated to women. The Social Democratic Party followed the same path and adopted a 40% quota for women in its leadership positions, while the Christian Democratic Union began to gradually allocate seats to women, and currently, a one-third of leadership positions within this political party are reserved for women. Furthermore, Germany adopts a good electoral system that achieves more effective political participation of women, because it combines the party list system and the individual election system in light of the amendment of the political parties law, by allocating a quota for women in the electoral lists of political parties and providing electoral incentives for these political parties according to the number of their female members (Abdel Moneim, 2006).

4.3.4.1.3. Rwanda

The participation of Rwandan women in politics was the topic of the hour in the world for many years, because Rwanda was the first country in the world in which the number of women in parliament exceeds the number of men. However, the political life in Rwanda was not always good, but it was characterised by arbitrariness and extensive violations of human rights, most notably the 1994 genocide that cost the lives of at least one million people. In the post-genocide period, from 1995 to 2008, the Rwandan government developed a foundational political framework which greatly supported women's political participation. The starting point of this framework was to follow the recommendations of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, and then to establish the Rwanda Women Parliamentary Forum in 1996 which was considered as an advisory body that facilitated the integration of women into parliamentary activities and the parliament's internal structures.

The most important achievement of this forum was the issuance of the 2003 Constitution, which states in its preamble: *"We, the People of Rwanda, reaffirming our adherence to the principles of human rights enshrined in the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women as listed Especially in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women".[107]* It stipulates equality between men and women, and grants women at least 30% of posts in decision-making bodies according to Article 9, Paragraph 4. The government also prepared legal provisions in order to support women's empowerment, including a law for public institutions which stipulates that at least 30% of posts at the level of administrative boards should be occupied by women. The parliamentary elections in September 2008 resulted in the winning of 45 seats by women out of 80 seats, corresponding to 56.25%, which constituted the first parliament to be governed by a majority of women in the world. These impressive results were achieved after the adoption of the constitutional principle calling for allocating at least 30% of seats for women in Parliament, as well as after the encouragement of political parties to nominate women as heads of their electoral lists (Benyza, 2010:157).

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[107] The preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Rwanda which entered into force on June 4, 2003 after a constitutional referendum held on May 26, 2003. The most important features of this constitution include the establishment of the National Unity and Reconciliation Commission and the Commissions for Women, Youth and Civil Service which helped to restore peace in the country, develop its democratic governance system and fight against the genocide ideology.

4.3.4.1.4. South Africa

As for the experience of South Africa in implementing women's quota system, the Constitutional Court with the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), which is an independent statutory body, adopted the text of Chapter 9 of the Constitution, which linked between equality before the law and equal legal protection for all citizens. Therefore, the Constitutional Court played a pivotal role in differentiating between two types of discrimination: it considered the first one as a harmful discrimination and therefore it prohibited it in all cases, and it considered the second one as a desirable discrimination and therefore it encouraged it, since the constitution did not aim to prohibit it. The first type is a negative discrimination that perpetuates the exclusion, restriction or deprivation of any particular group of people of its rights. The second type is a positive discrimination which adopts specific measures that aim at ending cases of historical discrimination and promoting equality in society, especially between men and women (Mthethwa, 2019).

South Africa is one of the countries with modern democracies that has taken several positive steps towards supporting women's political participation. In the early nineties, women's associations and rights activists played a prominent role, especially between 1992 and 1994 during the preparation and formulation for the new constitution of South Africa, by emphasising the importance of giving great attention to the needs and concerns of women when preparing the bill of rights in the new constitution. The Women's National Coalition (WNC) which was established in April 1992 and included women of different ideological tendencies and from different ethnic groups, had a remarkable impact on the constitution making process. After two years of a huge national campaign in which 2 million women participated, the Women's National Coalition finally prepared a draft that represented all the hopes and dreams of women in South Africa, this draft was known as the Women's Charter for Effective Equality which became the basis on which the new gender policy of the state was built. The mobilisation of women from various political parties created a big awareness among the leaders of political parties of the importance of addressing gender issues and gender equality, which not only made them include gender issues in their political programmes, but also nominate women as candidates in their electoral lists for parliamentary elections (Biswas, 1998).

Furthermore, one of the main achievements of women in South Africa is that women's associations proposed to the government the establishment of several institutions to follow and control the transformation of constitutional articles into laws, and they actually succeeded, as the Office on the Status of Women was established. Women were not satisfied with the government's official work at the level of laws and democratc transformation only, but they also extended their activities to include communicating their social problems and stirring up public opinion. The Office of the Status of Women (OSW) in the government had formulated a policy to integrate gender within the general national political goals, which are directed towards the establishment of a complete equality between the two genders (Bangani & Vyas-Doorgapersad, 2020). This Office had also formed a body to monitor and implement legislations and laws, and conduct research and studies to identify the obstacles that prevent women from enjoying the full equality guaranteed by law, this body is called the Joint Monitoring Committee on the Improvement of Quality of Life and Status of Women.

4.3.4.2. Arab Experiences

In addition to Algeria's experience in adopting women's quota system in the political field, there are other Arab countries which implemented this system, such as Egypt, Jordan and Morocco.

4.3.4.2.1. Egypt

Women had entered the Egyptian parliament in 1957 after the 1956 Constitution had approved granting Egyptian women for the first time their full political rights. The Egyptian experience in applying the quota system started at the level of the People's Assembly (parliament), when a decision was issued by the Presidency of the Republic in Law n° 21 of 1979 to divide the Arab Republic of Egypt into one hundred and seventy-six electoral districts, and for each electoral district, two candidates are elected as members of the People's Assembly, at least one of them has to be a labourer or a peasant, with the exception of thirty districts, in which three members have to be elected, at least one of them is a woman. Moreover, Law n° 21 of 1979 allocated at least thirty seats for women in the Egyptian People's Assembly, and it also allowed women to compete with men over all other seats, while it did not allow men to compete for seats reserved for women only. Additionally, the President of the Republic has the right to appoint ten members of the People's Assembly, including at least two women, and consequently, the percentage of women's representation

increased in parliament. A law was also issued to amend the Electoral Law, which cancelled the individual election system by absolute majority and replaced it with the proportional list elections. It stipulated that each list in the electoral districts includes one woman as a member, but the Supreme Constitutional Court ruled in 1986 to repeal this law because it was unconstitutional (Abu-Osba et al., 2004:15). In June 2009, the Egyptian People's Assembly agreed to discuss a bill to amend the People's Assembly Law, known as the "Women's Quota," which would allow to increase the number of women's seats to 64 as of the next elections. However, the bill was strongly opposed by 96 deputies from the political parties of the National Progressive Unionist Rally, Wafd, Muslim Brotherhood and other independent deputies, under the pretext of violating the equal opportunities for all citizens, and contradicting with the constitution, which did not discriminate against citizens on the basis of gender, colour, origin or religion (Benyza, 2010:151).

4.3.4.2.2. Jordan

In Jordan, several women's associations and civil society organisations concerned with issues of democracy, political parties and human rights adopted a memorandum of demands which included the reformulation of the electoral law of 1995, by implementing the "mixed system" that combines the party list system and the individual election system, and increasing the number of seats in the House of Representatives (Parliament). They also called on the government to take temporary measures to ensure equitable political participation of women by allocating at least 20% of seats for them in the House of Representatives (open quota) as a step towards equality with men, as these measures allow for competition among women over the allocated seats under relatively equal social and economic conditions.

Furthermore, they urged the political parties and democratic forces participating in the elections to include at least 30% of women in their lists of candidates and ensure their political participation on top positions of the lists; and the Women's Quota Committee also recommended allocating additional 8 seats for women in the House of Representatives. In light of these demands, the government amended the electoral law by adopting Law n° 11 of 2003 to allocate at least 6 seats for women, in addition to their right to compete for other seats (Abdel Moneim, 2006:103). Later, the Jordanian Council of Ministers also adopted a document called the National Strategy for Jordanian Women (2013-2017), which represents the general orientations and features of the government's national strategy for empowering

women in the legal, social, economic and political fields. One of its most important goals is to provide better and more equitable opportunities for women to ensure their effective political participation and allow them to gradually reach a minimum representation of 30% in all decision-making positions and all elected and appointed councils (Al Ahmad, 2016:125).

4.3.4.2.3. Morocco

In 1993, the Moroccan legislative elections marked the first women's participation in parliament, as women were able for the first time to enter this legislative institution represented by two women who won two seats, which shed the light on giving more importance to women's political representation as one of the marginalised groups within society, and the need for their participation in elected bodies and decision-making positions in order to personally communicate their problems to government. Therefore, since 2002, Morocco has adopted the quota system to ensure the minimum representation of women in the legislative institution. It has also adopted the method of voting by proportional representation through list ballot, which is a technique that has relatively contributed to promote women's political representation, reaching 35 women representatives or almost 11 % of seats in Parliament.

Thus, there was a consensus among the various political parties to allocate a national list for women, in line with the state's orientations in integrating women into the political sphere, and with its desire to raise the level of their presence in the parliamentary institution. According to this consensus, each political party presents a specific list of women to the voters, in order to vote on it nationally at the level of the electoral districts (Lagrini, 2013:55). The 2011 Moroccan Constitution included a new regulatory law concerning the Parliament, which contained a legislative mechanism that raised the number of women's seats to 60 instead of 30 in the previous legislative elections, which enabled 67 women to enter Parliament or about 17% of the total seats. The Parliamnet also approved a law concerning the elected councils, raising the proportion of women's political representation in these councils from 12% to 27%. During the legislative elections of 2016, women's political representation increased to 81 women out of 395 representatives in Parliamnet or about 20.5%, 60 of them won their seats through the national women's lists, 9 through the local lists, and 12 through the youth list, which represents an increase of almost 4%.

However, if the adoption of the quota system aims primarily to facilitate women's access to the political field, the in-depth look at their participation indicates that this system has not achieved its primary goal, which is to allow the emergence of women leaders who can compete with men from outside the national women's list system. Despite the end of four legislative sessions (2002, 2007, 2011, 2016) during which the quota system was adopted, many politicians and women's rights activists criticised the absence of women in the state's high political positions, and raised the question about the effectiveness of the quota system in changing the social stereotypes about women and their inability to occupy decision-making positions (Adnani, 2018).

4.4. Evaluation of Women's Quota System in Algeria

Women's political work is considered one of the pillars of democracy, a condition of effective citizenship, an indicator of human development and a culmination of the roles that they occupy in public life. Nowadays, women's participation in political life represents a basic requirement of human rights activists and women's movements, in addition to the necessity of their presence in decision-making positions and the equal representation of both genders in national and international political institutions. However, women are not enjoying their right to actual equality in exercising their political rights due to the presence of several social, cultural and economic obstacles. Therefore, governments in many countries have resorted to adopting several mechanisms for women's political empowerment, whether by adopting legal texts or policies aimed at increasing women's political representation in elected councils or appointing them to high-level positions.

The right of women's participation in public life is enshrined in several international charters and conventions and various national laws and constitutions. Algeria is one of many countries that affirmed equality between citizens in rights and duties, and removed all obstacles that prevent their effective participation in political, economic, social and cultural life. It also stressed the non-discrimination between citizens on the basis of gender, their equal access to public functions and their right to vote and run for office. Consequently, Algerian women were able to get into several fields and imposed themselves rapidly as one of the main players in sectors such as education, health, justice and the press. However, despite Algeria's ratification of international conventions related to human rights in general and women's rights in particular, and despite the provisions of women's political rights in Algerian constitutions

and laws, their presence in political life was weak until recent years, specifically starting from 2008.

The Algerian government wanted to empower women and promote their political representation in elected assemblies, and therefore, it amended the constitution in November 2008, in which Article 31 bis stipulates the determination of the state to promote women's political rights and increase their opportunities of political representation in elected bodies. In order to implement the provisions of this article, the Organic Law n° 12-03 of January 12, 2012 was promulgated, which fixes the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies (Rabbouh, 2018). By adopting this law, the Algerian legislator introduced women's quota system relying on other Arab and European experiences in which this system had been previously applied to the lists of candidates and the seats of elected bodies, since this system is more in line with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Bara, 2015:11).

After the legislative elections of 2007, only 30 Algerian women were able to enter Parliament, which is equivalent to 7.71% of the total number of 389 deputies. However, the results of the elections that were held in 2012 and 2017 showed a great improvement in terms of the numbers of women in elected assemblies after applying the quota system. In 2012, women won 145 out of 462 parliamentary seats, corresponding to 31.38%, which is equivalent to approximately one-third of the parliamentary seats; and in 2017, the number of their seats decreased to 120 out of 462 parliamentary seats, which corresponds to 25.97%. Whereas in Wilaya People's Assemblies, their representation rate was 29.69% in 2012, and 30% in 2017; and in Communal People's Assemblies, their representation rate was 16.50% in 2012, and 27.54% in 2017 (Marwane, 2021).

The Organic Law n° 12-03 succeeded in achieving its primary goal of raising the representation rate of women in Parliament and local assemblies. However, the achievement of these high representation rates was surrounded by many difficulties, because the majority of Algerian women were either not interested in politics at all, or excluded by men who dominated the political sphere since the independence of the country. In the elections of 2012 and 2017, the commitment of political parties to the provisions of the articles included in the Organic Law n° 12-03 did not go without criticism of this law by some of them, as it would pose difficulties for them in preparing their lists of candidates, especially since they do not

have a sufficient number of female members to include in the lists. Moreover, these political parties saw that the idea of imposing a quota system will force them to involve women who have nothing to do with their political ideas or programmes. Some other political parties took advantage of the opportunity and hastened the process of searching for women to include them in their electoral lists without taking into account their educational and political competences, only to receive the government's financial support, which was promised by the state in Article 7 of this law: *"Political parties can benefit from specific financial aid from the State, depending on the number of their women candidates who are elected to the Communal and Wilaya People's Assemblies and to Parliament".*[108] Consequently, the application of this law led to a decline in the political level within the elected assemblies, since it only improved women's political representation quantitatively. Many of the elected women were politically inexperienced, poorly educated or simply interested in political power and financial privileges of political positions, in addition to the absence of political ethics of some leaders of political parties who had named their daughters and wives at the bottom of their electoral lists which could have been rejected if they had not included the right number of women.

There were some women deputies at the Parliament who occupied some jobs that reflected their educational and cultural level, such as lawyers and teachers. Generally, these women were at advanced positions in the electoral lists which helped them win their seats, and proved that their educational and cultural abilities played an important role in their political empowerment. However, most of these women were not given the chance to serve the public interest by presiding over the permanent parliamentary committees, proposing new laws, advocating the abolition of discriminatory provisions that undermine women's rights and participating in the formulation of the national policies of their country, especially those related to gender issues. Furthermore, the presence of women in elected assemblies could not really contribute to change society's conservative view of the role of women in public life, or create some familiarity and acceptance of their political participation, since the organic law that imposed the quota system did not propose any solution to the problems that are still embedded in the Algerian society and still discourage women and hinder their political

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[108] Article 7 of the Organic Law n° 12-03 of Safar 18, 1433 corresponding to January 12, 2012 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies.

participation, such as gender discrimination, social stereotypes, patriarchal norms and economic problems.

Although the Algerian government showed some supportive political will for improving women's political representation in elected bodies, and a reformist political discourse that presented women as the focus of political reform, the imposed percentages of women in electoral lists reflected inequality and increased the ambiguity among politicians about the standards that were adopted by the Algerian legislator in order to come out with these percentages. Therefore, the government argued that these percentages were chosen based on the culture and traditions of the Algerian society, which become increasingly conservative and strict in the interior and desert regions that are characterised by a low population density, and thus, they were allocated only a few seats. This allocation was considered by some politicians as a violation of the principle of equality and a clear discrimination among women themselves on a regional basis (Dehimi, 2015:107).

The adoption of the quota system in Algeria is an expression of the state's awareness of the weak political representation of women in elected bodies, and the obstacles they face in accessing decision-making positions. Thanks to this system, Algeria joined two-thirds of the world's countries that established the electoral quota system to correct the imbalance in political representation between men and women, and increase their chances of representation (United Nations, 2019). The amendment of the constitution in 2016 also affirmed the constitutional and legislative gains for women in the field of political representation.

In 2018, the Ministry of Interior and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in partnership with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), organised a high-level international conference on "Promoting Algerian Women's Political Representation" in support of Algeria's efforts in this field. This conference was attended by over 950 participants, including 300 women elected at the local level, 119 women elected at the national level and a number of ministers. A set of recommendations emerged from this conference regarding the legal and institutional framework to support women's political representation, and the role of elected women in sustainable development.

The constitutional amendment of 2020 did not differ from its predecessors in the field of promoting women's political rights, as the latter emphasised the support of the Algerian

state for the promotion of women's political rights by increasing their chances of representation in elected assemblies, in addition to the formulation of a new organic law that defines how women can exercise their political rights. However, the Ordinance n° 21-01 of March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system, contrary to what was expected, put an end to the quota system which was promulgated in 2012. It imposed the application of the "parity principle" between men and women in candidacy, and the result was a terrible decline in the representation rate of women in legislative and local elections for the year 2021, for instance, their representation rate in Parliament was 31.38% in 2012 and 25.97% in 2017, but it greatly decreased to 8.35% in 2021 (Medafer, 2021:184).

4.5. Gender Parity Principle and the Future Perspectives of Algerian Women's Political Participation

The latest constitutional amendment issued by the Presidential Decree n° 20-442 of December 30, 2020 preserves the gains of previous constitutions in the field of women's political rights. It stipulates in Article 59 that *"the state shall work to promote women's political rights by expanding the chances of their representation in elected assemblies. An organic law defines the conditions for implementing this provision".*[109] The 2020 Algerian Constitution also affirms the principle of parity between women and men in the field of employment, this principle is introduced by the constitutional amendment of 2016 in Article 36[110], thus confirming the great interest of the state in promoting the political participation of women, whether through their presence in elected assemblies or by allowing them, like men, to occupy some decision-making positions.

The provision of Article 59 of the 2020 Constitution is implemented by the Ordinance n° 21-01 of March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system. Articles 176 and 191 of the new electoral system introduce the gender parity principle which is applied to electoral lists among men and women during local and legislative elections respectively.

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[109] Article 59 of the Presidential Decree n° 20-442 of Joumada El Oula 15, 1442 corresponding to December 30, 2020 concerning the issuance of the constitutional amendment, approved in the referendum of November 1, 2020, in the Official Gazette of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria.

[110] Article 36 of the 2016 Constitution stipulates that: *"The state shall work to promote parity between men and women in the labour market. The state shall encourage the promotion of women in positions of responsibility in public bodies and administrations and at the level of institutions".*

These articles also impose the allocation of, at least, half of the candidacies to candidates who are under 40 years old; and one-third, at least, of the candidates in the electoral list must have a university level education. Consequently, they abolish women's quota system which is introduced by the Organic Law n° 12-03 that allocates a specific number of seats for women in elected assemblies (ibid.:187).

However, the gender parity principle does not grant women winning seats in elected assemblies, but it only ensures their presence in the electoral lists and their participation in the elections. The Ordinance n° 21-01 does not impose any special procedure that guarantees the actual win of seats for women in elected assemblies, but it gives the voters the freedom to choose their candidates in an electoral system based on the open list, which reduces the chances of women's representation in elected assemblies. Since allocating half of the electoral lists' candidacies to women would hinder many political parties and independent candidates from forming their lists, due to the difficulty of finding women who would accept candidacy because of the dominance of conservative mentalities, especially in some internal communes and desert regions, Article 317 of the Ordinance n° 21-01 permits bypassing the parity condition.

This article stipulates that, in a transitory manner, and only for the elections of the National People's Assembly that follow the issuance of this ordinance containing the organic law, the submitted lists of candidates under the auspices of political parties or independent lists in electoral districts that are not able to achieve the parity condition required under Article 191 of this organic law, can request an acceptance license from the Independent National Authority of Elections. In this case, the Independent National Authority of Elections approves these lists and declares their acceptance. With this procedure, the Algerian legislator allows political parties, as well as independent candidates, to bypass the gender parity principle for the 2021 legislative elections only, and to run for elections with lists almost devoid of women candidates (ibid.:195).

Furthermore, in the face of pressure from political parties before the local elections that were held on November 27, 2021, the new electoral system was amended for the first time by the Ordinance n° 21-10 of August 25, 2021, amending and supplementing certain provisions of Ordinance n° 21-01 on the organic law related to the electoral system, especially Article 317 which permits the suspension of the gender parity principle in the electoral lists

for the 2021 local elections only, and it gives the candidates the possibility of requesting an acceptance license from the Independent National Authority of Elections in order to be legally recognised.

This acceptance license opens the door for many political parties and even independent candidates, especially in the internal regions that are unable to nominate enough women candidates, to abandon in advance the gender parity principle in their lists and choose just one or two women candidates during the electoral campaign for the legislative elections of June 12, 2021. As for the local elections that were held on November 27, 2021, the submitted electoral lists, whether by political parties or independent candidates, were almost devoid of women candidates. Therefore, the inclusion of the gender parity principle by the Algerian legislator in the electoral lists as a mechanism to ensure the political representation of women in the elected assemblies, and as a way out of the compulsory system of quotas accused of compromising the principle of equality between men and women, requires the state's formulation of new policies and strategies which aim at promoting and strengthening women's political participation, as well as its reconsideration of other ways that allow a more effective application of the gender parity principle in order to achieve its main goals (ibid.:196).

At a time when Algerian women are struggling to win high-level positions in the Algerian government and the upper chamber of Parliament (the Council of the Nation) just like men, they face another problem with the establishment of the principle of parity between men and women in electoral lists, which is introduced by the new electoral law after the abolishment of the quota system. Despite all the shortcomings of the quota system, whether in its provisions or application, it guarantees women's political representation by allocating a one-third of the total seats for women in elected assemblies. It gives them the opportunity to progressively promote their integration into the political sphere and try to change the social stereotypes and conservative views of their roles in public life. Moreover, it allows Algeria to be ranked first in the Arab countries and twenty-sixth in the world in women's representation rate in Parliament (Marwane, 2021). However, the application of the gender parity principle causes a huge decline in the number of women in elected bodies, since it only guarantees women's presence in electoral lists and not in elected assemblies, in addition to the acceptance license that does not only violate the law, but it also proves that gender stereotypes, social customs, conservative traditions and men's political hegemony are still

embedded in the Algerian society; and still hinder women's political empowerment, affect the political will of the state and even change some provisions of the electoral law.

In the future, women's political representation in elected assemblies will face more obstacles due to the adoption of the gender parity principle. They will have to deal not only with social stereotypes, gender discrimination and conservative mentalities, but also with the constantly changing laws that create a state of uncertainty about their political participation and make them lose trust in the political will of the state to really empower them politically. Many politicians and women's rights activists consider that the new electoral law, despite the parity principle, still needs to work on increasing the level of Algerians' awareness of the importance of women's participation in various political, economic and social activities, because women's problems with political participation are not limited only to unstable laws, but also extend to general public behaviour and social conservative values.

The imposition of the gender parity principle in electoral lists will represent a great challenge for many political parties, especially in some conservative internal communes and desert regions, where this parity is applied at the expense of women's competence or actual desire to engage in political practice and manage public affairs. This unfortunate situation may force political parties and independent candidates to fill their electoral lists with half of candidates who have no desire to participate in politics, which will lead once again to the nomination of poorly educated and politically inexperienced women and the disappointment of Algerian citizens and their loss of trust in women's political capabilities.

Moreover, the new electoral law makes matters worse because it adopts an open list and direct elections system, which will allow voters to choose whoever they want from the competing electoral lists. Under this system, and given the patriarchal nature of Algerian society and the reluctance of many women to vote, most voters will choose men instead of women, which will hugely affect the chances of women candidates, because even if they are politically competent they will suffer from the patriarchal orientation of Algerian society (ibid.). Therefore, women's political empowerment will not only be achieved by a real political will of the state, but also with society's understanding and acceptance of women's political participation. Accordingly, many women's rights activists and politicians suggest that Algerian government needs to include specific provisions in the constitution and electoral system in order to fight gender discrimination, stereotypes and men's political dominance.

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4.6. Conclusion

The studies on women's political representation have become among the most prominent studies in the contemporary world, especially with the growing awareness of the importance of involving women in the development of society, and the necessity of ensuring equality in rights and duties for men and women, especially in the Arab countries like Algeria which has previously ratified many international conventions, covenants and charters that followed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR).

Furthermore, it should be noted that political activists and women's associations succeeded in granting women their political rights, and many of their long sought after objectives were transformed into actual laws in effect in many Arab and European countries. However, women's political empowerment remains an urgent matter that requires the concerted efforts of all components of society, especially in light of social stereotypes, gender discrimination, conservative traditions and men's political dominance that are still embedded in many societies and specifically the Arab ones like Algerian society. For instance, despite the historical struggle of Algerian women, whether during the French colonisation or after the independence, they are still under-represented in elected bodies and still considered by many political parties as non-political human beings (Adnani, 2021). Many women's rights activists criticise these political parties due to their interest in women only during electoral campaigns, and their failure to make enough efforts to fully integrate them into political life.

The laws stipulated in the Algerian constitution and electoral system, such as the gender parity principle which replaces the quota system, aim at empowering women and promoting their political representation in all elected assemblies. However, they remain just legal texts that are constantly changing and making women feel uncertain about their future roles in the political field of their country, especially that these legal texts do not propose any solution to the actual social problems that are still hindering their political participation. Therefore, gender discrimination, social stereotypes and men's political hegemony need to have clear provisions in the Algerian future laws, in order to decrease their negative effects on women's political participation, and give them the chance to progressively improve their political competences and effectively participate in the national decision-making process.

In the late twentieth century, the gender studies emerged as an indicator for analysing the social reality in which concerns increased about women's issues and the social and cultural challenges of their participation in various areas of social, political and economic fields. The development of these studies came as a result of the high rate of women's economic and political participation, and the emergence of feminist movements and international organisations that defend women's rights and struggle for their equality with men (Menad, 2019:81). The feminist movements, particularly the three major waves of feminism, played an important role in the development of a gender perspective within political studies, since they are considered as a group of social and political movements aimed at defending the social, political and economic rights of women. They have always tried to revive the debate about the importance of women's issues in political science and their struggle to acquire their own position in the male dominated political sphere (Benyza, 2014).

Gender equality in the political field is a moral requirement and a democratic principle, which participates in improving women's political rights and helps avoid their limited or temporary political participation. Women's political empowerment is not only a matter of gender equality, but it is also necessary to achieve social, cultural, political and economic development. Moreover, women are considered an essential partner in achieving development goals and in building a democratic society, because they can contribute to the public domain not only through politics, but also through their social participation in the civil society organisations, their economic participation in the labour force and their trade union participation in dealing with employees' issues and defending their rights.

Therefore, most countries are interested in increasing women's political participation by providing the appropriate conditions and imposing gender equality in their national legislations, in order to reduce the effects of the prevailing patriarchal norms, the social stereotypes about women's political incompetence, and the unfortunate reality of their marginalisation and exclusion from the political life for a long time. Furthermore, these countries always try to choose specific ways to increase women's participation in public affairs in general, and in political institutions in particular, according to an approach that focuses on the element of complementarity between women and men. However, this element represents a major challenge as it is an entry point for the search for development, and a motive for governments to adopt plans and programmes that encourage the implementation of procedures which give women greater opportunities to accede to top posts in national

governments and parliaments, and guarantee an effective presence and equal participation at the level of decision-making bodies for both men and women.

Many international charters and conventions enshrine the right of women to equal participation with men in social and political processes, in addition to several international and regional organisations which also emphasise on the importance of gender equality and women's political rights. In this context, Algeria, like other countries, seeks to deepen democracy and good governance, and thus it has always stipulated in its successive constitutions and national legislations that all citizens are equal before the law, and that any discrimination based on race, sex, opinion, or any other personal or social condition is totally forbidden. Furthermore, Algeria guarantees equality in rights, freedoms and duties for all Algerians in order to freely participate in the social, cultural, political and economic domains, and it grants them the right to equal access to public functions and positions, and the right to vote and run for office.

Therefore, Algerian women's political rights are always protected by the Constitution and national laws, and the government tries to promote their political status and involve them directly in decision-making processes, in line with its international commitments expressed in its accession to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) of 1966 and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) of 1979. It also takes upon itself the implementation of the United Nations development plans and programmes, especially the Third Millennium Development Goal on gender equality and women's empowerment (Saffo, 2017).

Despite Algeria's efforts to achieve equality between women and men in the political field through accession to international conventions and enactment of national laws, women's political participation is still weak compared to their total number in society (almost half), and to the huge number of highly educated women. Their political participation is negatively affected by many factors such as their lack of interest in politics or lack of political experience, the conservative nature of the Algerian society, the prevailing patriarchal culture where men decide for women, men's political dominance, gender discrimination and the social stereotypes about women's political incompetence.

Consequently, the Algerian government took the initiative to find mechanisms and adopt measures in order to overcome this actual inequality and promote women's political participation. It announced the 2008 constitutional amendment in which Article 31 bis clearly

stipulates the determination of the state to promote the political rights of women by increasing their chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. In implementation of this constitutional obligation, the electoral system is amended by including the Organic law n° 12-03 of January 12, 2012 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies, which imposes legislated quotas for women's political representation in elected bodies.

This organic law is a temporary legal support that allows removing the obstacles that face women's political participation until achieving the principle of equal opportunities for both genders, and reaching a high percentage of women's representation in elected bodies. This organic law includes various procedures and specific representation rates of women that all political parties and independent candidates have to apply to their electoral lists in order not to be rejected. In its adoption of the quota system, the Algerian legislator relies on the experiences of other Arab and European countries, and adopts the mandatory quotas within the electoral lists of candidates and in the winning seats, given that this system is more in line with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which is the first convention to advocate the adoption of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between women and men (Benatmane, 2020:95).

However, this new law raised a wide debate and prompted a great controversy about its constitutionality in terms of respecting the principle of equality between men and women, and the freedom of voters to choose their representatives in elections. Therefore, the Constitutional Council issued its Opinion n° 03/A.CC/11 of December 22, 2011 relating to the control of the constitutional conformity of the Organic Law n° 12-03 which fixes the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies. This opinion asserts that this organic law does not contradict the principle of equality stipulated in the Constitution, and it aims to improve women's political rights and remove the obstacles that prevent them from accessing political institutions (Medafer, 2021:192).

The quota system was applied in the local and legislative elections of 2012 and 2017, and it had considerably increased women's representation rate in Parliament and local assemblies, despite of the criticism of its application methods and results. The advocates of this system believe that it aims primarily to empower women using legal procedures which help enhance their political rights, and encourage them to participate in the decision-making

process. They argue that it allows women to enjoy their political freedom and develop their independent political identity away from men's political dominance. They also assert that the quota system in an effective measure to reduce inequalities between men and women, promote cooperation and diversity in the political field and consolidate national democracy.

Whereas the opponents of the quota system think that it seeks to eliminate one form discrimination with another form of discrimination after "formal inequality" replaces "actual inequality," in a way that suggests that women are inferior and incapable of achieving self-fulfilment to the point where this "forced equality" looks humiliating for them. Moreover, they claim that this system does not represent a definitive solution to long lasting social and political problems which hinder women's political participation, in addition to its focus on quantitative rather than qualitative representation of women in the political institutions (Aalouane, 2021:3).

However, the Algerian government abolished the quota system in 2021 and replaced it with the gender parity principle, which was introduced by Articles 176 and 191 of the Ordinance n° 21-01 of March 10, 2021 on the organic law related to the electoral system. This principle is applied to electoral lists by allocating half of the candidacies to women, but it does not adopt any specific measure that grants women winning seats in elected assemblies. Furthermore, in a transitory manner, and only for the elections that follow the issuance of the Ordinance n° 21-01, Article 317 allows the Independent National Authority of Elections to give an acceptance license to the leaders of political parties and independent candidates who cannot achieve parity between men and women in their electoral lists, especially those living in the conservative internal communes and desert regions. Consequently, many of these electoral lists abandon in advance the gender parity principle, which negatively affects women's political participation and causes a huge decline in their numbers in Parliament and local assemblies.

The gender parity principle was applied in the local and legislative elections of 2021, and it had hugely decreased women's representation rate in Parliament and local assemblies. Just like the quota system, this principle also has its advocates and its opponents. The advocates consider it as a remarkable strategy which goes beyond the quota system and its allocation of specific seats for women, and allows voters to freely choose their representatives using the open list and direct elections system. However, the opponents criticise this principle for adopting equality between men and women only in electoral lists and not in winning seats

of elected assemblies. Moreover, they consider the acceptance license as a legal encouragement for politicians to exclude women from the political field, and an obstacle that hinders their political participation and reduces their representation rate in elected assemblies.

After dealing with the circumstances under which the quota system and gender parity principle were established, and their different effects on Algerian women's political participation and their representation rate in elected bodies; and after the analysis of these organic laws in the third chapter and the discussion about the evaluation of their application in the fourth chapter, we can say that our hypotheses mentioned in the general introduction are proved right. For instance, in Algeria, gender issues are still either underestimated or poorly dealt with by the government, politicians, and especially leaders of political parties who do not exert sufficient and continuous efforts to include them in the leadership positions of their parties. Moreover, gender is generally negotiated and manifested through political discourse and electoral campaigns. Therefore, the enactment and implementation of organic laws can be unfair to women, because these laws can be greatly affected by men's negative perceptions and social prejudices since they are the dominant gender.

The political reforms, including the organic laws of women's political representation of 2012, were adopted due to the national pressure of the 2011 uprising in Algeria which came from the international pressure of the "Arab Spring" in other Arab countries. Consequently, the Algerian government hastened to announce the new political reforms in order to preserve the peace and avoid any sudden deterioration in the security situation of the country at that time. Furthermore, many politicians doubted the seriousness of the government's political will to engage women in politics, but it proved its will by introducing the quota system which increased women's representation rate in Parliament and local assemblies. However, after the promulgation of the gender parity principle, many women were disappointed and expressed their discontent because this new principle hugely reduced their number in elected bodies, and it did not meet their expectations or their requirements.

Although the Algerian government is making efforts to improve women's political status and give them the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process, but female and male politicians still do not have the same opportunities to access political institutions or occupy leadership positions. Men are still dominating the political arena, issuing laws and regulations and controlling the national policies and programmes. Whereas women are still suffering from bad social and economic conditions, gender discrimination, social stereotypes,

patriarchal norms and ideological and conservative mindsets which keep them under-represented in elected bodies, since all these problems are still embedded in the Algerian society, and the organic laws did not address them or propose any procedure within their provisions to solve them, or at least, to reduce their negative effects on women's political participation.

The quota system accomplishes an important improvement in women's political representation in elected assemblies, while the gender parity principle guarantees only their participation in the elections; however, none of them have referred to the political empowerment of women in the government, the Council of the Nation or any other high-level position in the executive and judicial authorities. Furthermore, the quota system does not specify the educational level of female candidates who should be included in electoral lists, which results in elected bodies filled with a huge number of poorly educated and politically inexperienced female representatives, while the gender parity principle imposes the allocation of, at least, one-third of the candidacies to candidates who have a university level education; and half, at least, of the candidates in the electoral list must be under 40 years old; which means that the gender parity principle encourages both women and young people to run for elections.

The inclusion of the gender parity principle by the Algerian legislator in the electoral lists, as a mechanism to ensure the participation and representation of Algerian women in elected assemblies, and as a way out of the mandatory quota system, which is accused of compromising the principle of equality between men and women, will only achieve its goals by adopting new effective procedures aimed at promoting and strengthening women's political participation, and choosing the proper way to implement the parity principle in the winning seats of elected assemblies, in addition to other positions in the executive and judicial institutions.

There is no doubt that women's quota system, as a transitory measure, contributes to enhancing Algerian women's political representation in elected assemblies, but it does not contribute to achieving actual equality for women, whose representation in these assemblies remains a mere formality. The quota system is an exceptional measure aimed at eliminating the differences between men and women, especially those based on gender. However, this measure is also temporary and insufficient, because the solution for women's weak political representation lies in ensuring their political training and the rehabilitation of the Algerian

political life through comprehensive social and political reforms that guarantee the restoration of respect and confidence for women. Then, Algerian women will have to face a great challenge in terms of making more efforts to prove their eligibility for political representation, and demonstrate their ability to exercise their political duties on an equal basis with men under the banner of parity principle (Medafer, 2021:201).

Since both the quota system and the gender parity principle have many shortcomings and do not accomplish full equality between men and women in the political field, the Algerian government needs to develop specific strategies and measures which motivate women to engage in politics, guarantee their effective political participation at the local and national level and allow them to occupy high-level positions in the government, the Council of the Nation and other political institutions in order to participate in the decision-making process. The effectiveness of the quota system is not only related to the increase in the number of women in the elected bodies, but it also has to give more importance to the position of women in the electoral lists.

For instance, the Algerian government can follow the Swedish experience which is an interesting example of women's parliamentary representation. The Swedish government resorts to a series of measures to push political parties to nominate women and place them in eligible positions for election, which takes place in two steps. The first one is to suggest the names of women candidates, and the second one is to support the candidates especially women in the electoral campaign, and review their positions in the electoral lists and redefine them if necessary. Finally, the Swedish government carefully monitors the gender composition of electoral lists and any protest that may occur once a woman's name is included at the bottom of the list, in order to quickly intervene and solve this problem. Eventually, this method increases the number of women deputies without resorting to a mandatory quota system (Sainsbury, 1993).

Furthermore, the Algerian government needs to encourage women to work in partnership with men in the political field in order to gradually overcome gender discrimination, patriarchal norms and social stereotypes about women's political incompetence that are still ingrained in the political system. It should clearly address all these problems that exist in society and affect the political sphere, by making constitutional amendments and enacting electoral laws which include in their provisions legal solutions for these problems. The government can also create national programmes during political forums

and meetings for developing the political collaboration between men and women, taking into account the feminist visions of respect and solidarity with women politicians. The discussions between politicians, both men and women, in these forums and meetings can clarify the misunderstandings and misconceptions about each other's roles, rights and duties, rebuild the lost trust between them and the government and establish a national gender policy that is based on equality and mutual respect.

The low level of awareness of the Algerian society about the importance of women's political participation and their role in developing their country, should be also dealt with as a matter of national priority. This problem can be addressed by conducting awareness campaigns in cooperation with media channels in order to draw the public attention to the importance of equal participation between women and men in the political sphere. The organisation of these campaigns should be supervised by political parties and women's associations and financed by the non-governmental organisations interested in involving women in political life. In order for these awareness campaigns to be effective, women and men must go beyond focusing only on the organisational level to defining strategic goals, and establishing relationships with individuals and groups that would encourage civil society activities and recruit influential personalities to engage in these activities and achieve these goals. The best example of the effectiveness of this strategy is the Pancyprian Movement for Equal Rights and Equal Responsibilities in Cyprus, which aims to raise public awareness about the equal participation of women in the decision-making process (Lovenduski & Karam, 2005:207-208).

Finally, the achievement of political empowerment is the ultimate goal that must be pursued by Algerian women, who should not give up their struggle for full equality with men in the political field. They should not take their political gains for granted, since the political participation is a process of continuous development and growth, where the political actors involved must always be ready in order to keep pace with changes. Therefore, the Algerian politicians, both men and women, must act together as agents of change, bearing in mind that all obstacles are only incentives that help them achieve new political goals. Although there is still a long way to go in the area of women's political participation, the lessons derived from the accumulation of Algerian political experience can make a positive starting point for an important political reform in the future.

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Appendix I

Questionnaire in English

This questionnaire is a part of a research work for a doctoral thesis on women's political participation in Algeria, and the new organic laws (particularly the Organic Law n° 12-03 fixing the modalities for increasing women's chances of access to representation in elected assemblies) that were promulgated in 2012 in order to increase women's empowerment and strengthen their political status.

Please answer the following questions by putting an (X) in the appropriate blank cell. You can choose more than one answer when it is possible, and be certain that your responses will remain strictly confidential and will serve no purpose other than the one stated above. Thank you for your cooperation.

Gender: Male ☐   Female ☐

Age: ☐

Section One: The Effects of Social and Cultural Factors on Women's Political Participation

1. Women's political participation is better and more effective when they are:

Educated ☐   Uneducated ☐   Employed ☐   Unemployed ☐

Please explain the reason for your choice..
....
....

2. Do Algerian men and women have the same chances of access to the political field?

Yes ☐   No ☐

3. Does women's dependence on men in society influence their political participation?

Yes ☐   No ☐   I do not know ☐

If yes explain how ....

....

....

4. Do women's responsibilities at home in managing family affairs and raising children affect their political participation?

Yes, always ☐   Yes, sometimes ☐   No, not at all ☐

5. Women face challenges in exercising their political rights in Algerian society due to:

- Men's dominance over the political sphere   ☐
- The refusal of their political participation by their fathers, husbands or other member of the family   ☐
- Gender discrimination and power inequality   ☐
- Social customs and stereotypes   ☐
- Other (please specify)..

  ....

  ....

Section Two: Women's Political Culture and their Level of Awareness of their Political Rights

1. Are all educated women aware of their political rights?

Yes ☐   No ☐   I do not know ☐

2. Women's level of awareness of their political rights is increased by:

- Reading about politics   ☐
- Watching political programmes and debates   ☐
- Attending political meetings and electoral campaigns   ☐
- Participating personally in politics   ☐
- Other (please specify) ....

  ....

  ....

3. Women can get their rights by:

- Claiming them through media ☐
- Being active in charities and women's associations ☐
- Voting in elections ☐
- Joining political parties ☐
- Other (please specify) ....
    ....
    ....

4. Algerian women prefer to be represented in local assemblies and Parliament by:

Men ☐   Women ☐   Both ☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....
....
....

Section Three: The Ability of Women to Participate in the Legislative Process

1. The weakness of women's political practice makes it difficult for them to join local assemblies and Parliament:

Agree ☐   Disagree ☐   I do not know ☐

2. The electoral votes of women influence the results of local and legislative elections:

Agree ☐   Disagree ☐   I do not know ☐

3. Female members of local assemblies and Parliament can better defend women's rights and solve their social problems by:

- Interacting with them to know their problems ☐
- Asking the government to improve their social conditions ☐
- Legislating laws to empower women and enhance their socio-economic status ☐
- Attending national and international conferences on women's rights ☐
- Other (please specify) ....
    ....
    ....

4. During elections, political parties usually prefer to nominate:

Men ☐   Women ☐   Both ☐

Please explain the reason for your choice ....
....
....

Section Four: The Motives for Adopting the New Organic Laws of Women's Political Representation in Algeria and the Recent Changes

1. Have the new organic laws been promulgated in Algeria due to external pressures and international changes (the Arab Spring)?

Yes ☐   No ☐   I do not know ☐

2. To what extent did the new organic laws improve women's political representation in Algeria?

Not at all ☐   Not much ☐   Very much ☐

3. The use of quota system addresses discrimination against women and gives them an opportunity to prove their political capabilities:

Agree ☐   Disagree ☐   I do not know ☐

4. How do you evaluate the imposed quota system?

- Important procedure to encourage women to engage in politics ☐
- Fair to women due to men's political dominance ☐
- Inconsistent with the constitution and democratic values ☐
- Other (please specify) ....
  ....
  ....

5. In the local and legislative elections of 2012 and 2017, the Organic Law n° 12-03 improved women's political representation:

Quantitatively ☐   Qualitatively ☐   Both ☐

6. The Ordinances n° 21-01 and n° 21-10 concerning the gender parity principle that were issued in 2021 caused:

- Legislative inconsistency with the quota system ☐
- Disappointment for female candidates who will now win only by electoral votes ☐
- Regression in women's political empowerment ☐
- Loss of trust in the political will of the state to really engage women in politics ☐
- Other (please specify) ....

....

....

Appendix II

Questionnaire in Arabic

هذا الاستبيان هو جزء من عمل بحثي لأطروحة دكتوراه حول المشاركة السياسية للمرأة في الجزائر، والقوانين العضوية الجديدة (لا سيما القانون العضوي رقم 12-03 الذي يحدد كيفيات توسيع حظوظ تمثيل المرأة في المجالس المنتخبة) التي صدرت في عام 2012 من أجل زيادة تمكين المرأة وتعزيز مكانتها السياسية.

الرجاء الإجابة على الأسئلة التالية بوضع علامة (X) في الخانة الفارغة المناسبة. يمكنك اختيار أكثر من إجابة واحدة عندما يكون ذلك ممكنًا، وتأكد أن إجاباتك ستظل سرية تمامًا ولن تخدم أي غرض آخر غير المذكور أعلاه. شكرا لك على تعاونك.

الجنس: ذكر ☐ أنثى ☐

العمر: ☐

المحور الأول: تأثير العوامل الاجتماعية والثقافية على المشاركة السياسية للمرأة

1. تكون المشاركة السياسية للمرأة أفضل وأكثر فعالية عندما تكون:

متعلمة ☐ غير متعلمة ☐ موظفة ☐ غير موظفة ☐

يرجى توضيح سبب اختيارك ....
....
....

2. هل يتمتع الجزائريون والجزائريات بفرص متساوية في الوصول إلى المجال السياسي؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐

3. هل يؤثر اعتماد المرأة على الرجل في المجتمع على مشاركتها السياسية؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐ لا أعلم ☐

إذا كانت الإجابة نعم اشرح كيف ....
....
....

4. هل مسؤوليات المرأة في المنزل في إدارة شؤون الأسرة وتربية الأبناء تؤثر على مشاركتها السياسية؟

نعم، دائما ☐   نعم، أحيانا ☐   لا، إطلاقا ☐

5. تواجه المرأة تحديات في ممارسة حقوقها السياسية في المجتمع الجزائري بسبب:

- هيمنة الرجال على المجال السياسي ☐
- رفض مشاركتها السياسية من طرف أبيها، زوجها أو فرد آخر من أفراد الأسرة ☐
- التمييز الجنساني وعدم المساواة في السلطة ☐
- العادات الاجتماعية والصور النمطية ☐
- غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد) ....

....

....

المحور الثاني: الثقافة السياسية للمرأة ومستوى وعيها بحقوقها السياسية

1. هل جميع النساء المتعلمات واعيات بحقوقهن السياسية؟

نعم ☐   لا ☐   لا أعلم ☐

2. يتم رفع مستوى وعي المرأة بحقوقها السياسية من خلال:

- القراءة عن السياسة ☐
- مشاهدة البرامج والمناظرات السياسية ☐
- حضور الاجتماعات السياسية والحملات الانتخابية ☐
- المشاركة الشخصية في السياسة ☐
- غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد) ....

....

....

3. يمكن للمرأة الحصول على حقوقها عن طريق:

- المطالبة بها عبر وسائل الإعلام ☐
- النشاط في الجمعيات الخيرية والنسائية ☐
- التصويت في الانتخابات ☐
- الانضمام إلى الأحزاب السياسية ☐
- غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد) ....

....

....

4. تفضل المرأة الجزائرية أن تكون ممثلة في المجالس المحلية والبرلمان من طرف:

الرجال ⬜ النساء ⬜ كلاهما ⬜

يرجى توضيح سبب اختيارك ....

....

....

المحور الثالث: قدرة المرأة على المشاركة في العملية التشريعية

1. إن ضعف الممارسة السياسية للمرأة يجعل من الصعب عليها الانضمام إلى المجالس المحلية والبرلمان:

أوافق ⬜ لا أوافق ⬜ لا أعلم ⬜

2. أصوات النساء الانتخابية تؤثر على نتائج الانتخابات المحلية والتشريعية:

أوافق ⬜ لا أوافق ⬜ لا أعلم ⬜

3. يمكن لعضوات المجالس المحلية والبرلمان أن يدافعن بشكل أفضل عن حقوق النساء ويحللن مشاكلهن الاجتماعية من خلال:

- التفاعل معهن للتعرف على مشاكلهن ⬜
- مطالبة الحكومة بتحسين أوضاعهن الاجتماعية ⬜
- تشريع قوانين لتمكين المرأة وتحسين وضعها الاجتماعي والاقتصادي ⬜
- حضور المؤتمرات الوطنية والدولية حول حقوق المرأة ⬜
- غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد) ....

....

....

4. خلال الانتخابات، عادة ما تفضل الأحزاب السياسية ترشيح:

الرجال ⬜ النساء ⬜ كلاهما ⬜

يرجى توضيح سبب اختيارك ....

....

....

المحور الرابع: دوافع تبني القوانين العضوية الجديدة للتمثيل السياسي للمرأة في الجزائر و التغييرات الأخيرة

1. هل صدرت القوانين العضوية الجديدة في الجزائر بسبب الضغوط الخارجية والتغيرات الدولية (الربيع العربي)؟

نعم ☐ لا ☐ لا أعلم ☐

2. إلى أي مدى أدت القوانين العضوية الجديدة إلى تحسين التمثيل السياسي للمرأة في الجزائر؟

لا، إطلاقا ☐ ليس كثيرا ☐ كثيرا جدا ☐

3. يعالج استخدام نظام الكوتا التمييز ضد المرأة ويمنحها فرصة لإثبات قدراتها السياسية:

أوافق ☐ لا أوافق ☐ لا أعلم ☐

4. كيف تقيم نظام الكوتا المفروض؟

- إجراء هام لتشجيع المرأة على الانخراط في السياسة ☐
- عادل للنساء بسبب الهيمنة السياسية للرجال ☐
- يتعارض مع الدستور والقيم الديمقراطية ☐
- غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد) ....
....
....

5. في الانتخابات المحلية والتشريعية لعامي 2012 و 2017، حسّن القانون العضوي رقم 12-03 التمثيل السياسي للمرأة:

كميا ☐ نوعيا ☐ كلاهما ☐

6. الأمران رقم 21-01 و 21-10 المتعلقان بمبدأ المناصفة بين الجنسين والصادران في عام 2021 تسببا في:

- تضارب تشريعي مع نظام الكوتا ☐
- خيبة أمل للمترشحات اللاتي سيفزن الآن فقط عن طريق الأصوات الانتخابية ☐
- تراجع في التمكين السياسي للمرأة ☐
- فقدان الثقة في الإرادة السياسية للدولة لإشراك المرأة فعلا في السياسة ☐
- غير ذلك (يرجى التحديد) ....
....
....

Appendix III

The Organic Law n° 12-03 of January 12, 2012 on the quota system in Algeria

Loi organique n° 12-03 du 18 Safar 1433 correspondant au 12 janvier 2012 fixant les modalités augmentant les chances d'accès de la femme à la représentation dans les assemblées élues.

— — — —

Le Président de la République,

Vu la Constitution, notamment ses articles 16, 29, 31, 31 *bis*, 119, 120, 123, 125 (alinéa 2) et 126 ;

Vu la convention de 1979 sur l'élimination de toutes les formes de discrimination à l'égard des femmes à laquelle l'Algérie a adhéré avec réserves par le décret présidentiel n° 96-51 du 2 Ramadhan 1416 correspondant au 22 janvier 1996 ;

Vu la convention sur les droits politiques de la femme, adoptée le 20 décembre 1952, ratifiée par le décret présidentiel n° 04-126 du 25 Safar 1425 correspondant au 19 avril 2004 ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 97-09 du 27 Chaoual 1417 correspondant au 6 mars 1997 portant loi organique relative aux partis politiques ;

Vu la loi organique n° 12-01 du 18 Safar 1433 correspondant au 12 janvier 2012 relative au régime électoral ;

Vu la loi n° 84-09 du 4 février 1984, modifiée, relative à l'organisation territoriale du pays ;

Vu la loi n° 90-09 du 7 avril 1990, complétée, relative à la wilaya ;

Vu l'ordonnance n° 97-08 du 27 Chaoual 1417 correspondant au 6 mars 1997, modifiée, déterminant les circonscriptions électorales et le nombre de sièges à pourvoir pour l'élection du Parlement ;

Vu la loi n° 11-10 du 20 Rajab 1432 correspondant au 22 juin 2011 relative à la commune ;

Après avis du Conseil d'Etat ;

Après adoption par le Parlement ;

Vu l'avis du Conseil Constitutionnel ;

Promulgue la loi organique dont la teneur suit :

Article 1er. — En application des dispositions de l'article 31 *bis* de la Constitution, la présente loi organique définit les modalités augmentant les chances d'accès de la femme à la représentation dans les assemblées élues.

Art. 2. — Le nombre de femmes figurant sur les listes de candidatures, qu'elles soient indépendantes ou présentées par un ou plusieurs partis politiques, ne doit pas être inférieur aux proportions définies ci-dessous, proportionnellement au nombre de sièges à pourvoir.

Elections de l'Assemblée Populaire Nationale :

— 20 % lorsque le nombre de sièges est égal à 4 sièges,

— 30 % lorsque le nombre de sièges est égal ou supérieur à 5 sièges,

— 35 % lorsque le nombre de sièges est égal ou supérieur à 14 sièges,

— 40 % lorsque le nombre de sièges est égal ou supérieur à 32 sièges,

— 50 % pour les sièges de la communauté nationale à l'étranger.

Elections des assemblées populaires de wilayas :

— 30 % lorsque le nombre de sièges est de 35, 39, 43 et 47 sièges,

— 35 % lorsque le nombre de sièges est de 51 à 55 sièges.

Elections des assemblées populaires communales :

— 30 % pour les assemblées populaires communales situées aux chefs-lieux des daïras et au sein des communes dont le nombre d'habitants est supérieur à vingt mille (20.000) habitants.

Art. 3. — Les sièges sont répartis en fonction du nombre de voix obtenues par chaque liste. Les proportions fixées à l'article 2 ci-dessus, sont obligatoirement réservées aux candidates femmes selon leur classement nominatif dans les listes.

Art. 4. — La déclaration de candidature, prévue par la loi organique relative au régime électoral, doit mentionner le sexe du candidat.

Art. 5. — Toute liste de candidats à une élection établie en violation des dispositions de l'article 2 de la présente loi organique est rejetée.

Toutefois, un délai est accordé pour la conformité des listes de candidats aux dispositions de l'article visé à l'alinéa ci-dessus sans que ce délai n'excède le mois précédant la date du scrutin.

Art. 6. — Il est pourvu au remplacement du candidat ou de l'élu, par une personne de même sexe, dans tous les cas prévus par la loi organique relative au régime électoral et par les lois relatives à la commune et à la wilaya.

Art. 7. — Les partis politiques peuvent bénéficier d'une aide financière spécifique de l'Etat, selon le nombre de leurs candidates élues aux assemblées populaires communales, de wilayas et au Parlement.

Les modalités d'application du présent article sont précisées par voie réglementaire.

Art. 8. — La présente loi organique sera publiée au *Journal officiel* de la République algérienne démocratique et populaire.

Fait à Alger, le 18 Safar 1433 correspondant au 12 janvier 2011.

Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA.

Appendix IV

Articles 176 and 191 of the Ordinance n° 21-01 of March 10, 2021 on the gender parity principle in Algeria

Art. 176. — La liste des candidats aux assemblées populaires communales et de wilayas doit comprendre un nombre de candidats supérieur de trois (3) au nombre de sièges à pourvoir dans les circonscriptions électorales dont le nombre de sièges est impair et de deux (2) dans les circonscriptions dont le nombre de sièges à pourvoir est pair.

La liste présentée, sous peine d'être rejetée, doit tenir compte de la parité femmes et hommes et réserver, au moins, la moitié (1/2) des candidatures aux candidats âgés de moins de quarante (40) ans, et qu'au moins, le un tiers (1/3) des candidats de la liste aient un niveau universitaire.

Toutefois la condition de la parité ne s'applique qu'aux communes dont le nombre d'habitants est égal ou supérieur à vingt mille (20. 000) habitants.

Lorsque le tiers donne un chiffre décimal, il est arrondi au chiffre supérieur en faveur de la catégorie citée à l'alinéa 2 du présent article.

Art. 191. — L'Assemblée Populaire Nationale est élue pour un mandat de cinq (5) ans au scrutin de liste ouverte à la représentation proportionnelle avec vote préférentiel, sans panachage.

La liste des candidats doit comprendre un nombre de candidats supérieur de trois (3) au nombre de sièges à pourvoir dans les circonscriptions électorales dont le nombre de sièges est impair et de deux (2) dans les circonscriptions électorales dont le nombre de sièges à pourvoir est pair.

La liste présentée, sous peine d'être rejetée, doit tenir compte de la parité femmes et hommes et réserver, au moins, la moitié (1/2) des candidatures aux candidats âgés de moins de quarante (40) ans, et qu'au moins, le un tiers (1/3) des candidats de la liste aient un niveau universitaire.

Lorsque le tiers donne un chiffre décimal, il est arrondi au chiffre supérieur en faveur de la catégorie citée à l'alinéa 3 du présent article.

Les élections ont lieu dans les trois (3) mois qui précèdent l'expiration du mandat en cours.

Nonobstant les dispositions de l'article 124 ci-dessus, la circonscription électorale de base pour l'élection des membres de l'Assemblée Populaire Nationale est fixée aux limites territoriales de la wilaya.

Toutefois, une wilaya peut faire l'objet d'un découpage en deux (2) ou plusieurs circonscriptions électorales, sur la base des critères de la densité démographique et dans le respect de la continuité géographique, conformément à l'alinéa 2 de l'article 124 de la présente loi organique.

Pour l'élection des représentants de la communauté nationale établie à l'étranger, les circonscriptions électorales diplomatiques ou consulaires et le nombre de sièges à pourvoir sont définis par la loi.

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ملخص

وجود المرأة في الحياة السياسية ضعيف في كثير من دول العالم، المتقدمة والنامية على حد سواء، ولكن في العالم العربي والإسلامي وخاصة في الجزائر، فإن تمثيل المرأة في المجال السياسي أضعف لأسباب تاريخية، سياسية، اجتماعية، واقتصادية، بالإضافة إلى مشاكل أخرى تتعلق بالقيم التقليدية والخصوصيات الثقافية للمجتمع الجزائري. في هذا العمل، يجري الباحث دراسة تحليلية للخطاب حول الدور الذي يلعبه النوع الاجتماعي والسلطة في تشكيل القوانين العضوية الجزائرية للتمثيل السياسي للمرأة. من أجل دراسة مزايا وعيوب هذه القوانين العضوية، يتبنى الباحث تحليل الخطاب السياسي لتحليل الآراء السياسية حول هذه القوانين، ويستخدم نظرية الهيمنة للنوع الاجتماعي، منهج الطرق المختلطة والطريقة الوصفية التفسيرية لتحليل البيانات التي تم جمعها من استبيان موجه لطلبة السنة الثانية ماستر في كلية الحقوق والعلوم السياسية في جامعة جيلالي ليابس (سيدي بلعباس) الذين يدرسون هذه القوانين، ولأعضاء المجلس الشعبي البلدي ببلدية سيدي بلعباس الذين يطبقون هذه القوانين.

الكلمات المفتاحية: النوع الاجتماعي، السلطة، القوانين العضوية، تحليل الخطاب السياسي، المشاركة السياسية، المرأة الجزائرية.

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Summary

The presence of women in political life is weak in many countries all over the world, developed and developing alike, but in the Arab and Islamic world and especially in Algeria, the representation of women in the political sphere is weaker for historical, social, political and economic reasons, in addition to other problems related to traditional values and cultural specificities of Algerian society. In this work, the researcher conducts a discursive analytic study about the role that gender and power play in shaping the Algerian organic laws of women's political representation. In order to study the advantages and shortcomings of these organic laws, the researcher adopts the political discourse analysis to analyse the political opinions on these laws, and uses the gender dominance theory, the mixed methods approach and the descriptive-interpretive method to analyse the data collected from a questionnaire administered to second year Master students at the Faculty of Law and Political Sciences at Djillali Liabès University (Sidi Bel Abbès) who study these laws, and to the members of Communal People's Assembly at the commune of Sidi Bel Abbès who apply these laws.

Keywords: Gender, Power, Organic laws, Political Discourse Analysis, Political Participation, Algerian Women.

Résumé

La présence des femmes dans la vie politique est faible dans de nombreux pays du monde, développés comme en développement, mais dans le monde arabe et islamique et surtout en Algérie, la représentation des femmes dans la sphère politique est plus faible pour des raisons historiques, sociales, politiques et économiques, en plus d'autres problèmes liés aux valeurs traditionnelles et aux spécificités culturelles de la société algérienne. Dans ce travail, le chercheur mène une étude analytique discursive sur le rôle que jouent le genre et le pouvoir dans la formation des lois organiques algériennes de la représentation politique des femmes. Afin d'étudier les avantages et les lacunes de ces lois organiques, le chercheur adopte l'analyse du discours politique pour analyser les opinions politiques sur ces lois, et utilise la théorie de la dominance de genre, l'approche des méthodes mixtes et la méthode descriptive-interprétative pour analyser les données recueillies à partir d'un questionnaire administré aux étudiants de deuxième année de Master à la Faculté de Droit et Sciences Politiques à l'Université Djillali Liabès (Sidi Bel Abbès) qui étudient ces lois, et aux membres de l'Assemblée Populaire Communale de la commune de Sidi Bel Abbès qui appliquent ces lois.

Mots clés: Genre, Pouvoir, Lois organiques, Analyse du discours politique, Participation politique, Femmes algériennes.